

# Bulletin

NOW  
TWICE A  
WEEK!

Twice-Weekly Organ of the Central Committee of the Workers League

VOLUME TEN NUMBER FIFTY TWO 388

TUESDAY, JULY 2, 1974

C-748

FIFTEEN CENTS

## As U.S. Builds War Machine - BREZHNEV EMBRACES NIXON



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BY THE EDITOR

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(Continued On Page 12)

## St. Louis Workers Strike GMAD For Local Contract

BY LARRY DANIELS

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a local contract since GMAD reorganized the St. Louis plant in October, 1971. Another worker added "When Fisher Body and GM merged into GMAD the committeemen all signed a petition to ratify the merger, but I don't think the international ratified it."

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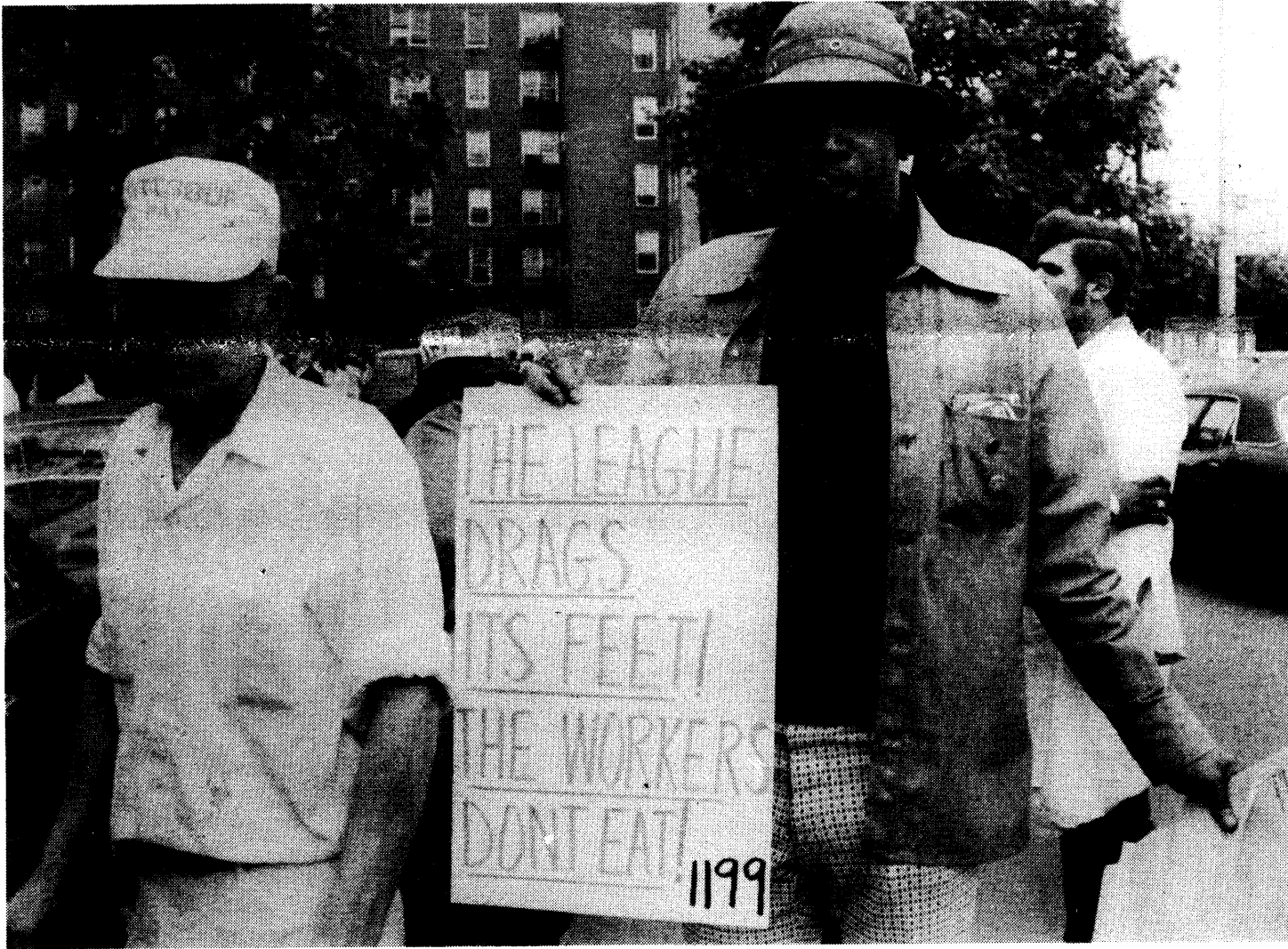
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## The Only Friend Of Richard Milhous Nixon

At the welcoming ceremony in Moscow on Thursday, Leonid Brezhnev declared that American opposition to Nixon "is a policy that attests most likely to the unwillingness or inability of its proponents to take a sober look at the realities of the present-day world."

The obscene collaboration of the Kremlin bureaucrats with the leader of world imperialism makes clear the utterly counterrevolutionary role of Stalinism in this period.

Leon Trotsky analyzed the Stalinist bureaucracy in

### What We Think

**The Revolution Betrayed** as a parasitic caste within Soviet society which has no independent progressive historic function, and acts as an impediment on the growth of the productive forces and the development of socialism.

Like all doomed social formations, it reacts to the threat of being swept from the stage of history by revolution, by clinging to all that is diseased and reactionary in society. The material product of the pressures of world imperialism upon the Soviet Union after 1917, the bureaucracy cannot survive the destruction of capitalism.

Contrary to the revisionist theories of Pablo, who held that the revolutionary upsurge of the working class would compel the Stalinists to turn to the left, the development of revolution drives the Stalinists in the opposite direction—into an alliance with American imperialism, right-wing juntas, and fascist dictatorships against the working class.

In every country in the world, the Stalinists come forward as the principle prop of the capitalist state.

Thus, under conditions of the greatest crisis in the history of capitalism and for the first time in history, a simultaneous revolutionary upsurge of the working class of every country, Nixon is welcomed by this bureaucracy to visit Moscow and the Red Square.

The Kremlin has been trumpeting these new talks as a victory for "detente," Brezhnev's version of peaceful coexistence.

But in actuality, these talks take place under conditions when the capitalists, driven by the economic crisis and the contraction of the world market, are preparing for nuclear war against the Soviet Union. Because capitalism views the reconquest of the Soviet Union as necessary to its survival, the ruling class of the US will not be bound by paper treaties any more than Hitler was in 1941.

Before Nixon landed in Moscow, he conferred with leaders of NATO and pledged to strengthen its forces to meet the possibility of war with the Soviet Union.

At a recent meeting of NATO's Nuclear Planning Group in Norway, Defense Secretary James Schlesinger outlined US plans for a beefed-up nuclear arsenal with first-strike capacity against the Soviet Union.

For all their talk about securing "peace," the parasitic bureaucrats are guilty of refusing to prepare the Soviet Union for the danger of war. More terrified by the militancy of the Soviet working class, it spent the days preceding Nixon's arrival with a brutal round-up of well-known dissidents.

Of course, the Stalinists cannot defend the Soviet Union because only the socialist revolution can prevent the imperialist war. But the Stalinists will under no circumstances lead the working class in revolutionary struggles.

In the Middle East, the Stalinists worked with Kissinger to impose a "peace" settlement which gives the Zionists a free hand to bomb and slaughter Palestinian refugees.

In Portugal, the Communist Party has issued public statements declaring that capitalist property relations cannot be tampered with and have emerged as the number one strike breakers.

Avelino Antonio Pacheco Goncalves, Stalinist Minister of Labor, rejected the wage demands of striking postal workers in Lisbon. The Stalinists organized demonstrations against the postal workers and denounced them in an official Party statement for "advancing unrealistic claims which are incompatible with the existing conditions in the national economy."

The Stalinists of the American Communist Party are completely behind Nixon's trips to Moscow. Having consistently refused to demand Nixon's resignation, they have now even dropped a campaign for his impeachment.

In the editorials of the American CP's paper, the *Daily World*, Nixon is defended as a progressive figure fighting "the detractors of Detente."

"The US people must let Nixon know now before his departure on June 26 that they want no retreat from detente," declared the *Daily World* last week, "but a strengthening of detente by mutually beneficial reduction of strategic arms and budgets."

The DW goes on to state: "Insist now that Nixon express the demands of the US people, not the arms-race champions."

What grotesque treachery! The CP has the audacity to tell American workers that Nixon can be pressured to represent them; that Nixon, the criminal conspirator against the basic rights of every worker who is working hand in glove with General Haig and the Pentagon, will express our demands.

The defense of the Soviet Union against American imperialism and the arming of the international working class for revolutionary struggles requires that Stalinism be smashed politically through the construction of the Trotskyist Fourth International.

## Spanish CP Calls For Alliance With Fascist Army

BY A CORRESPONDENT  
The Spanish Communist Party is making an open bid to the fascist army in Spain to form the same kind of provisional government that has been established by General Spinoza in Portugal.

Santiago Carrillo, general-secretary of the Spanish CP, is eager to emulate the counter-revolutionary role played by the leaders of the Portuguese CP who have entered a military junta.

On June 23, 20,000 Spanish immigrant workers packed into a huge hall in Geneva for a mass rally, organized by the Spanish CP on the theme "Soon, on to Madrid."

The young workers forced out of Spain by the brutal fascist regime of General Franco came from all over Europe: Hanover and Frankfurt in Germany, the Renault plant near Paris, and Belgium, and Switzerland.

The shout of "On to Madrid" brought the entire hall to its feet, cheering, waving red flags, and singing the "International."

But the revolutionary spirit of the workers was the direct opposite of the statements of the main speakers.

Standing in front of a giant banner that read "For a Provisional Government of Wide Coalition," Carrillo and Dolores Ibarruri, the president of the Spanish CP who has been in exile since the 1935 civil war, devoted their speeches to praise of the Spanish army and the church.

Ibarruri called the Spanish Catholic Church, which sided completely Franco in the civil war and supported his butchery of countless working class militants and communists, "A transformed church, with a progressive hierarchy and thousands of

priests who by their conduct, reconcile the people with the church.

"The church in Spain was reactionary, but I know that today, the first meetings of the workers commissions (underground unions) took place in convents. We must see things as they really are and draw the proper conclusions..."

"The army has produced the Francos and the Pinochets (dictator in Chile), but it has also produced Spinoza, the Portuguese captains, and the Peruvian soldiers."

Carrillo followed by saying that the army must be able to "play the role that the nation must give them in its own interests."

"...Will there be a hand to open the door to the fascist fortress to avoid violence?"

This is an open appeal to the Spanish army to overthrow Franco in order to prevent revolution before the working class takes the initiative. The Spanish Stalinists are linking arms with the staunchest pillars of 40 years of brutal dictatorship over the Spanish working class.

The events in Portugal have had a profound revolutionary impact on the Spanish working class. The iron grip of the Franco regime is crumbling, under the impact of a rising wave of strikes and the economic crisis.

On June 15, the entire province of Navarra was on a General Strike after factory workers walked out in sympathy with a wage strike at Motor Iberica. On June 8, auto workers sat-in at the British-Leyland plant in Pamplona and were evicted by police. Leyland has now closed the plant.

With Franco dying, Spain is on the eve of enormous revolutionary convulsions.

## British Troops Occupy London Airport



The British Army and the police have occupied the Heathrow airport in London for the second time this year. Over 200 soldiers with armoured cars have set up roadblocks to stop all drivers entering the airport. Reports are that the army patrol will last at least a week. As in the first operation in early January, the army claims it is to counterattack a possible attack by Arab guerrillas, when Israeli Premier Yitzhak Rabin arrives in England for a meeting of the Second International.

Last January, no evidence was ever produced of an alleged Arab plot to shoot down planes with surface to air missiles. The army operation reveals the extreme dangers of a right-wing plot by the military, together with sections of the Tory Party, to establish a police state.

The Heathrow operation is aimed at preparing for this by getting people used to the sight of a military occupation. Leading Tories are issuing strident calls for "law and order" and warning that democracy cannot last. Last week, a student was killed in London when police charged into a peaceful march against the fascist National Front meeting.

## Soviet Dissident Released

Pyotr G. Grigorenko, the former Soviet army general and opponent of the Stalinist bureaucracy, has been released after five years of imprisonment in psychiatric hospitals.

