Bankers Warn  

"CAPITALISM  

IS DYING"

**STATEMENT OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE OF THE WORKERS LEAGUE**

The deepest economic crisis since the 1930's is plunging the entire capitalist world into recession.

The way is clear for an enormous collapse of capitalism through banking crashes, industrial failures, mass unemployment in the industrial countries, and the deaths of millions from disease and starvation in the underdeveloped nations.

This sets the stage not only for savage trade war but creates conditions that force the capitalist class to prepare police dictatorships and war.

The meaning of the agreement at the French-US talks in Martinique to permit governments to calculate their official gold holdings at current market prices is to devalue the dollar.

The Martinique decision represents a decisive blow against the US attempt in "democratizing" gold and maintain the dollar at its current fraudulent $42.22 an ounce official value.

Gold is asserting itself as the only monetary unit which contains real value against the continuously depreciating value of all paper currencies.

Investors no longer have the slightest confidence in paper money and credit as a standard of value in which to store their wealth.

The Martinique measures, which overnight quadrupled the dollar value of the gold reserves held by all central banks, must give encouragement to inflation, setting a wave of price increases in motion as paper money deteriorates still further.

The gold revaluation was advocated by France as a desperate attempt to increase its reserves and buy time to meet the massive deficits caused by payments for oil to the Arab states.

Since the Bretton Woods agreement of 1944, capitalism has boosted its entire growth on the American dollar and the expansion of credit with the dollar backed by the US gold board.

Nixon's August 15, 1971 measures which removed the gold cover from the dollar brought this entire period of expansion and "controlled" inflation to an end.

The result was an explosion of inflation and credit, the floating of all currencies and the undermining of the entire international monetary system.

The overproduction in gold and commodities in an attempt to protect their wealth became the alternative of the capitalists for investment in basic production.

The collapse in capitalist confidence is summed up by the British journal The Economist, organ of the bankers:

"The world of finance is in its biggest mess for over forty years. Capitalism is being tested everywhere. Many people believe it is dying. There is not a major stock market where the price tag on quoted companies has not been marked down by at least one-third and the reduction has been worse in a half or two-thirds. Inflation and a reverse yield curve have choked off the bond market. More than 150 investment bankers and securities dealers in the US have gone out of business in the past 18 months. The bubble of speculation in land and building burst so explosively that fear persists that one of the world's big property companies may go bust any day. And the vicissitudes of the banking fraternity have included some of the worst failures since the 1930's."}

French President Giscard

These are the conditions that have set the stage for the latest crisis of the British pound. The Arab oil-producing states are now refusing to accept payment in pounds for their oil.

With Britain experiencing a balance of payments deficit of well over $10 billion a year they are convinced that the pound is next to worthless. Britain has only been able to finance her payments on the basis of deposits by the Arab states in British banks.

An Arab withdrawal of these funds would mark the collapse of the pound as the banks called in debts from corporations unable to pay their loans. This would mean a complete halt to British international trade and a catastrophic collapse of the international monetary system.

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development issued its 1975 forecast on Wednesday.

The report is its most pessimistic yet. Little prospect is seen for any diminution in inflation now averaging 15 percent in the 24 member states of the OECD.

The study concludes that any attempt to halt the recession with stimulative measures on a large scale will mean even more explosive inflation.

The US is expected to show an absolute decline in Gross National Product throughout 1975. Some OECD experts are reported to have predicted a 10 to 12 percent rate of unemployment in America by the end of the year.

According to the OECD, capitalism is facing a threat "which is probably unprecedented outside time of war." And more ominously they add: "Since governments are having to rely on peacetime, rather than wartime responses from their constituencies, the effects are proving particularly hard to absorb.

"What does this mean other than the open admission by the imperialists that the one thing that stands in their way to imposing mass unemployment, vicious exploitation and a new war is the powerful resistance of the working class throughout the capitalist countries and in the colonial nations?"

Their plan to unleash the full blast of the crisis on the working class is meeting struggle after struggle. From Greece to Portugal, from Vietnam to Southern Africa and from Europe to the struggles now beginning in the United States, the very existence of capitalism is threatened.

To the American working class, the danger is very clear.

Ford and his capitalist masters intend to impose wartime solutions.

This means straitjacketing the unions, freezing wages, breaking strikes, imposing mass unemployment and discriminating.

(Continued On Page 11)
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British Auto Firm Close To Collapse

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE

Britain's Labor government is desperately pouring funds into the giant auto company British-Leyland to prevent the collapse of the single largest employer in the country.

However, the stop-gap loans will not save the nearly bankrupt company. Behind the scenes, the labor heads are collaborating with British-Leyland to go ahead with plans for mass layoffs of the 160,000 auto workers employed by the company.

The ministers in the government are trying to mask their corporate plans with talk about introducing "a measure of public ownership." What they really aim to do is reorganize the company to increase production for export and jobs.

The enormous crisis facing Britain's auto industry, achievement of all programs and schedules, reduction of stock, elimination of excess unfinished vehicles, reduced operations, "reasonably realistic" manning levels," reduction of overtime, a cutback in hiring, and improved "movements of labor.

A letter from the company states: "If you say that the task is to make jobs and safe and secure. What is certain is that without your active cooperation, the task will be unaccomplished, and we will face the certainty of forced redundancy." Just before the letter arrived, 1,000 production workers at Cowley had voted on their own list of demands for the annual pay review.

They are fighting for about $32 a week pay raise, full shift and overtime differentials in place of a "commoditized time rate" payment, a cost of living clause, and a 30-hour week at no reduction in pay.

The workers also demand that the 14-day-off holiday be extended to 21 days pay, sick pay be extended to cover 13 weeks at full rate, and the doubling of annual benefits.

SOCIAL CONTRACT

These corporations are the powerful auto workers against which stand the government and trade union leaderships who have used to impose the ruling and unemployment on the working class of Britain.

Already 10,000 Leyland jobs have been lost this year through "natural wastage" or attrition. Studies have been released of company plans to cut 13,000 more in Oxford and the Midlands plant.

Britain's auto industry is headed for disaster. Ford has announced plans to fire 1,750 white collar workers, while Chrysler will fire 1,100.

The cutback in office workers reflects a halt for plans for expansion, modernization, and new car models. They are a prelude to mass layoffs on the assembly lines.

Vauxhall has already banned all overtime in production, stopped hiring, and cut back on production. Leyland itself has closed the Rover-Trimotor factories in Cowley and shut its two plants in Liverpool indefinitely.

British capitalism as a whole stands at the edge of bankruptcy.

It seeks a solution to this crisis through the destruction of the jobs, living conditions, and trade union rights of the working class. The Labor government, like the Tory government it replaced, is preparing dictatorship and military police repression to enforce industrial collapse and destitution.

While millions of workers begin to fight, the trade union leadership continues to support the Wilson government and its "social contract." A leadership for the battles ahead is being constructed only through the fight of the Workers Revolutionary Party which is campaigning among auto workers for a policy to fight job cuts with plant occupations, to force the Labor government to cancel the mass program of full nationalization without compensation under workers control.

Smith-Vorster Fear
Rhodesian Revolution

BY MELODY FARROW

The tenuous agreement between the black nationalist leaders of Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and the white minority regime of Ian Smith is already breaking down under the growing power of the African liberation movement.

No matter what tricks Smith uses to maintain his rule or what concessions are granted by the moderate "nonviolent leaders" of ZAPU (Zimbabwe Popular African Union) or the ANC (African National Congress), it will not stop the rising tide of revolution.

By liberating the nationalist leaders Joshua Nkomo of ZANU and Ndabaningi Sibulo of ZAPU, Smith has capitulated in a desperate attempt to gain some time before a full-scale uprising engulfs both Rhodesia and its white ruled neighbor, South Africa.

But there is no peaceful way that this terrorist bloody dictatorship that represents 25,000 white settlers in a nation of 8.5 million blacks, can be eased out except through an armed struggle.

For the past two years, a guerrilla army led by ZANU has been gaining momentum in the north.

Smith has in the past consistently declared that he would negotiate with the Zimbabwe nationalist movements.

Last week, he broke off talks with African leaders from other countries, rather than grant demands for universal suffrage and black majority rule.

Four days later, he released the nationalist leaders in exchange for a cease-fire and the opening of a constitutional conference on the future of Rhodesia.

TALKS

President Kaunda of Zambia and the racialist leader of South Africa, Vorster, have been working together to force Smith to open talks before it is too late. Vorster, whose regime has been weakened by the independent agreement in Mozambique, fears that a revolution in Rhodesia will mean the end of his white enclaves in the south.

Vorster has a security force of 2,000, which patrols Rhodesia's western border so that any civil war there would rapidly involve his government.

Vorster's plan calls for the establishment of an interim parliament to be elected next year. But only blacks with at least one year of secondary school would be eligible to vote.

On Tuesday Bishop Muzorewa, head of the ANC, declared that majority rule was a precondition for any agreement. The cease-fire is far from permanent.

