

231,000 Out STRIKE WAVE SNOWBALLS

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BY FRANK MARTIN

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The coup was planned and led by the Greek military junta. It is common knowledge that the Greek generals take their orders from Nixon and the CIA.

The coup has placed the island in the control of the extreme rightwing organization, EOKA-B. The new president, Nikos Giorgiades Sampson, is a known hoodlum and political assassin.

The Cyprus coup comes at a time when American imperialism continues its drive towards world war. Cyprus is critical to these plans because of its strategic position.

It is a base from which attacks can be launched against the Soviet Union. At the same time, it is necessary for supremacy in the oil-rich regions of the Middle East and North Africa.

The Soviet government, in an official statement, held NATO responsible for the coup. This is borne out by the activity of the American Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean, where 90,000 troops and huge naval carriers, including the 60,000-ton Forrestal, have been moved into the coastal waters between Turkey and Cyprus.

Reports from Cyprus make it clear that the coup had been in preparation for some time. The Cypriot army, called the National Guard, had come under the complete control of 650 officers sent by the Greek generals to Cyprus as "training instructors."

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Dayton liquor store workers who joined the strike of Ohio state workers.

STATEMENT OF THE EDITORIAL BOARD

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Now is the time for the entire labor movement to act. The strike wave reveals the tremendous power of the working class and its determination to fight this hated government.

A Congress of Labor must be called to unite the entire working class in this wage fight and to launch the political fight to throw Nixon out by constructing a labor party based on socialist policies.

This historic step must be taken as the strike movement snowballs. Although settlements have ended the strikes of city workers and police in Baltimore and of state employees in Ohio, an estimated 231,000 workers are now involved in close to 600 strikes and these figures are growing daily.

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We urge our supporters in East New York, Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brownsville, East Flatbush, Fort Greene, and South Brooklyn to send in contributions immediately.

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Bulletin

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

NOW
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VOLUME TEN NUMBER FIFTY SEVEN 393

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FIFTEEN CENTS

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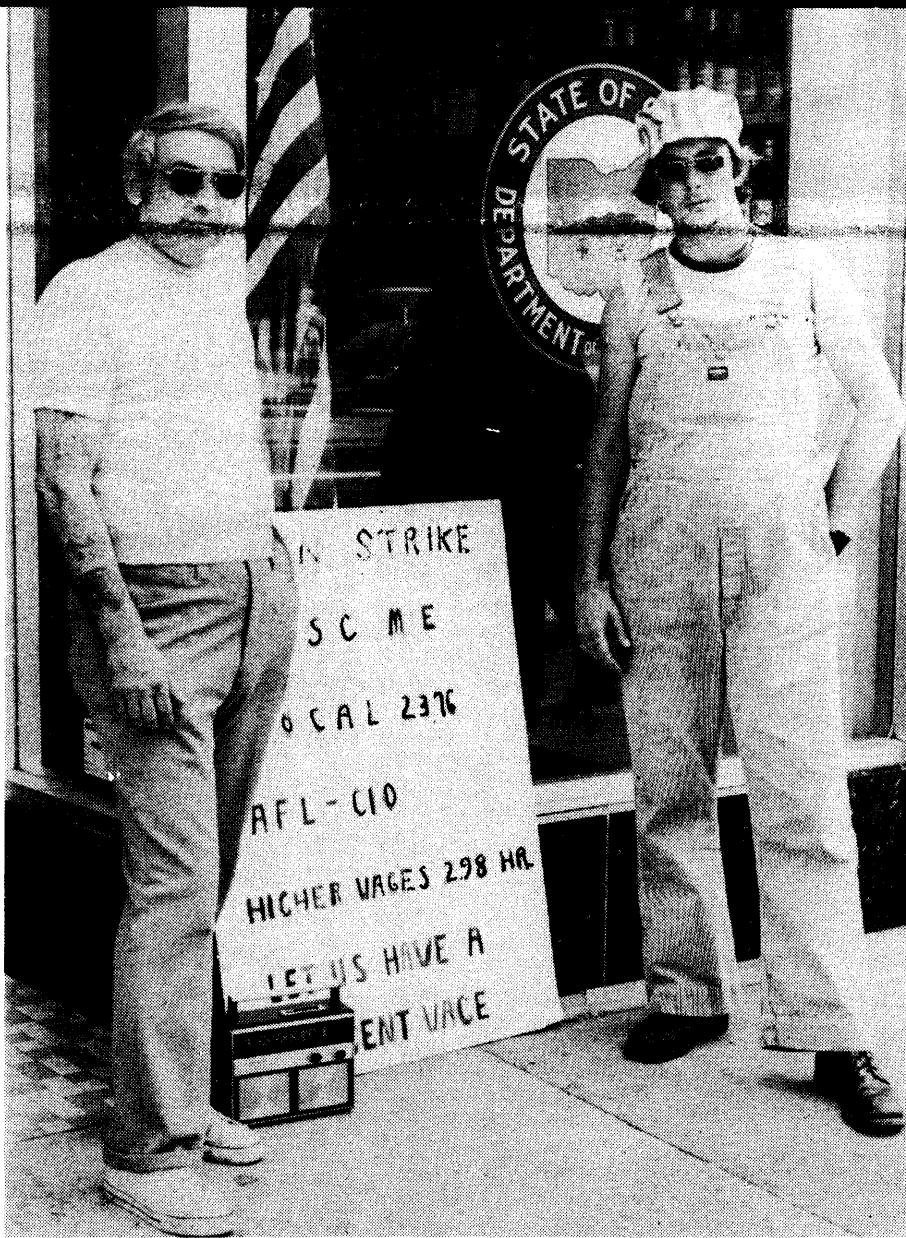
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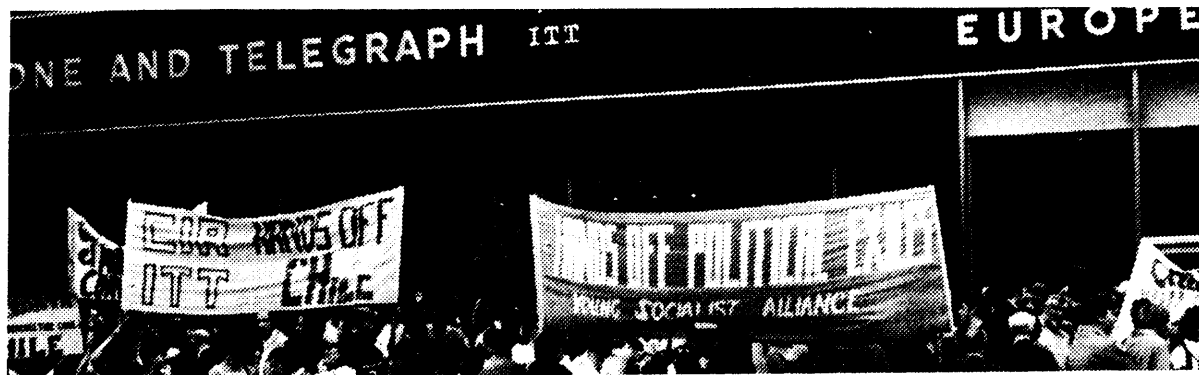
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SWP Covers For Stalinist Betrayal In Chile



YSA joins Stalinists at protest against ITT role in Chile.

The American Communist Party has launched a new slander campaign to blame the Trotskyist movement for the military dictatorship in Chile and has called for the exclusion of all "Trotskyites" from committees to defend the Chilean political prisoners.

While this attack is aimed organizationally at the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance who have worked with the Communist Party on such committees, the Workers League is the real target because we alone have conducted an unrelenting

struggle to expose the role the Stalinists played in Chile.

The tone of this slander is set by an article in the June 15 issue of the CP's newspaper, the *Daily World*, when author Joseph Carver declares:

"The Trotskyites in Chile had not supported the Popular Unity government, but had called for its overthrow! The Trotskyites here brag about this "revolutionary" position. Actually, they gave a 'Left' cover to the attacks on the Allende government at the time of its greatest peril.

"Thus, they helped to bring about the fall of the government which resulted in the torture and murder of thousands...It is time for the Trotskyites who feed on our dead heroes...to be isolated from decent healthy forces in the movement."

The Communist Party seeks to whip up this witch-hunt precisely at a time when the international Stalinist movement with its policy of peaceful coexistence with capitalism is in the deepest crisis in its history.

The powerful revolutionary struggles that preceded the coup in Chile last September and have now led to the collapse of the popular front regime in Portugal have irrevocably shaken the domination of Stalinism over the workers' movement.

The conscious counterrevolutionary role which reached a new level of treachery in Portugal, where the Communist Party joined a government dominated by fascist generals, has exposed the role of Stalinism to masses of workers.

This is the period when Trotskyism, based on the revolutionary traditions and struggles of Marx and Lenin, can become the leadership of the working class and lead it to power. This is what is behind Carver's attack on our movement.

The American Communist Party cynically seeks to use the repression of Chilean prisoners to cover the fact that it was the Chilean Communist Party, through its collaboration with the very same generals who overthrew Allende, that disarmed the working class and opened the door to the brutal massacre that followed the coup d'etat.

Carver drags out the Stalinist slander that Trotskyists work with fascists, when in every country it is the Stalinist parties which join hands with the church and the most right-wing army leaders to preserve the capitalist state and private property.

The events in Chile and the threat of a new dictatorship in Portugal have shown that this collaboration, far from defending democracy, has encouraged the ruling class to intensify its conspiracy against the working class.

What was necessary in Chile was to prepare the working class for civil war by breaking with the Popular Unity government of Allende, taking up arms, and organizing independently to take power.

These lessons must be learned today because the American Communist Party will seek to carry out the same betrayal as the working class here faces revolutionary tasks.

The so-called committees to defend the Chilean prisoners in which the Socialist Workers Party coexists with the Communist Party are based on a common agreement to cover up this betrayal and as such are a blow against the struggle of those who now suffer under the junta's repression.

How can the SWP, which claims to be Trotskyist, defend political prisoners hand in hand with the very party that bears responsibility for their imprisonment? How can the SWP march with the CP against Portuguese imperialism, when the Portuguese government supported by the Stalinists is opposed to granting the African colonies their independence.

The truth is that the class struggle terrifies the SWP and that they have now joined with the American Communist Party in seeking to hold the working class back.

The recent "united front" actions between these two parties represent a decisive step by the SWP towards liquidating its entire movement into Stalinism.

The SWP's reply to Carver, in their weekly newspaper *The Militant* does not even bother to answer the attack on Trotskyism, but instead reduces the issues to the democratic right to "debate" political differences:

"How Carver chooses to educate the readers of the *Daily World* is the CP's problem. But when the CP adopts a policy of disrupting and dividing the movement in defense of political prisoners...then that is a problem for the entire radical movement..."

In other words, slander Trotskyism all you want, but don't disturb our collaboration in practice.

In 1953, the SWP broke with the revisionist theory of Michel Pablo that Stalinism would become a revolutionary force, but they refused to learn the lessons of this break and reunited with them 10 years later.

Today, they seek to shed any connections with their Trotskyist past. The more they are attacked by the Communist Party, the greater are the concessions they make.

The struggle against Stalinism is not a debate, but a struggle to construct the revolutionary party in the working class in a theoretical and practical struggle to expose Stalinism.

In the United States, it is only the Workers League, in solidarity with the International Committee of the Fourth International, that takes forward this fight to take advantage of the new opportunities for workers to take power and establish socialism.

What We Think

Ethiopian Army Arrests Noblemen

The Ethiopian armed forces arrested Defense Minister Lieutenant General Abebe Abye on July 16 in a continuing wave of arrests that began when the army seized control June 29.

Abye is the first minister in Premier Endalkachew Makonnen's cabinet to be detained. Over 60 top officials and members of the aristocracy have been arrested in the past three weeks.

Only July 11, Brigadier General Alemayehu Degafe, chief of police services, was arrested. The next day, Mesfin Seleshi, the most powerful landowner in the country gave himself up after the army threatened to confiscate all his property.

The armed forces have established a 15 member commission of inquiry to investigate charges of corruption and abuse of authority and to bring those under arrest to trial.

Military Dominates New Portugal Cabinet

BY FRANK MARTIN

Announcing the formation of a new cabinet, Portuguese President Spinoza declared that its main task would be to enforce greater "social and civic discipline."

To carry this out, Spinoza and the new Premier, Colonel Vasco dos Santos Goncalves, chose military men for 7 out of the 15 cabinet posts.

All the key cabinet posts—Interior, Labor, Defense, and Information, went to army officers.

The Communist and Socialist Party leaders remain in the cabinet. CP General Secretary Cunhal retains his post as Minister Without Portfolio and SP leader Mario Soares is still Foreign Minister. Another Socialist, Francisco Salgado Zenha, was chosen as Justice Minister.

The resignation of Premier Palma Carlos was the direct result of the massive strike movement that swept the country following the April 25 coup.

Palma Carlos, under direct orders from Spinoza, was demanding increased powers for

the presidency and the suspension of elections for the constitutional assembly to deal with "disorder in the streets" and "social indiscipline."

Up until Sunday morning, Spinoza had been expected to name Lieut. Col. Mario Firmino Miguel, the former defense minister and Spinoza loyalist, as premier. The switch to Goncalves was the result of the pressure from the Armed Forces Movement, the group of army officers who engineered the April 25 coup.

The naming of a military man to head the cabinet reflects the growing feeling among the officers of the need for the army to step in to get rid of the "democratic" politicians and restore "order."

Spinoza has been traveling throughout the country seeking to whip up a red-scare campaign against the Communist Party.

The international economic crisis continues to fuel the massive inflation which is driving the bankers to the wall. The working class continues to fight for wage increases with civil servants now out on strike and occupying public buildings.

While Spinoza continues the colonial wars in direct violation of his promises, the liberation movements in Angola have

called a general strike. In the streets of Luanda, Portuguese troops were used against strikers, killing 20 and injuring 15. At the same time, FRELIMO in Mozambique has stepped up its military activity, occupying another town in the northern part of the country.

Throughout this political crisis, the Stalinist and reformist leaders maintain their rotten popular front with Spinoza. Within an hour of Goncalves's appointment as premier, he met with Communist Party leader Alvaro Cunhal.

Cunhal stated afterwards that it was "almost certain" that the coalition would go on and that he would remain in the cabinet.

The Communist Party, along with the Socialist Party, are Spinoza's most devoted supporters. They were the most enthusiastic strikebreakers when the postal workers staged a nationwide walkout last month.

Time is running out in Portugal. The urgent need is for the construction of a revolutionary party, a section of the Fourth International, to demand the CP and Socialist leaders break with the Junta and form a workers government, in order to expose them and prepare workers to take power.



Mass meeting of striking dock workers in Luanda, Angola.

Ministers Resign After Japan Vote

BY A REPORTER

The resignation of Japan's Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister have deepened the acute political crisis opened up by the July 7 election to the upper house of parliament.

Deputy Prime Minister Takeo Miki resigned July 12 and was followed by Finance Minister Takeo Fukuda and Shigeru Hori, Minister of State, on Tuesday. Fukuda declared: "The people have rendered their judgement on the Liberal Democratic Party." He warned: "At this rate, the party will collapse."

In the election, Prime Minister Tanaka's party lost eight seats and held a majority by only two or three votes, despite an intense and well-

financed election campaign. The party's share of the popular vote fell below 40 percent.

Miki and Fukuda hope to depose Tanaka as leader of the party in preparation for the presidential election next July.

While they publicly claim their resignation is in order to carry out interparty reforms, their real fear is that Tanaka will be incapable of dealing with the powerful wage offensive of the Japanese working class.

The rate of inflation in Japan is 23 percent and the Bank of Japan has announced a new series of price increases for milk, rice, aluminum, sheet glass, and gas.

This will assure a continued sharp rise in wholesale prices which reached 35 percent for the 12 months that ended in June.

Copper Ranks Shut ASARCO Refineries

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE
PERTH AMBOY, N.J.—
Workers at Kennecott and ASARCO mines and refineries walked out at midnight, July 14, with the expiration of the two-week contract extension Abel granted the copper bosses.