Over four years of virtual solitary confinement, physical torture, and attempts by KGB "doctors" to destroy his mind with drugs, failed to break Grigorenko.

Grigorenko was arrested in 1968 for defending the Crimean Tartars who were on trial for fighting for the right to return to their national homeland.

He was ruled "insane" and confined to a mental ward along

with seriously disturbed patients. Last fall, he was moved to the Stolbovaya hospital, 40 miles from Moscow.

Grigorenko's opposition to the bureaucracy goes back to 1940 when he criticized Stalin's lack of preparation for Hitler's invasion.

In 1961, he was fired from his post at the Frunze Military Academy for opposing the privileges of the top party leaders.

In 1968, he opposed the invasion of Czechoslovakia, even though he had just served 15 months in a Leningrad hospital.

At the time of his arrest, Grigorenko declared in a letter to the USSR Prosecutor-General:

"I am a communist and as

such I hate with all my soul organs of oppression and despotism based on caste. The organization created by Stalin and today called the KGB, on the advice of ministers of the USSR, is such an organization.

### HATRED

"I do not conceal my hatred for this organization which I consider hostile to the people, from anyone, and I will fight by all possible means for its early liquidation."

The release of Grigorenko is not an indication of liberalization—Jewish scientists have just been arrested—but testifies to the courage and strength of Grigorenko's convictions.





Workers at Kingsbrook Jewish Medical Center in New York rally in support of contract demands. See page 4.

# Plastics Industry Threatens To Cut Two Million Jobs

BY A REPORTER

The American plastics industry has threatened to slash production, affecting the jobs of over two million workers, if it is forced to implement new restrictions on the air levels of vinyl chloride in chemical plants.

Vinyl chloride, the key chemical used in the manufacture of plastics, has already resulted in 13 known cases of angiosarcoma (cancer of the liver). Only three of these workers are still alive.

Seven cases were reported at a B.F. Goodrich plant in Kentucky, three at a New York Goodyear plant, two at the Union Carbide plant in West Virginia, and one at Firestone's Pennsylvania plant.

In addition, experiments by the Industrial Bio-Test laboratories found that out of 60 mice exposed to 50 parts of vinyl chloride per million for 49 weeks, 13 contracted cancer.

The proposed regulations would force the industry to cut vinyl chloride levels in the air to less than one part per million.

Anton Vittoni, president of the B.F. Goodrich chemical company, claims that the costs of installing the proper equipment for this would be so expensive as to virtually shut down the entire industry.

The plastics association used a study prepared by the Arthur D. Little company of Cambridge, Mass. which stated that "An immediate shutdown of all polyvinyl chloride resin plants in the US and the subsequent unavailability of PVC resin could result in a loss of 1.7 to 2.2 million jobs in consuming and related industries and a loss of domestic production value of \$65 to \$90 billion annually."

A similar blackmail technique was recently used by the Silver Bay Refining Company in Wisconsin which was ordered to halt dumping cancer-causing asbestos into Lake Superior. When the company threatened to close the entire plant, the courts backed down and the dumping has resumed.

Last April, the National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health ordered air levels cut immediately to 50 parts per million, the same amount that caused cancer in the mice.

But Dr. Irving Selikoff, the occupational health researcher who discovered asbestos causes cancer, found non-cancerous liver diseases among workers at Dow Chemical's plant in Michigan, where the levels of exposure were below ten parts.

The plastics industry proposes that the exposure level be "gradually" decreased, starting with 40 parts per million now and only coming down to 10 parts by 1977.

Vinyl chloride is used in a wide variety of goods, such as sporting goods, phonograph records, floor tiles, clothing, and paints.

Moreover, Selikoff has declared that "the hazard might

not stop at the factory gates but...might invade workers' homes and the neighborhoods' around vinyl chloride plants.

Peter Bommarito, president of the United Rubber Workers, has accused the industry of a "hysterical" public relations campaign and has called for a congressional investigation of the company's claims of economic disaster.

These large corporations are determined to preserve profits, even if it means murdering workers. If Goodrich and others cry bankruptcy, the unions must fight to demand nationalization of the industry under workers control, and the building of a labor party to carry this out.

## Raids Kill Palestinian Refugees

BY A CORRESPONDENT

"I hope that a flood of acid burns the Arab countries that have abandoned us. Now they look the other way while Israel exterminates us."

These were the bitter words of a Palestinian refugee whose son had just been killed in an Israeli air raid near Saida, in southern Lebanon.

Israel is using the latest Palestinian commando attack on Nahariya, where four people were killed, to launch a series of savage, unrelenting bombing raids against defenseless villages, murdering hundreds of men, woman, and children.

The tension is escalating as evidence grows that Israel may be planning a full-scale occupation of southern Lebanon. Villagers report hearing tanks at night.

The threat of a new war has become so great that Egyptian President Anwar Sadat has offered to send his air force to defend Lebanon.

Last Tuesday, June 25, 34 Palestinians were killed after an attack on Jouaya, and hundreds of homes were destroyed. The week before 34 were killed in one raid alone.

Lebanese President Suleiman Franjeh has admitted he cannot move against the guerrillas because it would provoke a civil war.

The attack on the Palestinian refugees is the responsibility of the right-wing Al Fatah leadership of Yasser Arafat, Sadat, Syrian leader Hafez Assad, and above all, of Soviet leader Brezhnev, who all collaborated with Henry Kissinger in imposing a cease-fire deal on the Golan Heights that leaves Syrian territory in Israeli hands and totally ignores the national rights of the Palestinian people.

When reporters visited the Saida camp after the bombing, Palestinians shouted: "Down with Nixon and Kissinger. Both have betrayed us."

A 23-year-old student declared: "In this camp, we have witnessed Hitler's methods used by Israel to kill innocent civilians. But we will not give up.

"My father and mother were killed in another raid. I will not rest until I have avenged them."

## Westinghouse Stops Trading As Bankruptcy Rumors Mount

BY DAVID NORTH

Trading in the stock of the Westinghouse Corporation was abruptly suspended as mounting rumors of the giant conglomerate's collapse sent share prices plummeting.

Chairman Donald C. Burnham denied that the firm faced bankruptcy and called the rumors "irresponsible."

However, knowledgeable sources stated that Westinghouse is in deep trouble and unable to solve the "several persistent problems" of which it warned stock holders in December 1973.

These problems have doubtlessly been seriously aggravated

by the rise of the prime lending rate to the area of 12 percent. Burnham admitted that Westinghouse's debt today is higher than in December when it stood at \$475.3 million.

This debt can be carried only with an enormous cash flow. But the rise in the interest rates is designed to reduce liquidity.

Westinghouse's investment policies have come under criticism, particularly its decision to pump \$73 million into its sagging appliance manufacturing division.

The financial crisis confronting Westinghouse reveals that a devastating wave of corporate bankruptcies are on the agenda.

Wall Street has reacted to the universally bad economic news with another sharp downturn. The Dow Jones average slumped 13.3 points on Thursday, and has

lost a total of 27.7 points in the last nine days of trading.

For the first time since he became Nixon's economic adviser, Herbert Stein failed to declare that this was the last bad month before the start of a new spectacular boom.

While he did not call May a bad month, he stated that the recovery (sic) was a "little less" than he originally forecast. Properly translated, this means that the United States stands on the brink of a depression.

The rise in the interest rates, the slump in the market, the stunning reversal in the balance of trade, the skyrocketing inflation and the possibility of Westinghouse's collapse are the signs of an enormous economic crisis which the capitalists cannot solve short of destroying the living standards of millions.

## SEC Hushes Up Oil Fraud

BY A REPORTER

For 10 months, the Securities Exchange Commission has attempted to hush up the fact that it is involved in an investigation of the Home-State Production Company of Tulsa, Okla., whose sudden bankruptcy has exposed the biggest confidence game rip off in recent Wall Street history.

Home-State netted more than \$130 million posing as a tax shelter for the rich willing to invest their money in an oil drilling operation.

However, the oil wells do not exist; and out of the \$130 million invested, about \$100 million is missing.

The scheme was pulled off by Robert S. Trippet, an Oklahoma oil lawyer, with the assistance of Harry Heller, a partner in the prestigious brokerage firm of Simpson Thatcher & Bartlett,

who advised prospective clients to sink funds into the bogus operation.

With the aid of an Englishman with a cultivated Oxford accent, multimillionaires in the world of stage, screen and high finance were persuaded to invest as much as \$600,000. Dined in fashionable restaurants like Twenty-One and The Brussels, they were shown impressive brochures and reports.

### SCHEME

This was an elaborate "Ponzi" scheme, which is an operation in which the original investors are paid dividends from the money of new investors, and thus persuaded to increase the amount they have sunk into the operation.

Finally, the stage is reached when the new investors begin demanding their dividends. At this point, the operation collapses. But in the intervening period, an enormous quantity of money can be collected.

A former operations manager of Home-State revealed that prospective clients were shown "oil wells" which the company had simply stuck into the ground on a vegetable farm.

To make things look more impressive, Home-State officials obtained permission from the farmer to paint his irrigation pipes orange with oil field markings.

Clients were also shown sites where Home-State has sunk three shallow holes of about 500 feet where not a drop of oil existed.

Sales were handled by Trippet, who is now accused of having diverted at least three million dollars for his personal needs.

Thomas S. Gates, former Defense Secretary and former chairman of Morgan Guaranty, invested \$133,000; Ralph Hart, former chairman of Hueblein, invested \$322,000; Ted Westfall, executive vice president of ITT, sunk \$466,000.

A number of leading politicians were also involved. New York Senator Jacob Javits invested \$28,000.

Another "Ponzi" has been revealed on the heels of the Home-State scandal. New York Attorney General Louis Lefkowitz revealed that as many as 1000 people lost \$15 million in phony Mexican banks through a Long Island brokerage firm.



# NY Hospital Workers Prepare For Deadline

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE  
NEW YORK, NY—

Thousands of hospital workers demonstrated June 25 as the July 1 contract deadline approaches.

Thirty-five thousand

members of District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, are demanding 15 percent or \$25 a week increase from the 42 member League of Voluntary Hospitals.

In addition, the hospital workers are demanding a 1.5 percent increase, retroactive to

May 1, that was cut from the last contract settlement by the Cost of Living Council.

That contract provided for 7.5 percent raises last July 1, and members waged a bitter week long strike when it had still not been paid in November. The workers are determined to win the money they lost when 1199 President Leon Davis accepted the Pay Board's award of 6 percent.

According to state law, the mediators recommendation will become binding on both sides when the contract expires at midnight, June 30. But hospital delegates and ranks are adamant that they will not accept an offer that does not include substantial wage gains.

"I never trust arbitration," a delegate from Brookdale said. "Arbitrators never are neutral, they always favor the company."

"We will meet June 30 and we will vote. Then we'll go from there."

An X-ray technician said that the same reasons that would make workers hesitate to strike would also force them to walk out if the offer was really low. "Many of the workers here are the sole support of their families, women with three or four children to feed. You can't do that on a week with no money, but you can't do that on \$151 a week anymore, either."

"This would be a political strike, a strike against inflation and against what Nixon's Pay Board did to us. We have to fight it that way right from the start," she added.

"The inflation is so bad that I don't know what kind of raise you'd have to get to stay on top," an orderly added. "That's why some of the small things get important."

For instance, the cafeteria has raised food prices 20 percent within the last eight months. "We don't really have time to go out to eat, and breakfast costs \$1.10 now, at a special rate for employees. It's like a pay cut to have to pay that much."

"My other major concern is the weekend work demands," he continued. They operate with a skeleton crew on weekends, people don't really get sufficient care, but somehow we're always in here three weekends a month."

The union is demanding alternate week-ends off, and a 10 percent pay differential for weekend work. Because of the arbitrary scheduling, which is done by computer, some workers are now forced to work seven days straight.



Harper & Row workers on the picket line.

## Harper & Row Strikers Vote Down Pay Offer

BY A REPORTER

NEW YORK, NY—Members of the Association of Harper & Row Employees voted yesterday to continue their strike, rejecting a "compromise" offer developed in the first mediated bargaining session.

"We'll stay out until we get what we wanted—our profit sharing program and the wages we need, a cost of living or a one-year re-opener," a member of the negotiating committee told the Bulletin.