The nationalist leaders are very aware of the revolutionary demands of the Rhodesian masses who are pressing forward towards the long overdue eradication of this reactionary regime. This is the determining factor in the struggle in Zimbabwe.

Racial Ian Smith of Rhodesia, faces full-scale uprising.

Let Them Starve—US Tells United Nations

The Ford government has announced it will boycott the United Nations emergency meeting on the world food crisis in the countries hardest hit by inflation and the oil prices.

The European Economic Community, which is dominated by the most powerful capitalist nations. On the other hand, all decisions on the 25-nation bloc of the EEC now are taken by consensus. The United Nations, on the other hand, is a world forum for all nations.

The UN list of 32 countries most seriously in need of emergency aid includes 20 African nations, 4 in Latin America, and Cambodia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Yemen, South Yemen, and Vietnam.

The economic crisis and the huge balance of payments deficits that have skyrocketed since oil prices were quadrupled last year mean that the US is now forced to let masses of people in the colonial countries suffer.

Food, as well as loans, are now being used by the US as a political weapon to force these countries into line behind US policies.

At the UN's World Food Conference last month, it was reported that American food aid has dropped 75 percent in 10 years. Last year, new export sales of fertilizer were suspended, which led to the collapse of sections of agriculture and industry in countries like India. Kissinger hopes that this strategy will prevent the small nations from banding together against US policies.

The recent demands of African, Asian, Arab, and Latin American countries to expel South Africa from the UN and the UN recognition of the PLO were all setbacks to US imperialism. Newly. The UN must be made into a forum for the world's oppressed nations.

Essential Reading

Struggle For Marxism In The Democratic South Africa

The only existing history of the ANC.

In Defense of Trotskyism: An Answer to Those Who Wrongly Condemn It

Towards A History of the South African Communist Party

The struggle for Marxist principles against revisionism.

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ROCKEFELLER COLLECTS HIS DEBTS

Rockefeller's nomination as vice-president has sailed through the House Judiciary Committee and the Senate and is headed for an overwhelming "yes" vote in Congress. The House Judiciary Committee, which led to Rockefeller's impeachment hearings, was apparently not disturbed by Rock's payoffs to countless politicians and officials and voted 26 to 12 to confirm.

The Senate backed him by an overwhelming 90 votes to 7. Among the Congressmen hammering the drum the hardest for Rockefeller are the most prominent liberals who have always prided themselves on their stand against big business privileges and corruption.

Barbara Jordan, a member of the House Committee and one of the favorite "progressives" of the Statists, justified her vote for Rockefeller by declaring that the future vice-president had indicated that his first "priority" is helping those who cannot help themselves.

Helping who, Mrs. Jordan? There is no question that Rockefelller has shown his generosity for his cronies and those he needed to use.

Shirley Chisholm, congresswoman from Brooklyn, whose campaign slogan was always "unbowed and unbound" is now fervently supporting Rockefeller, who has probably done more for his people than any politician in American history.

Chisholm has sent out letters to all her fellow representatives urging them to support him. Claiming that none of the allegations against him were ever proven, she praised "his record of human and social concern."

Perhaps Mrs. Chisholm has conveniently forgotten about the Attica massacre, when Rockefeller personally ordered the brutal slaying of 18 prison inmates. This was some great display of "human and social concern."

This is the tip of the iceberg. In times of crisis, these smoldering liberals shed their platitudes about morality and decency and bow to the masters of capital to defend the profit system to the death against the working class.

GEORGE MEANY AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

BY FRED MAZELIS

The top leadership of the AFL-CIO has announced a policy of disengagement from the Democratic Party. Following the Democratic mini-convention in Kansas City, 10 union officials who are members of the Democratic National Committee are reported on the verge of resigning.

The AFL-CIO leadership has advised Meany and the leadership of the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE) from their previous positions of influence.

According to John P. Henning, chairman of the California State AFL-CIO, Democratic National Chairman Robert Strauss "has excluded labor from the Democratic Party."

Of course, the labor movement never had any real influence in this party of big business. But labor leaders like Meany were carefully cultivated.

Now, the economic crisis is rippling apart the old coalition forged under Roosevelt. At Kansas City, the forces around Meany were repeatedly outmaneuvered and isolated by the middle class women's and black caucuses.

The so-called liberal section of the trade union bureaucracy, including in particular Leonard Woodcock of the Auto Workers, now is the principal prop of the Democratic Party. The Democrats, barely able to scrape together one-fifth of the total eligible vote, and as faithful to the interests of big business as any section of the labor leadership, the most effective bulwark against the movement for a labor party.

Meany is shown most clearly in the miners strike. Woodcock and Arnold Miller of the United Mine Workers are playing the most important role in holding back a decisive confrontation between millions of workers and the crisis-ridden Ford government.

Trade unionists must demand that Meany and his lieutenants make a final break with the Democrats. But Meany has no intention of doing this. He wants to threaten his way back into the inner councils of decision-making. COPE Director Alexander Barkan was told that union officials were thinking of going their own way—and then hastily added that that did not mean abandoning the Democrats, but rather supporting them individually.

William Marshall of the Michigan State AFL-CIO said that withdrawal "won't diminish our role in selecting delegates to the 1976 Convention."

While Meany and the others prepare for the 1976 Convention, unemployment is mounting by hundreds of thousands every week. All factions in Kansas City supported plans for wage controls and could not say a single word about stopping the layoffs and the continuing double-digit inflation.

Trade unionists should fight in their locals for resolutions demanding that Meany and company break completely with the Democrats, that all the labor leaders be removed from Ford's Labor-Management Committee, and that a congress of labor be called immediately to fight against unemployment and inflation with the building of a labor party.

France and United States Still Divided on Joint Oil Policy

BY A REPORTER

No substantial agreement was reached between President Ford and French President Giscard d'Estaing in the crucial talks on oil policy last weekend in Martinique.

The so-called compromise between the two leaders represents only a brief postponement of the inevitable confrontation.

The United States has sought to bring France into a coalition of major industrial nations to present a solid bloc against the Arab countries.

France has been the major country which has refused to cooperate in the 16-nation International Energy Agency set up on the initiative of the United States to allocate oil supplies in the case of emergencies.

France instead has insisted on a tripartite conference between the major capitalist countries who import the oil producers, and the developing nations.

In the actual agreement worked out, Kissinger and Ford agreed to the French proposal and tentatively set the meeting for late summer.

But the US stressed that it would depend on the progress of preliminary talks between the oil consuming nations. France insinuated that it would not join the IEA.

The IEA was established for only one purpose—to prepare for war with the Arab nations and the cutoff of oil that would result. This is the "emergency situation" the US means.

France suspects that war, and not negotiation to lower oil prices, is the aim of the US and fears that any confrontation with the Arab oil producers would jeopardize its investments in the Middle East and its critical oil imports.

France has launched a huge program of investment in many Arab nations. Prime Minister Jacques Chirac is scheduled to visit Iran next week to start an industrial plan that will include building nuclear submarines and nuclear power plants.

French investment in Iraq is billions of dollars, and other programs are being discussed with Algeria.

France hopes that this investment will stimulate the industries that are in a deep slump and provide a means of recycling petrodollars. Whether the profits from these investments will allow France to pay for its oil bills remains to be seen.

Not only France, but many European countries and Japan, are all facing huge balance of payments deficits. It has also been reported that the US formed a deal to send Giscard's plea for some reflation of the US economy as the recession here immediately raises the unemployment rate in Europe.

While Giscard was in Martinique, confidence in his regime was collapsing in France and strikes and demonstrations were sweeping the country.

This explosion of struggles that could rapidly turn into a general strike has produced deep splits within the government.

The economic crisis now forces the government to face civil war against the working class and war with its former allies to grab markets and preserve its own interests.

The US-NATO talks will do nothing to avert this.
Labor Hacks Who Backed Abe Beame

BY DAVID NORTH

Mayor Abraham Beame, who has ordered the most savage layoffs of city workers in the history of New York, was last elected with the ecletic support of every union leader in this city.

During the election campaign of the union bureaucrats bailed Beame and the Demo
cratic machine against the UFT, pmsessing 70 and 74 provision workers, declared last year that it was "an honor" to vote for Beame.

District 199 President Leon Davis also supported Beame, and he was angered when the Guild delegate to the Assembly voted against endorsing the Democratic party ticket.

Having called Beame the "best choice," he publicly denounced the stand of the Guild Delegates. Davis stated: "I doubt whether the action of the Guild delegates in refusing to endorse the Democratic candidates fully represents the sentiments of the Guild membership. I think that the overwhelming majority of Guild members will vote for Beame as the only likely choice for mayor."

The collaboration of the trade bureaucracy with the Democratic Party makes the Guilds, DaLeys, DeLurys and UFTs responsible for the attacks on the jobs of city workers.

All these "leaders" lined up behind the Democrats last year in opposition to the construction of a labor party.

