

Kansas City, St. Louis Out- Lordstown, Norwood To Go

CALL NATIONAL GMAD STRIKE

STATEMENT BY THE TRADE UNION ALLIANCE FOR A LABOR PARTY

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time as the St. Louis and Kansas City plants are on indefinite strikes, would be a tremendous blow to the plans of GM to boost profits by destroying any vestiges of decent working conditions and union rights.

These shutdowns strike at the heart of the GMAD slave labor plan where speedup techniques have been refined to brutal perfection, particularly at Lordstown and Norwood, where the assembly lines are the fastest.

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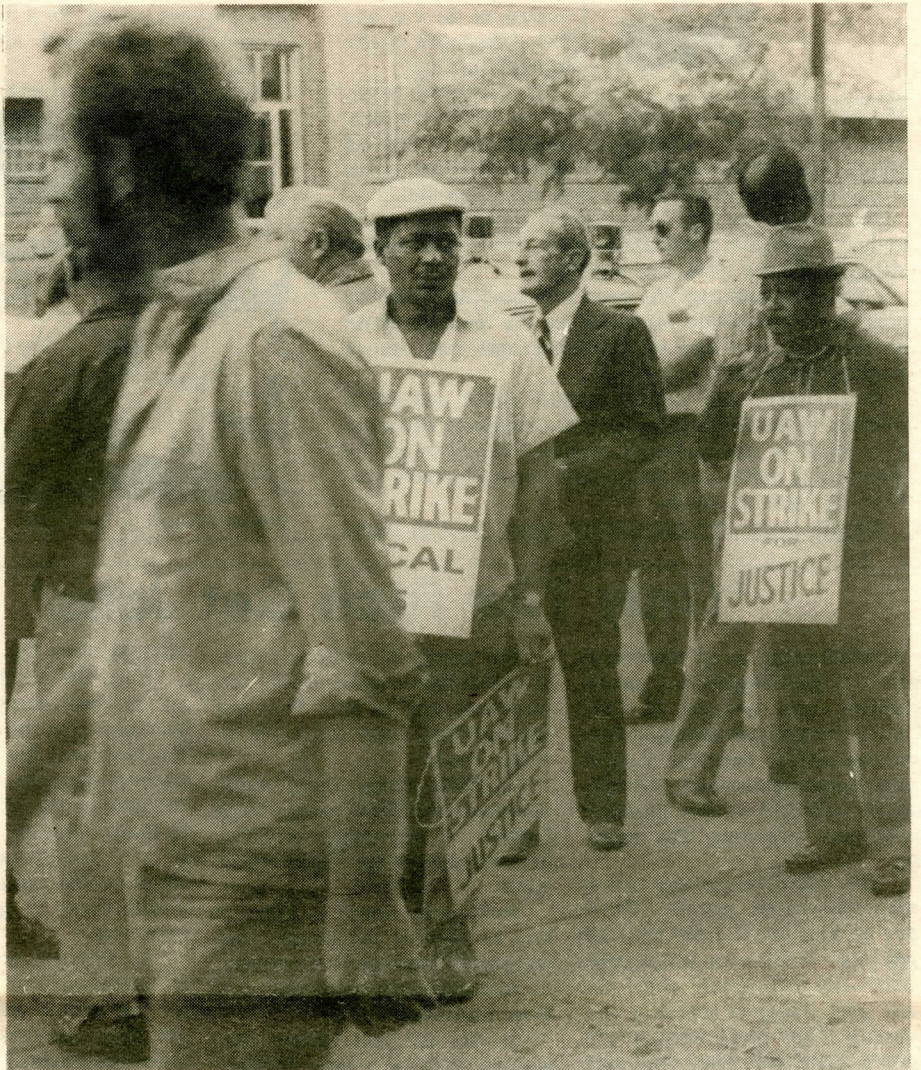
The St. Louis strike began June 28 and involves over 14,000 grievances. There has been no local contract since GM reorganized the plant in 1971.

At the same time, the deadline for a new strike at the Chrysler Dodge truck plant in Warren, Michigan is approaching. There are reports that a walk-out may take place this Friday or on Monday, July 8.

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IRON

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St. Louis GM workers on strike against working conditions and speedup resulting from the layoff of 40 percent of the men.

Nixon's Friend Arnholt Smith Indicted

BY
A REPORTER

A federal grand jury has indicted Nixon backer C. Arnholt Smith on 25 charges of criminal conspiracy and fraud, despite a Justice Department intervention to remove vital evidence.

Smith and his family own 52 percent of the Westgate California Corporation and 53 percent of the United States National Bank in southern California which collapsed last October.

The grand jury, in a 44 page statement, said the collapse of the bank was directly due to \$170 million in fraudulent loans which Smith arranged.

Smith and other officials at Westgate arranged for loans which were then used for other business enterprises or their own personal and political use. False financial statements, unlisted bank accounts, and even international letters of credit were used to perpetrate the fraud.

Ninety-seven loans were listed, some as large as \$3.75 million. Counts include illegal use of bank funds, misapplication of funds, making false statements to federal bank examiners, and falsifying bank records.

During the year-long investigation, most testimony had come from the Internal Revenue Service, which has filed a civil lien against Smith demanding \$22.8 million in unpaid personal income tax for 1969. In a surprise move last week, the IRS withdrew all of its evidence and testimony and informed Smith that

they would not press criminal tax evasion charges.

The magnitude of the finances involved will rock the entire California business world, which is based on the most intricate of speculative and credit arrangements.

The grand jury says that the false loans diverted for Smith's personal use involve several other banks, where unlisted accounts were held, and even other nations because letters of credit were issued at various times by United States National.

Westgate California Corporation, which includes 39 subsidiary companies in many areas, is now being liquidated under the Federal Bankruptcy Act, and thousands of jobs are threatened.

A combined sentence could be as much as 120 years in jail and fines of \$250,000.



Special Review by Tim Wohlforth of the new book *Time on the Cross*; on American slavery. See page 10.

Bulletin

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

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TWICE A
WEEK!

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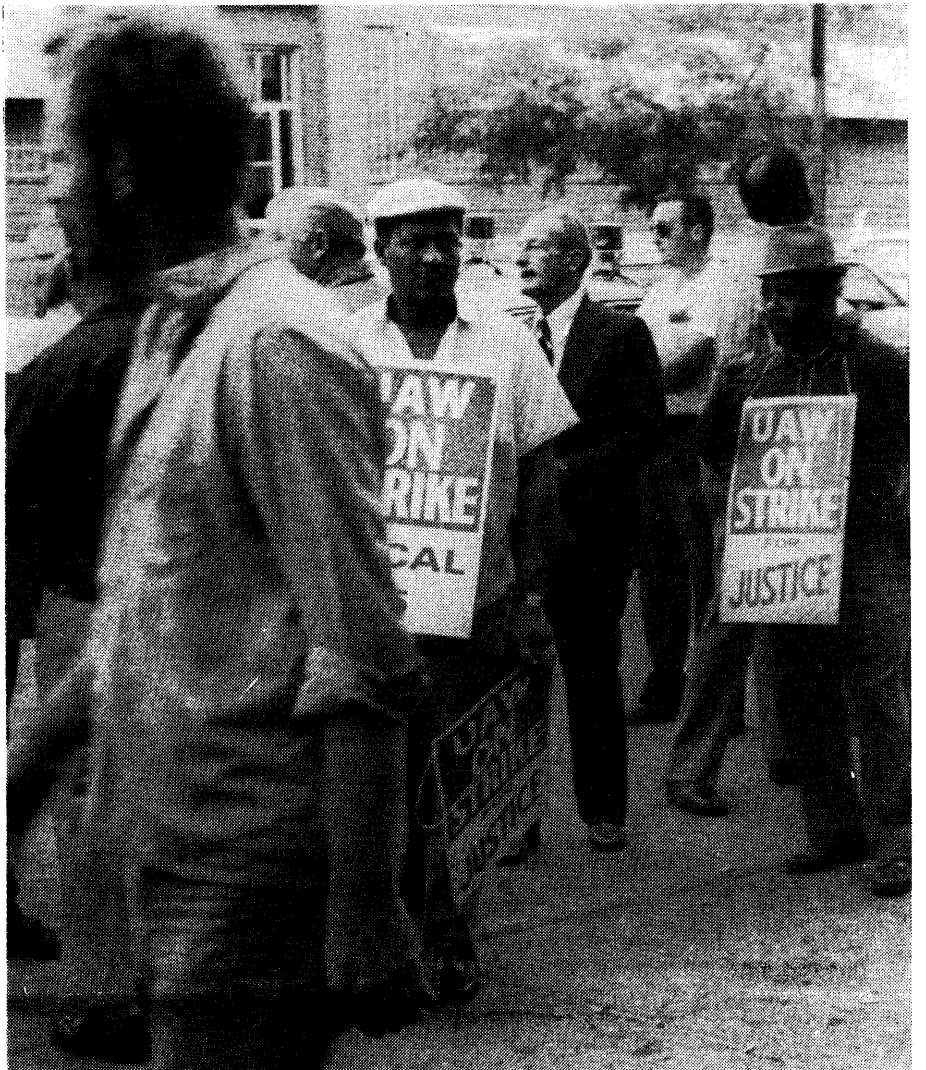
Norwood, which produces Camaros and Firebirds, has had no local agreement since September and GM rules the plant with an iron fist. Workers are automatically fired after two disciplinary layoffs. Since the last national contract, they have

been forced to work 9 hours a day in involuntary overtime.

In May, Norwood workers staged a wildcat over these issues when a committeeman was fired for leading a slowdown in the plant. The UAW then called a four day mini-strike at the end of June.

The situation in Lordstown is even more critical with over 12,000 outstanding grievances. Despite the membership vote authorizing a strike last September, the international leadership of Leonard Woodcock has refused to sanction anything but mini-strike actions.

These strikes confirm the policy of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party which is fighting within the plants for a national UAW strike against all Big Three auto giants to throw out the 1973 contracts and to launch a fight for a 20 percent wage increase with a full cost of living clause, the recall of all laid off workers, an end to speedup, and a national agreement on all working conditions.



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A New Stage Of Struggle In The South

The assassination of the mother of the late Martin Luther King, Jr. in Atlanta, Georgia is the sharpest expression of the explosive tensions that are building up throughout the South.

These killings, whether or not they were the work of a crazy man or part of a premeditated plot, are inseparably connected to the new conditions of struggle in the South.

In the past weeks, demonstrators have been brutally beaten and arrested by Atlanta police during protests against increasing repression that led to the murder of 17-year-old Brandon Gibson.

The right-wing, racist police chief has virtually taken over control of the city and has gotten the courts to back him up.

In Jacksonville, Florida, police are creating the conditions for another "Operation Zebra." Hysterical scare stories are being spread that the recent killing of three white teenagers is the work of a Black Liberation execution plot.

This escalation of police violence today takes place under different conditions than the civil rights struggles of the 1950s and the 1960s.

A powerful upsurge has been sweeping the South as part of a nationwide offensive by the working class against inflation and for pay increases and decent working conditions.

This upsurge can now bring both Black and white workers in the South together in a struggle on the basis of a common class interest, posing a threat to all the reactionary politicians and businessmen who have profited off racial divisions.

All the storm trooper tactics being revived come

from the tremendous fear of the capitalists in the South of this growing struggle. The police are forced to move not only against the Black workers and youth, but against white workers who strike and fight for wages.

But the old civil rights leadership of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference seeks to maintain these divisions in order to prevent workers from breaking from the reformist, pacifist, "nonviolent" politics of the SCLC.

The SCLC seeks to dominate every trade union struggle as they did in the strike at Rich's department store in Atlanta last year, turning it into an exclusively Black struggle and cutting it off completely from the struggles of white workers.

The policy of the conservative privileged clique around Reverend Abernathy is a thinly disguised version of the reactionary ideology of the church which tells workers to fight for a few crumbs, but basically to accept their oppression, and never to challenge the system itself.

Thus, while Southern workers enter a new period of



Oneita strikers in May 1973.

struggle that creates conditions to break down racial divisions, the SCLC, together with every nationalist group including the revisionist Socialist Workers Party, play up nationalism.

This nationalism is used to defend Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson on the basis that he is Black, even though Maynard has totally capitulated to police chief Inman and claims he is powerless to remove him.

The upsurge in class struggle in the South is suddenly bringing the civil rights leaders and the liberal Democrats together with segregationist Alabama Governor George Wallace in a united bloc against the working class.

Ever since Edward Kennedy's joint appearance with Wallace last July 4 in Alabama, reports have been circulating that Wallace is more "moderate," has toned down his racist views, and has more support among Black people.

Black mayors like Johnny Ford of Tuskegee and Charles Evers of Fayette, Mississippi have endorsed Wallace.

But Wallace's new "image" is being entirely manufactured by the Democrats to pave the way for a Kennedy-Wallace ticket in the next election. Individuals and foundations who continue to oppose Wallace are being cut off from funds, while people like Evers and Ford are lining their pockets with generous state aid.