The publishing company offered to retain the profit sharing plan for present employees but not to include anyone hired after the contract was signed. The wage offer was unchanged from the final offer before the June 17 walk-out—starting salaries to go from \$100 to \$115, and a four percent cap on the cost of living payments.

"This strike is about inflation," a book designer said. "It's everybody's strike."

"We can't sit around waiting for the benevolent employer to help us meet the inflation, that's what we've learned here. There aren't any benevolent employers. If we're going to keep up, we have to fight it out for ourselves."

The vote to stay on strike brought renewed threats from the publishing house. Executive vice president Brooks Thomas told reporters it was "inevitable" that they will hire permanent replacements if the strike goes on much longer.

"This is a war," one picket said, "but people are still smiling to their friends when they cross the line in the morning. We need to have about 1000 people here and shut it tight, get a little tough, a little mad. The people inside, they'll kill us if we let it keep on this way."

"I know a lot of people are worrying about losing their jobs right now, but as I see it, we should use all our strength; stand strong and say that we won't go back inside unless everyone goes back."

## Tentative Copper Pact

BY A REPORTER

Contracts covering nearly 30,000 workers in copper mines and smelting plants nationwide expire at midnite, June 30.

A tentative settlement has been announced by the eight unions representing 7000 workers for Anaconda Company, one of the Big Four copper producers in America. A union official said that one-third of the industry at least would be shut down by the deadline unless "a hell of a miracle" happens in bargaining with Kennicott Copper, Phelps Dodge, American Smelting & Refining and the smaller companies.

"The mood of the people here is just plain anger," he said. He went on to say the wage offers were completely unacceptable and that many local issues have not even been discussed as yet.

Last week 1700 workers at the US Metals Co. refining plant in New Jersey voted to authorize

strike action if the company did not improve its offer of 15 cents increase the first year and 10 cents in each of the next two years.

A total of 26 unions are involved in the negotiations, but the industry is dominated by the United Steel Workers of America. Neither the unions nor Annaconda would release terms of their proposed settlement until a weekend vote of the coordinated negotiating committee, but Bernard Rask, USWA staff representative, said that it "does compare with the settlement in steel."

This is a reference to the criminal three percent sellout in basic steel, rammed through without a vote.

The current negotiating sessions also cover some 85,000 non-ferrous metal workers, whose contracts expire on September 1 and December 31. Other unions involved include Teamsters, IAM, UAW, Operating Engineers, IBEW, and Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers.



## Defend Drew Workers

BY TERRY DELGADO  
(WORKERS PARTY CANDIDATE FOR CONGRESS IN THE 12TH DISTRICT)

The threatened slash of services and jobs at the Charles Drew Health Centers brings sharply into focus everything we understood when the Workers League and Young Socialists decided to launch our first election campaign.

These outpatient clinics in East New York, Bedford-Stuyvesant, and East Flatbush could provide a vital supplement to the inadequate and antiquated hospitals in the area. The federal government has cut one third of their budgets, or over one million dollars.

More than 150 workers organized by District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Workers, have been without a contract since December 31, 1973, while administrators decided what cuts to make.

Now they have been told that 40 workers will lose their jobs, or everyone will be cut to a four day week. In either case, no pay raises would be awarded this year.

When workers held meetings to discuss the situation, they were docked three hours pay, then threatened with arrest and locked out of their jobs for 13 days when they demanded their checks.

These workers, fighting to save their jobs, are leading the way in defense of the services at the centers. They have received no help at all from the so-called concerned politicians like Shirley Chisholm, who are always ready to take credit when workers win a few needed services in their communities.

Chisholm wouldn't even

meet with the locked-out workers until they staged a sit-in at her office. "I didn't even know she existed any longer," one 1199 delegate at Drew said.

The truth is that Chisholm and every Democrat stand complicit with Nixon as he attacks us today. Just as they will not move to throw Nixon out of the White House, they will not move to defend the programs we need.

Neither can workers rely on their own union leadership, who seek to preserve their ties to the Democratic politicians. At Charles Drew, Leon Davis, who is president of 1199, has continued negotiations beyond the "final" deadline set at the end of the May lockout, and now says the cutbacks may be justified.

The budget cuts at Drew, the cutbacks in every service program, are part of the ruling class's attempt to make workers pay for the economic crisis they now face on a worldwide scale.

### BASIC RIGHTS

Workers can only defend their basic rights, jobs, decent wages, and working conditions by fighting for the formation of an independent labor party.

This requires socialist policies of nationalization of all basic industries under workers control, and free socialized medical care.

Davis refuses to mobilize the entire union to defend the jobs at Charles Drew.

The Workers League is running candidates in the election to build revolutionary leadership as the only alternative in the union and in the communities to lead this fight.

## Local Seeks Job Guarantee

BY A LOCAL 2627 MEMBER

NEW YORK, June 24—The membership meeting of Local 2627 of the Electronic Data Processing Personnel mandated the negotiating committee to fight for guarantees against layoffs in any job title, for hiring off the top of Civil Service lists to fill all vacant titles, and for a 20 percent yearly wage increase plus a cost of living escalator clause.

The negotiating committee was mandated to demand that the city score Civil Service tests already given, and that provi-

sional, non-Civil Service workers be given the chance to take the tests.

Other resolutions passed demanded that no worker can be forced to work out of title instead of on a 12 hour shift, and that no employee work outside his normal hours.

Bargaining with the city of New York for a new two year contract can now begin.

Workers in Local 2627 are determined to fight the attacks of the Beame administration which is introducing mass layoffs and attacking working conditions in order to resolve the budget crisis and satisfy the bankers.

The greatest danger to

winning the demands of Local 2627 lies within the negotiating committee and especially in the newly elected local leadership. A coalition of former militants, along with the most right-wing members of the old leadership, was voted into office on June 24.

At the meeting, newly-elected executive board member William Amos launched a vicious attack on provisional workers in the local, echoing Beame's claim that they are only temporary workers. He implied that the union is not obligated to defend their jobs. Workers must fight for a united strike of all 200,000 city workers to stop the layoffs and defend wages and working conditions.



This is reprinted from Workers Press, daily Trotskyist newspaper of the British Workers Revolutionary Party.

Following the barely concealed admiration for the Ulster Workers Council strike among middle class revolutionaries around the Provos and Internationalism comes another tribute.

"We fully supported the Ulster Workers Council strike and the way in which it was carried out, the discipline, and the organization behind it."

The author is not Rory O'Brady of the Provos, or Eamon McCann of the People's Democracy and IS, who have recently eulogized aspects of the determined Protestant struggle against British policy, led by the UWC.

The author is John Tyndall, chairman of the National Front, who has just been on an enthusiastic recruiting tour around Ulster.

The people Tyndall signed up for his ultra-right movement are members of the Ulster Volunteer Force and the Ulster Defense Association who were supporters of the UWC strike.

These disturbing developments throw into an even stranger light the comments on the strike by Eamon McCann, the self-styled "Marxist revolutionary."

Writing in Time Out, McCann tries to present the UWC strike as a seizure of power by the working class.

McCann would have the world believe that some kind of proletarian revolution had taken place in Ulster. He called the article: "The Loyalist Strike: Fascists or Revolutionaries?"

McCann wrote: "Rallies the elected leaders could easily dominate; marches they could head; but a strike by its very nature has to be led and organized by workers."

"And would the workers, when it was all over, step back into the shadows, cede the limelight again, to the political men?" (Emphasis added.)

McCann quotes a woman loyalist, Mrs. Johnston, as saying: "For two weeks we were the people." McCann adds his own comment: "And so, for the moment, they remain. What is not obvious is what they are going to do with their new-found strength."

The "revolution," McCann implies, has seen the disappearance of the Ulster bourgeoisie without trace. "Now only the Protestant workers have real interest in the preservation of their beloved Ulster."

This explains, says McCann, why "it was a specifically working class tactic which had to be used." Summing up this "revolution," which would rank as the greatest event since October 1917, McCann states:

"Protestant workers in Ulster—Catholics too, observing—have felt, perhaps more clearly than workers in any other part of Europe, the full force of their own power."

**CONFLICT**

What this middle class "revolutionary" is attempting to do, of course, is abolish the class struggle. He has achieved a "revolution" without any violent conflict between the working class and the bourgeoisie for state power.

McCann has found a way to socialism without the need to

# REVISIONISM AND THE ULTRA-RIGHT IN ULSTER



A para-military UDA patrol at one of the Belfast barricades.

expropriate the ruling class politically and economically. This has been the illusion peddled by every reformist and revisionist charlatan in history. The implications in this instance could not be more sinister.

McCann presents the enrollment of large numbers of Ulster workers in the cause of extreme right-wing reaction as potentially the greatest thing that could happen to the working class.

"If that experience is generalized and its lessons applied over wider areas of working class life, the implications could be devastating."

Devastating indeed! For the experience McCann is describing is incipient fascism.

McCann denies it. "To describe the strikers as fascist is at best an over-simplification, at worst a slander." For proof, he declares that "many...among the UWC and its supporters...have a respectably radical history of shop-floor militancy."

So have many ardent fascists. It proves nothing either way. So what, then, are the facts about the Ulster Workers Council strike?

Its headquarters were in a stone villa in Hawthornden Road, Belfast, the house of William Craig, the leader of the extreme right-wing Vanguard Party.

The villa was guarded by men from the Ulster Defense Association, the same extremist UDA from which Tyndall was pleased to recruit.

Describing the command headquarters for the UWC strike in the Observer on June 2, Neal Ascherson wrote: "The coordinating committee, the body which really matters now, has 15 members.

"Three are elected by the Workers Council executive. Then come single men from seven para-military organizations."

These included the Ulster Defense Association and the Ulster Volunteer Force, the organizations admired by Tyndall;

The Special Constabulary

Association, veterans of the disbanded B Specials which had to be dispersed because of their extremist sectarian violence and which Enoch Powell wants to see reformed;

The Down Orange Welfare, and the Ulster Volunteer Service Corps (the fighting arm of Vanguard);

And the Red Hand, which is so extremist that it is banned and cannot be openly listed on the coordinating committee membership.

Then came the top coordinating committeemen, the three most extreme bourgeois politicians in Ulster: William Craig, Harry West, and Rev. Ian Paisley.

Fronting them were the two UWC spokesmen, Jim Smith, Press officer, and Glen Barr, coordinating chairman.

McCann claims as further proof of his "revolution": "The strike was conducted directly against British policy."

**REACTION**

But just the slightest examination reveals that the strike movement was politically dominated by right-wing reaction, by the very Protestant extremism created by British imperialism to divide and rule Ireland.

McCann denies this. Right-wing domination is a possibility but no more.

"The UWC certainly contains men of purblind bigotry, and the Protestant working class, isolated and confused as it is going to be in the next few months, could be fairly easy meat for their demagogy." (Emphasis added.)

To cover himself and to avoid being too categorical, McCann states after denying the UWC were fascists, that "neither are they revolutionaries, not by a very long way."

But he follows this up immediately by further deliberate confusion: "But the situation bristles with possibilities."

The implication is again clear: Out of the UWC strike can come the proletarian revolution. The Rev. Martin Smith, one of the most fanatical leaders of the

bigoted Orange Order, sees things differently.

He told the Observer: "The folk I know in the Workers Council are the salt of the earth." Smyth added: "I don't think our people would ever be ready to take avowed Republicans into an executive."

Smyth explained to the Observer: "We are a small-farmer community; we do not need thuggery and socialism."

The newspaper went on: "But he argues that a class of Catholics exists which believes in order and the defeat of terrorism."

Ascherson comments: "From somewhere, an historical déjà vu begins to nag...Where before did one hear men with gnarled trigger fingers proclaiming a new brotherhood of man, a rallying of different creeds under one patriotic flag (and a handful of foreign-paid agitators to be swept easily away)?"

"It was France in May 1958, after the Algerian army coup, when the whole right wing was preaching 'all are Frenchmen from Dunkirk to Tamanrasset' and making itself believe that the Muslim Algerians would 'rally' to this rebirth of the nation.

"Some of the same delusions are stalking Belfast today."

Some of the same petty bourgeois delusions are stalking the middle class radical circles around the International Socialist group and the reactionary nationalists of the IRA.

McCann writes: "Neither the Officials nor the Provisionals issued a single authoritative statement during the strike.