In backing the Democrats, the trade bureaucracy has betrayed the program of big business. They agree with Beame that the city must slash its costs so that the whole trade to the Rockefeller banks can be repaid promptly.

SUPPORT

Last year, the Workers League and the Trade Union Alliance led a successful campaign in the New York City trade union movement against any support for the building of a labor party pledged to socialist policies. The Workers League warned that Beame would carry out a brutal assault on city workers' jobs if elected.

Supporters of the Workers League, led by the witch-hunted by the Davis head
cup for the campaign for the building of a labor party among rank and file labor leaders in the city.

In SEIU-371, the Committee for New Leadership (section of the TUAP) demanded that the local President Mary Phillips keep the seat on the Assembly for the Democratic party.

The Bulletin of November 13, 1972, declared: "Part of the city government that is preparing war against the city workers, the state and the city workers in order to carry out massive layoffs of social service employees." The strike to defend jobs requires a break with the Demo
cratic machine and the building of a labor party responsible to the working class.

We call on every worker to build for and attend the emergency meeting called for Mon
day, December 23 by the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party, where a campaign to defend every city job will be mapped out.

AFSCME Local 2627 President Dennis Weiseco, at right, stands with a 2728 delegate and a DC 37 rep

AFSCME Head Takes Credit For 30 Firings

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE

NEW YORK, NY—

Dennis Weiseco, president of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees Local 2627 has claimed credit for the firing of 30 quantita
tive analysts in the Human Resources Administration.

Weiseco broke up the December 16 meeting of the union after workers exploded over his maneuvers with management, which could cost up to $4,000,000 and lead to the firing of 85 workers.

Weiseco sent personnel officials to the offices of 30 workers at the 2 Broadway office building with the assertion that they were working out of and should be demoted.

Workers at 2 Broadway have not been successful in Department to Personnel desk visits.

Weiseco had the names of the union at the Broadway offices of resigned from the union since Weiseco is responsible to the workers. This was the inten
tion management when they leaked the fact that Weiseco had a vicious antiunion memo.

Thirty of the workers and lower management personnel were among 1,500 city workers issued layoff slips this first month in December. "This fire of first union to lay off their own manager," Weiseco reported proudly at the meeting.

According to workers in the trades, this provision of the City's Division of Personnel is the only way to fire experienced workers from private industry.

Union officials pointed out to the city that demoting these workers to their titles would mean pay cuts of $4,000 to $20,000 a year.

Management's memo to workers at 2 Broadway said that memo from Weiseco indicating quantitative analysts he claims are working out of and should be demoted were working out of and should be demoted.

No Jobs In Civil Service

NEW YORK, NY—

"When rumors started to spread about layoffs, everyone said they were going to apply for civil service work. Now, they're careful to say federal civil service work."

This statement by a government worker sums it up. For genera
tions, civil service jobs have been thought to last a lifetime. Now, Mayor Beame's demand that city agencies fire five workers for the "city workers are in a state of panic.

In 1934, newly-inaugurated Mayor Fiorello La Guardia rumbled through the Lehman-La Guardia Ripper Bill revising civil service practices. Armed with the new law, he fired 1,200 unfortunates ranging from seven days to a month.

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Even the union's request that at least permanent civil service workers be protected was with
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BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

Recession in the United States is out of control, extending its grip to every sector of the economy.

The current statistics on unemployment and business downturn, as bad as they are, only signify that the slump is at the earliest stage of its development.

Unemployment at 6.5 percent stands at the highest level in 13 years. Every indication is that it will level off at 7 percent in December, and well beyond that as the year begins.

As the Labor Department now admits, the latest figures on unemployment are due to an actual decline of over 800,000 jobs from September to November. Previous rises in unemployment rate took place because the work force was growing more rapidly than new jobs were being created.

Even the 6.5 percent figure distorts the seriousness of the situation. In manufacturing industries unemployment is currently 7.3 percent, up from 3.9 percent a year ago. The construction industry is hit with a depression level 13.9 percent out of jobs.

In addition to this, there are now more than three million workers employed part time because full-time work simply is not available.

This is only the beginning. It is already clear that projections of future production will now have to be revised downwards.

-faced with declining sales and gloomy economic prospects, manufacturers are being hit with cutbacks and cancellations of orders. Almost overnight, the situation of shortages that existed when inventories were being built up to hedge against inflation is being replaced by unsold surpluses, as companies seek to unload these inventories. Textiles, electronics, cement, aluminum, and chemical manufacturers are all reporting a huge deterioration in orders.

Even the key steel industry, which until recently was operating at near capacity, is predicting a cutback. Bethlehem Steel and US Steel have closed down 30 blast furnaces and laid off 25,000 workers, using the coal strike as justification for the measure.

Only a few months ago, the industry was predicting a small decline in 1975 production from that of 1974. Now, some manufacturers are worrying about a slash of at least 15 percent.

The collapse of housing construction is wrecking the lumber industry. In the South, 25 lumber mills have shut down.

The paper industry, operating at 97 percent capacity in 1974, has suddenly reported huge declines in sales, as demand for packaging products has slumped.

But the heart of the recession is concentrated in the giant automobile industry, where the slump is threatening to engulf every other area of the economy.

SURPRISE

The auto collapse has come so rapidly and cut so deep that very few of the auto giants are aware of this.

Otto Eckstein, Harvard economist and president of Data Resources Inc., which provides econometric models for industry, claims that current auto sales are running at an annual rate of 6 million. This compares to 11.4 million in 1972.

According to Eckstein, "... if car sales stay below eight million, obviously it would convert the recession into something worse."

"And of course, it would be part of a general process of fear and panic that would push the unemployment rate beyond eight percent."

Every one of the auto manufacturers is continuously revising production schedules downward. American Motors, which predicted a sales increase of 10 percent in September, now contemplates a 12 percent decrease.

Henry Ford is publicly declaring that 1975 will be so bad that total sales, including imports, will scarcely reach 7.5 million.

Chrysler Corporation, which expected rising sales, is caught with an inventory of unsold cars so large that it has been forced to nearly cease production.

For Chrysler, in particular, the problem is not only of riding out a period of poor sales. In 1970, Chrysler required government assistance obtaining loans necessary to meet its debts.

Today, with a crisis more severe, Chrysler is once again unable to market its commercial paper and faces going into the bankruptcy courts unless it obtains massive government aid.

The auto crisis will have a big impact on the condition of dozens of major US industries.

The December 14 issue of Business Week outlines this in considerable detail.

One major producer of steel sheet for auto reports a slash of 25 percent in orders. Auto consumes 20 percent of the output of the industry.

SURVIVAL

Many producers of basic materials depend almost entirely on auto for their survival.

The industry takes more than 65 percent of lead output, 80 percent of synthetic rubber, almost 90 percent of malleable iron, one-third of zinc production, and about 10 percent of the output of the aluminum and copper industries.

A mass comparison, hit by both the auto and construction crisis, are preparing large-scale shutdowns and layoffs.

Michigan is now anticipating an unemployment rate of 11 percent in the first quarter of 1975. In Detroit's ghetto areas, unemployment stands at an incredible 23 percent. Pontiac, Michigan has 20.9 percent out of work as a result of layoffs at three plants.

The galloping unemployment only feeds the crisis, creating conditions under which it will be impossible to sell new cars. This, in turn, must result in even greater unemployment as the industry is forced to institute new cutbacks.

There is no prospect of reversing this situation. For years, the real condition of American industry has been marked by greater and greater profits extracted out of the inflationary boom. Production was financed through a massive expansion of credit and debt.

A recent study by William D. Nordhaus of Yale University reveals that since 1945, the rate of corporate profits has been steadily declining. He states that the rate of profit has fallen from 10 percent in 1945 to 5.4 percent in 1973.

MARX

Over 100 years ago, in Capital, Karl Marx assessed the fundamental crisis faced by the capitalists in the tendency of the rate of profit to fall.

Marx explained that as more and more capital was invested in plants and equipment, and the amount of capital going to labor power relatively declined, the rate of profit would tend to decline, since profit is extracted entirely from the exploitation of living labor.

Today, even capitalist economists are forced to pay tribute to Marx without credit to him for his discovery. Paul Samurton, Nobel prize winner, has suddenly discovered that the decline is due to what he terms the "deepening of capital" in which the ratio of capital to output has increased, yielding declining rates of return.

With inflation out of control, and interest rates sky high, the current profit rates make it impossible to invest. Capitalism must restore its rate of profit.

This is what the most hard-headed defenders of capitalism are aiming at with the policy of "fighting inflation."

On Tuesday, Treasury Secretary Simon told Congress that despite the recession, the government must carry on with its anti-inflation policies which were beginning to take hold.

Collapse and mass unemployment is the only method available to capitalism to restore its profit rates. This is the only way capitalism has of driving down wage rates and destroying entire sections of capital so as to make production profitable once again.

This means millions of unemployed, mass impoverishment, the destruction of the unions, slave labor conditions, and the imposition of dictatorship to carry this out.

