

NOW
TWICE A
WEEK!

Ford Appoints Rockefeller THE BANKERS TAKE OVER

BY THE EDITORS
Nelson Rockefeller has been appointed Vice President-designate to mobilize the banks and industry for an all-out assault on the living standards and basic rights of the working class.

With Rockefeller in office, the most powerful and reactionary forces of big business will move rapidly to implement the deflationary policies demanded by the banks to preserve the crisis-stricken capitalist system.

These policies are designed to allow the collapse of broad sections of industry and to create massive unemployment on a scale not seen in the United States since the Great Depression of the 1930s.

Rockefeller's nomination came as Congress voted to support Ford's demand for the reestablishment of the Cost of Living Council, as a prelude to the return of direct wage controls.

Immediately after his appointment, Rockefeller told the press that the United States must have "the capacity, the will, and the ability to face the tough realities and overcome them that exist in our country and in the world today. And I'm optimistic about the long-term future."

The trade unions must act immediately to force the resignation of this government. The American working class will not accept, without an election, a Ford-Rockefeller government committed to mass unemployment, wage controls, brutal speedup in the factories, and police state repression.

The central question posed to the working class today is the construction of its own political party. The manner in which the banks have installed an unpopular and unelected government in the aftermath of Nixon's resignation shows that the working class must build its own alternative, a labor party based on socialist policies, that will fight for a workers' government against the big business conspirators.

Mass demonstrations must be called to force the resignation of Rockefeller and Ford, and to demand new elections. The trade unions must convene an emergency Congress of Labor to launch this fight now.

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"We Are Going To Shut The Country Down"

The Miners
Are Just
Beginning
To Fight

BY A REPORTER
WASHINGTON, DC—"If we don't get what we want we are going to shut this country down."

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Safety Administration, and to demand enforcement of mine safety legislation.

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"Look, you can print my name," a miner told the Bulletin.

"Charlie Champion, from the Maple Creek mine in Washington County, Pennsylvania. I work specifically at the spinner shaft. I'm a motorman. I'll tell you what brings me to Washington.

"I've been in the mines five years and I've already had five major injuries: a crushed disc, a concussion, and a very serious knee injury. I've seen five guys killed and this clot here, Day, is making his own laws to suit himself and the rich.

"He doesn't give a damn about the miners. He was appointed; we never elected him. Everyone thinks miners are dumb but we

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The 1930s And The Threat Of Depression Today

The Ford-Rockefeller government comes into office at a time of the greatest economic crisis in the history of the capitalist system.

The conditions that are now developing are being increasingly compared to the Depression of the 1930s. The reality, however, is far worse.

Today capitalism is gripped not only by a deepening recession but stands on the brink of a global collapse of such proportions that the working class is threatened with a level of unemployment, impoverishment, and

war that will make the Depression pale in comparison.

This crisis is irreversible and is out of the control even of the capitalists themselves. The task of the Ford administration is to do the bidding of the banks and brake

the inflationary spiral and restore the rate of profit by destroying the livelihood of millions of workers.

Because this crisis has been so prolonged and the contradictions of capitalism have built up for over 50 years, the crash will be all the more violent and explosive.

Two world wars and the Depression far from resolving these contradictions have only intensified them and set the stage for the present crisis.

The economic collapse that sent the stock market plummeting in the 1929 crash and the ten year Depression that followed was the inevitable outcome of the feverish boom that followed World War One.

This boom was the expression of a sick and dying system in which production was stagnating on a world scale.

The boom of the 1920s did not represent a real growth in the economy or the production of real wealth but was based on speculation and credit—in short, on fictitious wealth.

In 1929 it was the cold blooded decision of the bankers to allow the boom to collapse, to liquidate huge sections of worthless capital that plunged America into depression in which at one point 13 million were unemployed.

In Europe, with its weaker economies, the crisis led to war as each nation sought to expand at the expense of the other and Hitler came to power and enslaved the German working class.

It was in this period that the United States replaced Britain as the leader of world capitalism and through huge loans and infusions of credit made the European countries dependent on the US economy.

Capitalism was only able to survive the crisis of the 1930s because of the deliberate betrayal of the working class by the Stalinist Communist Parties. With revolutionary uprisings and civil war sweeping Europe, the Stalinists refused to lead a struggle for power.

Today, the basic contradiction of capitalism—of the constant need to expand which comes up against the barrier of the nation state—reasserts itself under new conditions.

Any relative strength America once had over Europe is finished. The heart of the crisis lies in the decline of US capitalism and cannot be pushed off into any other country.

In establishing domination over Europe, the United States has bound itself up with all the weakness of Europe and thus every collapse abroad immediately shakes the American economy to its foundations.

The amount of fictitious capital, of credit, and the number of industries which depend on it is far greater than the 1930s.

Above all, the stagnation of production and the huge pool of paper money in circulation exists at a time when the dollar has been taken off the gold standard.

This is why the crisis in production is combined with a wild and uncontrolled inflation. Without the gold standard, capitalist production cannot go forward and there is no limit to the inflation which must now head towards the levels of the Latin American countries.

Today entire nations have staggering national debts and are on the brink of national bankruptcy. With the American economy in a deficit, who will bail out Italy or Britain?

The capitalists' only answer to this is again to prepare for world war to wipe out their competitors and war and dictatorship against the working class.

The crisis of the dollar means that the ruling class must drive up the exploitation of each worker and reinstitute slavery in the plants.

These measures will provoke a powerful resistance by the working class that will immediately pose the revolutionary task of the need to take political power.

Today the working class plays the most central role in this crisis. The inflation has already sparked a tremendous wage offensive, not just in one country but simultaneously in every country.

Today masses of workers are organized in trade unions and will not give up the living standards they have fought to establish through 25 years of struggle.

The economic crisis means that in every strike, in the struggle to extend the wage offensive, the most burning task is the fight for an independent political party of labor, against Ford and the Democrats.

The campaign for the labor party is the fight to build the alternative revolutionary leadership of the working class, to build the Workers League as a mass revolutionary party.

What We Think

Anti-US Protests Erupt In Greece

BY A

CORRESPONDENT

Prime Minister Constantine Karamanlis removed 10 key generals from their posts on Monday as the disastrous setbacks in Cyprus at the hands of the Turks further discredited the junta which fell last month.

Among those fired was General Gregorios Bonanos, the commander in chief and close ally of General Demetrios Ioannides. The new army commander will be Lt. General Ioannis Davos, the former commander of the 3rd Corps in northern Greece who had backed a return to civilian rule after the junta's position became completely undermined.

The manner in which the Greek government was reduced to a role of feeble spectator of the Turkish invasion of Cyprus has exposed the impotence of the boastful colonels.

However, the Karamanlis regime, installed in Athens by the junta to maintain the interests of Greek capitalism, is itself in deep crisis.

Last week, there were mass demonstrations against American imperialism outside the US embassy. Karamanlis has been compelled to order a partial ban on air travel between Athens and the United States.

On Saturday night, 20,000 demonstrators tried to march on the US airbase at Heraklion in Greece.

In Athens, there was general approval of the assassination of Ambassador Rodger P. Davies in Cyprus, according to the Washington Post.

Karamanlis, however, called Davies' death an "atrocious crime" and threatened "implacable severity" against demonstrations in the streets.

He declared that "acts of violence and anarchistic demonstrations do not serve the national struggle but, on the contrary, undermine the government's efforts to handle the issue responsibly."

Karamanlis' statements reveal the bourgeoisie's enormous fear of the movement of the working class opened up by the collapse of the junta and the defeat in Cyprus.

It is in this volatile situation that the Stalinists and radical politicians seek to hold back the movement of the working class.

Andreas Papandreou, who received a tumultuous welcome upon his return from exile last week, has announced that he opposes demonstrations be-

cause they may "provoke a return of the military."

Papandreou's talk about not provoking the military throws him together with the Stalinists behind the Karamanlis regime. The aim of Papandreou and the Stalinists is to tie the working class to this crisis-torn capitalist government which cannot guarantee any democratic rights but instead gives the weakened military time to prepare for civil war. The enormous struggles now on the agenda in Greece make essential and will provide the best opportunities for the building of the Workers International League, the Greek section of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

Kissinger Backs Partition Of Cyprus

BY FRANK MARTIN

While fighting has stopped for the moment on Cyprus, the latest reports indicate that the Turkish army has moved three miles west of the Famagusta-Larnaca road and are now threatening the road between Nicosia and Limassol to the south.

If they are able to capture this road, the Turks will have effectively cut off Nicosia.

On August 19, the US ambassador Rodger P. Davies was shot and killed following mass demonstrations by Greek Cypriot workers through the capital of Nicosia.

The demonstrations were led by the Civil Servants Union. Shouting "Kissinger the Killer" and "Britons, you are treacherous," thousands of workers marched on the American embassy. When the demonstrators reached the embassy gates, they were confronted by a phalanx of police and Cypriot National Guard.

Reports from Nicosia later in-

dicating that men dressed as Cypriot National Guardsmen were probably responsible for Davies' murder. There are indications that the right-wing EOKA-B organization was behind the assassination.

The demonstrations have intensified the crisis of American imperialism, following the swamping of US plans to install a dictator on Cyprus and use the island as a base of attack against the Middle East, and the fall of the dictatorship in Greece. Kissinger and Ford are facing an increasingly impossible situation in Cyprus.

On the one hand, Kissinger has given Turkish premier Bulent Ecevit assurances that they will not intervene to stop his war drive, but on the other hand, if Turkey goes too far, this will endanger the position of Karamanlis in Greece. In either case, Kissinger fears the development of revolutionary struggles by the working class.

Already Kissinger's offer to mediate the dispute has been rejected out of hand by Karamanlis, who has been forced to withdraw from NATO. Turkey has answered his requests by stepping up its war drive.

Turkey has no intention of re-



Workers have been demonstrating throughout Argentina following the occupation of the IKA Renault factory in Cordoba, by the Argentine National Gendarmerie. The troops were sent in by the right-wing Peronist government to prevent striking auto workers from occupying the plant. Cordoba, Argentina's largest industrial city, was the scene earlier this year of a coup staged by police to take over the local government.

turning one inch of territory it has conquered. The Turkish government has refused any requests by the Cypriot government to allow peasants and workers who fled the Turkish invasion to return to their homes.

CONTROLS

Turkey now controls the entire northeastern part of the island, including the rich farm belt, which supports more than 70 percent of the island's economy.

Over 100,000 Greek Cypriot workers who fled the Turkish invasion are living in refugee camps which have no medical or cooking facilities or even tents to

house them. A dysentery epidemic is already spreading.

Cypriot President Glafcos Clerides has refused to call for the unity of Greek and Turkish Cypriot workers on the island against foreign military intervention. He has already accepted the divisions imposed by the Turkish army. Clerides has received invaluable support from the AKEL, the Cypriot Communist Party.

The movement of the Greek and Cypriot workers now opens up the possibility of building a revolutionary leadership to lead the fight against imperialism and for an independent, socialist Cyprus.

Mexican Unions To Strike

The Confederation of Mexican Workers, the nation's most powerful labor organization, has declared that it will call a general strike on September 20 unless all unionized workers receive an emergency 35 percent wage increase.

While the government of Luis Echeverria officially lists the rise in the price index as 22 percent in the last twelve months, basic necessities such as beans, corn, and cooking oil have gone up 100 percent.

Last year the working class only got a 20 percent increase in wages after asking for 30 percent.

A nationwide strike would shut down 180,000 companies and would be a tremendous blow against the government, which so far the CTM has been part of.

The Company Ford Keeps



John W. Byrnes

L. William Seidman

William G. Whyte

Leon W. Parma

BY FRANK MARTIN

"I am the people's man," said Gerald Ford. "I pledge to serve the poor and the rich... those who work at lathes or at desks or in mines or in the fields."

There are no lathe operators or miners in Ford's inner circle of advisors. Ford has gathered around him a group of men who represent the top monopolies and banks in the country.

The day before Nixon resigned, Ford met with a group of old friends to discuss the transition of power. The meeting was hosted by William G. Whyte, vice-president and Chief Washington lobbyist for the United States Steel Corporation.

In attendance were Bryce N. Harlow, vice-president of Proctor and Gamble, and Philip W. Buchen, Ford's former law partner from Grand Rapids, Michigan.

Buchen was named presidential legal counsel the next day. His firm, Law, Buchen, Wethers, Richardson & Dutcher lists among its clients the Brunswick Corporation, the Ford Motor Company, the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Company, and United States Steel.

When Rodney W. Markley Jr. heard about Nixon's resignation, he was in Paris on his way to his villa on the French Riviera. He immediately took the next flight back to Washing-

ton but arrived too late to attend the inauguration of his close friend and golf partner. But that same night he was able to attend a dinner "for family and close friends" with Ford. Markley is vice-president of the Ford Motor Company.