"Both were taken aback by what happened and unsure how to react to a possible confrontation between their traditional enemy, the British Army, and Protestant fellow Irishmen.

"They had, to be sure, already recognized the strength of Protestant feeling.

"The Provisionals in particular, long ago conceded that the North would have to have a degree of autonomy, and promulgated the idea of operate parliaments in an all-Ireland federation.

"The idea was taken seriously enough for the UVW to initiate talks with the Provisionals last January."

McCann goes on to comment: "If the Republicans take this committee seriously, and urgently, it might, just, offer a way out of the apparent sectarian impasse."

The purpose of McCann's "revolution" is now clear. It is to liquidate the class struggle and abandon the independent interests of the working class in favor of more middle-class "power sharing."

This revisionist is creating more of the same confusion that surrounded the earliest 1968 days of the present struggles when illusions were shown about the SDLP, Bernadette Devlin, People's Democracy, and the Civil Rights Movement by middle-class "revolutionaries" of every description.

The working class is again being seriously misled, as it was by the Socialist Worker in 1969 when it welcomed the sending of British troops to Ulster.

This time, the deception is even more serious. To disarm workers about the potential fascist danger flowing from the recent events in Ulster is to lay the whole working class of Britain and Ireland open to the greatest peril.

The UWC strike was the occasion of an open revolt by the Army generals against the Labour government. The most reactionary sections of the military gave the strike tacit support. The Army refused to try to break the strike.

**CHALLENGE**

The warm reception the strike was given by John Tyndall and Enoch Powell is not surprising. They saw it as a dress rehearsal for a similar military right-wing coup in Britain when the time comes.

The reactionary character of the strike was plainly evident. Not a single challenge to capitalist economic rule was raised. Not a single genuine organ of power was set among the broad masses of the working class.

No wonder the strike received the complete backing of the Ulster ruling class, who in many areas were the strike leaders.

The Protestant working class has to be won away from their reactionary leadership. They have to be won to the revolutionary movement against all the efforts of the reformists, Stalinists, and revisionists to leave them confused and dominated by the right-wing.

The triumph of the UWC in the middle of the greatest ever crisis of the capitalist system is a condemnation first and foremost of the retreat from socialist policies of the trade union and labor bureaucracy, both right and "left," and its Stalinist cover.

Secondly, it is a condemnation of the revisionist confusers like McCann who abandon the principled struggle to break the working class in practice from its reformist, Stalinist, and nationalist leaderships and substitute opportunist propaganda for Marxist method.

The fight for a united socialist Ireland must begin with the building of the revolutionary party in Britain, and Ireland, sections of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

The party will be rebuilt only in the patient principled struggle to win workers to socialist policies of nationalization without compensation and under workers' control and in a practice break them from their old leaderships by exposing those leaders as hostile to the socialist aims of the working class.



In February 1969, six months after he succeeded the fascist dictator Salazar, Prime Minister Marcello Caetano initiated a series of fireside chats on television. It marked a distinct change of custom from Salazar who lived like a paranoid recluse never venturing outside Portugal and only making brief appearances on state occasions to wave from bullet-proof balconies. Caetano talked about the colonial wars in Africa and why it was necessary to spend 40 percent (it is now more than 50 percent) of the national budget fighting "subversion" in the colonies. He talked about his "reform program" and what he hoped to achieve in the future. The liberal commentators and the overseas Press forecast a new era of liberation and drooled at this "Kennedy-style" (!) approach to politics. It was the *London Financial Times* which seized on the most crucial aspect of Caetano's policy statement.

"A stern warning against galloping inflation has been given in Lisbon by Portugal's new Premier, Dr. Marcello Caetano. In a recent 15-minute television and radio address, the Premier made it clear that the government is seriously concerned about recent price rises accompanied by growing discontent among workers about wage structures, and that there can be no change in the policy of austerity followed by Dr. Caetano. Dr. Caetano said: 'When the rise in salaries leads to an increase in prices we enter a vicious circle which is very difficult to control. We want everyone to cooperate in order to stabilize prices so that, on the one hand we can allow for the planning of normal developments, and, on the other, socio-political advantages to the workers.' The Premier said that while the government was set firmly against unnecessary wage increases, it was not opposed to those that brought with them increased productivity. The leader's address was given against a background of serious concern among the country's business leaders about the effects of current inflation: there is a considerable degree of discontent among workers, some of whom complain that they simply cannot live on the salaries they are being paid."

Caetano's statement provides the key to understanding the erosion of his authoritarian regime and its overthrow on April 25. In a word it was inflation, its rapid growth since Caetano first warned of its dangers five years before. The big turning point came in October last year when the Arab oil boycott quadrupled prices. In turn it virtually quadrupled the cost of the three colonial wars in Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau and produced intolerable increases in the cost of living in mainland Portugal.

The recent and uncontrolled inflation throughout the capitalist world is the result of a deepgoing crisis of capitalism. It forces up the cost of living for millions of working people spurring them into conflict with their employers and rulers. It was the determined fight of the Portuguese working class for higher wages, free trade unions and political rights, coupled with the heroic resistance of the colonial workers for independence, which forced the Caetano regime from the scene of history.

Caetano and his colleagues did have one possible way of resolving the inflationary crisis. That meant strengthening the repressive machinery of the fascist state to more barbaric proportions and prosecuting the wars with greater massacres. But the decaying regime had not the slightest hope of imposing such a solution. Under massive pressure from the working class, the Portuguese ruling class fell back to the next line of defense of their profits and privileges—the installation of a Popular Front. As Trotsky writes in the *Transitional Program*: "People's Fronts on the one hand—fascism on the other; these are the last political resources of imperialism in the struggle against the proletarian revolution. From the historical point of view, however, both these resources are stop-gaps." (The role of the Portuguese Popular Front and the eager participation of the Communist Party and Socialist Party will be examined in a later article.)

Portugal is the poorest country in western Europe. Only 32 percent of the people are literate and one quarter of the homes have no electricity. To visit the provincial villages is to pass back into the 19th century; farm laborers working from dawn to sunset on the master's land, rows



Portuguese farmworkers live at the mercy of aristocratic landowners who own vast estates of grapes, olives, grain, and fruit.

of tiny cottages with goats, rabbits, and chickens in the garden to provide pets for the children and later food for the table. What is striking is the total absence of any commercial life. Then it hits you. Who has any money to go to the shop anyway? What industry Portugal has accumulated has only appeared since the end of the war. Twenty years ago almost half the population was employed on the land. Today the proportion is 31 percent.

The drift away from the land has been brought about by several factors. First of all, the wages in industry are higher and employment is more secure: the farm worker is a casual employee who is only able to work when the master wants him. Then there is the extraordinary emigration of Portuguese workers to Common Market countries. An estimated 1.3 million are working in France, West Germany, Holland and Belgium. At the beginning of 1974 the government forecast that 60,000 would quit Portugal this year. This exodus has been fuelled in recent years by the desperate unwillingness of the young men to serve the compulsory three years in the armed forces and fight in the colonial wars. Some farm workers in their 20s have been called up for the third time to fight in wars which are producing 1500 killed and wounded each year.

The 1970 census showed, that the remote province of Braganca in northeastern Portugal lost 23 percent of its population in ten years. "Every month six of our villages die," said a headline in a Lisbon newspaper last year. These ghost villages are today inhabited only by old people too obstinate or proud to leave their birthplace and young children not yet of conscription age.

The newly acquired industry is almost entirely foreign-owned and because profits can be withdrawn without restriction, it is completely parasitic. Its attraction for foreign industrialists is obvious—the very low wages. When the former head of Austin Morris, George Turnbull, said in 1973: "Europe is the place where the real effort of British-Leyland must go—that must be

our first priority," he was not talking about France and West Germany, but Portugal and Spain, the two countries where dictatorships outlaw free trade unions and poverty-stricken workers line up for jobs.

In 1971, the average annual wage was \$480. Government statistics are notoriously difficult to discover, but I was told that though the wages have risen since, they have in no way met the raging inflation. Shipyard workers get about \$48 a week while workers in the assembly plants of British-Leyland, Fiat and Volkswagen get between \$36 and \$48 for a 46-hour week.

On April 10, two weeks before the coup, the Portuguese Industrialists' Association (AIP) sent a memorandum to the Caetano regime setting out its proposals for the forthcoming Fourth Portuguese Development Plan.

Reflecting the grave fears of inflation, the heads of industry said: "Rising prices do not cease to give cause for misgivings in Portugal—as happens indeed in most other countries. The new inflationary surge that has made itself felt since the end of last summer was evidence in 1973 in an estimated rise of 13.6 percent in the consumer price index and in a probable rise of 9.8 percent in the wholesale price index.

"In the last six months inflationary tensions have been evidence not only from the point of view of demand—internal and external—but also from the point of view of production, whose costs in industry have been seriously affected by shortages and irregular deliveries of many imported raw materials." An economist in the civil service told me the AIP's inflation forecasts were incredibly conservative. He reckoned all prices in Lisbon had gone up by at least 20 percent and food by 30 percent. "We couldn't do anything about it," he said. "There was this terrible feeling of helplessness."

But if the ruling bureaucracy was rendered paralyzed, the working class certainly wasn't. Unable to live, unable to feed and clothe their families, they began to organize and push forward wage demands despite the fact that such mili-

tancy posed the prospect of arrest, detention and torture of the ringleaders.

The seemingly permanent authority of the fascist regime—every youngster and most adults had known no other system—crumbled under the impact of the crisis and the strength of the working class.

## Spinola Accepts He Cannot Win the War in the Colonies

"There will be a mutiny in our barracks if they try to send us to the colonies. We will not go. We do not believe in imperialism. We have held a meeting of the soldiers and decided that the wars must end immediately. We have put our demands to the officers and told them our views. If I am asked to go to Mozambique, I will desert. There are many more like me."

This is the kind of statement that is not confined to one or two rebels in the army. It is a popular viewpoint in Portugal's conscript army. And since the April 25 coup these views have been reinforced, so much so that when the junta attempted to airlift some soldiers from Lisbon airport early in May, most of them refused to go. They went home or reported back to their barracks. The military authorities were so nervous about this mutinous spirit that they took no disciplinary action.

The experiences of the past few weeks have completely exploded the hypocrisy and jingoism that has enshrined Portuguese colonialism for half a century. Nobody seriously believes anymore in the "civilizing mission" of Portuguese imperialism. The Constitution which declares Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau to be part of the Portuguese state is a reactionary anachronism. The inhabitants are called Portuguese though the citizenship sections of the same Constitution make a careful distinction between "citizens" and

