

Bulletin

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

VOLUME TEN NUMBER NINETY EIGHT 434

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1974

UNION LABEL 6

TWENTY CENTS

Bankers Warn "CAPITALISM IS DYING"

STATEMENT OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE OF THE WORKERS LEAGUE

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

This sets the stage not only for savage trade war but creates

conditions that force the capitalist class to prepare police dictatorships and war.

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

The Martinique decision represents a decisive blow against the US attempts to "demonetize" gold and maintain the dollar at its current fraudulent \$42.22 an ounce official value.

Gold is asserting itself as the only monetary unit which contains real value against the continuously depreciating value of all paper currencies. Investors no longer have the slightest confidence in paper money and credit as a standard of value in which to store their wealth.

The Martinique measures,

which overnight quadruple the dollar value of the gold reserves held by all central banks, must give an enormous boost to inflation, setting a wave of price increases in motion as paper money deteriorates still further.

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

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

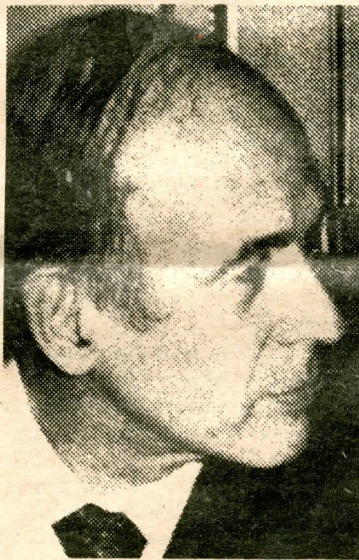
Nixon's August 15, 1971 measures which removed the gold cover from the dollar brought this entire period of expansion and "controlled" inflation to an end.

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

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

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

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



French President Giscard



President Gerald Ford

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

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

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

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

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

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

The US is expected to show an absolute decline in Gross National Product throughout 1975. Some OECD experts are reported to have predicted a 10

to 12 percent rate of unemployment in America by the end of the year.

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

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

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

To the American working class, the danger is very clear. Ford and his capitalist masters intend to impose wartime solutions.

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

(Continued On Page 11)

New Pact For Mine Builders

BY DAVID NORTH
WASHINGTON, DC, Dec. 19—The United Mine Workers announced late last night that a tentative settlement had been reached with the Association of Bituminous Contractors, which employs 4,500 mine construction workers.

An estimated 50,000 coal miners in several states—including as many as 20,000 miners in West Virginia—have been honoring picket lines set up by the ABC workers.

Court injunctions ordering UMW members back to work have been defied. Appeals by UMW President Arnold Miller to the mine builders urging them to withdraw their pickets have been ignored.

The UMW international has refused to release the details of the tentative settlement.

Despite the agreement with ABC, prospects of a nationwide

return to full-scale coal production received another setback when contract negotiations yesterday with western Pennsylvania trucking companies were broken off.

Five hundred union trucking employees served notice that they would not haul coal without a contract.

Association lawyer Steve Cabot told the press: "About 90 percent of the independent coal truck drivers in the United States are in western Pennsylvania."

"In simple terms, most of the nation's largest mining operations are here. If the trucking of coal is not handled properly this could spiral into the worst strike this country could conceive of."

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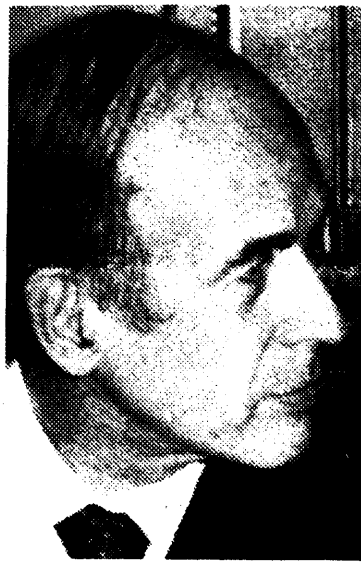
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British Auto Firm Close To Collapse

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE

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

However, the stop-gap loans will not save the nearly bankrupt company.

Behind the scenes, the labor heads are collaborating with British-Leyland to go ahead with mass layoffs of the 160,000 auto workers employed by the company.

The ministers in the government are trying to mask their corporatist plans with talk about introducing "a measure of public ownership" over Leyland. What they really aim to do is reorganize the company to increase productivity while slashing jobs.

The enormous crisis facing British-Leyland cannot be papered over any longer with loans. The economy of the country has slid still closer to collapse with the announcement that the Saudi Arabians will not accept British sterling notes as payment for oil.

This action threatens the entire banking structure of Britain. The Arabs have kept massive sterling deposits in British banks. These sterling balances have been a pillar of the country's credit structure.

If the Arabs withdraw this balance, the banks will be confronted with a drastic loss of

liquidity. Their response to a massive outflow of funds will be to demand that their industrial clients repay their outstanding loans.

COLLAPSE

Such a call for money would choke industry of financing and bring about a collapse of production.

Workers at British-Leyland face a two-pronged assault from the company and the government.

Leyland is demanding no strikes or sanctions, achievement of all programs and schedules, reduction of stock, elimination of excess unfinished vehicles, reduced expenditures, "reasonable and realistic manning levels," reduction of overtime, a cutback in hiring, and improved "mobility of labor."