What is needed is revolutionary leadership to unite the struggles of a new generation of Southern workers with the struggles of all workers in the country. The fight in the South for the same rights and conditions won in the North must be carried out in a political struggle against the Nixon government and the Democrats.

Only a revolutionary party, on the basis of the fight to build an independent labor party to provide jobs and decent wages for all, can unite the working class and lead it to power.

'Only The Rich Get Jobs'

The following is an interview with Yohannes Negussie, a young student, who arrived in the United States from Ethiopia two months ago. A resident of Eritrea, Negussie recounts the conditions that led to the massive rebellions sweeping the country.

"The Ethiopian people are a very oppressed people. There are no jobs at all. Only the rich get jobs. Those poor people who finish the 12th grade don't get any jobs. There is sort of a university. They don't want to improve the people. They want only a limited number of students in the university. Students are not even allowed to gather in groups of more than five.

"The peasant's farm belongs to the lords. They don't have any surplus for themselves.

"People believed in Selassie. He ruled for so many years. They believed in him as if he were a God.

"If people say anything, they can get arrested. Everything exploded because the people were suffering. Generals, everyone was cheating. They don't care how the people live.

"The lower classes were almost dead. Even the middle classes didn't have anything. Taxes, everything is very high. Everything has doubled, everyone wanted a change.

"The people said we don't want any more of this. This had never happened before. They opened up something.

"The factories didn't all close at the same time. They started one after another. One would close, then go back, then another would close, etc. Members of the working class had a meeting and discussion and they said we want this, and this, and if we don't get it we'll close everything.

"The ordinary worker gets \$1 a day for the simple jobs. He can't pay the rent so where can he live? His rent is \$25 a month. The workers wanted \$2.25 or \$2.50 a day.

"I am from Eritrea, the Eritrean Liberation Front in the north. First, Eritrea was to be independent but Haile Selassie confused people and united the two countries. At that time, people were in a state of misery.

"The people of Eritrea didn't get what they wanted. There are no schools and no jobs. They are immigrating from the north to Addis Ababa.

"In Addis Ababa, there is discrimination against people from Eritrea. If something happens, Selassie makes the ELF responsible.

"In Eritrea, there is martial law to oppress the people, but the people there are very powerful now and want to struggle for their liberation.

"It was the taxi drivers that started first for a raise in their salary. The issue with the drivers was the price of gas. It was raised from 55 cents to \$1.05. They were all suffering; they couldn't feed their families. At first the government was quiet and didn't take any action.



Students demonstrate in Addis Ababa.

"The taxi drivers wanted to have a meeting but it was prohibited by the government. When they held the meeting anyway, they arrested them and beat some of them.

"The drivers started to throw stones at the buses to block the roads so all the people would know about their demands. The drivers reasoned that if people couldn't get to work, if all the jobs are closed, the government would have to do something.

"After the taxi drivers, the soldiers started to fight for higher salaries. Selassie said how can I increase your salary, we don't have that much money. He immediately gave the soldiers their money because he was afraid of them. First he

gave \$5, then \$10.

"Then the teachers asked for an increase, everyone asked for increases, but the decision on the teachers was the most difficult because they also demanded that the new Prime Minister, chosen by Haile Selassie, be thrown out. If the government gave the teachers the salaries, then they would have to grant this demand too.

"At first the soldiers wanted an increase and improvement for the people also. When they got their salaries, they forgot about the needs of the people and the people blamed the soldiers, so that started a new uprising.

"The power of Selassie is in the army. That's why they want to divide the military from the people. There are divisions among the soldiers. Some want to change the whole government and some want to help Selassie. There was a fight between these factions.

"They want to keep Selassie as a figurehead and use this to cheat people. They want to keep Selassie and change what is underneath him.

"After this, Selassie went out and gave \$1 to children, to trick the people. Selassie is the first criminal of them all. He wants the leaders to do what he wants. These officials only want to expand their own wealth.

"Fighting has become very hot. The telecommunications, the post office will open one day and be closed the next. A friend just wrote me that it is still going on, even more than before.

"The provinces of Tigre and Wollo are wealthy with food. They had five years of drought. It's a very rich country, but the people can't get the food. The government does not store any of the grain.

"Help came from foreign countries like Germany but the leaders took the aid and the people are still suffering. Sometimes, they took raw grain and just threw it at the people; how were they going to eat it? They buried five or six peasants at a time. Most of them died.

"Later the military is not going to rule. The people want to elect their own government. They need to elect a socialist government."



Rebel troops of the Eritrean Liberation Front.

Ethiopian Troops Arrest Ministers

BY A CORRESPONDENT
The Ethiopian armed forces have taken over the radio and telecommunications offices in Addis Ababa and have arrested high ranking members of the new civilian cabinet.

The army has rounded up members of the Imperial Crown Council, controlled by the landowning aristocracy and the main consultative body to Emperor Haile Selassie.

A curfew has been imposed, troop carriers are patrolling Addis Ababa and top level discussions are going on between officials of the armed forces and Prime Minister Endalkachew Makonnen.

In a June 30 communique, the armed forces declared that it would arrest officials who "acted or were conspiring to obstruct the smooth functioning" of the government.

The army moved June 28 in response to attempts by eight members of parliament to call for the release of 25 ministers and officials of the former government who have been under detention since the uprisings

that swept Ethiopia last February.

Since then, strikes have continued and the semifederal nation has been in a constant state of turmoil.

ARRESTED

Asrate Kassa, chairman of the Crown Council who is second in rank to the Emperor has been arrested, along with Yilma Deressa, former Minister of Finance; Minassie Haile, Minister of Foreign Affairs and US Ambassador; Defense Minister General Abiye Abebe; and Justice Minister Belachew Asrate.

The military is dissatisfied with the Prime Minister who is the only member of the former government who was never arrested, but the leaders of the armed forces have pledged their loyalty to Selassie.

The military moved only in response to the determined struggle of the Ethiopian workers and peasants who are fighting against centuries of the most barbaric oppression, for political rights, decent wages, and the right to strike.

But the military wants to confine this struggle by keeping Selassie in power, even if just as a figurehead. Last week, sharp divisions within the armed forces resulted in a shootout at the Debre Zeit Air Force Base between paratroopers and air force troops.

West German Bank Collapse Triggers Big Losses In US

BY MELODY FARROW

The collapse of one of the biggest banks in West Germany, I. D. Herstatt, has resulted in big losses for American banks and is raising fears that other banks and institutions will soon go under.

This collapse which will reverberate throughout the economies of every country exposes the precarious position of all the major banks and the threat of collapses throughout industries which would throw millions of workers out of jobs.

The Zurich subsidiary of the Seattle First National Bank, one of the 30 largest US banks, has lost \$22.5 million and the Morgan Guaranty Trust Company lost \$13 million. This money was owed by Herstatt for the delivery of German marks.

This follows the near collapse of the Franklin National Bank in New York after the default of loans and losses in exchange dealings. Franklin was only kept going by loans from the Federal Reserve and assistance from a group of 11 banks.

Herstatt's bankruptcy was triggered by the massive loss of \$180 to \$200 million in foreign exchange trading. The bank sought to raise cash by selling foreign currencies at a contracted price at a future date and to profit off the fluctuations in the currencies value. However, if the currency drops in value, the banks take a tremendous loss.

There are rumors that Swiss

banks and their British subsidiaries are in the same position.

The Herstatt collapse immediately bankrupted the Hans West German insurance firm, which owned 81 percent of the bank's stock and the Baltzman restaurant chain, which just announced it cannot pay salaries to its employees.

SPECULATION

However, the crisis is not just one of speculation on the exchange markets, but the inability of major corporations and whole countries to repay loans to banks, because of massive debts.

At the same time, one major collapse can trigger off a chain reaction of collapses at many smaller banks and loan institutions, as panicky investors start to withdraw funds.

Following the Herstatt's collapse, interest rates for short term loans on the Eurodollar market soared from 12.88 percent to 14.25 percent.

This followed the move by the major American banks to raise their rates to 11.75 percent and it is predicted that it will soon go to 12 percent.

Arthur Burns, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, an advocate of tight credit restrictions, declared that the weaker institutions "are going to fall by the wayside." Often, however, these smaller banks are subsidiaries of the big ones.

INVESTMENTS

The surge in interest rates which will reduce investments will only accelerate bankruptcies in industry.

The banking crisis reflects the crisis ripping apart the capitalist system, reflected sharply in

the latest news on the US economy:

•The Commerce Department says that the rise in corporate profits for the first quarter of 1974 was all in inflation.

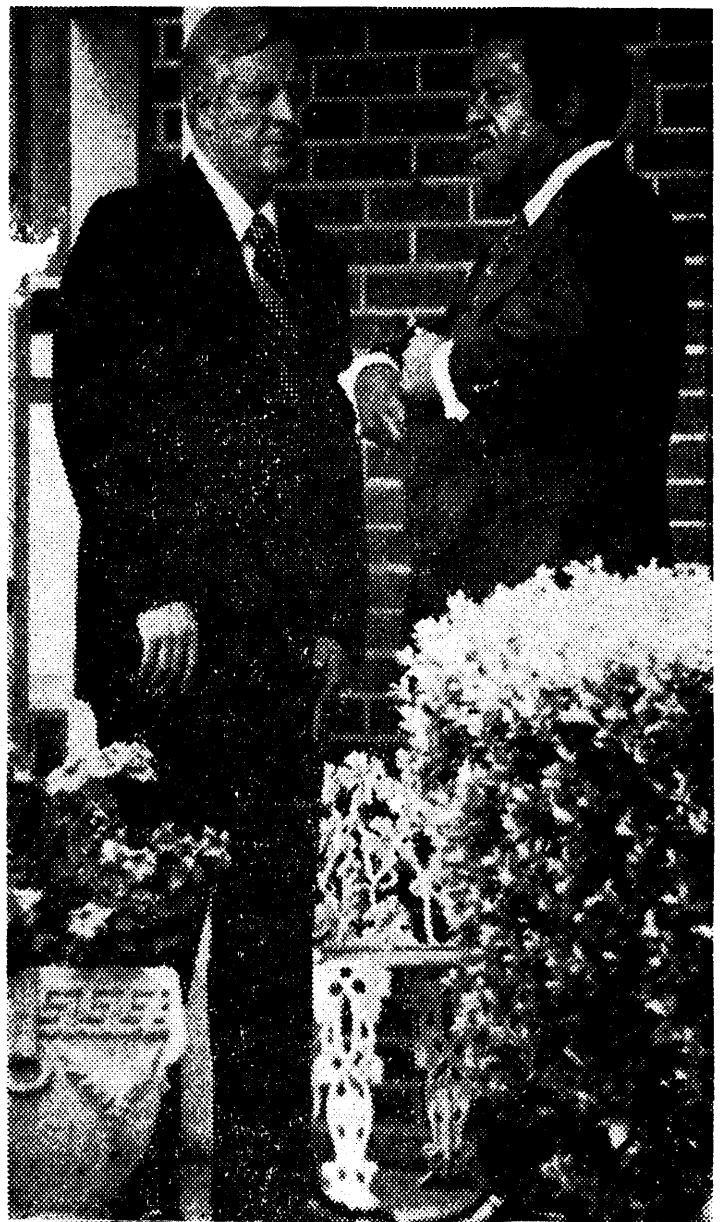
•The "economic upswing" predicted by Nixon has failed to materialize and the growth of the economy in the second half of the year will be less than 3 to 4 percent.

•The stock market continues to fall. Inflation is spiraling with new price increases just announced in gasoline and aluminum.

RECESSION

The continuous inflation over the whole past period is now producing sharp recession and the spectre of depression that threatens the working class with unemployment and impoverishment.

This crisis must motivate the urgent construction of the revolutionary party to establish a workers government based on socialist policies.



Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy with John Inman, Atlanta's police chief, outside the home of the Rev. Martin Luther King Sr. after the shooting.

Atlanta Mayor Gives In To Police Chief Terror

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE

The assassination of Mrs. Martin Luther King, Sr. in Atlanta, June 30, follows weeks of intense struggle in a city which has carefully cultivated an image of

racial and class harmony.

For two months, the Atlanta police department has operated completely autonomous of all control by elected officials. The courts have backed up Police Chief Inman, ripping up a new city charter and ruling that Mayor Maynard Jackson cannot fire him and the city council cannot impeach him.

Dozens of youth and workers have been injured and arrested during protests which followed the June 22 shooting of Brandon Gibson, the twenty-third person to be murdered by police within the last 18 months.

Undercover police agents have been discovered working at the Atlanta Voice, the city's major Black paper, and WRFG, a listener-sponsored radio station.

REBELLIONS

Jackson, a leading Black Democrat, demanded the resignation of Police Chief John Inman on May 3 to head off rebellions among black youth in the city.

Within three hours, Inman strode into the office with a revolver strapped to his hip and an armed escort of 25 police. He ousted his replacement and now runs the department on the basis of a court order that enjoins Jackson and the city council from interfering with the department "in any way."