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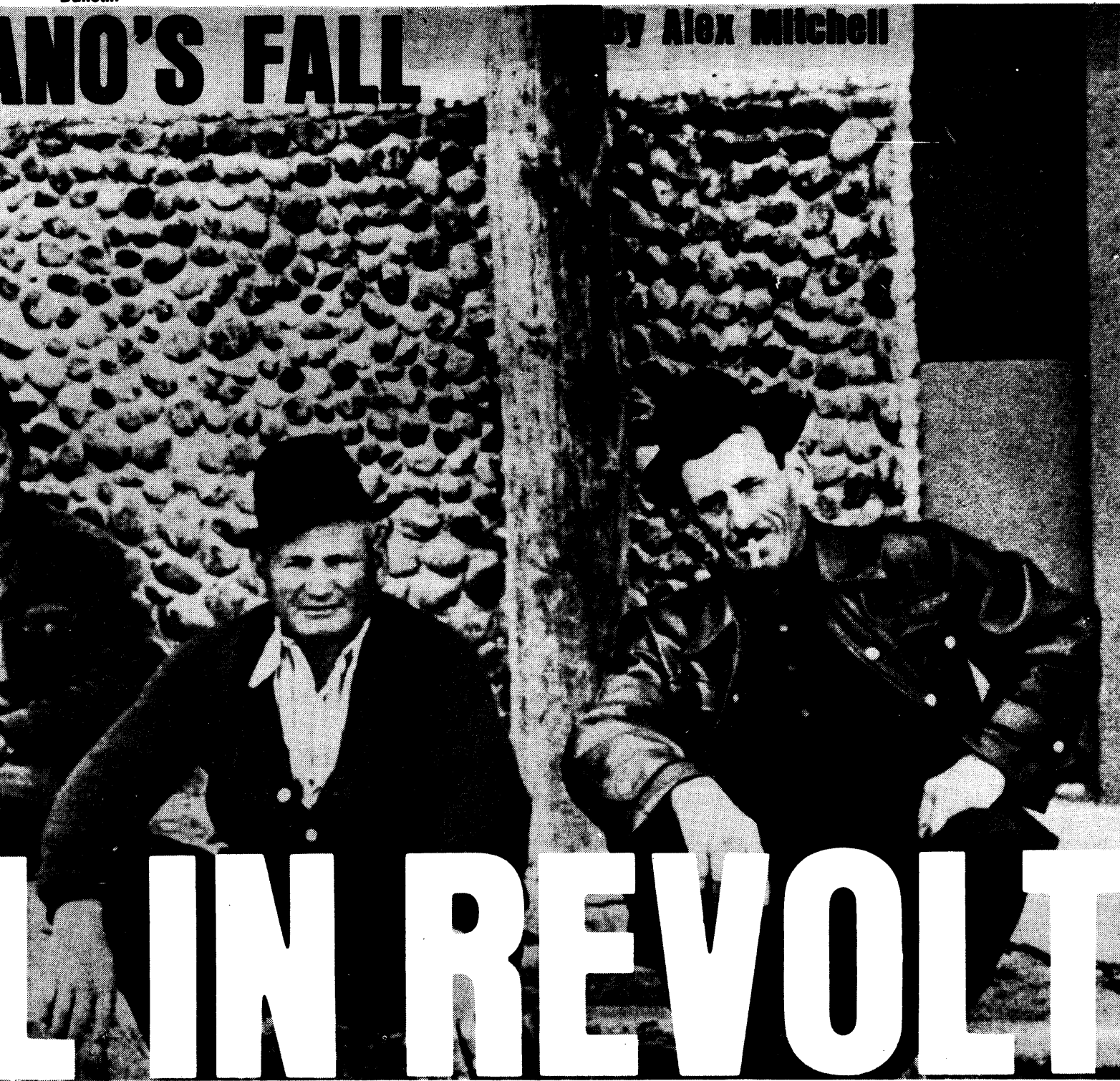
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# CAETANO'S FALL

By Alex Mitchell



# COMMUNISM IN REVOLT

(This series is reprinted from *Workers Press*, daily Trotskyist newspaper of the British Workers Revolutionary Party.)

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"natives!" So convinced is the ruling class of its holy destiny in the colonies, that until two years ago Goa, Daman and Diu, annexed by India in 1961, were still designated part of the Portuguese empire.

In 1970, as part of his "reform" program, ex-Premier Caetano introduced a new "organic law" outlining changes in the status of the African colonies. In future, he declared, they would be "autonomous." But Catch 22 in this "step towards ultimate independence" was contained in Caetano's statement that "the autonomy of the provinces does not affect the unity of the Portuguese nation." His "reform" produced some insignificant alterations in the colonial administration, but did not interfere in any way with the jackboot character of the African military government—exploitation, repression and forced labor. Indeed, behind this piece of window dressing, brutality increased. General Kaulza de Arriaga, who was in charge of the armed forces in Mozambique until last year, wrote in his book, *The Portuguese Answer*:

"I believe it is in Africa that the great battle is now being brought between Communism and Western civilization. And it is here that Communism must be conclusively defeated. We try to stress the advantages of being Portuguese, whether black or white, and being on the side of Portugal. We made clear that the alternative was relentless suffering, and frequently death, for those who persist in belonging to anti-Portuguese movements, especially FRELIMO and COREMO, or those who support these movements through folly or fear."

This was not idle theorizing. Arriaga gave a lecture in Lisbon as early as 1966 discussing the establishment of an "offensive corps" of "punishment and reduction troops" whose activities have recently come to the surface in the publication of massacre incidents.

Much has been written in the capitalist Press about Caetano being "a prisoner of the right wing" on the colonial question, presenting him as an academic liberal

whose attempts to move towards freeing the colonies were thwarted by reactionary elements. Nothing could be further from the facts, as an examination of his speeches and writings shows.

Caetano, who was Minister for the Colonies under the dictator Salazar from 1944 to 1947, peppers his speeches with racist references to the "natives" and Portugal's "civilizing mission." When he was Professor of Law at Lisbon University in 1954, he enunciated his colonial creed thus: "The blacks of Africa are to be directed and organized by Europeans, but are indispensable as auxiliaries of the Europeans ... They must be considered as productive elements who are organized, or to be organized, in an economy directed by whites."

He maintained that "the presence of Europe in Africa is indispensable because Africa isn't ready for autonomy" and he wrote: "Portugal doesn't accept in absolute terms the principles of primacy of native interests." In a lecture a few years ago he said: "Portugal is responsible for the security of the (colonial) population and the preservation of all they created and all that forms the basis of their way of life. Portugal cannot abandon her people, of all colors and all races, living in the overseas provinces to the caprice of violence, to furious resentment, to the hatred of clans or the tightrope maneuvers of international politics; nor can she gamble away values that, in the shade of her flag, have turned barbarous lands into promising territories on the high road to civilization. Could the Portuguese watch in total calm the savage destruction of a civilized way of life? We have declared war on nobody. We are at war with nobody. We merely defend ourselves. We defend lives and property. We defend, not one civilization, but all civilization." (*Monday News*, the Tory Monday Club's quarterly magazine, summer 1973.)

But in other speeches, particularly the more recent ones, Caetano made clear that the ruling class was at war. When blood-curdling stories began to emerge from Mozambique last year about massacres, Cae-

tano went on television to state:

"It is very difficult to avoid here and there some excesses in the reaction of those who are attacked, many of them being native Africans. We are fighting a war and that we are subject to its contingencies is certain."

In the same broadcast he re-affirmed the regime's colonial intentions:

"Our policy is, has always been, continues to be, to call the natives to us, educate them for modern life, look after them, help them by integrating them into the society that is ours."

It sounded mightily impressive to the reactionaries at home, in NATO, South Africa, Rhodesia and the Tory Party, but it made little impact on the liberation movements, except perhaps to intensify their struggles against the arrogant fascist enemy.

In manpower alone the wars were becoming enormously expensive. Not only were 150,000 troops tied down and suffering casualties at the rate of 1500 killed and wounded each year, but young men were leaving Portugal at the rate of 6000 a year to avoid the draft. This resulted in a labor shortage in Portugal when new industry was being set up by foreign investment. To meet the labor requirements, black workers have been brought to Lisbon, particularly from Cape Verde, to undertake laboring work at pittance wages.

While the liberation movements began to increase their strength and support, the conscript army underwent severe demoralization. On salaries of only \$3.60 a month and fighting an "enemy" that they are not convinced is an enemy, the army became ineffective for the kind of ferocious fighting which the ruling class needed to maintain their colonial stranglehold. The Portuguese ruling class was caught in the midst of enormous contradictions—wars they could not win, an army that would not fight, surging working-class resistance in both Portugal and the colonies. To the diehard reactionaries like General Arriaga this only meant that a last stand for western civilization had to be made with an all-out

war. Genocide wasn't far from his calculations. But there were more acute bourgeois representatives in the armed forces who saw that it was either a change of policy or the ruling class would lose everything. Portugal too.

In January this year General Antonio Spinoza, deputy Chief-of-Staff of the armed forces, published a book, *Portugal and the Future*, which turned into an overnight best-seller. It opened with the observation that "We have to destroy the myth that we are defending the West and its civilization"—a complete rejection of the fascist ideology of Salazar and Caetano. "There is no doubt that today Portugal is living through one of the gravest hours of its history ... The very national survival will be questioned, if we persist in the idea that it is world public opinion that is wrong and that all our problems arise from the ambition of lack of vision of third parties."

His views on the war were nothing short of sensational: "To try to win a war of subversion through a military solution is to accept defeat in advance, unless one possesses unlimited capability to prolong the war indefinitely, turning it into an institution. Is this our case? Obviously not." At a stroke Spinoza's book pulled away a major prop of the Caetano regime's policies in Africa. It certainly increased the general demoralization in the army and gave a massive impetus to the morale of the guerrillas.

But in the general acclaim few noted some other vital passages in the most class-conscious of books. For example, on page 234 the lifelong fascist general says: "The overseas territories are a prerequisite for our survival as a free and independent nation. Without the African territories, the country (Portugal) will be reduced to a voiceless corner of a gigantic Europe and will have no possible trump cards to play to assert itself in the concert of nations..." On page 124 he says: "The overseas territories must be an integral part of the Portuguese nation"—a line that Caetano himself would endorse.

What the book really expresses was not fundamental differences in attitudes towards the maintenance of the colonies, but simply tactics. Spinoza and Caetano share the same objectives, but have different strategies. In his "pragmatic" solution Spinoza set forth "self-determination for the overseas population by their integration in the Portuguese Republic." This was the only way, he said, "to prevent the amputation of the African territories from Portugal, one by one." Acknowledging the surge of the colonial workers, Spinoza said: "We must put ourselves in the position of anticipating events, in order to prevent them or at least to have the possibility of controlling them." His Utopian plan consisted of the "political structuring of the nation" namely "the regionalization of the political and administrative structures of our African states within the framework of a federation."

Whatever he meant to say, the publicity it received elevated this monocol legend to the status of "national hero" with even the state-censored press giving him scarcely-concealed praise.

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While the liberation movements began to increase their strength and support, the conscript army underwent severe demoralization. On salaries of only \$3.60 a month and fighting an "enemy" that they are not convinced is an enemy, the army became ineffective for the kind of ferocious fighting which the ruling class needed to maintain their colonial stranglehold. The Portuguese ruling class was caught in the midst of enormous contradictions—wars they could not win, an army that would not fight, surging working-class resistance in both Portugal and the colonies. To the diehard reactionaries like General Arriaga this only meant that a last stand for western civilization had to be made with an all-out

war. Genocide wasn't far from his calculations. But there were more acute bourgeois representatives in the armed forces who saw that it was either a change of policy or the ruling class would lose everything. Portugal too.

In January this year General Antonio Spínola, deputy Chief-of-Staff of the armed forces, published a book, *Portugal and the Future*, which turned into an overnight best-seller. It opened with the observation that "We have to destroy the myth that we are defending the West and its civilization"—a complete rejection of the fascist ideology of Salazar and Caetano. "There is no doubt that today Portugal is living through one of the gravest hours of its history ... The very national survival will be questioned, if we persist in the idea that it is world public opinion that is wrong and that all our problems arise from the ambition of lack of vision of third parties."

His views on the war were nothing short of sensational: "To try to win a war of subversion through a military solution is to accept defeat in advance, unless one possesses unlimited capability to prolong the war indefinitely, turning it into an institution. Is this our case? Obviously not." At a stroke Spínola's book pulled away a major prop of the Caetano regime's policies in Africa. It certainly increased the general demoralization in the army and gave a massive impetus to the morale of the guerrillas.

But in the general acclaim few noted some other vital passages in the most class-conscious of books. For example, on page 234 the lifelong fascist general says: "The overseas territories are a prerequisite for our survival as a free and independent nation. Without the African territories, the country (Portugal) will be reduced to a voiceless corner of a gigantic Europe and will have no possible trump cards to play to assert itself in the concert of nations..." On page 124 he says: "The overseas territories must be an integral part of the Portuguese nation"—a line that Caetano himself would endorse.

What the book really expresses was not fundamental differences in attitudes towards the maintenance of the colonies, but simply tactics. Spínola and Caetano share the same objectives, but have different strategies. In his "pragmatic" solution Spínola set forth "self-determination for the overseas population by their integration in the Portuguese Republic." This was the only way, he said, "to prevent the amputation of the African territories from Portugal, one by one." Acknowledging the surge of the colonial workers, Spínola said: "We must put ourselves in the position of anticipating events, in order to prevent them or at least to have the possibility of controlling them." His Utopian plan consisted of the "political structuring of the nation" namely "the regionalization of the political and administrative structures of our African states within the framework of a federation."

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# PORTUGAL IN REVOLT

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It sounded mightily impressive to the reactionaries at home, in NATO, South Africa, Rhodesia and the Tory Party, but it made little impact on the liberation movements, except perhaps to intensify their struggles against the arrogant fascist enemy.