Several smaller mines in the west and some units of Phelps-Dodge, also walked out, bringing total number of strikers to 30,000.

Abel called Kennecott workers back into the shop before noon. He had already imposed a settlement on the Anaconda Copper locals, patterned on the basic steel pact signed earlier this year.

Workers are infuriated and frustrated by this division of the industry, just when the copper workers, with one of the most militant traditions in the labor movement, could play a powerful role in the massive strike wave sweeping the country now.

Alfred Cheese, a worker at ASARCO's Baltimore tank house told the Bulletin: "My shop steward got a call at 3:00 this morning saying that Kennecott had signed a contract.

"Kennecott is supposed to be out at the same time as we are. We are still out. The unions should unite, and not split up locals like this.

EXTENSION

"The union leaders had no business giving them a 14-day extension either. It was the International leadership that did it, and our local leadership agreed with the extension. It still turned out that we're on strike, with the same offer as before."

Most workers at ASARCO's Perth Amboy, N.J. refinery agree. "They made a big mistake with that 14 days.

"It weakens us and strengthens them, because they know we'll go out anyway," one worker on the picket line stated.

Local 375 in Perth Amboy wildcatted when the original contract deadline came up July 1, and the bus stops near the refinery are spray-painted with an emphatic: "No Contract, No Work."

"Almost all the men were over here, just milling around, and all the officials were across the street, cursing us out," one young worker said. "They called us every name in the book.

"The company took pictures from way up there, and by Tuesday they'd matched them up with our ID cards.

"Not many more than 30 guys went back in. But Tuesday night, the ones whose pictures they had all got a notice at home that they'd be arrested if they didn't go back to work Wednesday.

"They came out here with a 60-page book about how the strike was illegal under federal law. I think we would have held tight, though, except that Wednesday morning, the cops were all over here.

"They were ready to break heads, because they had that book backing them up.

"I didn't go back in, you

know," one older worker said. "I just didn't go to work.

"I remember what happened in 1968. We gave them a two-week extension then, and we walked the line for eight months and two weeks."

CAPTAIN

"I don't really understand this strike," the picket captain told the Bulletin. "When I grew up, I watched the miners in Pennsylvania. I saw them go on strike.

"They went out together, and stayed out. And no one went through.

"Here we are all on our own, and the union says let the foremen and supervisors in so the machinery can be kept up."

In New Mexico, officials of Local 890 in Silver City are continuing their strike in defiance of Abel's leadership. A court ruling July 12 upheld their contention that the local's walkout was legal in spite of the extension imposed by the International.

Copper Council Delegate Israel Romero told the Bulletin that the local is suing Abel over the extension, and that they will start another court battle if he tries to prevent local presidents from voting on the Kennecott contract. It has been reported that only the negotiating committee will be allowed to vote.

"Abel, the Steel Workers, is a labor dictatorship," Romero said. "They put us at the mercy of the company."

He said that Abel does not want to submit the contract to a vote because it includes a new "wipe out clause," a reactionary agreement that any local issue not settled by July 21, 1974 will be dropped for good.

In locals like 890, where safety conditions and work rules are the main strike issues, this clause would concede everything to the company and pave the way for wholesale destruction of conditions bitterly won throughout the industry.

How Nixon Used IRS To Punish His Enemies

BY MELODY FARROW
The latest volume of the House Judiciary Committee's Statement of Information released on Wednesday includes new evidence of Nixon's use of the Internal Revenue Service as a political weapon.

It contains the testimony by the first two commissioners of the IRS under Nixon that they threatened to resign if they were forced to take improper actions.

There is also a sworn affidavit by Johnnie Walters a former IRS Commissioner on how John Ehrlichman tried to force the IRS to find something wrong with the tax returns of Democratic National Chairman Lawrence O'Brien.

In a Judiciary Committee transcript of a March 13, 1972 meeting between Nixon and John Dean, Nixon asked Dean if he needed any "IRS stuff" on the Democrats and Dean replied:

"There is no need at this hour for anything from IRS and we



Bus stops in Perth Amboy, N.J. have been spray-painted after a wildcat strike of USWA Local 375 began at the ASARCO refinery July 1. Copper unions struck ASARCO July 14.

Stocks Continue Downward Slide

BY A REPORTER

The wild trading on the New York Stock Exchange, which sent the market to its lowest point in four years, is a sure sign that massive industrial bankruptcies and deflation are not far off.

Sharp selling of important conglomerates like Polaroid and Con Edison pushed Wall Street down to an average just under 776, nearly 300 points below the record high set in January 1973.

Paper fortunes built up over a long period of inflation have been torn up in a financial bloodletting unprecedented in history. More money has been lost on Wall Street in the last 18 months—\$235 billion—than during the great crash of 1929.

Coming at a time when interest rates have soared to record levels, the fall in share prices poses serious problems for industry. It is becoming

virtually impossible for industry to raise the capital required to meet its liabilities and the demands of production.

Banks have become extremely wary of the credit worthiness of every corporation, and the decline in the market will definitely force financiers to reevaluate every loan.

Business Week wrote on July 13: "Whenever security prices finally stop falling, they are already demonstrating that investors are worried sick about world economic conditions, and thoroughly suspicious about corporate profits and prospects."

The suspicions over profits have been intensified by the collapse of Bank Herstatt in Germany. Important US banks, Bank of America and Morgan Guaranty, were hit by losses in the millions of dollars.

In response to this experience and the expectation that similar bank failures are about to take place, the top 50 banks are refusing to do business outside their own select circle.

Although small and medium size banks are desperate for

cash, they will not receive it from the big banks.

The contraction of bank credit will have a devastating impact on industry.

Ford Motor Company sales declined during the first 10 days in July by 49 percent over the same period in 1973. For General Motors, the figure is close to 16 percent.

These figures will mean sharp changes in production plans in the period after changeover. The Big Three will have sharply reduced production quotas. However, they will seek to meet these in the shortest possible time.

What this means is that a new round of layoffs and massive speedup now threaten auto workers. However, the resistance of workers to these policies, already seen in the powerful strike wave among all auto workers and every section of industry, is a major factor in deepening the economic crisis.

There is thus no solution to this crisis in the interest of the working class outside of a political fight to take control of industry and establish socialism.

have a couple of sources over there that I can go to. I don't have to fool around with Johnnie Walters or anybody, we can get right in and get what we need."

The IRS also intervened in a tax audit on Nixon friend Reverend Billy Graham, who apparently did not report income he received from construction and decorator work and tuition payments for his children.

John Caulfield, a former White House aide, testified to the Senate Watergate Committee that Acree had suggested starting an audit on Robert Greene, a Newsday reporter who had done an investigation of Bebe Rebozo, by getting an anonymous letter written to the IRS hinting that Greene filed an improper tax return.

In a related incident, Charles Colson, former dirty tricks expert and one of Nixon's closest former aides, told the House Judiciary Committee on July 15 that Nixon knew that the cover story for an FBI probe of CBS correspondent Daniel

Schorr was untrue.

The FBI claimed Schorr was being considered for a government job when in reality he was high on the White House enemy list for a story he did on poverty and education.

Colson also told the committee that three days after he was indicted, Nixon called him for information on the payment of money to Watergate conspirator E. Howard Hunt.

Nixon's reaction to the mounting volumes of evidence was to harden his arrogant and defiant stand. Through an interview with Rabbi J. Korff, president of the National Citizens Committee for Fairness to the Presidency, Nixon let it be known that he considered the Ehrlichman conviction "a blot on justice."

Nixon told Korff that the "big media" have acquired too much power against the "rights" of public officials and claimed: "I have never cared much about money."

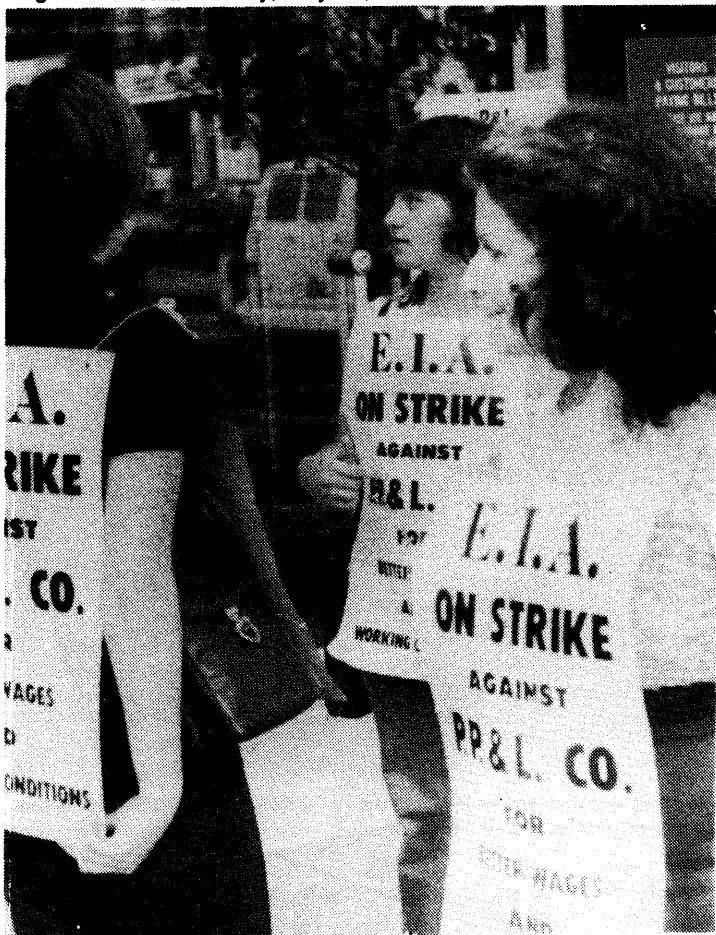
Nixon said that the entire

Watergate investigation was a personal press vendetta against him and smugly declared: "I would only suggest that a historical assessment would be that it was probably, to use the word scandal, the broadest but the thinnest scandal in American history."

But with all this evidence at the disposal of Congress, the Senate refused to publish any conclusions on Nixon's guilt in its final report issued last weekend.

What is even more damning, the House Judiciary Committee, for all its information on Nixon's use of the IRS, did not investigate a single incident mentioned in their report.

Democrats and Republicans alike on the House Committee must vote at the end of this month on whether or not to recommend impeachment proceedings and are anxiously awaiting the decision of the Supreme Court on Jaworski's request for 64 additional tapes and documents.



The strike of 5000 employees of the Pennsylvania Power and Light Company which began May 20 is still continuing. Workers are demanding a cost of living clause in their new contract. This is the first strike to hit PP&L in its 54 year history.

Defend Miners In 'Bloody Harlan'

BY DAVID NORTH
HARLAN, Ky., July 18—The UMWA must call a nationwide strike against the coal industry to defend the year-long strike of Brookside miners.

The hired gun thugs of the Duke Power Company have been joined by the Kentucky State Police in a bloodthirsty drive to crush the Brookside miners.

Using storm trooper tactics, heavily armed state police brutally broke the strike of Highsplint miners early this week. The men, members of the company-controlled Southern Labor Union, had been respecting the picket lines set up to strengthen the strike against the neighboring Eastover mine in Brookside.

On Wednesday, for the third consecutive morning, state troopers forced miners into the Highsplint operation to work as scabs. One Brookside miner, Leroy Helton, was beaten and arrested.

State police intervened against the Harlan miners on Monday morning when they arrested eight men on the picket line in Highsplint. Another four miners were arrested the next morning.

The intervention of the state police was set up by the attempted murder of a Harlan miner, 66-year-old Minard Turner, by an armed guard employed by Duke Power. Turner was ambushed nearly two weeks ago as he walked a picket line at the Highsplint operation.

Union witnesses to the crime have sworn that after the assault on Turner, they heard automatic weapons fired in the direction of the picket line coming from a building on company property.

The assault against the Highsplint picket line is the preparation for a direct attack on the

strikers in Brookside. If Duke Power is allowed to smash the Highsplint walkout, it will certainly try to work the Brookside mine.

The full strength of 125,000 UMW members must be thrown immediately behind the miners of Harlan County. The brutality of Duke Power is not only a threat to the UMW organizing drive in eastern Kentucky.

It is part and parcel of Nixon's drive against the basic rights of every American worker. This government is especially determined to crush the Harlan miners and weaken the UMW as negotiations for a national contract begin.

In the event of a coal miners' strike in November, the bosses and Nixon plan to work the unorganized mines like those in Harlan County.

When Arnold Miller speaks in Harlan on Sunday afternoon, he must call for a nationwide coal strike.

UMW spokesmen had suggested that Miller would call a

nationwide strike in a press conference which had been scheduled this past Tuesday. The unexplained cancellation of this press conference is a retreat which threatens the future of the Brookside strike.

"Calling off the press conference disappointed a lot of the people here," stated UMW organizer Lee Potter.

While Miller pleads for negotiations, Duke Power shoots down miners like Minard Turner, seeks to evict them from their homes, and calls on the police to break their picket lines.

The Harlan miners will not be intimidated by the gun thugs and the police.

Miller must rally the entire trade union movement against the Nixon government which is leading the war against the working class by demanding that the AFL-CIO and UAW join the UMW in a Congress of Labor to build a labor party, independent of the strikebreaking Democrats and Republicans, that will throw Nixon out.

IAM Shuts National Over Job Security

BY A REPORTER
NEW YORK, NY—Members of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers struck National Airlines at midnight, July 14.

Negotiations were suspended and all flights cancelled when counter clerks, baggage handlers and flight personnel voted to honor the picket lines of the 5000 ground workers.

IAM members at National voted 98 percent to walk out, despite the announcement of the leadership that agreement had been reached on wages and other key issues. They have worked without a contract for 11 months.

Workers at Pan Am are currently preparing to vote on a contract offer that provides a pay hike of about 17 percent over two years plus two 10 cent cost of living increases. This pattern was established in earlier agreements with Eastern, United, Northwest, and American.

Bulletin reporters spoke with Ron, a maintenance crewman at Kennedy Airport in New York. He said that the main issue for Lodge 1984 in New York was National's insistence on including a "Scope Clause" in the new contract. This clause allows the farming out of jobs to subcontracting companies, and would authorize the use of part-time help.

"They want to break up the union, get us out of there. They say part-timers would be a help in the rush season, but it wouldn't be long before you'd see them share my shift out to two part-timers."

LaGUARDIA
Lodge 1984 is also fighting changes in the maintenance work rules at nearby LaGuardia. The same changes are the central strike issue in Providence, Rhode Island.

In Miami, the IAM workers are fighting to get non-contract workers, like foremen, off the seniority register, so that newer workers cannot be bumped to save a foreman's job.

"What we're really up against is not just National, but all the airlines. That's what will hurt us. United's always had a Scope Clause, and many companies pushed it through with the last contract.

"So National is not about to give in easy. And they're in good shape to fight, because of that mutual aid pact the airlines have.

"Every company pays in money to keep the struck company going, but workers are some kind of criminals if they strike to help each other out.

"What we have to do is square off, all the unions against all the airlines, and say, forget it, if you can help each other, so can we."

Baltimore Pact Not Enough

BY LARRY SYMONS
BALTIMORE, Md.—City workers here ended their two week strike at a ratification meeting on Monday, amid widespread dissatisfaction with the new contract.

The two year settlement calls for an immediate 25 cent increase, plus five cents in January, five cents in March, and another 35 cents next July. This comes to almost 10 percent a year, way above the 5.5 percent first offered.

City workers, members of AFSCME Local 44, have won a major medical plan fully paid by the city, plus a no-reprisals clause, and other fringe benefits.

SSEU Contract Still Stalled

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE
NEW YORK, NY—Negotiations between the city and Social Services Employees Union 371 (SSEU) threaten to break down at any moment.

The negotiators had reported last week, (nearly seven months after the contract expired, that a settlement was at hand. Now they are forced to admit that the contract's "gut issues" are still unsettled. DC 37 Executive Director Victor Gotbaum has joined the talks and notified all AFSCME locals in the area to be "mobilizing their troops for a strong fight."