During the two months since, Inman has consolidated power based on Georgia's right-wing former Governor, Lester Maddox, and organized crime forces. He contends that he needs complete freedom to act

because: "We have to cope with a lawless, irresponsible, and unruly section of society."

Just how the department functions is revealed in the shooting of 17-year-old Brandon Gibson. Friends of Gibson's said that two plainclothes cops arrested him for parole violations and then threatened to shoot him on the way to the patrol car.

GRABBED

When Gibson ran into a neighbor's house, he was grabbed and held while the cops called for help.

A uniformed officer who answered the call shot Gibson in the head when his younger brother grabbed his nightstick. One plainclothes cop then shot Gibson in the stomach. Before leaving, they threatened to shoot Gibson's brother and mother.

During the protests organized by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Inman sent waves of foot and mounted police into the silent crowds, injuring and arresting dozens.

Jackson made no move to stop these attacks, claiming that he was "enjoyed by the courts from protecting the citizens of Atlanta."

In spite of this, the bankrupt leadership of SCLC still attempts to piece together the old relations with the Democratic city administration.

An "open letter to the mayor," read at the first rally, addressed Jackson as "Brother" and says they are watching to see if he is "a servant of our people or our enemies." This was endorsed by the Atlanta Anti-Repression Coalition which includes the Black Workers Congress, African Liberation Support Committee, Black Labor Action, and the Maoist October League.

Ehrlichman Signed Break-in Order

BY BARRY GREY

An assistant Watergate special prosecutor has presented a mass of evidence detailing John Ehrlichman's role in planning and approving the break-in at the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist.

The trial of Ehrlichman and three members of Nixon's "plumbers" unit got underway last week.

Ehrlichman, G. Gordon Liddy, Eugenio Martinez, and Bernard Barker are charged with conspiring to violate the civil rights of Dr. Lewis Fielding, Ellsberg's psychiatrist, in the 1971 break-in at his Beverly Hills office. Ehrlichman is also charged with four counts of lying to the FBI.

Prosecutor William H. Merrill said that former White House national security aide David R. Young will testify that Ehrlichman removed documents from Young's files which showed Ehrlichman had advance knowledge of the break-in.

Young made copies of these documents without Ehrlichman's knowledge, which include

discussions on the break-in between Young and Ehrlichman.

In July of 1971, ex-CIA agent Howard Hunt was hired by former White House special counsel Charles Colson to head up the operation. G. Gordon Liddy, an ex-FBI agent, was already a member of the plumbers.

Hunt, with Ehrlichman's knowledge, obtained a psychiatric profile on Ellsberg from the CIA in August. Not satisfied with the profile, White House Aide Egil Krogh, Young, and Ehrlichman met on August 5, 1971. They discussed in detail an operation to get the psychiatric files on Ellsberg from Fielding's office.

MEMO

On August 11, Ehrlichman initiated a memo from Young to approve a covert operation to get the files, and wrote in his own handwriting: "As long as it's not traceable."

With an air-tight case against him, Ehrlichman is maintaining that Young is lying as part of a deal he made for immunity with the Watergate prosecutors. He maintains he knew nothing about the break-in.

However, Ehrlichman does not even deny the conspiracy against Ellsberg, but arrogantly

defends it on the grounds of "national security."

Nixon himself is recorded on one of the tapes in the hands of the House Judiciary Committee saying, in reference to a leak in the SALT talks: "This is really national security, not like the Ellsberg thing."

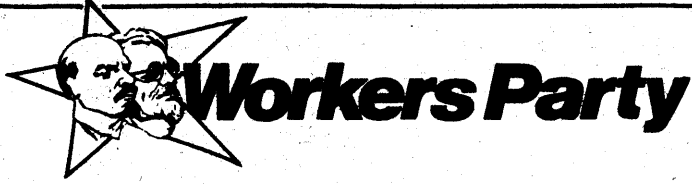
Ehrlichman's defense attorney, Henry Jones, said in his opening statement, that the memorandum initialed by Ehrlichman approving the "covert" operation did not refer to the break-in, but only "a secret procedure."

Ehrlichman faces a maximum sentence for all the charges against him of 30 years and \$30,000.

The prosecution, headed by Nixon's appointee, Leon Jaworski, is doing everything possible to keep the main conspirator, Nixon, out of the case.

That is why the prosecution filed a memorandum last week stating it no longer intends to prove a criminal coverup in connection with the break-in.

Nixon has intervened in every way possible, including attempting to bribe the judge with a federal appointment and refusing to hand over Ehrlichman's files, in order to coverup his own role in the case.



Beame Raises Taxes and Rents

BY HELEN HALYARD
Workers Party candidate in the 14th Congressional District Democratic Mayor Beame is out to appease the big bankers by attacking the most basic rights and conditions of the workers in New York.

His new budget is aimed at raising money to pay the huge interest on city bonds by raising the sales tax on everything 14 percent, while we still have to pay a city income tax, and now an extra \$15 tax for owning a car.

In housing, more than any other single area, Beame exposes just how much the Democrats as well as the Republicans support the capitalists.

Because only two percent of the housing units in New York City are vacant, we are forced to live under intolerable conditions and pay back-breaking rents or mortgages. Now we will pay even more, thanks to recent decisions made by Beame and his appointees.

First, he raised rents in public housing projects by as much as 8.5 percent, over and above the annual increase in the surcharge added on for families that work.

Now, he has said that owners of so-called rent controlled apartments can raise rents by as much as 12 percent when leases are renewed. A "reformed" version of the hated Vacancy Decontrol laws now says that a tenant can

appeal if the rents they "negotiate" with the landlord are too high.

For workers who have been able to buy their own house, Beame's new budget adds a whopping 46.4 cents per \$100 value to the property taxes.

Now landlords are being given huge "rehabilitation" loans to furnish apartments as emergency relocation centers for the welfare department. The city has also agreed to pay the debt service on their mortgages.

The first centers will be set up on Fox Street in the Bronx and Amboy Street in Brownsville, both sections where decent housing is desperately needed. Families and tenants groups in these areas have been unable to get loans.

The liberals and the trade union leaders tell us that the Democrats will defend our needs if only we elect enough of them to Congress. The Workers League and Young Socialists entered the congressional campaign to expose this lie.

Through our campaign, we will construct a new leadership in the unions and neighborhoods to mobilize workers for the construction of an independent political party, a labor party based on the unions. We will fight for socialist policies, including the nationalization of all banking and real estate interests, so that billions can be poured into the construction of decent housing for every family.



Helen Halyard, Workers Party candidate for the 14th CD in Brooklyn, addresses a rally in Bushwick.

1199 Contract Accepts 1.5% Pay Board Slash

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE
NEW YORK, NY—Delegates representing 35,000 New York hospital workers voted June 30 to accept a contract dictated by the state's mediation panel.

Ranks of District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Workers will vote during the next two weeks on the offer, which provides an 11 percent or \$17 weekly raise this year and \$10 in the second year.

key demands such as a guarantee of alternate weekend scheduling and a 10 percent weekend pay differential. The complicated cost of living clause does not take effect until the second year, and covers only the cost increases over five percent.

A "no" vote will set up an immediate collision with state authorities who claim that the panel's decision became binding when the old contract expired June 30.

This contract comes up just as whole sections of the labor movement like copper workers, communications, railroad, and longshore workers enter their own contract fights. Workers in industries like construction, auto, and textiles have been defending their working conditions and winning wage gains through determined struggle during the past few weeks.

The contract also provides for a lump sum payment to cover 1.5 percent due under the last contract. This is the difference between the negotiated seven percent increase due July 1 of 1973 and the six percent finally approved by the Cost of Living Council after 1199 members struck in November, 1973.

Yet Davis told the delegates that no major wage gains are being made this year, to justify accepting the contract.

PAY BOARD

Because 1199 President Leon Davis would not challenge the Pay Board's right to cut the increase in the first place, he demanded payment of the 1.5 percent retroactive only to May 1 of this year, the first day after the Council was disbanded. Workers will receive approximately \$24.

Davis has arranged with the hospitals that they can stall for an indefinite period before paying a penny of the contract, going along with their claims that they cannot meet any payments that will not be immediately reimbursed by insurance companies or the state.

The workers had demanded \$25 or 15 percent in a one year contract when negotiations began. At the delegates meeting, Davis recommended acceptance of the smaller award, saying that it was a victory, because the base pay of \$181 a week by 1975 will be the highest ever for hospital workers.

This sets up conditions where the ranks could be forced to strike once again for wage increases already promised, even while the treasury is being drained to pay massive fines for last November's strike.

The ranks of 1199 can win strong support throughout the labor movement if they repudiate this contract and demand strike action now to win the original pay demand in a one year contract.

The contract does not include

Rail Unions File For 20% Raise

CHICAGO, Ill.—Contract demands for 600,000 railroad employees were presented July 1, with the expiration of an 18-month moratorium imposed by the federal government.

The Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC) and the United Transportation Union (UTU) filed joint demands for a 20 percent increase the first year, 14 percent the second year, a new escalator clause, and a guaranteed annual income.

Some 20 other unions representing railroad workers are expected to join in these demands for the contract that begins January 1, 1975.

The wage guarantee would assure that every employee with at least one year's service would be guaranteed at least the same wage he had earned in the last 12 months. The contract would also stipulate that the work force could not be cut more than two percent per year systemwide or four percent in any one district.

Protection For Ex-Nazis

BY A REPORTER
Representative Joshua Eilberg, chairman of the House Subcommittee on Immigration has charged that the State Department has impeded the Justice Department's investigation of suspected Nazi war criminals who have immigrated to the US.

participation in atrocities with the Iron Guard fascist movement in Rumania.

Others on the list include several priests and Dr. Hubert Strughold, who helped in the early space flight program.

Eilberg said the State Department has refused to respond to Justice Department requests for assistance in finding witnesses to wartime atrocities and initiating extradition procedures. He said West Germany wanted to extradite some of the people to stand trial, but was not sure the State Department "would seriously entertain such a request."

A list of 37 persons now under investigation has been released, including Valerian D. Trifa, Bishop of the Rumanian Orthodox Episcopate of America. He was naturalized as a citizen in 1957 in spite of testimony of his



Rail union chief C.L. Dennis.

Bronx/Riverdale Bus Strike

BY A REPORTER
NEW YORK, NY—Express bus routes between the boroughs of Bronx and Manhattan were shut down July 1 when drivers struck the Riverdale Transit Company and the New York Bus Company for parity pay increases and cost of living protection.

and Manhattan, and the drivers for the Transit Authority who are also represented by Local 100.

The demand for parity also includes new cost of living clauses, and increased pension and medical benefits.

The New York Bus Company waited until 20 minutes before the contract deadline to offer three percent this year and five percent in 1975. The company busses about 11,000 commuters a day from Co-op City and other residential areas, and also runs special lines to race tracks, Shea Stadium, and Jones Beach.

Local 100, Transport Workers Union represents 255 drivers, while the drivers in the Riverdale area are in TWU Local 225.

Drivers of the Bronx busses are now paid just over \$5 an hour, about \$1. less than express drivers between Queens

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300 ATTEND ANNUAL ARROW PARK OUTING

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

Over 300 trade unionists, youth, and housewives attended the Workers League outing and rally at Arrow Park in Monroe, New York, June 29.

Contingents came from the New York City area, Boston, Washington DC, Baltimore, and Philadelphia to make this the largest and most successful outing ever held. The largest contingent, over 80 people, came from Queens, New York.

Following an afternoon of boating, basketball, and softball, the Workers League candidates for congress in Brooklyn, New York, Terry Delgado and Helen Halyard explained why they are running and urged everyone to join the campaign. Tim Wohlforth, Workers League national secretary, spoke on "Watergate, the Ugly Face of Capitalism."

Terry Delgado said the conditions of rotten housing, unemployment, and no health facilities that exist in Bushwick are faced by workers throughout the country.

"We are campaigning on the basis of the need to fight these conditions, to throw out Shirley Chisholm and all the Democrats and Republicans and to fight for our own political party to defend jobs, housing, and health care."

Tim Wohlforth said that Watergate had to be understood in light of the economic crisis in the capitalist system.

"This is a government of conspiracy, of illegality, backed by the military, with power concentrated in fewer and fewer hands. They do this because they are planning unpopular actions that the masses of people will fight."

CONSPIRACIES

"This is the only reason for the conspiracies and for the buildup in the police where in Jamaica, Queens, the courts allow policemen to shoot down the youth. They are preparing to impose these policies by brutal force."