The list of friends goes on and on. Clark MacGregor, vice-president of United Aircraft Corporation, is "an old friend." Kimberley C. Hallamore, vice-president of Lear Siegler, is "a good friend."

Leon W. Parma of Teledyne, Inc. has "a close personal relationship," with Ford and John W. Byrnes of the Washington law firm of Foley & Lardner is "an intimate advisor."

Max M. Fisher, a Detroit industrialist, John Shaheen, a New York oilman, Earl (Red) Blaik of Avco Corporation, Stark Ritchie from the American Petroleum Institute, and John F. Mills from the Tobacco Institute, are all on "close speaking terms" with the President.

L. William Seidman is Ford's old accountant. He is now working for Ford, coordinating his economic policy. It was Seidman's firm that audited the books of Equity Funding Corporation.

When it was revealed two years ago that Equity had fiddled the books and swindled millions of dollars from investors, Seidman suddenly dropped out of the scene. Yet, his partners in the firm of Wolfson, Weiner, Ratoff & Lapin were named as unindicted co-conspirators in the Equity

scandal. Seidman is still under investigation by the Securities and Exchange Commission.

Since his inauguration, the capitalist press has tried to picture "Jerry" Ford as a down-to-earth fellow, the typical family who lives next door.

This is a fraud, designed to hide from workers the ruthless, big business, character of this administration.

While Nixon preferred the company of the "self-made" millionaires and racketeers like Bebe Rebozo and Robert Abplanalp who made their money on speculation, the men around Ford are the representatives of the biggest most established corporations and banks.

These are the lobbyists, the men that make their living by pressuring government officials to carry out the political decisions of big business. Although they have no formal positions in government, they work the back rooms and the smoke-filled corridors, offering lucrative deals and determining the real policies that run this country.

In his 25 years as congressman, Ford had ample time to work closely with these men. He carried out every request they made of him and, in return, they backed him politically and supported his rise to power.

These are the men who 'elected' Gerald Ford. He now brings these men into his inner ruling group as the country heads towards a massive depression to attempt to impose mass unemployment on the working class.

Big No Vote On A&P Contract

BY A REPORTER

NEW YORK, NY—Blocking any discussion by the membership, officials of the Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen rammed through a contract vote August 17, against widespread opposition.

Workers had voted 9437 to 2438 to end the five-day strike after demanding strike action the week before by an overwhelming margin.

Picketing in the 90-degree heat had forced the closing of over 70 percent of the supermarket chain's 550 stores in New York City, Long Island, Westchester, and Rockland Counties, and Northern New Jersey.

Striking personnel included 18,300 butchers, cashiers, grocery and stock clerks, represented by four locals of the AMCBW.

For most full-time employees, the three-year contract provides \$50 wage increases, plus two cost of living hikes of \$5 each.

Butchers have a new wage package of \$79 total, while part-timers will receive just one dollar an hour more, over the three years.

This is virtually the same settlement that was rejected at the start of the strike, except that the cost of living will be paid retroactive to the expiration of the last contract, December 31, 1973.

Part time cashier, Tom Curto, told the Bulletin that he blames the union leadership for playing right into the company's hands. "When we went on strike, everybody voted to go—young and old, full and part time. We all walked the line together for the first time ever.

"A&P, they just sat back and smoked their cigars while we

were out on the hot streets. It was the union leaders that jumped when they finally called up Friday night and said they wanted to talk.

"The union men, they said it was a hard bargaining session, but I think the company just slapped it on the table and said, 'This is it—you'd better take it.'

"They knew the contract was no good, that's why they handed it out and then made us vote without asking questions. They didn't want any talk because a whole lot of hassles went on at the first meeting and they had to call the strike.

"Everyone wanted to fight in the start. My local voted 792 to 69 against the first offer. A&P was losing \$50,000 a day just at the store I work at, so I know we could have won if we'd kept on fighting. Talking about it, it gets me mad, because the union gave in and they had no right."

Stocks Fall 15 Points

BY DAVID NORTH

Wall Street continued its devastating slide this week, with more than 15 points lost the day after Nelson Rockefeller's appointment as vice-president-designate.

Wall Street fell to its lowest level since August 18, 1970 on Monday following eight straight declines. Since Nixon's resignation, the stock exchange has lost nearly 100 points.

The main reason for the losses are the fears that major banks and corporations face stagnation and bankruptcy.

The determination of the Federal Reserve to maintain high interest rates has deepened the liquidity crisis facing a host of banks and companies.

LOANS

Interest rates on long term loans are set at 12 percent. Rates on short term loans are as high as 16 percent.

The money squeeze is creating desperate conditions for all but the largest banks.

In order to overcome their cash problems, the smaller banks have been attempting to attract funds from the petrodollar market, that is, the vast pool of dollars held by Arab capitalists from the sale of oil.

However, in the wake of the collapse of Franklin National, investors are wary of depositing their dollars in anything but the biggest banks—and even then with reservations.

LIQUIDITY

The small banks are being virtually bypassed on the money markets. Their liquidity crises could lead to a collapse of a number of institutions at any point.

Signals of an impending collapse are being given repeatedly. The Union Bank of Switzerland recently sustained losses in the vicinity of \$150 million. It survived because its assets are placed at \$14 billion. But the losses increased the fears of major investors who now question the strength of all financial institutions.

Even the largest banks are in deep trouble in spite of the fact that they are able to obtain money from the petrodollar pool. Most of these petrodollars are deposited on a short-term basis—often as short as one day—and it becomes extremely dangerous for the banks to lend long on money they borrow short.

If the banks overextend themselves on long-term commitments, the sudden demand for a repayment of short-term deposits could create overnight an international banking panic leading to the complete collapse of the credit structure, and with it, industrial production and world trade.

Haile Selassie Loses Authority

BY A REPORTER

The government-controlled Ethiopian newspaper, Addis Zemeni, has called officially for the overthrow of Emperor Haile Selassie, although the military clique which is in virtually complete control of the nation refuses to remove him from power.

Since February, the Coordination Committee of the Armed Forces, Police, and Territorial Army has gradually removed all governmental powers from the 82-year-old monarch who has ruled for over 40 years.

The crown council, court of justice and military committee that backed him have been abolished, and over 150 of his top aides are being held under arrest.

Last week, the Committee released a new draft constitution which would disarm the powerful Ethiopian Orthodox (Coptic) Church, the mainstay of Selassie's power. The constitution would reduce Selassie to a purely ceremonial figure, while a new Parliament would hold actual power.

The military holds back from moving openly against Selassie because they fear that even the slightest reform of the feudal land system will unleash revolutionary struggles among the Ethiopian people.

Dockers Voice Opposition To ILA Contract

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE
NEW YORK, NY—
Longshoremen on the North Atlantic coast voted August 21 on the three-year master agreement negotiated by the International Longshoremen's Association and on local agreements in each port.

ILA members working on the Brooklyn dock complex expressed deep distrust of the master contract and open hatred of the local agreement, which includes major attacks on the GAI (Guaranteed Annual Income).

Robbie, a docker for 16 years, said, "I don't see it. They call it the best contract ever, but I think it stinks." Another worker, with 30 years on the Brooklyn docks snapped out, "It isn't kosher. I voted no."

While Gleason has widely publicized the pay increase he won from the Council of North Atlantic Shipping Associations (CONASA), the men were bitter that no cost of living protection is included, even after Anthony Scotto, leader of Brooklyn Local 1814, told the membership during negotiations that this was essential.

Dockers are especially bitter at the press announcements that they will be paid \$16,640 by the final year of the contract, since virtually no docker has worked 700 hours annually during any of the recent years.

It is the local agreement on the GAI, first negotiated in New York and used as a pattern for ports all along the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts, which really angered the men.

Under the new provisions, men eligible for retirement will be removed from the guarantee if they do not leave the docks by January 1.

"I just can't accept signing a contract that forces men out of work," an older docker told the Bulletin. "If we let them shove men out at 65 this year, next year it will be 60 and then 55 and soon none of us will be left."

Other workers said they were rejecting the contract because of another new restriction on the GAI, which will debit a day's pay for any man rejecting a work assignment.

Since all hold jobs will now be assigned first, this will mean that older men and men with special training could forfeit a day's pay for rejecting the dirty and dangerous hold work.

The hated Prior Day Ordering has been retained, giving the port authorities "flexibility" to move men all around the New York-New Jersey docks and make drastic new cuts in the work force.

Dockers are also debited for refusing work assignments because of the area they are sent to. In addition, they are debited any time they do not "badge in," even if they are sick.

"There are no sick days, and

you only get one day for the dead," Robbie said. "You better not die yourself, either—I think they debit you for that, too!"

"As far as I can see, the GAI is dead," Pete said. "And the GAI was the only major gain we've ever made on the docks. The last contract, the flexibility, took the foundation pins right out from under it, and now Gleason is letting the whole thing collapse."

This contract sets us back 40 years," Joe R. told Bulletin reporters. "Check the unemployment conditions in the 1930s, check the working conditions, the hiring practices. That's where you'll find us by the end of this contract if it goes through."

"I don't see how we can vote No," a docker with 32 years experience said. "Our hands are tied. We are underneath the gun of this new President. He is planning new wage controls already. If we accept it and sign it now, maybe we'll still be entitled to that \$8.00 an hour by 1977."

"Rockefeller, the shippers, and Gleason, they are in it together," another docker said. "I think the men will vote No on this, but it's going to come out. Yes no matter what we say. It is no good. This union and this country, there have to be some big changes made soon."

Brooklyn Ranks Out 6 Weeks To Secure ILGWU Contract

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE
BY A REPORTER
NEW YORK, N.Y.—
Local 155, International Ladies Garment Workers Union is leading workers in the sixth week of a strike action against W. & W. Knitting Mills, Inc. in Brooklyn.

200 employees are waging a bitter battle to win union recognition and a new contract.

Some production has continued with the use of scab labor and private trucking companies, but the company has been denied three separate injunctions against the mass picket lines set up each day. W. & W. stocks have fallen from \$4 to \$5 a share during the strike, for a loss estimated at over \$5 million.

The workers, largely Dominican, Puerto Rican, and Haitian women, walked out July 11 against the working conditions and rotten wages.

Floor girls who do layout, cleaning, and folding were paid just \$1.85 an hour until the union won a court suit forcing W. & W. to pay back wages equivalent to the minimum wage of \$2.10.

The company continually attempts to cut the rates, and there are no paid vacations or holidays. Most of the women are



Dockers discussing ILA contract outside union hall in Brooklyn, New York, where voting took place on Wednesday, August 21.

Fires Sweep New York Tenements



Lower East Side tenants moved into the streets on August 19 after fires burned out the homes of several families.

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE
NEW YORK, NY—
Several families on New York's Lower East Side moved out on the street August 19 after two major fires hit their century-old tenement building within one week.

City fire inspectors have refused to condemn the building, which has been hit by at least seven fires in the last three years.

The entire back building, connected by a passageway on each floor, is uninhabitable, and the sixth and seventh floor in front are now burned out as well.

Residents are demanding that temporary housing be made available to them, and that the families who have already applied to project apartments be admitted immediately.

Emergency Red Cross shelters offered to them provide just one dollar a meal for food.

They told Bulletin reporters that the fires were deliberately started, and that a man had walked by the picket line just an hour before and muttered "Santa Claus is coming back."

"I think it might have been someone whose own apartment was burned out, who has nothing," Roberto Perez said. "It makes you very bitter when everything you have is gone and no one will help."

Roberto's apartment was partially destroyed by the Sunday fire, and he has moved down to the fourth floor even though fire inspectors told him to stay in the apartment.

"We came out into the street after the fire, and many are afraid to move back in," he said. "The mothers are worried. The ceilings are falling apart from the water, and another fire could come any time. So far, only a puppy has died, but there are many children living here and we are afraid."

Theresa said in one fire last year while she was pregnant, she had to jump from the fire escape when it stuck and could not be lowered. Carmen had to climb down seven flights with her two-year old son Sunday morning.

Carmen says that the landlord, who owns at least two other Lower East Side tenements, has not done anything about the fires.

"He has his own house on Long Island. He's not around when the fires break out. He doesn't really know anything about it."

"There have been enough fires here to condemn the building completely, but it will not be done. And we pay \$145 a month for four rooms here."

forced to work six days a week to make ends meet, which means coming in Sundays since the plant is shut down Saturdays.

In addition, all workers are pressured to put in at least an hour a day of overtime, with no time-and-a-half payment.

"You can speak to no one there when things are bad. That is why we want the union," one picketer told the Bulletin. "The boss says to see the foreman, the foreman says to see the manager. They keep you on that dance from one to the other, while nothing gets changed."