The city has refused to agree to union demands on wages, cost of living, job security, and reorganization protection, and case-loads in the Bureau of Child Welfare.

SSEU President Pat Knight and the AFSCME leadership have allowed these talks to drag on for seven months, while the city has proceeded with massive layoffs and the wholesale destruction of working conditions.

Last year's decision to allow the crucial question of forced transfers to go to arbitration has now resulted in a decision supporting the city. The Walter

Eisenberg arbitration panel has ordered the union to select junior seniority workers from income support departments to fill 150 spots in BCW if enough volunteers are not signed up by July 29.

TRANSFERS
Forced transfers have been used to cover up the critical shortage of manpower throughout the departments, the result of years of hiring freezes.

Tens of thousands of city workers can be rallied to the defense of the SSEU. Negotiations are underway for contracts covering school aides, computer operators, and board of education clericals. School lunch employees broke off negotiations recently.

The SSEU can now take the lead by demanding that Knight and Gotbaum call a citywide strike to win 20 percent pay hikes and a full cost of living escalator for every city worker. This must be coupled with a call to the labor movement to convene a Congress of Labor that will plan national industrial action to force Nixon out and construct a labor party to replace the Republicans and Democrats.

The hated "point system" has supposedly been abolished, with the city and the union to negotiate for 45 days on a "fair and equitable" system. If no agreement has been reached by this date, binding arbitration will be used.

Rudolf, a young sanitation worker, expressed the anger of many: "They haven't really stopped the point system, just suspended it until they negotiate something else. The union went along with the point system for so long, I don't know what they will come up with now.

"I think they should have stayed out at least for the 50 cents the union was first asking for. With the cost of living going up every month, the five cent steps we are getting won't make any difference.

"The meeting Monday was confusing. They took the 'yes' vote just a couple of seconds after the 'no' vote. We couldn't tell who voted for what, there was so much noise."

Melvin, another sanitation man, said: "How can we keep up with the cost of living with this contract? We didn't get anything. This won't even cover the cost of buying bread for the family."

Attendance at city work sites Tuesday was reported at 95 percent, with some workers staying home in opposition to the deal.

Mayor William Donald Schaefer has announced plans for massive layoffs of city workers, claiming that he must fire 300 in order to meet the new wage increases. He said that all the layoffs will come from departments where the workers walked out.

Schaefer mentioned the possibility of cutting social programs, like the third weekly trash pickup in inner city areas, the iron-rich milk program for children, and other programs for which federal funds were cut off this year.

The Baltimore strike and the powerful offensive of state workers in Ohio shows that workers will not accept the soaring inflation and unemployment. City workers in Baltimore must demand strike action if one worker is laid off.

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Crisis In The Caribbean Part Two

CASTRO ABANDONS THE MASSES

The following feature is reprinted from Workers Press, daily Trotskyist newspaper of the British Workers Revolutionary Party.

Every aspect of life in the Caribbean has been disrupted by the world economic crisis. They even write reggae and calypso songs about it. But it is in the relationship between the ruling cliques and the working class that the impact has been most dramatic—a special correspondent investigates.

Imperialism has kept its grip on the Caribbean in the boom years since the war by letting ostensibly independent governments serve its interests.

This has evolved out of a long relationship with the Caribbean which goes back to the earliest days of colonialism. Compared with British "rule" in Africa, for example, the forms of "rule" that have emerged in the Caribbean are considerably more sophisticated and dexterous.

Jamaica for example became a British possession in 1655 when Cromwell's forces captured the island from Spain.

This took place as the almost accidental consequence of a badly-planned expedition designed to root out royalist supporters in the Caribbean, to establish the interests of the bourgeois supporters of the regime as opposed to the prevailing Dutch trading interests, and to strike a blow at England's feudal-Catholic enemy—Spain. The bulk of the population has been "imported" since then.

The class struggle—protests and small stoppages—to general strikes and mass revolts—has been at least as numerous and violent in the Caribbean as anywhere else in the world, but superimposed over this has been centuries of training of stooges by imperialism and its fore-runners to administer the colonies in its interests.

ILLUSORY INDEPENDENCE

The "taming" of the leaders thrown up by the explosive emergence of modern trade unionism in 1937-1939 was one of the most important examples of this. Bustamente and N.M. Manley (father of the present prime minister) of Jamaica, Bradshaw of St. Kitts, Adams of Barbados all became demagogic reformist politicians who guided the colonies into an illusory independence (in the case of St. Kitts and a number of other small islands this has still not been completely realized) when it became clear in World War II that the British Empire would not carry on in its old form.

The British-speaking islands of the Caribbean became a byword for their relatively low-keyed conservative politics, especially in the years of the postwar inflationary boom, but all that is changing rapidly.

The collapse of Batista's dictatorship in Cuba in 1959 and the development of a Bonapartist



Top: Castro's Women's Militia; bottom left: Fidel Castro; bottom right: Bradshaw of St. Kitts.

regime under Fidel Castro did little to assist the development of revolutionary consciousness in the English speaking islands.

The establishment of a revolutionary unity could only be based on a Marxist understanding of the economic crisis and the urgent necessity to build revolutionary parties to lead the working class—in alliance with the peasantry and plantation laborers—to power.

Castro has travelled rapidly in the opposite development, towards Stalinism and imperialism under the banner of peaceful coexistence.

But Castro, of course, did nothing to develop the fight against imperialism in the Caribbean. The islands remained divided into French, English, Spanish, Portuguese and Dutch-speaking semi-colonies depending on their historical involvement with the earliest attempts of empire building by the European nations.

Today Cuba is a fully-fledged member of "Comecon"—the East European Common Market.

On a clear day Jamaica can be seen from Cuba, yet until last year Cuba had much closer economic and social relations with fascist Spain (Cuba is Spanish-speaking as well) than she did with next-door Jamaica.

The fact that the Jamaican regime diplomatically recognized Cuba last year, and in March this year began full trading relations with her, only serves to demonstrate Castro's growing "respectability" and is evidence of the closer relations with the US.

The former hostility of Jamaica to Cuba arose of course from the OAS (Organization of American States) blockade of Cuba, but the fact that it lasted so long can be attributed in part to the lack of agitation in the English-speaking islands by the Castroites.

Castro never was a Marxist, despite the near hysterical adulation of him by the Stalinists, reformists and revisionists. His endless conferences (especially the notorious 1966 "Tricontinental Conference") and welcoming of self-pro-

claimed "revolutionaries" was only so much rhetoric.

His parroting of revolutionary-sounding phrases set him up as the butt for the poisonous anti-communist jibes of the politicians of the English-speaking islands and elsewhere. Despite the incessant welling up of turbulent class conflicts, Castro has assisted in maintaining the basic political confusion which has been so necessary for the continuation of imperialism in the Caribbean. The confusion doesn't stop with Castro.

The vacuum created by revolutionary theory and leadership in the Caribbean was partially filled by the "boom-time" radicalism of the "Black power" movement which originated on the North American mainland.

POLITICAL CRISIS

Hence in countries like Trinidad, Guyana and Belize, where the population is racially divided, there have been petty-bourgeois elements only too willing to exploit the implicit racism of the US "Black power" doctrines when the

masses have taken to the streets and demanded some form of political clarification.

In significant contrast to this, Jamaica, where the population is overwhelmingly "Black" and the racial minorities are integrated, has not experienced any similar development (which shows that "Black power" is not really about "Black" people at all).

The form of politics in Jamaica has remained in the typical British post-imperial mode. Here we find an almost exact parallel to the recent developments in Britain—with army-police maneuvers, police provocations, and vicious anti-trade union moves.

The development of mass struggles in the Caribbean has caused acute political crises in a number of countries. The politicians respond with perhaps a little "left-talk" or threats of nationalization. But the crisis is removing all possibility of compromise.

TO BE CONTINUED

The first proclamation of the Movement of the Armed Forces pledged "the immediate abolition of the DGS, the Portuguese Legion and the political youth organizations (such as the Secretariado Para Juventude)." But notably the program went on to say: "In the overseas provinces the DGS will be reconstituted (!) and purged, so as to take the form of a Military Information Police so long as military operations call for it." But if the junta was entering into immediate talks for granting independence to the colonies, as pledged, what would be the need for any kind of "reconstituted" secret police? This item blew a gaping hole in the collaboration between the junta and the Stalinists on the settlement of the colonial question in the interests of the African liberation movements.

At the DGS headquarters I found a remarkable contradiction between the attitude of the marines who are guarding it and the officers who are in charge. The sailors, with heavy automatic weapons in their hands and belts of ammunition slung over their shoulders, are belligerent custodians of the building on behalf of the working class. They say this openly and with great conviction. The officer in command, however, is an elegant aristocrat who wears a gold ring bossed with the family crest. He speaks English with the aplomb of an old Etonian. He was adamant that the junta had carried through its pledge to abolish the DGS. But under further cross-examination he revealed that many of the DGS operatives were still in business carrying out their old functions, e.g. immigration control at the airports and borders plus "criminal investigations."

When I pointed out that "criminal investigations" were surely the province of the civilian police, he replied that the two services "overlapped." Here was confirmation that, although in a curtailed form, the DGS is continuing to function. When I asked whether the files in the building would be used in the prosecution of the torturers and fascists—another junta pledge—he said they would remain in his custody until he had authorization to release them. His statement to me was preceded by a junta announcement, given by Major Sanches Osorio at the Ministry of Information daily briefing, that the country must not "waste its time in hatreds."

The drift of the junta's policy is clear: the generals like Spínola and Costa Gomes, chief of the Armed Forces, do not want and cannot afford to have a public investigation into the activities of the DGS. Not only would it expose the torturers, it would expose them too. They all belonged to the one and the same fascist state machine. Nor will the Stalinists push for public courts of inquiry. It would reveal that the junta they now support is heavily compromised with the half-century of dictatorship. Do the Stalinists seriously expect us to remain silent when they come forward to proclaim the Spínola junta as the upholders of "democracy" and "peace"? And yet the Stalinists are engaged in frenzied activity to get the working class to build an immediate alliance with the armed forces (the junta). The long-imprisoned Jose Magro, a member of the party's central committee, said recently, "We want no provocation. 'Vive the armed forces,' we say. 'Vive Spínola!'"

According to the Stalinists the way to consolidate the fight against fascism is to join its ex-standard bearers in the junta! But not only do they want to perform their own execution, they seek to confuse and disarm the working class and take them into this diabolical trap as well. That is the purpose of the Portuguese Popular Front, just as it was Chilean Popular Front. In Chile the task of uniting the working class in a fight for socialist policies and smashing the capitalist state was posed. But at every turn the Stalinists and socialists held back the working class in their demands for land, housing, nationalization and decent wages. And as the economic crisis worsened, they made more desperate attempts to crawl before the bourgeoisie to the extent that members of the armed forces were brought into Allende's Cabinet during the months preceding the fascist coup.

When the Portuguese Stalinists join Spínola in attacking the working class for pursuing their legitimate demands, they consciously set out to wear down the militancy of the working class and help to provide the objective conditions for the fasc-



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

ists' counter-coup. The independent mobilization of the working class to smash the capitalist class—the only sure way to put an end to fascism—is subordinated to the protection of the Portuguese bourgeoisie and, with it, the forces of reaction. Workers are instructed by one Stalinist directive after another to stop strikes, lift occupations and dismantle their committees of action and lend full support to the Popular Front and the armed forces. This criminally treacherous policy goes against every teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin and certainly against every concrete historical example of the Popular Front that the Stalinists have participated in—France, Spain and Chile, for example. The traitorous role of the bogus "peoples' regimes have been written in the blood of the international proletariat.

As early as the Paris Commune of 1871 Marx and Engels both drew lessons for the whole working class movement about the necessity of smashing the state as a prerequisite of taking power. Lenin noted in a speech in 1908 that "two errors robbed the brilliant victory (of the Communards) of its fruits. The proletariat stopped halfway: instead of proceeding with the 'expropriation of the expropriators,' it was carried away by dreams of establishing supreme justice in the country, based on the common national task. For instance, institutions such as the banks were not seized ... The second error was unnecessary magnanimity of the proletariat: instead of annihilating its enemies, it attempted to exercise moral influence on them ... it hesitated and gave time to the Versailles government to gather its dark forces and to prepare for the bloody May week."

The fact that the DGS has been "abolished" in name only, that the junta and the Stalinists are agreed not to carry through a purge of the fascists, must be the starkest warning to the working class. Behind the Popular Front smokescreen deliberately thrown up, the state—"the machine for the oppression of one class by another"—remains intact. It is only by the construction of a revolutionary leadership to unite the working class in the smashing of the state that yesterday's victory over fascism can be made irreversible by the establishment of socialism.

BUILD THE REVOLUT

PORTUGAL

Portugal is today in revolutionary ferment. The ruling class is balanced precariously on General Spínola's military junta and the Portuguese Communist Party while the working class is surging forward in spontaneous struggles against the employers and the state. The ruling class has been forced to concede bourgeois reforms to the working class. But these cannot feed families, create jobs, build houses and provide education and health services. What predominates is the world economic crisis, the very crisis which brought about the collapse of the Caetano regime and the strength of the working class to resist its ravages. The concessions that have been won must not become reins to hold back the demands of the working class, but the starting point for legal and democratic slogans to unite the working class on socialist policies.

In the Transitional Program Trotsky says: "One thing can be stated with conviction even at this point: once it breaks through, the revolutionary wave in fascist countries will immediately be a grandiose sweep and under no circumstances will stop short at the experiment of resuscitating some sort of Weimar corpse. It is from this point onward that an uncompromising divergence begins between the Fourth International and the old parties, which outlive their bankruptcy. The emigre 'People's Front' is the most malignant and perfidious variety of all possible People's Fronts. Essentially, it signifies the impotent longing for coalition with a non-existent bourgeoisie. Had it met with success, it would simply have prepared a series of new defeats of the Spanish type for the proletariat. A merciless exposure of the theory and practice of the 'People's Front' is therefore the first condition for a revolutionary struggle against fascism. Of course, this does not mean that the Fourth International rejects democratic slogans as a means of mobilizing the masses against fascism. On the contrary, such slogans at certain moments can play a serious role. But the formulas of democra-

cy (freedom of the press, the right to unionize, etc.) mean for us only incidental or episodic slogans in the independent movement of the proletariat and not a democratic noose fastened to the neck of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie's agents (Spain!)."

In the few weeks since the coup, Portugal has become a cauldron of political activity. From no parties (except the fascists' national Popular Action) there are now more than 50. Petty-bourgeois revolutionism is at a premium. A group of middle-class poseurs form a party one day, split the next and dissolve the day after. The frenzy is generated by the "grandiose sweep" of the working class and its unconscious striving to resolve the social crisis by taking power into its hands. The upheaval is everywhere. Judges and police chiefs make public declarations of their unswerving loyalty to democracy while secretly hating the celebrations of the masses; journalists and editors watch every sentence they write for fear of offending the printworkers and their readers by slipping back to their fascist jargon; young officers come to soldiers to ask advice on the differences between Stalinism, Maoism and Trotskyism; monarchists come out of complete historical obscurity to talk about "national restoration"; social democrats compete greedily with each other for government posts; and the working class, suspicious of everybody but their workmates, grappling with the questions of how to advance their struggle for wages, better conditions and basic democratic rights, all of which pose not an intermediate stage of struggle but a direct challenge for power.

In making their swinish pact with the junta, the Portuguese Stalinists place themselves consciously and deliberately in the camp of the bourgeoisie and against the aspirations of the masses. The obscene arguments that they use have a horrible familiarity. "Ultra-left elements clamour for the immediate 'introduction' of socialism. We hold, however, that the working class will gain power gradually; it will be in step with our gaining control of the state machine that we shall begin to transform it into the interests of the further develop-

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REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

By Alex Mitchell



L IN REVOLT

A section of the May Day march in Lisbon. Millions of workers, soldiers, and sailors celebrated the downfall of the Caetano dictatorship.

ment of the revolution." Alvaro Cunhal? No. Chilean Stalinist Banchemo at a "World Marxist Review" seminar held only months before the fascist junta carried out its coup there. But the same line that led to the disarming of the working class in Chile is being used in Portugal. On May 31 the British Stalinists' *Morning Star* boasted that after a PCP statement "workers in transport and the bakeries in Lisbon decided to return to work after three days of strikes which the Party had criticized. The PCP has issued an urgent warning of the dangers of disruption by reactionary elements assisted by ultra-left adventurists. The danger of a return of a bloody fascist tyranny is great."