Wohlforth explained that the crisis and revolutionary situation in Italy and Portugal was the future of America. Every capitalist country facing an enormous debt, or balance of

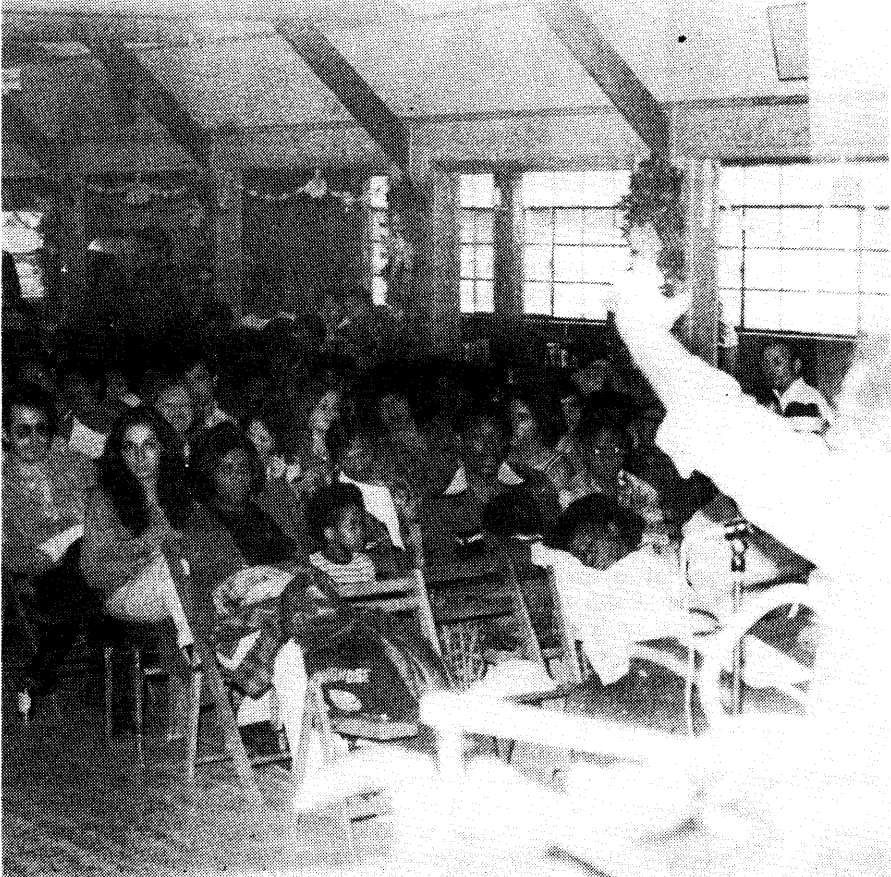
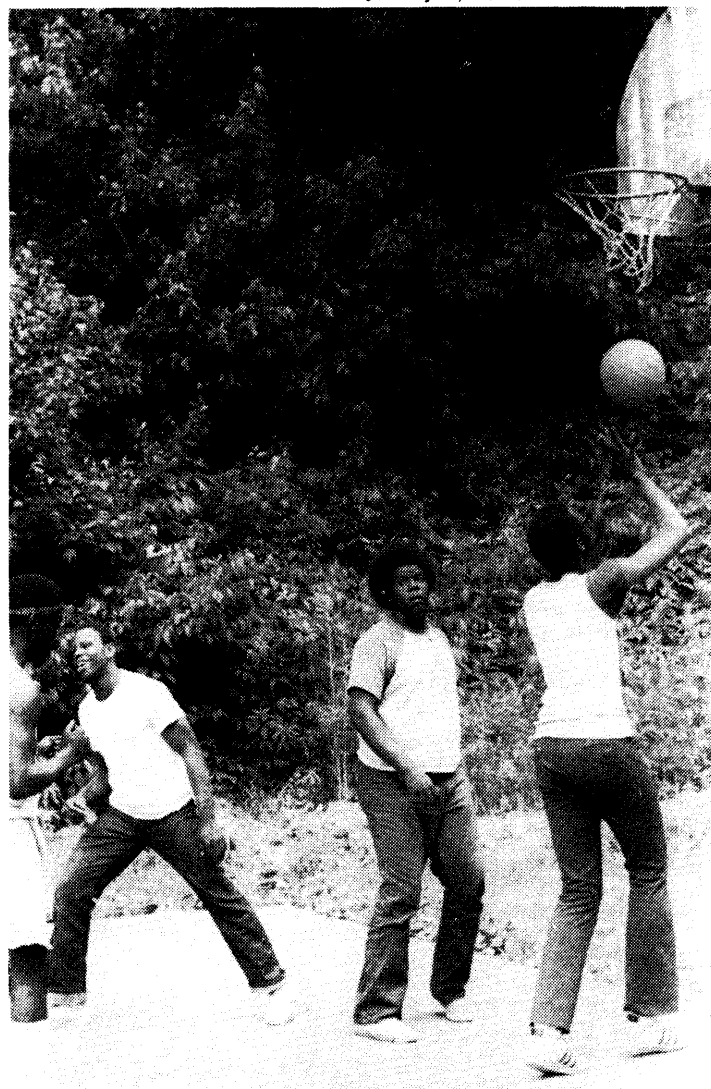
payments crisis, is seeking to solve this by taking it out of the pockets of the working class.

"They know they can't force masses of people to take a 25 percent slash in living standards so they take it from you through inflation, by pushing the worker down. This is why fascist movements are now developing."

"What we must do is build a revolutionary leadership to fight these conditions, not to defend profits but to fight for socialist policies. We must break the masses of people from the Democrats and from the stranglehold of the bureaucrats in the unions, and develop a labor party."

"If we want a party that represents us, it must be run by workers with a leadership that comes out of the working class itself. We call on everyone here to join the Workers League and to participate in the election campaign in your neighborhood to build this movement."

Following a lively discussion, everyone was urged to attend the summer educational camp to be held in Canada starting on August 24.



On March 16, 1974, an extraordinary charade was enacted on the outskirts of Lisbon. A column of officers and soldiers from the Caldas da Rainha barracks hove into view. They were in armoured vehicles, trucks and on foot. At Vila Franca de Xira near the international airport they were halted by a garrison from Lisbon, turned around and sent home. An attempted coup had been stopped without a shot being fired.

News of the army mutiny swept through Portugal while emigres in Europe listened to their radio sets for details of this bizarre and abortive challenge to the fascist dictatorship. A government spokesman issued an immediate statement to the Press saying: "Calm reigns in the country." The coverage in the strictly-controlled Press was aimed at belittling its importance and hinting that the authorities were forewarned. "The government was already aware that a movement was under way, the character and aims of which were vague," the spokesman said. "It was easy to see that any attempt on the part of a few elements to persuade other army units to rebel would not succeed." He concluded by emphasizing that "loyal forces" swiftly put down the mutineers.

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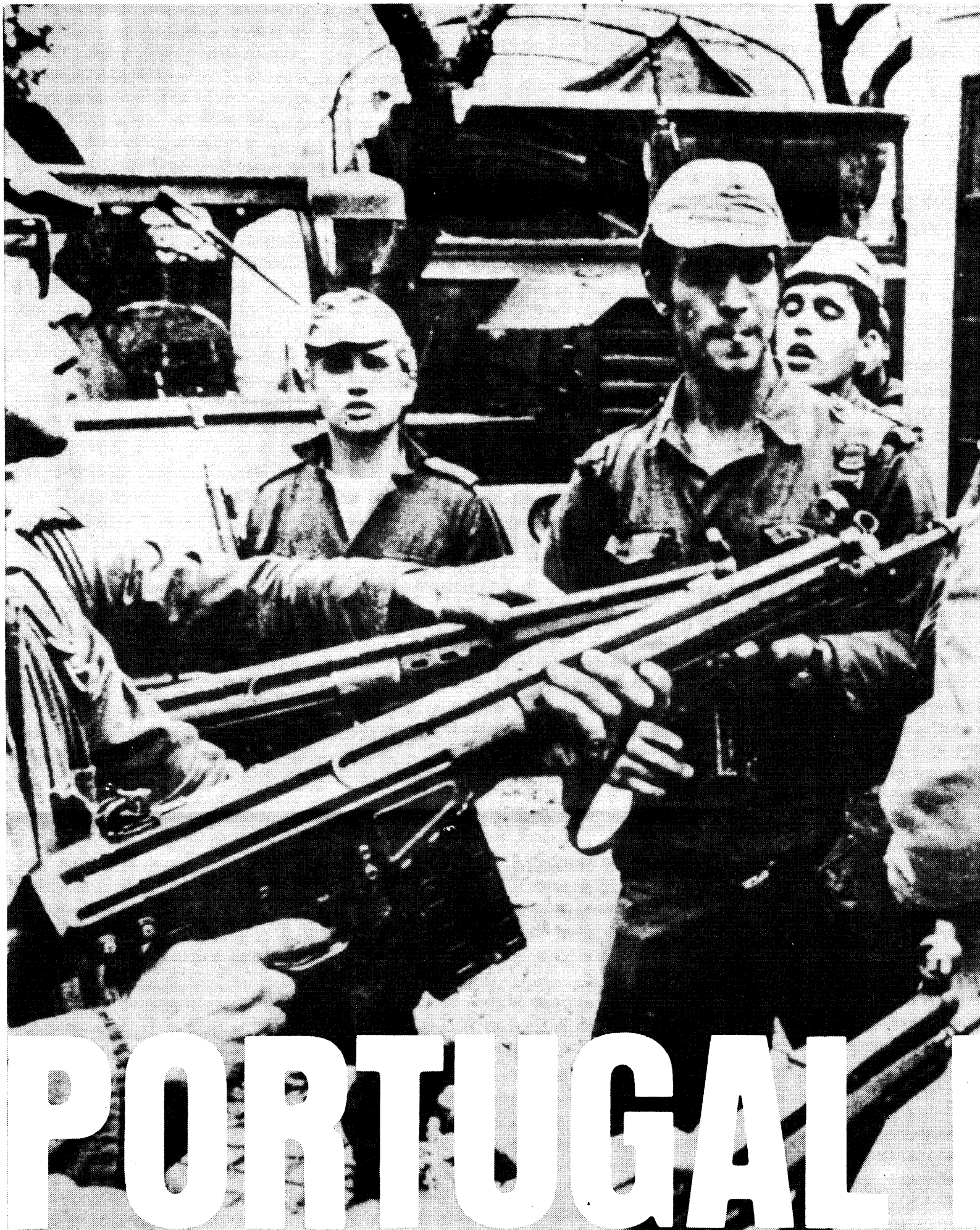
Sixteen officers were imprisoned. This was on top of the 40 officers who had already been sent to Madeira and other out-of-the-way localities following the publication of Spino's book, *Portugal and the Future*, in January. But no one took seriously the stiff-upper-lip reaction of the official government spokesmen. Like wildfire, the story went around that the Caldas da Rainha soldiers were captured only because there had been a mix-up in the timing of the coup; they had moved too soon. What it succeeded in doing was to create an atmosphere of anticipation which grew with each passing day and each new rumor until April 25. Without a line appearing in the Portuguese Press, everyone knew of the existence of the Armed Forces Movement.

Soldiers I spoke to said that the movement began to show its hand in November and December last year. Officers began holding illegal meetings and publishing a clandestine news sheet to protest against poor wages and the sabotage of their prestige as professional officers. The wages question was straightforward enough. In spite of the hours, conditions and the war dangers, both officers and men are paid utterly worthless wages.

With inflation among the worst in western Europe, officers found themselves unable to support their families on the pitance wages they were receiving. The Portuguese ruling class has always relied on conscripts as cannon fodder and officers were expected not to complain about wages because they were "serving the nation." But the officer class was changing too. From being the aristocrats and sons of the wealthy landowners, the officers became sons of the middle class who saw an army career as a quick way to university and to status. Their rebellion inside the army was only worsened by the fact that their friends in private industry were soaking up much bigger salaries. The final straw was the Caetano government's decree that students who received temporary rank as officers while doing military service could keep that rank and seniority if they signed up permanently. This decision was forced on the government in response to the drastic decline in the number of young men applying to the military academy and the resulting shortage of officers. The "professionals" who had dedicated their lives to the services were incensed that "amateurs" were going to receive the same pay and status after only conscription training.

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Captain Ruy Guymares told the *New York Times*: "It was this professional issue that brought us together. We were convinced it was illegal and a threat to our careers." About 300 captains and majors met on a ranch to establish a co-ordinating committee to present their demands to the generals. Details of these early negotiations with the top brass are obscure. The soldiers at one out of town barracks told me that the officers won 100 percent wage increases, but not without a showdown with the Ministry of Defense in which the officers threw down the gauntlet and said: "We want more money. Remember, we have got the guns. We have got the support



A member of the political police being arrested by the Portuguese Army after the Movement of the Armed Forces overthrew the Caetano regime on April 25.

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The successful co-ordination over wages brought new affinities. "Once we began to talk freely," Captain Guymares said, "we discovered that all of us believed in a free Portugal and thought that the regime should be overthrown." It was at this point that the "progressive" movement of the officers reflecting demoralization of the conduct of the war, the ravages of inflation and increasing qualms about the terror tactics of the secret police, merged with the interests of a section of the bourgeoisie led by General Spino. The officers wanted reforms and an end to the unwinnable colonial war: Spino wanted an end to the colonial regimes and the establishment of new political relations with the African nationalists to facilitate the exploitation of minerals, oil and foodstuffs, particularly in Mozambique and Angola.

