
From: The Coalition.

Re: To put forward a proposal to the Atlanta Conference to Stop South African Coal. To aid the development of other Coalitions by reporting on our prascical work, To show examples of the kind of work we have done, and To build the struggle against imperialism and racism through the distribution of this material.

Contents: The Body of this page. This table of Contents may not be precise as to order due to coaling problems, but will put each page into its proper sequence.


2. The Political Statement of the Phila. CTSAASAI.

3. REPORT: Work on the Docks
   This is a brief historical sketch of our work on the docks with the Phila. Longshoremen. It captures our successes and failures and hopes to aid those in other cities in building the leading role of the working class in this struggle.

4. REPORT: Identifying a Ship
   One of the hardest problems to overcome was a professional way to know when a ship was coming in. This contains all our knowledge.

5. STOP RHODESIAN IMPORTS! (ASBESTOS,CHROME,BERYLIIUM)
   Our first pamphlet. All of the following literature including this, was handed out amongst the longshoreman and the community.

6. DON'T UNLOAD THE AFRICAN NEPTUNE
   This was the first leaflet used to stop a ship.

7. THE CTSAASAI SECOND NEWSLETTER
   This newsletter helped us to report to all the men what had happened

8. SOLIDARITY EDUCATIONAL: MAY
   This educational had many weaknesses, but the program was strong, and about 50 people came.

9. BALTIMORE DOCKERS REFUSE TO UNLOAD THE AFRICAN DAWN
   This leaflet, tying in the national aspects of the struggle as well the S. African Coal Issue, aided the most successful of our boycotts. The "Dawn" was refused in Hait., Phila., and N.Y.

10. The Coalition to Stop Rhodesian Imports
    This leaflet with the very effective map, let us talk about Mozambique, S. Africa as the stronghold, and how dependent Rhodesia is on S. Africa.

11. IN RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA
    This leaflet was to get more specific information out to the men concerning the conditions in Southern Africa.

12. WHO'S STEALING OUR JOBS?
    Despite the seemingly protectionist ring to this title, this leaflet was the beginning of our linking up the struggles of the longshoremen with the struggles against imperialism. Here, we focused on one of the most serious problems on the Philadelphia Docks: Containerization. We did not want to accuse, but only bring up the questions.

13. FIGHT SLAVE LABOR, DON'T UNLOAD THE DIANA SKOU!
    The Diana Skou stopped at all S. African ports. We didn't know for sure what was on the ship, and the men didn't care, 35 refused to touch anything. Soon the Union sent someone to demand that they work the ship. For half an hour the struggle was waking fiercely. Finally, because of thinly veiled threats that they will never be given work again, the men decided to work it this time and to take the struggle to the Union.

14. RANK AND FILE LONGSHOREMAN REFUSE TO WORK DIANA SKOU!
    This leaflet, done at the request of many longshoremen, was distributed widely and tremendously well received. However, a snow storm made the attendence at the meeting so low, that there was not even a quorum. Notice the copy of the letter from the ILA. The Executive Board passed this resolution under tremendous pressure from the rank and file, but has never really enforced it. We use it in this context only.

In Conclusion, we would like to express our great thanks for having been allowed to participate in what we know will be a very important and hopefully very successful conference. We all thought it was so important so as to bring six of us down here. We would very much like to talk to any and all of you here at the conference. If this does not happen, please do not hesitate to get in contact with us after the weekend.

In the struggle,

Vince Klugler
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IV. PROPOSAL FOR A NATIONAL STRATEGY

In the context of a general strategy of forcing withdrawal of U.S. economic support for the Rhodesian and South African regimes, in order to assist the liberation struggles of the Zimbabwean and African peoples, we feel that two complementary tactics are necessary. One is the boycott of mineral ores coming into U.S. ports from these two countries. We choose mineral ores because an effective boycott of these goods would seriously injure the two governments economically, and because they are among the most important natural resources of which an imperialist country such as the U.S. strips exploited nations. The second tactic is projects directed against the involvement of U.S. corporations in southern Africa, including but not limited to the Southern Company.