Two weeks after the strike began, the company attempted to have it declared illegal, claiming that the workers were covered by a contract they had signed with Local 1718 of the United Production Workers, a company union founded by Hassidic Jewish businessmen. It claims to organize about 2000 workers in the textile industry.

An official of Local 1718 claims that the new contract, valid until December 1975, includes a \$14 raise which will bring the minimum pay to \$96 weekly. But strikers deny they voted for this agreement.

A machine operator, Cecilia, told the Bulletin that she had been shown handwritten notes on a pad of paper when she visited the "union" offices and demanded to see her contract.

Picketers said that two full busloads of men from the Hassidic community were brought in

to harass them early in the strike. Posing as new workers, they were taken through the picket lines and into the building, where they threw empty bottles down on the pickets.

"This company proceeds without even caring," a picket explained. "They would not even negotiate with us or listen to us. They do not pay us enough wages to live like human beings, and they do not treat us like human beings."

Alex Quinones, ILWU organizer, said that a committee of workers sent to present the grievances were told that they were "a bunch of animals."

"They told us they're in it for making money and nothing else," he said. "I hope this strike is a start for organizing many of the unorganized shops. The minority workers who make up the garment workers have always gotten the last scraps."

"How can you improve your situation at home, in the neighborhood, when you make miserable wages compared to the inflation, the rents and food? This country is going backward instead of forward, but labor won't let up, we will always fight."

"Danger of Depression"—that's right, that's it," one picket exclaimed as she looked over the Bulletin. "I wonder if they know what they're starting. Ford, he's another Hoover, but we are more ready to fight this time."



Students barely able to walk after being tortured, enter military court in Saigon for trial.

BY DAVID NORTH

Mass arrests, torture, and murder constitute the backbone of the Saigon government which maintains itself in power mainly through the use of terror against the workers, peasants, and students of South Vietnam.

It is American imperialism which guides the bloody hand of this dictatorship. The Democrats and Republicans in the Congress have provided the funds which have built the South Vietnamese police force up to its present size of 122,000.

More than \$125.8 million has been provided by the Congress to equip the police and train them as expert torturers. Much of the equipment they use in their gruesome work, for example, the handcuffs which bind political prisoners as they are suspended from mid-air and beaten, is manufactured in the United States.

At the time of the ceasefire, about 200 American civilian police and at least 600 military men were advising the police of the Saigon regime.

A great deal of money, hardware, and personnel have gone into the American effort to maintain the dictatorship of President Nguyen Van Thieu. He rules by decree. All parties, except his own "Democratic Party," are outlawed. All strikes and demonstrations are forbidden. Special permits must be obtained if more than seven people plan to assemble.

Thousands of South Vietnamese are caught up in the vast police dragnet every year. They are usually sent before a system of Military Field Courts and Provincial Security Committees which invariably lead to long periods of imprisonment under hideous conditions.

The only evidence against the prisoners, who range from trade unionists and active opponents of the Thieu regime to peasants with little involvement in politics, is the confession extracted by torture.

Survivors of the torture sessions and prison terms have stated that their confessions were often extracted in the pre-



South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu, who oversees US financed torture operations.

sence of American advisers who acted as if they had witnessed torture many times before.

Tran Tuan Nham, a teacher, was arrested after running in an election campaign demanding the withdrawal of Americans from South Vietnam. He told the New York Times that he saw many tortured men and women while imprisoned.

He described the fate of leading trade unionists who were arrested in April 1973 and charged with being communist agents. Among them were Mr. Hi, the head of the bank union, Dang Tam Si, the secretary general, Nguyen Thua Nghiep, president of the Petroleum and Chemical Factory Workers Union, and Hoang Xuan Dong, secretary general of the Railway Workers Union.

Dong was subjected to the water torture while interrogators demanded that he admit to calling an illegal two hour strike on orders from the National Liberation Front.

Mr. Hi was dead within five days of his arrest. Police stated that Hi had hanged himself.

But Tran Tuan Nham witnessed the real circumstances of Hi's death.

"I could see him carried out for interrogation and carried back. The person who brought rice to the cells said he was being beaten really severely and he didn't know whether he would be able to bear it much longer."

On the night of April 22, Nham heard a noise from Hi's cell. "A guard came over and opened his door and pulled him out head

TORTURE IN SAIGON



Nguyen Xuan Ham, a student leader was tortured and forced to watch his three friends tortured.

first so his legs were still in the cell and his body outside. He had no clothes on. One arm was across his chest. His arm was swollen and it was black like a piece of putrid meat. On his chest was a little bit of blood, his side along his ribs was just beaten into hamburger." Hi was dead.

Nham shared a cell with another trade unionist named Trang.

"He had been there seven or eight months. He was being strung up by his arms daily and beaten on his legs, his back, his chest. When I left there he was unable to walk because of the beatings on his legs, and his knees were swollen.

"He was arrested for having known a Liberation Front official who had responsibility for having lent him his pickup truck to go around in."

A student leader, Nguyen Xuan Ham, was arrested but denied any NLF connections despite torture. The police then brought in his friends one by one.

"It terrorized me," he related. "I was very angry that they beat a girl in front of me. They tied her ankles to a chair, tied a rope around her stomach and blind-folded her. They had a long rubber baton and they beat her knee caps. Then they thrust their hands in under her ribs and pulled them out. They had her lie down and forced soapy water into her mouth.

"They attached one wire to her earlobe or one to her breasts or her genital area and then they would crank (an electrical generator). When the crank was

turned and produced a burst of electricity, she would strain at the chair and slump back.

"It was like an ordinary job with no emotion. They had many Coca-Cola bottles and cigarettes. They would beat a little, drink a little Coca-Cola, smoke a cigarette, speak to each other in quiet voices—no emotion, very professional. Most were not angry or hateful but were just doing it very cooly."

Since the opposition to the regime is so massive, police arrest workers and peasants virtually at random. A 25-year-old seamstress was arrested last October after a woman, who she had never met, spoke to her briefly in the market place.

Dang Thi Hien described what happened then in an interview as she lay handcuffed to a hospital bed.

Four plainclothes policemen grabbed her and took her to the Khiem Curong interrogation center 22 miles from Saigon.

"They took me to a room. They told me to take off my pants and my blouse and I wouldn't do it, so they did it for me.

"There were five to seven people in the room. They beat me. They used a big stick and they put electrodes on the ends of my index fingers. When I started to fall they wouldn't let me fall and pulled me up by the hair. They beat me on the chest, the back. They took off my shoes and beat my stomach. It hurt very, very much.

"They wouldn't let me cry out. They put their hands over my mouth and said to me 'Confess!'

"They put a handkerchief over my nose and mouth and poured water and soup and put it through the handkerchief into my two nostrils and my mouth—three or four buckets. I was very tired by that time. Everytime I drank these things, my stomach would swell up and they would kick me in the stomach. As soon as my stomach would go down again, they would give me more water and make it swell up again.

"They picked me up by the ribs with their hands, pulling my ribs out. Then they tied my legs apart after I fell because of the electric shock. They pulled my legs apart and kicked my vulva, and I lost blood there after that for 10 days. I could not stand any more."

The beasts who commit these crimes are the paid agents of American imperialism. Ford is now consulting with Kissinger on what new resources will be required to prop up the Thieu regime. The reactionary terror of the Thieu regime reveals its desperation as it confronts the unbroken movement of the Vietnamese masses.

This week, NLF forces are launching tank assaults against the northern defense lines of the Saigon regime. Liberation troops have driven to within 18 miles of Saigon.

The revolutionary struggle in Vietnam is now strengthened by the collapse of the Nixon administration and the movement of the working class in the United States and the major industrial countries.

THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM AND WORKERS

We are reprinting from the Workers Press, daily organ of the Workers Revolutionary Party of England, two important series of articles dealing with the renegade Blick-Jenkins group.

While this is a small group in England, it is part of an international tendency of liquidationists who have broken with Marxism. They reflect elements within the middle class who, hostile to the movement of the working class brought about by the capitalist crisis, seek to reinforce reformism and social democracy within the workers movement just as the reformist parties are being broken up by the crisis.

Above all, these tendencies seek to prevent the construction of mass Trotskyist parties to lead the working class to power.

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Now of course there is an important sense in which it is true that the formation of a party like the Labour Party was a necessary step by the working class in moving towards class independence politically.

And there is also a limited truth in the assertion that reformism enters crisis when capitalism in decay can afford no more systematic reforms. But these truths turn into their opposite, like any other, if we ignore the class content of reformism.

Our critic says: "The strength of reformism derives from the fact that it is able to win concessions from capitalism." If we may be permitted: it is not a question of "strength," but of the class basis of reformism, which is the ability of imperialism to use its super-profits in a few advanced countries to buy off a definite layer of the working class and use it to dominate the working class movement.

The struggle against reformism is not possible without recognizing this basic fact, without a party which consciously drives deeper and deeper into the mass of the working class and mobilizes it against this Labour aristocracy and its politics and ideology.

It is only in this conscious relating of theory to practice that Marxism develops new knowledge of the development of capitalist crisis, wins and trains new cadres for the revolutionary struggle.

This is the actual application in practice of Trotsky's insistence on the party and the objective situation as the basis of the Transitional Program.

It was this, the training of cadres in the building of the party on the basis of dialectical materialism as Marxism's theory of knowledge (not a set "body" of knowledge or program only) that the OCI so bitterly opposed at the Essen Youth Conference in 1971, naturally voting with centrist opponents of the Fourth International (the Spanish POUM) against our resolution. Our critic, like all the Blick-Jenkins group, has completely absorbed this anti-Trotskyist position.

Not surprisingly then, this group rejects the Marxist position on reforms and their relation to revolution, which is that such reforms as are won come only as the by-product of revolutionary struggle and the threat of complete mobilization of the strength of the working class.

And this is the conception behind the transitional demands. As the working class mobilizes for the transitional demands, threatening the power of the ruling class, they will be brought face to face with the need for revolutionary leadership, for the

overthrow of the bourgeois state.

The policy of the Workers Revolutionary Party is entirely in line with this conception. In defense of its basic rights, against the attacks which capitalism is forced to make by the crisis, the working class is compelled to enter the struggle with its trade union and factory organization and with a Labour Party able to take government office.

It would be the height of treachery to pose the question of a Labour government purely at the level of what the Labour Party leaders intend (or say they intend) to do.

Their politics are confined precisely to cultivating the deadly illusion that class collaboration (behind which counter-revolution is prepared) can bring back the boom.

RENEGADES ENCOURAGE REFORMISM

Should the Marxists tell the working class to press its economic demands and, in addition, only press to make the Labourites fight to implement those parts of their program which facilitate this (repeal of Industrial Relations Act, etc)?

This would deliberately encourage precisely the consciousness which reformism, acting for monopoly capitalism, requires: that the workers abstain from politics, leaving them to the bourgeois and the reformists.

Indeed, we are now at the crux of the political struggles in the working class movement for the whole period of the last Tory government and the previous Labour administration.

All the centrists and revisionists joined with the Stalinists (and Labour erstwhile "lefts" like Orme and Heffer, as well as Jones, Scanlon and Daly) in trying to confine the working class to militancy.

Only the SLL fought with a program of political demands: that the whole working class movement be mobilized for industrial and political action to bring down the Tory government and replace it with a Labour government forced to carry out socialist policies.

It was in this revolutionary practice, against the united opposition of the Stalinists and the revisionists, that we answered, long ago, our critics' two questions:

"What is the relationship of revolutionaries to reformism and reformist organizations?" and, "How has the WRP and its predecessor, the SLL, carried forward the traditions of Lenin and Trotsky?" (p. 8)

These demands placed upon the TUC to mobilize a General Strike against the Industrial Relations Act, to force the Tory government to resign, and upon the Labour Party, to carry out the socialist policies necessary to defend the basic rights of the working class, were the carrying forward of the traditions of Lenin and Trotsky.

It was in this way that we fought for "a change in the views of the majority of the working class, a change brought about by the political experience of the masses, never by propaganda alone" (Lenin). Will our critic tell us who else in the workers' movement put forward such a policy to bring the majority of the working class face to face with the common enemy, the Tory government, and through this, with the problem of what to do with the existing opportunist leadership?

DIVERTING POLITICAL STRUGGLE

Is it not a fact that the revisionists and Stalinists protected the TUC General Council and the Labour leaders from these demands, and thus obstructed the development of the consciousness of the majority of the working class?

And is it not a fact that the most effective way in which this was done was by taking the line of least resistance, by pushing a minority out into partial protest actions which effectively isolated them from the mass, and diverted them from the political task of fighting the existing leadership?

