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BY DAVID NORTH
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(Continued On Page 12)

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BY DAVID NORTH

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is whether Nixon is a king with absolute power to defy every law and do whatever he wants.

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Court as ordered by Judge John Sirica on the ground that "executive privilege" gives the President an absolute right to withhold criminal evidence.

Furthermore, in a second case, Nixon has challenged the right of the Watergate grand jury to name him as a participant in the conspiracy to defraud the United States by concealing the Watergate burglary.

In both cases, Nixon is putting forward an interpretation of the Constitution which says there can be no checks on the power of the presidency.

Nixon's position completely defies the Constitution which established very clearly three branches of government—the executive, legislative and judicial. The judiciary is given the

power to decide upon the constitutionality of any action taken by the other two branches and the President, who is subject to this law, is supposed to uphold the laws of the land. Nixon is saying that he is above any law.

There are other immediate ramifications to the Supreme Court ruling. If it rules against Jaworski, he would be unable to prosecute either Nixon or anyone else because it will be impossible to obtain the evidence contained in the tapes which Nixon refuses to release.

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(Continued On Page 12)

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In The Weekend
Edition

•Photo feature of the Bulletin trailblazing campaign in Cleveland, Ohio.

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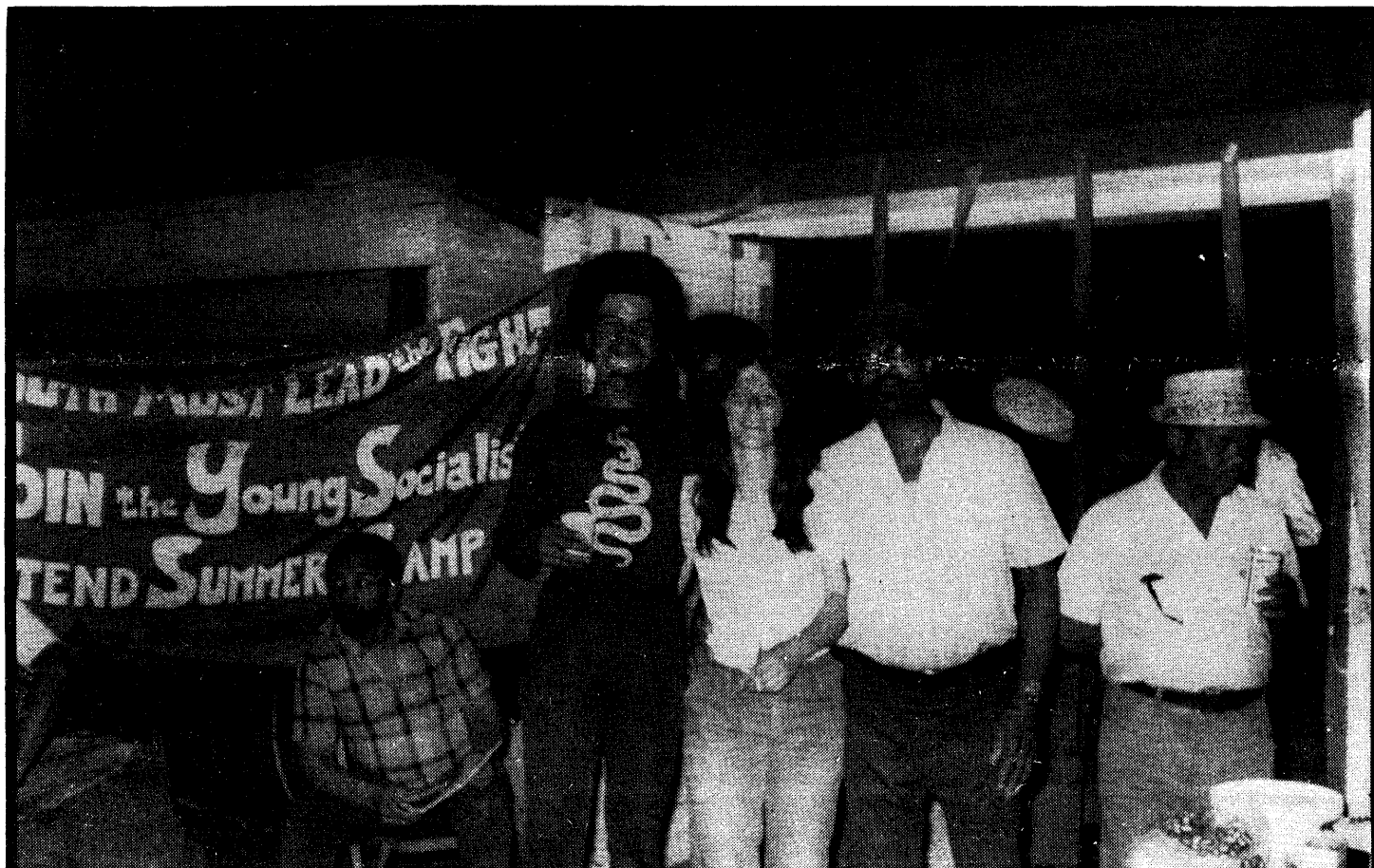
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The Stalinist Politics Of Angela Davis

The National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression is a reactionary alliance of all those forces who want to hold back the working class from an independent revolutionary struggle against the government.

This alliance, organized by the Communist Party and led by CP leader Angela Davis held a march on July 4 to protest repression in Raleigh, North Carolina.

The march was completely dominated by Democratic politicians, ministers, and trade union bureaucrats.

What We Think

Its main endorsers were the Southern Christian Leadership Conference of Ralph Abernathy; the leadership of United Auto Workers Local 600 in Detroit and of the Social Service Employees Union in New York; John Conyers, a

Black Democratic Congressman; and the hierarchy of the Catholic Church.

Addressing the rally, Abernathy declared: "If that trickster in Washington can go to Russia and sit down with the head of the Communist Party, it is with pride and honor that I march with Angela Davis."

It is precisely the counterrevolutionary policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy of the Soviet Union upon which this alliance has been forged. Just as the Stalinist theory of "peaceful coexistence" means wining and dining the leader of US imperialism in Moscow, the American CP links arms with the agents of the capitalist class here to form a united bloc against the movement of the working class against Nixon.

Davis turns her back on the masses of workers and youth and joins instead with the most corrupt and reactionary section of the Black community: the black ministers of the SCLC. Their only aim is to maintain the oppression of Black workers by preaching that all they can do is protest and beg for a few crumbs.



Angela Davis

While Davis is championing the rights of some minister who faces frameup charges in North Carolina, she has nothing to say in defense of Ruchell McGee, her former codefendant, who faces life imprisonment for the 1970 escape attempt in Marin County, California, in which George Jackson's brother Jonathan was killed.

Her alliance is modeled on the popular fronts formed by the Communist Parties in Latin America and Western Europe with sections of the capitalist class. In Chile, the popular front disarmed the working class with conceptions of a "peaceful road to socialism" and allowed the military to take over.

Davis now proposes a campaign against repression based on the very same policies she once criticized in her own defense committee.

When Davis was put on trial on false charges of having supplied the guns for Jonathan Jackson, the CP limited the defense campaign to appeals to bourgeois justice, to a "fair trial," and "reasonable bail." They deliberately isolated her case from a political struggle to expose the attacks of the government on the whole working class and to fight to force Nixon out. The de-

fense committee activities were restricted to small protests by middle class reformists and liberals.

Her release was won, not through these tactics, but because of the tremendous support of masses of workers and youth.

While she never directly criticized the CP by name, Davis made statements that directly contradicted their defense policy. In an interview in 1971, she said: "We are contending with a whole class of profit hungry rulers—a class we will ultimately have to overthrow."

George Jackson, a revolutionary fighter, who was later killed by prison guards, openly attacked the CP's popular front policies in the Soledad Brothers Defense Committee in these words:

"You cannot save me with reformist, reactionary steps backward to the techniques of the 1930s."

Davis's case was severed from McGee's because his uncompromising struggle against the court system and his denunciations of capitalist "justice" embarrassed the CP.

Davis never went beyond her criticisms, however, to confront the origins and history of Stalinism and the struggle taken up by Leon Trotsky to carry forward Marxist principles against Stalin and the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union.

Her role today as an open defender of every counter-revolutionary betrayal of the Moscow bureaucracy and her attacks on the Trotskyist movement are the logic of her refusal to break with Stalinism.

Before his death, George Jackson said that the objective of the working class must be to "move our numberless masses into a significant challenge of the property rights enjoyed by the oppressor class."

The fight against repression is inseparably bound up with the struggle of the working class against every attack on its wages, conditions, and democratic rights in a political struggle for power.

This can only be taken forward by the Workers League as part of the struggle to build the International Committee of the Fourth International in every country.



John D. Ehrlichman

Stocks Plunge To Lowest Level In Four Years

BY MELODY FARROW

On the heels of the collapse of one of West Germany's biggest banks, Bankhaus J.D. Herstatt, the New York Stock Exchange Index closed on July 2 at its lowest level since 1970.

The Dow Jones Industrial Average which reflects the position of the major stocks fell over 15 points to its lowest point since December 1973.

The stock market is gripped by a continuous and irreversible decline as inflation and the threat of further collapses in

banking and industry lead to a rapid loss of confidence in investment.

Bankers Trust has led the way in raising interest rates to 12 percent which will restrict credit to industries even further.

Leading international bankers and government officials are seeking to cover up the depth of the crisis that has been exposed in the collapse of Herstatt. A secret meeting is being held this week in Switzerland between the Federal Reserve Board and its German equivalent, the Bundesbank, to find a means of covering the debts Herstatt had incurred with other banks, such as Seattle First National and the Morgan Guaranty Trust Company in the US.

It has now been disclosed that

a well known British investment banking group, Hill Samuel, also lost \$21.5 million in the Herstatt collapse. In West Germany, Herstatt is closely connected with BMW, the country's fourth largest car manufacturer.

A senior vicepresident of Seattle First National declared "If the Germans don't make sure that the international payments system works, there could be a serious erosion of confidence." This would mean a total breakdown of banking relations.

The erosion of confidence has already set in as funds are being withdrawn from smaller banks and foreign institutions and shifted to larger ones.

The Herstatt bankruptcy is not an isolated case but is the result of the growing recession in capitalist industry and trade in every country. In Germany, the banks hold over 70 percent of industrial shares.

Inflation combined with Italy's 50 percent surcharge on imports has led to a decline in Germany's export trade, while corporate profits are in a slump.