But millions of working people will not sacrifice their lives and their futures in order to restore the rate of profit.

The most devastating slump in the history of capitalism is now beginning. It can only be answered through the fight to destroy the capitalist system itself.

Labor must act to immediately launch a labor party pledged to end the profit system by nationalizing the banks and industries under workers control with planned socialist production.
Revolutionary Tendencies Held Back by Greek Communist Party

DIRECT FROM GREECE
FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT
ROYSTON BULL

Greek workers and peasants are still cautious about how they talk about politics and what they say, despite the fact that the military dictatorship was officially retired on July 23, 1974.

The "New Democracy" of Karamanlis, the conservative exile who returned from Paris to take over from the discredited colonels, has maintained the closest of relationships with the police and the military from the word go.

Soldiers with fixed bayonets stood on duty outside all the polling stations on voting day. At pre-election rallies, the military were frequently in evidence. One sign that the capitalist state machine has not changed its plumage was the continued use of police and military uniforms of the phoenix badge, the symbol of the junta which was meant to be removed after the dictatorship's fall. Few have been taken off.

But without needing any badges to remind them, workers have been left in no doubt in their economic and political struggles that corporatism is still the dominating ideology. It will take a revolutionary struggle to change things.

Revolutionary tendencies were a strong feature in the struggle of the Greek working people to bring down the junta.

But the mass workers' party in Greece, the Communist Party, has devoted all its efforts since then to suppressing the revolutionary tendencies in the working class.

There were elements of dual power during the days of the junta's downfall. Thousands of working class conscripts were mobilized into reserve army units immediately following the junta-backed coup in Cyprus.

With the failure of the coup and the invasion of Cyprus by Turkey, the colonels tried briefly to whip up a war fever against the Turks. It failed miserably. The conscripts made it quite clear they wanted no part in such a war.

For two or three days, the army was in near mutiny. Many antiwar committees were formed. The revolutionary party—the Workers Internationalist League—was leafleting the camps freely.

The leaflets asked soldiers: "Is this war for you or the international oil monopoly?" They urged soldiers to turn the war into civil war if one started.

Few arms or ammunition could be issued by the army command for fear of having them turned against it. Many officers were beaten up by their own troops. Soldiers refused to shave or get haircuts. Discipline was breaking down.

Soldiers were deserting, but there were no trials. Many deserted a second time if caught and sent back to their units. One

Stalinists try to keep workers away from revolutionary influence during Andreadis shipyard strike.
The Stalinites made no attempt to revive the famous I15 trade unions they had led before being made illegal following the Civil War.

Building workers are the biggest section in the Greek working class and they have been pressing for one industrial union to be formed ever since the junta fell. But the Stalinites have deliberately obstructed this, proposing a number of small separate craft unions instead.

The corporative TUC of Greece, which under its right-wing domination operated legally throughout the dictatorship, announced following the fall of the junta that in present conditions all strikes would be provocative. Indirectly, the CP supported this line. It repeated the words of the TUC without any comment in its paper. Both sections of the Communist Party, the more reactionary "interior" group and the larger more Moscow-oriented "exterior" section, have since carried this undermining of strikes into practice.

The most notable labor disputes in Greece since July have been dominated by this feature. In the strike at the National Can factory in Elefsis, called to win the reinstatement of a leading militant worker sacked for trying to organize a union, the Stalinites seriously compromised the struggle.

The secretary of the local trades council refused to spread the strike, warning of "the danger of bringing back the tanks and the dictatorship." After three days of what was developing into the first determined workers' struggle since the fall of the junta, the Stalinites ended the strike over the heads of the workers, many of whom first learned about its being called off from an announcement in the CP paper Radical. Although the worker got his job back, the wage claim for which the union was being organized in the first place, was shelved and the WIL's demand for a "no sackings" guarantee dropped completely.

Since then, there has still been no wage settlement, but 60 workers have been given their cards, without opposition from the Stalinit-dominated union now set up there. But in the course of angry meetings outside the factory and at the local trades council, the revolutionary party was able to begin the exposure of the class-collaborationist role of the Communist Party.

At the Andreadis shipyard at Perama, near Piraeus, shipyard workers on strike were driven back after only three days in return for an issue of free milk plus payment for the three days out on strike. The 15 percent wage claim which led to the dispute was once again shelved.

A revolutionary party comrade was a member of the strike committee at Perama. But during the struggle, he was voted out as an "extremist" by a majority of Stalinitas and one fascist.

The fascist, a former junta supporter who was on the committee with the support of the Stalinitas, actually wrote the leaflet distributed by the Stalinitas to justify the exclusion of the WIL comrade. Many shipyard workers learned this leaflet, which urged them not to read Socialist Change, the weekly paper of the WIL.

The CP carried their class-collaboration with unparallelled extremes during the election campaign. From the start, they refused to challenge the electoral law itself which heavily favored the bourgeoisie in the counting system.

They then signed the notorious Decree 59, which means a promise not to overthrow the existing regime, and refused to join the rest of the labor and trade union movement in fighting the decree, with which Karamanlis replaced the even more notorious law 50 used by the junta to jail workers during the dictatorship.

The Stalinitas, who split in 1967 after their total failure to forewarn and forestall the working class about the seizure of power by the colonels, for this election formed, an unprincipled coalition between their own two sections and the defunct EDA electoral front which flourished in the 1930s and 1940s when the CP was illegal following the Civil War.

The coalition was formed without any analysis being made of the policy failures which led to the capitulation of the junta in 1967 without a fight.

Not only did the coalition not benefit Greek workers, but it made it more difficult for the CP to win seats because of the gerrymandered electoral law.

The Stalinist election slogans were blandly right-wing demagogic. A giant Greek flag flattered outside their headquarters. Their newspaper Radical wrote off the Trotskyists as being "un patriotic." Instead of a call for nationalization, the Stalinitas declared: "The people is the army. The army is the people." (Shades of Portugal and Chile!)

They were rivaled in this by the petty-bourgeois demagogue Andreas Papandreou, whose opportunistic PASOK socialist movement with its fake calls for nationalization of all major industries, eventually took more votes than the CP got—13 percent to 10 percent.

But instead of exposing Papandreou, whose suddenly-produced well-oiled election machine is widely suspected as having been financed by the CIA precisely to draw votes away from the Communist Party, the Stalinitas tried to form a coalition with him.

These unity talks were just the left cover Papandreou needed to set his opportunistic bandwagon going among the more petty-bourgeois elements in the working people. Papandreou also called for unity with the army.

And he also got support from the Greek version of the IMC revisionists, with an endorsement authorized personally by Michel Pablo.

Yet Papandreou's right-hand man in his largely US-educated election staff was Charalampos, former officer in the Military Academy in Athens, brother-in-law of the Papadopoulos colonels, who helped train the right-wing officer cadets for seven years under the junta but now preaches nationalization.

But by its tactics, the CP drove many working people to vote for the charlatan Papandreou. The Stalinitas also drove workers to the right by keeping completely silent about the economic crisis facing Greece. As the layoffs now being declared at Olympic Airways and elsewhere show, such signs of the slump have deliberately been concealed until the elections were safely over.

The CP played right into the bourgeoisie's hands by sitting down discussions of the crisis in order to avoid "provocations," and "disturbing the calm."

And yet the basis for demanding socialism in the election could not have been better.

Even the bourgeois Centre Union, the party of the elder Papandreou, which ruled Greece until the colonels seized power in 1967 and in which Andreas was then a minister, used the slogan "Only democracy can bring socialism."

And Andreas Papandreou told a 200,000-strong PASOK rally in Constitution Square, "Socialism is possible!" and they cheered mightily.

And every political party, with the possible exception of the fascists, felt obliged to play the music of Mikis Theodorakis at their election rallies.

But steadfastly, the Stalinitas refused to challenge Karamanlis or the bourgeois order.

They have a lot to answer for in the present uneasy climate in Greece.
Revolutionary Tendencies Held Back by Greek Communist Party

Greeks workers and peasants are still cautious about who they talk to about politics and what they say, despite the fact that the military dictatorship was officially retired on July 23, 1974.

The "New Democracy" of Karameas, the conservative exile who returned from Paris to take over from the disgraced colonels, has maintained the closest of relationships with the military dictatorship and the military from the word go.

Soldiers with fixed bayonets stood on duty outside all the polling stations on voting day. At pre-election rallies, the military were frequently in evidence. One sign that the capitalist state machine has not changed its portrait was the conscription of police, the model of the Junko was meant to be removed after the dictator's fall, few have been taken off.

But without needing any badges to remind them, workers have been left in no doubt as to their economic and political stranglehold through unionism. There has been no revolution in Greece.

Revolutionary tendencies were a strong feature in the struggle of the Greek working people to bring the Junkos down. But the mass workers' parties in General, the Communist Party, has devoted all its efforts since then to suppressing the revolutionary tendencies in the working class.