And did not this fit in perfectly with the Tory plans, so that the Tory minister responsible (Carr) wisely pointed to the protests as simply the due process of safety-valve opposition, after which the law would be accepted?

How is it that our critic does not refer, in one line of his whole 25-page document, to this actual experience of the struggle?

Our critic quotes Lenin, to the effect that, apart from the deterioration of the masses' conditions and the impossibility of "ruling in the old way" there must arise a governmental crisis which draws the most backward masses into politics.

But when he comments on this quotation (pp. 10-11) he ignores completely the fact that only the SLL fought for the mobilization of the working class to bring down the Tory government, i.e., to bring about the governmental crisis under conditions where the strength of the working class would predominate.

The plain fact is that this strength did make Tory policy unworkable, and did produce a situation in which governmental crisis persists, with a minority Labour government.

It is the implacable refusal at all costs by the Labour and trade union leaders to mobilize the strength of the working class to solve this crisis that worsens the crisis every day, makes certain its intensification.

In this situation, any party which told the workers of Britain that their standard of life could be protected and their basic rights defended without the expropriation of the capitalists would be blinding them to the reality.

The program of the revolutionary party must start from this necessity, and it must pose these necessities to the party workers vote for, in order to hasten the exposure of the Labour leaders.

Our critic screams with pain! "This is only stating the maximum program," he says, and it is nonsense to ask reformists to legislate socialism! But here we have the same old formal thinking. Confronted with the contradiction of real life, he protests: but it is...contradictory!

"The point is," he says, "how will the Labour government stand 'exposed' before millions of workers for refusing to legislate a maximum program which is not even in its election manifesto?" (p. 16) and "To demand at this stage the implementation of such a program is a diversion."

Once again, the working class will go through the necessary political and ideological crisis necessary for the development of revolutionary consciousness on the basis of a struggle between their real needs on the one hand and the practice of their leadership on the other, and not through the schoolroom process of recognizing a formal contradiction in the policy of the Labour Party!

This struggle is consciously expressed, articulated, by the revolutionary party and its program. From this point of view, we can see that our critic is beating the air when he asserts we are only making impossible demands on a Labour government.

MOBILIZING WORKERS FOR POWER

Our program is a program of struggle for the working class, directed into the working class by our own resources (our members in the unions and factories, our daily paper), and not a list of requests humbly submitted to the Labour leaders.

Thus the fight for political mobilization of the working class against the Industrial Relations Act was part of a program of transitional demands to defend the trade unions from integration into the capitalist state, to enable them to defend the working class's wage levels, and in all these struggles to come more and more face to face with the inseparably linked struggles for political power and for the removal of the existing leadership.

The Blick-Jenkins group knows very well that this was our day-to-day struggle, and not propaganda to influence the Labour Party to repeal the Act!

They know also that on the question of unemployment we put forward a detailed program of factory occupations, linked to Councils of Action and unity of the employed and the unemployed, that we fight for this policy as a definite step to expropriation of the factories, and in no case do we see "nationalization" as a general, abstract demand just placed on the reformists.

Of course, we link this with the most thoroughgoing and continuous exposure of the retreats and betrayals of the reformists. Most important, before the 1974

WORKERS

General Election we declared time and again that the strength and political confidence developed by the working class in struggle against the Tory government outweighed the question of whether the Labour Party won or did not win a parliamentary majority.

When we say that the working class will reject reformist leadership in a practice, and not just by observing the reformists in office, that means we put the practice highest.

CONTROL OF NATIONALIZED INDUSTRIES

Our opponents are also well aware that the WRP, and before it the SLL, fought always for workers' control in the existing nationalized industries.

We do not need a lecture about the subordination of the present nationalized industries to private business; we have written at length on this for many years and we have campaigned on detailed programs in the unions concerned; we raised the issue of workers' control as the central question in the miners' strike of 1972.

Why do our opponents "forget" this? Because we raised this matter primarily as part of a struggle for the political mobilization of the whole class against the Tory government, and we raise it today as mobilizations of the whole class for socialist policies against the capitulation of the minority Labour government to the Tories and Liberals.

This is not of course the approach of our critic. He has transformed the demand for workers' control into a universal stage of the transition to socialism, because he wants to counterpose it to the political mobilization of the class against the class enemy and against the reformists.

He hopes he has found a slogan which, backed up with a respectable number of quotations from Lenin and Trotsky, will take the place of the political and theoretical struggle of the revolutionary party on all fronts.

According to him, workers' control is "the road to power" (p. 19.) He sounds very "revolutionary" at this point in contrast to the WRP, which is condemned for advocating that workers' control be legislated in parliament, but in fact he simply descends into syndicalism of a very right-wing type.

Here is a "road to power" without any smashing of the capitalist state machine, without any successful struggle for revolutionary party leadership against reformism and Stalinism on the main questions facing the working class.

All depends on "workers' control," "the road to power." Indeed, he says, "Without workers' control before nationalization without compensation, there can be no workers' power." (p. 24.)

BLICK AND HIS SCHEMES

Here again we have pure schema, which the working class must live up to if it is to deserve socialism. However, workers' control has by no means always the same role in the revolutionary process.

Contrary to our critic, Trotsky says, for example: "The actual course of the class struggle (in Germany) may not leave room for workers' control as a special stage...The present semi-paralyzed state of industry and the presence of a great army of unemployed make quite possible such a 'condensed' line of development."

"But, on the other hand, the presence of mighty organizations within the working class, the bringing up of the German workers in the spirit of systematic activity, and not of improvisations, and the tardiness of the masses in swinging towards revolution can tip the scale in favor of the first-mentioned line of development. Therefore it would be inexcusable to reject in advance the slogan of workers' control over production." (Germany, 1931-1932, pp. 194-195.)

This quotation may be found only two pages away from those used by our critic

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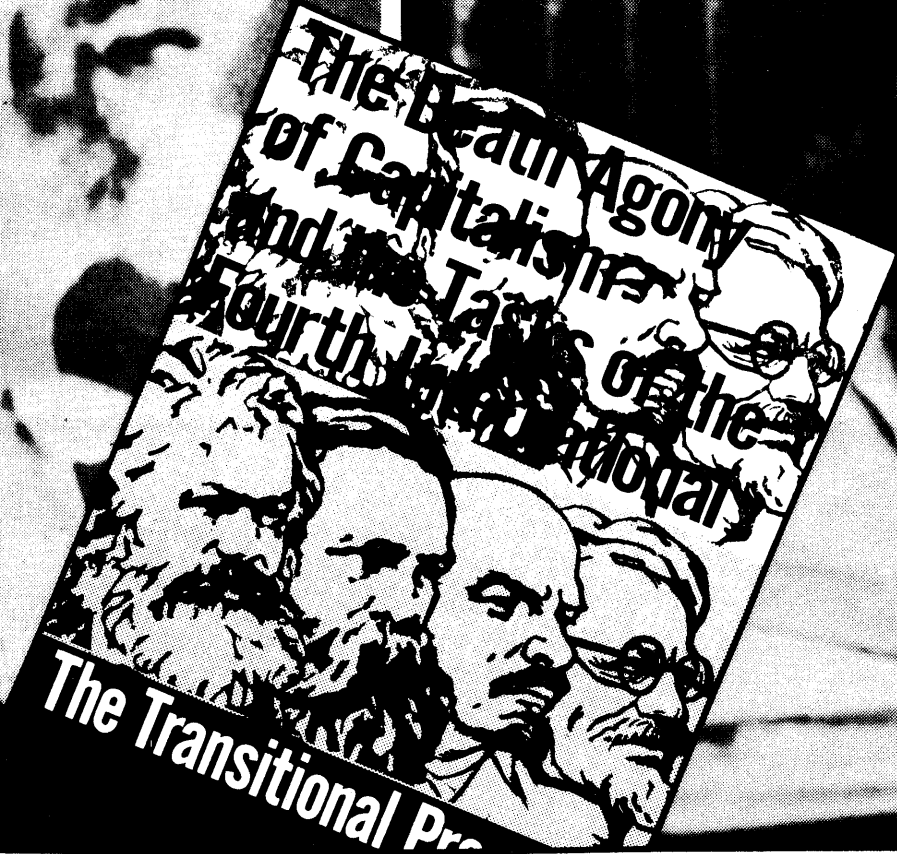
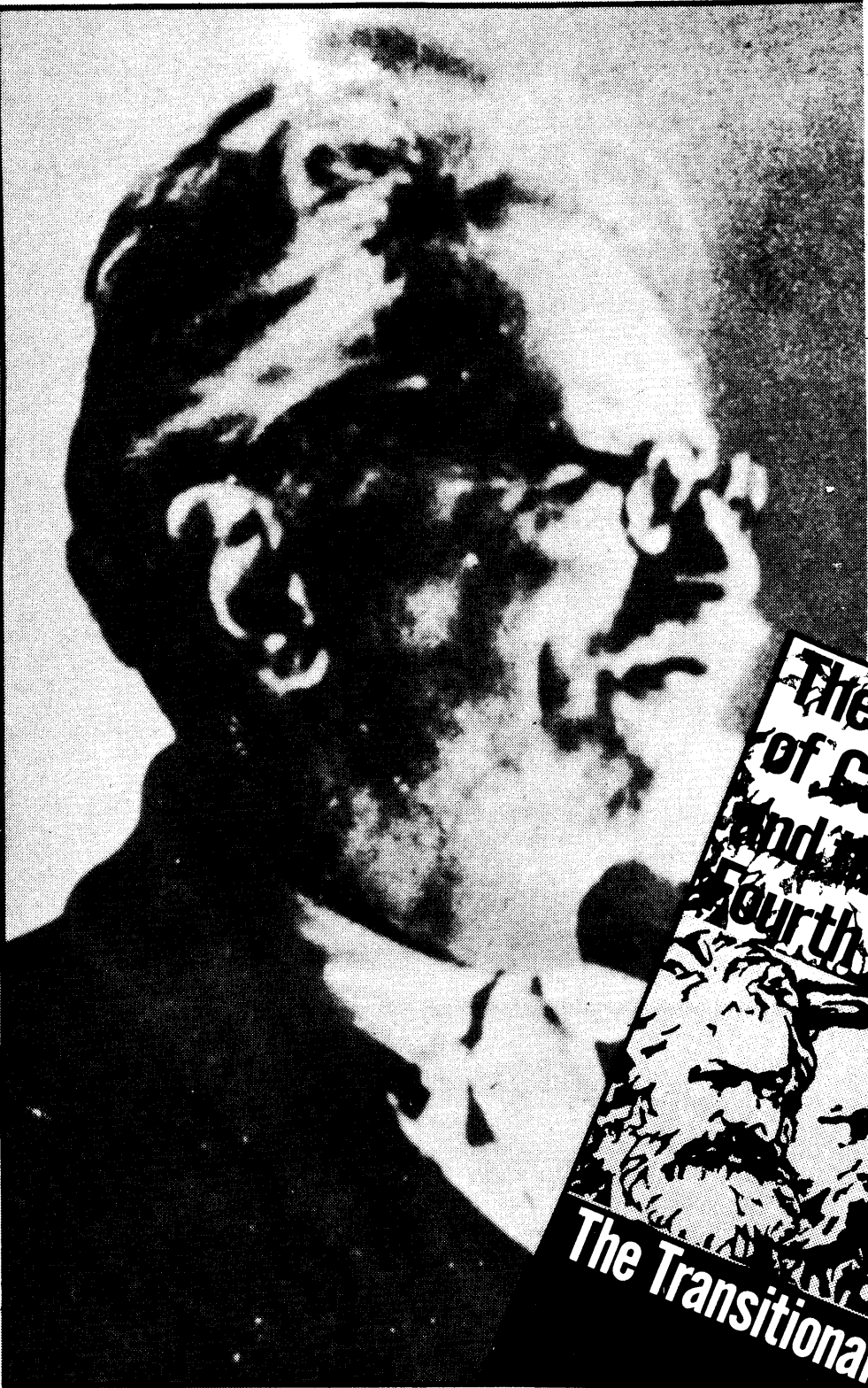
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AND THE ERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

THREE ARTICLES BY CLIFF SLAUGHTER ANSWERING A DOCUMENT
PUBLISHED BY THE BLICK-JENKINS GROUP CALLED
'WHY A TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM?'



himself, who tells us all the same "without workers' control before nationalization, no workers' power"!

As for his quotations from Lenin's "Will the Bolsheviks Retain State Power," these rebound against him, and his case collapses before his eyes!

Lenin is writing this in September 1917 at an entirely different stage of the class struggle in Russia from that in which Trotsky wrote about Germany. By this time, Lenin was utterly convinced that the Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries had been tested out by the workers and peasants who supported them, and had proved beyond doubt their subservience to capitalist reaction.