In manpower alone the wars were becoming enormously expensive. Not only were 150,000 troops tied down and suffering casualties at the rate of 1500 killed and wounded each year, but young men were leaving Portugal at the rate of 6000 a year to avoid the draft. This resulted in a labor shortage in Portugal when new industry was being set up by foreign investment. To meet the labor requirements, black workers have been brought to Lisbon, particularly from Cape Verde, to undertake laboring work at pittance wages.

While the liberation movements began to increase their strength and support, the conscript army underwent severe demoralization. On salaries of only \$3.60 a month and fighting an "enemy" that they are not convinced is an enemy, the army became ineffective for the kind of ferocious fighting which the ruling class needed to maintain their colonial stranglehold. The Portuguese ruling class was caught in the midst of enormous contradictions—wars they could not win, an army that would not fight, surging working-class resistance in both Portugal and the colonies. To the diehard reactionaries like General Arriaga this only meant that a last stand for western civilization had to be made with an all-out

war. Genocide wasn't far from his calculations. But there were more acute bourgeois representatives in the armed forces who saw that it was either a change of policy or the ruling class would lose everything. Portugal too.

In January this year General Antonio Spínola, deputy Chief-of-Staff of the armed forces, published a book, *Portugal and the Future*, which turned into an overnight best-seller. It opened with the observation that "We have to destroy the myth that we are defending the West and its civilization"—a complete rejection of the fascist ideology of Salazar and Caetano. "There is no doubt that today Portugal is living through one of the gravest hours of its history ... The very national survival will be questioned, if we persist in the idea that it is world public opinion that is wrong and that all our problems arise from the ambition of lack of vision of third parties."

His views on the war were nothing short of sensational: "To try to win a war of subversion through a military solution is to accept defeat in advance, unless one possesses unlimited capability to prolong the war indefinitely, turning it into an institution. Is this our case? Obviously not." At a stroke Spínola's book pulled away a major prop of the Caetano regime's policies in Africa. It certainly increased the general demoralization in the army and gave a massive impetus to the morale of the guerrillas.

But in the general acclaim few noted some other vital passages in the most class-conscious of books. For example, on page 234 the lifelong fascist general says: "The overseas territories are a prerequisite for our survival as a free and independent nation. Without the African territories, the country (Portugal) will be reduced to a voiceless corner of a gigantic Europe and will have no possible trump cards to play to assert itself in the concert of nations..." On page 124 he says: "The overseas territories must be an integral part of the Portuguese nation"—a line that Caetano himself would endorse.

What the book really expresses was not fundamental differences in attitudes towards the maintenance of the colonies, but simply tactics. Spínola and Caetano share the same objectives, but have different strategies. In his "pragmatic" solution Spínola set forth "self-determination for the overseas population by their integration in the Portuguese Republic." This was the only way, he said, "to prevent the amputation of the African territories from Portugal, one by one." Acknowledging the surge of the colonial workers, Spínola said: "We must put ourselves in the position of anticipating events, in order to prevent them or at least to have the possibility of controlling them." His Utopian plan consisted of the "political structuring of the nation" namely "the regionalization of the political and administrative structures of our African states within the framework of a federation."

Whatever he meant to say, the publicity it received elevated this monocled legend to the status of "national hero" with even the state-censored press giving him scarcely-concealed praise.

Faced with a considerable political crisis, Caetano dismissed Spínola and his chief, General Costa Gomes, who had given prior approval to the publication of the book. The views outlined by Spínola were not of a military nature, but political. They appeared under Spínola's name, but they were drafted by the big business interests of Portugal who have big stakes in the imperialist expansion of the colonies. The draftsman included such multi-millionaires as Champalimaud and Jardim who have monopoly interests in Mozambique, Malawi and elsewhere. For the past 12 months they have been lobbying for a "political solution" with the nationalist movements to enable the exploitation of natural resources and African labor to proceed on a more "harmonious" basis. Their intervention reflected a division in the bourgeoisie between the landed aristocrats who traditionally held the reins of power in politics, the civil service and the army, and the rising industrial bourgeoisie who were constrained by the old forms of peasant production.

By April this year the struggle of the workers and peasants in both Portugal and the colonies had reached such a pitch, that Spínola put his words into deeds. He was forced to take the enormous gamble of ending the decrepit fascist regime and trying out his "pragmatic" plan of getting a "political solution" with the working class at home and abroad.

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# Whirlpool Men Split On Ending Long Strike

BY DEBRA WATSON  
EVANSVILLE, Ind.-  
—Members of Local 888  
of the International  
Union of Electrical,  
Radio, and Machine  
Workers (IUE) here  
voted narrowly to ap-  
prove a new contract  
and end their 122 day  
strike against the Whirl-  
pool Corporation.

The walk-out began when their contract expired February 17. The company, in a bitter fight to break the union at their three Evansville plants, did not budge from their original offer until federal mediators forced them to hand in a compromise offer.

Local 808, which has 7200 members, voted 2646 to accept and 2399 to reject in a turnstile vote. Union officials who were demanding \$1.05 an hour, urged them to reject the offer of 70 cents over three years. Open cost of living payments will begin in December.

This contract is 15 cents under the offer rejected at the start of the strike. The biggest threat however, is the fact that Whirlpool moved equipment for 2600 jobs to a new plant in Arkansas during the strike.

"I don't believe Whirlpool will be here three contracts from now," one worker said, explaining why he voted to accept even after Local 808 President Charles Johnson warned that accepting this offer could saddle the union with bad contracts in the future.

"We make the air conditioners and refrigerators for Sears as well as Whirlpool," explained Otis Barnett who has worked at Plant 2 for 11 years in the insulation department.

"I hope we stay out longer myself. There's no way I'll accept it with what they're offering. The offer isn't what we went out for so why should we accept it?"

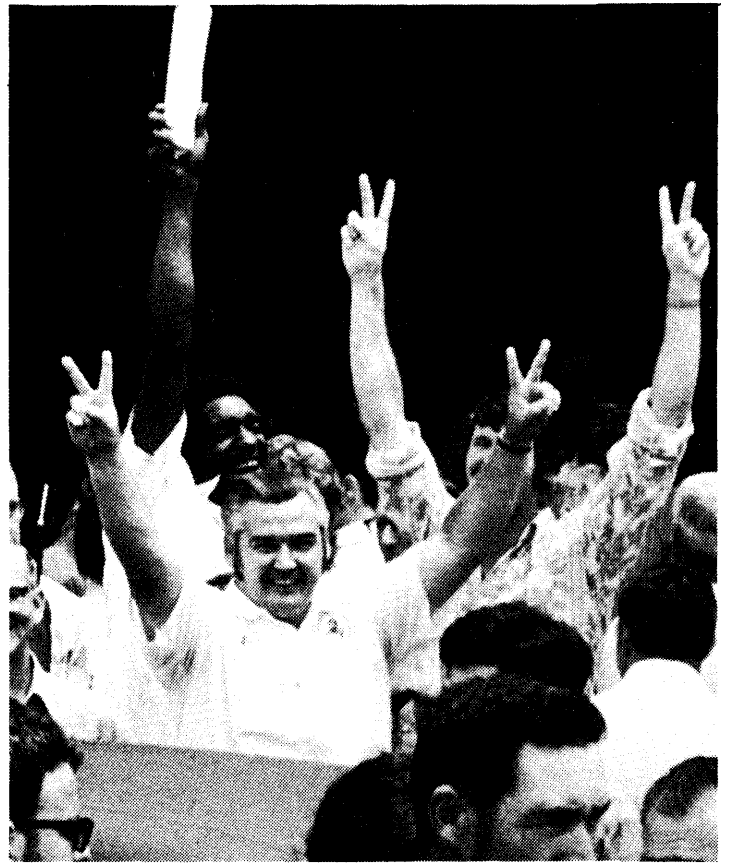
Whirlpool Corp. has plants throughout the country and in Canada. The three plants in Evansville, Plants No. 1, 2, and 7, are the main "money-makers."

Malin said: "The company has never said it, but my own feeling is that they're afraid to set a precedent. In some of these other places, like Fort Smith Ark. where they've moved some of the production, the guys there would demand what we won."

The papers have done everything to try to get the people in the community to oppose the strike. They have been aided greatly in this by Gerald Lashbrook, a member of Local 808 who works in Plant No. 2. He has consistently opposed the strike and is trying to build a movement to end it.

Bill Turner who has been at Whirlpool for just over a year, spoke very bitterly of Lashbrook. "Of course the company likes him. He's been trying to split the union. He used the TV and the papers to make it look like we were in the wrong and that the company is making a good offer. The people want to know why we aren't working."

"He gets on TV and tells how much he was making and how good he had it and how now he's got it so rough because of the strike."



Whirlpool workers in Evansville, Indiana during contract vote.

Photo Courtesy of the Evansville Courier.

"I believe the company would have made a better offer this time if they hadn't been waiting

Malin told the Bulletin: "One member wrote a certified letter to the union against Lashbrook, so we had a trial on him. Most of the evidence was mainly the newspaper articles which said that Lashbrook would go around Johnson and the negotiating committee if he had to in order to settle the strike and go back to work."

"Many of the officers disqualified themselves from judging him because they had more pertinent information related to it, since they had had contact with Lashbrook, and he had already made damaging statements which they would have had to use against him."

"Lashbrook hasn't attended any local meetings in a year. He keeps hollering about secret votes. But he never says how we should go about taking a secret ballot, or how we should give power to the negotiating committee."

"An article in the June 3 issue of the Evansville Press said that if his group receives support from other members, Lashbrook will rent Roberts Stadium for a meeting."

"We found him guilty of violating local constitutional laws. We haven't done anything yet; our recommendations are taken to the board and the board makes a recommendation to the membership. He could be thrown out, censored, fined, or found not guilty and nothing be done."

The older workers are generally the ones most determined to stay out. Chester Mabrey said: "I want to stay out until I get something. Just as I told these guys on the picket line—they may be my last words as I starve to death—but I reject it."

"I've worked here 27 years and if the company doesn't think I'm worth something, then I just won't go back."

"If we don't get the 30 and out, I'll still be trying to make it when I'm 65. I want to get out and enjoy myself while I have a chance."

"I'll have 47 years if I work

until I'm 65, and will get basically the same thing then as I'm getting now if the contract isn't changed."

"If we can't get out early enough to enjoy ourselves, we might as well go ahead and starve while we're young and quit our suffering."

"Whirlpool is among the top 60 companies for money made per employee. We know we've made them rich by producing their products. And so we're asking for our fair wage."

"I spent my break going from gate to gate. I thought that maybe some facts and figures would change some of the guys minds and they'll vote 'no.'"

Whirlpool's profits have more than doubled in the past several years. Malin said:

"It depends on a couple of plastics around the tristate area, but it will start making its own plastic parts."

"The energy crisis has raised the prices on petrochemicals needed in plastics. The company probably knew this would happen a couple of years ago when it started working on this."

"They also have been working on a new process with aluminum to replace the copper, because the copper prices have gone sky-high. But they don't have all the bugs out yet."

"They've brought in high-speed presses, not like the old ones. They've sped up the lines and they're running a whole lot more production."

"Now they are able to run one shift, seven lines in the press department. Before, they ran less production in two shifts and part of a third."

"They've eliminated a lot of jobs in the small parts department. They used to have a guy bending tubes, now a machine bends the tubes and also packs them. One machine can do several jobs."

"In other departments, we might have a layoff at the end of summer and then hire back around the first of the year and put on a second shift."

"This year, they had no intention of putting on a second shift and hiring back the guys, because they have enough production with just the one shift now."



midwest news

# Sheet & Tube To Vote Strike

BY NANCY RUSSELL  
YOUNGSTOWN—

"It's unanimous. There will be a strike," declared many workers coming out of the United Steel Workers Local 1462 membership meeting Wednesday.

Over 200 steel workers voted 100 percent to carry out a strike vote for the local contract together with seven other Sheet and Tube locals on June 28.

This strike vote will rip wide open Abel's attempt to saddle steel workers with the most treacherous contract in the history of the USWA.

David Andrews, with 28 years at Sheet and Tube, said: "We live like pigs in the mills. Abel could have made the agreement 10 years ago."

Evelyn, from Sheet and Tube, told the Bulletin: "We were sold down the drain. Abel did not have the right to sign the contract and the no-strike deal. I want to strike."

"We need to get Abel out of there. Abel is a millionaire off the poor. He gets our dues."