To keep afloat, many banks raise cash by speculation on the foreign exchange markets. This is what triggered the collapse of Herstatt.

If this is happening in West Germany, the strongest of all the European countries, then the position of the French, Italian, and British banks must be disastrous.

In the US, the Federal Reserve has taken the unusual step of opposing an application by the Bank of America to buy a half share in a Swiss based insurance group on the grounds that the bank's capital is not sufficient.

The Herstatt crisis is a warning that more abrupt collapses are ahead that will create a chain reaction in the banking system and throughout industry, threatening workers with a rate of unemployment not seen since the 1930s.

The CIA Covers Role In Plumbers Operation

BY A REPORTER

Testimony at the trial of Chief White House Aide John D. Ehrlichman, and a report from the disbanded Senate Watergate committee detail the Central Intelligence Agency's role in setting up the plumbers' unit and carrying out the break-ins at Dr. Fielding's office and at the Democratic National Headquarters.

A minority report from the Watergate committee staff, prepared for Senator Howard Baker, reveals that agency officials carried out domestic intelligence activities in violation of its charter. They then covered up their role by falsifying testimony and evidence submitted to the committee during its public hearings last summer.

These reports confirm the nature of Watergate as a conspiracy against all democratic rights, a conspiracy which has the tacit consent of every

Republican, and Democrat.

The evidence proves that the CIA:

- Knew that E. Howard Hunt, working for the White House, was recruiting from the ranks of ex-CIA agents like himself. Five former officials were indicted for the Watergate break-in; three for the Ellsberg break-in. Eugenio R. Martinez received a \$100 a week "retainer" fee from the CIA throughout the period he was acting a part of the plumbers unit in carrying out the Watergate break-in.

- Withheld knowledge that a White House team was planning an intelligence operation at McGovern campaign headquarters. Knew that Hunt and Liddy were involved in the Watergate break-in before they were indicted in September 1973, but did not inform the courts, the FBI or the Watergate committee. The CIA also withheld photographs taken by Hunt of Dr. Fielding's LA offices.

- Sent an agent to the home of James McCord to destroy documents linking him with the CIA,

falsified testimony when they were asked about the incident, and attempted to withhold the file concerning these papers when they turned over evidence to the Watergate committee.

- Planted stories in Newsweek and The Washington Post attacking Colson and other aides in order to divert attention from news reports that the CIA was involved in the Watergate break-in.

- Ordered their Miami office to "cool it" when they requested information about Hunt's employment with the White House.

- Destroyed the tapes from a central system monitoring all visitors and phone calls to CIA headquarters, including one from July, 1971, during which Nixon's sidekick Ehrlichman requested "carte blanche" CIA assistance for Hunt. The CIA provided disguises, cameras, recorders, and falsified identification for Hunt and Liddy to aid the break-in at Fielding's office.

During Ehrlichman's trial for

that break-in, now going on in Washington, former White House aide David R. Young, Jr. has testified that he helped to draft several reports to Ehrlichman on CIA assistance to the plumber's unit.

"The CIA has been understandably reluctant to involve itself in the domestic area, but, responsive to the president's wishes, has done so. Overall performance to date is satisfactory," read the memo of August, 1971.

The CIA was established in 1947 as a counterrevolutionary weapon against the basic rights of workers throughout the world. The same public relations office that planted the phoney stories about Colson has offices in Singapore and Amsterdam to cover the operations of agents working in Asia and Europe.

The new evidence establishes without a doubt that Nixon, who felt he could not fully trust FBI director J. Edgar Hoover, made free use of the CIA to carry out his attack on the basic rights of American workers.

Threat Of Coup By Argentine Army

BY BARRY GREY

The death of Juan Domingo Peron last week has opened up a new and explosive stage of class struggle in Argentina.

Before he died, at the age of 78, Peron handed power over to his wife, Maria Estella Peron, 43.

MILITARY

Despite pledges from the military and the trade union leadership to support Peron's widow and maintain the "national institutions," Peron's death has left the ruling class deeply divided in the face of raging inflation and a powerful offensive by the working class.

A lavish funeral procession was staged last Tuesday in Buenos Aires, with hundreds of thousands lining the streets to get one last look at the man who dominated Argentine politics for the last 30 years.

SUPPORT

The General Confederation of Labor ordered a national work stoppage in commemoration of Peron. At the funeral on Wednesday, the Commander in Chief of the Argentine Army, General Leandro Anaya, pledged his support to Mrs. Peron.

Despite the pretense of unity, the government hangs by a thread. Immediately after Peron's death, the armed forces were put on military alert.

Following the funeral procession Tuesday night, police broke up fighting between right-wing and left-wing Peronists.

Mrs. Peron has appealed to the

General Confederation of Labor to end the strike and return to work.

Mrs. Peron is merely a figurehead for the military. She immediately identified herself with the vicious antilabor policies of her husband by appearing with Peron's closest advisor, Jose Lopez Rega. Rega, a former police corporal, became Peron's minister of Social Welfare after Peron returned to power last September.

Peron was brought back to power by the military, which had ousted him and sent him into exile in 1955, in order to contain the massive movement of labor which had been developing over the past several years.

CONFRONTATION

The military hoped to use Peron to buy time while preparing for a decisive confrontation with the working class and the imposition of a bloody dictatorship.

Since 1946, when he was first elected president, Peron has served the capitalists by throttling the Argentine trade unions, the most powerful in Latin America. He has done this by establishing a corporatist relationship with the trade union leadership.

TERROR

He combined police terror against all opponents, massive corruption of the labor bureaucracy, minimal steps at nationalization of American enterprises, along with anti-American demagoguery, and concessions to the working class paid for by inflationary policies.

But despite the prolabor myth built up around Peron, he was an exfascist, who participated in a

coup by fascist generals in 1943.

Peron spent his 18 years of exile as the honored guest of the fascist Franco regime in Spain. He was brought back to Argentina last September during a wave of general strikes in the industrial centers of Cordoba and Tucuman which were brutally repressed by the military government.

WAGE FREEZE

Since his return last September, Peron instituted a wage freeze, removed provincial governors linked to the left-Peronists, closed down all newspapers calling for revolution; and vowed to exterminate the terrorist People's Revolutionary Army. In May, he told a conference of the Peronist youth to leave the movement.

ALLIANCE

Peron was slated to cement his open alliance with world imperialism at a meeting with Nixon in Florida.

At the time of his death, the hold of Peronism on the working class was rapidly crumbling.

Peron's death has cut the ground from under the military's calculations. The press is already predicting a rapid descent into civil war.

In the face of these tremendous dangers, the Argentine working class must be completely broken from its illusions in Peronism in order to take up an independent struggle for power.

The massive class battles immediately ahead provide the greatest opportunity for carrying out this task through the construction of a section of the International Committee of the Fourth International.



Juan Peron.

Portuguese Peasants Strike Wheat Farms

BY A REPORTER

The strike of travel agency workers and agricultural workers has hit the Portuguese economy in two of its most vital areas.

Despite the threat of Portuguese President Antonio de Spinoza to use troops against strikers and the denunciations of the Communist Party, workers throughout Portugal are determined to improve their living standards.

In the southeast section of Portugal, agricultural workers on the big landowners' estates have been on strike nine days for higher wages.

In some cases, farmers have been forced to settle or face the prospect of losing the entire wheat crop.

In the town of Beja, workers won increases of 30 to 40 percent and 90 days of guaranteed work. The maximum salary will now be \$7.60 a day for men and \$4.80 a day for women.

One farmer said: "We thought

we would have good work conditions after April 25, but things are not better yet."

The strike of travel agency workers, who are also demanding higher pay and shorter hours, will hit hard at the already declining tourist business.

Francois Mitterand, the leader of the French Socialist Party, arrived in Lisbon on July 2 to try to shore up the failing prestige of the Portuguese Socialist Party. Together with the Communist Party, the SP is part of Spinoza's cabinet.

In a recent interview, Communist Party leader Alvaro Cunhal said that if the left organizations were to win a general election, big business would not have to fear nationalization. Cunhal said the banks "might" be nationalized.

The Communist Party has completely disavowed the agricultural workers who are among the most exploited in the country and are denouncing strike leaders as "adventurers."

Israeli Budget Slashes Pay, Raises Taxes

BY A CORRESPONDENT

Premier Yitzhak Rabin has imposed the most massive austerity program against the Israeli working class in the history of the country.

Last Tuesday, the new government emerged from an extraordinary cabinet session to announce the new economic measures, aimed at solving Israel's raging inflation and balance of trade crisis through the destruction of workers' living standards.

The new economic measures will go into effect immediately.

They include: a freeze on half of a 20 percent cost of living wage increase due to all workers this month; new taxes on income and property; a drastic cut in government spending and public construction; a requirement for all Israelis to buy compulsory war loans of 10 to 20 percent of their income; and a 10 percent surcharge on all imports over and above the already existing 25 percent import tax.

A government statement demagogically claimed the measures would assure "an



Yassir Arafat of the PLO.

equal distribution of the load...The program which we have approved is one that has been forced on us by the reality of the situation—the spiraling inflation and import-export gap on the one hand, and the ever-increasing defense expenditures on the other."

CONSUMER

Over the last 18 months, the consumer price index in Israel has risen by 50 percent, one of the highest rates of inflation in the world. As a result of the massive outlays for defense, the 1974 balance of trade deficit has reached \$3 billion, up from \$1 billion last year.

These figures spell economic collapse for the Zionists. They have been unable to break the offensive of the Arab people, despite blitzkrieg attacks on

refugee camps and the efforts of the Arab bourgeois leaders, Nixon, and the Soviet Stalinists to break the Arab revolution.

Already, the Israelis are the most highly taxed people in the world. A total of 60 percent of the national income is taken in taxes. This will now rise to 63 percent.

At the same time, the 10 percent surcharge in imports will result in further price increases on virtually all items. Goods such as cars and TV's will become inaccessible to Israeli workers.

Most important, these measures will spark a massive strike wave by the Israeli working class, which has already begun to fight back in unprecedented strikes and protest movements.

Guerrillas Clash In Lebanon

BY A REPORTER

Tremendous splits are breaking out within the Palestinian liberation movement. This follows the cease-fire agreement on the Golan Heights, which includes Nixon's pledge to support Israeli retaliation raids against Palestinian guerrillas.