Nowhere in this pamphlet does he develop the old slogan for them to break from the capitalist class and carry out revolutionary policies.

He places in front of his readers, coldly and inescapably, the facts of the crisis, the needs of the moment, the obstacles to the obvious solutions—nationalization of banks and cartels, national accounting, workers' control—and draws the inescapable logical conclusion of the necessity of proletarian dictatorship and rejection of the Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks.

He has measured carefully the depth of the economic crisis, the experience of the masses, the split appearing in the Social-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks after the Kornilov affair and Kerensky's Bonapartist development, and he is preparing the insurrection.

And so our critic finds himself, at the end

of the long quotation on his beloved "workers' control," with Lenin saying: "When we say 'workers' control,' placing this slogan side by side with the dictatorship of the proletariat, and always after it, we thus make clear what state we have in mind."

And yet our critic insists: "Without workers' control before nationalization, there can be no workers' power." Obviously Trotsky and Lenin cannot long remain as assistants in this campaign for workers' control!

For him, workers' control of production is something separated out from the transitional program and the struggle for power. We consider that in the struggles leading to revolution in Britain, there will be massive occupations in the fight against unemployment and higher prices.

Undoubtedly forms of workers' control will be established, and they will be part of the development of dual power in the country. At some points—it is impossible to say in advance exactly how and when, just as it was in Russia or in Germany—this workers' control will approximate to or become workers' management since this would depend upon the working class taking power. In some cases partial nationalization may be forced, before the conquest of state power, in others not.

It is highly likely that Labour governments will be returned in the course of such struggles, and that the "workers' control" demand, as part of the struggle for expropriation of the capitalists, will be

an important part of the eventual establishment of alternative organs of power against such a government.

The workers will place demands on such governments that they carry out socialist policies, and we should formulate such demands now to arm the advanced workers in struggle, and to shorten the eventual revolutionary struggle against the reformists when they form their "Provisional government."

As one of our opponent's unfortunate (for him) quotations puts it: "The regime of workers' control, a provisional, transitional regime by its very essence, can correspond only to the period of the convulsing of the bourgeois state."

OUR CRITIC RUNS OUT OF WORDS

By a tortuous path, we have arrived at an abrupt end to our critic's document. The abruptness is explained entirely by the fact that, even in his distorted account, it is not possible to take up the question of workers' control—or any other transitional demand—without encountering the question of a struggle for workers' state power.

So horrifying is this prospect that the writer finds himself positively unnerved. He thus openly states his thoroughly contradictory position—Lenin calls for workers' control, but only after the establishment of the workers' state, but I say, no workers' power without workers' control first; and, Trotsky says there are countries where there may be no stage of workers' control, but I say "workers'

control is the road to power"—and then, appropriately draws hurriedly to an inconclusive close.

It only remains to point out that this non-conclusion was written into the premises with which our wordy opponent began. All his words about the "explosiveness" of the epoch were found to rest upon a conception of that epoch which was totally idealistic and opposed to Marxism.

SUBSERVIENT TO CLASS ENEMY

There is a class position which corresponds exactly to this idealism and subjectivism. It is that of the petty bourgeois intellectuals all the more subservient to capitalism by virtue of their conviction that they are dependent upon no one.

As the revolutionary crisis closes in on Europe, North America and Japan, the revisionism which is engendered in these circles moves back unerringly to the Social-Democracy.

Even the heady days of student protest and "Vietnam solidarity" are forgotten. Now the working class is on the move. Now revisionism's first task is to "prove," against Trotskyism, that the control of all political processes in the working class by the bureaucracy is inevitable, and that the International Committee of the Fourth International and particularly the WRP, its British section, are dangerous, for they disturb the peace of all those who have adapted Trotskyism to the needs of the class enemy.

That is the class meaning of the tendency represented by this document.

CONCLUDED

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Their politics are confined precisely to cultivating the deadly illusion that class collaboration (behind which counter-revolution is prepared) can bring back the boom.

RENEGADES ENCOURAGE REFORMISM

Should the Marxists tell the working class to press its economic demands and, in addition, only press to make the Labourites fight to implement those parts of their program which facilitate this (repeal of Industrial Relations Act, etc)?

This would deliberately encourage precisely the consciousness which reformism, acting for monopoly capitalism, requires: that the workers abstain from politics, leaving them to the bourgeois and the reformists.

Indeed, we are now at the crux of the political struggles in the working class movement for the whole period of the last Tory government and the previous Labour administration.

All the centrists and revisionists joined with the Stalinists (and Labour erstwhile "lefts" like Orme and Heffer, as well as Jones, Scanlon and Daly) in trying to confine the working class to militancy.

Only the SLL fought with a program of political demands: that the whole working class movement be mobilized for industrial and political action to bring down the Tory government and replace it with a Labour government forced to carry out socialist policies.

It was in this revolutionary practice, against the united opposition of the Stalinists and the revisionists, that we answered, long ago, our critics' two questions:

"What is the relationship of revolutionaries to reformism and reformist organizations?" and, "How has the WRP and its predecessor, the SLL, carried forward the traditions of Lenin and Trotsky?" (p. 8)

These demands placed upon the TUC to mobilize a General Strike against the Industrial Relations Act, to force the Tory government to resign, and upon the Labour Party, to carry out the socialist policies necessary to defend the basic rights of the working class, were the carrying forward of the traditions of Lenin and Trotsky.

It was in this way that we fought for "a change in the views of the majority of the working class, a change brought about by the political experience of the masses, never by propaganda alone" (Lenin). Will our critic tell us who else in the workers' movement put forward such a policy to bring the majority of the working class face to face with the common enemy, the Tory government, and through this, with the problem of what to do with the existing opportunist leadership?

DIVERTING POLITICAL STRUGGLE

Is it not a fact that the revisionists and Stalinists protected the TUC General Council and the Labour leaders from these demands, and thus obstructed the development of the consciousness of the majority of the working class?

And is it not a fact that the most effective way in which this was done was by taking the line of least resistance, by pushing a minority out into partial protest actions which effectively isolated them from the mass, and diverted them from the political task of fighting the existing leadership?

And did not this fit in perfectly with the Tory plans, so that the Tory minister responsible (Carr) wisely pointed to the protests as simply the due process of safety-valve opposition, after which the law would be accepted?

How is it that our critic does not refer, in one line of his whole 25-page document, to this actual experience of the struggle?

Our critic quotes Lenin, to the effect that, apart from the deterioration of the masses' conditions and the impossibility of "ruing in the old way" there must arise a governmental crisis which draws the most backward masses into politics.

But when he comments on this quotation (pp. 10-11) he ignores completely the fact that only the SLL fought for the mobilization of the working class to bring down the Tory government, i.e., to bring about the governmental crisis under conditions where the strength of the working class would predominate.

The plain fact is that this strength did make Tory policy unworkable, and did produce a situation in which governmental crisis persists, with a minority Labour government.

It is the implacable refusal at all costs by the Labour and trade union leaders to mobilize the strength of the working class to solve this crisis that worsens the crisis every day, makes certain its intensification.

In this situation, any party which told the workers of Britain that their standard of life could be protected and their basic rights defended without the expropriation of the capitalists would be blinding them to the reality.

The program of the revolutionary party must start from this necessity, and it must pose these necessities to the party workers vote for, in order to hasten the exposure of the Labour leaders.

Our critic screams with pain! "This is only stating the maximum program," he says, and it is nonsense to ask reformists to legislate socialism! But here we have this same old formal thinking. Confronted with the contradiction of real life, he protests: but it is...contradictory!

"The point is," he says, "how will the Labour government stand 'exposed' before millions of workers for refusing to legislate a maximum program which is not even in its election manifesto?" (p. 16) and "To demand at this stage the implementation of such a program is a diversion."

Once again, the working class will go through the necessary political and ideological crisis necessary for the development of revolutionary consciousness on the basis of a struggle between their real needs on the one hand and the practice of their leadership on the other, and not through the schoolroom process of recognizing a formal contradiction in the policy of the Labour Party!

This struggle is consciously expressed, articulated, by the revolutionary party and its program. From this point of view, we can see that our critic is beating the air when he asserts we are only making impossible demands on a Labour government.

MOBILIZING WORKERS FOR POWER

Our program is a program of struggle for the working class, directed into the working class by our own resources (our members in the unions and factories, our daily paper), and not a list of requests humbly submitted to the Labour leaders.

Thus the fight for political mobilization of the working class against the Industrial Relations Act was part of a program of transitional demands to defend the trade unions from integration into the capitalist state, to enable them to defend the working class's wage levels, and in all these struggles to come more and more face to face with the inseparably linked struggles for political power and for the removal of the existing leadership.

The Blick-Jenkins group knows very well that this was our day-to-day struggle, and not propaganda to influence the Labour Party to repeal the Act!

They know also that on the question of unemployment we put forward a detailed program of factory occupations, linked to Councils of Action and unity of the employed and the unemployed, that we fight for this policy as a definite step to expropriation of the factories, and in no case do we see "nationalization" as a general, abstract demand just placed on the reformists.

Of course, we link this with the most thoroughgoing and continuous exposure of the retreats and betrayals of the reformists. Most important, before the 1974

WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

General Election we declared time and again that the strength and political confidence developed by the working class in struggle against the Tory government outweighed the question of whether the Labour Party won or did not win a parliamentary majority.

When we say that the working class will reject reformist leadership in a practice, and not just by observing the reformists in office, that means we put the practice highest.

CONTROL OF NATIONALIZED INDUSTRIES

Our opponents are also well aware that the WRP, and before it the SLL, fought always for workers' control in the existing nationalized industries.

We do not need a lecture about the subordination of the present nationalized industries to private business; we have written at length on this for many years and we have campaigned on detailed programs in the unions concerned; we raised the issue of workers' control as the central question in the miners' strike of 1972.

Why do our opponents "forget" this? Because we raised this matter primarily as part of a struggle for the political mobilization of the whole class against the Tory government, and we raise it today as mobilizations of the whole class for socialist policies against the capitulation of the minority Labour government to the Tories and Liberals.

This is not of course the approach of our critic. He has transformed the demand for workers' control into a universal stage of the transition to socialism, because he wants to counterpose it to the political mobilization of the class against the class enemy and against the reformists.

He hopes he has found a slogan which, backed up with a respectable number of quotations from Lenin and Trotsky, will take the place of the political and theoretical struggle of the revolutionary party on all fronts.

According to him, workers' control is "the road to power" (p. 19). He sounds very "revolutionary" at this point in contrast to the WRP, which is condemned for advocating that workers' control be legislated in parliament, but in fact he simply descends into syndicalism of a very right-wing type.

Here is a "road to power" without any smashing of the capitalist state machine, without any successful struggle for revolutionary party leadership against reformism and Stalinism on the main questions facing the working class.

All depends on "workers' control," "the road to power." Indeed, he says, "Without workers' control before nationalization without compensation, there can be no workers' power." (p. 24.)

BLICK AND HIS SCHEMES

Here again we have pure schema, which the working class must live up to if it is to deserve socialism. However, workers' control has by no means always the same role in the revolutionary process.

Contrary to our critic, Trotsky says, for example: "The actual course of the class struggle (in Germany) may not leave room for workers' control as a special stage. The present semi-paralyzed state of industry and the presence of a great army of unemployed make quite possible such a 'condensed' line of development.

"But, on the other hand, the presence of mighty organizations within the working class, the bringing up of the German workers in the spirit of systematic activity, and not of improvisations, and the tardiness of the masses in swinging towards revolution can tip the scale in favor of the first-mentioned line of development.

Therefore it would be inexcusable to reject in advance the slogan of workers' control over production." (Germany, 1931-1932, pp. 194-195.)

This quotation may be found only two pages away from those used by our critic



himself, who tells us all the same "without workers' control before nationalization, no workers' power"!

As for his quotations from Lenin's "Will the Bolsheviks Retain State Power," these rebound against him, and his case collapses before his eyes!

Lenin is writing this in September 1917 at an entirely different stage of the class struggle in Russia from that in which Trotsky wrote about Germany. By this time, Lenin was utterly convinced that the Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries had been tested out by the workers and peasants who supported them, and had proved beyond doubt their subservience to capitalist reaction.

Nowhere in this pamphlet does he develop the old slogan for them to break from the capitalist class and carry out revolutionary policies.

He places in front of his readers, coldly and inescapably, the facts of the crisis, the needs of the moment, the obstacles to the obvious solutions—nationalization of banks and cartels, national accounting, workers' control—and draws the inescapable logical conclusion of the necessity of proletarian dictatorship and rejection of the Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks.

He has measured carefully the depth of the economic crisis, the experience of the masses, the split appearing in the Social-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks after the Kornilov affair and Kerensky's Bonapartist development, and he is preparing the insurrection.