"There are unsafe conditions. The foreman keeps pushing you. I've worked in there 10 months and I've seen people hurt."

"There are very rotten cables which hold the wood together which suspend pipe. There are 50 to 75 pieces of wood held together with a crane pulled up by cables."

"One fellow got his legs cut off last February or March. It was a very hushed up industrial accident. Nobody has said a word."

"The company doesn't want to spend the money to fix things."

"I am not going to starve in America. We need the poor together. I'm for a labor party."

"For \$150, we get nothing. That won't even last five minutes. Really, it won't buy food for three or four weeks. No clothes or shoes. I'm voting for a strike June 28."

A worker from Briar Hill Works at Sheet and Tube, Dave McCullough said: "I'm voting for the strike. We have to live with this contract every day."

"The \$150 ENA bonus might sound good, but what is it over three years? Prices are up every day; it's really hurting."

"Abel will never get another vote from me. Each union election before, they would get the guys shook up."

"They try to tell us that the

past contract is behind and maybe they goofed off a little, but they would hit you with a big campaign smear. No one will forget this. The guys will not go for this again."

A national strike vote at Sheet and Tube will give a lead to steel workers throughout the country. The conditions at Sheet and Tube exist in all the other steel mills. Sonny, a worker for Republic Steel, told the Bulletin about the conditions in the mills.

"Incentive is a big issue at Republic Steel. But a crane man can get \$.08 incentive, while a scoffer gets a \$150 in incentive for the same number of days."

"If the union were behind the workers, they would both get the same. They have sped up the work for the crane men, while they give the scoffer, who cuts up the steel bars which the crane men lift out of the railroad cars more help and 150 percent incentive."

"The crane man gets 10 percent. A year ago, he did three cars a turn, now there's four or five or more. Also, some jobs are unrated. Every ingot you roll the company is making money."

"A crane is supposed to lift 10 tons, but they expect you to pick 10 to 15. When the cable breaks, I could get killed or lose an eye."

"The safety guard sure won't protect you from that."

"The company doesn't care. They just come by and ask you what happened afterwards."

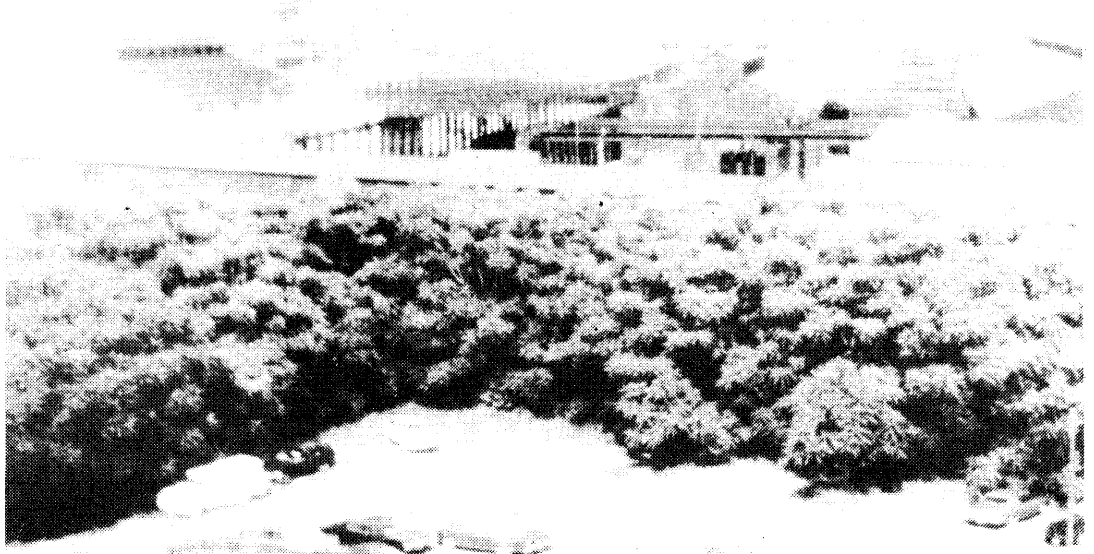
"No one likes this no-strike clause. We got a 10 cents an hour raise, when the cost of living goes up 25 percent. So every-time the prices go up, we're 25 percent more in the hole. How can you live when you get 10 cents and bread goes up."

"The leadership is protecting Nixon. You're either with the rich or the poor. Workers should have the union to represent them."

"Instead, they talk like they're for Nixon and that we can't have this if we have that. And we will ask for this, but we will not give up that."

"We should demand. We make the steel for the whole country. And I don't think that it is right that they sit and bargain around the table."

"I think the labor party is the best thing. Because right now, they're all crooked. Nationally, I think they should forget about the vote and just put a worker in office. What good is the vote and how did Nixon get in there. Already layoffs are beginning at Republic Steel, 35 were laid off, 25 of whom are too young to get SUB benefits. By rights, we



The Campbell works of Youngstown Sheet & Tube.

should throw Abel out of office. We should have had a decent COL five years ago."

In sharp contrast to everything steel workers have to say, Bill Litch, national chairman of RAFT (Rank and File Team), a caucus in the USWA, told the Bulletin outside of the membership meeting, "We can't reopen the contract. It's been signed and sealed. We're going to raise objections, to particular parts of

the contract in the September convention. People in the union are not making a move for a labor party. People haven't struck for that. Some senators, like Jackson are making a strong fight."

RAFT's method is to work through the courts to get rid of the no-strike clause. Litch covers for Abel and the Democrats to prevent workers from forming a labor party and actually

throwing out Abel's contract. The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party, is campaigning for strike votes in all locals to throw out the national contract, win a 20 percent increase, full cost of living and no layoffs. The company must immediately correct all safety conditions. USWA must demand a Congress of Labor for action on forcing Nixon out and launching a labor party.

## Hotpoint Fires 86 In Chicago

BY WILL ROEMER  
CHICAGO—At least 86 production workers, members of Sheetmetal Local 157, have been laid off from Hotpoint's dryer plant (plant no. 1) for one week. Plant No. 1, which has had the highest rates of production over the past year, was said to be in a critical situation at last Sunday's union meeting because of dwindling sales.

Of the three plants at the Hotpoint-General Electric plant here, only the refrigerator division has not suffered a sales loss. One worker told the Bulletin:

"The price of these appliances is up too high for most people. People are buying only what they have to have and quite obviously people would rather have a washing machine before they get a dryer. Production of the washing machines has been shifted to Louisville, Kentucky where they pay cheaper wages and have a new modern plant."

Production levels have been increased, creating extremely unsafe conditions in the plant, as the company tries to increase productivity. Whereas the production level had been around 800 in Plant 1, the management has pushed line speed up to between 900 and 1000.

It was this speed-up that led to a worker losing his hand in a punch press six months ago.

James Jenkins, a member of Sheetmetal Workers Local 157, told the Bulletin: "Eventually the line speed is going to mean cutbacks in all the plants, because they are producing too much and they are filling up all the warehouses."

Hotpoint is now caught in the same contradiction that Ford, GM, and Chrysler have reached. They can speed up production but still the sales drop, because people cannot afford to buy.

## NLRB Backs Bay Refining On Steel Union Boycott

The National Labor Relations Board has expanded its decisions barring secondary boycotts of specific products.

The new decision, extending a 1964 Supreme Court ruling, bans union boycotts of a product which is the "economic mainstay" of a neutral third party. They said that this is not a primary, or single-product boycott, because "the picket was reasonably calculated to induce customers not to patronize" the company at all.

The specific case involved is a strike by United Steel Workers of America Local 14055 against the Bay Refining division of Dow

Chemical Co. The Bay City, Michigan plant refines "Bay" branch gasoline.

USWA workers struck Dow on Feb. 7, 1972 and extended their picket line to six gas stations in Bay City and Midland when the strike continued into its second year.

### PRIMARY

In the 1964 ruling, "primary" or specific boycotts were held to be legal, because a patron's refusal to buy one product would have little effect on business as a whole. The new ruling considerably broadens the government's ability to victimize unions who attempt to use this tactic.

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## books

## How British Trotskyism Began

by Jack Gale

## Part 2

The Balham Group: How British Trotskyism Began. by Reg Groves. Pluto Press. \$4.32 hardback. \$1.80 paperback. 111 pages.

What has happened is that Groves' subsequent abandonment of Trotskyism and his present association with the anti-Marxist International Socialist Group of Mr. Tony Cliff, has dredged up to the surface and intensified all his opportunist political limitations and theoretical inadequacy.

One of the founders of the group that helped to bring Trotskyism into Britain has thus been transformed into an outright reactionary.

He now writes, for the benefit of his state-capitalist promoters, that he always had doubts about the nature of the Soviet Union and about Leninism:

"Our doubts were, if not dispelled, at least held in limbo by our respect for Trotsky's brilliant mind, experience and revolutionary integrity.

"He argued forcefully and with a wealth of Marxist precept and theory that the Russian state owned all land and industry, controlled production and distribution of wealth, and remained therefore a workers' state, temporarily off course because of wrong leadership and wrong policies.

"It did not convince us deep down in our troubled and uneasy consciences, but it seemed better to let such profound and complex matters lie undisturbed; and to go on shouting that the Soviet Union must be defended." (Emphasis added.)

And doubts about Leninism were suppressed, says Groves, because the Balham group was "psychologically" thinking like Stalinists:

"We championed the Leninist position on war. We still believed that such departures from orthodoxy (i.e., the Stalinists abandonment of this position—J.G.) were temporary aberrations from principles shared in common, the correctness of which we had—or would admit to ourselves—no doubt.

"We were still in the same psychological sphere as the people with whom we were in conflict." (Emphasis added.)

What was really involved, of course, was not psychology, but political opportunism.

From this position it is not surprising—indeed, it is inevitable—that Groves should conclude his book with a specific attack on Trotskyism.

The discussion at the International Secretariat of the Left Opposition was, he says, "complex and heavily-jargonized."

The meeting attended by Groves was held from February 4-8, 1933. On January 30, Hitler had been appointed Chancellor of Germany by Hindenburg.

Trotsky concluded from this experience that the Communist International could no longer be reformed, but had gone over to the side of counterrevolution.

Thus Groves had been privileged to attend one of the most important meetings in the history of the world Communist movement. But to him it was "unreal!"

This is how the politically degenerate state capitalist puppet now describes that historic gathering:

"Surely there could be no true renovation of socialist ideas, or renewal of the forces and spirit

of rebellion and resistance, in those old, obscure contentions, argued out again in the thick accents of a now degenerate communism?" (Emphasis added.)

Today with the capitalist world crisis threatening world war and destruction on a scale not even achieved by Hitler and pre-war capitalism, the political arming of the working class and the construction of a revolutionary leadership is the first priority.

Therefore, the reactionary Tony Cliff group trundles out the ageing Reg Groves, who long since turned his back on revolutionary politics, in order to try to use the role he did play in the 1930s and turn it into its opposite—a denunciation of Trotskyism as being just as bad as Stalinism.

## RANK-AND-FILEISM

"Our fault," he writes, "was that we went on talking like they (the Stalinists) did for a long time after our expulsion, and confined our thinking to those Marxist themes emphasized and restated by a triumphant Leninism and written as dogmas into the life and work of the comintern.

"We were not helped in this respect by our having entered the world of international Trotskyism, which was beyond our control and often beyond our understanding. Instead of clearing away political lumber and its jargon, the pronouncements of the International Left Opposition merely added to it." (Emphasis added.)

"That we survived as a group the expulsions and many assaults made on us by the Party, was because we had support among the unemployed and trade unionists in South West London."

This passage is the kernel of Reg Groves' book. This is what the state capitalists want to tell the workers and youth who are now coming towards Marxism.

Ignore Trotskyism! It is mysteriously "controlled"! It is "jargonized"—like Stalinism! It is "beyond the understanding" of honest workers!

So the pathetic and now reactionary Groves tells his readers that what was important for the British labor movement in 1933 was not the Trotskyist analysis of the events in Germany and the counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism—but the fact that his group had the support of a few unemployed and trade unionists!

This is "rank-and-fileism" today. Forget Marxist principles, theory and history. Just get a few workers around and don't confuse them with "obscure contentions" that they can't understand.

This deliberate attempt to spread their own political backwardness, to prevent the development of revolutionary consciousness of the working class, in order to keep it subordinated to its reformist and Stalinist leaders, and so unable to overthrow capitalism, is an example of the classic, reactionary role of revisionism.