Over 20 guerrillas were killed last week in fighting at a refugee camp near Beirut. This is the largest reported clash between guerrilla groups in the recent period.

BETRAYAL

The background of these battles is the betrayal by Yassir Arafat, head of Al Fatah and the Palestinian Liberation Organization. Arafat has capitulated to the imperialists by agreeing to take part in the Geneva peace talks on a permanent Mideast settlement. Now he has pledged to Lebanese Prime Minister Takiyeddin Solh that the PLO will suspend all actions into Israel from Lebanese territory.

PRESSURE

This pledge was worked out through the pressure of the Egyptian and Syrian govern-

ments. Both are trying to hold together their agreements with Nixon and Brezhnev while facing growing anger throughout Lebanon, as Israel continues to bomb villages and murder civilians.

PLEDGE

Arafat made the pledge within days after his own military wing carried out an attack on the Israeli resort town of Nahariya and told newsmen it was just the first of a series of attacks they would make.

More radical sections of the PLO, like the General Command and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine have agreed to respect the freeze, but only for a limited time.

APPEASE

Fatah has attempted to appease the more militant sections of the PLO by demanding that the coalition be recognized as the "sole legitimate representatives" of the Palestinians at the Geneva Conference.

Fatah is in a conspiracy with the Arab bourgeois leaders in the Mideast to allow the United States and Soviet government to dictate a sellout of the Palestinian struggle and of the Arab workers and peasants.



USWA officials were keeping reporters away from Kennecott's plant in Perth Amboy, New Jersey (above) where workers walked out in protest of bargaining extension.

Copper Ranks Defy Abel With Wildcats

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE
 Several thousand copper workers nationwide have walked off the job, against the deal of United Steel Workers President I.W. Abel to continue bargaining for two weeks past the July 1 contract due date.

USWA Local 890, representing workers at the Chino Mine of Kennecott Copper Corp. in Silver City, New Mexico, voted to strike July 2 because the contract extension made it impossible for them to resolve urgent safety violations and other local issues.

Local 890 President Juan Chacon told the Bulletin that the situation in the smelter is critical. "The gas is very bad near the furnace where they smelt the copper. Our men's lives are in danger. We will not sign until we are sure it will be repaired."

"They are trying to eliminate conditions we've worked under for 30 years. They want to eliminate the rest periods and other benefits."

"They want to do away with the bus drivers and have regular workers drive the buses. That is eight men's jobs, and it means someone has to do the extra work, bussing men in and out from the mine for every shift."

The International informed Local 890 immediately that it will not recognize the strike, which resulted in an immediate injunction and a threat from Kennecott to arrest Chacon and Chino Council Delegate Israel Romero.

USWA Subdistrict Director Kinningsworth met with the local Wednesday following the injunction.

"We told him and he told the company that we would return to work and to negotiations if they would drop the charges against the union," Chacon said.

"The company has refused flat to do that. We could be arrested at any time. Kinningsworth is in Tempe, Arizona now at the district office trying to get us help from Abel."

The Chino mines operation, which accounts for about 15 percent of Kennecott's output, is closed down tight. Pickets of 750 Steel Workers members are being honored by over 400 craft

workers at the mine.

In Hayden, Arizona, and in Perth Amboy, New Jersey, wildcat walkouts took place July 1, as workers refused to go along with Abel's violation of the long-standing, "no contract, no work" tradition in copper.

American Smelting and Refining Co. (Asarco) immediately obtained an injunction against picketing at the Perth Amboy refinery; the walkout at the smelter in Arizona was ended within one day.

These strikes threaten Abel's attempt to impose a settlement similar to the major steel pact. This rotten three percent contract, with its ENA no-strike agreement, set the pattern for the tentative agreement Abel reached with Anaconda Corp. on the eve of the contract deadline.

Under conditions where the price of copper is soaring week after week, the copper companies seek to break up the gains won in decades of bitter struggles early in the century.

The urgency of the demands for resolution of safety grievances in the mines and smelters was underscored by the recent announcement that operations at Anaconda will be sharply curtailed for the rest of the summer because of "production problems." These "problems" include the collapse of a furnace wall at the Great Falls, Montana refinery.

Harper & Row Employees Win Contract

BY A REPORTER

NEW YORK, NY—The Association of Harper & Row Employees agreed to a new three year contract July 3, ending the first strike in recent history against a publishing company.

Over 200 production and editorial workers had walked out June 17 after Harper threatened to end the profit-sharing plan and eliminate either merit or across-the-board raises.

The new contract is a victory on both points. Profit-sharing is to be retained as in previous years and all workers will receive a seven percent increase now and raises of four and five percent on the next two contract dates.

In addition, each worker will continue to be reviewed for a discretionary merit raise on his anniversary, and everyone will receive a \$10 cost of living raise on each contract date.

The contract also provides for six month maternity leaves and extended medical benefit coverage.

According to Bernice Krawczyk, president of the association, union members are agreed that they are going back "stronger than when we walked out."

"We have made important contacts throughout the labor movement and among workers at other publishing companies. We will be active, there will be organizing, there will be big changes because of this strike."

The city has obtained a circuit court injunction against the strike and is attempting to hire strikebreakers by the hundreds.

Violence has already occurred at several picket lines. Four workers at the Pulaski Highway Sanitation Yard have been arrested for disorderly conduct and beating up a policeman.

Local 44 must now extend the strike to all its member departments, to fight for a decent contract which will keep up with the inflation and abolish the point system.

Southern Textile Workers Fight For Wage Reopeners

BY A REPORTER

The nationwide wage offensive by the labor movement has resulted in a contract reopening campaign leading to extra pay hikes of nine to ten percent for thousands of Southern textile workers.

In a campaign launched during March by the Textile Workers Union of America, 6 locals have renegotiated contracts, some of them as soon as seven months after the original settlement, and some 10 or 12 others are still in negotiations.

Wage increases of 9 percent are in effect for 1075 members of Local 1716 at West Point Pepperell in Georgia, 875 workers at Canton Mills in Georgia and 460 workers at the South Carolina Kendall Co. mill.

Local 281 in Bemis, Tennessee won a 9.2 percent wage hike from Bemis Cotton, and 10 percent hikes were won by 1550 workers at Burlington Mills and

over 4200 workers at 6 Cone Mills plants throughout North Carolina.

Even after these pay hikes, average wages in the industry are only about three dollars an hour, and companies like Columbus Coated Fabrics in Ohio are still attempting to set up run-away shops in the south.

"While workers in better organized divisions such as dyeing and printing, coated fabrics, synthetic fibers and surgical products have passed the four dollar an hour mark in wages and have achieved fringe benefits that compare favorably with those in more progressive industries, the textile industry's standards, as a whole are falling farther and farther behind," according to TWUA President Sol Stetin.

He reports that there is a gap of approximately \$1.17 an hour in wages and 50 cents an hour in fringe benefits between the textile mills and the average manufacturing pay scale.

Sanitation Strikers Defiant

BY LARRY SYMONS

BALTIMORE—Sanitation and sewer workers have gone on strike here over wages and working conditions.

The strike began Monday as a wildcat by 1000 sanitation men against the contract ratified by the membership on Sunday June 30. The strike spread on Tuesday, despite the urging of union leaders to return to work.

Raymond Clarke, president of AFSCME Local 44 and Earnest Crofoot, of Council 67 AFSCME called another union meeting and the 500 cheering workers voted unanimously to stay out. The leaders were forced to make the strike official for the two departments.

The workers are demanding a 50 cent hourly increase in place of the 20 cents in the contract, and the abolition of the point system, designed to minimize absenteeism.

The Bulletin interviewed sanitation workers at the Reedbird Yard where angry workers hung an effigy of Clarke on Monday.

"We just can't live on what we make," said Ralph, a sanitation worker. "I've been here 11 years and I make the top gross pay of \$142 a week. I take home anywhere from \$60 to \$90 a week. Now, how can I feed a wife and three kids on that?"

SLAVE

"The point system is a slave system," said another man. "We're supposed to get one sick day a month, but if you take eight such days, they'll fire you."