A letter from the company states: "I say again that the task is to make jobs safe and secure. What is certain is that without your active cooperation, the task will not be accomplished, and we will face the certainty of forced redundancy."

Just before the letter arrived, 4,000 production workers at Cowley had voted on their own list of demands for the annual pay review.

They are fighting for about \$36 a week pay raise, full shift and overtime differentials in place of a "consolidated time rate" payment, a cost of living clause, and a 35-hour week at no reduction in pay.

The workers also demand that the 14-day layoff check be extended to 21 days pay, that sick pay be extended to cover 13



British-Leyland auto workers at Cowley plant at mass meeting decide to go for \$36 a week pay raise.

weeks at full rate, and the doubling of accident benefits.

SOCIAL CONTRACT

These demands pit the powerful auto workers against the "social contract" which the Labor government and trade union leadership have used to impose wage cutting and unemployment on the working class of Britain.

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

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

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

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

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

It seeks a solution to this crisis through the destruction of the

jobs, living conditions, and trade union rights of the working class. The Labor government, like the Tory government it replaced, is preparing dictatorship and military police repression to enforce industrial collapse and destitution.

While millions of workers begin to fight, the trade union leadership continues to support the Wilson government and its

rotten "social contract."

A leadership for the battles ahead is being constructed only through the fight of the Workers Revolutionary Party, which is campaigning among auto workers for a policy to fight job cuts with plant occupations, to force the Labor government to carry out a socialist program of full nationalization without compensation under workers control.

Smith-Vorster Fear Rhodesian Revolution



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

BY MELODY FARROW

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

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

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

But there is no peaceful way that this terrorist bloody dictatorship that represents 250,000 white settlers in a nation of 5.5 million blacks, can be eased out except through an armed struggle.

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

Smith has in the past consistently declared that he would never negotiate with the Zimbabwe nationalist movements.

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

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

TALKS

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

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

Vorster's plan calls for the establishment of an interim parliament to be elected next year. But only blacks with at least one year of secondary school would be eligible to vote. On Tuesday, Bishop Muzorewa, head of the ANC, declared that majority rule was a precondition for any agreement. The cease-fire is far from permanent.

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

Let Them Starve—US Tells United Nations

The Ford government has announced it will boycott the United Nations emergency aid and development fund to countries hardest hit by inflation and the oil prices.

The European Economic Community, as well as Kuwait and Iran, had pledged to contribute to the fund on the condition that the United States was one of the participants.

US representative Clarence Ferguson, Jr., said the fund was not necessary and that the US preferred to work through the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, which is dominated by the most powerful capitalist nations. On the other hand, all decisions on the 32-nation board of the UN fund, which includes many developing nations, are taken either by consensus or by a two-thirds vote.

The UN list of 32 countries most desperately in need of emergency aid includes 20 African nations, 4 in Latin America, and Cambodia, Laos, Pakistan, Bangla Desh, Sri Lanka, Yemen, South Yemen, and India.

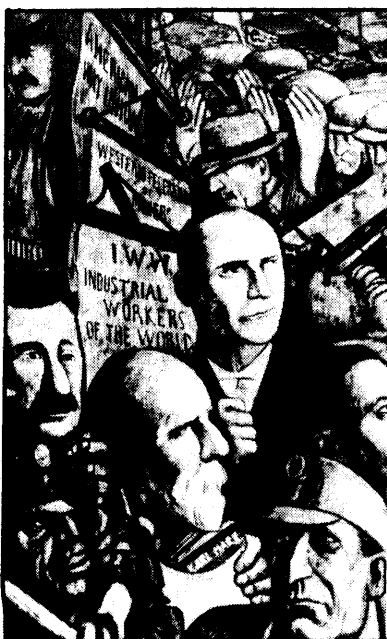
The economic crisis and the huge balance of payments deficits that have skyrocketed since oil prices were quadrupled last year mean that the US will let masses of people in the colonial countries starve.

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

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

will prevent the smaller nations from banding together against the US. The recent demands of African, Asian, Arab, and Latin American countries to expel South Africa from the UN and the UN recognition of the PLO were all setbacks to US imperialism.

By virtually halting all aid unless it is under the strict control of the US, the American ruling class is telling these countries that their economies will be wrecked unless they submit.



Essential Reading

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The only existing history of American Trotskyism. \$2.45

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ROCKEFELLER COLLECTS HIS DEBTS

Rockefeller's nomination as vice-president has sailed through the House Judiciary Committee and the Senate and is now headed for an overwhelming "yes" vote in Congress.

The House Judiciary Committee, which led the Nixon impeachment hearings, was apparently not disturbed by Rocky's payoffs to countless politicians and officials and voted 26 to 12 to confirm.

The Senate backed him by an overwhelming 90 votes to 7.

Among the Congressmen thumping the drum the hardest for Rockefeller are the most prominent liberals who have always prided themselves on their stand against big business privileges and corruption.