A. Boycott of Mineral Products from South Africa and Rhodesia

We agree that a campaign against the importation of South African coal would be both a "direct blow against imperialism" and an opportunity to build internationalism among African workers, in the face of the protectionist "Buy American" campaigns which attempt to blame foreign workers for the economic crisis in the U.S. However, with the successes of the liberation movements in Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique, there are two countries (three, counting Namibia) in southern Africa in which white minority racist governments and multinational corporations continue to exploit workers: South Africa (Azania) and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). Recent developments in Zimbabwe, including pressure from the South African government on the Ian Smith regime to compromise with the African majority, and an apparent conciliation among the several liberation groups in Zimbabwe, suggest that the boycott of Rhodesian goods in this country should be stepped up, not slowed down. That victory for the Zimbabwean people may be near means that this period is critical, and just because the South African coal issue has come into the limelight does not mean that the related struggle should be abandoned.

Secondly, we believe work with longshoremen is crucial for several reasons. Dockworkers are the vital link between the imperialists' foreign operations and their domestic base, in the sense that they can stop the goods being shipped from the exploited countries to corporations in the U.S. They are also a strategic part of the American working class, which is exploited by those same corporations at home. Among longshoremen there is a high degree of class consciousness, in many ports a large percentage of national minorities, and a history which shows not only an openness and enthusiasm for this struggle, but also a progressive tradition of rank and file struggle. We believe that consistent work at the docks is important not only for the struggle in southern Africa, but for the long range class struggle here.

In working with longshoremen, we believe that while we can rely on only the rank and file, we should attempt to work with trade union officials, but never relying on them or giving allegiance to them. While in Philadelphia we have received little or no cooperation from union officials, and in fact the experience of both Philadelphia and Baltimore has been that on some occasions after the rank and file refused to work a ship the union sent in a hand-picked crew who were willing to work it, in New York through the cooperation of local ILA officials the Coalition had access to the ships' manifests, the most reliable way of determining what cargo is on the ship. We should recognize, too, that in working with
rank and file dockworkers members of the Coalitions should assist them in their own day to day struggles (e.g. against containerization, for union democracy) rather than merely asking them to assist African workers in their liberation struggles.

Here it is important to emphasize a point about which there is bound to be confusion. Azanian, Zimbabwean, and American (U.S.) workers are all suffering under the same exploitative system. It is this system of monopoly capitalism (imperialism) which is the fundamental cause for the existence of the neocolonialization of southern Africa. However, the main weapon in the arsenal of the corporations is racism, the systematic exploitation of black people both here and in Africa. In the U.S., among the white workers, the ideology of white chauvinism is fostered and fed. It is this division which keeps the workers from seeing the real enemy and attacking it head on. Therefore, among the longshoremen, black and white, a real understanding of racism must be built and never shied away from. It is for this reason that the Coalition sees it important to hit as hard against racism as it does against the reason for racism, imperialism.

B. Anti-Corporate Projects

In our work in Philadelphia, we arrived at the conclusion after a year of work at the docks that we needed an additional focus, one which would enable us to speak directly to the issue of the role of U.S. corporations in southern Africa and one which would allow us to educate both workers at the corporation's factories and the general public. In our city we chose Rohm and Haas, a multinational chemical corporation which has its two main plants in the Philadelphia area, international offices in downtown Philadelphia, and a plant located in South Africa. Thus the economic link to South Africa is a direct one, and the demands will include "Rohm and Haas out of South Africa now," and an additional demand that will link up the struggles of workers at the local plants with the struggles in South Africa.

We propose that each city represented at this conference choose a corporation with such direct local connections. For many cities, but not all, this would be the Southern Company. For Boston, the likely one would be the New England Power Company, which also imports South African coal. But to limit the campaign to the Southern Company would be to limit it to the south and to South Africa which for the reasons discussed above we think would be a serious error.

V. CONCLUSION

In summary, a successful campaign along the lines we have described would be a highly effective economic weapon against the racist regimes in both South Africa and Rhodesia, as well as the American corporations which prop up and profit from those governments. At the same time, if broadened beyond South African coal and the Southern Company to include other mineral products and corporations, it would enable each city to develop a focus appropriate to its local area. And finally, by continuing work with the longshoremen and other members of the working class both on the southern Africa boycott and on issues which affect them on the waterfront and other workplaces, it would add to the long term struggle in the United States against racism and monopoly capitalism as well as assisting the liberation struggles in southern Africa.
The Coalition to Stop Rhodesian Imports is unique among the liberation support movements in the U.S. This is because it has been able to strike real, material blows against the racist Rhodesian government, and directly involve U.S. workers in stopping the unloading of Rhodesian cargo up and down the east coast. In the last year, the refusal of longshoremen to unload Rhodesian cargo has cost Rhodesian and U.S. businessmen thousands of dollars, raised the level of understanding about who are our friends and who are our enemies, at home and abroad, and raised the real threat that in the future there will be a complete blockade of Rhodesian goods.