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Bulletin

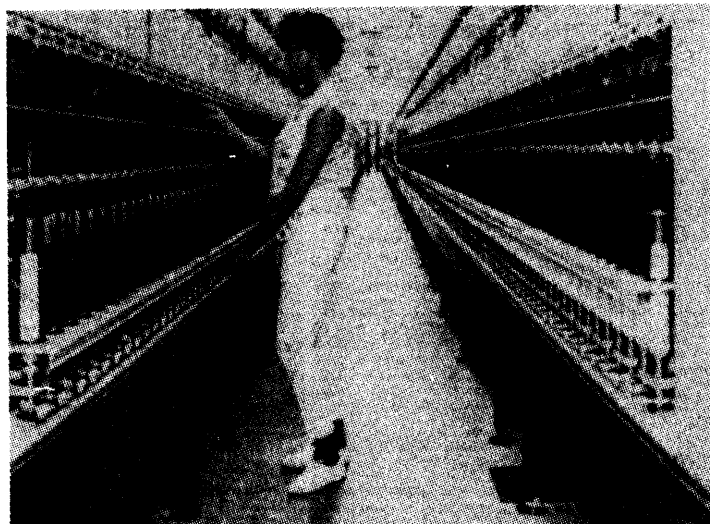
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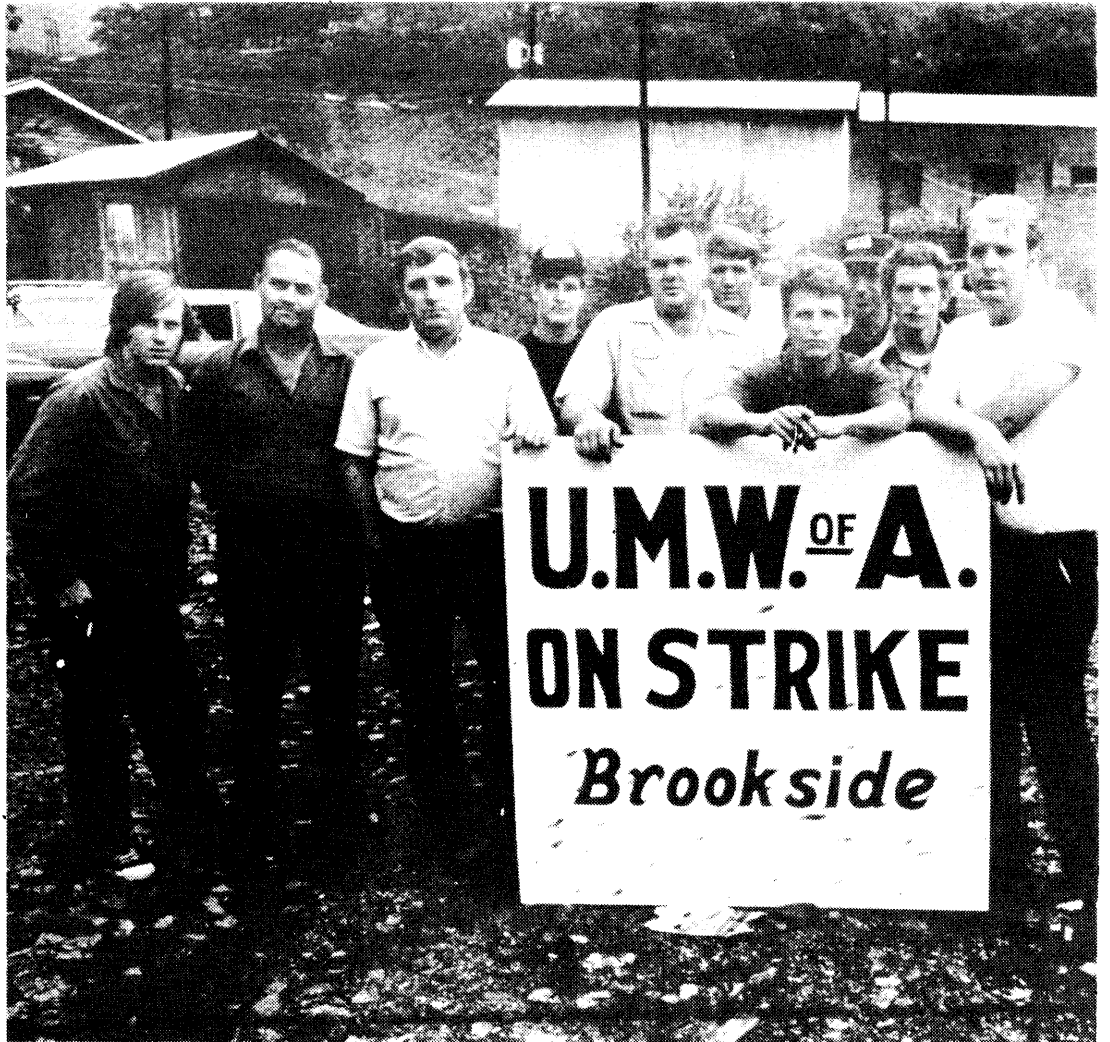
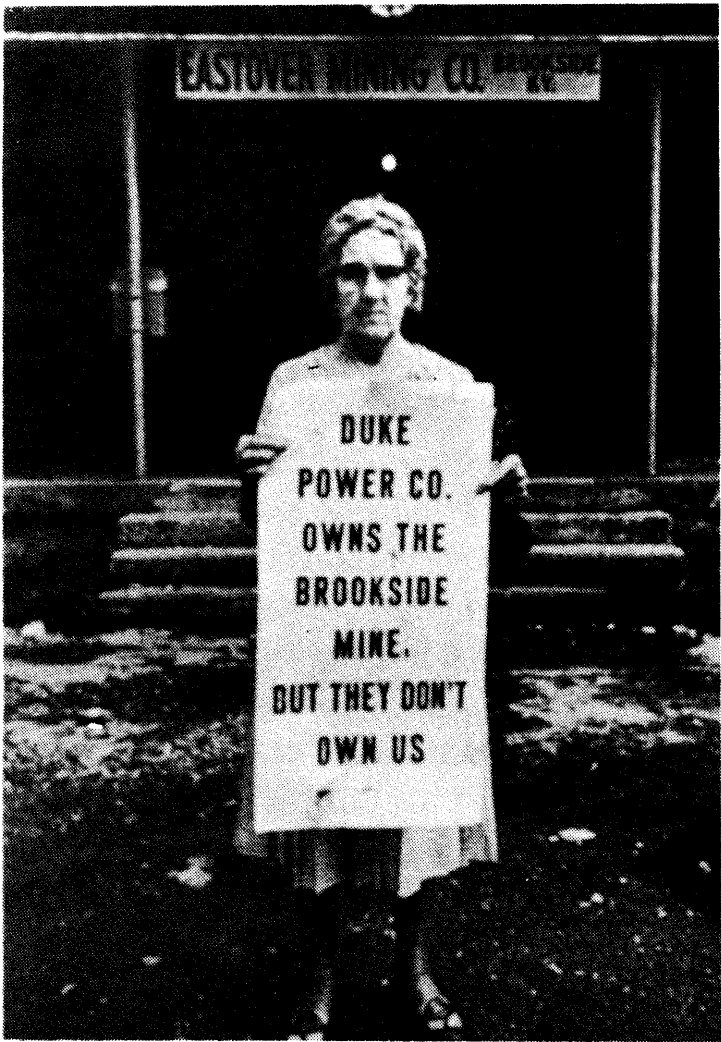
ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

7th Floor, 135 W. 14 St., New York, N.Y. 10011



Southern textile unions that organize cotton mills like the one above are demanding new negotiations on all wage agreements.



DEATH HANGS OVER HARLAN MINERS

One year ago, 180 miners in Harlan County, Kentucky, struck Duke Power Company's Brookside Mine to win recognition of the United Mine Workers as the bargaining agent and a new contract.

The strike has been marked by mass arrests of miners and their families, shootings, attempts to bribe miners, and repeated attempts to open the mines with scab labor.

The following quotes are excerpts from the testimony presented by miners at the UMW's "Citizens Public Inquiry" into the struggle in Harlan County.

Darrell Deaton—"I got caught in a belt line, in 1972. I was

working alone and I think I did 78 hours that week.

"At the time I got hurt I went in on Sunday morning and this was about 2:00 on Monday morning. I was trying to get the belt cleaned and was trying to get a new wire on the belt, and after climbing down there twice, I turned it on and I reached back in there when the belt got me.

"I was hanging in the vent and it was pulling me down, and my arm finally worked out of the belt and the weight was holding me and I was standing with my feet up in the air over a bin...If it had been a two-ply belt and a thicker belt, it would have pulled my arm off."

BROKE

Bill Doan—"My function down there is pinning top. On June 12,...the rock broke out above after I got the drill in there. The rock came down and caught me in the top of my head, driving me backwards. I got hurt at 7:15 in

the morning, but it was almost 9:00 before they ever put me outside.

"They got me over there to the hospital, and I had to go over there and set and wait and they sent one of the mine foremen with me. He stayed with me as long as I was over there and they fitted me up with a neck brace and they sent me to a neurosurgeon. Before I could go to see him in Knoxville, Tennessee, he wrote them back a letter and said, 'It's all in his head.'

"Well, if it's all in my head, I was wondering how in the heck my neck was hurting so badly."

Leroy Helton—"Several times I went in and I have been juiced. I worked in water knee-deep and they wouldn't pump the water. I went in there one night last year and I got juiced so bad I had to rest for about 45 minutes. And it took me several days to get over it. It would take all the pep out of me. I handled 440 volts and you tell them to splice it and it didn't

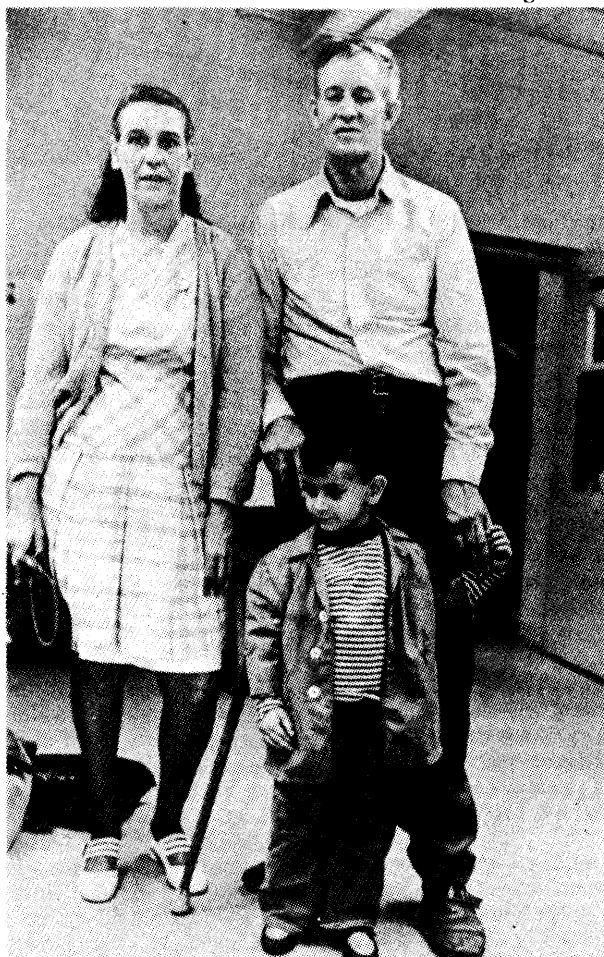
do no good. They just laughed about it."

Carl Noe—"Here is something that happened on October 7th, but you don't hear nothing about it because it was a scab that done it.

"A man shot at me down here in Brookside, shot through my truck while I was driving down the road. And he missed me by two or three inches. I went and got a warrant and come back and the State police called down to the barracks and they said, 'You can't serve it until the morning.' And I started back to Brookside where I live, and there was two guys that stopped me and said, 'Don't go back by there.'

"There was two men waiting on me with rifles and waiting on me to come back through.

"See, we have got no State Police here that's on our side. We've got no courts down here that's on our sides. They are all for the company and nobody rules in our favor."