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

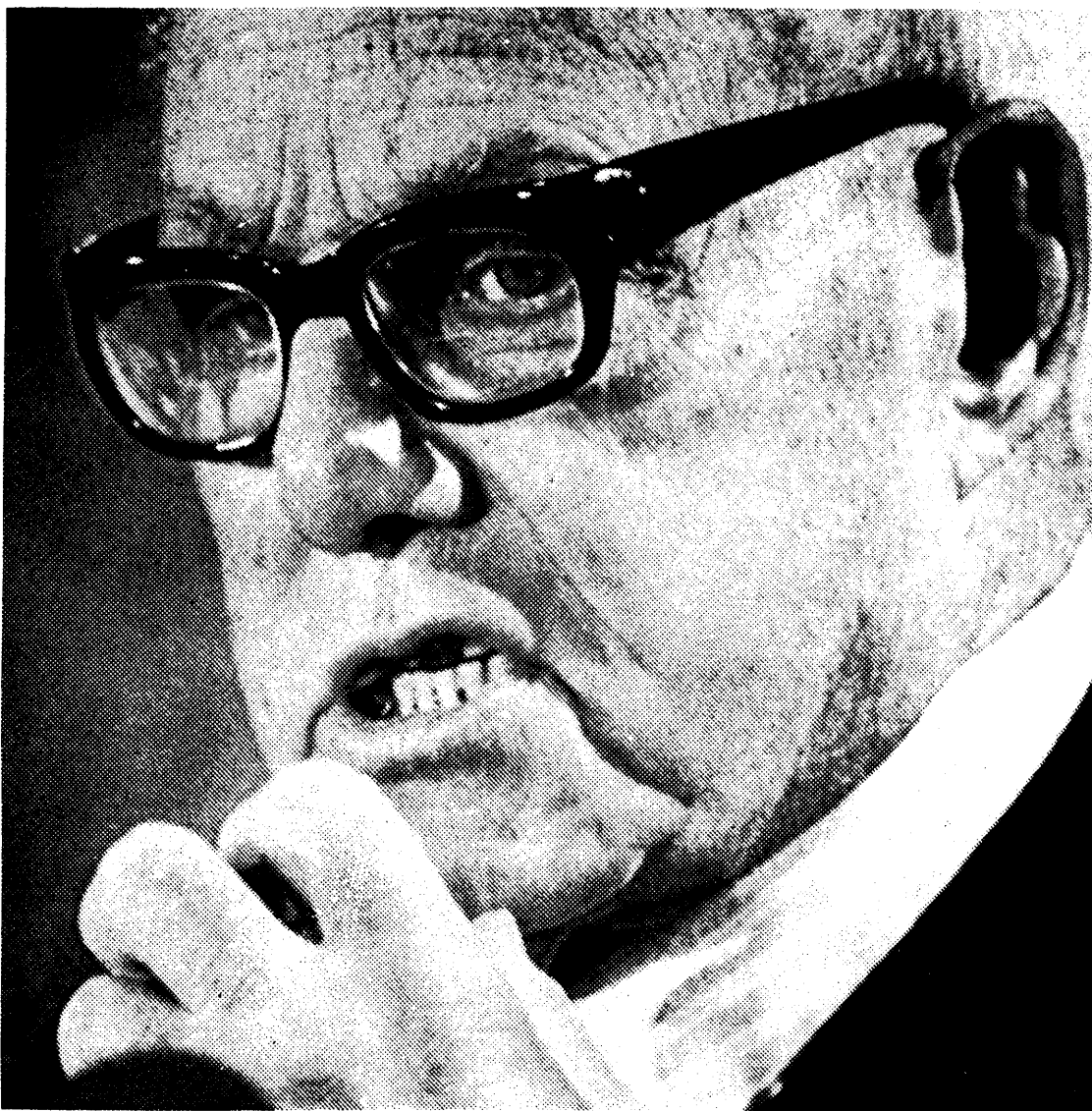
Helping who, Mrs. Jordan? There is no question that Rockefeller has shown his generosity for his cronies and those he needed to use.

Shirley Chisholm, congresswoman from Brooklyn, whose campaign slogan was always "unbossed and unbought" is now fervently behind Rockefeller, who has probably bought off more people than any politician in American history.

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

Perhaps Mrs. Chisholm has conveniently forgotten about the Attica massacre, when Rockefeller personally ordered the brutal slaying of 38 prisoners. This was some great display of "human and social concern"!

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



GEORGE MEANY AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

BY FRED MAZELIS

The top leadership of the AFL-CIO has announced a policy of "disengagement" from the Democratic Party.

Following the Democratic mini-convention in Kansas City, 10 union officials who are members of the Democratic National Committee are reported on the verge of resigning.

This development is not so much a matter of "disengagement" as the unceremonious dismissal of Meany and the leadership of the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE) from their previous positions of influence.

According to John F. Henning,

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

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

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

The so-called liberal section of the trade union bureaucracy, including in particular Leonard Woodcock of the Auto Workers, now is the principal prop of the Democrats.

The Democrats, barely able to

scrape together one-fifth of the total eligible vote, and as faithful to the interests of big business as ever, see in this section of the labor leadership the most effective bulwark against the movement for a labor party.

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

Trade unionists must demand that Meany and his lieutenants make a final break with the Democrats.

But Meany has no intention of doing this. He wants to threaten his way back into the inner councils of decision-making. COPE Director Alexander Barkan warned that union officials were thinking of going their own way—and then hastily added that that did not mean abandoning the Democrats, but rather supporting them individually.