There were elements of that now during the days of the Junkos' downfall. "Deemed of working class coming to power, the Junkos were not the dissolution of the Junkos'", the Party said immediately after the Junkos' coup in Cyprus.

With the failure of the coup and the invasion of Cyprus by Turkey, the workers tried to whip up a war fever against the Junkos. It failed miserably. The workers made quite clear what they were in such a way as to bring back the Junkos. The Party, however, was not to make.

Many abortive committees were formed. The revolutionary party, the Workers International League—was uniting the camps freely.

The leaflets asked soldiers: "Is this war for you or the international oil monopoly?" They urged soldiers to turn the war into civil war on the Junkos. But as soon as the Junkos were in the air, the workers tried to"extend the struggle."

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The Party, however, was not to make.
Boeing Strikers Block Shipments

BY DENNIS GREEN
PHILADELPHIA Pa.—3,069 members of United Auto Workers Local 1699 are facing a showdown with the Boeing-Vertol Corporation as their strike enters the fifth week in Ridley township.

Boeing, which refused to negotiate with the union for two months after the contract expired on October 11, has submitted what it calls its final offer. To date, the company, a manufacturer of helicopters and trolley cars for the US government, has refused to agree to even the minimal three percent wage increase plus benefits in the national auto workers contract.

New Evidence: Sirhan Did Not Act Alone

LOS ANGELES, Calif.—A lawyer for Sirhan Sirhan stated Monday that he would appeal for a new trial based on recently obtained ballistic evidence.

Attorney Godfrey Isaacse's call, for a reopening of the inquiry into the case came only one day after former Congressman Alf Loevenstein declared that a year-long investigation of the assassination had convinced him that the bullet which killed Robert Kennedy had been fired into the fatal bullets into Robert Kennedy.

Loevestein's investigation uncovered certain important discrepancies between the official version of the assassination—that Sirhan was the lone gunman—and ballistic evidence and eyewitness accounts.

Loevelstein pointed to "apparent ballistic inconsistencies" between one bullet recovered from Kennedy and another removed from William Weil, a television producer who was also wounded in the kitchen of the Ambassador Hotel in Los Angeles. This evidence raises the possibility that Sirhan's .22 caliber revolver was not the only one involved in the killing.

Eyewitnesses recalled how Sirhan was standing anywhere from 2 to 10 feet in front of Kennedy when the shots were fired. But the world renowned pathologist who performed the autopsy, Dr. Thomas T. Noguchi, said Sirhan was shot from behind at a distance of one to six inches. The Kennedy family has rejected the assassination mass with the two other shots fired in June, 1968. But the discovery of three bullet holes in the President's clothing plus an additional seven bullets recovered from the bodies of Kennedy and others shot in the same area indicate that more than one man was firing a gun.

"I do not believe on the basis of the evidence in its present state that Sirhan is a murderer," Loevenstein said. "But in their view, that Sirhan is a murderer of Robert Kennedy. I don't view it as being a matter of historical curiosity, but as a question of enormous significance for the country."

To facilitate layoffs and an increase in production, Vertol wants a unique grievance procedure—union officers would have no right to investigate a member's grievance.

They also want to destroy the seniority system and have the right to reclassify jobs and place workers with lower seniority in the jobs of higher seniority workers who have been laid off.

Boeing workers make an average of $3.25 an hour and have had no cost of living increase in three years. The union leadership has allowed Boeing to bring in "supervisory" personnel, but the workers have been told that no scab products are shipped out by land or sea.

They have set up roving pickets by motorboat on the Delaware River to stop any Boeing shipments and are getting the full cooperation of the Maritime Union.

In addition, the UAW members at the Budd plant recently took up a successful collection at the plant gate to support the Boeing workers.

The strikers understand the threat to their rights and are determined to win. One Boeing worker said, "Seniority is the main issue in this strike. If they can take that away, we won't do a week's work." Another worker who comes from West Germany told the Bulletin, "They're out to destroy the union here. The company has offered to give us an 11 percent increase, including benefits.

They call it a raise, but I call it an inflation adjustment. We can't accept that, with food going up more than 15 percent in the next six months."

They wanted to get rid of the seniority system so they can lay off people the way they want. They have been laying off an average of 50 men a week.

"The union should have gone right to work when the contract expired. They said they were negotiating in good faith. There won't be any good faith next time."

"Labor Boeing will keep on up until at least January so they won't have to pay us for holidays."

"Damn right we should have a labor party." he continued. "I don't swallow this patriotic stuff."

"The Democrats and Republicans are the same, both for the rich man."

CRISIS

The UAW policy of asking the workers to pay for the financial crisis of the auto companies by taking practically nothing in wages and accepting layoffs paves the way for the kind of attack that Boeing isleveling against its employees. Every concession, every wage cut only emboldens the corporations to destroy the union completely.

A campaign by Boeing workers to win massive labor support throughout Philadelphia and the surrounding area for this strike must be launched and UAW international head, Leon Woodcock, must be forced to back up the Boeing men.

At least 25 percent in wages, a full cost of living clause, and recall of all laid off workers must be won as part of the struggle for a national UAW strike to halt the mass layoffs in the entire auto industry.

Boston dockers man picket line to defend GAI.

Fremont Meeting On GM layoffs

BY TIM NELSON
FREMONT, Calif.—General Motors announced December 18 the indefinite layoff of 700 workers on the second shift truck line.

These workers will go out with 1,600 workers from the night shift passenger line already scheduled for indefinite layoff on January 13.

It is rumored that GM will cut production by 10 cars an hour and more layoffs will follow, reducing the present work force of 9,000 by half.

Another 460 members of Local 1364 face layoffs from the parts plant in Oakland. Thirty workers were put on indefinite layoff last month.

The company no longer ships brake shoes, spark plugs, or shock absorbers through the plant.

Parts workers said the entire operation may be shifted to some other union parts' distributors. The company made the first announcement of the layoffs immediately following the November membership meeting of Local 1364.

Talks Halted In Boston

BOSTON, Mass.—The International Longshoremen's Association has broken off talks with shippers who are refusing to honor the pay increases negotiated in a master pact that covers the entire Atlantic and Gulf ports.

The Boston Shipping Association has broken up talks with shippers who are refusing to honor the pay increases negotiated in a master pact that covers the entire Atlantic and Gulf ports.

Boston dockers have been on strike since December 9, defending the GAI against the most serious attack ever launched by the shippers. The refusal of the Boston management to meet the terms of the master pact is a warning to every docker.

Under the GAI, the 500 dockers at the Massachusetts port must be paid for 2,000 hours.

The negotiations broke down despite the intervention Monday of ILA President Thomas Gleason, who met with James J. Dickman, president of CONASA.

IMMEDIATE REOPENING OF THE NATIONAL AGREEMENT TO SECURE JOBS AND REPAIR ALL LAYED OFF MEN.

A SHORTER WORK WEEK AT 40 HOURS PAY.

A MINIMUM 10 PERCENT WAGE INCREASE, UNLIMITED SUB-FUND AND FULL COST OF LIVING.

WOODCOCK OF THE LABOR MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE.

PREPARE OCCUPATIONS OF SHIPS THAT ARE CLosing.

CONVENE A CONGRESS OF LABOR TO UNITE THE WORKING CLASS AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT AND BUILD A STRONG AND PROSPEROUS UNIONIZED INDUSTRY UNDER WORKERS CONTROL WITHOUT COMPENSATION.

An Analysis of the Tactics & Strategy of the International Socialism Group. 25c

Published by the British Workers Revolutionary Party.
Available from Labor Publications, 135 W. 12 St., NY, NY 10011.
BY FRANK MARTIN

There is perhaps no name so hated by American workers as that of Rockefeller.

It has become associated with the most ruthless exploitation, along with the most fabulous wealth. The phrase "as rich as Rockefeller," enshrined in a song, has become an American idiom.

For over 100 years, this family has dominated the economic life of the United States, and the world. With Nelson A. Rockefeller's confirmation as vice-president, the family will hold enormous political power.

The origins of this American dynasty go back to the American Civil War period. The destruction of the Confederacy, and with it the slave system, gave tremendous impetus to the development of industry and the extension of capitalism throughout America.

This was the period of the rise of the family founder, John Davison Rockefeller. There are probably more legends written about this man than any other character in American history.

One of the most recent, Money and Mad, by Miriam Gilbert, is written in the form of a children's tale. The purpose of all this is to prove that anybody in America with enough persisence and enough brains can make it.

But Rockefeller himself thought otherwise. Referring to the growth of monopolies and business combinations, he said, "The combination is here to stay. Individualism is gone, never to return.

REURITY

When Rockefeller came onto the scene, the different sectors of industry and finance were dominated by hundreds and thousands of small capitalists, each desperately trying to cut each other's throats. Fortunes were being made and lost in a day. This was the heyday of the free enterprise system.

A group of men--Rockefeller, Mellon, Morgan, Gould, Carnegie, Frick--poured into this capitalist anarchy and took control. They eliminated their competitors and established domination over their different sections of industry and finance.