In the past the Coalition to Stop Rhodesian Imports has had two concrete goals: to end U.S. support of Rhodesia, and to close the port of Philadelphia to Rhodesian goods. We have taken these actions in support of the Zimbabwean people in their struggle for freedom against the white settler government of Rhodesia. The major obstacle to victory is the support given to the Ian Smith regime by multi-national, monopoly corporations, based primarily in the U.S. and Great Britain. With the direct support of the U.S. government, these corporations have violated the internationally imposed embargo set by the U.N. in 1968. We know that only through action by the working class and its allies here in the U.S. can the government and corporations be forced to end their support of Rhodesia.

We believe that at the present time the goals of the coalition have to be broadened in order to achieve our aims. We also think that it is important to state clearly the analysis of the coalition on the struggle facing us.

Southern Africa and the U.S.: Money and Politics

The southern part of Africa plays a very large part in the plans of U.S. politicians and businessmen for economic and political control of the world. The countries there are rich in raw materials. The U.S. and its European allies have managed to retain much of this whole area in the grip of colonial or fascist white settler regimes. Key to this center of reaction is the Republic of South Africa, a powerful client state of the U.S. The RSA is a junior partner to the U.S. in the extraction of raw materials, and maintenance of reactionary governments in this part of the world. The U.S. is increasing its use of South African ports as a base for U.S. fleets which engage in military adventures all over the world. At the same time, the Rhodesian white settler regime is maintained in its economic and political power almost exclusively through U.S., British and RSA economic and political aid, and through direct military aid from the RSA. The Rhodesian and South African white minority governments could not survive without the support of the U.S. government and big businesses.

Economically, U.S. corporations make giant profits off of this whole situation. Rhodesia and South Africa maintain a slave labor force, which produces raw materials at very cheap prices. U.S. corporations also export capital to these semi-colonies, and use the same slave labor to produce very cheap manufactured goods. In doing this, the corporations follow the only principle which really matters to them: maximize profits. The manufacture of products abroad, and the constant threat of runaway shops, are also used to attack the living standards of U.S. workers. The bosses create unemployment, which drives wages down, and also try to force concessions in working conditions from the unions with cries of "cheap foreign labor" competing with their U.S.-made products. Thus the bosses try to turn U.S. workers against foreign workers, while raking in profits from the exploitation of both.

Racism: Key Strategy of Oppression

In both the U.S. and Africa, U.S. corporations make millions off the oppression of black people and still more millions off the weakness bred by the lack of unity between white and black workers. The spreading of a system of racist oppression, and the propagation of white chauvinism as an excuse for that system, is one of the most important means by which the U.S. government and corporations try to set poor and working people against each other and thus maintain the imperialist system. They spread the idea that Rhodesian and South African workers are happy with $2.00 or $3.00 per day: that these people are incapable of governing themselves; and when a rebel-
lion breaks out against the rulers of Rhodesia or RSA, they promote the idea that this is simply a "race war," not a war against an economic system which keeps a handful of white businessmen on top of a semi-slave economy by open terrorism and the denial of all democratic rights. The U.S. rulers try to convince white workers both at home and abroad that they should not join with the struggles of black people; that the only way to get ahead is to accept their exploitation passively, join with the bosses and politicians against the struggles of the blacks, and accept a few crumbs thrown to them from time to time.