Reg Groves' book is an attempt to spread anti-Marxist vomit over the real history of Trotskyism.

But we can assure him that he will not have to wait long for a genuine history to appear.

## Carpenters Strike To Win Money Stolen By Nixon

BY TIM NELSON  
SAN FRANCISCO—  
Mass picketing began this week in the carpenters strike which has affected thousands of construction workers throughout northern California.

On June 19, the Association of General Contractors locked out 25,000 carpenters and over a 100,000 related tradesmen.

The carpenters went out to regain the 50 cents an hour over 10 months that was cut by the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee. The workers are determined to win back this increase and to fight the growing unemployment and the destruction of working conditions.

J. Watts, Secretary of the Bay County District Council of Carpenters told a meeting of carpenters in San Francisco that the negotiators had signed an agreement with the homebuilders conference for a \$1.74 to \$1.25 in wages the first year, with wage reopeners in 1975 and 1976.

He said the union would follow a policy of no contract, no work, but that homebuilders and independent contractors who signed interim agreements would continue working. He said that all picketing would be handled by local business agents. A majority rejected Watts' report with loud boos and shouts of "where's our retroactive" and "strike them all."

After the meeting, one carpenter told the Bulletin: "You'll see little of that \$1.80 on your check. The price of living, the way it is, it won't do much.

## INFLATION

"Inflation is not just here, it's all over the world. Nixon and Reagan put that out about construction workers making too much money.

"The Congressmen don't want him out. The working people of this country are going to have to force him out."

District Council President O'Sullivan, had called four select speakers in order to stop any alternative policy on the central issues of inflation, unemployment, the government pay cut, and the speedup.

"What gets me," another carpenter said, "is the way they do it. It was supposed to be brought before the members as a proposal and voted on.

"It was already signed. The rottenest government you've got is in the unions. The government won't stop inflation. They want you, the working man to do the stopping.

"The newspaper just went up 75 percent, from 15 cents to 25 cents. I've been fortunate. A steady job all my life. But the younger guys have to hold their head back to keep from going under."

A young worker agreed. "We need these coffee breaks," he said. "This is strenuous work; the pace they keep is dangerous. I've had to climb outside buildings with no scaffold, no safety belt. Contractors are cutting crew sizes and following a hire and fire policy to pressure each man to hustle and take chances."

## UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment already cuts deep into the livelihood of most construction workers. "You can make \$40 an hour," said a carpenter at Local 36 in Oakland, "but it doesn't mean anything if you only work one hour a week."

According to engineering news records, west coast construction led the nation with 91 bankruptcies, totaling \$30.6 million in the first quarter of 1974, almost twice as many as in 1973. The US Commerce Dept. reports that May building permits were down 43 percent from a year ago.

"We're in a real slump," Dr. Nat Rogg, executive vice-president of the National Association of Home Builders announced to the recent Pacific coast builders conference.

"We're in the middle of record high interest rates. We found that food, fuel, and wage contracts will not respond to tight money, and that loan demands have a mind of their own." He went on to propose a policy of easy money and wage-price controls.

Tight money and federal budget cuts combined with runaway material costs and interest rates are wiping out whole sections of the industry. Highway construction costs, for example, rose a record 11.7 percent in the first quarter of this year, 36.1 percent higher than a year ago. California road tax revenues fell 15 percent in the same period because of the fuel shortage.

H.C. Ullrich, director of the California Dept. of Transportation, has threatened the state may have to cut two-thirds of all highway projects now planned.

Housing starts dropped from 1.63 million in April to 1.45 million in May and new permits fell even more from 1.06 million to 1.03 million. This is primarily a result of a decline in mortgage loans by savings and loans banks and similar institutions.

More and more work is falling to nonunion contractors with double-breasted operations which run one open shop and one union. In Modesto and the Central Valley of California, building is almost 95 percent nonunion. The open shop pays 25 to 40 percent less than union wages.

Since Nixon suspended the union shop provision of the Davis-Beacon Act of 1971, government agencies have been free to build nonunion. Now nearly half of public construction is done by open shop.

The NLRB has ruled that Peter Kiewit Sons, Inc. bears no obligation to extend its union contract to nonunion subsidiaries. This means that every contractor can operate both union and nonunion work.

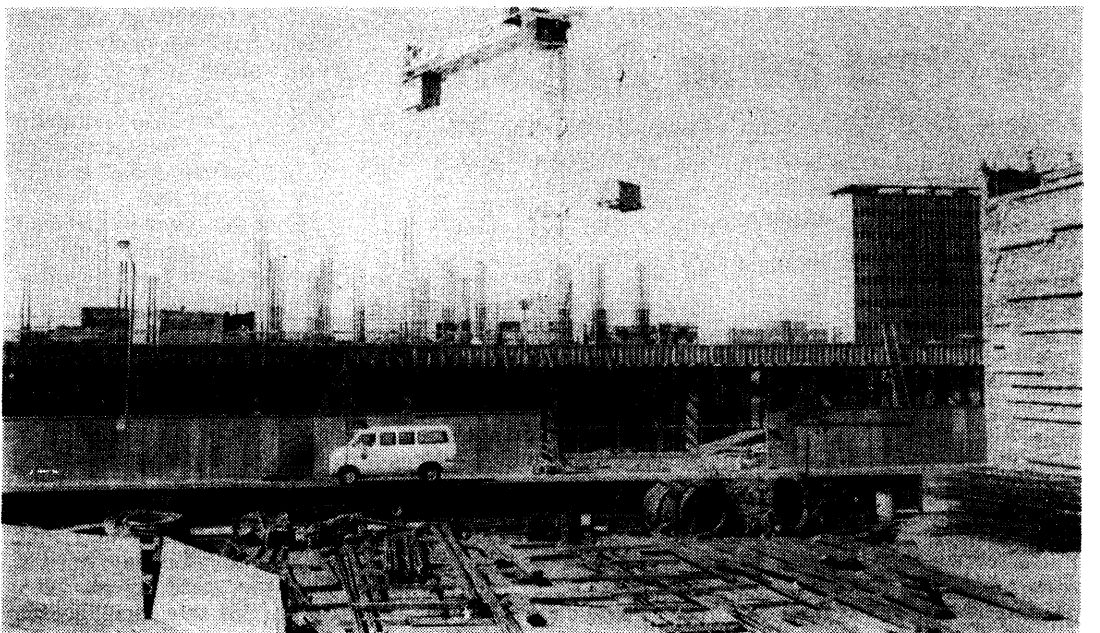
Federal Reserve Chairman Burns has urged immediate controls on "pace setting industries," like construction. The union leadership, from International President Sidell to District Council President O'Sullivan, is incapable of defending carpenters under this attack. O'Sullivan is trying to split the ranks by letting homebuilders and independents work, while AGC carpenters are locked out.

Strategists for the Carpenters for a Stronger Union, the caucus which led the general wildcat to defeat are now preparing another betrayal. Their policy for \$1.30 an hour and picketing "all jobs that have no contract" is no more than an endorsement of O'Sullivan's homebuilder agreement. While they talk militant, in practice they hang to O'Sullivan's coattails.

## NO-VOTE

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party is campaigning for a no-vote on the homebuilders agreement, for a united strike, for a 25 percent wage increase, for an end to open-shop contracting, union control of all training programs and government contracts, for a four-day week at no loss in pay, and union control of overtime.

These demands pose a political fight against the Nixon government. Workers must be united in a labor party, based on the need to nationalize basic industries under workers control.



A San Francisco construction site shut tight by carpenters strike.



# Laborers Out With Carpenters

BY TIM NELSON  
OAKLAND—On June 26, 10,000 construction laborers joined the ten day old strike by carpenters against the Associated General Contractors of Northern California. The strike has now idled over 100,000 workers from sites valued at one billion dollars from Bakersfield to the Oregon border.

San Diego carpenters are also on strike. Latest reports are that 40,000 carpenters in the Los Angeles area will go out Monday, July 1, which will shut down all heavy construction in the state.

On June 25, carpenters approved a contract with Northern California home builders for \$1.25 an hour increase in wages the first year, and 50 cents in fringe benefits, with wage reopeners in July 1975 and 1976.

The AGC claims it has offered this same 14.7 percent package, but carpenters officials declined comment.

Sal Minerva of the Laborers District Council told the Bulletin the AGC were demanding "freedom of movement of men" to allow them to call a man to work anywhere in Northern California.

The laborers' leadership passively permitted Nixon's Pay Board to strip 25 cents an hour from each worker last year. The entire executive board of Local 304 in Oakland was removed in a recent election where Tony Silviano and John King were elected to the posts of president and business agent.



Valencia Medical Center in San Francisco during strike.

# Bay Area Nurses Contract Leaves Staffing Unresolved

BY MARTY MORAN  
SAN FRANCISCO—Bay Area nurses voted to accept the proposed contract worked out by negotiators and federal mediation chief W. J. Usery with 41 hospitals. Three thousand nurses attended the ratification meeting.

Many nurses were bitter about the settlement and the role of the union leadership. Even those who voted for it admitted the main issue of staffing was unresolved.

"We wanted specific language relating staffing to patient acuity. All we got is teams to make assessments," said one nurse. "The whole thing is set up a committee, set up a committee, set up a committee," another agreed.

### STAFFING

Management's attempt to drop all previous contract language about staffing was withdrawn, but no new language was added to set standards as the nurses had demanded. In place of this, a grievance procedure was written in.

Instead of a previously agreed on 5.5 percent increase, nurses will receive 10 percent, about \$100 a month more, beginning

July 1, with a wage reopener January 1, 1975.

"The only thing we got was the money," a young nurse from Mt. Zion hospital said angrily. "Now they're going to say all the nurses wanted was the money.

That was not what we went on strike for three weeks for. We wanted special trained nurses in the specialty care units, because people are dying because of bad care.

"You cannot be sure in intensive care if your nurse has just walked in off the street and never worked in that hospital before. They take people without training and put them in a critical care unit, where it's life and death.

"You walk into some of those units and see some of those patients. They really trust the nurses. The hospitals just don't care what happens to the patients."

### SELLOUT

Many nurses began calling out "sellout" as soon as the proposed contract terms were read. At one point the CNA spokesman, Burton White, lost control and shouted angrily, "This is a good contract."

One nurse said: "This guy isn't even a nurse. Most of our nurses on the negotiating team couldn't even face us. We're fighting our own group, our own people we elected to represent us.

"They cut us off and wouldn't even let us speak. They didn't give us any time to think about it. I'm sure management insisted that we vote tonight. I believed in him (White) until tonight.

"I heard him at all the meetings before and I really believed him. I couldn't believe he would do this. I couldn't say until now get a new leadership."



Workers in Washington and Oregon in virtually every industry have gone on strike for higher wages. At left, members of the International Association of Machinists hit the Bralley and Grand Jewelry Theater company in Beaverton, Oregon with its first strike in 50 years. At right, the strike at the Mail-Well Envelope Company by the Printing Specialties and Paper Products Union in Milwaukee, Oregon, has just ended.

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**Morton's Warm  
Springs Redwoods**

Cost: \$5 (includes transportation)

# Deny Prisoners Rights

BY MARTY MORAN  
SAN FRANCISCO—In a series of decisions announced this week the US Supreme Court has denied that prisoners retain any constitutional rights which prison authorities are bound to respect.

The avalanche of rulings came as the Supreme Court finished its deliberations

The court overruled a federal district court decision holding that a California state prison rule banning newspaper interviews with specific inmates was an unconstitutional invasion of the freedom of the press and the free speech rights of inmates. The case was brought by a San Quentin inmate and several reporters.

The court also upheld a provision in the California State

Constitution denying the right to vote to ex-felons even after their release from prison and completion of parole. In this case, it threw out a finding by the California State Supreme Court that this provision violated the federal constitution.

On Wednesday the Supreme Court denied that inmates facing disciplinary hearings have the right to counsel or to cross-examine witnesses.

According to the majority opinion, "Prison officials must have the necessary discretion to keep the hearing within reasonable limits and to refuse to call witnesses that may create a risk of reprisal or undermine authority."

The last decision on disciplinary hearings particularly is a green light for kangaroo court proceedings with brutal reprisals for any rebellion against prison conditions.

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