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"a. Guarantee the continuation of the Nation as a sovereign motherland in its entirety as a pluricontinental reality;

"b. Immediately further the awareness of the Portuguese by allowing full expression for all currents of opinion so as to hasten the setting up of those civic associations that shall represent tendencies and to facilitate the free direct election of a constituent National Assembly and the subsequent election of the President of the Republic;

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"e. Base its actions on the elementary norms of morality and justice, ensuring each citizen the basic rights laid down in universal declarations and to ensure that civic peace be respected, limiting the exercise of authority to the guaranteeing of the freedom of citizens;

"f. Respect international undertakings arising from treaties signed by Portugal;

"g. Speed up its tasks so that the country may be governed by those institutions it has freely chosen for itself as soon as possible;

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In the mood of the moment, few people stopped to examine in detail what the general was promising. Fascism is finished, that was enough. But a close scrutiny showed that behind the rhetoric of "national salvation" Spínola was saying very little. Even Time magazine, one of the most dedicated mouthpieces of US imperialism, was obliged to note:

"By the standards of most nations in the free world, that was not so revolutionary. Except for providing basic civil rights at home and seeking an end to the war in Africa, the new junta did not seem to be advocating any major changes in Portuguese life. Most diplomats (They mean the CIA!) expected foreign policy to remain much the same, and Spínola specifically declared that Portugal would remain a NATO member in good standing, presumably allowing the US to continue using its strategic air bases in the Azores."

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In its first declaration after the coup, the PCP "Greeted the Armed Forces Movement as opening up the prospect of—liquidating fascist dictatorship, ending the colonial war and establishing a democratic regime." Even the most cursory reading of the MFA program shows that this is not its intention...and all the junta's activities since April 25 have shown it to be the chief agency of counterrevolution in Portugal today.

It can be stated without fear of contradiction, the junta and the Stalinists by clasping hands in the Popular Front government have become the twin pillars of a temporary Bonapartism that is aimed at disarming the working class, holding back its political development towards power, and preparing for the fascists to strike

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Bearing in mind that, after thirteen years' struggle in the overseas territories, the ruling political system has proved unable to provide a concrete, objective definition of an overseas policy capable of bringing about peace among the Portuguese of all races and beliefs;

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Taking into account the fact that the replacement of the current political system will have to be effected without internal disturbances that would endanger the peace, the progress and the well-being of the Nation;

The Movement of the Armed Forces, thoroughly convinced that it is interpreting the desires and interests of the overwhelming majority of the Portuguese

People, and that its action is fully justified on behalf of the salvation of the Motherland, and making use of the power conferred on it by the Nation through its Soldiers, proclaims and undertakes to guarantee the adoption of the following measures, as the platform it considers necessary for the solving of the grave national crisis that Portugal is undergoing:

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By Alex Mitchell



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TO BE CONTINUED

As the hours slipped by on April 25 each fresh communique from the Movement of the Armed Forces heightened the exhilaration of the crowds in the streets. There would be momentary pauses on the hour to watch the television or listen to the radio...and then back to the celebrating. Caetano is surrounded; now he is arrested; Spínola has taken over; Caetano has been deported.

Late in the evening the announcer said that the junta of General Spínola would be appearing to make a special announcement "in person." Renewed cheers. It was not until 1:30 a.m. on April 26 after an extended recital of Beethoven that the screens went momentarily black, the national anthem was played and the junta appeared. Spínola was accompanied by six officers, two each from the army, navy and air force. There were embarrassed introductions and then Spínola, seated in the middle, read a short statement. He said:

"The junta for National Salvation, over which I preside, has just received a mandate from the Armed Forces after the triumph of the Movement opportunely set afoot to ensure survival of our nation and the well-being of the Portuguese people. It has been set up to fulfill the urgent need to ensure order and to direct the country towards the definition and attainment of true national aims. It pledges itself before the Movement to:

"a. Guarantee the continuation of the Nation as a sovereign motherland in its entirety as a pluricontinental reality;

"b. Immediately further the awareness of the Portuguese by allowing full expression for all currents of opinion so as to hasten the setting up of those civic associations that shall represent tendencies and to facilitate the free direct election of a constituent National Assembly and the subsequent election of the President of the Republic;

"c. Guarantee the freedom of expression and of thought;

"d. Abstain from any political attitude which might limit the freedom of election and the tasks of the future Constituent Assembly and to employ all possible means to ensure that no other forces may interfere in the process, which we desire to be an eminently national one;

"e. Base its actions on the elementary norms of morality and justice, ensuring each citizen the basic rights laid down in universal declarations and to ensure that civic peace be respected, limiting the exercise of authority to the guaranteeing of the freedom of citizens;

"f. Respect international undertakings arising from treaties signed by Portugal;

"g. Speed up its tasks so that the country may be governed by those institutions it has freely chosen for itself as soon as possible;

"h. Return the exercise of power to the constitutional institutions as soon as the President of the Republic-elect is empowered."

In the mood of the moment, few people stopped to examine in detail what the general was promising. Fascism is finished, that was enough. But a close scrutiny showed that behind the rhetoric of "national salvation" Spínola was saying very little. Even Time magazine, one of the most dedicated mouthpieces of US imperialism, was obliged to note:

"By the standards of most nations in the free world, that was not so revolutionary. Except for providing basic civil rights at home and seeking an end to the war in Africa, the new junta did not seem to be advocating any major changes in Portuguese life. Most diplomats (They mean the CIA!) expected foreign policy to remain much the same, and Spínola specifically declared that Portugal would remain a NATO member in good standing, presumably allowing the US to continue using its strategic air bases in the Azores."

Certainly, there is nothing even mildly "revolutionary" in the statement to "guarantee the continuation of the nation as a sovereign Motherland in its entirety as a pluricontinental reality," a "pledge" which also gives the lie to those Stalinists and reformists who say that the junta is committed to ending the colonial wars and granting independence to the African states.

Three days later the Movement of the Armed Forces produced the program which the junta went through the for-



Millions took to the streets in Lisbon on May Day to celebrate the downfall of 50 years of dictatorship.

maity of adopting. It too is written in the language of Bonapartism. It mentions bourgeois reforms but consciously places all authority in the seven-man military junta, men whose careers have been intimately part of the most savage oppression of the working class in Portugal and in the colonies. It is also a program that has been accepted in totality by the Portuguese Stalinists!

In its first declaration after the coup, the PCP "Greeted the Armed Forces Movement as opening up the prospect of liquidating fascist dictatorship, ending the colonial war and establishing a democratic regime." Even the most cursory reading of the MFA program shows that this is not its intention...and all the junta's activities since April 25 have shown it to be the chief agency of counterrevolution in Portugal today.

It can be stated without fear of contradiction, the junta and the Stalinists by clashing hands in the Popular Front government have become the twin pillars of a temporary Bonapartism that is aimed at disarming the working class, holding back its political development towards power, and preparing for the fascists to strike

Program of the Movement of the Armed Forces

Bearing in mind that, after thirteen years' struggle in the overseas territories, the ruling political system has proved unable to provide a concrete, objective definition of an overseas policy capable of bringing about peace among the Portuguese of all races and beliefs;

Considering that any such definition of policy is only possible through a cleansing of present home policy and its institutions by making them, through democratic processes, the undeniable representatives of the Portuguese People;

Taking into account the fact that the replacement of the current political system will have to be effected without internal disturbances that would endanger the peace, the progress and the well-being of the Nation;

The Movement of the Armed Forces, thoroughly convinced that it is interpreting the desires and interests of the overwhelming majority of the Portuguese

People, and that its action is fully justified on behalf of the salvation of the Motherland, and making use of the power conferred on it by the Nation through its Soldiers, proclaims and undertakes to guarantee the adoption of the following measures, as the platform it considers necessary for the solving of the grave national crisis that Portugal is undergoing:

A. Immediate Measures

1. The wielding of political power by a Junta for National Salvation until a provisional Civil Government is established in the near future. The selection of the Chairman will be made by the Junta itself.

2. The Junta for National Salvation will decree:

a. The immediate removal of the President of the Republic and the present Government, the dissolution of the National Assembly and the Council of State, measures to be accompanied by the public announcement of the convocation, within twelve months, of a Constituent Assembly, elected by direct, universal, secret ballot on the terms of an Electoral Law to be drafted by the future Provisional Government.

b. Removal of all the civil governors on the mainland, the governors of auto-

nomous districts in the islands of the Azores and Madeira, and Governors-General in the Overseas Provinces, and the immediate abolition of the National People's Action Movement. The administration of the Overseas Provinces will at once be taken over by their Secretaries-General, hereby vested with the functions of interim governors until the Provisional Government appoints new Governors-General. Until such time as the Provisional Government appoints new Civil Governors, their work will be dealt with by their legal substitutes.

c. The immediate abolition of the DGS (Directorate-General of Security), the Portuguese Legion and the political youth organizations. 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.

d. Handing-over to the Armed Forces of persons guilty of crimes against the established political order, so long as the Junta for National Salvation lasts, for the purpose of investigation and trial.

e. Measures to permit strict vigilance and control over all financial and econo-

mic operations and transactions with foreign countries.

f. An immediate amnesty for all political prisoners, except for those guilty of common-law crimes, who will be handed over to the relevant courts, and the voluntary readmission of all civil servants removed from their posts for political reasons.

g. Abolition of the censorship and prior approval systems. In recognition of the need to safeguard the secrets of military affairs and to prevent perturbation of public opinion, caused by ideological acts of aggression mounted by the more reactionary circles, an ad-hoc committee will be set up to supervise the Press, Radio, Television, the Theatre and the Cinema by the future Provisional Government.

h. Measures to reorganize and cleanse the Armed and Paramilitary Forces (National Republican Guard, The Public Safety Police, Customs and Coastguards Police, etc.)

i. Frontier control will be the responsibility of the Armed and Paramilitary Forces until a special service for the purpose is created.

j. Measures to ensure effective combat of corruption and speculation.

B. Short-term Measures

1. Within a maximum of three weeks after power has been won, the Junta for National Salvation will choose from its members the one who is to carry out the duties of President of the Portuguese Republic, who shall enjoy powers similar to those embodied in the present Constitution.

a. The remaining members of the Junta for National Salvation shall take over the duties of Chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces, Chief of the Navy General Staff, Chief of the Army General Staff and Chief of the Air Force General Staff, and shall be members of the Council of State.

2. After he is empowered, the President of the Republic shall appoint the civil Provisional Government, to be made up of persons representative of political groups and currents and also independent individuals who identify themselves with the aims of this program.

3. During the period of authority of the Provisional Government, an exception imposed by the historical need for political transformation, the Junta for National Salvation shall remain in existence to safeguard the aims herein proclaimed.

a. The period of exception shall end im-

EVEN 'TIME' MAGAZINE APPROVED THE POLICY OF SPINOLA'S JUNTA

By Alex Mitchell

mediately after the election of the President of the Republic and the Legislative Assembly, in accordance with the new Political Constitution.