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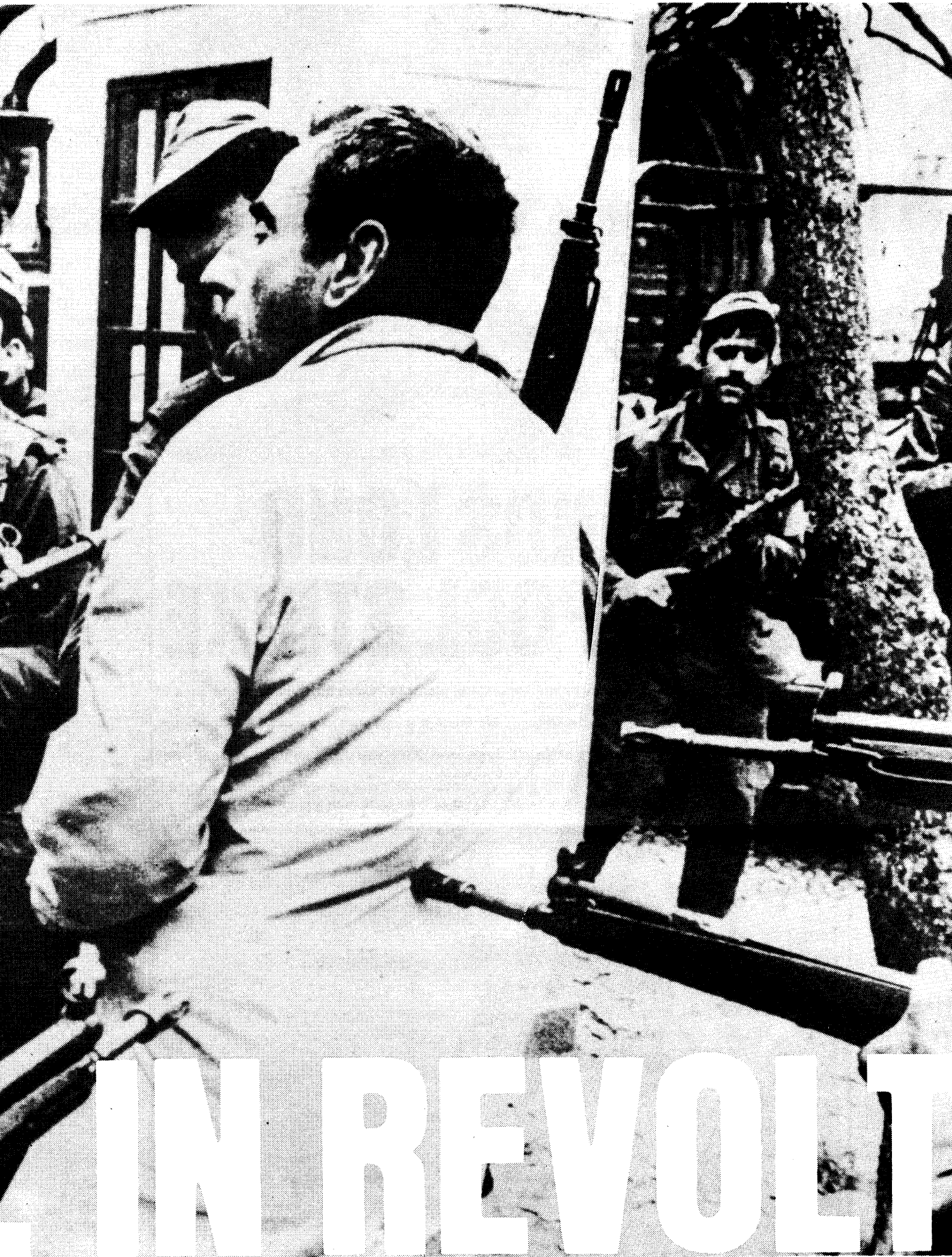
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THE ARMED FORCES By Alex Mitchell



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

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The "progressive face" of the Armed Forces Movement became clearer on May 16 during the morning briefing at the Ministry of the Interior given by Major Sanchez Osorio. He opened with a statement on behalf of the junta warning about "bloodshed and violence." There was a stunned silence among the 50-odd Pressmen in the room. One English reporter could not resist the opportunity of asking: "You spoke about bloodshed and violence. Where is it going on? I don't see it happening?"

Osorio: "No, it isn't going on. But we think it is right to warn the people that it is a danger." Later Osorio told the same reporter that the biggest problem faced by the junta was "labor." He warned workers that there was only 24 hours in every day and said they should not get sidetracked into "other activities," a direct reference to strikes, occupations and workers' committees which were sweeping industry by this date.

There are three categories in the Portuguese army: the generals, the Armed Forces Movement of young officers and the conscripted soldiers and sailors. In their resolutions, the Stalinists lump them together under the expression "the armed forces" and call for unity with them. But this means unity with Spinola and the other fascists in the military. When challenged on this point, the Stalinists usually say they really mean the Armed Forces Movement. So why not say so? But there is another point—why should the working class put any faith in the officers' movement? In spite of their execution of the coup, these officers have shown not the slightest inclination towards socialism. On the contrary, there objection to fascism was, at best, liberal and was only directed towards improving the conditions of capitalist exploitation, not ending it. Hence, the young officers have spent the past month rushing from one factory to the next, always with a Stalinist at their elbow, trying to get workers to go back to work. And on Sunday, May 26, it was officers who led the cavalymen against the demonstrators protesting about the continued detention of a Cuban captain who is serving ten years' jail for assisting the Guinéa-Bissau liberation movement.

There is one final anecdote which should dispel any illusions in this young officers' movement. At a dinner party on May 16 a junior officer was basking in the gratitude of the guests when he was asked about the dangers of a fascist coup. "We are already looking at this," he replied confidently. "We are not satisfied with the purge of fascist elements. We are considering some executions to get rid of these people." The guests seemed mightily assured by the captain's sincerity until he was asked: "What if the communists and socialists try to take over?" He sobered up somewhat. "We could not let that happen either," he replied. "We would have to intervene. We want a democratic government, not a communist or socialist one."

The incident reveals the class character of these Young Turks. They imagine themselves to be political (and moral) arbiters in the class struggle. But as the economic crisis worsens and the working class surge forward into even greater struggles with the ruling class, the MFA will become even more rabid standardbearers for reaction.

TO BE CONTINUED

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TO BE CONTINUED

THE MOVEMENT OF THE ARMED FORCES By Alex Mitchell

On March 16, 1974, an extraordinary charade was enacted on the outskirts of Lisbon. A column of officers and soldiers from the Caldas da Rainha barracks hove into view. They were in armoured vehicles, trucks and on foot. At Vila Franca de Xira near the international airport they were halted by a garrison from Lisbon, turned around and sent home. An attempted coup had been stopped without a shot being fired.

News of the army mutiny swept through Portugal while emigres in Europe listened to their radio sets for details of this bizarre and abortive challenge to the fascist dictatorship. A government spokesman issued an immediate statement to the Press saying: "Calm reigns in the country." The coverage in the strictly-controlled Press was aimed at belittling its importance and hinting that the authorities were forewarned. "The government was already aware that a movement was under way, the character and aims of which were vague," the spokesman said. "It was easy to see that any attempt on the part of a few elements to persuade other army units to rebel would not succeed." He concluded by emphasizing that "loyal forces" swiftly put down the mutineers.

IMPRISONED

Sixteen officers were imprisoned. This was on top of the 40 officers who had already been sent to Madeira and other out-of-the-way localities following the publication of Spínola's book, *Portugal and the Future*, in January. But no one took seriously the stiff-upper-lip reaction of the official government spokesmen. Like wildfire, the story went around that the Caldas da Rainha soldiers were captured only because there had been a mix-up in the timing of the coup; they had moved too soon. What it succeeded in doing was to create an atmosphere of anticipation which grew with each passing day and each new rumor until April 25. Without a line appearing in the Portuguese Press, everyone knew of the existence of the Armed Forces Movement.

Soldiers I spoke to said that the movement began to show its hand in November and December last year. Officers began holding illegal meetings and publishing a clandestine news sheet to protest against poor wages and the sabotage of their prestige as professional officers. The wages question was straightforward enough. In spite of the hours, conditions and the war dangers, both officers and men are paid utterly worthless wages.

With inflation among the worst in western Europe, officers found themselves unable to support their families on the pittance wages they were receiving. The Portuguese ruling class has always relied on conscripts as cannon fodder and officers were expected not to complain about wages because they were "serving the nation." But the officer class was changing too. From being the aristocrats and sons of the wealthy landowners, the officers became sons of the middle class who saw an army career as a quick way to university and to status. Their rebellion inside the army was only worsened by the fact that their friends in private industry were soaking up much bigger salaries. The final straw was the Caetano government's decree that students who received temporary rank as officers while doing military service could keep that rank and seniority if they signed up permanently. This decision was forced on the government in response to the drastic decline in the number of young men applying to the military academy and the resulting shortage of officers. The "professionals" who had dedicated their lives to the services were incensed that "amateurs" were going to receive the same pay and status after only conscription training.

PROFESSIONAL

Captain Ruy Guymares told the *New York Times*: "It was this professional issue that brought us together. We were convinced it was illegal and a threat to our careers." About 300 captains and majors met on a ranch to establish a co-ordinating committee to present their demands to the generals. Details of these early negotiations with the top brass are obscure. The soldiers at one out of town barracks told me that the officers won 100 percent wage increases, but not without a showdown with the Ministry of Defense in which the officers threw down the gauntlet and said: "We want more money. Remember, we have got the guns. We have got the support

of the soldiers in the barracks. Don't try and challenge us."

The successful co-ordination over wages brought new affinities. "Once we began to talk freely," Captain Guymares said, "we discovered that all of us believed in a free Portugal and thought that the regime should be overthrown." It was at this point that the "progressive" movement of the officers reflecting demoralization of the conduct of the war, the ravages of inflation and increasing qualms about the terror tactics of the secret police, merged with the interests of a section of the bourgeoisie led by General Spínola. The officers wanted reforms and an end to the unwinnable colonial war: Spínola wanted an end to the colonial regimes and the establishment of new political relations with the African nationalists to facilitate the exploitation of minerals, oil and foodstuffs, particularly in Mozambique and Angola.

One of the officers explained to me how he became part of the Armed Forces Move-

ment. "In 1969 I went to Washington on a training course. I went via London and saw some friends who are living there. They were very disappointed that I was going into the army. They asked me what I thought of the colonial wars and I said it was our duty to give independence but we first of all had to make sure the Africans were ready. Then we talked about fascism and communism. I was very confused by it all. When I went to America we had several lessons on Communism. I will always remember the moment when our lecturer was giving details of the poverty and oppression in the Soviet Union. He gave the wages of the peasants and said: 'That's Communism for you after 50 years.' I said: 'That's pretty bad, but it's twice what the peasants get in Portugal.' On my way back to Lisbon I stopped at London and talked with my friends. I told them that we could not go on oppressing people in Africa and in our own country as well. It wasn't right and nor was it feasible. In Washington they did

one thing for me, they made me into a kind of Communist."

With the publication of Spínola's book in January, the Armed Forces Movement had a leader. But it is essential to grasp that Spínola's book was not only published to win over the middle-ranking officers, it was also addressed to the leaders of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party, who would provide the necessary second pillar to the junta in the construction of a Bonapartist regime. No details have emerged about the secret contacts between Spínola and Alvaro Cunhal, the general secretary of the Stalinist party, who was living in exile in eastern Europe, and Dr. Mario Soares, the socialist leader then teaching in Paris. But contacts were made and an acceptable program was agreed prior to April 25. I spoke to Lisbon trade union leaders, members of the CP, who admitted receiving copies of the Armed Forces Movement literature as early as

March and being sounded out for their views. Working on the traditional basis that a Stalinist tells you one third accurately and lies about the other two-thirds, it is reasonable to conclude that considerable contact preceded the military coup.

Eduardo is a conscript at the NCO's training barracks near the provincial town of Faro. On the morning of April 25 the 1500 conscripts and professionals were told at breakfast that they could not leave the perimeter. "We all knew something had happened," Eduardo said. "We had been expecting something—there were so many rumors. We got a radio—we were not supposed to listen—and every few hours there used to be an announcement from the junta. At 3 o'clock we heard that Caetano was resigning. When it happened I still wasn't sure whether it had been a coup from the left or the right. We asked our sergeant to get an immediate statement from the officers. But he came back and said the offi-

cers would not tell him anything. We decided to ask the priest to intervene for us. But he is very reactionary and he told us it was none of our business what was happening."

DEMONSTRATION

Next day, April 26, with still no instructions, the soldiers staged a hunger strike. "You've got to understand what it was like," Eduardo said. "We wanted to take up arms against the fascists, but we didn't know which way to turn. The officers were keeping us in the dark. The colonel in charge came down to the canteen and said to one soldier, a very new conscript, 'Eat,' but the soldier refused. The colonel took a spoon and tried to force some food into his mouth but the soldier refused to eat it. The colonel walked away looking very frightened."