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

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

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



Japanese workers are heading for a showdown with the new government of Deputy Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda over wages. The Japanese Industrial Labor Council will be fighting for an average wage increase of 30 percent. At right, railway workers on strike last month.

France and United States Still Divided on Joint Oil Policy

BY A REPORTER

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

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

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

France has been the major country which has refused to cooperate in the 16-nation International Energy Agency set up on the initiative of the United

States to allocate oil supplies in case of emergencies.

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

In the actual agreement worked out, Kissinger and Ford agreed to the French proposal and tentatively set the meeting for March, 1975.

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

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

France suspects that war, and not negotiation to lower oil

prices, is the aim of the US and fears that any confrontation with the Arab oil producers would jeopardize its investments in the Middle East and its critical oil imports.

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

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

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

Not only France, but many

European countries and Japan, are all facing huge balance of payments deficits.

It has also been reported that the US turned a deaf ear to Giscard's plea for some reflation of the US economy as the recession here immediately raises the unemployment rate in Europe.

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

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

The economic crisis now forces every capitalist nation to face civil war against the working class and war with its former allies to grab markets and preserve its own interests. The Martinique talks will do nothing to avert this.

Labor Hacks Who Backed Abe Beame

BY DAVID NORTH

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

During the election campaign of 1973, the union bureaucrats hailed Beame and the Democratic Party as "friends" of the working class. Victor Gotbaum of District 37, John DeLury of the Sanitationmen, Richard Vizzini of the Firemen, and Albert Shanker of the UFT seemed to compete with one another in flattering Beame and in predicting the wonderful things that would happen in New York if the aging political hack became mayor.

In late September, District Council 37 announced that it supported the election of Beame. The October 5, 1973 issue of Public Employee Press reported on the endorsement:

"District Council 37 has placed the full weight of its political muscle squarely behind the Democratic ticket in the November elections: Abraham Beame for Mayor, Paul O'Dwyer for City Council President, and Harrison Goldin for Comptroller.

"A packed Delegates Council meeting September 25 gave the three Democrats a rousing reception after overwhelmingly approving the unanimous endorsement of the ticket by the council's executive board.

"Describing Beame as 'a man of dignity, honor, and respect, who never makes deals', DC 37 Executive Director Victor Gotbaum introduced the long-time public servant to the enthusiastic delegates as 'the man who represents the most direct path to the significant gains and progress that must be realized in our city'."

ENDORSEMENT

Beame's "direct path" has led to 8,000 layoffs and devastating attacks on essential social services in New York. Gotbaum has not only never taken back his endorsement of Beame, but now, he expressed his "understanding" of the mayor's problems and the financial crisis of the city.

Even as Beame talks about investing the pension funds of city workers in municipal bonds to help pay back Wall Street financiers who have taken some losses, Gotbaum continues his talks with Beame to collaborate with the mayor's plans to destroy still more jobs.

UFA leader Richard Vizzini was another ardent supporter of Beame. The December 1973 issue of Fire Lines carried a statement beneath the headline "Abe Beame: He'll make it work" which declared:

"The UFA choice for the next mayor of New York City won an overwhelming victory and we are proud of the role that firefighters played in the mandate he received.

"Needless to say, we wish the able and competent Mr. Beame, with a distinguished record in city government, every best wish for a successful admini-

stration, and pledge the cooperation and continuing loyalty of the New York City firefighter."

Beame has repaid this groveling expression of obedience to the Democratic Party with the layoff of 150 firemen.

CHOICE

John DeLury of the Uniformed Sanitationmen's Association, which faces the elimination of 235 permanent and 74 provisional workers, declared last year that it was "an easy choice" to vote for Beame.

District 1199 President Leon Davis also supported Beame, and he was angered when the Guild Division Delegates Assembly voted against endorsing the Democratic Party ticket.

Having called Beame the "best choice," he publicly denounced the stand of the Guild Delegates. Davis stated:

"I doubt whether the action of the Guild delegates in refusing to endorse the Democratic candidates fully represents the sentiments of the Guild membership. I think the overwhelming majority of Guild members will vote for Beame as the only likely choice for mayor."

The collaboration of the trade union bureaucracy with the Democratic Party makes the Gotbaums, Davises, DeLurys and Vizzinis responsible for the attacks on the jobs of city workers.

All these "leaders" lined up behind the Democrats last year and opposed the construction of a labor party.

In backing the Democrats, the bureaucracy backs the program of big business. They agree with Beame that the city must slash jobs so that the debts to the Rockefeller banks can be repaid promptly.

SUPPORT

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

Supporters of the Workers League in District 1199 were witch-hunted by the Davis leadership for conducting the campaign for the building of a labor party among rank and file hospital workers.

In SSEU-371, the Committee for New Leadership (section of the TUALP) demanded last fall that local President Mary Pinkett be removed from office for campaigning with Beame in order to win a seat on the City Council as a Democrat.

The Bulletin of November 13, 1973 declared: "Pinkett will be part of the city government that is preparing war against the SSEU and which is determined to carry out massive layoffs of social service employees."

The fight to defend jobs requires a break with the Democrats and the building of a labor party responsible to the working class.



AFSCME Local 2627 President Dennis Weiscopf, at right, stands with a 2726 delegate and a DC 37 rep.