And so our critic finds himself, at the end

THREE ARTICLES BY CLIFF SLAUGHTER ANSWERING A DOCUMENT PUBLISHED BY THE BLICK-JENKINS GROUP CALLED 'WHY A TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM?'

of the long quotation on his beloved "workers' control," with Lenin saying: "When we say 'workers' control,' placing this slogan side by side with the dictatorship of the proletariat, and always after it, we thus make clear what state we have in mind."

And yet our critic insists: "Without workers' control before nationalization, there can be no workers' power." Obviously Trotsky and Lenin cannot long remain as assistants in this campaign for workers' control!

For him, workers' control of production is something separated out from the transitional program and the struggle for power. We consider that in the struggles leading to revolution in Britain, there will be massive occupations in the fight against unemployment and higher prices.

Undoubtedly forms of workers' control will be established, and they will be part of the development of dual power in the country. At some points—it is impossible to say in advance exactly how and when, just as it was in Russia or in Germany—this workers' control will approximate to or become workers' management since this would depend upon the working class taking power. In some cases partial nationalization may be forced, before the conquest of state power, in others not.

It is highly likely that Labour governments will be returned in the course of such struggles, and that the "workers' control" demand, as part of the struggle for expropriation of the capitalists, will be

an important part of the eventual establishment of alternative organs of power against such a government.

The workers will place demands on such governments that they carry out socialist policies, and we should formulate such demands now to arm the advanced workers in struggle, and to shorten the eventual revolutionary struggle against the reformists when they form their "Provisional government."

As one of our opponent's unfortunate (for him) quotations puts it: "The regime of workers' control, a provisional, transitional regime by its very essence, can correspond only to the period of the convulsing of the bourgeois state."

OUR CRITIC RUNS OUT OF WORDS

By a tortuous path, we have arrived at an abrupt end to our critic's document. The abruptness is explained entirely by the fact that, even in his distorted account, it is not possible to take up the question of workers' control—or any other transitional demand—without encountering the question of a struggle for workers' state power.

So horrifying is this prospect that the writer finds himself positively unnerved. He thus openly states his thoroughly contradictory position—Lenin calls for workers' control, but only after the establishment of the workers' state, but I say, no workers' power without workers' control first; and, Trotsky says there are countries where there may be no stage of workers' control, but I say "workers'

control is the road to power"—and then, appropriately draws hurriedly to an inconclusive close.

It only remains to point out that this non-conclusion was written into the premises with which our worthy opponent began. All his words about the "explosiveness" of the epoch were found to rest upon a conception of that epoch which was totally idealistic and opposed to Marxism.

SUBSERVIENT TO CLASS ENEMY

There is a class position which corresponds exactly to this idealism and subjectivism. It is that of the petty bourgeois intellectuals all the more subservient to capitalism by virtue of their conviction that they are dependent upon no one.

As the revolutionary crisis closes in on Europe, North America and Japan, the revisionism which is engendered in these circles moves back unneringly to the Social-Democracy.

Even the heady days of student protest and "Vietnam solidarity" are forgotten. Now the working class is on the move. Now revisionism's first task is to "prove," against Trotskyism, that the control of all political processes in the working class by the bureaucracy is inevitable, and that the International Committee of the Fourth International and particularly the WRP, its British section, are dangerous, for they disturb the peace of all those who have adapted Trotskyism to the needs of the class enemy.

That is the class meaning of the tendency represented by this document.

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Members of Local 7-507, Oil, Chemical and Atomic International Union, who are on strike against FTC International Corp. in Chicago.

Motto Of FTC Strike—'The Peasants Are Revolting'

BY A REPORTING TEAM

CHICAGO, Ill.—“Rebellion is the best way to deal with this situation. That's what this strike is—a rebellion. Like the sign on our wall says, “the peasants are revolting.”

These are the words of one official of Local 7-507, Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers International Union as the 1600-member local begins the eighth week of their strike against FTC International, makers of Argo Corn starch.

The Corn Products plant, southwest of Chicago, is the mother plant for the international corporation. Raw corn is milled into various products here to be shipped to subsidiaries like NU-Soft, Best Foods, and Skippy Peanut Butter. The three other plants are also on strike Pekin, Illinois, Corpus Christi, Texas, and Kansas City, Missouri.

The union official interviewed by the Bulletin said:

“Maybe the last four years can explain what is going on here. The conservative administration has taken a dim view of the proletarians. They have been antiunion. A conservative administration believes in shaving all welfare, social programs, and benefits for the people.”

The union is demanding \$1.19 over two years, with a wage reopener each year. This has been the terms of the contract since the formation of the union in 1946.

Now the company has offered a three year contract, with 34 cents the first year, and a cost of living with a cap of 16 cents, for the next two years.

This is the longest FTC strike since a 46-day strike won union recognition at the Chicago plant in 1946. There have been no talks at the national level since July 22, in spite of the presence of a federal mediator. A picket at the Argo plant explained the situation:

“The company wasn't offering anything. They wanted to take from the contract and they weren't offering anything in return.”

OCAW members are determined to update the contract with safety clauses and more fringe benefits, in the face of company attempts to institute flexibility and subcontracting and impose a cut in real wages.

“The company did not want to go into union proposals in the contract. They got hung up on flexibility. Flexibility would kill off the working man. It would kill off the technical man right away and then slowly kill off the processing.

“Right now we have all job classifications in the plant. With flexibility, this would be reduced to three—operator, mechanic, and laborer. This would severely reduce the work force.

“In the last five years there has been considerable attrition in the plant. In my department, we have been cut from 87 to 32 people. For an older man, if he loses his job through automation, he would be sent down to pushing a broom. Where else can he go? With flexibility, he could be put on any job, including tossing 140 pound bags. That would kill him.”

Charlie, a mechanic, said, “I started by tossing bags and I'm not going back. I've had this flexibility thing before and they had me doing anything they wanted.

“This would severely reduce the workforce, because rather than send two mechanics to do a

job, they will work it in another way through an operator, a mechanic, and then a laborer to finish up.

“I have gone through four years of school and four years of training on my own time! I wouldn't want to see any amateur come in and do my own job.”

The union official said, “We have automation, attrition, and job concentration. Then they transfer a lot of their operations to other plants in the international system.”

After a similar strike at another plant, FTC carried through the flexibility program.

“They had a 130-day strike in 1970. During this time, the company brought in clerical workers, supervisors, and foremen, and ran the plant at 80 percent efficiency. When the strike was over they cut back severely on jobs.”

Charlie added, “They walked back into the plant with their tails between their legs, but we will go in with our heads high.”

One worker who has been at the plant since 1940 said, “I'm broke already. I've spent all the money I saved in 34 years in seven weeks.”

All the workers, however, are determined to fight this out to the finish.

“We're not in crisis bargaining or marathon bargaining. We will talk as long as necessary. We hope the strike is over soon, but we will have to see that every period, every comma, is understood and in its proper place.”

Charlie summed up the feeling of the strikers. “Some of the brothers have said they have their thermal underwear ready. As hard as we work for Corn Products, we work just as hard and twice as hard for our union. We're dedicated workers, but when forced into a strike, we'll work hard on it.”

Packard Blames Lordstown Strike For Short Hours

BY A REPORTER
LORDSTOWN, Ohio—The strike here continues amid rumors of an approaching settlement.

Strikers called the local newspapers now for news of the negotiations, but only "progress" has been reported.

Kenneth, a Lordstown worker, told the Bulletin, "It's just like GM out to produce Vegas in Southgate. Since I've come here, I've seen conditions grow gradually worse, but I've never seen anything like it before the strike."

"I came here from Detroit expecting things to be like it was there. But it's like hell out here now. I suspect nothing will have changed when we go back to work—not with GMAD."

The Lordstown strike, together with the strike at the A.O. Smith Company in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, caused a drop in parts demands which Packard Electric is using to introduce a shortened work week at its Warren, Ohio plant. Packard produces electrical systems for General Motors.

Starting last Monday, about 1000 Packard workers are on reduced work hours, many working one day a week only and collecting sub benefits for 80 percent of the rest of the week. This follows the "energy crisis" layoffs at Packard during which over 5000 workers were laid off.

The United Auto Workers Union has just reported that due to the fact that over 84,000 members have been laid off, there may be cuts in the Supplementary Unemployment Benefits, as they could be running out across the country.

The real cause of the layoffs and reduced work week is the industrial slump created by the in-

ability of the auto corporations to make the profits that are necessary to realize any return on their investment.

Soon, all the major auto companies will follow Ford which recently announced a slash of 25 percent in capital spending.

Under these conditions, the strike at Lordstown must go forward with a fight for a nationwide shutdown and the demand that the labor movement build a labor party, pledged to nationalize all basic industries under workers control.



200 binders in the Graphic Arts Union in Detroit walked out August 9 for a new contract. The company, Helm, Inc., wants to freeze wages for one year.

Cleveland CWA Strike Ends

CLEVELAND—Telephone workers have ended their wildcat strike here but are more determined than ever to vote down the contract negotiated by the leaders of the CWA (Communication Workers of America.)

"Everyone wants to go out but no one wants to be the first. People ask each other if I walk out, will you, but no one will go because the company will fire us."

They were forced to return to work under the pressure of local CWA officials who refused to support them and said nothing could be done until the national vote was finished on the contract.

The strike was also weakened by the fact that the operators although in sympathy, did not go out with the installers and editing clerks.

Many workers are afraid they will not receive their mail ballots and even the shop stewards have been kept in the dark about what is going on.

One thing is clear. The Cleveland telephone workers are going to turn in a massive rejection of the tentative agreement approved by CWA president Glenn Watts.

Workers told Bulletin reporters that their company is putting a lot of pressure on to do overtime and making it clear that they cannot refuse.

The call in the Bulletin for a nationwide telephone strike to unite CWA members with the Western Electric workers who remain on strike has been greeted with tremendous enthusiasm.

Detroit Binders Strike For Wages

BY A REPORTER
DETROIT—Over 200 members of Local 20B, Graphic Arts Union (GAI), binders, two-thirds of whom are women, went on strike Friday, August 9, against Helm Incorporated.

The dispute centers on wages and a cost of living escalator. On July 29, the contract expiration date, the company's last offer was a freeze on wages for one year, no cost of living escalator and the lengthening of the work week from 36 1/4 hours to 37 1/2 hours.

period, including a cost of living escalator with five payments.

Helm Inc., one of the oldest firms in the city, with 30 years of good standing with labor, has steadily prepared an offensive against the union.

Local 20, the only union in the shop, has experienced reclassification by Helm and has lost members with as much as 20 years seniority. Originally, 16 supervisors who are also members of Local 20, crossed picket lines with police escorts.

DWINDLED

The number of scabs has dwindled while two pickets have been arrested for harassing scabs by throwing eggs and tomatoes.

The picket lines are watched 24 hours a day by police on cars and motorcycles.

The union is geared for a long strike. Business Representative, Curtis Bimbalough, stated, "The only way out of this situation for labor, is revolution."

One woman with 26 years seniority said, "They want to freeze wages when every day the costs go up. They'll say they can't make a profit next year too. How are we supposed to get along?"

PICKETS

The union voted down the company offer by a margin of 2-1, and set up pickets at all three locations around the city.

Helm Inc. was a member of an association of employers including 50 firms in the Detroit area. Twenty-eight firms have entered into the association contract which calls for a moderate wage increase over a two year

Dayton Police Call For Dum-Dum Bullets

BY JOHN WERNER
DAYTON—Dayton Police Chief Grover W. O'Connor has declared he is preparing a request to the Dayton City Commission to consider a change to hollow-point bullets.

Under the guise of protecting bystanders from ricocheting bullets, O'Connor proposes the police be judge, jury and executioner.

O'Connor said the hollow point bullets explode on impact making a "mushrooming" hole in a victim. Ballistic experts class the soft nose, split nose, and hollow point bullets as Dum-Dum bullets. All three cause great internal damage as they explode inside the body.

The bullets are named after the British imperialist Dum Dum arsenal near Calcutta, India when India was a colony of the British Empire. The Dum Dum bullets were outlawed by the Hague Convention on laws of land warfare, but now they are

being introduced into police arsenals throughout the country.

Several years ago when General Benjamin O. Davis, the highest ranking black officer in the US Army retired and became the chief of police in Cleveland under Mayor Stokes, he attempted to introduce the Dum Dum bullets.

At the time, Mayor Stokes blocked his endeavor and he soon resigned from the Cleveland Police. Since then the Dum Dum has been quietly introduced as the main bullet used in countless police departments.