There are other ghoully parallels. "Workers must refrain from struggling for higher wages, and must not go on strike ... If the strikes were to become widespread the government would be transformed into a completely repressive dictatorship ..." General Antonio Spínola? No, General Mario Prats, head of the Chilean armed forces just before the fascist take-over. But Spínola borrowed the same language when he went to the provincial capital of Oporto on May 29 to make his first public speech since installing himself as president. He warned workers that their newly-found freedoms were "criminally threatened" by "counter-revolutionaries" and "anarchy." He said it would bring a return to right-wing dictatorship. In both Chile and Portugal the words of the Stalinists and the generals are the same. Banchemo could have made Prats' speech and Cunhal could have made Spínola's. They use the same language because they both pursue the same goal—the smashing of the independent movement of the working class for power; the armed forces in the interests of the Portuguese ruling class, the Stalinists in the interests of the Moscow bureaucracy.

Not only are the workers in metropolitan Portugal meant to lie back and let the fascist conspirators continue in business, but the colonial workers are being told to call ceasefires and settle for a rotten compromise at the imperialists' conference table. The colonial peoples must not lift their armed struggle or their strikes until complete and unconditional independence

has been granted. On May 22, Dr. Antonio de Almeida Santos, the Socialist Party Minister on Inter-Territorial Co-ordination, said in Lourenço Marques, the capital of Mozambique: "It is the Portuguese army's intention to continue the war against FRELIMO guerrillas in Mozambique until a ceasefire has been agreed." This is the real face of the Popular Front regime. They are servants of the Portuguese ruling class and imperialism. The workers and peasants of the colonial countries have victory in their grasp as they pursue their independence struggle with renewed vigour. The inflationary crisis has already quadrupled the cost of the three wars in the space of six months and made intolerable demands on the primitive Portuguese economy.

The question of whether the present revolutionary situation can be transformed into a revolution rests with the building of a revolutionary leadership in the working class. As Trotsky told the Spanish comrades who supported the Left Opposition, the successful solution of the Spanish revolution required three conditions—"a party; once more a party; again a party!" This is the central question that the revisionists of Marxism, Leninism and Trotskyism all avoid. The Portuguese Pabloites emerge in characteristic fashion as a hydra-headed clique with every member giving different versions of what needs to be done. One will tell you that "the armed road is the only road," others say that workers' committees are the immediate prerequisite for power, while still others say that a workers' government must take over. Each line of strategy is made exclusive of the others, and all of them utterly refuse to talk about building a revolutionary party in implacable hostility to Stalinism and reformism.

Of course workers' committees must be built. It did not require the Pabloites to pass on this wisdom. After April 25 the working class established their committees in factories all over the country. But they did it spontaneously, and they will remain spontaneous organs at the mercy of the moods of the masses and the counter-revolutionary influence of the Stalinists unless the building of a revolutionary leadership within them becomes the main task of revolutionaries. By simply calling for

workers' committees, the Pabloites are doing nothing more than tail-ending the spontaneous movement of the working class. And, of course, we strive for a workers' government. But how is it to be achieved? The Maoists rush all over Lisbon trying to demonstrate how more "left" they are than the Moscow Stalinists by calling for a workers' government. But this is to place an impossible ultimatum on the working class. The way to workers' government is to dash the illusions of the working class in the Stalinists and reformists. This means mobilizing the working class behind the demand for the Communist and Socialist Parties to break completely from the bourgeoisie and the junta-appointed Popular Front.

This is the way to end the behind-the-scenes scheming between the junta and the Popular Front ministers that has already led to the fascist Caetano to be sent to political asylum in Brazil, the breaking of strikes and occupations, the half-hearted "purge" of the secret police and the fascist administrations, the instruction to homeless people to stop squatting in empty residences. The statement of the International Committee of the Fourth International, published in the *Workers Press* on May 16, 1974, stated the demand: "Only a systematic agitation to expose the impotency and treachery of the reformists, an agitation summarized in the demand addressed to the CP-SP leaders—'Break with the Bourgeoisie, take the power!'—can open the way for revolutionary education of the workers and peasants and the construction of the Portuguese section of the International Committee." In the *Transitional Program*, Trotsky expounds the importance of this demand drawing on the Bolsheviks' experience in Russia:

"From April to September, 1917, the Bolsheviks demanded that the Social Revolutionaries (SR's) and Mensheviks break with the liberal bourgeoisie and take power into their own hands. Under this provision the Bolshevik Party promised the Mensheviks and the SR's, as the petty-bourgeois representatives of the workers and peasants, its revolutionary aid against the bourgeoisie; categorically refusing, however, either to enter into the government of the Mensheviks and SRs or to carry poli-

tical responsibility for it. If the Mensheviks and the SRs had actually broken with the Cadets (liberals) and with foreign imperialism, then the 'workers' and peasants' government' created by them could only have hastened and facilitated the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But it was exactly because of this that the leadership of petty-bourgeois democracy resisted with all possible strength the establishment of its own government. The experience of Russia demonstrated and the experience of Spain and France once again confirm that even under very favorable conditions the parties of petty-bourgeois democracy (SRs; Social-Democrats, Stalinists, Anarchists) are in capable of creating a government of workers and peasants, that is, a government independent of the bourgeoisie.

"Nevertheless, the demand of the Bolsheviks, addressed to the Mensheviks and the SRs; 'Break with the bourgeoisie, take the power into your own hands!' had for the masses tremendous educational significance. The obstinate unwillingness of the Mensheviks and SRs to take power, so dramatically exposed during the July days, definitely doomed them before mass opinion and prepared the victory of the Bolsheviks.

"The central task of the Fourth International consists in freeing the proletariat from the old leadership, whose conservatism is in complete contradiction to the catastrophic eruptions of disintegrating capitalism and represents the chief obstacle to historical progress. The chief accusation which the Fourth International advances against the traditional organizations of the proletariat is the fact that they do not wish to tear themselves away from the political semi-corpse of the bourgeoisie. Under these conditions the demand, systematically addressed to the old leadership: 'Break with the bourgeoisie, take the power!' is an extremely important weapon for exposing the treacherous character of the parties and organizations of the Second, Third and Amsterdam Internationals. The slogan 'Workers' and Farmers' government,' is thus acceptable to us only in the sense that it had in 1917 with the Bolsheviks, i.e., as an anti-bourgeois and anti-capitalist slogan, but in no case in that 'democratic' sense which later the epigones gave it, transforming it from a bridge to socialist revolution into the chief barrier upon its path."

The revolutionary party must agitate tirelessly and audaciously in the workers' movement for transitional demands. These must raise the political consciousness of the working class at each stage and put it firmly on the road to proletarian power. In the objective conditions of decaying capitalism, these transitional demands will find a powerful response in the workers' movement since they will meet up with the requirements of the working class in its struggles against the employers, the state, and, above all, its own treacherous bureaucracy. The revolt by a section of the bourgeoisie which produced democratic reforms cannot and will not carry forward the revolution. But it has opened up conditions where the working class can. There is not a single fundamental issue facing the working class—be it wages, jobs, housing, pensions, education and health—that can be resolved outside the implementation of socialist policies. It is indispensable that the working class expropriates foreign and domestic capital and institutes a planned socialist economy in collaboration with the liberated colonies.

The working class must break from the trap prepared for it by the bourgeoisie. The demands must be:

Down with the Popular Front!
Withdraw all troops from overseas!
Disband the standing army!
Immediate and unconditional independence for all overseas territories!
Expose the Stalinist and reformist traitors by demanding they take the power!
Build the revolutionary party! As a section of the international Committee of the Fourth International.

For the Portuguese working class the lessons of the weeks since April 25 and the guide to action is this: "Defend your democratic rights not through Popular Fronts and parliament, but through the overthrow of the capitalist state and the establishment of workers' power. Place no confidence in Stalinism, social democracy, centrism, revisionism or the liberal bourgeoisie, but build a revolutionary party of the Fourth International whose program will be the revolution in performance."

CONCLUDED

The first proclamation of the Movement of the Armed Forces pledged "the immediate abolition of the DGS, the Portuguese Legion and the political youth organizations (such as the Secretariado Para Juventude)." But notably the program went on to say: "In the overseas provinces the DGS will be reconstituted (!) and purged, so as to take the form of a Military Information Police so long as military operations call for it." But if the junta was entering into immediate talks for granting independence to the colonies, as pledged, what would be the need for any kind of "reconstituted" secret police? This item blew a gaping hole in the collaboration between the junta and the Stalinists on the settlement of the colonial question in the interests of the African liberation movements.

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According to the Stalinists the way to consolidate the fight against fascism is to join its ex-standard bearers in the junta! But not only do they want to perform their own execution, they seek to confuse and disarm the working class and take them into this diabolical trap as well. That is the purpose of the Portuguese Popular Front, just as it was Chilean Popular Front. In Chile the task of uniting the working class in a fight for socialist policies and smashing the capitalist state was posed. But at every turn the Stalinists and socialists held back the working class in their demands for land, housing, nationalization and decent wages. And as the economic crisis worsened, they made more desperate attempts to crawl before the bourgeoisie to the extent that members of the armed forces were brought into Allende's Cabinet during the months preceding the fascist coup.

When the Portuguese Stalinists join Spínola in attacking the working class for pursuing their legitimate demands, they consciously set out to wear down the militancy of the working class and help to provide the objective conditions for the fasc-



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

ists' counter-coup. The independent mobilization of the working class to smash the capitalist class—the only sure way to put an end to fascism—is subordinated to the protection of the Portuguese bourgeoisie and, with it, the forces of reaction. Workers are instructed by one Stalinist directive after another to stop strikes, lift occupations and dismantle their committees of action and lend full support to the Popular Front and the armed forces. This criminally treacherous policy goes against every teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin and certainly against every concrete historical example of the Popular Front that the Stalinists have participated in—France, Spain and Chile, for example. The traitorous role of the bogus "peoples' regimes have been written in the blood of the international proletariat.

As early as the Paris Commune of 1871 Marx and Engels both drew lessons for the whole working class movement about the necessity of smashing the state as a prerequisite of taking power. Lenin noted in a speech in 1908 that "two errors robbed the brilliant victory (of the Communards) of its fruits. The proletariat stopped half-way: instead of proceeding with the 'expropriation of the expropriators,' it was carried away by dreams of establishing supreme justice in the country, based on the common national task. For instance, institutions such as the banks were not seized ... The second error was unnecessary magnanimity of the proletariat: instead of annihilating its enemies, it attempted to exercise moral influence on them ... it hesitated and gave time to the Versailles government to gather its dark forces and to prepare for the bloody May week."

The fact that the DGS has been "abolished" in name only, that the junta and the Stalinists are agreed not to carry through a purge of the fascists, must be the starkest warning to the working class. Behind the Popular Front smokescreen deliberately thrown up, the state—the machine for the oppression of one class by another—remains intact. It is only by the construction of a revolutionary leadership to unite the working class in the smashing of the state that yesterday's victory over fascism can be made irreversible by the establishment of socialism.

Portugal is today in revolutionary ferment. The ruling class is balanced precariously on General Spínola's military junta and the Portuguese Communist Party while the working class is surging forward in spontaneous struggles against the employers and the state. The ruling class has been forced to concede bourgeois reforms to the working class. But these cannot feed families, create jobs, build houses and provide education and health services. What predominates is the world economic crisis, the very crisis which brought about the collapse of the Caetano regime and the strength of the working class to resist its ravages. The concessions that have been won must not become reins to hold back the demands of the working class, but the starting point for legal and democratic slogans to unite the working class on socialist policies.

In the Transitional Program Trotsky says: "One thing can be stated with conviction even at this point: once it breaks through, the revolutionary wave in fascist countries will immediately be a grandiose sweep and under no circumstances will stop short at the experiment of resuscitating some sort of Weimar corpse. It is from this point onward that an uncompromising divergence begins between the Fourth International and the old parties, which outlive their bankruptcy. The emigre 'People's Front' is the most malignant and perfidious variety of all possible People's Fronts. Essentially, it signifies the impotent longing for coalition with a non-existent bourgeoisie. Had it met with success, it would simply have prepared a series of new defeats of the Spanish type for the proletariat. A merciless exposure of the theory and practice of the 'People's Front' is therefore the first condition for a revolutionary struggle against fascism. Of course, this does not mean that the Fourth International rejects democratic slogans as a means of mobilizing the masses against fascism. On the contrary, such slogans at certain moments can play a serious role. But the formulas of democra-

cy (freedom of the press, the right to unionize, etc.) mean for us only incidental or episodic slogans in the independent movement of the proletariat and not a democratic noose fastened to the neck of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie's agents (Spain!)"

In the few weeks since the coup, Portugal has become a cauldron of political activity. From no parties (except the fascists' national Popular Action) there are now more than 50. Petty-bourgeois revolutionism is at a premium. A group of middle-class poseurs form a party one day, split the next and dissolve the day after. The frenzy is generated by the "grandiose sweep" of the working class and its unconscious striving to resolve the social crisis by taking power into its hands. The upheaval is everywhere. Judges and police chiefs make public declarations of their unswerving loyalty to democracy while secretly hating the celebrations of the masses; journalists and editors watch every sentence they write for fear of offending the printworkers and their readers by slipping back to their fascist jargon; young officers come to soldiers to ask advice on the differences between Stalinism, Maoism and Trotskyism; monarchists come out of complete historical obscurity to talk about "national restoration"; social democrats compete greedily with each other for government posts; and the working class, suspicious of everybody but their workmates, grappling with the questions of how to advance their struggle for wages, better conditions and basic democratic rights, all of which pose not an intermediate stage of struggle but a direct challenge for power.

In making their swinish pact with the junta, the Portuguese Stalinists place themselves consciously and deliberately in the camp of the bourgeoisie and against the aspirations of the masses. The obscene arguments that they use have a horrible familiarity. "Ultra-left elements clamour for the immediate 'introduction' of socialism. We hold, however, that the working class will gain power gradually; it will be in step with our gaining control of the state machine that we shall begin to transform it into the interests of the further develop-

ment of the revolution." Alvaro Cunhal? No. Chilean Stalinist Banchemo at a "World Marxist Review" seminar held only months before the fascist junta carried out its coup there. But the same line that led to the disarming of the working class in Chile is being used in Portugal. On May 31 the British Stalinists' Morning Star boasted that after a PCP statement "workers in transport and the bakeries in Lisbon decided to return to work after three days of strikes which the Party had criticized. The PCP has issued an urgent warning of the dangers of disruption by reactionary elements assisted by ultra-left adventurists. The danger of a return of a bloody fascist tyranny is great."

There are other ghoully parallels. "Workers must refrain from struggling for higher wages, and must not go on strike ... If the strikes were to become widespread the government would be transformed into a completely repressive dictatorship ..." General Antonio Spínola? No, General Mario Prats, head of the Chilean armed forces just before the fascist take-over. But Spínola borrowed the same language when he went to the provincial capital of Oporto on May 29 to make his first public speech since installing himself as president. He warned workers that their newly-found freedoms were "criminally threatened" by "counter-revolutionaries" and "anarchy." He said it would bring a return to right-wing dictatorship. In both Chile and Portugal the words of the Stalinists and the generals are the same. Banchemo could have made Prats' speech and Cunhal could have made Spínola's. They use the same language because they both pursue the same goal—the smashing of the independent movement of the working class for power; the armed forces in the interests of the Portuguese ruling class, the Stalinists in the interests of the Moscow bureaucracy.