The coalition sees its task as helping to destroy imperialism and racism. We see that there are two main forces in the U.S. which can be rallied to lead this fight; these forces also have it most in their interest to fight for fundamental changes in the U.S. economic and social system. These forces are workers and oppressed people of color (blacks, Puerto Ricans, and others). Workers are both directly affected by U.S. policies in Rhodesia, and in a position to do something about it. As stated earlier, imperialism is used to attack the living standards of U.S. workers and, at the same time, to bribe the workers' leaders with offers of wealth and power, if these leaders will turn the trade unions into tools of the bosses. The problems of runaway shops, unemployment, racism on the job, among others, are big ones here in Philadelphia as elsewhere. In fighting against these things, it will be a big step forward in the struggle of U.S. workers if we can combat the national chauvinist and racist "Buy American" campaign of the bosses and the AFL-CIO officials, and bring workers to see that supporting African liberation struggles is in their real interest. Other forces in the U.S. can be rallied to support this fight, including students, progressive religious organizations, and community organizations, among others.

The Bases of Support for the Coalition

The coalition is seeking the active participation of all workers, and particularly longshoremen. Significant sections of the trade union movement can be brought to support the boycott. The coalition also sees itself supporting the struggles of U.S. workers against both the bosses and reactionar union leaders. Specifically, the coalition should link up the boycott to the struggles of longshoremen around working conditions, containerization, racism on the job, etc. As the longshoremen are more and more drawn into the fight for the liberation of the people of southern Africa, the coalition believes that this internationalism will be translated into a fight for a more militant, democratic union, and against racial oppression here in the U.S. The longshoremen are a leading force in the struggle against Rhodesian imports, and they should become a leading force in all aspects of the coalition as well.

The black community, as well as other oppressed peoples, must become a powerful force in the coalition. The racist policies of the corporations and the government at home and abroad are inseparably linked, and this can lead blacks of all classes to become active in the coalition. The coalition must become an instrument of the struggle against all national oppression and racism, both here and abroad.

To sum up, the coalition wants to unite all who can be united around the following goals:

1. End U.S. government and corporate support to the racist regimes in southern Africa.
2. Support the struggles of the peoples of southern Africa for their liberation from U.S. imperialism and the regimes it supports.
3. Link up the struggle for liberation in southern Africa with the struggle against racism and national oppression in the U.S.
4. Support the struggles of U.S. workers against racism and imperialism and build international working class solidarity.

The same forces which can be united to fight U.S. support of the southern African racist regimes are the core of the struggle for fundamental change in the U.S. To the extent that these forces unite to work for the African liberation struggles, we are that much closer to victory against the same reactionary rulers at home.

A PEOPLE UNITED CAN NEVER BE DEFEATED:

July 1974

(Since this political statement was drafted the Philadelphia Coalition has changed its name to the Philadelphia Coalition to Stop Rhodesian and South African Imports, and has broadened its focus to include South Africa.)
We would like to give a brief history of our work on the Philadelphia docks, the plans we have followed in developing support among the longshoremen, and the plans for the future. We will try to record the changes and errors as well as the successes to give a balanced picture and one useful for other cities.

We have always experienced, from the first picket line, a great deal of spontaneous support from rank and file longshoremen. Ships which we have picketed so far were to be worked by almost completely black crews; the level of support among white workers, based on conversations while leafletting, is not as high, but has been growing steadily since the beginning of the coalition.

One of the coalition's first major political discussions was around the role of the longshoremen. It was suggested by some that the longshoremen were the leading force of the coalition. This was argued by pointing out that the longshoremen had not initiated the boycott. We came to an understanding around the idea that the longshoremen were the leading force, because it was they who took the greatest risk (and possible loss) and because their action made the coalition successful. That they were not the political leadership was also agreed, along with an understanding that they would have to move into the political leadership of the coalition for it to succeed in the long run. This unity was quite important in focussing the coalition's understanding of the leading and progressive role of the working class in this coalition.

To achieve this we recognized the need for a program of political education on the waterfront, which would keep the men informed about the boycott and its political significance, and also relate it to their local problems. (At first many dockers saw themselves as doing a favor for the picketers, supporting an issue which was not really theirs.) The vigorous reaction of the men against a union official's insistence that they work a SA ship last Dec. (see leaflets) shows how far we have come since clearly adopting the correct understanding of the longshoremen's role. To do this, we had to study the working conditions of the waterfront.