They took America from free enterprise to the new stage of monopolistic capitalism and were rightly dubbed 'Robber Barons.'

The individual characteristics of these men played a certain role in their success. They were more ruthless and more determined than their competitors. But this was not their only talent.

Their rise was, above all, determined by the working out of the American laws of capitalism. So-called free enterprise and individualism are inevitably to the development of monopoly through the elimination of the weaker companies. This was something which was as independent of Rockefeller's will as it was of the will of those he destroyed.

QUICK BUCK

No industry was more chaotic in the latter part of the industry. Oil had just been discovered in western Pennsylvania, and oil speculators rushed to the region to make a buck. They flooded the market and drove down the price to just over that of water.

Refriners popped up everywhere, particularly in the Midwest towns like Cleveland. The oil fields were flooded, and when the water receded, the production jumped. Therefore, in turn, the markets on the East Coast were connected by the railroads.

Oil prices fluctuated wildly, depending on the supply available and the intensity of competition between the refiners.

Rockefeller was, if anything, a prudent man. He came from a poor, Baptist family in Upstate New York. He saved carefully and in his early twenties, he set up a provisioner's business and made money supplying the Union army in the Civil War.

But he knew that once the fighting stopped, this line of business would not offer much of a future. So he decided to branch out.

In partnership with a friend, Henry M. Flagler, whose father-in-law had made money in the whiskey trade, he set up a refinery in Cleveland. By 1887, he was producing 1,500 barrels a day.

Rockefeller approached the oil business with a plan. The plan was simple and by no means original.

A line of production is like a river. It is fed by hundreds of streams and then pours into a lake or sea.

But there is one point where the river narrows. If you control that point, then you can dominate the entire river.

The "narrow" in the oil industry was the refineries, fed by thousands of wells and feeding a growing market. Control the refineries and you control the market.

Rockefeller had 29 refineries in Cleveland alone, and there were others developing in Philadelphia and on the oil fields.

The key to the refineries was the railroads, which were engaged in a price war to undercut each other's freight rates.

Rockefeller approached one of them and offered a secret deal in which he would guarantee a set amount of daily freight at a set rate.

In exchange, he demanded a rebate. This meant that the railroad would have to pay a certain amount of money that he had paid them in freight charges. This gave Rockefeller two advantages: he could undercut his competitors and they could not find out how he did it.

By 1879, his competitors were paying $40 on a barrel of crude oil from oil field to refinery, while Rockefeller was paying $25. His competitors were paying $1.30 from refinery to market, while Rockefeller was paying $96.

He doubled his production to 3,000 barrels a day and his refinery was worth one million dollars. This was the birth of the Standard Oil and he incorporated his company under the name Standard Oil of Ohio.

Rockefeller then developed his master plan. It was the same basic plan, only on a much larger scale. This time he approached all the railroads.

He offered to divide his freight evenly among all of them at set rates. In exchange, he demanded the following rebates: 40 to 50 percent off all oil coming in to his refineries; 35 to 50 percent off all oil leaving his refineries.

At the same time, he demanded a drawback—the rail companies would pay him 50 percent of the rate they charged the "outside" refiners.

The railroad companies agreed because they wanted to stop their price wars and guarantee their freight supply.

The beauty of the scheme was not only that it forced other refineries to pay twice the rate Rockefeller paid, but it was able to Rockefeller's wealth was biggest in his own trenches. The fact that the scheme was totally illegal, set up through a series of dummy corporations, did not bother Rockefeller in the least. Nor did it bother the American government.

In one year, he wiped out or bought off all the Cleveland refineries. This gave him control of 10 percent of American oil output in 1879, this had risen to 80 percent. The Standard Oil monopoly was established.

This laid the basis for the Rockefeller empire worldwide. The family fortune was estimated at just under one billion dollars.

LEGAL

In 1911, the Supreme Court ordered the splitting up of Standard Oil, which was declared illegal under the Sherman Antitrust Act. Rockefeller diversified, invested heavily in banks and maintained controlling interests in the oil industry.

The monopolies of Rockeefler and his contemporaries rose as his smaller competitors were destroyed. But they also accelerated the growth of small industrial working class in America.

Rockefeller combined great wealth with great piety. He was a firm Baptist who entertained large numbers of priests and churchmen regularly, and taught Sunday school into his late eighties.

He would greet his business friends with "God bless you and God bless Standard Oil!".

In justifying this wealth, he would simply say the money came from God and he was its steward.

Old "John D." also bore the family tradition of great philanthropy. He had the habit of handing out dimes to anyone he happened to meet on his trips.

One could say that Rockeefler was responsible for the creation of a business, a "re tail business" as one of his aides described it. He gave a chance to small and independent people in order to make more money.

His philanthropy was so suspect that Congress refused to pass a law to help the Rockefeller Foundation in 1913. This was despite the fact that dozens of senators and congressmen were on his payroll. In this respect, his grandson Nelson seems to have inherited a family trait.

The charter of the foundation carries a broad statement of purpose: "To promote the well-being of mankind." Finally, at the end of his life, he engaged in one final scheme. In the 1930s, he was linked to the American Liberty League and ultra-right wing organization.

The League was approved Major General Smokey Darrington Butler and asked him to write a libelous letter against newly-elected President Roosevelt. He wrote plans for a coup d'état to depose FDR and establish a military dictatorship.

But the American ruling class decided to back Roosevelt because they saw New Deal policies as the safest way to save capitalism. The American Liberty League lost influence and Rockefeller died in 1937 at the age of 97.

NEXT ISSUE

THE LUBLOW MASSACRE
**SWP Slanders Coal Miners**

**comment...**

The Socialist Workers Party is outraged. Coal miners—who apparently do not appreciate the "democratic" leadership of United Mine Workers President Arnold Miller—have given airing in the pages of The Militant—participated in protest against the new contract.

As far as the revisionists are concerned, such demonstrations are very suspicious. They consider it impermissible that miners would publicly oppose Miller. Therefore, The Militant joined the massing campaign against the UMW rank begun by the Stalinists of the Communist Party.

Referring to the protests in Ohio and West Virginia against the contract, the editor of The Militant writes in the December 20 issue of The Militant that "the militancy of the organizers of these actions remain unclear."

What is the meaning of the protests "unclear"? Jaquith points out with some alarm that "opposition to the Miller leadership seemed to be more important to the protestors than the terms of the new contract."

There is nothing "unclear" about the motives. The thousands of miners who are opposed to the contract are drawing the conclusion that the Miller bureaucracy must be thrown out. The Workers League is with the miners in this fight.

VENOM

Jaquith can hardly contain her anger and she pours out all the venom of the middle class radical against the movement of the coal miners against the union bureaucracy.

She writes: "A popular sign was "Dump Miller," and copies of the contract were burned," adding with insulting arrogance that "several protestors told this reporter they had not read the document."

The implication of this remark is that darker and more sinister forces are at work in the UMW which aim to bring about the downfall of Miller. Miller finally got to the point: "Others claimed that the 1971 contract negotiated by Boyle, was better than the new contract."

As there is. The 38,000 miners who voted against the contract are either agents or dupes of former union chief Tom Boyle.

This malicious slander, which has been peddled by the Stalinists and borrowed by the Wall Street Journal, now finds its way into The Militant.

This attempt to discredit the opposition among the ranks to Miller marks a further sharp turn to the right by the SWP. It is forced by the logic of its opportunism to take up arms against the working class and in defense of the bureaucracy. How long will it be before the SWP echoes the Stalinists' slanders against the workers of Portugal? Surely the complete SWP revisionists tied themselves to the Miller clique that they no longer dare to make even indirect criticisms of it. Instead, they must continually seek to prove how "trustworthy" they are to the bureaucracy.

Even up to last week, The Militant—while avoiding a clear position on the contract—sought to cover its unpunished relations with Miller by quoting, with no commentary, the miners for and against the contract.

In other words, and even that cautious path is abandoned. The movement of the miners threatens to throw the revisionist "revolution" into the trash can. The reformists have sought to establish for themselves within the labor movement their pragmatic adaptation to the Miller leadership.

A rebellion against the miners pact is in full swing. Many new oppositional voices voted for the settlement because they were either the opposition or study the contract are now refusing to return to work because provision with which they have never come familiar only in the past weeks.

The opposition to the contract is also expressed in the widespread support for the rank and file campaign for the miners whose pickets have been respected throughout the coal fields.

Frank Lovell, the leading labor reporter for The Militant, chose this moment to write an article explaining, "How to defend a pact in new miners pact."

This article, combined with the piece by Jaquith, exposes the real role of the SWP within the movement of the workers' movement. It is called upon by the bureaucracy to defend the most serious betrayal of the miners for and against the contract.

Miners are not interested in defending the contract. They want to throw it out. Because this is so, the contract is not the real issue. The struggle against the bureaucracy is the real issue. But Lovell, following the lead of the UMW international, declares that the main fight before the miners is to compel the operators to observe the contract.