Not only are the workers in metropolitan Portugal meant to lie back and let the fascist conspirators continue in business, but the colonial workers are being told to call ceasefires and settle for a rotten compromise at the imperialists' conference table. The colonial peoples must not lift their armed struggle or their strikes until complete and unconditional independence

BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

By Alex Mitchell

tical responsibility for it. If the Mensheviks and the SRs had actually broken with the Cadets (liberals) and with foreign imperialism, then the 'workers' and peasants' government' created by them could only have hastened and facilitated the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But it was exactly because of this that the leadership of petty-bourgeois democracy resisted with all possible strength the establishment of its own government. The experience of Russia demonstrated and the experience of Spain and France once again confirm that even under very favorable conditions the parties of petty-bourgeois democracy (SRs; Social Democrats, Stalinists, Anarchists) are in capable of creating a government of workers and peasants, that is, a government independent of the bourgeoisie.

"Nevertheless, the demand of the Bolsheviks, addressed to the Mensheviks and the SRs: 'Break with the bourgeoisie, take the power into your own hands!' had for the masses tremendous educational significance. The obstinate unwillingness of the Mensheviks and SRs to take power, so dramatically exposed during the July days, definitely doomed them before mass opinion and prepared the victory of the Bolsheviks.

"The central task of the Fourth International consists in freeing the proletariat from the old leadership, whose conservatism is in complete contradiction to the catastrophic eruptions of disintegrating capitalism and represents the chief obstacle to historical progress. The chief accusation which the Fourth International advances against the traditional organizations of the proletariat is the fact that they do not wish to tear themselves away from the political semi-corpse of the bourgeoisie. Under these conditions the demand, systematically addressed to the old leadership: 'Break with the bourgeoisie, take the power!' is an extremely important weapon for exposing the treacherous character of the parties and organizations of the Second, Third and Amsterdam Internationals. The slogan 'Workers' and Farmers' government,' is thus acceptable to us only in the sense that it had in 1917 with the Bolsheviks, i.e., as an anti-bourgeois and anti-capitalist slogan, but in no case in that 'democratic' sense which later the epigones gave it, transforming it from a bridge to socialist revolution into the chief barrier upon its path."

The revolutionary party must agitate tirelessly and audaciously in the workers' government. But how is it to be achieved? The Maoists rush all over Lisbon trying to demonstrate how more "left" they are than the Moscow Stalinists by calling for a workers' government. But this is to place an impossible ultimatum on the working class. The way to workers' government is to dash the illusions of the working class in the Stalinists and reformists. This means mobilizing the working class behind the demand for the Communist and Socialist Parties to break completely from the bourgeoisie and the junta-appointed Popular Front.

This is the way to end the behind-the-scenes scheming between the junta and the Popular Front ministers that has already led to the fascist Caetano to be sent to political asylum in Brazil, the breaking of strikes and occupations, the half-hearted "purge" of the secret police and the fascist administrations, the instruction to homeless people to stop squatting in empty residences. The statement of the International Committee of the Fourth International, published in the Workers Press on May 16, 1974, stated the demand: "Only a systematic agitation to expose the impotency and treachery of the reformists, an agitation summarized in the demand addressed to the CP-SP leaders—'Break with the Bourgeoisie, take the power!'—can open the way for revolutionary education of the workers and peasants and the construction of the Portuguese section of the International Committee."

In the Transitional Program, Trotsky expounds the importance of this demand drawing on the Bolsheviks' experience in Russia: "From April to September, 1917, the Bolsheviks demanded that the Social Revolutionaries (SR's) and Mensheviks break with the liberal bourgeoisie and take power into their own hands. Under this provision the Bolshevik Party promised the Mensheviks and the SR's, as the petty-bourgeois representatives of the workers and peasants, its revolutionary aid against the bourgeoisie; categorically refusing, however, either to enter into the government of the Mensheviks and SRs or to carry poli-

tical responsibility for it. If the Mensheviks and the SRs had actually broken with the Cadets (liberals) and with foreign imperialism, then the 'workers' and peasants' government' created by them could only have hastened and facilitated the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But it was exactly because of this that the leadership of petty-bourgeois democracy resisted with all possible strength the establishment of its own government. The experience of Russia demonstrated and the experience of Spain and France once again confirm that even under very favorable conditions the parties of petty-bourgeois democracy (SRs; Social Democrats, Stalinists, Anarchists) are in capable of creating a government of workers and peasants, that is, a government independent of the bourgeoisie.

CONCLUDED

LABOR TODAY

Industrial Killers part one

"Even if all the identifiable costs were placed on the employer, we cannot always be sure that it would not be cheaper for the employer to replace dead workers than to keep them alive.

"It may even be profitable, if only dollars and cents are counted. In the case of chronic occupational disease, it may be cheaper for any nation to sacrifice a life that has already achieved peak productivity," said Sheldon W. Samuels, of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department.

Even government figures indicate the devastation being caused by industrial diseases. Their figures show that there are at least 390,000 new cases of disabling industrial diseases each year, and 100,000 deaths from occupationally caused diseases.

Asbestos is one of the killers.

Lung cancer can result from working with asbestos. One out of five deaths among asbestos workers is caused by this disease. One out of ten deaths is caused by mesothelioma, a rare cancer of the linings of the chest or abdomen. One out of ten deaths results from asbestosis, scarring of the lungs caused by inhaling asbestos fibers.

Nearly one-half of the insulation workers in the US are dying from some form of asbestos disease.

For years, the Pittsburgh Corning Corporation asbestos insulation plant in Tyler, Texas has ignored the peril to its workers because of the hazardous conditions. The dangerous asbestos fibers pollute the air being inhaled continuously by the workers.

Based on a study of the mortality rate of workers in 1941-45 at the Union Asbestos and Rubber Company plant in Paterson, New Jersey, it is estimated that one-third of the men at the Tyler plant will die unnecessarily early deaths: 100 to 200 excess deaths from lung cancer; 50 from mesothelioma; 45 from cancer of the colon, rectum, and stomach; and 50 from asbestosis.

Workers at the Paterson plant incur three times as much gastrointestinal cancer as people in the general population.

Doctors urge a standard of 2 asbestos fibers/ cubic centimeter of air. This is never enforced. A 1971 study showed that the Tyler plant even ignored the governmental standard of 12 fibers/ cc.

Families of workers in the asbestos plants also face health hazards. Families are exposed to asbestos dust brought home on a workers clothes. A study of the relatives of men who worked at the Paterson plant found that of 150 people who lived in the same house with a worker, 39 percent showed x-ray abnormalities. Most of these abnormalities were in the form of lung scarring typically found in asbestos workers themselves.

In June, 1973, the Environmental Protection Agency found that the water supply of Duluth, Minnesota contained extremely great quantities of asbestos. The city gets its water supply from Lake Superior. In 1956, the Reserve Mining Company at Silver Bay near Duluth, a \$340 million subsidiary of ARMCO and Republic Steel, began contaminating Lake Superior, using a new process for extracting iron from taconite ore deposits.

They began dumping thousands of pulverized waste tailings into the lake each day, and releasing mineral dust into the air through smoke stacks.

By the middle 1960s, the company was dumping 67 thousand tons of waste into the lake each day. A green stain 20 square miles spread over the lake near Silver Bay. By 1969, it was revealed that the green stain was not algae, as had been claimed, but was produced by a light scattering effect caused by sunlight on suspended particles. Particles which destroy life: asbestos.

Air samples indicate that anyone breathing Duluth air is inhaling more than 100 million fibers in 24 hours.

Laundry is washed in asbestos water. Clothes driers blow out asbestos particles. Infants and children receive asbestos. It is a carcinogen being given daily to the population of the city.

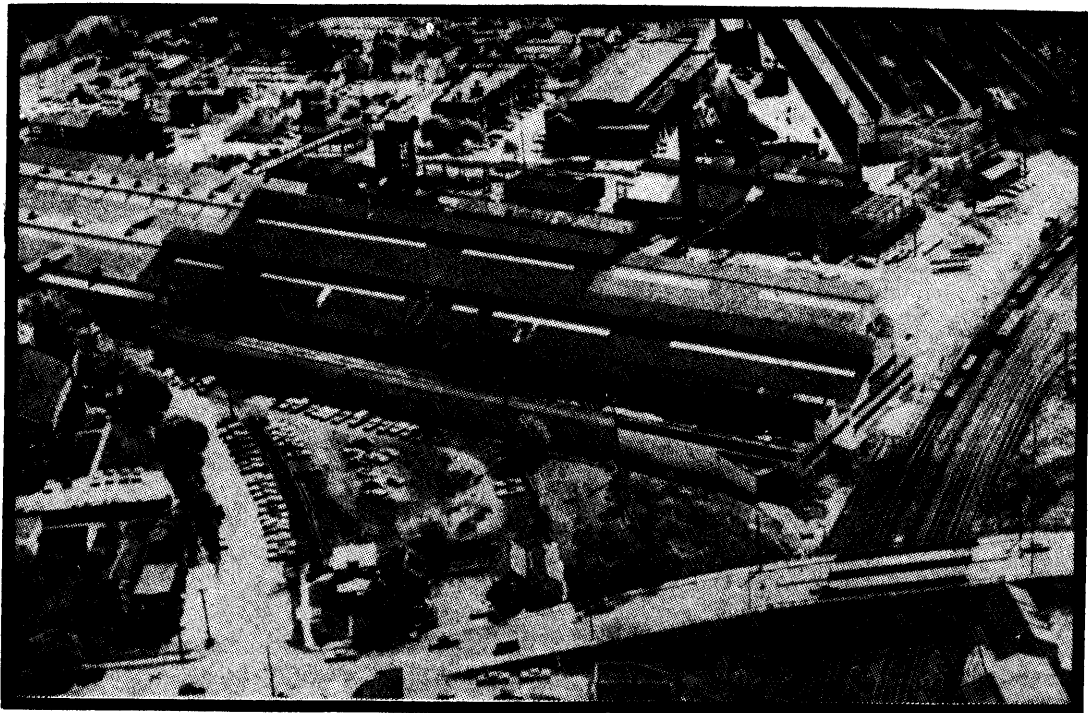
Suits were brought against Reserve Mining by Minnesota and the Environmental Protection Agency. US District Court Judge Lord's decision that the plant should close operations has been reversed by the Appeals Court.

The Appeals Court is allowing the Silver Bay plant to continue running, finding no immediate health hazard. The company has been advised it must find an on land site, which will allow the air pollution to continue.

It takes about 20 years for asbestos induced cancer to develop.

Dr. William Nicholson of Mt. Sinai testified at the trial: "If we waited until we saw the bodies in the streets, we would then be certain there would be another 30 or 40 years of mortality experience before us."

by esther galen



Tube Works Closure Dooms Ellwood City

BY A
BULLETIN
REPORTING
TEAM

ELLWOOD CITY, Pa.—United States Steel Executive E. B. Speer announced last Thursday that the nearly 75-year-old US Tube Works is scheduled for shut-down by the end of the year.

This will mean a loss of 1500 jobs and will transform this city into a ghost town.

Since 1900, this plant has produced seamless steel tubing in carbon, alloy, and stainless steel and seamless mill tool castings for this heavily industrialized area. Ellwood City grew up completely dependent on steel production as a "tube mill town."

USS has now declared that "serious economic circumstances" require them to consolidate the Ellwood works with the more efficient Gary Works and to transfer all tube production to Indiana.

Anthony Terrese told the Bulletin: "I think it's bad that they will close the plant. I think they should keep it here. The young workers can't find work and the older workers won't be able."

"The other mill, Rexnord, is half gone already. People are having to move away and sell their homes."

"I don't see why the government doesn't lower the retirement age, because that way the older workers could enjoy the few benefits that they get and the younger workers could find work."

"The companies want to build the dollar up, but to do that, they have to make people poor. They want a depression."

Tom, a high school student, said: "In this town, there isn't going to be anything left when this closes. About half of the town works there. Everybody will have to move."

"The business stores, even the grocery stores, will be hit. The younger workers plan to move, but the older ones will have to take the punishment."

"There is no summer work at the tube mill. There will be no work in the entire city. We're mad about it."

Joe, another worker being laid off, said: "I was working at the plant for 20 years and US Steel told us two months and that's it."

"They gave us a wage increase that food prices ate up right away. Five dollars an hour is nothing now."

"It is a disgrace that Nixon is even in there. All he is trying to do is line his own pockets for big business."

"This plant is completely obsolete. The plant was obsolete back when my 80-year-old father started working there just after he arrived from Italy."

WIRE

"Back in 1946 to 1947, they sent letters to everyone that they would close the mill. They decided to stay and the plant has been held together with bailing wire and shims ever since."

The skyrocketing costs of raw materials necessary for steel has made steel production unprofitable in these antiquated mills.

Severe steel shortages are taking place nationally as even the major mills do not find production profitable enough. Instead, more mills are being phased out and the work force being streamlined through speedup and layoffs.

The Rexnord plant in Ellwood City is in the process of laying off 400 to 500 workers as they move production to Danville, Kentucky. Other plants like Ellwood City Iron and Wire and Zelionople Halstead and Mitchel are threatening the same—fold up or move South.

Anthony Terrese said: "They plan to move Rexnord South. They are moving management, but not the union, to the new plant. They say this area is too militant."

USS is pretending great concern over the future industry in the area and a huge spread was put in the front page of the Ellwood City Ledger claiming that the area is "particularly appealing to light industry," and announcing the plans of USS Corporation to build an industrial park on the site.

FRAUD

This is a complete fraud. The executive director of the Ellwood City Industrial Corporation has meanwhile cynically called on workers to "pull ourselves up from the bootstraps, tackling the job with a pioneering one-for-all and all-

for-one spirit and a self-contained attitude while going back to that good old fashioned Ellwood City spirit."

After putting up to 30 years of their lives into the plants, people are being told they have to move to another city to get any pension benefits. There is absolutely no future for the youth in the city.

Helen Perrone told the Bulletin: "My father works at the US Steel plant here and has put in nearly 30 years. He needs one more year before being eligible for retirement."

"The company says that they can find the men other jobs, but I can't see where they can put them. My dad may have to move to Indiana for the last year, and just come home on the weekends, in order to keep his seniority rights."

"I'd give this whole town 10 years. It's really frightening."

The Local 2289 president at US Steel Ellsworth City is following USWA President I.W. Abel's policy of allowing the closure to go ahead. He mildly criticized the "suddenness" of the announcement, but contended "it puts the rumors to rest." "At least we know now where we stand," he said, and added workers should "try to pick up the pieces and go from there."

RUINED

One worker who will soon lose his job said: "There is too much talking while things get ruined for the working people. The union just isn't doing too much."

"Now other plants like Halstead and Mitchel from the Zelionople area are threatening to move to Alabama and get lower labor costs through non-union work."

The defense of all steel workers jobs and living standards means that the national contract providing for a 3 percent wage increase and no-strike pledge must be thrown out. Steel workers must demand national strike action to stop layoffs, for a full 20 percent increase for all steel workers, immediate repairs and handling of safety grievances. If the plant can't make a profit, it should be nationalized by the union without compensation to USS. The USWA must take the lead by demanding a Congress of Labor to organize a labor party to throw Nixon out.

Only a leadership based on such a program, a socialist program, can defend the jobs of workers today.

OCAW Blocks Factory Gates Against Scabs

BY LOUIS MILLER

PIKETON, Ohio—Angry members of Local 3-689 Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers International blockaded entrances to the Atomic Energy Commission's Good-year plant here in order to prevent scabbing by salaried and construction workers.

Workers are denouncing a concerted effort by the company, federal government, courts, and the AFL-CIO, as one worker said: "to starve us back into the plant."

Construction workers crossing picket lines are believed to be AFL-CIO members under threats of a secondary boycott action by the courts.

Since the last strike at Good-year, the company has been hiring salaried and construction workers so that now there are more salaried than union hourly employees. The hiring, reported as "sevenfold" has continued since the strike began on May 2. One worker reported: "This company is antiunion. They have been so since rubber workers were organized in Akron back in 1937."

Salaried personnel are being flown into the plant by helicopter daily, avoiding the striking workers' blockades. As many as five loads per day are reported, with Goodyear armed guards at the airport.