The Captain in charge of ammunition for the Lawrence, Massachusetts police states the hollow point bullet "expands on impact and causes a great deal of damage. Once it strikes, it opens up and spreads in all directions inside...If it hits in the stomach or the chest, it would be fatal. It makes a regular hole when it goes in, but when it comes out the other side it makes a hole the size of your fist."

Decision Due On Means-Banks Case

BY JEAN BRUST
ST. PAUL, Minn.—The trial of Dennis Banks and Russell Means on charges stemming from the occupation of Wounded Knee in the spring of 1973 is heading rapidly to a decision.

Last Friday, after only three days, Russell Means in a surprise move rose and stated: "We believe that the story has been told. We stand on our treaty rights. The defense rests."

Five defense witnesses, including Gladys Bissonette and Frank Kills Enemy, have proved beyond any doubt the two main arguments of the defense.

First, the deplorable conditions on the Pine Ridge Reservation and the absolute dead end the Indians were up against in every attempt to improve them.

Secondly, the continuous violation of the 1868 Sioux Treaty under which relations between the tribe and the US are supposed to be governed.

Banks and Means are among the seven persons indicted as leaders of the occupation of Wounded Knee, a small town on the Pine Ridge Reservation, which was occupied for 71 days

by 200 to 300 people. One, Pedro Bissonette, was killed by federal marshals.

Means and Banks are the first to stand trial, and acquittal now would undoubtedly lead to the others' cases being thrown out.

The testimony of Gladys Bissonette, Pedro's aunt, made it clear that they were acting under orders of the Tribal elders. At a meeting held on the reservation February 26, the Oglala Sioux chiefs and headmen decided to call in the American Indian Movement:

"Russell did not have a choice. He had no alternative but to listen to the chiefs."

Mrs. Bissonette also reported on the horrors of the occupation itself. Flares setting a house on fire, lack of food and medical supplies for the occupants, children lying on the floor to avoid the bullets of the federal marshals.

"I didn't care for myself because I knew I was standing up for justice for the Indian people. But I couldn't bear to think of the old people, and the children, who had a full life ahead of them," she stated as she described the gun battle of April 27 during which another nephew, Buddy Lamont, was killed.

Judge Nichol has signed an order demanding any White House tapes relating to any conversation of ex-president Nixon with his aides on Wounded Knee.

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books

by Sheila Brehm
PART THREE

Nancy Fields & Tim Wohlforth

The American Working Class

a materialist assessment

This book gives a rich account of the political history of the working class, graphically bringing out its traditions of revolutionary struggle.

Its most important contribution, however, for workers and youth today is the examination of the weaknesses in the workers movement.

This knowledge is necessary in order to negate what has kept the working class from its revolutionary tasks. The past will shape the struggles today as workers are driven to fight for their basic rights.

In the past, hundreds of thousands of American workers have rallied to labor and socialist parties for leadership only to see them transformed into parties dominated by middle class radicalism which used the militancy of workers as a form of pressure on the capitalist parties. It was this that derailed the struggle.

It was this tendency that derailed the construction of an independent party of the working class—a labor party.

No sooner was the American Revolution completed, than workers began to resist the new aristocracy of the commercial and manufacturing classes.

As early as the 1820's, the first Workingmen's parties—64 in all—and workers newspapers were established, in reaction to the first development of the expansion of capitalism.

The Workingmen's Parties collapsed as quickly as they emerged, coming under the domination of the middle class utopians, such as Robert Dale Owens. They collapsed in a period when capitalism was going through, as Fields writes, "an expansion which still allowed for significant gains to be made by workers."

The small farmers and the middle class in the cities rebelled against the very logic of big capital to destroy small capital, and so the politics of the period were dominated by the struggles of small capital against the growing power of the commercial and manufacturing classes.

It was out of this tendency that radicalism, reformism, and utopian schemes emerged. The role of these middle class "dogooders" was to abandon any fight around working class issues, such as wages, work conditions, and above all, independent political action of the working class. They instead sought to escape the conflict between labor and capital and go off somewhere else to create an ideal society.

Utopianism, which expressed an important condemnation of capitalism, swept the country through the middle 1800s. The attempts to build a communist

society, of which there were many, were just as much a part of America as the rugged individualism.

"Rather than confronting the basic questions of the nature of the social system as a whole and its overthrow, the utopians, be they religious or not, simply sought to change practice in the microcosm. This reflected the narrowness of all pragmatic thinking which proceeds only from immediate practice, and not from a materialist understanding of the development of the world and society as a whole."

For the next thirty years, workers turned their backs on politics, rebelling against the influence of the middle class. They turned instead to the building of unions, which laid the material basis for the break with the middle class.

The growth of the working class and the Industrial Revolution was made possible by the Civil War. It was the period of the Robber Barons, those vast accumulators of wealth—the Rockefellers, Carnegies, and Mellons. It was also the period of the political resurgence of the working class.

The Marxist movement is not at all alien to American soil. It dates back to the time of the Civil War when the German-American workers built the first sections of the First International.

The most important contribution of the German-American Marxists was their theoretical struggle against the Victoria Woodhull section of the First International, which represented everything but the cause of labor, from free love to spiritualism. This middle class tendency both opposed the formation of trade unions and the independent struggle of labor to rid itself of capitalism.

Very much like the SWP and CP today, Woodhull's outlook was, "The scientific reconciliation of workers and employers, to be achieved by overcoming unequal distributions of the products of labor."

It was out of the conflict between the Woodhull section and Victor Serge that Marxism emerged in America.

This struggle allowed the International Workingmen's Association to intervene in the working class and lead important struggles, such as the fight for the eight hour day.

It is precisely this struggle against middle class radicalism that has allowed the Workers League to rally thousands of workers and youth to the fight for a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

TO BE CONTINUED



A family in front of their home in Campbell Village, Oakland.

OAKLAND—A plague of rats has hit Campbell Village, a public housing project in West Oakland.

The village was built during World War Two as temporary war-time housing. It has been used ever since for workers who are retired or on welfare.

This year the Oakland Housing Authority is remodeling the buildings, driving hoards of rats into the streets and yards of the village.

The angry protest of a tenant after her daughter became sick brought television and newspaper publicity to the rat infestation. Brenda Williams, mother of two, told the Bulletin:

"The Health Department put some rat poison out and this rat was sick. My daughter just picked it up, you know, like it was a dog or a cat, and when the rat started moving around, the kids started hollering and she just bit it.

"The rat had internal bleeding, and after she did it, she started crying and scratching and vomiting, and she had a fever."

Channel 2, the local TV station which gave publicity to Mrs. Williams' protest, has tried to turn this against the employees of the Oakland Housing Authority, who have been on strike for over seven weeks. Pictures of dead rats and garbage have been shown alongside strike reports on the station's news programs. But Mrs. Williams told the Bulletin:

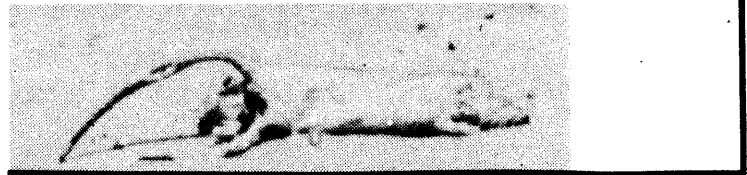
"The men on strike are asking us to help them by buying money orders and holding back on our rent until the strike is over. I'm suing the Housing Authority, not the union. The union men have nothing to do with this. The rats were here before the strike.

"If the Housing Authority wanted to, they could have gone from house to house exterminating when they remodeled these places. They have no business putting out rat poison unless they have a staff here, and they know they have a strike on."

During the strike, the OHA continued remodeling the buildings, driving rats out from under the vacant buildings while garbage and refuse collected around bins which normally would have been picked up by OHA maintenance men. Mrs. Williams explained:

"All that garbage you saw on TV was in my parking lot directly outside my back door. They hadn't picked it up for over a week. Old couches, garbage, trees, everything. The rats were all around, two or three running on the porch at one time. You couldn't open the doors because of the rats and the flies."

Before the strike, maintenance men for the Housing Authority made only \$3.90 an hour. Yesterday after seven weeks on strike, they finally won a 72 cent per hour raise. One of the maintenance men from the Village told the Bulletin:



Rat Plague Infests Campbell Village



The Housing Authority has left piles of garbage uncollected that attracts rats.

"\$4.62 an hour—that's nothing. This situation is entirely the OHA's responsibility. They let this get out of hand just because they wouldn't pay us a lousy nickel and dime raise. They could have exterminated all the rats and then remodeled, if they were really concerned."

The rat plague is by no means limited to Campbell Village. Ten blocks away in the Kirkham Court projects, residents showed Bulletin reporters rat holes all around the foundations of their buildings.

Mrs. Rose Willis, who lives in Kirkham Court, told the Bulletin:

"One night, I was out for just a minute, and I left my door open. And a rat as big as a cat or a dog ran into the house. My son-in-law finally came over and chased him out with a vacuum cleaner."

Rats infest all the projects, but the Housing Authority remodeling at Campbell Village has brought the situation here to a head. One woman counted over a hundred rats running by her

house between 10 and 11 at night.

Instead of improving the conditions, the remodeling had actually made things much worse. Gail told the Bulletin, "They put in these new heaters when they remodeled, and the rats come right in through the heater when you turn it on. This lady over here had a snake crawl through her heater. We don't even use ours anymore."

"They just remodeled this," Mrs. Williams said, "This is what you call a 'remodeled unit.' No doorknobs, no screens on the upstairs windows, the same old filthy stove, the same old toilets. If you have the same old filthy stove, what's remodeled about that?"

The fight for the Young Socialists summer camp received a tremendous response in Campbell Village, where every single youth the Bulletin spoke to is out of work.

"We need to exterminate all the rats, not just the ones running around here, but the ones like Reagan, and Nixon, and Ford too," one youth declared.

Postmen Vote Strike Action

BY A LETTER CARRIER

SEATTLE, Ore.—The National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC) voted for a nationwide strike if the US Postal Service goes ahead with the so-called "Kokomo Plan" of computerized speedup.

3000 delegates at the postal workers biannual convention here brushed aside threats from their own lawyers that such a strike would be illegal and voted to mandate national president James Rademacher to call the strike if the Kokomo Plan is made permanent.

The postal service is testing out time and motion studies on mailmen delivering door to door in Kokomo, Indiana, and Portland, Oregon.

These tests were originally approved by Rademacher but now he has been forced to denounce them as a "conversion to robotism."

Postmen's work has been broken down into several hundred motions and the results of timing each motion are fed into computers.

Inspectors with stop-watches and measuring tapes follow each mailman and check the distance between sidewalks and mail boxes whether or not the carrier opens a door to make a delivery, and all distances on the carriers' route.

This plan brings the methods of an auto assembly line into the

post office. Letter carriers already have time standards for sorting mail in the stations where they are under direct supervision.

In order to enforce standards for work on the street, the inspectors adjust each carrier's route by adding up the time required for each delivery until a total of eight hours is reached.

In nearly every case, this means huge additions to each carrier's route, with the carrier forced to move at top speed at every moment.

If there is a heavy volume of mail, bad weather, or any other disruption, mail will be brought back undelivered, which exposes the worker to suspension or firing.

The number of heart attacks among mailmen has shot up drastically.



The Ford plant in Milpitas, California.

Ford Axes 13 For Walkout At Milpitas

BY A REPORTER MILPITAS—Thirteen auto workers at Ford's Milpitas plant were fired after walking off their jobs.

The walkout by arc welders was to back up demands that the company fire their foreman, Becker, who has forced them to work under unsafe conditions.

The men work without protective arm gear. Frequently they report to the doctor suffering from burns on the arms. The temperature becomes unbearably hot and ventilation is poor.

In spite of the many complaints made by workers in the past, nothing has been done to improve safety conditions. When one welder with less than ninety days merely asked that the foreman install a fan, Becker threatened to fire him if he complained once more about the heat.

After the walkout, the union leadership instructed the men to return to work. Becker was out for a few days. When he returned, the men walked out for a second time. Three workers have been reinstated but the rest are still out.

The fired workers have passed out leaflets calling on others to walk out in support. Some cars

have bumper stickers denouncing Becker.

The Bulletin spoke to one union official, Joseph Gonzales, who blamed the workers for not going through the grievance procedure. He claimed that under the contract, "the workers had no right to walk out on the basis that they didn't like the foreman but they could if it were a matter of health and safety. They walked out because of the conditions and their ignorance."