This would pose no problem. The contract was written by the operators and the government. The contract can be modified to force the contract. Details of the contract bear out this accusation. If the miners could only read the Bulletin for an accurate amount of what is in it.

The document contains provisions against seniority, the local mine committees, the pension and safety guarantees. It also enforces what amounts to a wage cut on coal miners by allowing a 17 percent wage increase over three years, which would compensate for the rate of inflation.

The SWP's betrayal of Marxists and workers who are the servant of the bureaucracy and opponent of the working class is clear.

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**TUALP Speakers Address Local 30**

"It is not a question of building unions. We enter this period with one of the most powerful movement movements in the world."

"We need our own political party, a labor party, pledged to social revolution and the defense of the basic rights of the working class."

"The question facing every Boron worker is how do we defend our union and our rights?"

"It requires a revolutionary solution, a labor party, and a new leadership prepared for this fight."

---

**WORKERS LEAGUE**

"The new contract of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party is pledged to carry it out."

"We will campaign on the slogan that "all contracts are equal to defend Local 30 and propose that this fight be conducted on the following policies."

"Immediate recall of every union member on the job before the contract is signed and with full back pay."

"Drop all charges against union members."

"Reopen the contract for the full 25 percent wage increase and full cost of living."

"To win this strike, Boron must shut down the docks and the ILWU must break with the Communist Party and fight for a congress of labor to launch a labor party."

"It requires a contract that promises from the Boron workers. In the past, when Boron union members were hired back, leaving 219 on the picket list."

"The ILWU must insist that the union charging that the ILWU does not represent the workers working with the ILWU."

"The company recently paid union until the end of the strike to assure the existence of the scab force."

"A local voted to raise their monthly dues to support those who have not been recalled and are considered still on strike. They stipulated that none of this additional money be sent to the international because of its role during the strike."

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**Claude Reese’s Murderer Free**

NEW YORK, NY—A grand jury has refused to indict Frank P. Bosco, the cop who murdered 14-year-old Claude Reese in Brownsville last September.

Bosco gunned down the youth while the youth and several friends were preparing for a party in the basement of the apartment building where they lived.

The so-called "investigation" of the grand jury was interrupted from the start at completing the whitewash of the killing demanded by the police department.

As in the case of 19-year-old Clifford Glover, murdered by Jamaica cops in 1973, Bosco claimed he shot Reese because he believed that he was threatened by a drawn gun.

The last word had no avail. The youth was shot in the back while fleeing from Bosco, who burst into the apartment building basement with his gun drawn.

Mrs. Claude Reese, the dead youth’s mother, told reporters that she was not told in advance of the grand jury’s decision.

Three New York youth have been murdered by cops during the past two years. All three cops involved in the killings have gone scot free.

Last June, Thomas Shea, the killer of Clifford Glover, was acquitted after a trial with a carefully selected jury.

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**public meeting of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party the fight against the city layoffs**

Monday, December 23 7:30 PM

135 W. 14th St. 7th floor

New York City

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The Sixteenth Round is a powerful book. It is the life story of Rubin "Hurricane" Carter, once a leading contender for the world middleweight boxing title.

Through a combination of racist and political persecution, he has spent 18 of his 37 years behind bars.

On May 26, 1967, Rubin Carter was given two consecutive life sentences and one concurrent sentence for a crime he never committed—the slaying of two men and a woman in a Patterson, New Jersey bar one year before.

Carl and John Artis, who was with him at the time, was given three concurrent life sentences.

The trial was a crude and blatan frame-up that took place in the atmosphere of the mass ghettos of Harlem and the Fruit Riot in 1964 and later, the Detroit, Newark, and Watts rebellions.

When the shootings took place at the Patterson bar, Carter was in the early morning of June 17, 1966, in a bar in upper Harlem. He heard Carter for some time. He had marched with Martin Luther King in Washington and had openly declared that blacks should be armed to defend themselves against the police.

When Carter was sentenced, he had already been through a long series of confrontations with the police and their system.

He was born on May 6, 1927 in Detroit, New Jersey and was raised in Patterson. His father was a preacher in the Baptist Church.

Carter soon found out about the Patterson police force, indis-tinguishable from the most racist police force in the heart of the South.

At the age of eleven, Carter was nearly killed by a crazed homosexual white man who assaulted him and members of a group of boys he belonged to, the Apaches. Carter stabbed the man in self-defense. Shortly afterwards, he stood before a judge who denounced him as a "animal" and ordered him to be confined to a hellhole called Jamesburg State Home for Boys until he was full 10 years.

Carter repeatedly points out in his autobiography that every home and prison he ever saw was designed to humiliate, degrade, and destroy those it imprisoned. If you survived, you came out a different person from when you went in. Jamesburg was no exception.

The boys were always forced to walk in military formation and even stand at attention while waiting for the bog filled gruel they called food.

BLACKJACKS Security guards used blackjacks on anyone who made trouble.

Then there was segregation, a single cold concrete block with no toilet where Carter was often put with no clothes and no bedding for months at a time. Carter writes of this period: "The ensuing years destr-ovely changed my thinking. I witnessed many deaths and attempted suicides by frustrat-ed inmates seeking refuge from atrocities committed against them young boys who had first gone to the higher authorities begging for their help, only to be met by sadistic technicians who literally burned their brains out and then sent them right back to Jamesburg smok-ing..."

PRISONER He was kept there for 10 months illegally. No documents or formal papers were every drawn up to justify his imprison-ment.

When he came out, his car had been dispossessed and his GI vet-erans benefits had been taken away. Shortly afterwards, better and depressed, Carter snatched a purse and was shipped back to jail this time for four years. Between 1961 and 1966, Carter waged a difficult struggle to win recognition as a professional boxer. He describes how exploit- ation boxers are subjected to under capitalism.

I was accepted as a foregone conclusion that nobody really looked at him or thought that we were looked up on with favor only as meat tickets.

We were either fat and tired or maybe got hurt while fighting and the machine just didn't work as well as it had in the past, we were simply scrapped and sent to the junkyard to rot, to lay in waste upon the heaps of other discarded fighters who were already decomposing in the bin—just like any other machine rusts without proper care.

On October 14, 1966, Carter and his lawyer were able to get the triple slaying at the Patterson Bar and Grill four months after it happened.

IDENTIFY Carter and Artis had been picked up the night of the slaying and were not released until after no one could identify them.

The consistent description of the killers did not fit either Carter or Artis. The sole direct testimony against them came from Alfred Bello and Arthur Bradley, two convicts who said they were near the bar on the night of the shooting, robbing a factory, and had seen Carter and Artis running away.

In exchange for their fraudu- lent testimony, they were promised freedom from prose-cution for their own crimes and a reward of $12,500. Later, after the convictions, Bradley was ap- parently double-crossed and ad- mitted to his fellow prisoners that he deliberately lied to help the police frame Carter.

No weapons were ever pro- duced, but the policemen at the cars in Carter's car and then claimed to have found them.

Despite the contradictory testimony, and the open pre-judge of Judge Lerner against Carter, he was found guilty after less than two hours of delibera-tions.

Carter went to Rikers prison and worked as a janitor. With the help of his wife Mae Tishuna and friends, he began to study law and prepared a case for a new trial. Carter con- cludes the book with these words: "I've come to you in the only manner left open to me. I've tried the courts, exhausted my life's earnings, and tortured my loved ones with ill health and terrors of hope that may never materialize."

"Now, the only chance I have is appealing directly to you, the people, to help in the fight against the wrongs that have yet to be righted. Injustice that has been done to me."


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Carter and John Artis. The original description by witnesses was that the killers were both light skinned blacks, and both nearly six feet tall. Compare description to above picture.

Friday, December 20, 1974 / Bulletin/Page 11
BUROCRATAS QUE APOYAN A BEAME

POR DAVID NORTH

El alcalde Abraham Beame, que ha ordenado los mayores despidos en la histo-
ria de la ciudad de Nueva York, fue elegido el año pasa-
do con el apoyo entusiasta de los líderes de las uniones de la ciudad.

Victor Gothaum de DC 37 John DeLury de Sanidad, Richard Vazini de Bomberos, Alber Shanks de profesores escolares y Leon Davis de Hopsi-
tales dieron su apoyo incondicional al ticket demócrata.

Victor Gothaum describió a Beame en Public Employee Press como "el hombre que representa el camino más direc-
to al progreso y avances signifi-
cativos que deben de hacerse en su ciudad.

El "camino directo" de Beame ha producido el despi-
dido de 4,000 hombres y brutales ataques a los servici-
os sociales de la ciudad.

Gothaum continuó apoyando a Beame, expresando su "con-
pección" por los consumidores alcalde.

Vazini, de la unión de bordadores escribió en Fire Lines que los bordadores "estaban orgul-
les de la ciudad donde habían desempeñado en la elección del alcalde," y expresó "la copa-
ración y continúa lealtad de los

bordadores" hacia Beame.