The third day Eduardo called a meeting of soldiers. It developed into a demonstration. One of the sergeants was delegated to

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

telephone the junta in Lisbon to ask for instructions. "He explained what was going on and the junta said, 'The colonel will be sacked.'" Next day the colonel left the camp at 4 a.m. to be pensioned into the army reserve. His deputy took over for a few days, but he has now been replaced by a major.

In the wild euphoria that greeted the overthrow of the Caetano regime, much has been made by the Stalinists and reformists about the role of the Armed Forces Movement. On his return, Cunhal's first speech paid homage to the armed forces. In the first issue of the Stalinist weekly, *Avante*, he appeared on the front page embracing a soldier and a sailor. The Portuguese Communist Party's Central Committee statement of May 4 says that "the unity of the masses and the armed forces is a precondition for liquidating the remnants of fascism." The "people" are urged to fraternize with soldiers, sailors and Spínola?

THE MOVEMENT OF THE ARMED FORCES By Alex Mitchell



A member of the political police being arrested by the Portuguese Army after the Movement of the Armed Forces overthrew the Caetano regime on April 25.

PORTUGAL IN REVOLT

Once granted legality and the right to produce a newspaper, rights won by the working class in struggle against the fascist tyrants at home and in the colonies, the Stalinists proceeded to tie the working class to the junta. The leading article in *Avante* on May 17 said:

"The unity of the working class and the democratic forces and the alliance of the masses and the armed forces, are in the present situation the indispensable condition for consolidating and extending democratic gains, cutting short any counter-revolutionary conspiracies and finally carrying out free elections for the Constituent Assembly. This unity and this alliance are life-and-death questions for the democratic revolution. Every effort must be made to consolidate them."

It must be noted, however, that in the overthrow these same forces gave a safe passage to the fascist Caetano and his top ministerial advisers, protected the hated DGS from the retribution of the crowd, and gave asylum to fascist administrators fleeing for their lives.

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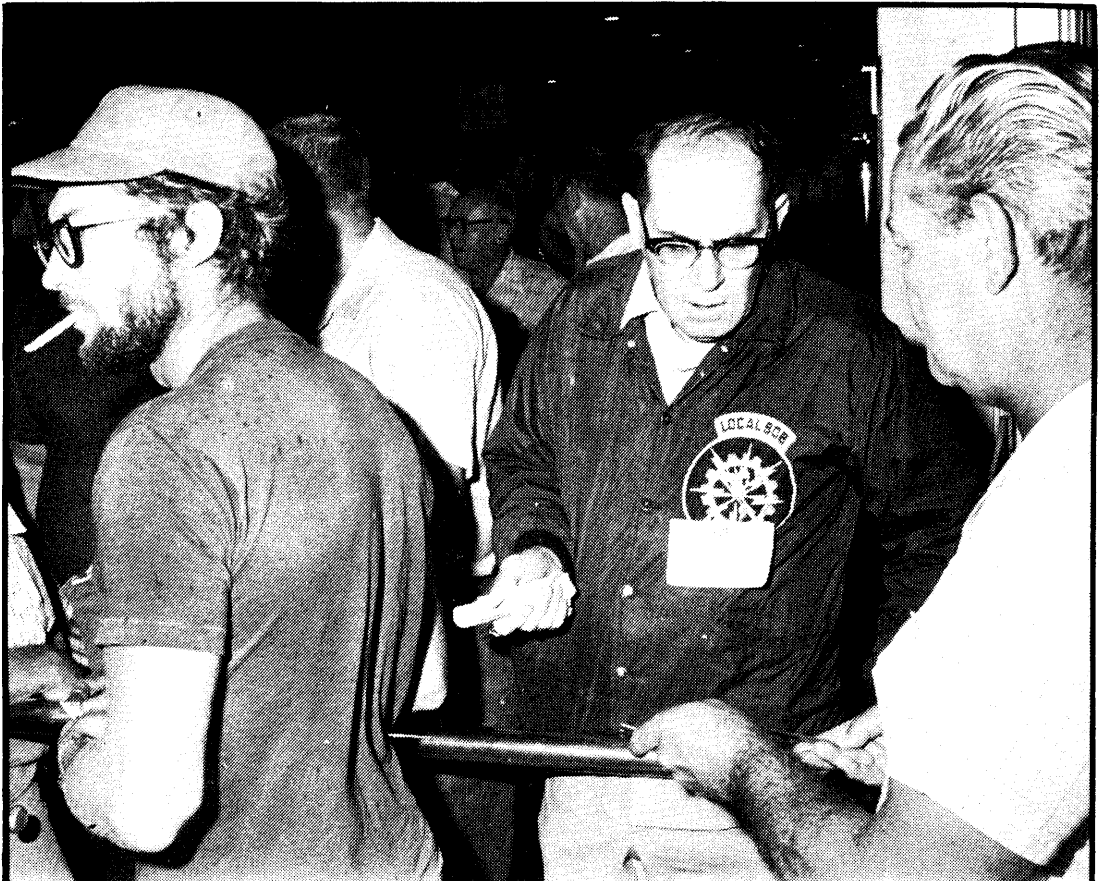
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VOTE ENDS LONG WHIRLPOOL STRIKE

A bitter, 122-day strike against three Whirlpool Corp. plants in Evansville, Indiana ended June 20 with the workers split on the new contract.

Members of Local 808, International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) voted narrowly to accept, 2646 to 2399.

The contract provides wage hikes of just 70 cents over three years and an open-end escalator clause beginning in December 1974.

During the strike, whole sections of the plant were dismantled and moved to a nonunion Whirlpool plant in Arkansas. The company has admitted that at least 2600 men will be cut from the work force permanently.



Columbus Mayor Covers Up For Police Brutality

BY LOUIS MILLER

COLUMBUS, Ohio—The latest incident in the escalating police repression here is the shooting of 18-year-old Robert Williams by Columbus cops.

Williams was hospitalized for a bullet wound in the left shoulder, then transferred to city prison. Robert Smith, 31, a companion, was jailed on a charge of "disorderly conduct."

Williams and Smith were chased by a Columbus patrol car and a police helicopter for an alleged traffic violation. Patrolman Gerald Sayers stopped the car and claimed he saw Williams open the glove compartment, which contained a gun.

Cops Escort Scabs Into Gould Plant

BY JOHN DUNN

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—Local 1108, International Union of Electrical Workers, has been on strike against the Century Electric Division of Gould, Inc. since April 15. The company, which makes small motors, has moved virtually all its production to four non-union plants down South. In 1968, the plant had 3000 workers in St. Louis. Today, only 96 are left.

Last week a Be Mac truck was brought in, loaded up, and escorted out across the picket line under the watchful eye of about 40 St. Louis police officers.

Local IUE President Ed Forhan said: "There were five people charged with resisting arrest and peace disturbance. The cops even brought the K-9 corps out here. They waited here for an hour and one-half and then escorted the truck down to the docks. They bring in the police to get the trash."

"No doubt the companies are trying to break the unions, not just here, but all over," said Forhan.

"The company hasn't offered us anything more than what they offered to begin with, which was nothing. They are stalling."

"We are asking for a cost of living escalator and a generous wage increase. This is nothing but a lockout."

board which is investigating the incident cleared Columbus patrolman Raymond Belcher of a 1971 shooting in which two men were killed and another was left paralyzed from the waist down.

Last week, Patrolman Belcher was ordered by a US court jury to pay \$831,000 in damages to the families of the two dead men, and to the third for "use of excessive force." Belcher however, has been free since the shooting, and neither Belcher nor the city council are expected to pay the awarded sum.

Collection can be easily prevented by a bankruptcy action by Belcher or by nonapproval of the Columbus City Council for the required funds. City attorney James Hughes who defended Belcher said he will file a number of motions in court, asking for a new trial and a judgement against the verdict.

One worker talking to a girlfriend on a public street was suddenly surrounded by police, frisked, and had his face savagely beaten beyond recognition.

Nodine Miller, City Hall ombudsman, stated she had been afraid to enter police headquarters to investigate the complaints. Mayor Moody called her for a private meeting, and fired her. Later Moody produced what he called her signed resignation.

Recently, one policeman was suspended and another discharged for the reported theft of a radio from a stolen car, following a high-speed chase. Normally, such a theft carries both a fine and a jail sentence.

Navy Funds FMC Strikebreaking

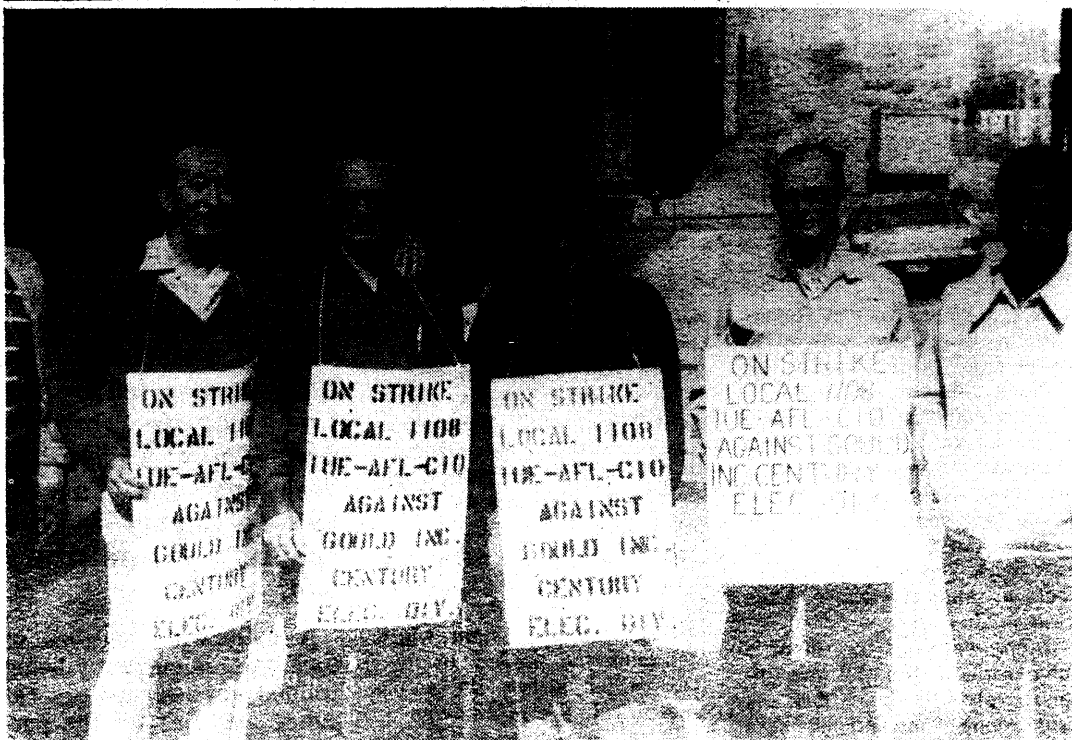
BY J. NELSON

MINNEAPOLIS, Mn.—1700 members of United Auto Workers Local 680 have entered the third week of their strike against the giant FMC Naval ordnance plant here.

Limited production is being carried out by foremen, supervisory, and office personnel, which has enabled FMC to hold out this long.

This is paid for in full by the US Navy with little or no cost to FMC.

Finished ordnance is taken from the plant by foremen who deliver the goods to scab trucks on the outside. The union has not



St. Louis IUE workers on strike since April 15 against Gould, Inc.

Foundry Workers Vote GH&R Strike

BY

DOROTHY WRIGHT DAYTON, Ohio—

Workers at GH&R Foundry, member of United Electrical Workers Local 765, have shut the plant in their first legal strike since 1952.

At the end of a 30 day extension on the contract, they voted overwhelmingly 400 to 25 on June 30 to go out.

A worker told the Bulletin: "The company tried to scare us off with a four day week they put in during the extension. They

even set the vacation schedule ahead, thinking we would settle quickly."

The UE leadership recommended a "yes" vote, pointing to the absolute refusal of the company to grant any of the union demands. The union is asking for a \$1 an hour increase, an end to the cap on the cost of living clause, elimination of the no-strike clause, elimination of health and safety hazards, 25 and out with a \$550 per month pension and other benefits.

It has been reported by workers that the company has offered only a 16 cent an hour increase for the first shift workers and a total of 45 cents over three years.

In the core department, when work is slack, the company takes off some of the core-makers and assigns men to the job of core unloader or some other hourly rated job.

Core makers average \$5 an hour on piece rate, while most standard jobs pay about \$3.61.

A Bulletin subscriber who works in the finishing department said they have to pay you a guaranteed rate based on average piecework earnings if they take you off piecework and put you on a standard job, but only if you have at least 5 years seniority.

A worker in the iron-pouring department told the Bulletin: "Many of the men are working with a final conduct report hanging over their heads."

"They give you a conduct report for not being able to keep up with the killing work, for being two minutes late, or any

little thing. You can get four conduct reports and the fifth one, you are out."

"At the same time, the company is slow on the grievance procedure. After a certain length of time, the grievances are thrown out."