What did we find out about the ILA, Local Union 1291? Approximately 1200 men, a majority black. Originally organized by the IWW, an early constitution clause insisted on a bi-racial executive. Today the bureaucracy is integrated but the rank and file are not. The same union executive has held its power for over a decade, and was just re-elected. There were a number of independent challenges, with varying degrees of support, but no opposition slate. We have not determined exactly why the union executive remains in office, whether or not some part of the rank and file strongly supports it. Part of its success lies in the hiring hall procedures. Due to the lack of a seniority system, lack of shop stewards, and the arbitrary assignment of work by union officials, favoritism, bribery, and blackballing are effective in coopting or discouraging challenges, and in reinforcing the racism which deeply divides the men. Gangs (19 men) are for the most part segregated, their members arbitrarily chosen by the gang boss. The union officers also keep the men in the dark as to their rights as workers and union members. Members aren't given copies of the contract, and the last contract was approved without having been seen by the men, except for a 3 page summary. By contrast, Baltimore defeated the contract by a 2-1 margin, and Boston struck over local issues.

Philadelphia is a declining port. Work is declining due to re-routing of freight to other ports, containerization, violation of work rules (i.e., use of smaller than required gangs on container ships) etc. Philadelphia's tonnage import figure is misleading, because a large part of it is oil in tankers, which longshoremen don't touch. Longshore work is growing in Baltimore and New York, and declining in Boston, but productivity is increasing much faster than import tonnage, so the trends in Baltimore and N.Y. may not last. All this information has come in bits and pieces, and we have yet to analyze the full text of the contract.

The union officials relation with us has changed over the past year. At first they agreed with us and promised to support the campaign. We later found out that they had sabotaged us, by having a boat unloaded after hours by a handpicked crew. Later, as they realized that we were not going to disappear, they became openly hostile, actively opposing our pickets and occasionally red-baiting. (See leaflet R & F Workers Refuse Diana Skou). We were perhaps negligent in not trying to work with them more di-

Organizing on the Waterfront--The Experience of the Philadelphia Coalition to Stop Rhodesian and South African Imports
but we did not directly attack them. We feel that they should be exposed, as they are now exposing themselves, but that we would like to see them take the correct position, and that the union is the best place for the men to organize their support for the coalition.

After first rather frantically picketing every ship we could identify (3 before any independent educational leafletting) we decided to carefully prepare each demonstration, and attempt to make each a real success and a qualitative step forward in our work. We have developed an accurate method for identifying ships and pinpointing their arrival dates, and a phone tree which can turn out a respectable picket line on 1 or 2 day notice. Our leaflets have reflected the development of the coalition's politics—the leaflets titled Coalition to Stop Rhodesian Imports and In Rhodesia and South Africa were focussed around extending the campaign to South African goods. We have recognized that there is a problem with our leaflets stressing the international aspect of the campaign too heavily, without enough emphasis on local and national aspects, and Who’s Stealing Our Jobs was the first which attempted to bring us down to earth in terms of local problems.

When we are not leafletting around a particular ship, we leaflet at the hiring hall and some important piers. At first we thought leafletting at the hiring hall was sufficient but due to early posting, steady assignment of gangs, etc., many men rarely come to the hiring hall. We have to expand our waterfront committee to accomplish the larger task of leafletting at numerous point. We have recognized the problems in having outsiders, i.e., non-longshoremen, trying to organize an action on the waterfront. We have met this in part by having a steady regular crew to do all the leafletting; people who have become familiar with the men and the situation on the waterfront. This has enabled us to make steady progress in political discussions with the longshoremen.

The best solution to distributing leaflets widely, and the clearest proof that the rank and file were taking a leadership role in the coalition would be if a large percentage of the leaflets were distributed on the inside by longshoremen. There is a reciprocal relationship between bringing dockers into active membership, and making coalition leaflets and program address more concretely the immediate problems of longshoremen in Philadelphia. This is the key task in the next several months which will determine whether or not the coalition continues to grow or becomes isolated. It is rare that a longshoreman will volunteer to work in the coalition outside his workplace; nevertheless we have had four longshoremen attend coalition meetings, and one has taken a strong, continuing role. We have to strengthen our efforts and making individual contacts and recruiting individual longshoremen who we have met in pickets around ships. A rank and file caucus may emerge in the next few months in the Local, and the Coalition expects to gain its support and work closely with it.