4. The Provisional Government will govern through Decree-Laws, which must obey the spirit of this proclamation.

5. Bearing in mind that the major basic reforms can only be adopted as part of the work of the future Constituent National Assembly, the Provisional Government will undertake to promote immediately:

a. The application of measures to guarantee the formal exercise of the Government's actions, and the study and application of preliminary measures of a material, economic, social and cultural nature to ensure the future effective exercise of the political freedom of citizens.

b. Freedom of meeting and association. In the application of this principle the formation of "political associations" will be permitted, as the possible embryos of future political parties, and trade-union freedom guaranteed, in accordance with a special law to regulate its exercise.

c. Freedom of expression and thought in any form.

d. Publication of a new Press, Radio, Television, Theater and Cinema Law.

e. Measures and provisions to ensure, over the short-term, the independence and enhanced dignity of the Judiciary. Extinction of "special courts and tribunals" and enhanced dignity to be given to criminal law procedure at all its stages. Crimes committed against the State under the new regime will be tried before common-law judges in ordinary courts, and the accused will be guaranteed a fair trial. Investigation will be effected in these cases by the Criminal Investigation Department of the Police.

6. The Provisional Government will establish:

a. A new economic policy, to serve the Portuguese People, especially those strata of the population who have so far least benefited, the immediate concern being the struggle against inflation and the excessive rise in the cost of living, which necessarily implies an anti-monopoly strategy.

b. A new social policy with, as the essential aim in all domains, the defense of the interests of the working classes and a progressive but accelerated rise in the quality of living standards for all Portuguese people.

7. The Provisional Government will be oriented in foreign affairs by the principles of the independence and equality of States non-interference in the domestic affairs of other States and the defense of peace, widening and diversifying international relations on a basis of friendship and cooperation.

a. The Provisional Government shall respect international undertakings arising from treaties and agreements in force.

8. The overseas policy of the Provisional Government, always bearing in mind that it is for the Nation to define it, will be oriented by the following principles:

a. Recognition of the fact that the solution for the wars in the overseas provinces is political and not military.

b. Creation of the conditions necessary for a frank, open debate at the national level on the overseas problem.

c. Laying-down of the bases of an overseas policy that will lead to peace.

As soon as the Nation elects the Constituent Assembly and the new President of the Republic, the Junta for National Salvation shall be dissolved and the action of the Armed Forces shall be restricted to their specific mission to defend national sovereignty.

The Movement of the Armed Forces is convinced that the aims and principles here proclaimed form an undertaking towards the country as a whole and that they are imperative to serve the highest interests of the Nation. It makes a fervent appeal to all Portuguese to play a sincere, enlightened and determined part in national public life. It calls on them to guarantee by their work and peaceful intercourse, whatever their social position, the conditions necessary to the short-term definition of a policy that shall lead to the solution of the grave problems the Nation is facing, and to the harmony, progress and social justice indispensable for us to cleanse our public life and to obtain the place to which Portugal is entitled in the concert of the Nations.

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

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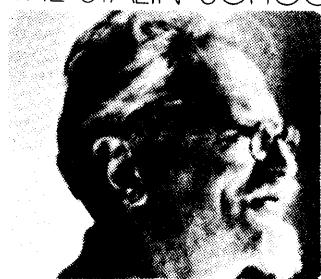
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'I Used To Think The Law
Was There To Protect Us'



BY JANE JACKSON
MIDLAND, Mich.—
For the past three months, the strike of Steel Workers Local 12075 against Dow Chemical Company's Midland Plant has turned this once-prospering city into a battleground.

Workers walked out March 18 when the company tried to take away the cost of living clause in the contract. The first strike since 1948, it has been a long and bitter one.

"We've got a few things now," Calvin Miller told the Bulletin—"a nice house, some comforts. But it's been by working long hours and weekends. No one should have to work like that."

"We're not going to let Dow take this away. The strike is all about whether we're going to keep what we've got or lose it."

"It's obvious Dow is out to bust the union. It's cost them twice as much as it would have to put us back to work."

"I used to think there was justice in this country, that the law was there to protect us. Big businesses are becoming monopolies and getting away with it and they're using the law against us. They even managed to get the judge changed so they could get their way."

Judge Frazer, who issued the first injunctions against strikers, was replaced by

another judge whose first ruling dismissed contempt of court charges against a company manager and the second sentenced a striker to five days in jail and a fine for contempt.

Early in the strike, state police, ordered in by Gov. Milliken to reinforce local police, attacked workers on the picket line with clubs.

One worker described the action: "They were beating on this older fellow with their sticks, so I stepped in and said why don't you hit me, and darned if they didn't."

"We've had people run down by cars on the picket line. One guy had both legs broken when this car ran into us."

On March 20, fed up with incidents like this, a group of women and children marched on the local courthouse with banners demanding the brutal treatment of their fathers and husbands be stopped.

Conditions pickets faced remained the same. On April 23, two spokesmen for striking workers appeared at a city council meeting to protest the tactics of police who had by then arrested over 100 strikers on charges ranging from disturbing the peace to felonious destruction of property.

More recently, Dow has initiated a civil suit against the union for \$86,200, which would bankrupt Local 12075 if they win.

The suit claims \$50,000 for loss of business as well as placing responsibility on the union for destruction of its brine-wells,

despite the company's claim that production is being maintained.

Chlorine gas, Saran wrap plastic, and other assorted plastic products are made at the Midland Complex.

The production of Saran wrap requires the use of vinyl chloride, a cancer producing chemical. Recent studies link vinyl chloride to liver cancer. In spite of findings by experts, a company spokesman denies that any danger exists at the Midland plant.

Union sponsored physical examinations of workers are being completed at the local hospital and will add new evidence to the current studies.

Dow also produces the herbicide 2, 4, 5T which has been determined unsafe by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). However, formal hearings between Dow and the EPA scheduled to begin in August have been cancelled.

The US Department of Agriculture banned the chemical in 1970 for use around home, garden, or recreational areas.

Still unresolved are the dangers that exist in the manufacturing process.

What is clear to workers is that this giant multinational company is out to destroy their union.

In order to maintain its huge profits—largest in history during the first quarter of 1974—Dow will stop at nothing. Even the health, safety, and living standards of workers cannot interfere with this drive for profit.

midwest news

Lordstown Men Are "Worked To Death"

BY NANCY RUSSELL
LORDSTOWN, Ohio
 —Lordstown Local 1112 has joined the auto offensive now underway against Woodcock's national contract.

Vega and truck line workers will walk off the job at 10 am Wednesday, July 10. The International UAW leadership has refused strike sanction for Lordstown workers for nine months.

Local 1112 was one of the first UAW VP Joins Police

BY KEN WESTON
DETROIT—Last week, Mayor Coleman Young nominated five members to the newly created police commission scheduled to take over on July 1.

Best known is United Auto Workers Vice-President Douglas A. Fraser, who has functioned in the past as the man in charge of Chrysler affairs.

The commission nominees are expected to receive confirmation from all city councilmen, but the 5700 man police department stated that all of them, except Fraser, are too "liberal."

Fraser, as every Chrysler worker knows, is a conservative union hack whose specialty is strikebreaking. Labeled a "law and order" man, he publicly favors the introduction of police mini-stations into working class neighborhoods.

Last summer, Fraser led a battalion of union goons against sitdown strikers at Chrysler's Mack Avenue Stamping Plant.

Police feared that a confrontation with the strikers would provoke a citywide strike and were powerless to act until Fraser and over 100 bureaucrats armed with baseball bats viciously attacked the strikers, allowing police to enter and occupy the plant.

Showing his true colors during the Detroit Forge strike a year ago, Fraser lectured strikers to follow court injunctions to go back to work.

The service Fraser has performed for the police in the past, has earned him this new appointment as a member of the police commission.

to issue a strike letter against General Motors after the signing of the 1973 national agreement.

One Vega worker described the grueling conditions in the plant: "People are going to the brink and nearly over from exhaustion. They're carrying the women out all the time. I pass my cigarettes out during the break, but I'm too tired to smoke them."

Robert Mitchell told the Bulletin: "We have got to strike. That's the only way."

"GMAD is about the shrewdest around. They make their cars and trucks as cheap as possible."

"They get as much from every man as possible. They'll squeeze it out, whether the man wants it or not."

"I've had a safety problem where I work for the last month. The inlaid rubber matting is torn up every time a tow-motor goes by, and it sticks up where I have to walk."

"It's not like I just have to walk over it, but I'm carrying car doors with rough metal edges; it's raw metal. If I would trip, I could be cut really bad."

"I've seen the foreman, the union, and the safety director twice, and now after a month, to my knowledge nothing has been done."

"There's no respect for the worker there. They do all kinds of things that should not be done."

"You shouldn't have to argue about safety. A man could get killed."

"The union says the company won't give in on safety issues, but about safety, there should be no question; it should just be done."

"We shouldn't be working, period. With no contract, we're just giving GM more time to get the Vegas out."

"There's a lot of selling out going on with the union. We should not let GM go so far. With no contract, when there is a problem, they just tell you to write a grievance. What good is that?"

"The foreman will throw people out of work for the day sometimes when they are a minute late."

"A buddy of mine came in one day with black eyes and a swollen face. He had gotten hit across the face in a fight and the foreman had the audacity to ask him for a doctor's excuse."

SPEEDUP

"I fought the union for letting the speedup continue. We were doing 30 trucks in August. Now we're doing 34."

"The union is supposed to

monitor the line speed, but hey, when that line is going, it doesn't stop. So since you have to work, you're being worked to death."

"This overtime has been too much. I don't even know what a 40 hour work week is."

"We're down to nine hours now and it feels like eight, it's so good. We have been sold out by the union on overtime."

"We got an agreement with the company to vote on mandatory overtime. The vote was supposed to be in March, but the union for some reason didn't have it within the one month deadline, so GM said that we had to go an extra month with mandatory overtime of 10 hours and up. It meant an extra month of slavery."

"Things we had before, we are losing. It's like civil liberties. They'll even try to tell us what to think."

"I'm for reuniting labor. This country is built up on labor. But personnel and management looks down upon you and treats you different. Labor has to unite."

No Merger At NEA Convention

BY WILL ROEMER
CHICAGO—The National Education Association National Conference which ended on July 3 centered on the right of teachers to form an organization for collective bargaining.

Over 9720 delegates attended the conference, following an opening march of over 6000 teachers in defense of striking teachers in Hortonville, Wisconsin and Timberlane, New Hampshire.