"I don't know how many unresolved grievances there are, but there are plenty. Some grievances have been in arbitration since 1971."

"We're all on piecework in the iron-pouring department, but it's impossible to count your money. They have that telecontrol, a computer upstairs."

"The workers would be better satisfied with a higher standard hourly rate instead of piecework."

"The iron-pourers only make about \$4.25 an hour and that's one of the worst jobs. When they run scrap, you don't get paid for that. You can't get the man to show how much scrap there is."

"It's about time we struck. The company thinks they can run over us. The company won't be able to do without us. It won't be long before the pieces start rusting."

"For example, they have to have two maintenance men at all times on the Big Tube that the iron stays in or else it will freeze."

Workers told the Bulletin: "We have to strike because the company isn't offering any wages and the cost of everything keeps going up."

One worker said: "I went to the store and a little can of beans that used to cost 10 cents now costs 41 cents."

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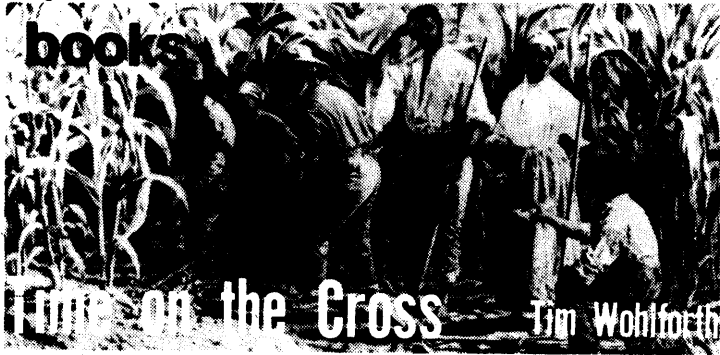
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books
Time On The Cross by Robert William Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman. Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1974.

No recent book on any aspect of American history has been given such extensive publicity as this economic study of slavery. Whole spreads in The New York Times, Time magazine, The New York Times Book Review section, and elsewhere have been devoted to it.

In one way, this treatment is fully justified, for while we differ sharply with the outlook and conclusions of the authors, there is no doubt that this is the most important work on the subject in recent times. However, the attention to the book has an important and ominous political meaning.

Fogel and Engerman are polemicists against what they call the "myths" perpetrated by previous historians about slavery. Both are proslave and pro-Northern writers. The main thrust of their polemic is directed against the critics of slavery.

The authors claim to be opponents of racism and to hope that their studies will help to root out historical stereotypes of Blacks. But the actual effect of their book is to justify slavery at a point in history when the free labor system takes on more and more the characteristics of the slave system, and when the maintenance of capitalism requires attempts at splitting the working class on racial lines.

This book has this effect because of its empirical method, which prevents any understanding of the reactionary character of slavery as an economic system, which had to be destroyed if mankind was to move forward.

Thus, the authors do not even venture a guess as to why the Civil War itself took place. They blind themselves to this truth in order to blind others today to the truth of the reactionary character of present day capitalism, which must now meet the fate of the old slave system if mankind is to move forward.

The book is based on the work of what are called "cliometricians." This is a term for economic historians who use modern statistical methods and computers to assess old data. The old data are the records of the plantations, of the slave markets, tax records, census material, a tremendous mass of data which can only be handled with computers.

The important results of this quantitative work give the book its great value. At the same time, this work is being quite unjustifiably used as a weapon to confuse the issues which brought about the "irrepressible conflict" of 1861.

The authors' position is that they have made a contribution by removing the economic question from the evaluation of slavery, making all the clearer the moral issues.

"Indeed, it is our belief," wrote Fogel to a colleague, "that by exposing various myths regarding economic and social behavior under slavery, Time on the Cross shows that the overriding questions generated by slavery were not economic and social, but moral."

It is not possible to separate

the moral from economic questions. Morality does not float in the air independent of classes. It is, as Trotsky explains so well in Their Morals And Ours, subordinate to the class struggle. What is right and what is wrong is viewed differently by different classes.

The "right" of the ruling class is the right which is imposed on all classes through the religious and educational system which maintains the productive relations which allows the ruling class to rule and profit. What is right for an oppressed class is what advances that class in its struggle against oppression. The rights and wrongs of chattel slavery cannot for a moment be separated from this struggle of classes, nor from the underlying question involved in the struggle of classes: the development of the productive forces of man.

That something more than the moral issue is involved in the slave question—or rather that the moral issue is one rooted in the relations between classes—is revealed in material supplied by Fogel and Engerman themselves. In one of their many passages aimed at making the reader feel a bit more "comfortable" and "dispassionate" about the slave past of America, the authors note that slavery had existed in the world for 3000 years. They also note that in the space of a single century, it was abolished from virtually the entire earth (the last vestige was abolished officially in the Arab countries in the 1960s).

Are we to believe that a moral fervor touched the nineteenth century white man, unknown to past generations? We are more inclined to believe that slavery became immoral to the capitalist rulers of the nineteenth century world because at that point in history, it was an impediment to the development of the capitalist system. As such, it was a limit placed upon the profits and power of the capitalist rulers. Since capitalist development was progressive in that period, that is, mankind could still advance its productive forces through capitalist property relations, the advancement of capitalism and the abolition of slavery was in the interests of all workers.

The further advancement of capitalism would lay the material base for socialism: for the working class to emancipate itself from class repression and exploitation. This is why Karl Marx insisted that the emancipation of all workers required first of all for white workers in America to support the emancipation of Black chattel slaves. In turn, Blacks could not achieve real freedom separate from the overthrow of capitalism, which can only be achieved in unity with white workers.

Because the authors of this book are hostile to historical materialism, as outlined above, their research work serves to justify the old slave system. This, in turn, can only serve those who wish to defend the new wage slave system which we presently live under and which is today taking on so many of the features of the old chattel slave system.

TO BE CONTINUED

SWAT Gears For 'Civil Disorder'

BY SHEILA BREHM
LOS ANGELES—The brutal murder of six SLA members in the May 17 shootout in Los Angeles was led by the Los Angeles police department's Special Weapons and Tactics unit, a highly trained special paramilitary unit.

A nationwide network of such units is currently being trained and assigned to local police agencies for the purposes of conducting war against the working class.

SWAT was formed in the early 1960s during the civil rights

people down in the middle of the night.

CHEMICAL

SWAT members also receive training in the use of smoke and explosive grenades as well as the techniques of chemical warfare.

Los Angeles and Orange County sheriff's deputies have also utilized the SWAT training. In 1972, forty more officers were recruited to the paramilitary unit, bringing the total to 100. At the present time, SWAT training is conducted on the movie lots of Universal City, where movie sets are used to set up virtually any type of situation and where such actions as house to house combat are practiced in the mock towns.

The SWAT members are usually divided into four-man

before their mission. According to Donald Freed, researcher and co-author of Executive Action, SWAT members were told prior to the SLA shootout, that the SLA was responsible for the murder of police officer Lee Edwards who was killed one week before the raid.

Freed has refuted the SWAT Squad's denial of using incendiary devices during the siege. "What was used was speedy heat jumbo grenades. Technically they are tear gas grenades that start fires and no doubt caused the intensity of the fire on 54th St."

The funding for this military unit comes from the government's Law Enforcement Assistance Administration Agency, which was set up during Nixon's administration as part of the Safe Street Act and passage of



LA Special Weapons and Tactics unit sifting through rubble after the May 17 shootout with the SLA.

movement. In 1963, according to a Justice Department memo: "The Joint Chiefs of Staff instructed the United States strike command to prepare plans for the deployment of civil disturbance forces within the continental United States."

Original plans called for the use of 21,000 troops to squash civil disturbances under the code name "Steep Hill." In 1968, the United States Army opened a training program in Fort Gordon, Georgia, called "Civil Disturbance Orientation Course" in which police officers and civilians were trained. By 1971, nearly 1500 persons had taken the course.

The LA SWAT team was originally formed in 1968 with a highly trained cadre of 60 men, recruited from the Marine Corps where they had already received heavy training in civil disturbance.

SWAT members were immediately sent to Camp Pendleton for more extensive training and were given more than 1000 hours of instruction in such subjects as "Quick Kill Techniques with the M-16," which is the same weapon that was used in Vietnam. Another course was entitled, "Night Elimination"—training in the use of a high-powered rifle, equipped with a starlight scope, to gun

and five-man teams with a minimum of eight-man teams assigned to the metro division. Metro is an especially sinister and elite force deployed in "high crime areas, labor disputes, and street disturbances."

The basic SWAT team consists of a marksman, observer, scout, and rearguard. The scout is armed with a high-powered automatic rifle, usually an AR-15, a manhole hook for entering sewers and a pry-bar for breaking and entering.

The scout's job is to determine entrance and exit routes and supply close fire support for the team.

The marksman provides sniper support and is responsible for laying down heavy fire. The observer spots targets for the marksman, carries binoculars and is in charge of communication via walkie-talkie. He is also equipped with a high-powered automatic weapon.

The rearguard carries scaling and repelling equipment and is armed with a sawed-off semi-automatic shotgun. Other equipment carried by the SWAT units includes gasoline canisters, gas masks, loud speakers, spare ammunition, and medical supplies.

One of the techniques used is to provoke SWAT members

the No-Knock law.

The LA SWAT Squad is currently being used as a model for police departments in other cities. SWAT members are sent throughout the country to offer their military skills and aid in establishing similar military units.

Only weeks ago, a helicopter crashed in the San Fernando Valley near Los Angeles, revealing a SWAT team in the midst of practicing firing heavy weapons from the air.

The strawberry workers who are on strike in Oxnard and the mine workers who are striking against US Borax in Boron, California, have been terrorized by low-flying police helicopters over their picket lines.

The use of paramilitary units with the civilian police department is a sinister warning to the working class. With the police terror launched against several strikes now throughout the US, it is clear that the most sophisticated military weapons and techniques that were used in Vietnam are now being aimed at the working class as it moves into struggle in defense of decent wages and jobs.

The American working class must mobilize its own independent labor party for socialist policies to combat these plans for a military dictatorship.

LA, San Diego Carpenters Join State Strike

BY A REPORTER
LOS ANGELES—Over 40,000 southern California carpenters have walked out after rejecting the offer of the Associated General Contractors and Homebuilders Institute.

In addition, 30,000 laborers and 5000 cement masons in the south are out.

These workers have now joined the strike of carpenters, masons, and laborers on strike in the north for higher wages.

The union is rejecting the 65 cent an hour wage increase offered by the contractors and is seeking a 25 percent wage increase for members. Los Angeles carpenters now earn wages over \$1 an hour less than other California carpenters. Without a settlement of over \$3 an hour, they will remain behind. The union is asking for \$2 an hour in wage increases in a one year contract.

Carpenters have been hurt by the slump in the building industry. Despite seemingly high wages, carpenters find it harder and harder to make enough money because of the difficulty getting work. This is one of the reasons the men are pushing so hard for big wage increases.

TEAMSTERS

The strike is going ahead despite the fact that southern California Teamsters agreed to accept a three year contract similar to the one carpenters are rejecting.

In San Diego, Teamster truck drivers ratified a contract with the building industry two weeks ago, while carpenters and other construction workers remained on strike. Northern California Teamsters remain on strike.

The strike has halted over 1.5 billion dollars worth of commercial and home building. By tomorrow, all construction sites should be shut down in the uca.

East Bay Drivers Out

BY TIM NELSON
OAKLAND—Tuesday morning, 1656 members of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 192 struck AC Transit, bringing all 800 East Bay buses to a stop. The drivers are demanding a 43 cent wage increase to \$7.05 and a cost of living clause and improvements on health and retirement plans.

June 14, the drivers won a court case giving them cost of living awards of \$1.13 an hour retroactive for the past two years. The old contract called for cost of living increases compounded quarterly.

One picket told the Bulletin: "AC wanted to say Nixon's 5.5 percent was all we could get. Now they tell the papers they've just given us a \$1.13 raise. They haven't given us anything."

"They owed us that money. We waited two years for it. And now they keep the interest."

"It's been rough. We eat a lot of Hamburger Helper with tuna fish."