AFSCME Head Takes Credit For 30 Firings

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE
NEW YORK, NY—Dennis Weiscopf, president of American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees Local 2627 has claimed credit for the firing of 30 quantitative analysts in the Human Resources Administration.

Weiscopf broke up the December 16 meeting of the Local after workers exploded over his maneuvers with management, which could cost a total of 77 jobs and the downgrading of 85 workers.

Weiscopf sent personnel officials a personally typed list of 38 workers at the 2 Broadway office with the assertion that they were working out-of-title and should be demoted.

Workers at 2 Broadway have now been subjected to Department of Personnel desk audits.

Workers are being forced to break up traditional work practices to perform extra duties. An indefinite freeze has been placed on all promotions.

Ten members of the union at the Broadway offices have resigned from the union since Weiscopf's memo was leaked to the workers. This was the intention of management when they leaked the list, accompanied by a viciously antiunion memo.

Thirty of the workers and lower management personnel

No Jobs In Civil Service

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

This statement by a hospital worker sums it up. For generations, civil service jobs have been thought to last a lifetime. Now, Mayor Beame's demand that city agencies fire over 500 civil service workers is challenging this.

While trade union leaders kept silent, the New York legislature signed a law in 1972 authorizing drastic revisions of layoff and reinstatement procedures affecting state and city workers.

There are no restraints on an administration's ability to lay off civil service workers, as long as it is done by title, within

*Electronic Data Processing
Employees Local 2627*

Affiliated with District Council 37, AFSCME, AFL-CIO, 140 Park Place, New York, N.Y. 10027

Out of Title Workers at the Department of Social Services
Computer Facility at 2 Broadway

Name	Title	Workings
Blumenthal, Brian 25477	Admin. Aide P	CP/MSA
Dono, Derek 25477	Admin. Aide P	CP
Engel, Roland 25477	Admin. Aide P	CP
Handberg, Bill 25477	CP	CP
Isaacs, Nicholas 25477	CP	CP
Smith, Stanley 25477	CP	CP
Stoll, Carl 25477	CP	CP
Ward, Arnold 25477	Senior Methods Analyst P	CP
Ward, Mario 25477	Sup. Comp. Operator P	CP
Ryan, Edward 25477	CP	CP
Bishop, Charles 25477	Quant. Analyst P	CP
Porter, Frank 25477	CP	CP
Gallant, Clifford 25477	CP	CP
Ward, Arnold 25477	Senior Methods Analyst P	CP

Memo from Weiscopf indicating quantitative analysts he claims are working out-of-title.

were among 1,510 city workers issued layoff slips the first week in December. "We are the first union to lay off their own managers," Weiscopf reported proudly at the meeting.

According to workers in the department, these provisional Electronic Date Processing workers are, in fact, doing the same work as lower paid civil service workers in the office.

They said, however, that this is because the department's pay scale is so low that this maneuvering is the only way to hire experienced workers from private industry.

Union officials pointed out to the city that demoting these workers to their titles would mean pay cuts of \$4,000 to \$9,000 a year.

Management's memo to workers at 2 Broadway said that

the demotions would overload lower titles so that 77 workers, eligible to be members of Local 2627, would have to be fired. Eighty-five workers in all, not 38, would be downgraded.

In addition, several hundred other EDP workers for the city now face harassment and possible layoff. According to the union, 54 percent of the workers in computer titles are provisionals.

Members of Local 2627 are angered by the city's massive layoffs and the long delay in their own contract fight.

"We might be winning the battle, but we're losing the war," one worker shouted at the December 16 meeting.

Faced with motions demanding a fight for general strike action to stop all layoffs, and for a labor party, and an alternative program of contract demands, Weiscopf pulled some supporters out of the meeting and adjourned it after a hasty quorum count.

Phony promises to defend every worker in the union have faded as Weiscopf's mentor, Vic Gotbaum, and his crew return again and again to the mayor's office to work out new job cutting formulas.

Even the union's request that at least permanent civil service workers be protected was withdrawn and replaced by a proposal to dump any 63-year-old worker. Which section of the city workers they will be willing to sacrifice next is the only question left.

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



the economic crisis

RECESSION OUT OF CONTROL

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Faced with declining sales and gloomy economic prospects, manufacturers are being hit with cutbacks and cancellations of orders. Almost overnight, the situation of shortages that existed when inventories were being built up to hedge against inflation is being replaced by unsold surpluses, as companies

seek to unload these inventories. Textiles, electronics, cement, aluminum, and chemical manufacturers are all reporting a huge deterioration in orders.

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

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

The collapse of housing construction is wrecking the lumber industry. In the Southeast, 52 lumber mills have shut down.

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

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

SURPRISE

The auto collapse has come so rapidly and cut so deeply into sales that the severity of the downturn has taken the auto giants by surprise.

Otto Eckstein, Harvard economist and president of Data Resources Inc., which provides econometric models for industry, claims that current auto sales are running at an annual rate of 6 million. This compares to 11.4 million in 1973.

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

"And of course, it would be

part of a general process of fear and panic that would push the unemployment rate beyond eight percent."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SURVIVAL

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

The industry takes more than 65 percent of lead output, 60 percent of synthetic rubber, almost 50 percent of malleable iron, one-third of zinc produc-

tion, and about 10 percent of the output of the aluminum and copper industries.