Much of the other work of the coalition is built directly around our work on the waterfront, since we understand that the longshoremen will have to have real support from the rest of the working class of Philadelphia in order to continue their fight.
Ship Identification

We in Philadelphia through much trial and error have devised a way of identifying ships carrying South African cargo which by now is reasonably accurate. We also have found out how to verify the origin of some goods and the extent of their importation. Below are listed some of the more systematic sources of information.

1) UN reports
The UN Unit on Apartheid and Rhodesia sanctions committee publish data on ships which violate sanctions in the U.S. Name of ship, company, country of registry, date, port, and commodity are listed. Information is given voluntarily to the U.S. government by the shipping companies, and so can be stopped at any time, and is not necessarily complete although we feel that it has been so far. Reports are published quarterly and available from Henry Lieberg (115 Ocean Ave., Apt. E-3, Brooklyn, NY 11225) or American Committee on Africa, 164 Madison Ave., 2nd flr, NYC, 10016.

2) Journal of Commerce
The Journal of Commerce is a daily business paper offering full coverage of all ships arriving in U.S. Ships are listed alphabetically and the ports they will call at, the ports they are coming from, and the approximate date of arrival are listed. Most boats are listed, and first listing may appear 3 months before vessel is due. Dates change a great deal, but are reasonably accurate. Weakness is that it centers on NY and provides scanty data on other cities. Shipping companies advertise their itineraries, and give dates of departure from U.S. ports, which may differ significantly from dates of arrival since a ship may call twice at the same port - once to unload and once to load.

3) Pilots Association
The pilots association of each city is responsible for guiding boats into the harbor, often from 100-200 miles away, and the dispatchers of the pilots have accurate lists of arrivals for the next 24-48 hours. A contact here is invaluable.

4) Local newspapers
Major papers print the ships due that day. They have information a day or two before they print it (it probably comes from shipping companies and the pilots association). Again, inside contacts may help.

5) Dockmen and longshoremen
Dockmen work steadily at the same piers, tying the boats up, and generally have an idea of the schedule for the next few days. They can confirm whether any ship is coming in that day. Longshoremen often find out their work assignments the day before in some cases and can also confirm arrivals.

6) Shipping companies
A good bluff on the telephone can occasionally get some valuable info from a shipping company directly.
Our general procedure now is to look in the J of C for expected arrivals of ships which have previously violated sanctions, others of the same company, and S.A. Marine Co. ships. We then tell our insiders of the expected arrival date, and they call us whenever some confirmation is available. Picketers are notified a day or two before. If there is a last minute change of schedule, generally postponement, the picket is not called off; its value is not really lost in demonstrating the support we can rally for the longshoremen, and as many people as possible are urged to return the actual day of arrival. Picketers are always told in advance that the ship may not arrive that day. Better than 50% of the time ships are delayed a day or two. Since we know the transit times between NE ports, the development of an effective intercity phone tree to confirm schedules would be real progress.

CARGO Identification

Here we have little in the way of advance information.

The ship manifest is required to give all pertinent data about the cargo: country of origin, port of origin, original shipper and final destination, exact nature and quantity of cargo and any other relevant statistics. South Africa has 4 ports of her own: Durban, East London, Port Elizabeth and Capetown. Walvis Bay and Swakopmund are the ports of Namibia. Significant percentages of SA goods are shipped from Lourenco Marques, Mozambique. Rhodesian goods can come via any SA port as well as Lourenco Marques or Beira, Moz. Any ship calling at these ports is suspect. Most ships that call at any call at most. The ship manifest is a legal document, and a copy goes to the U.S. Customs office, since it is the record the government uses to collect tariffs, and from which it assembles all its statistical data. This does not guarantee that it will be correct and complete. Any longshoreman has the right to inspect the manifest and confirm the nature of the cargo he is unloading. Most rank and filers don't know this, and much cargo is not clearly identified, especially containerized freight. Concerned rank and filers can find out the nature of the cargo on the ship they are working, but need real encouragement - this is the thrust of some of our leaflets and educational work. Frequently, however, we've found that the men just don't want to work the ship, period. This is not always good, because it implies a loss of pay which is not always necessary, and also because the same boats may be carrying Zambian, Tanzanian, or Congolese cargo.

Some more specific data occasionally comes our way through the grapevine, but not systematically.

This summarizes the most important data and should give you enough to catch most ships. Feel free to write with any questions you have.