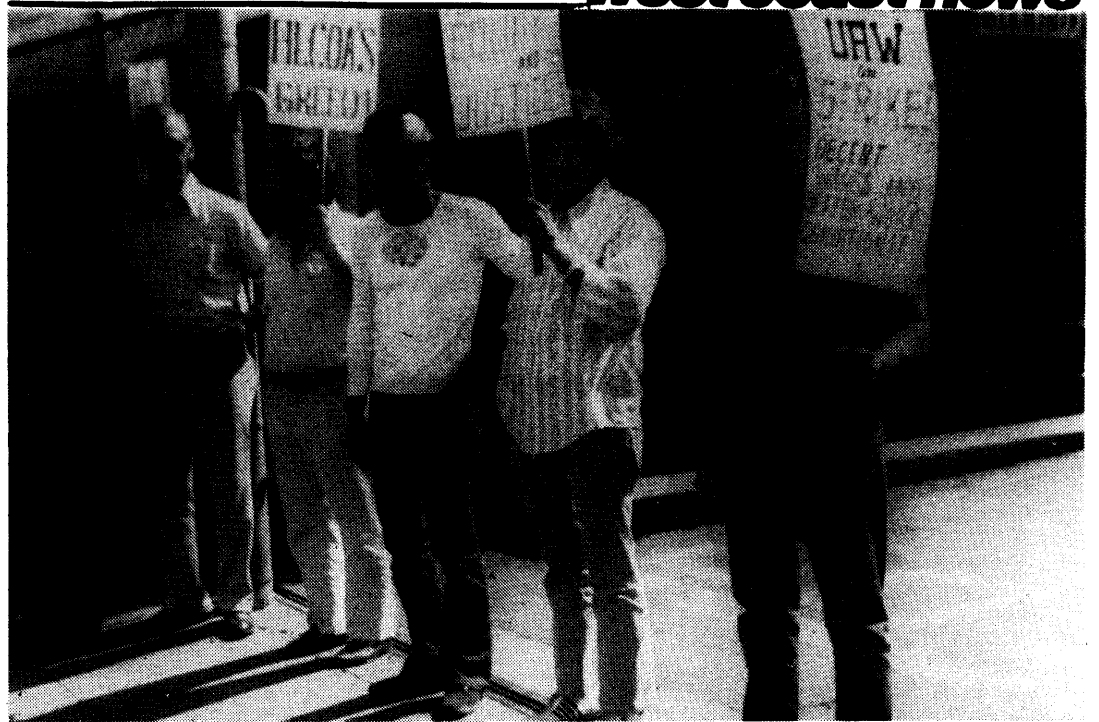
STRONG

The lump sum back pay checks put AC drivers in a strong position to fight. They are determined to win some protection against the rapidly rising prices which have already cut their living standards.

"If they gave us \$9 now," one picket said, "we'd still be dead without the cost of living. Prices could double in one year. Things change so much, it's got to be a one year contract."

A state mediator, Thomas Nicolopolus, was called into negotiations last Saturday. AC Transit claims that making the back payments has put it over \$3 million in debt, and that therefore it cannot meet the cost of living demand.

"They have \$12 million in reserve," a driver said. "They want to invest \$10 million in securities and don't want to pay us."



UAW workers strike Alcoa in Vernon, California against having to work as many as three different shifts a week.

Stanford Nurses Strike

BY A REPORTER

STANFORD, Calif.—Nurses at Stanford University Hospital voted yesterday to reject the administration's final offer of a 12 percent increase over one year and went on strike July 2 at 7:15 am.

Sanitmen- No Pay Cut

BY SHANNON JONES

LOS ANGELES—Six hundred sanitation workers in Los Angeles county continued on strike today despite a court restraining order and a law suit filed against them by the county.

The strike began on June 26 after members of County Employees Local 660 voted 311 to 11 for the strike. The strike was triggered by a proposed cutback in the work week that would have resulted in an average 15 percent cut in pay.

The county workers are also demanding that their pay be brought up to the standards of Los Angeles city sanitation workers. Presently county workers earn 20 to 30 percent less than do similar workers in Los Angeles.

The action filed by the County Sanitation District against the AFL-CIO sanitation workers asks for \$4 million dollars in "exemplary and punitive damages" plus \$27,000 for each day the strike continues.

Despite the court action, picketing continues today with the strike spreading. Five or seven county sanitary landfills are shut down with four million persons in 71 communities affected.

Teamster garbage truck drivers are supporting the strike of sanitation workers by refusing to cross picket lines.

Also, strikers have succeeded in shutting down the huge Carson sewage plant which serves large areas of Los Angeles county. Continuation of the strike without a settlement means that large quantities of raw sewage will begin flowing into the Pacific Ocean off Los Angeles beaches.

This strike follows the walkout by 4400 members of the California Nurses Association which hit 41 Bay Area hospitals. The 714 Stanford nurses, represented by the Committee for the Recognition of Nursing Achievement (CRONA), are asking for parity with the highest rates paid nurses in the area, with a 16 percent increase and 1 percent on fringe benefits.

The hospital administration initially offered only 6.9 percent, but was forced to raise its offer to 12 percent by the CNA strike which raised salaries for nurses at most hospitals above the rates of the traditionally

better-paid and more highly skilled nurses at Stanford.

Stanford University Hospital is highly specialized, taking in patients whose care is too complex or too difficult for the average hospital. The 714 nurses attend 600 beds, a far better ratio than in any other hospital. According to hospital spokesmen, staffing levels and quality of patient care, which were the main issues in the Bay Area strike, are not at issue here.

Nurses' leaders have agreed to continue staffing certain critical care areas, including coronary and premature deliveries.

The hospital discharged or transferred 300 out of 500 patients and will continue to be open. Negotiations are continuing.

UAW Shuts Alcoa Plant Over Work Conditions

BY SHEILA BREHM
VERNON, Cal.—Production at the Alcoa Aluminum plant has been halted by a strike of 1150 United Auto Workers members.

Local 808 members voted 93 percent in favor of strike action.

The major issue in the strike is work conditions, especially the rotating shifts. One striker said: "Sometimes we have to work as many as three different shifts a week. It's unhealthy."

"I never know when I'm going to see my family, because sometimes we don't know when we're going to work."

Another striker declared: "It would be like going back to slavery to have to work a rotating shift."

Two of Alcoa's 22 plants are organized by the UAW, and the rest by the United Steel Workers. The Cleveland Alcoa plant, organized by the UAW, recently accepted the contract that Vernon workers rejected. The same pact giving only a 6.5 percent wage increase was offered to the workers at the Vernon plant.

Although most strikers say that working conditions, not wages, are the main issue, Steve Ballesteros said: "If you're married, you can't make it on these wages, not with milk and bread going up the way they are."

The last major strike at this plant was in 1947. A strike four

years ago was cut short when Alcoa threatened to shut down unless the strikers accepted the company's offer.

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lucha obrera

lucía rivera



Helen Halyard, candidata en el 14 D.C. en campaña con la juventud de Bedford Stuyvesant.

Plataforma Electoral Del Partido Obrero Parte 5

LA LIGA OBRERA (Workers League) ha iniciado su primera campaña electoral en los distritos congresionales 12 y 14, que cubren la sección de Bedford-Stuyvesant en Brooklyn, bajo la cédula electoral del Partido Obrero. Los candidatos de la Liga Obrera, están corriendo con el objetivo de dirigir la lucha de la clase obrera por construir su propio partido independiente.

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One worker said: "It isn't enough that they don't give any representation, but now they are stealing our money. What's this union coming to?"

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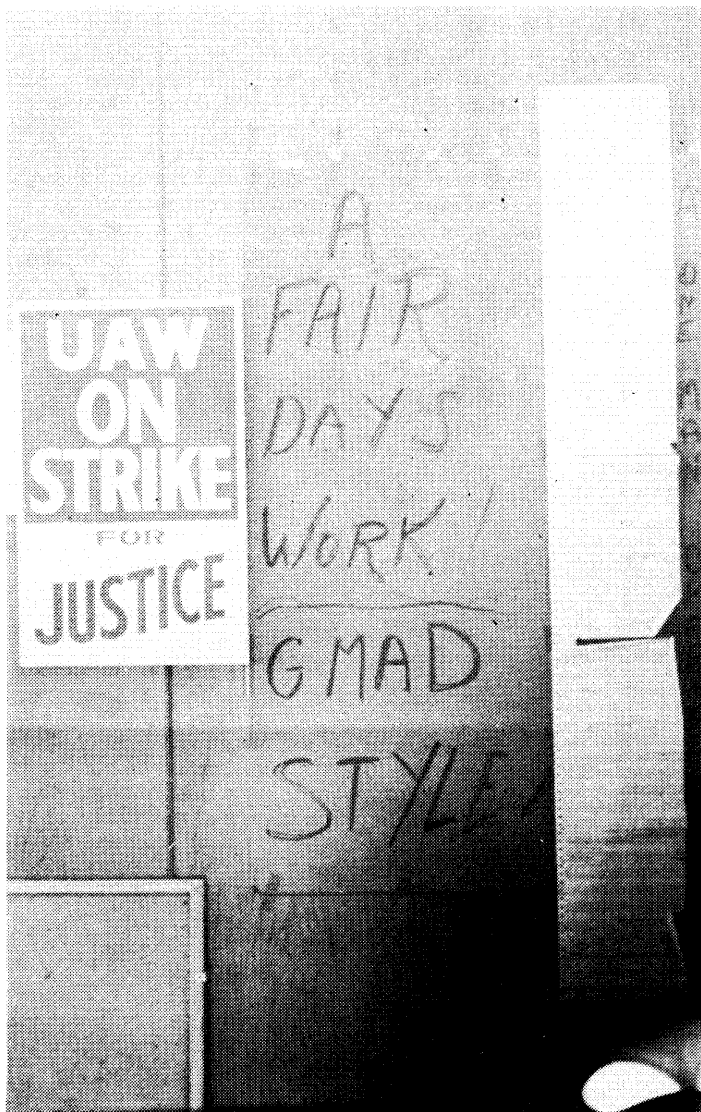
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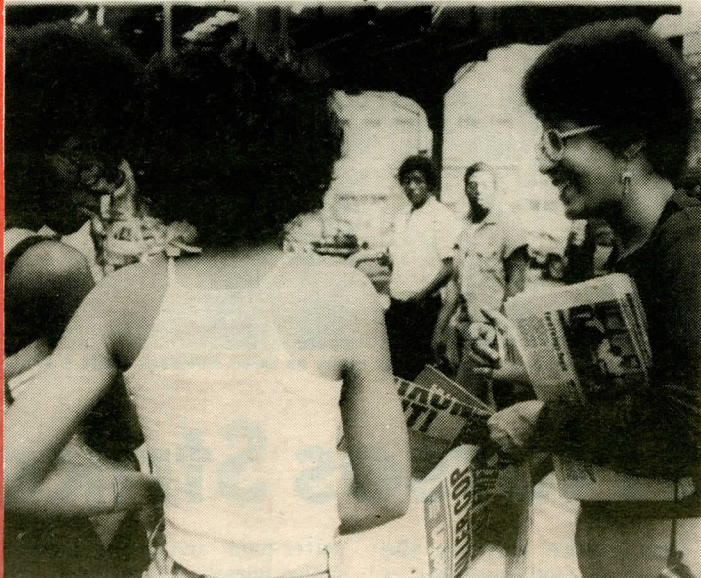
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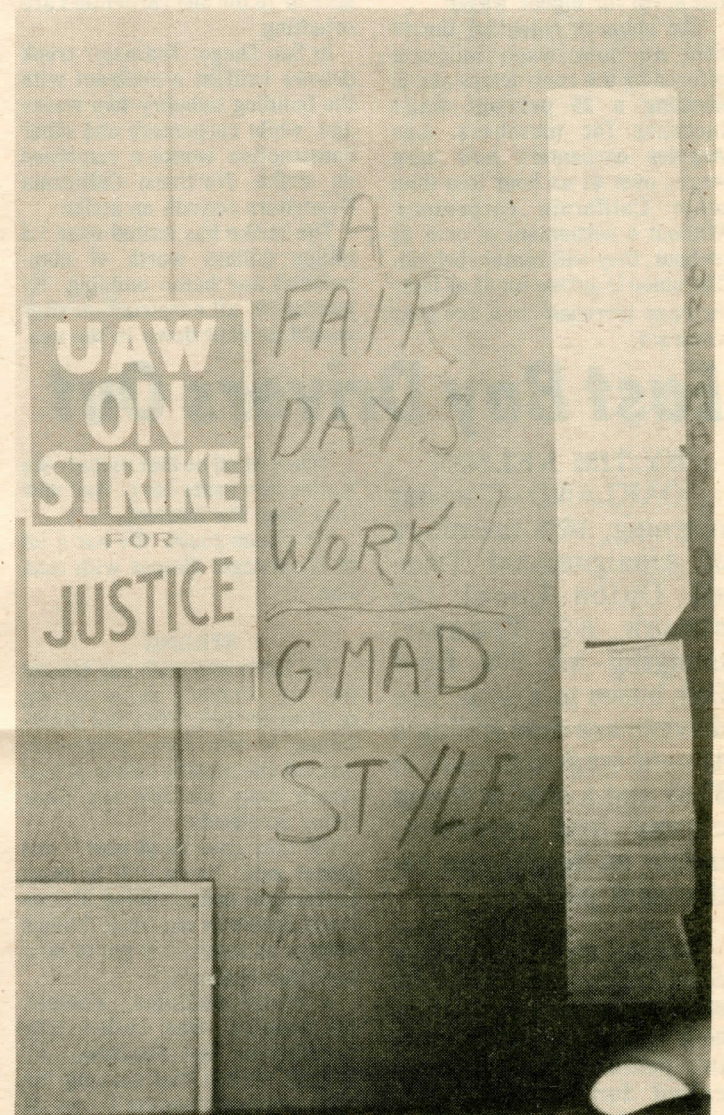
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