Glass companies, hit by both the auto and construction crisis, are preparing large-scale shut-downs and layoffs.

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

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

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

A recent study by William D. Nordhaus of Yale University reveals that since 1965, the rate of corporate profits has been steadily declining. He states that the rate of profit has fallen from 10 percent in 1965 to 5.4 percent in 1973.

MARX

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

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

Today, even capitalist econo-

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

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

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

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

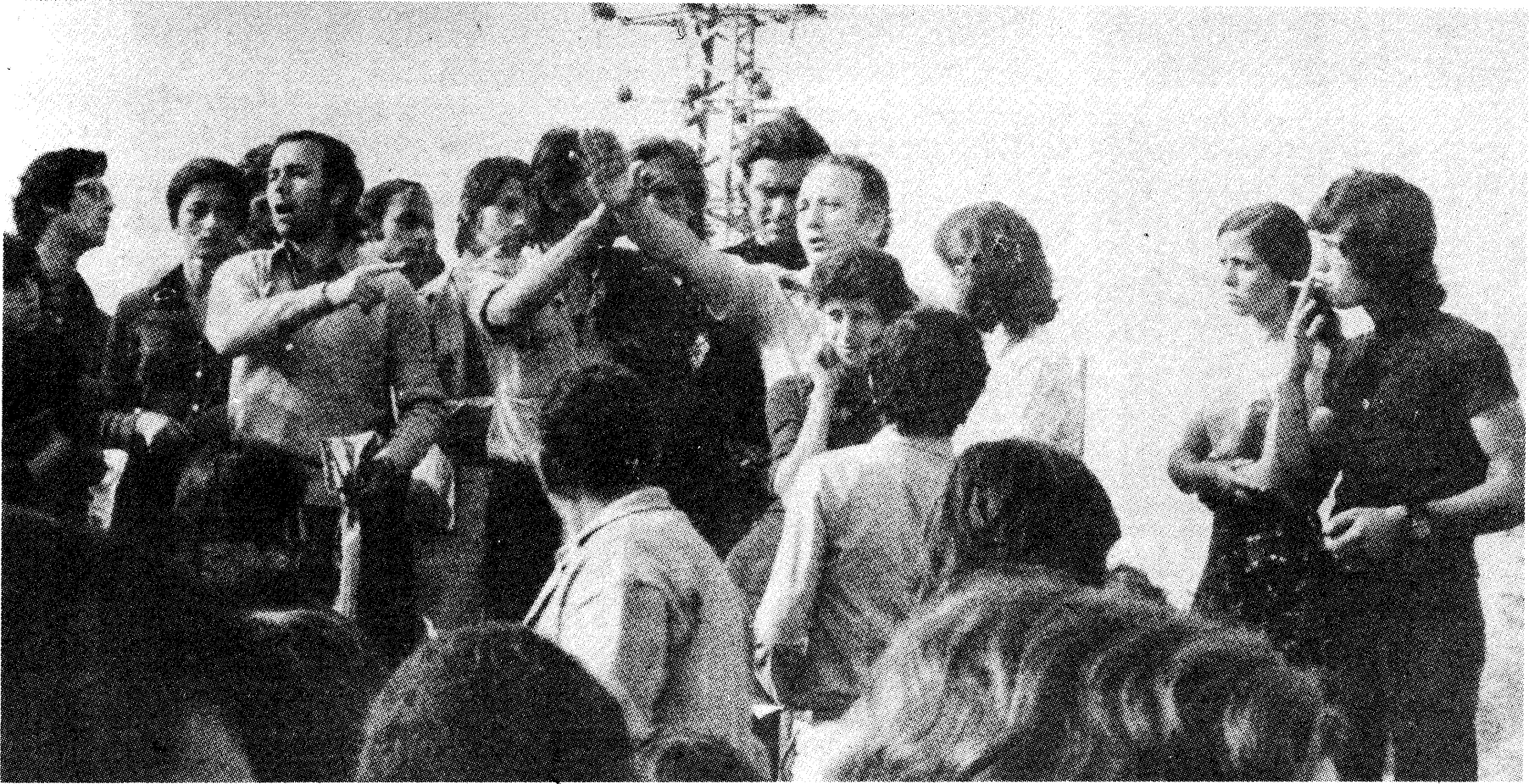
Collapse and mass unemployment is the only method available to capitalism to restore its profit rates. This is the only way capitalism has of driving down wage rates and destroying entire sections of capital so as to make production profitable once again.

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

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

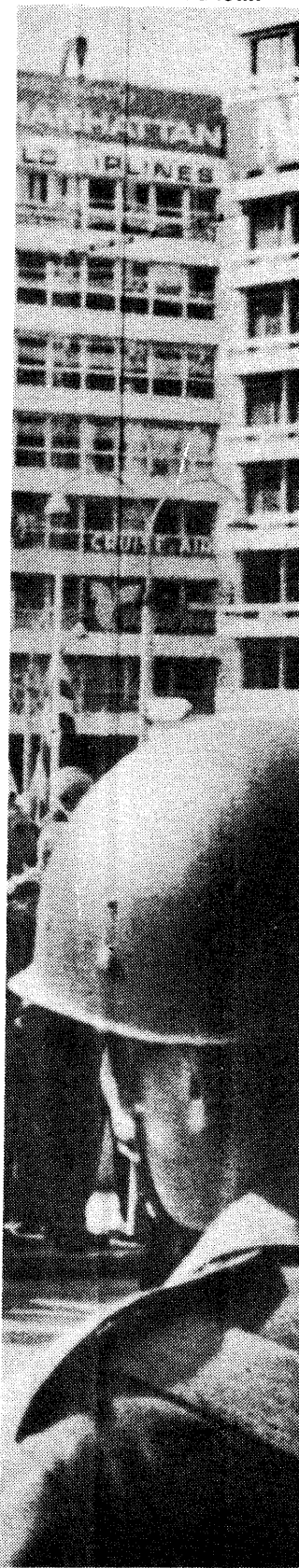
The most devastating slump in the history of capitalism is now beginning. It can only be answered through the fight to destroy the capitalist system itself.