The company has violated court restraining orders and has attempted to subcontract strikers' jobs to outside contractors.

Truckers for Davis Transport in Paducah, Kentucky, Joplin and Superior Trucking, are stopping loaded rigs short of federal government property, where the trucks are taken through picket lines by salaried employees.

LICENSES

Drivers for those companies are reportedly operating the trucks without chauffeurs' licenses and required health cards.

A worker said: "The truckers are now talking about another shutdown. That would help us a lot because it would stop construction inside the plant."

The company meanwhile is requesting a second court restraining order against the pickets, who the company claims is violating a previous court order, limiting pickets to 10 men per gate.

OCAW workers are striking for a wage reopener provided for in the last year of the existing three-year contract. The strike began May 2, when hourly workers overwhelmingly rejected a company offer of an 8.5 percent increase, and demanded a 15 percent raise.

"Tricky Dickie said he was going to bust the unions. That's why Goodyear gave him a \$40,000 illegal campaign contribution," said a worker.

Goodyear Atomic Corporation in Piketon operates the gaseous diffusion plant for the AEC on a cost plus 10 percent profit basis. Another such plant is operated by Union Carbide in Oakridge, Tenn.

One worker said: "They call us thugs and take us to court because we're defending our rights, but this company can break the law because it is the federal government."



Members of AFSCME and the Teamsters union outside Lebanon Correctional Institution sparked the Ohio strike for higher pay.

GH&R Ranks Oppose Mediator

BY

A REPORTER

DAYTON—With the strike less than a week old, United Electrical Workers bureaucrats have begun a retreat from an all-out fight against GH&R by calling in a mediator for the negotiations.

This action strongly suggests that the union leadership is not serious about winning the demands of the ranks for a big wage increase and major improvements in working conditions.

There is a tremendous determination among the ranks to win this strike, the first official walkout at the foundry in 20 years.

"It is really bad," declared one worker. "The heat really hurts the men. There's no air conditioning."

"We went out on Friday and a worker, only 51 years old, died on Saturday. The working conditions killed him."

"If you file a grievance, they just kick it to one side. They have no respect at all."

The GH&R ranks flatly rejected the company's offer of a 24¢ raise for day workers and 19¢ for piece workers the first year, and 16¢ for day workers and 12¢ for pieceworkers in the second and third year of the contract.

"We aren't making what we should. We're underpaid and the company knows it."

"And we don't want a cap on the cost of living. We should fight the government, the Congress, the Democrats, and Republicans to get what we want."

Another member of UE Local 765 stated that Nixon was behind the attacks on living standards.

"These days, they've got the police against you in the streets," he declared. "I won't let Nixon put himself above me though. If it were up to me, he'd be out on the streets begging for food stamps."

Workers asked not to be identified by name because of

possible reprisals. One of them stated that working in GH&R "is like being in prison."

The UE leadership has no strategy to win this strike. In the midst of a strike wave which is engulfing the state, the Local 765 leaders refuse to seek the support of the city labor movement—particularly the UAW.

SUPPORT

The UE local must call on the UAW to support the fight of GH&R workers for higher pay by initiating national strike action and by launching a political fight to force Nixon out through the building of a labor party.

Conditions Worse At Norwood

BY DAVID NORTH

NORWOOD, Ohio—There has been a further deterioration in working conditions at the General Motors assembly plant here since the mini-strike held last month.

Nothing was resolved by the weekend job action called by the International. The workers still do not have a local contract.

Production on the 1974 models is virtually closed out, and the members of Local 676 are back on an eight hour day. However, discipline within the plant has been stepped up as the management utilizes every opportunity to trim the work force.

"I think the mini-strike benefited the company," said one worker. "The whole thing was worked out in advance. The company knew exactly what to expect."

The summer heat wave has made working conditions practically unbearable. In the paint department, the temperature has reached 115 to 120 degrees.

A worker who misses one day is required to bring in a medical excuse from a doctor, even though this was formally required only for an absence of three days. Without an excuse, a worker faces dismissal.

Lordstown Ranks Say: All UAW Out

BY

A REPORTER

LORDSTOWN, Ohio—The walkout of 7800 auto workers at the Lordstown GMAD plant is entering its second week.

Workers are now determined this time not to give in without winning a decent contract. This determination was revealed on the weekend when pickets prevented management from entering for three hours before county sheriffs called in reinforcements.

Robert, a picket at the plant, told the Bulletin: "This strike may be long: two or three months. We have changeover coming up in August."

"It isn't a mini-strike. We're striking for a contract. When we walked out in October, we should

have gotten a contract. We were given 2500 disciplinary layoffs instead.

"We got sanction from Woodcock this time, but I don't trust the International. It's the International that's to blame for our being without a contract for 10 months."

FIGHTING

"The men are fighting on their own now. With inflation and speedup, we get it from both sides."

"The grievances haven't been settled at all. It's not speedup alone. It's been around 104 for four years now. Every single thing you do is watched."

"You don't have time to eat. I have to walk 15 minutes and back to the cafeteria. Hardly anyone in my section eats lunch anymore."

"I'm in final inspection, and they really don't care whether the car is together or not."

"They knocked out 12 jobs here in the last year. They don't give a damn about people. I knew Floyd Wade and his dying wasn't the first thing that ever happened. A number of men have lost an arm or a leg and can't work for life."

"When Floyd was killed, they pulled him aside and kept the line moving. They didn't even stop it. The company is so greedy, we should have stopped things long ago. Working isn't worth it. Now the company is tooling up to produce Vegas in Southgate."

"The International is not stopping it. We're going to have to do it this time."

"If we have to go out nationwide all at once—I don't care about Woodcock's mini-strikes—a national strike is what we'll have."

don't want to spend any to fix the plant up."

Workers are prohibited from smoking in the paint department because of combustible chemicals.

Last week production was halted temporarily because a chain broke on the assembly line.

"They were so anxious to get production going again," stated Anderson, "that management brought repairmen into the paint department with blow torches to cut the chain. We all wanted to get out of the area because those blow torches could have triggered an explosion."

"We all know that something's got to be done about this situation."

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NIXON

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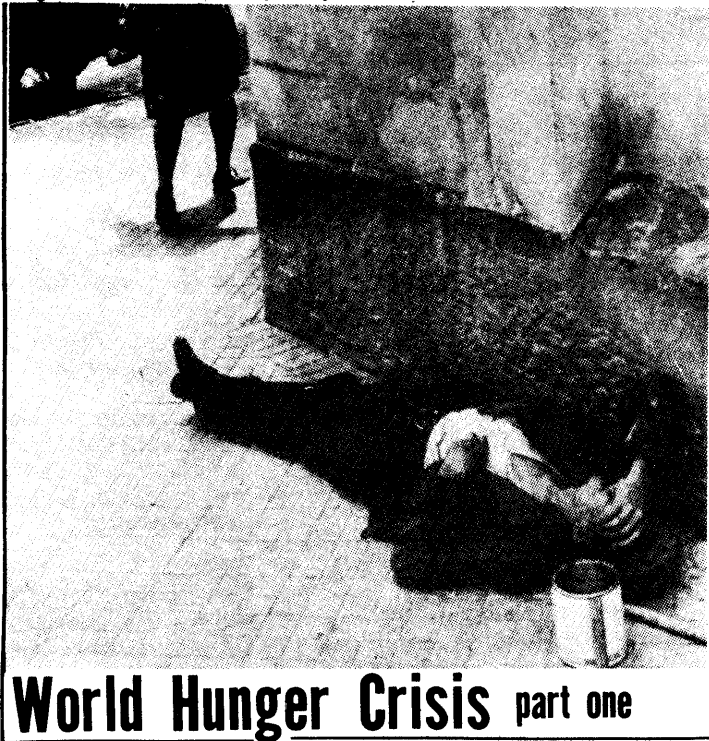
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World Hunger Crisis part one

The following feature is reprinted from Workers Press, daily Trotskyist newspaper of the British Workers Revolutionary Party.

According to the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization 2000 million people in the world go to bed hungry every night and many of them will die prematurely of malnutrition.

Food stocks are now so low that even in the advanced countries next year's supplies depend upon whether the harvest is good or bad. The position is getting worse each year and is aggravated by the effects of the world economic crisis.

Decades of imperialist exploitation and pillage of the world's resources have intensified the food problem and reduced fertile areas to dust bowls, waste lands and deserts. The tragic situation of millions of people in the Sahel region of Africa is only one example.

POVERTY

Even in the United States, classed as the richest country in the world, 14 million people in the Mississippi region alone suffer from "hunger and malnutrition" according to the Citizen Board of Inquiry. The right-wing magazine *US News and World Report* says: "In spite of general abundance, the United States finds that it has a big poverty problem... Thirty million Americans, almost one-seventh of the entire population, are living in poverty."

Poverty and hunger are not accidents of nature but social products. They arise from the operation of the objective laws of capitalist production which make profit the sole criterion for economic development and the use of land and natural resources.

In some of the areas in which hunger and poverty are most widespread the concentration of landed property is colossal but the mass of the people have no land at all or insufficient to support themselves and their families. The big estates, whether owned by wealthy local families or mighty multi-national corporations, are geared to the production of export crops or are used for pasture when they could be cultivated to produce food.

PLANNED ECONOMY

The poor peasants are reduced to pauperism, working on the big estates when there is work to be had, or driven by hunger and landlessness into already overcrowded towns to join the ranks of the unemployed living in slums and shanty towns.

In the countries of Latin America, in India and other parts of Asia, in Africa, none of the basic problems of economic develop-

ment can be solved without an agrarian revolution which destroys the power of the land-owning class and brings the land, along with the rest of the economy, into social ownership.

The existing governments, formed by an alliance of the national bourgeoisie with the land-owning classes and leaning upon imperialism cannot carry out such a revolution. As the theory of the permanent revolution shows, only the working class, leading behind it the peasant masses, can carry through to completion what were once the historic tasks of the bourgeois revolution.

A nationalized and planned economy, organized on an international basis, would make it possible to develop natural resources to produce sufficient for all while conserving the environment and taking account of future needs.

Liberal humanitarians like to blame population growth for a problem which arises essentially from the anarchy of the market under capitalism. The population explosion has not just happened; it is a result of specific features of imperialist development. Capitalism has in the past thrived on an inexhaustible supply of cheap labor. It has had no interest in seeing population limited.

The real problem today is not so much an excess of population, although the spread of birth control techniques is necessary. It is failure on the part of capitalism to develop production for the satisfaction of human needs; something which it is inherently incapable of doing.

In the meantime it continues to condemn hundreds of millions to malnutrition and slow death from lack of food. The effects fall most heavily on the children.

In the recent report of the Pan-American Health Organization there appeared the following passage:

"The number of child deaths in Latin America due to malnutrition amounts to 750,000 a year or 2000 children a day or a little more than 83 every hour. In Latin America hunger is responsible for 38 percent of the deaths in children under one year old and 70 percent of the deaths in children from one to four years old.

WAITING FOR DEATH

"There are nearly 1000 million children under 14 years old in the world. A large number of these children will never reach adulthood; they will die prematurely, mainly because of malnutrition. For hundreds of millions of children, life is little more than waiting for death, it is certainly no banquet."

TO BE CONTINUED

LA Times Reporter Faces New Jailing

The following is an interview with William Farr, reporter for the Los Angeles Times. He has already spent 46 days in jail between November, 1972 and January, 1973 for refusing to name the source of information he used for a news article regarding the Charles Manson murder trial.

Judge Charles Older ordered Farr to jail on an open-ended sentence when Farr refused to reveal which attorney in the case had violated the judge's gag order prohibiting discussion of the case out of court.

Farr faced jail again when the LA grand jury a few weeks ago asked him for the same information. He again refused to reveal his source and was found in contempt.

Later, the same judge reversed his decision and held that California State Law 1070, reporters' shield law, allowed Farr to protect his source of information.

On July 29, Farr goes before Judge Older again for sentencing. The judge which heard the appeal ruled he could not be jailed on an open-ended sentence because that would be "coercive." Judge Older can sentence Farr to serve 5 days for each count against him, which could add up to 65 days in jail.

Farr could be called to testify

feeling that reporters should testify like any other citizen. I think those people who feel that way are overlooking the fact reporters are really not quite like other citizens. We're a surrogate for the public, in the way that the public couldn't serve themselves.

"The magnitude of the activities of the presidency and of President Nixon in particular, in regard to Watergate, would dictate that executive privilege not be used.

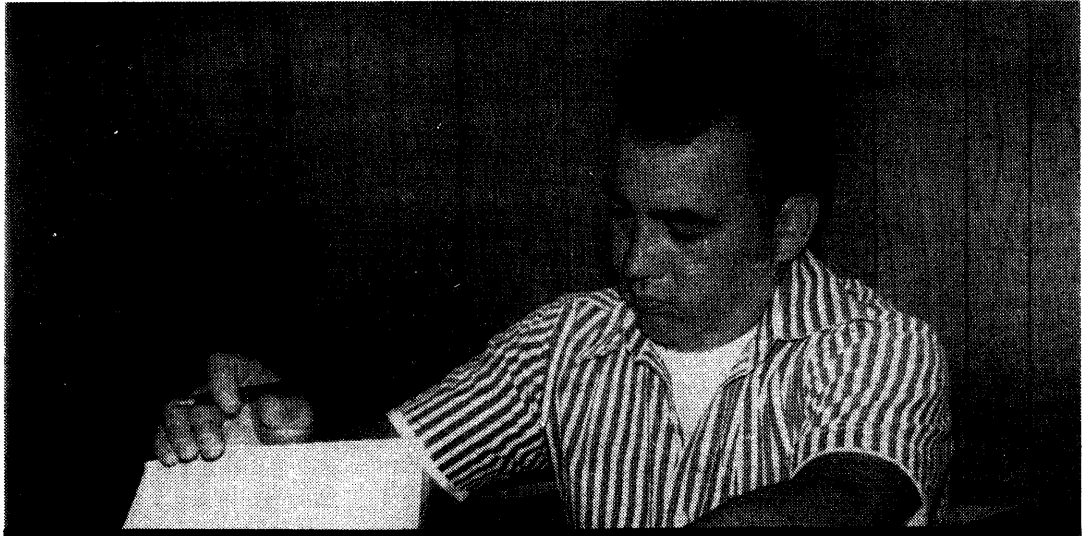
"However, I do know that lawyers say, if you give an inch on privilege, then you've lost it entirely. But it seems to me that the president has already given up tapes, so if that theory were true, then he would have to give up all of them.

"You know, he has resisted every inch of the way.

"Certainly, the more obvious thing is that Will (William Lewis, General Manager of KPFK, jailed after refusing to give to the FBI original SLA tapes) ends up in jail. Bang! Like that. Whereas, with the president, it may take us six years to get him to comply if he ever does.

"A little to my embarrassment these days, that all those people in the press are ultraliberal. In fact, I am not. A little bit to my embarrassment, I voted for Mr. Nixon.

"I only mention this because I come to this exact same viewpoint without any preconceived bias against the president. Long before Watergate, I felt the actions of this administration were extremely regrettable.



William Farr, Los Angeles Times reporter, during interview with the Bulletin.

again in the trial of the two lawyers that the grand jury indicted. When Farr refuses to answer the same question again, he could be found in contempt and face even more time in jail.

"There may not be a simplistic answer as to whether the government is trying to control the press. There has been a tendency to want to try to stultify the press's investigative work.

"Certainly, there is an inclination among people in government to want to do that. And if you can intimidate reporters, they might be less inclined to want to look into a lot of wrongdoing that needs to be looked into.

"Maybe the attitude really was generated by persons in public office. But it's not that simple. I think they look askance at the press, particularly where you have freedom of the press clashing with the defendant's right to a fair trial.

"There may have been some legitimate basis for some of the

under indictment. And they're willing to break into a psychiatrist's office and God only knows what else they would have been willing to do and would have done had they not been tripped up. And that's what's frightening!

"And yet one of the real ironies is that almost all these people campaigned and spoke out on so-called law and order and they must have meant law and order for somebody else, because they certainly didn't want to abide by it.