Beame ha pasado esta lealtad y obediencia al Partido Demo-
crata desgastando a 150 bom-
beros.

Para John DeLury, Beame tiene planteado 250 despidos de trabajadores permanentes y 74 de provisionales.

Leon Davis de Hospitales se quejó porque el alcalde de delegada de Guild Division decidió no brindar su apoyo a los demócratas.

Esta colaboración con el Partido Demócrata hace a la burócracia responsable de los ataques al empleo y servicios sociales.

Todos ellos subyugaron al movimiento laboral rehuyendo construir un Partido Obrero para mobilizar a trabajadores en defensa del empleo y nivel de vida.

El año pasado, la Liga Obrera y la Alianza Sindical por un Partido Obrero (TULAP) lanzó-
ron una campaña contra cual-
quien apoyo al demócrata Beame y por la construcción de un Partido Obrero.

Los ataques de Beame expo-

nen la verdadera naturaleza de la alianza de los líderes sindi-
cales con el Partido Demócrata.

La lucha para defender los empleos requiere de romper con los demócratas y construir un partido propio—un Partido Obrero.

Por los revisionistas, estas demostraciones "son confusas."

El 20 de diciembre, la ciudad de Nueva York rechazó la campaña del alcalde Beame, que declaró que los despidos eran necesarios para mantener la ciudad en marcha.

La lucha contra los despidos y la destrucción de empleos es esencial para preservar los derechos de los trabajadores.

**Mineros de la UMWA**

Desafiando las ór
denes judiciales de volver al trabajo, más de 50 mil mineros del Partido Obrero seguirán cru-
zar la línea de pique de los obreros de construcción de la UMWA.

Después del anuncio de los 4,500 obreros de construcción desa
geran dos veces la primera propuesta. Además, se ha an-
unciado que la UMWA y los socios se declaran a favor de un nuevo contrato de trabajo y que la línea de pique de los mineros no se movinga.

Por el momento, no se ha tomado ninguna acción para con
denar a los mineros de la UMWA.

El acuerdo anterior considere-
ba la misma fórmula salarial de 10 porciento, 4 porciento y 3 porciento impuesta a los mineros y una serie de ataques a las condiciones de trabajo existentes, incluyendo una reducción en las horas de trabajo a 30 días de prueba y la posibilidad de despedir obreros si no se respetan y una "reducción de fuerza" para despbe ir mineros por tres días a la semana.

El apoyo del Partido Obrero de los obreros de construcción crece con el tiempo y se ha dejado en evidencia que la lucha de los mineros en su lucha por la defensa de sus derechos.

El Partido Obrero de los Mineros de la UMWA ha anunciado que defenderá los derechos de los mineros en su lucha por la lucha.

Finalmente, dice que "hay quienes claman que el contrato de 1971, negociado por Boyle, era mejor que el nuevo contrato." Como si lo 38 mil mineros que se unirán a la lucha fueran agentes o víctimas de Tony Boyle.

Esta caída, originada por los sindicalistas, muestra un paso hacia nuevas luchas por la UMWA.

El Partido Obrero de los Mineros de la UMWA se declarará en su lucha por los derechos de los mineros.

**Estados Unidos**

Boycotte Fondos

El gobierno de Ford acaba de anunciarse su boicot al fon-
do de empleo de las Naciones Unidas para los pa-
ís más afectados por la inflación y el precio del petróleo.

Kuwait, Irán y la comunidad económica europea han auxiliado con el fondo a condi-
tiene que los Estados Unidos sean también uno de los contribu-

buentes.

El representante de los Esta-
do Unión, Clarence Ferguso

Jr., dijo que el fondo no era nece-
sario y que los Estados Unidos prefe-
"trabajar a través del Banco Mundial y el Fondo Monetario Internacional", que está dominado por los países capitalistas más poderosos.

Por otro lado, todas las deci-
siones del comité de 32 naciones que administra el fondo de la ONU, que incluye a muchos países en vías de desarrollo, son tomadas por consenso y no incluyen un voto mayoritario de los dos tercios.

La lista de la ONU de los 32 países más afectados incluye 30 países africanos, cuatro latinoamericanos, y Camboya, Laos, Pakistán, Corea del Sur, Tíbet, Yeman y Etiopía.

La crisis económica y el cre-

cimiento deficitario en las balanzas de pagos que se ha producido astronomicalmente desde que el

precio del petróleo se cuadrupló, y que los Estados Unidos convirtió a masas ente-

radas en los países coloniales a que se ha convertido.

En la Conferencia Mundial de Alimentos de las Naciones Unidas, se repor-
tó que la ayuda de Estados Unidos bajó al 75 por ciento en los últimos 10 años. El año pasado, la venta de fertilizantes se redujo $100 millones al colap-
so de sectores enteros de la agricultura y la industria en pa-

íses como Etiopía.

Kissinger espera que esta estrategia impedirá que las naciones pequeñas se unan contra los Estados Unidos.

Las recientes demandas de países africanos, asiáticos, atra-
s y latinoamericanos de expul-

zar Sud Africa de las Naciones Unidas y para reconocer a la Organización de la Unión Palestina (OLP) fueron gobernados contra el imperialismo americano.

Dentiendo virtualmente toda la ayuda salvo cuando se debe con el control estatal de los Estados Unidos, la clase gobernante está bajo la presión de sus economías quebrarán a menos que se sometan.
MINEROS REHUSAN CRUZAR LINEA DE PIQUETES
POR LOS EDITORES
Desafiando las órdenes judiciales de volver al trabajo, más de 50 mil mineros cruzaron la línea de piquetes de los obreros de construcción de la UMW.
Dado que los 4.500 obreros de construcción desegarían dos veces la proporción de los que afirmaron que no aceptarían un acuerdo que no haría agudizar la crisis. El ministro de la UMW, John DeLee, ha 48 días de旷前复还hombre de los trabajadores permanentes y 74 de provisionales.
Leon Davis de Hospital se quejó porque el comité de delegados de la Guild Division decidió no brindar su apoyo a los demócratas.
Esta colaboración considera la continuidad del Partido Demócrata hace a la burguesía responsable de los ataques a empleo y servicios sociales. Todos ellos subyugaron al movimiento laboral rehusando construir un Partido Obrero para mobilitizar a trabajadores en defensa del empleo y nivel de vida.
El año pasado, la Liga Obrera y la Alianza Sindical por un Ingenio Obrero, (TUAP) lanzan una campaña contra cualquier apoyo al democrata Beame y por la construcción de un Partido Obrero.
Los ataques de Beame exponen la verdadera naturaleza de la alianza con los líderes sindicales con el Partido Demócrata. La lucha para defender los empleos requiere un pacto de los demócratas y construir un partido propio—un Partido Obrero.
El acuerdo anterior consideraba la misma fórmula salarial de 10 por ciento, 4 por ciento y 3 por ciento impuesto a los mineros y una serie de ataques a las condiciones de trabajo existentes, incluyendo una revisión que requiere un día de prueba en la que los dueños pueden despedir obreros si los gustan y una "reducción de fuerza" para despender mineros por tres días a la semana.
El apoyo de los obreros de construcción crece significativamente la medida que los detalles de la trascendencia del contrato salen a la luz.
Arnold Miller, presidente de la UMW, abiertamente ha expresado su apoyo a la lucha de los obreros de construcción que considera que "pone en riesgo los acuerdos para el contrato, pero esos acuerdos son negociables. Miller quiere vender a los mineros de construcción de la misma forma que vendió, con 17 por ciento de discar, el contrato de 120 mil mineros.
Pensionistas acusan a Miller de haberlos vendido con la cláusula que deduce el pago de los operadores al Welfare y al fondo de pensiones para obreros retirados.
Cada cambio aceptado por Miller con respecto a los fondos, perjudica a los mineros de los costos de carbono y desacelerar el trabajo de los mineros, con el fin de que se puedan enfocarse en las negociaciones con la lucha contra la política.
Para los revisionistas, estas demostraciones son "confusas." En la edición del 20 de diciembre,

Estados Unidos
Boyceota Fondos

El gobierno de Ford acaba de anunciar su boyecote al fondeo de estados en América Latina y los Estados Unidos.

La crisis económica y el decrecimiento en el empleo de los trabajadores han acarreado contribuir al fondo a condición de que los Estados Unidos sea también uno de los contribuyentes.

El representante de los Estados Unidos, Claude Ferguson Jr., dijo que el fondo no era necesario y que los Estados Unidos preferiría trabajar a través del Banco Mundial y el Fondo Monetario Internacional, que está dominado por los países capitalistas más poderosos.

Por otro lado, todas las décadas del comité de 32 naciones que administra el fondo de la ONU, que incluye a muchos países en vías de desarrollo, son tomadas por consenso o por un voto mayoritario de los dos tercios.

La lista de la ONU de los países que son miembros de la ONU incluye a muchos países africanos, cuatro latinoamericanos, y Camboya, Laos, Pakistán, Malasia, Singapur, Sri Lanka, Yemen e India.

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