Labor must act to immediately launch a labor party pledged to ending the profit system by nationalizing the banks and industries under workers control with planned socialist production.



Stormy meeting at National Can as Stalinist (arm raised) on right, tries to defend himself from workers' accusations.

Revolutionary Tendencies Held Back by Greek Communist Party



Under the sign of Karamanlis's



Stalinists try to keep workers away from revolutionary influence during Andreadis shipyard strike.



DIRECT FROM GREECE FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT ROYSTON BULL

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

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

Soldiers with fixed bayonets stood on duty outside all the polling stations on voting day. At pre-election rallies, the military were frequently in evidence.

One sign that the capitalist state machine has not changed its plumage was the con-

tinued use on police and military uniforms of the phoenix badge, the symbol of the junta which was meant to be removed after the dictatorship's fall. Few have been taken off.

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

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

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

There were elements of dual power during the days of the junta's downfall.

Thousands of working class conscripts were mobilized into reserve army units immediately following the junta-backed coup in Cyprus.

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

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

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

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

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

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But the Stalinists have deliberately obstructed this, proposing a number of small separate craft unions instead.

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Indirectly, the CP supported this line. It repeated the words of the TUC without any comment in its paper. Both sections of the Communist Party, the more reactionary "interior" group and the larger more Moscow-oriented "exterior" section, have since carried this undermining of strikes into practice.

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

The secretary of the local trades council refused to spread the strike, warning of "the danger of bringing back the tanks and the dictatorship." After three days of what was developing into the first determined workers' struggle since the fall of the junta, the Stalinists ended the strike over the heads of the workers, many of whom

first learned about its being called off from an announcement in the CP paper *Radical*.

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But in the course of angry meetings outside the factory and at the local trades council, the revolutionary party was able to begin the exposure of the class-collaborationist role of the Communist Party.

At the Andreadis shipyard at Perma, near Pireus, shipyard workers on strike were driven back after only three days in return for an issue of free milk plus payment for the three days out on strike.

The 15 percent wage claim which led to the dispute was once again shelved.

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

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

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

They then signed the notorious Decree 59, which means a promise not to overthrow the existing regime, and refused to join the rest of the labor and trade union movement in fighting the decree, with which Karamanlis replaced the even more

notorious law 509 used by the junta to jail workers during the dictatorship.

The Stalinists, who split in 1967 after their total failure to forewarn and forearm the working class about the seizure of power by the colonels, for this election formed, an unprincipled coalition between their own two sections and the defunct EDA electoral front which flourished in the 1950s and 1960s when the CP was illegal following the Civil War.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Yet Papandreu's righthand man in his largely US-educated election staff was Charalambopoulos, former officer in the Military Academy in Athens, breeding ground of the Papadopoulos colonels, who helped train the right-wing officer cadets for seven years under the junta but now preaches nationalization.

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And Andreas Papandreu told a 300,000-strong PASOK rally in Constitution Square, "Socialism is possible!" and they cheered mightily.