"What I'm afraid of is that if we get further into a monetary crisis, the tendency to use repressive measures and to justify them is great. There is that danger.

"You get, if not a repressive, certainly a tremendous oppressive aura where in these cases, the judges are just browbeating. I think we have to be very vigilant against allowing economic crises to be the excuse for the erosion of personal liberties.

"That's what we have to do, and the question is how do we alert the public to be vigilant. Certainly, that is part of the responsibility of the media.

"One thing about a labor party is that it's broader based than the capitalistic opposite, and that maybe it can bring about an alternative.

"One thing I guess I would have to concede, and my philosophy is different, is that the way things are going now, maybe we're not as right as we think.

"Things aren't going the way they should. All you need to do to see that is to go to places like Watts, not read about them, but go there. Even the Westside lib-

erals, they're never there.

"They believe these things in the abstract. But they're down there, and there is a difference.

"I had a conversation with a guy last night, whose brother is a guy who was shot by a policeman. And the brother is a pretty straight guy, but he is very embittered, and understandably so. I said to him, 'You know, your brother created many of these problems. He's been in criminal activity for many years.'

"He said, 'You know, it's all well and good to say why doesn't he go out and get an honest job?' And he proceeded to tell me that after his brother's first conviction at the age of 19, he did exactly that, but this society wouldn't give him a job.

"And even though you and I undoubtedly differ in philosophy, I would have to grant that there is something radically wrong with a society that doesn't concern itself with the plight of the vast majority of people in that society."

Borax Spends Fortune To Keep Scabs Happy

BY SHEILA BREHM
BORON, Calif.—“We look at this kind of job as a military operation.”

This is what job applicants for guards are told by Krout and Schneider, Inc., the guard company which has a major contract with US Borax to break the six-week-old miners strike.

There are 840 members of ILWU Local 30 striking US Borax, the largest borax mining and processing facility in the world. In an offensive against skyrocketing inflation, the miners are demanding a 25 percent wage increase the first year.

US Borax has already spent hundreds of thousands of dollars to try to break the strike.

The ads posted in all unemployment centers seeking recruits to break the strike read: “Prefer veteran with combat experience or ex-police officer.”

K&S guards, considered an elite force among guard companies, earn over \$530 a week, working 7 day, 12 hour shifts. They are now being flown up from Los Angeles to Boron to prevent any more damage to their cars.

The guards remain inside the plant for 30 days, where a swimming pool has been set up, along with pool tables. The meals served consist of lobster, steak, and pheasant. US Borax is presently spending \$6000 a day on food alone for the strikebreakers.

Currently, \$300 for each guard is being invested in new equipment, including helmets, bullet-proof vests, uniforms, and special long steel-aluminum flashlights which are used as weapons. The guards do not carry guns, for fear they will be shot at.

When the guards do leave the plant occasionally to run errands, they must go in crews, because: “Everybody in the town supports the strikers.”

When the strike first broke out, Kern County sheriffs were thought to be too complacent. A

US Borax official then notified California Governor Ronald Reagan, who then instructed the sheriffs to step up the action against the strikers. Before becoming governor, Reagan was the narrator for the TV series “Death Valley Days,” sponsored by US Borax.

So far, 34 strikers have been arrested, and thousands of dollars have been drained from the local to post bail.

Striker Bill Miller was shot in the thigh last week by company foreman Frank Cosello, after he was followed to Barstow, a town neighboring Boron, and nearly driven off the road.

Miller was shot as he pulled up to the sheriff's office to try to make a citizen's arrest. Casello was released two hours later.

A striker told the *Bulletin*: “We heard Attorney General Evelle Younger got him out.”

Last Friday, two strikers were badly beaten by four guards while on picket duty. The union has no strike fund. Recently, Borax General Manager Cromwell stepped in to try to prevent the strikers from receiving food stamps.

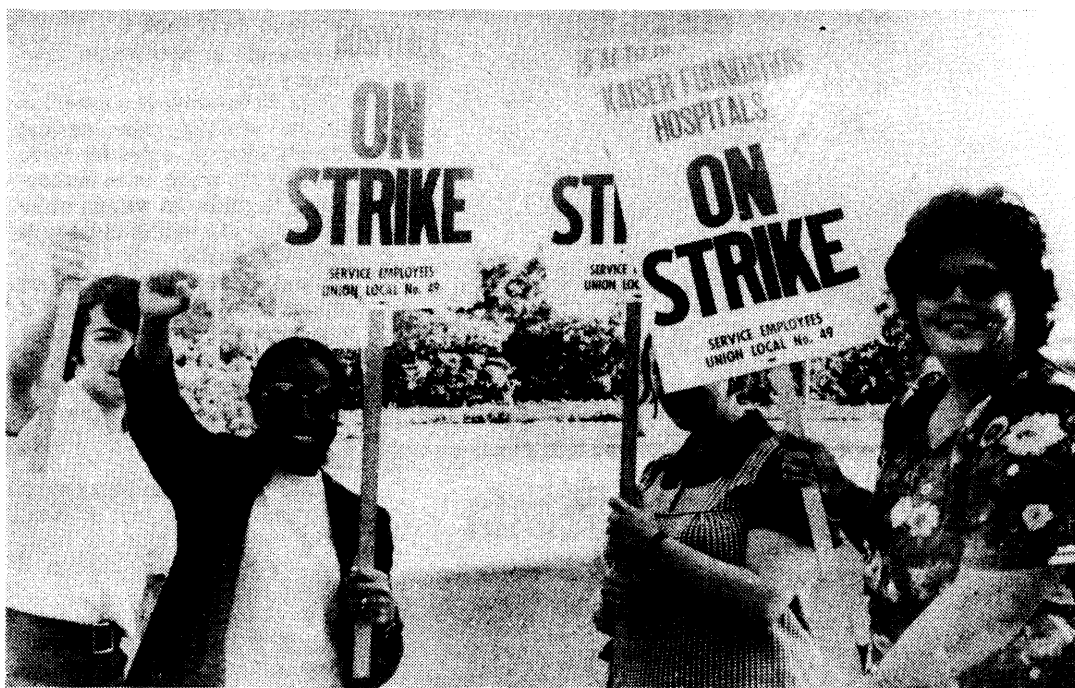
Local 30 officials report that it might be as long as a month before the International ILWU comes up with any funds to subsidize the strikers.

Over the weekend, two Borax buildings were burned. Borax has blamed the union and is claiming over \$750,000 in damages. However, a union member said: “We didn't do it.”

“Those buildings were old, they haven't been used since the 1950s. If you ask me, the company is trying to take advantage of the strike to claim a lot of damage either through insurance or an income tax deduction.”

There is no doubt that the war against the miners is being directed from the governor's office itself, with the full backing of Nixon. The vicious attack against this strike is what every worker now faces who is fighting for a decent wage.

The labor movement must now mobilize its tremendous power by building its own independent labor party to force the hated Nixon government out.



Workers are continuing their strike at the Bess Kaiser Hospital in Portland, Oregon for a 10 percent wage increase.

Chinatown Plant On Strike

BY MARTY MORAN
SAN FRANCISCO—More than 100 garment workers went on strike last Friday at the Great Chinese-American Sewing Company, one of the

largest Chinatown sweatshops.

The strikers, mostly Cantonese-speaking women, walked out over the firing of a young worker who was organizing the shop into

the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU).

More than 90 percent had signed union authorization cards by the time of the firing, and every worker walked out. Less than six dozen have returned.

Pay and working conditions in Chinatown are among the worst in American industry. Thousands of workers are subject to the most brutal exploitation, and most cannot go elsewhere for work because of language and immigration problems.

\$2 AN HOUR

Sewers and cutters at the Great Chinese-American Sewing Company are among the better paid workers, getting \$2 an hour, the minimum legal wage.

Many other workers are paid even less through false time-keeping: paying for 32 hours work, when the work week is actually forty or fifty hours, or kickbacks and other forms of extortion.

The ILGWU claims nearly 1000 members in Chinatown, but this strike is its biggest action. The morning picket lines were set up, the union filed its authorization cards requesting an NLRB election to win bargaining rights for the strikers.

O'Sullivan Splits Carpenters

BY TIM NELSON
OAKLAND—Five weeks have passed since carpenters struck the Associated General Contractors June 17.

The 20,000 AGC carpenters have been scouring the sites of home builders and independent contractors looking for work.

The union leadership split the rank and file by signing a contract with the homebuilders and interim agreements with independents on June 16. The contract calls for a \$1.25 raise in the first year, with wage reopeners in 1975 and 1976, and 50 cents on benefits for the life of the contract.

The AGC, which had broken off negotiations until last Thursday, continues to attack the union for the six-week carpenters' wildcat last winter. They refuse to drop their \$20 million lawsuit against the carpenters.

The O'Sullivan leadership, which withheld sanction from an all-out strike against the Pay Board last winter, continues to back down. At first, no pickets were authorized.

“I think the strike is a farce,” one carpenter said at Local 36. “We should have all gone out together.”

“The home builders working is taking all our power. The AGC knows they're going to go broke

so they're standing us off and trying to bring in scabs whenever they can.”

The leadership claims that not picketing and allowing other crafts to work on AGC jobs would eventually shut the jobs down as other crafts ran out of work, and would allow the other workers to collect unemployment.

This policy actually does the opposite. A lather at the Union Bank building in Oakland stated: “What gets me is missing work when there's no picket out there. “A picket shows up, we go home. Then the picket leaves. The unemployment office would call the job, hear there were no pickets, and deny a man his money.”

O'Sullivan's policy of splitting the ranks has been copied by the other construction union bureaucrats. The laborers' union ended their strike two weeks ago and signed for a \$3.25 raise over three years, less than the pattern set by the home builders contract.

An ironworker said: “Their contract is lousy. We couldn't live on it. We should all be out together anyway.”

Iron workers are honoring picket lines but are not on strike. Their negotiations with the AGC continue.

Oakland Bus Strike Set

BY TED BAKER
OAKLAND, Calif.—AC Transit workers have called a mass meeting at Oakland Auditorium to discuss the complete breakdown of negotiations in their three week strike.

Following the meeting there will be a mass labor march to AC Transit headquarters in downtown sponsored by Amalgamated Transport Union Division 192, representing the AC strikers, and the Alameda County Central Labor Council.

AC bus drivers are determined to stay out until the strike is won. Arnie, a driver for 12 years, said: “We're not asking for anything.”

“We just want to keep the cost of living clause we already have, and AC wants to take it back. They say they'll go broke if they

have to pay it. But if my pay doesn't keep up with inflation, I'll go broke. It's simply a matter of keeping what we've already got and we're prepared to stay out as long as it takes.”

AC Transit claims that the present cost of living clause would give drivers unreasonable pay increases. They claim that by July 1, 1977, base pay would be \$16.87/hour. These figures have been spread across the headlines of local newspapers to portray the drivers as greedy.

But Lloyd Haddon, executive secretary of Division 192 told the *Bulletin* that AC's figures were “absolutely untrue. At present, AC drivers make \$6.62/hour, \$1.13 more than two years ago, about a 20 percent raise. In the same period of time, the consumer price index rose over 22 percent.

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lucha obrera

lucía rivera

Crisis Obliga A Castro Buscar Apoyo Imperialista



Cuba está ansiosa de restablecer relaciones diplomáticas con los Estados Unidos. La presencia de Castro en la Argentina para asistir al funeral del presidente Juan Perón le dio la oportunidad para declarar nuevamente que está dispuesto a conversar con Henry Kissinger si el bloqueo comercial termina.

Castro dijo que el bloqueo comercial no tiene ninguna "lógica ni justificación moral" en vista a que los americanos comercian con la Unión Soviética y los países de Europa oriental. Entonces, preguntó: "¿Por qué tenemos que sufrir el bloqueo que carece de toda base?"

Estos son los últimos razzos de la evolución del castrismo.

Todo esto toma lugar en un período en que el sistema capitalista está al borde del colapso económico internacional. Los países débiles no tienen ningún control sobre el mercado mundial, que está dominado por las relaciones capitalistas. Cuba no es una excepción. Bajo las condiciones actuales no puede competir. Es por esto que busca restablecer relaciones diplomáticas con los Estados Unidos... si el bloqueo comercial termina.

La evolución de la revolución cubana y sus fracasos económicos solo pueden ser comprendidos partiendo del desarrollo de la crisis económica mundial del capitalismo.

A lo largo de toda su historia, Castro ha negado los principios fundamentales del marxismo y el carácter internacional de la crisis. Siempre ha basado sus acciones en una perspectiva nacionalista.

El derrocamiento de Batista no fue una revolución de la clase obrera. Fue más bien, un movimiento de masas dirigido por la clase media. Esta se radicaliza debido a las presiones militares y económicas del imperialismo americano, que en 1959 ponía en peligro la defensa nacional y las ganancias democráticas adquiridas.

Fue solo bajo estas presiones que Castro buscó el apoyo del proletariado.

No podemos ignorar las ganancias adquiridas por los trabajadores cubanos como consecuencia de la nacionalización de la industria. El analfabetismo casi no existe, los hospitales y la medicina están al alcance de las masas trabajadoras y algunas industrias han florecido.

Pero esto no niega la culpabilidad del liderazgo castrista en el fracaso de la planificación industrial y agrícola.

El desarrollo económico de Cuba siempre estuvo sujeto a la evolución de la crisis internacional a través de su dependencia del mercado mundial.

Los stalinistas, con el consentimiento de Castro, forzaron a Cuba a poner sus productos en el mercado mundial aún cuando había excesos de ellos en la isla, como es el caso de los productos alimenticios.

En 1963, el fracaso del plan inicial de diversificación de la agricultura, forzaron a Cuba a concentrar su producción agrícola en el azúcar—símbolo característico del colonialismo—en una época en que la oferta de azúcar había subido tremendamente. Por lo tanto, Cuba tuvo que competir bajo condiciones más difíciles que las de su época pre-castrista.

La baja del precio del azúcar durante el período de 1963 a 1970 estuvo acompañada por un crecimiento muy lento en las exportaciones porque los mercados estaban saturados. Entonces, ¿a donde puede exportarse el azúcar cubano?

Solo el imperialismo americano puede proveer una salida. La conclusión lógica de una dependencia tan grande en la exportación de azúcar es la reintegración total al mercado americano.

Cuba nunca fue un estado obrero, como mantienen los revisionistas del SWP. No basta con expropiar la industria de manos de los capitalistas.

No importa qué tan drástica sea la nacionalización. Su presencia no es suficiente para definir el carácter del estado.

Solo el proletariado puede dar nacimiento a un estado obrero por medio de su propia organización política independiente, un partido marxista revolucionario.

La realización de un estado obrero en Cuba implica necesariamente el derrocamiento de Castro y sus compinches stalinistas.

El acercamiento de Castro a los Estados Unidos confirma que la evaluación hecha por el Comité Internacional de la Cuarta Internacional en 1962, sobre el carácter burgués del gobierno de Castro, es correcta.

STRIKES . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

threatened a nationwide coal miners strike.

This strike wave is a rebellion by the working class against Nixon's attempt, aided for three years by the trade union bureaucracy, to police its wages, while prices rise at a rate of close to 20 percent annually.

It was the refusal of Baltimore sanitation workers to accept a six percent increase that sparked the citywide strike. It was the unauthorized walkout of prison workers in Ohio that led to the state strike of public employees.

This spontaneous movement for wages poses urgent political tasks before the working class that requires the construction of a labor party.

This is because the wage fight takes place in the midst of the most severe economic crisis since the world depression of the 1930s.

The last major wage offensive of American workers in 1969 to 1971 forced Nixon to take the desperate measures of August 15, 1971, when he ended the post-war agreement of Bretton Woods on which the boom had been based and severed the ties between the dollar and gold. At the same time, Nixon imposed wage controls.

GOLD

By ending the convertibility of the dollar into gold, Nixon triggered an uncontrollable worldwide inflation that has brought the international monetary system to the brink of collapse. This has created a situation in which the economies of every major capitalist country including the United States is dominated by a rapid slide into recession.