The conference reflected the tremendous desire of teachers to fight and the need for both unity and leadership.

In the conference session on Monday, Jerry Wirth, head of AFSCME, told the delegates that he would welcome the merger of the NEA and AFT, thereby bringing about a unity of the NEA with the AFL-CIO.

Later he added: "It is tragic for the AFT and the NEA to spend thousands of dollars fighting each other, while teachers are in trouble in Hortonville."

Of more than 110 proposals voted on at the conference, 9 dealt with the question of merger with the AFL-CIO, 2



84 teachers in Hortonville, Wisconsin were fired for striking, which is illegal according to Wisconsin law. Above, a supporter is beaten and hauled away by riot police.

dealt with the impeachment of Nixon, and 11 dealt with the right of teachers to organize to strike. The Wednesday session began with an explosion as the chair ruled that the resolutions would not be taken in the order as they were listed, but instead, selected items would be taken first. This decision angered many delegates who saw that maneuvers were being made to stop all discussion and eliminate many resolutions. The New York delegation carried out a floor fight for the resolution favoring merger.

MERGE

NEA President Helen Wise moved quickly through item no. 50 which read: "The RA (Representative Assembly) removes all restrictions on the right of state and local NEA affiliates to merge with the AFL-CIO affiliation and instructs the Executive Committee and the Board of Directors to impose no new restrictions."

Amid much confusion, this was voted down by a three to one margin. Then the chair moved to item no. 14 which stated that the NEA would continue its policy of remaining separate from the AFL-CIO. At this point, sharp opposition came from a teacher from Timberlane who said:

"I might be for merger if someone could tell me how this might be done. I have been in

unions before and I'm somewhat familiar with the structure of the AFL-CIO."

In place of a resolution calling for Nixon's immediate impeachment, the NEA leadership pushed through a resolution calling on Congress to speed up the investigation of Nixon.

Numerous attempts to table the remaining resolutions were resoundingly defeated by the delegates. At one point a delegate got up and said angrily:


"I wonder if the people who paid our way to come to this conference wanted us to rush through and go home early. We have business to deal with here."

One delegate from Arkansas told the Bulletin: "This is my first time at a conference like this and the only thing I can compare it to is like when the little churches try to come together to form a big church, there were some who feel they don't want to give in."

"The way I see it, the AFL-CIO has its bureaucracy here and the NEA has its bureaucracy here and neither wants to give in to the other."

The tremendous desire of teachers to fight was shown in the raising of over \$15,800 dollars from delegates who bought tee shirts and buttons, and made contributions to support the striking teachers in Hortonville and Timberlane.

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books



Time on the Cross

by Robert Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman part 2

Time on the Cross by Robert William Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman. Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1974.

The empirical research summarized in this book, gives us a picture of the slave system which differs in important details from that generally accepted. This picture is the real worth of this book.

Fogel and Engerman prove quite conclusively that the slave system, through its entire existence was quite profitable, giving the slave owner a rate of return on his capital investment at least equal to that of the manufacturing capitalist. Further, the slave system, far from faltering at the time of the Civil War, was undergoing a period of unparalleled prosperity with demand for cotton continuing to expand beyond the rise in production.

If we understand the particular character of modern chattel slavery as compared to that in Ancient society, this is quite understandable. The slavery in America's South was the resurrection of an ancient form of labor within a modern capitalist economy. This characteristic gave it its transitory character. For a period, this form of labor applied to agriculture would enhance the development of capitalism on a world scale, only to emerge at a later date as a factor inhibiting capitalist development.

In modern chattel slavery, the slave is a form of capital bought and sold, and through that process, easily exchangeable for other forms of capital. Thus the slave owner could at any time sell his slaves, take the resulting money, and move into a more lucrative field of investment, for instance, manufacturing or free farming. Thus the profitability of slave ownership had to remain at least equal to that of other capitalist investments based on the hiring of free labor or capital would tend to flow out of chattel slavery and the system would collapse.

The second and related important point that Fogel and Engerman make is that the slave system was a more efficient and productive form of agricultural production than the existing free farmer system in the North, Northwest, or South. There can, in our opinion, be no doubt that this was the case.

In fact, the figures are quite startling. Southern agriculture as a whole was 35 percent more efficient than Northern agriculture. Southern slave farms were 28 percent more efficient than Southern free farms. In the most productive area of the new South, slave plantations were a whopping 53 percent more efficient than free farms in the North.

The reasons for this appear to be three factors which overcome, in this given set of circumstances, the obvious disadvantages of slavery (motivation of slaves, etc.).

First, slavery permitted large-scale agricultural operations which did not exist in this period in the North or among free farmers of the South.

Second, slavery permitted a more efficient collective labor process in the form of the work gang. These work gangs could be driven in a way unattainable under the conditions of capital-

ist free labor of that day through the use of force.

Third, the slave system allowed a larger percentage of the working population to be in the work force. Under the free labor system of the North, only one-third of the working population worked. In the South, the figure reached two-thirds, with production forced out of the youngest children, and workers continuing in one or another economic activity into their seventies and sometimes eighties.

Was an economic cause for the overthrow of slavery ruled out because slave agriculture was more productive than free agriculture of that time? It certainly was in the eyes of the slave owner.

Together with the profit ratio which flowed from it, it gave the Southern slave owner his determination to defend and wherever possible expand his highly profitable labor system. This helps explain why the South pushed so hard to extend slavery into the newer areas of the West and why they fought so doggedly in the Civil War to defend their "peculiar institution."

Engerman and Fogel never get beyond this empirical level. Thus, the motivation of the North in its resistance to the spread of the slave system is not understood. It is not even discussed.

For all their concern with facts, there are a series of facts which they either completely ignore (population growth) or seek to minimize the significance of (industrial development). These facts are of considerable importance because they not only help to explain why the Civil War took place, but also why the North won the war.

The free labor system of the North led to the great growth in population and to the greatest development of industry. Industry in the South was an exception, with the North having a 4 to 1 edge over the South in textiles and a 6 to 1 edge in pig iron production. The population expansion question is most clearly illustrated by the development of the Northwest which emerged by the time of the Civil War as an area larger in population than the South, as well as the old Northeast.

The question of agricultural labor productivity cannot be separated from industrial development.

In the period prior to the Civil War, mechanization of agriculture proceeded in only a limited way. Thus the role of human labor was of the greatest importance. This meant that the cooperative character of that labor and its intensification became the central factors affecting productivity. This is why the slave farm was more productive than the free family farm.

However, the free family farm was more conducive to the development of a manufacturing industry. This industrial development would be the key to the future changes in agricultural productivity (the tractor, combine, chemical fertilizers, etc.) However, the impact of industry on agriculture would only be felt in the post-Civil War period.

TO BE CONTINUED

TV Actors Fight Reruns



BY DENNIS BREHM
"Lights, camera, action"—these words are heard by only 15 percent of the approximately 29,000 members of the Screen Actors Guild (SAG) at any one time. Dennis Weaver, president of SAG, star of the TV show "McCloud," and famous for his role as Chester in the Gunsmoke series put it this way:

"Don't talk to actors about the unemployment crisis. Actors are the most unemployed individuals in the US and have been even in the boom time." With an unemployment rate of 85 percent, SAG leads the other hard hit entertainment unions.

The Screen Actors Guild, just negotiated a new contract with producers and television networks which must still be ratified by the membership of SAG. The settlement includes a 25 percent pay hike, improved pay for reruns and parity with the American Federation of TV and Radio Artists (AFTRA).

A spokesman for SAG said, "The contract is good for our working members, but as a lobby organization we can't go into negotiations and demand full employment." Weaver said, "It's never been the function of the guilds to find jobs. But we've got to take drastic action."

Over 50 percent of the guild members earn less than \$7000 a year from acting. More than three out of four earn less than \$3500 a year. Contrary to popular belief, only about three percent of the members are in the \$25,000 bracket.

The economic crisis with high interest rates, rising inflation and the decline in the stock market has led to a wholesale flight from investing in films. The Dow Jones average for theatrical related stocks dropped almost 50 points in the first six months.

The film industry has been hit the hardest. Only two out of ten pictures produced make any profit. In television, the networks pushed profits up 268 percent during the last year by showing more and more reruns. Fifty percent of network prime time is now reruns which is destroying thousands of jobs.

The issue of residual pay for reruns was a major one prior to the negotiations. When Dennis Weaver was filming "Gunsmoke," they did 39 shows a year. Now it is down to between 18 and 22, almost a 50 percent decline in new jobs.

The old contract pay for reruns dropped to almost nothing and after the tenth rerun, there would be no payment. A member of SAG pointed out that after the tenth rerun "we are doing a benefit for the networks." One provision which has made many members angry is the limit of \$1000 residual pay for each one-half hour appearance and \$1100 for each one hour appearance.

One member of SAG said: "The higher percentage is okay for the average actor, but actors getting over \$1000 for a part are being shut out. The networks get 100 percent from the sponsors for reruns, why shouldn't we?"

Parity with AFTRA was also important.

AFTRA

AFTRA covers mostly videotaped shows and the members were paid much less compared to a similar part on a film. They are now equal.

The present leadership of SAG was elected on what is considered to be a reform ticket. The election of Weaver running on an opposition slate is the first time an opposition has won since the union was formed in 1933. In the previous election, a complete opposition slate ran against the executive board nominee for the first time.

One member said: "John Gair, the last president, wasn't getting anything done with residual pay. Now we got something, but not as much as we wanted."

SAG was founded in the middle of the depression when unem-

ployment was even worse than today. The studios were cutting wages by 50 percent and the academy which most writers and actors belonged to accepted these conditions. A handful broke away and formed the Screen Actors Guild.

Throughout its history, SAG has been one of the most conservative unions in the entertainment field. George Murphy and Ronald Reagan, are both ex-presidents.

There have been only three strikes in the union's entire history. In 1945 to 1946, there was a large strike against the major film companies supported by most of the labor movement. The strike was part of the national strike wave after World War Two but SAG refused to join the strike and would not honor the picket lines.

LIMITED

SAG has limited its efforts to pressuring various government agencies to create jobs. One was to get California to set up a film development commission, another was to get the federal government, which spends over \$375 million on making films, to stop using nonunion actors and actresses. The union won this fight.

The present contract does not do anything to solve the major problem facing the membership of SAG: unemployment. The reform schemes put forward by the present leadership are far from what Weaver calls "drastic action."