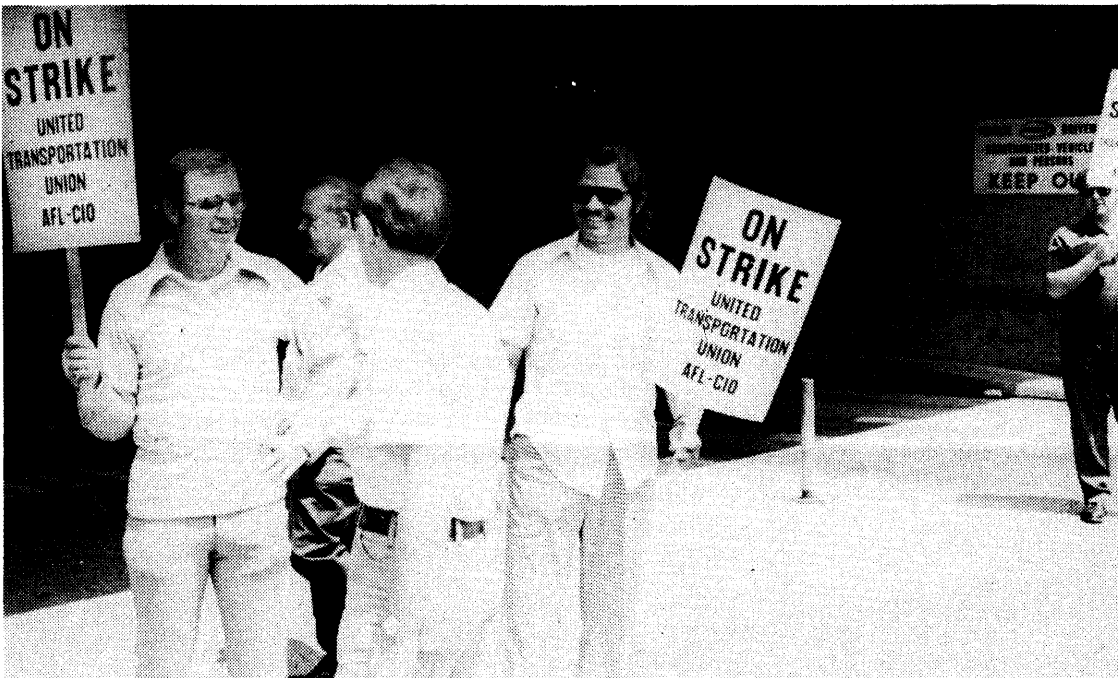
The union leadership has done nothing to win reinstatement of the workers except for going through the grievance procedures.

A repairman on trimming told the Bulletin: "I'd walk out too, Becker rides the guys. The union told the people that they couldn't strike. This leadership is the worst I've seen."

Workers are doing 12 hours a day, six days a week. One worker on the body build described the speedup pushed by the company.

"Two or three cars start getting behind each other and everybody keeps falling behind. They tried to fire me because I won't take it. This year is a lot different from last year. Ford is buying up youth power and speeding up the line."

"It's killing me. I have bronchitis. I took the day off because there's always smoke. They just put in a fan because I raised hell."



AC transit bus drivers in Oakland, California are on strike. They have twice rejected the proposed settlements of the union leadership.

Huey Newton Arrested For Assault

BY MARTY MORAN

OAKLAND, Cal.—Huey P. Newton, founder and leader of the Black Panther Party, has been arrested here on two counts of assault with a deadly weapon.

One count is for allegedly whipping his private tailor, Preston Callins and another for allegedly shooting an unidentified 17-year old girl in the jaw. Both Callins and the girl are hospitalized in serious condition.

Robert Hurd, Newton's 400 pound bodyguard was also charged in the pistol whipping of Callin.

In the past few months, Newton has been involved in numerous bar room incidents which have resulted in several other assault charges.

Newton has made no public appearance or written statement to defend himself. Newton, in fact, has made no public appearances for nearly two years nor has he written anything for the Black Panther's newspaper.

Since the Black Panther Party split several years ago, Newton has rapidly dropped out of sight. He continues to maintain a luxurious penthouse in Oakland.

The Black Panther Party has defended Newton in all the past

incidents but they have made no statement on the most recent charges, by far the most serious.

Less than 50 people turned up for a protest rally to defend Newton after his latest arrest.

Last year, they ran candidates in the city election to "reform" the city government.

When the Panthers were at

Drivers Stick To 46% As LA Transit Talks Resume

BY SHANNON JONES

LOS ANGELES—Negotiations started again on Tuesday, August 20, between the Southern California Rapid Transit District and over 700 striking mechanics from the Amalgamated Transit Union. On Monday, negotiations broke off between RTD and 3000 bus drivers from the United Transportation Union.

Both drivers and mechanics have been on strike for nine days, paralyzing all public transportation in Los Angeles.

The RTD rejected the driver's demands for a 46 percent pay increase and cost of living escalator. The RTD has refused to offer more than seven percent. Further they want to eliminate the cost of living

their height, tens of thousands of working class youth came to demonstrations to defend Huey Newton and other Panther leaders against police repression.

Now, the Panthers have rapidly degenerated into a small, reformist faction of the Democratic Party in Oakland.

clause from both the drivers' and mechanics' contracts.

Floyd Groves, a mechanic, told the Bulletin: "I think inflation is hell. We want what's coming to us. If inflation is up 15 percent we want wages up 15 percent. As long as they keep the inflation up, we need raises."

Jimmy, another mechanic, said, "They want to take out the cost of living. The cost of living seems to go up 11 percent each month. We can't keep up with it, no worker can."

"It's the big people who are hurting us. Ford's the one who should take a pay cut. When he was first nominated, all he did was talk about Nixon's innocence. He nominated Rockefeller as Vice-President. All the stuff that he's been into, they'll start investigating him pretty soon."

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Con la intensificación de la crisis capitalista la clase dominante trato de traer al poder a un representante de su clase que llevase adelante las mismas medidas de Nixon pero que no estuviese tan expuesto frente a los millones de trabajadores y jóvenes. La nueva administración de Ford y Rockefeller representan claramente los intereses de los ricos.

Rockefeller representa a los grandes banqueros. Ahora que el sistema bancario se enfrenta a las más severa crisis a través de la cual la misma existencia de los bancos se ve amenazada y ya ha llevado esto a una serie de bancarrotas tanto en los Estados Unidos, Inglaterra y Alemania, una política fuerte se necesita para las grandes corporaciones bancarias poder sobrevivir.

Las preparaciones de la clase capitalista, provienen de la amenaza del colapso y bancarrotas de industrias. La presente crisis económica y la recesión frente a la cual nos enfrentamos es mucho más severa que la de los años 30. Desde las decisiones del 1971 cuando el valor del oro fue removido del dólar esto señaló una situación bastante diferente que la de los treinta.

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Es en esta situación que los capitalistas están preparando sus ataques en contra del nivel de vida de los trabajadores internacionalmente. El que Ford y Rockefeller sean los representantes del capitalismo norteamericano es una señal a la clase obrera de la agudeza de esta crisis.

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David Rockefeller, the brother of Nelson, is the chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank. He has

been a central figure demanding deflationary policies that will produce a devastating slump in industry. He plays the crucial role in setting the high interest rates and credit restrictions that have already choked many industries and financial institutions for funds, and set the stage for a wave of bankruptcy.

It is the knowledge that Rockefeller's appointment means the preparation for depression that sent Wall Street, in spite of its ecstasy over his rise to power, into a deeper decline.

The leading voices of capitalism are enthusiastic over the appointment of Rockefeller.

"I think it's sensational," declared James J. Needham, chairman of the New York Stock Exchange.

The New York Times editorialized: "The nomination of Nelson A. Rockefeller assures the nation that, in an emergency, there will be available in that post a man of Presidential quality...With his experience and prestige."

The Times added that Rockefeller "could also usefully supplement President Ford's personal efforts to control wage-price inflation through pressure and persuasion."

On September 13, 1971, while Governor of New York, Rockefeller ordered the bloody suppression of the prison revolt in Attica that left 42 men dead. He sent in the National Guard and state troopers to slaughter unarmed prisoners. According to reliable reports, a number of prisoners who led the revolt were executed after the revolt had been put down.

"Of course, there was more at stake than saving lives," declared Rockefeller at the time. "There was the whole rule of law to consider. The whole fabric of our society, in fact."

This is the voice of American capitalism. If Rockefeller was able to murder 42 men to "preserve the rule of law" in a small upstate town, it is clear that he will stop at nothing to defend this system against the movement of millions of workers.

Workers, housewives, and youth must answer the nomination of Rockefeller with an urgent campaign in every trade union and community for the building of a labor party.

A leadership for this struggle can be developed only through the construction of the revolutionary party, the Workers League, which we urge all workers and youth to join.

To Our Readers

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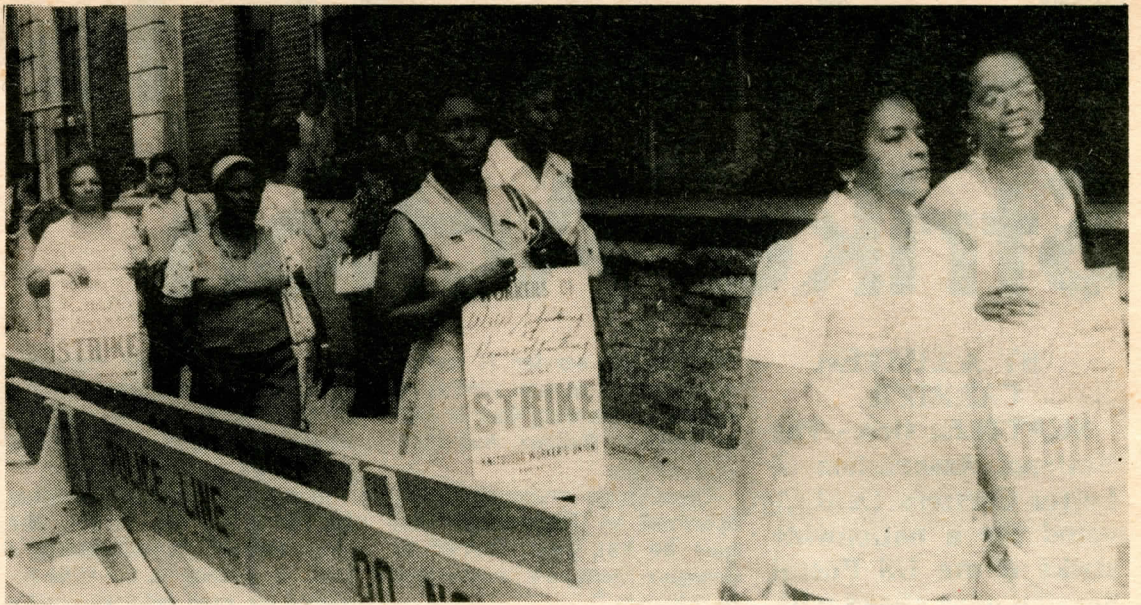
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Through their control of the largest banks and corporations, the Rockefeller family is able to determine the essential policies of the capitalist class.

David Rockefeller, the brother of Nelson, is the chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank. He has

been a central figure demanding deflationary policies that will produce a devastating slump in industry. He plays the crucial role in setting the high interest rates and credit restrictions that have already choked many industries and financial institutions for funds, and set the stage for a wave of bankruptcy.

It is the knowledge that Rockefeller's appointment means the preparation for depression that sent Wall Street, in spite of its ecstasy over his rise to power, into a deeper decline.

The leading voices of capitalism are enthusiastic over the appointment of Rockefeller.

"I think it's sensational," declared James J. Needham, chairman of the New York Stock Exchange.

The New York Times editorialized: "The nomination of Nelson A. Rockefeller assures the nation that, in an emergency, there will be available in that post a man of Presidential quality... With his experience and prestige."

The Times added that Rockefeller "could also usefully supplement President Ford's personal efforts to control wage-price inflation through pressure and persuasion."

On September 13, 1971, while Governor of New York, Rockefeller ordered the bloody suppression of the prison revolt in Attica that left 42 men dead. He sent in the National Guard and state troopers to slaughter unarmed prisoners. According to reliable reports, a number of prisoners who led the revolt were executed after the revolt had been put down.

"Of course, there was more at stake than saving lives," declared Rockefeller at the time. "There was the whole rule of law to consider. The whole fabric of our society, in fact."

This is the voice of American capitalism. If Rockefeller was able to murder 42 men to "preserve the rule of law" in a small upstate town, it is clear that he will stop at nothing to defend this system against the movement of millions of workers.

Workers, housewives, and youth must answer the nomination of Rockefeller with an urgent campaign in every trade union and community for the building of a labor party.

A leadership for this struggle can be developed only through the construction of the revolutionary party, the Workers League, which we urge all workers and youth to join.

To Our Readers

This is the last issue of the **Bulletin** before our nine-day summer camp which begins Saturday, August 24. The next issue of the **Bulletin** will be published on Tuesday, September 3.