The slump on Wall Street, the downturn in industrial production, the balance of payments deficit, and the danger of bank failures like that of Franklin National are clear signs of an impending financial catastrophe.

Under these conditions, the rebellion of the working class over wages deepens the crisis and challenges the capitalist system itself.

This is why this wage struggle poses a political confrontation with the government.

Not only does the government seek to strip the workers of every wage increase won by raising prices, but at the same time, Nixon prepares the forces of the state for repression, to slash wages, impose mass unemployment, and attack every basic democratic right.

In plants throughout the country, conditions of virtual slavery are being created through brutal speedup which is backed up by ruthless disciplinary measures.

In the midst of this strike wave, Kentucky state police have been sent into Harlan County to prevent miners from becoming members of the UMW.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Already, government officials have stated that the price of wage increases will have to be paid with sharply increased unemployment beyond the six percent mark.

The well-advanced plans of Nixon for dictatorial rule have been revealed by the exposure of the Watergate conspiracy and his continuing defiance of every law in this country.

The wage offensive must continue. But these strikes in themselves cannot solve the basic issues before the working class.

The attempts of Nixon, the

Quincy Shipbuilders End 18 Week Strike

BY A REPORTER
QUINCY, Mass.—Shipbuilders in Quincy voted two to one Wednesday to end their 18 week strike against General Dynamics.

Eleven hundred out of 1700 workers jammed North Quincy High School to ratify a three-year contract for 88 cents the first year and 30 cents in each of the next two years.

Quincy workers moved from the lowest to the third highest shipbuilders in the country. The highest paid skilled worker still makes only \$5.70 an hour.

There was especially strong opposition to dropping the entire cost of living clause.

A worker told the Bulletin: "Money is the issue. This is the first meeting I've been too, and I don't want to lose my eight years in this contract."

A young worker said: "I want to know what's happening. I'm looking for a 50 cents raise, the best of benefits, and some of the money I lost while I was out on strike."

"I've been out for 17 weeks, and if I don't get it, I'll go back

out again. It's going to take a hard fight."

There's a feeling among the workers that General Dynamics provoked the strike. As the strike began, the yard wasn't ready to move in the new liquid petroleum gas ships for work. The company would have been forced to lay off the workers and pay benefits as preparations were made for the LTT.

During the strike, the union allowed nonunion subcontractors into the yard to work on the basins.

One worker told the Bulletin: "I think it was political. There wasn't much work, no steel in the yard. They just stopped the work until they were ready to go."

"They didn't want us to work at all. The government finally had to settle it. They could have settled it in two days, if they had wanted to. I'd go for all the productivity in the world, if they just gave me \$7 an hour."

The vote was so close that they had to move the meeting to the gymnasium to take a head count. The union's executive board, however, voted 77 to 3 to ratify the contract.

bosses, and their agents in the Democratic and Republican Parties to split the working class with unemployment, and their preparations for repression must be met politically by building a labor party responsible to the working class and pledged to socialist policies.

Because they oppose this development, the trade union bureaucrats are now trying to diffuse and end this powerful movement of the working class.

In Ohio, leaders of AFSCME called off the strike just as it was shutting down the state and accepted a wage offer far below the workers' demands, because they feared a political confrontation with the Democratic-con-

trolled legislature and Governor John Gilligan.

The Congressional campaigns launched by the Workers League in Brooklyn are now critical in the fight to build the revolutionary leadership of the working class that will take these policies forward.

The movement of the working class now creates the greatest opportunity for building the Workers League, the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party, and the Young Socialists.

We call on all trade unionists, housewives, and youth to join us and make preparations to attend the Second Annual Summer Camp between August 24 and September 2.

CYPRUS . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

Makarios decided to move against the army. He ordered a cutback in the compulsory military service from 24 to 14 months.

At the same time, he demanded that the Greek generals remove their officers from Cyprus. In a letter to Greek President Gizikis last week, he accused Athens of preparing a coup to overthrow him.

With the development of the movement against British imperialism in the 1950s the nationalist leaders—particularly Grivas and Makarios—took over the British policy of divide and rule.

What the nationalists, Greek and Turkish, feared was the strength of the Cypriot working class. Up until the late 1950s, Greek and Turkish workers fought together in the island's oldest trade union, the Pan-Cypriot Federation of Labor (PEO). The PEO was destroyed and the Greek and Turkish communities split by the murder of hundreds of labor leaders by the nationalists.

But, despite these moves, the working class retained its strength. With the economic crisis forcing prices up and cutting the critical tourist trade, the Cypriot working class began to make more militant demands. In the last elections, the AKEL, the Cypriot Communist Party, received 40 percent of the Greek vote.

American workers must learn the lessons of the Cyprus coup. The criminal Nixon has put a group of hoodlums and right-wing terrorists in power in Cyprus.

He is propping up every reactionary regime throughout the world. Clearly, Nixon and his class will try to impose the same conditions here.

The events in Cyprus pose with the greatest urgency the need for the construction of a revolutionary leadership in the working class to drive Nixon out and build a labor party pledged to end all military support for such regimes throughout the world.

Bulletin Monthly Fund

This week a total of \$268.15 was received towards the Bulletin Monthly Fund, which brings our grand total to \$563.85.

This leaves us two weeks to raise over \$4000 and places this month's fund in extreme danger.

As the working class moves forward throughout the country against rising inflation it is absolutely critical that we raise our \$5000 goal this month to maintain the Bulletin.

We demand, for these reasons, that the branches wage an all-out campaign these next two weeks to raise \$2200 each week so we can complete the goal on time.

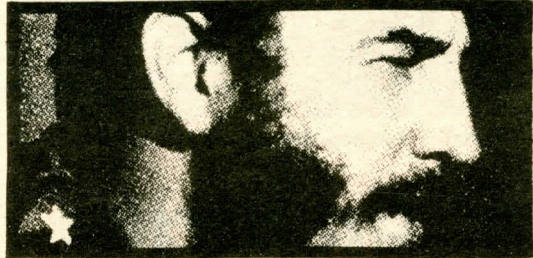
We urge all our readers to send in contributions at this critical point in the drive to help us meet this goal.

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Castro dijo que el bloqueo comercial no tiene ninguna "lógica ni justificación moral" en vista a que los americanos comercian con la Unión Soviética y los países de Europa oriental. Entonces, preguntó: "¿Por qué tenemos que sufrir el bloqueo que carece de toda base?"

Estos son los últimos razgos de la evolución del castrismo.

Todo esto toma lugar en un período en que el sistema capitalista está al borde del colapso económico internacional. Los países débiles no tienen ningún control sobre el mercado mundial, que está dominado por las relaciones capitalistas. Cuba no es una excepción. Bajo las condiciones actuales no puede competir. Es por esto que busca restablecer relaciones diplomáticas con los Estados Unidos... si el bloqueo comercial termina.

La evolución de la revolución cubana y sus fracasos económicos solo pueden ser comprendidos partiendo del desarrollo de la crisis económica mundial del capitalismo.

A lo largo de toda su historia, Castro ha negado los principios fundamentales del marxismo y el carácter internacional de la crisis. Siempre ha basado sus acciones en una perspectiva nacionalista.

El derrocamiento de Batista no fue una revolución de la clase obrera. Fue más bien, un movimiento de masas dirigido por la clase media. Esta se radicaliza debido a las presiones militares y económicas del imperialismo americano, que en 1959 ponía en peligro la defensa nacional y las ganancias democráticas adquiridas.

Fue solo bajo estas presiones que Castro buscó el apoyo del proletariado.

No podemos ignorar las ganancias adquiridas por los trabajadores cubanos como consecuencia de la nacionalización de la industria. El analfabetismo casi no existe, los hospitales y la medicina están al alcance de las masas trabajadoras y algunas industrias han florecido.

Pero esto no niega la culpabilidad del liderazgo castrista en el fracaso de la planificación industrial y agrícola.

El desarrollo económico de Cuba siempre estuvo sujeto a la evolución de la crisis internacional a través de su dependencia del mercado mundial.

Los stalinistas, con el consentimiento de Castro, forzaron a Cuba a poner sus productos en el mercado mundial aún cuando había excesos de ellos en la isla, como es el caso de los productos alimenticios.

En 1963, el fracaso del plan inicial de diversificación de la agricultura, forzaron a Cuba a concentrar su producción agrícola en el azúcar—símbolo característico del colonialismo—en una época en que la oferta de azúcar había subido tremendamente. Por lo tanto, Cuba tuvo que competir bajo condiciones más difíciles que las de su época pre-castrista.

La baja del precio del azúcar durante el período de 1963 a 1970 estuvo acompañada por un crecimiento muy lento en las exportaciones porque los mercados estaban saturados. Entonces, ¿a donde puede exportarse el azúcar cubano?

Solo el imperialismo americano puede proveer una salida. La conclusión lógica de una dependencia tan grande en la exportación de azúcar es la reintegración total al mercado americano.

Cuba nunca fue un estado obrero, como mantienen los revisionistas del SWP. No basta con expropiar la industria de manos de los capitalistas.

No importa qué tan drástica sea la nacionalización. Su presencia no es suficiente para definir el carácter del estado.

Solo el proletariado puede dar nacimiento a un estado obrero por medio de su propia organización política independiente, un partido marxista revolucionario.

La realización de un estado obrero en Cuba implica necesariamente el derrocamiento de Castro y sus compinches stalinistas.

El acercamiento de Castro a los Estados Unidos confirma que la evaluación hecha por el Comité Internacional de la Cuarta Internacional en 1962, sobre el carácter burgués del gobierno de Castro, es correcta.

STRIKES . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

threatened a nationwide coal miners strike.

This strike wave is a rebellion by the working class against Nixon's attempt, aided for three years by the trade union bureaucracy, to police its wages, while prices rise at a rate of close to 20 percent annually.

It was the refusal of Baltimore sanitation workers to accept a six percent increase that sparked the citywide strike. It was the unauthorized walkout of prison workers in Ohio that led to the state strike of public employees.

This spontaneous movement for wages poses urgent political tasks before the working class that requires the construction of a labor party.

This is because the wage fight takes place in the midst of the most severe economic crisis since the world depression of the 1930s.

The last major wage offensive of American workers in 1969 to 1971 forced Nixon to take the desperate measures of August 15, 1971, when he ended the post-war agreement of Bretton Woods on which the boom had been based and severed the ties between the dollar and gold. At the same time, Nixon imposed wage controls.

GOLD

By ending the convertibility of the dollar into gold, Nixon triggered an uncontrollable worldwide inflation that has brought the international monetary system to the brink of collapse. This has created a situation in which the economies of every major capitalist country including the United States is dominated by a rapid slide into recession.

The slump on Wall Street, the downturn in industrial production, the balance of payments deficit, and the danger of bank failures like that of Franklin National are clear signs of an impending financial catastrophe.

Under these conditions, the rebellion of the working class over wages deepens the crisis and challenges the capitalist system itself.

This is why this wage struggle poses a political confrontation with the government.

Not only does the government seek to strip the workers of every wage increase won by raising prices, but at the same time, Nixon prepares the forces of the state for repression, to slash wages, impose mass unemployment, and attack every basic democratic right.

In plants throughout the country, conditions of virtual slavery are being created through brutal speedup which is backed up by ruthless disciplinary measures.

In the midst of this strike wave, Kentucky state police have been sent into Harlan County to prevent miners from becoming members of the UMW.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Already, government officials have stated that the price of wage increases will have to be paid with sharply increased unemployment beyond the six percent mark.

The well-advanced plans of Nixon for dictatorial rule have been revealed by the exposure of the Watergate conspiracy and his continuing defiance of every law in this country.

The wage offensive must continue. But these strikes in themselves cannot solve the basic issues before the working class.

The attempts of Nixon, the

Quincy Shipbuilders End 18 Week Strike

**BY A REPORTER
QUINCY, Mass.—Shipbuilders in Quincy voted two to one Wednesday to end their 18 week strike against General Dynamics.**

Eleven hundred out of 1700 workers jammed North Quincy High School to ratify a three-year contract for 88 cents the first year and 30 cents in each of the next two years.

Quincy workers moved from the lowest to the third highest shipbuilders in the country. The highest paid skilled worker still makes only \$5.70 an hour.

There was especially strong opposition to dropping the entire cost of living clause.

A worker told the Bulletin: "Money is the issue. This is the first meeting I've been too, and I don't want to lose my eight years in this contract."

A young worker said: "I want to know what's happening. I'm looking for a 50 cents raise, the best of benefits, and some of the money I lost while I was out on strike."

"I've been out for 17 weeks, and if I don't get it, I'll go back

out again. It's going to take a hard fight."

There's a feeling among the workers that General Dynamics provoked the strike. As the strike began, the yard wasn't ready to move in the new liquid petroleum gas ships for work. The company would have been forced to lay off the workers and pay benefits as preparations were made for the LTT.

During the strike, the union allowed nonunion subcontractors into the yard to work on the basins.

One worker told the Bulletin: "I think it was political. There wasn't much work, no steel in the yard. They just stopped the work until they were ready to go."

"They didn't want us to work at all. The government finally had to settle it. They could have settled it in two days, if they had wanted to. I'd go for all the productivity in the world, if they just gave me \$7 an hour."

The vote was so close that they had to move the meeting to the gymnasium to take a head count. The union's executive board, however, voted 77 to 3 to ratify the contract.

bosses, and their agents in the Democratic and Republican Parties to split the working class with unemployment, and their preparations for repression must be met politically by building a labor party responsible to the working class and pledged to socialist policies.

Because they oppose this development, the trade union bureaucrats are now trying to diffuse and end this powerful movement of the working class.

In Ohio, leaders of AFSCME called off the strike just as it was shutting down the state and accepted a wage offer far below the workers' demands, because they feared a political confrontation with the Democratic-con-

trolled legislature and Governor John Gilligan.

The Congressional campaigns launched by the Workers League in Brooklyn are now critical in the fight to build the revolutionary leadership of the working class that will take these policies forward.

The movement of the working class now creates the greatest opportunity for building the Workers League, the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party, and the Young Socialists.

We call on all trade unionists, housewives, and youth to join us and make preparations to attend the Second Annual Summer Camp between August 24 and September 2.

CYPRUS . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

Makarios decided to move against the army. He ordered a cutback in the compulsory military service from 24 to 14 months.

At the same time, he demanded that the Greek generals remove their officers from Cyprus. In a letter to Greek President Gizikis last week, he accused Athens of preparing a coup to overthrow him.

With the development of the movement against British imperialism in the 1950s the nationalist leaders—particularly Grivas and Makarios—took over the British policy of divide and rule.

What the nationalists, Greek and Turkish, feared was the strength of the Cypriot working class. Up until the late 1950s, Greek and Turkish workers fought together in the island's oldest trade union, the Pan-Cypriot Federation of Labor (PEO). The PEO was destroyed and the Greek and Turkish communities split by the murder of hundreds of labor leaders by the nationalists.

But, despite these moves, the working class retained its strength. With the economic crisis forcing prices up and cutting the critical tourist trade, the Cypriot working class began to make more militant demands. In the last elections, the AKEL, the Cypriot Communist Party, received 40 percent of the Greek vote.

American workers must learn the lessons of the Cyprus coup. The criminal Nixon has put a group of hoodlums and right-wing terrorists in power in Cyprus.

He is propping up every reactionary regime throughout the world. Clearly, Nixon and his class will try to impose the same conditions here.

The events in Cyprus pose with the greatest urgency the need for the construction of a revolutionary leadership in the working class to drive Nixon out and build a labor party pledged to end all military support for such regimes throughout the world.

Bulletin Monthly Fund

This week a total of \$268.15 was received towards the Bulletin Monthly Fund, which brings our grand total to \$563.85.

This leaves us two weeks to raise over \$4000 and places this month's fund in extreme danger.

As the working class moves forward throughout the country against rising inflation it is absolutely critical that we raise our \$5000 goal this month to maintain the Bulletin.

We demand, for these reasons, that the branches wage an all-out campaign these next two weeks to raise \$2200 each week so we can complete the goal on time.

We urge all our readers to send in contributions at this critical point in the drive to help us meet this goal.