As the recession deepens, and investment in all industry is drastically cut, the film industry will be hit even harder. The sale of MGM studios is just the beginning.

The TV networks will be forced to use more and more reruns, actually eliminating the 25 percent wage increase, by not having to pay what was originally paid for the part.

The membership of SAG, as well as the entertainment union, can only solve these problems by a fight for the nationalization of the entertainment industry through the building of a labor party.

Ruchell MaGee Writes

"What I Have To Expose Is Slavery"

June 25, 1974

Greetings!

In the May 14, 1974 issue of the Bulletin, you wrote an article entitled, "SF Court Tells Bosses to Wiretap Workers," where somebody said the decision is a green light for unlimited spying on any phone calls a worker makes or receives while at work.

The Judge, Robert Schnecke, happens to be an old friend of mine. I know him like I know 18 years of unlawful imprisonment in facts, law, and evidence!

He's just holding up a million dollar suit filed by me that California Governor Ronald Reagan did not wish to answer. Schnecke fraudulently disposed of it by acting judge, prosecutor, police, and defense counsel.

JUDGE SCHNECKE

The suit in question was before Judge Harris for approximately a year before Schnecke stepped in. The federal courts have jurisdiction over my suit shown in 28 USC, Section 1343: "The district courts shall have original jurisdiction of any civil action authorized by law to be commenced by any person..." Schnecke first came up with an order telling me to show cause why should, or should not, my suit be dismissed. Once a person files a suit, it's for the person or persons sued to answer.

Mind you, jurisdiction wasn't mentioned in his first order because he intended to claim that I didn't show cause, therefore suit dismissed.

I filed Habeas Corpus to appear before the court with the defendants sued to show Schnecke cause with evidence. He didn't expect that type of legal move, rather for me to re-allege issues in the suit or raise new issues.

FRAUDULENT

He held up for about three months to find more fraudulent ways. At that time, I filed Mondamus in the United Court of Appeals (9th Circuit) asking to compel him to be disqualified from the suit, and I showed where he had ignored the jurisdictional laws on disqualification upon showing and applying prejudice. The court of appeals ignored it.

I am the person who filed the suit in Gilmore vs. Lynch. (California case in the same

court—and acted lawyer in the Moslem case against Governor Brown, et. al., No. 44296, 1965). I am the one who filed the suit you may be reading about of the San Quentin Six.

Robert Schnecke is a Nixon appointee. So is Judge Samuel Conti of the same US District Court (northern) of California. Conti, in March 31, 1971, issued an order to his federal clerks, directing them not to file MaGee's documents.

Prior to that stunt, beginning in January, 1971, Conti grabbed all my legal documents, and illegally disposed of them by calling them frivolous, without holding any hearing.

PLOT

The plot was to keep me bound in state courts with false representation to convict me.

I'm held in prison for 10 years in California by these degenerates with their crimes dressed up in the name of "law." What I have to expose is Slavery. The facts of it must not be lost in silence which they conspire to impose on me.

Through sincere people in the movement, together we will stop these clowns from Nixon down to the lap-dog News Media! Freedom for all Mankind lies beyond American courts, due process of law, justice.

The court's false justice has blindfolded many people. If the people unite and fight these fools out of the courts we will abolish oppression entirely.

CIVIL SUITS

I have two civil suits in the US District Court (Central) at Los Angeles, California. The judges there are suppressing them without allowing the service of summonses. The federal Judges Ralph Geffen, Lawrence Lydick, and others (a reactionary clique), with their overnight made laws, obstruct process service, where a Black has indisputable facts of all forms of civil rights law violations. The violators (ruling class) pay off the Schneckes and Geffens to fraudulently dispose of true claims against them.

It is well established law that even if there is failure to state a proper cause of action in civil suits, there must be a judgement on the merits.

Whether the suit states a cause of action, where relief could be granted is a question of law and must be decided after, and not before, the court has assumed jurisdiction over the controversy.



Ruchell MaGee (far right) in abortive escape attempt from the Marin County courthouse in 1970.

Picture yourself, as me, showing clear facts in writing, under oath, of the following:

- (1) False imprisonment because of lawyers, false guilty and insanity pleas;
- (2) Repeatedly indiscriminate police brutality that caused torture injuries;
- (3) State agents use of false transcripts, while suppressing true court records to hide false plea convictions;

(4) All you ask is that the court follow the laws by:

- a. giving you the opportunity to be heard to prove the claims with witnesses, records, and evidence;
- b. allow the summons and copy of the complaints to be served upon the parties sued.

Without the hearing, it was injustice displayed by Schnecke to exercise the jurisdiction like he did. Even so, the next fool judge comes behind him to use

their orders to say MaGee is abusing the process of the courts, because Judges Schnecke and Conti said it.

Their fraudulent orders are used like the racist IQ brand joke. It's designed to allow the State Court to judicially lynch its slave victim's mind. Any type of coward who wants to injure Blacks or poor Whites without any fight back, just goes about doing it in the name of law.

Make positive suggestions that will expose these vicious lying cowards in the courts.

I consider what I outlined should be sufficient for people concerned to urge organizational investigation of these sentences against the poor people.

The fight against slavery is only when a life of freedom begins!

Power!

I am,
Ruchell (Cinque) MaGee

RN's Strike At Stanford

PALO ALTO, Cal.—Registered nurses at Stanford University Medical Center went out on strike Monday, July 1 for the first time in the hospital's history.

The Committee for Recognition of Nursing Achievements is representing the 714 nurses out on strike. The committee is asking for a 16 percent salary increase and a 1 percent increase in benefits. Their proposal is based on achieving parity with UC Medical Center in San Francisco.

One nurse told the Bulletin: "16 percent isn't really that much when you consider the high cost of living. We can't make it without the 16 percent increase."

"I know we'll have to stay out until we get the full increase because I know Nixon is going to slap another wage freeze on us before next July when our contract comes up again. Then we'll be out in the cold left with nothing."

The strike is estimated to be 95 percent effective and nurses are staffing only the emergency room and coronary care center.

Fresno Sanitation Strike

BY SHERMAN JONES

FRESNO, Cal.—Sanitation workers here are disobeying a court order to go back to work and are continuing with their strike today.

This follows the action of 600 Los Angeles County sanitation workers who shut down sewage and garbage facilities last week, despite a court restraining order.

The 300 workers, members of Local 2051 of the American Fed-

eration of State, County, and Municipal Employees are on strike for higher wages, having rejected the city's offer of 9.6 percent. The union is demanding a wage increase of 14 percent and broke off negotiations after receiving the city's final offer.

The charges were dropped against the LA County workers after union leaders negotiated a settlement for a new contract, providing for only a 8.5 percent wage increase.

The Workers League-
Young Socialists Invites You To A: **PICNIC**

Educational Program:
**Watergate-
The Ugly Face
Of Capitalism**


Speaker: Tim Wohlforth,
National Secretary, Workers
League

swimming
barbeque
basketball

Los Angeles
Cedar Lake Camp
near Big Bear Lake
**Saturday
July 27**

Bay Area
Morton's
Warm Springs
Redwoods
**Sunday
July 28**

Cost: \$5 (Includes transportation)



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lucha obrera

lucía rivera



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decision, Nixon's position is that he will accept only a "correct" decision—namely, only one in his favor.

He has already defied every court except the Supreme Court. If he goes ahead and defies the Supreme Court, it means that he must be preparing to defy impeachment itself.

Nixon's positions cannot be answered in the courts but only through the power of the American working class and its struggle to throw him out through its independent action.

A Constitutional impasse has been reached because the economic crisis has brought about a conflict of classes which raises the question of how this country is to be ruled.

Nixon's defiance of all the laws reflects the movement of the ruling class as a whole toward dictatorship. The working class will not accept the destruction of its rights.

Just as the courts could not resolve the issue of whether the Southern slave system was to control this country—a question which was ultimately decided by civil war—the question of Nixon's powers will be decided by the struggle of the working class.

Not only are the courts unable to enforce any decision but two

years after the Watergate break-in, the entire impeachment proceedings are in a state of virtual paralysis. The cover-up continues. The original Watergate Committee is closing down this week. Having come in like a lion, it is going out like a lamb.

The House Judicial Committee is going the same way. It is holding hearings on impeachment, barricaded in secret sessions and refusing to hear testimony on many issues, such as the Pentagon spy ring, ITT, Vesco, and other scandals.

Even if the Committee recommends impeachment, there will be months of haggling within the House as to whether to accept its recommendation. At this point, it is impossible to predict how long it might be until the Senate actually begins to try the case.

This political crisis cannot be resolved except through the struggle of the working class to throw Nixon out, construct its own alternative through the building of a labor party and fight for power.

This crisis must be fought out and it is necessary that the Workers League and Young Socialists construct the revolutionary leadership for this struggle.



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Pickets are up at both plants around the clock and the government has sent in a federal mediator.

decision, Nixon's position is that he will accept only a "correct" decision—namely, only one in his favor.

He has already defied every court except the Supreme Court. If he goes ahead and defies the Supreme Court, it means that he must be preparing to defy impeachment itself.

Nixon's positions cannot be answered in the courts but only through the power of the American working class and its struggle to throw him out through its independent action.

A Constitutional impasse has been reached because the economic crisis has brought about a conflict of classes which raises the question of how this country is to be ruled.

Nixon's defiance of all the laws reflects the movement of the ruling class as a whole toward dictatorship. The working class will not accept the destruction of its rights.

Just as the courts could not resolve the issue of whether the Southern slave system was to control this country—a question which was ultimately decided by civil war—the question of Nixon's powers will be decided by the struggle of the working class.

Not only are the courts unable to enforce any decision but two

years after the Watergate break-in, the entire impeachment proceedings are in a state of virtual paralysis. The cover-up continues. The original Watergate Committee is closing down this week. Having come in like a lion, it is going out like a lamb.

The House Judicial Committee is going the same way. It is holding hearings on impeachment, barricaded in secret sessions and refusing to hear testimony on many issues, such as the Pentagon spy ring, ITT, Vesco, and other scandals.

Even if the Committee recommends impeachment, there will be months of haggling within the House as to whether to accept its recommendation. At this point, it is impossible to predict how long it might be until the Senate actually begins to try the case.

This political crisis cannot be resolved except through the struggle of the working class to throw Nixon out, construct its own alternative through the building of a labor party and fight for power.

This crisis must be fought out and it is necessary that the Workers League and Young Socialists construct the revolutionary leadership for this struggle.



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