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

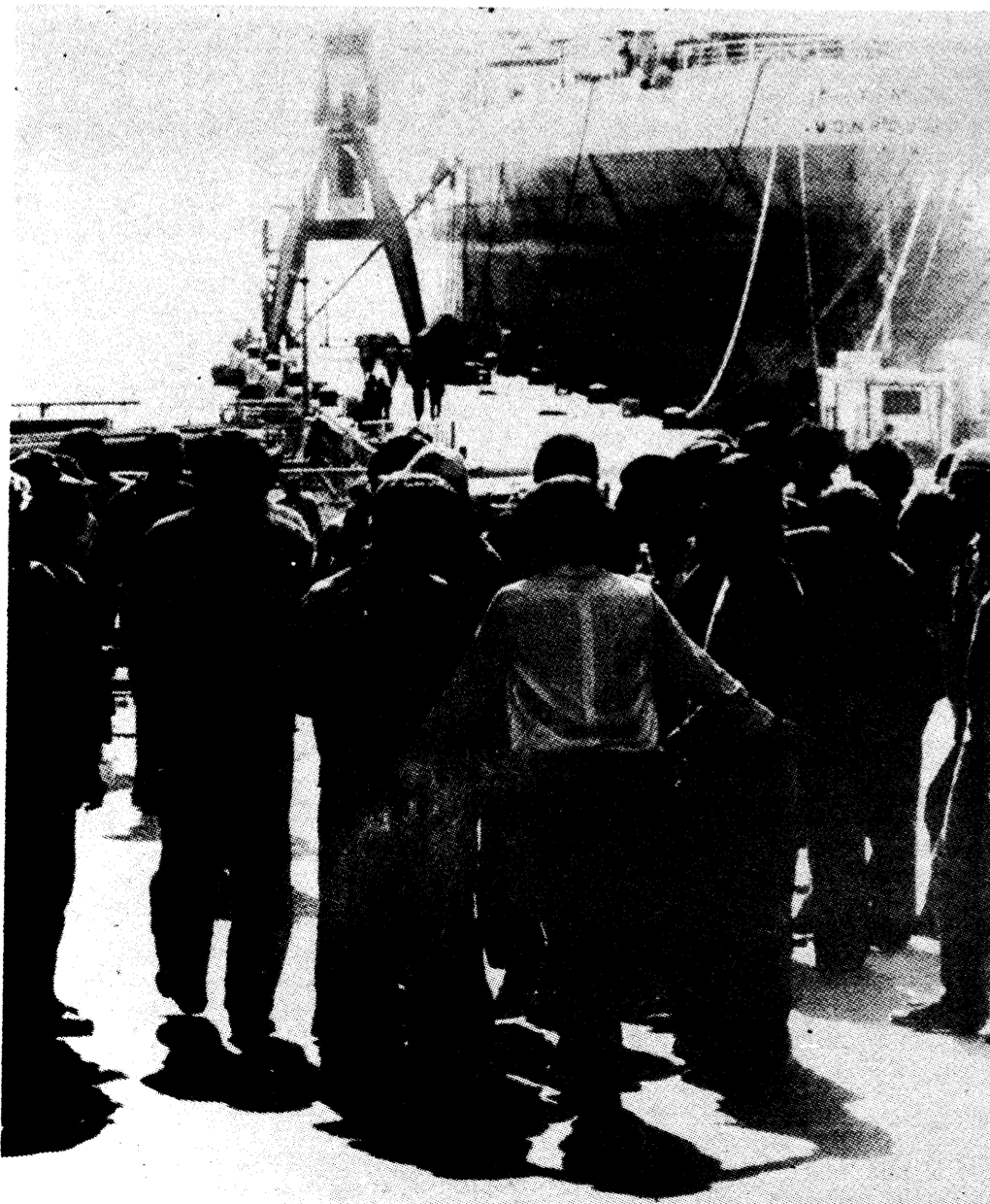
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Boeing Strikers Block Shipments

BY DENNIS GREEN
PHILADELPHIA Pa.—3,069 members of United Auto Workers Local 1069 are facing a showdown with the Boeing Vertol Corporation as their strike enters the fifth week in Ridley township.

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

New Evidence: Sirhan Did Not Act Alone

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

Attorney Godfrey Isaacs's call for a reopening of the inquiry into the case came only one day after former Congressman Allard Lowenstein declared that a year-long study of the assassination had convinced him that Sirhan was not the man who fired the fatal bullets into Robert Kennedy.

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

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

Eyewitnesses recalled that Sirhan was standing anywhere from 2 to 10 feet in front of Kennedy when the shots were fired.

But the world renowned pathologist who performed the autopsy, Dr. Thomas T. Noguchi, concluded that Kennedy was shot from behind at a distance of one to six inches.

The official version of the assassination maintains that Sirhan fired eight shots that evening in June, 1968. But the discovery of three bullet holes in the hotel ceiling plus an additional seven bullets recovered from the bodies of Kennedy and others injured in the shooting indicate that more than one man was firing a gun.

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

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

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

Boeing workers make an average of \$5.29 an hour and have had no cost of living increase in three years.

The union leadership has allowed Boeing to bring in "supervisory" personnel, but the ranks have made sure that no scab products are shipped out by land or sea.

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

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

The strikers understand the threat to their rights and are determined to win. One Boeing worker said, "Seniority is the main issue in this strike. If they can take that away, we won't last a week."

Another worker who comes from West Germany told the Bulletin: "They're out to destroy the union here. The company has offered to give us an 11 percent increase, including benefits.

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

"They wanted to get rid of the seniority system so they can lay off people the way they want. They have been laying off an average of 30 men a week.

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

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

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

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

CRISIS

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

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

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



Boston dockers man picket line to defend GAI.

Talks Halted In Boston ILA Dispute

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

The Boston Shipping Association has broken the Guaranteed Annual Income agreement, claiming that it is unable to compete with other North Atlantic ports unless the provision is cancelled.

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

Under the GAI, the 500 dockers at the Massachusetts port must be paid for 2,080 hours.

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

Fremont Meeting On GM Layoffs

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

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

It is rumored that GM will cut production by 10 cars an hour and more layoffs will follow, reducing the present work force of 5,000 by more than half.

Another 450 members of Local 1364 face layoffs from the parts plant in Oakland. Thirty workers were put on indefinite layoff last month.

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

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

SILENT

The local leaders were silent on the layoffs except for expressing their "sympathy" for those who are losing their jobs.

Last Monday, the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party in Local 1364 submitted a petition with more than the necessary 150 signatures to convene a special membership meeting.

The meeting will be called between shifts on January 7 "to

take up the urgent problem of mass layoffs, depleted SUB funds, and to organize a fight back within the UAW."

The TUALP statement said: "Woodcock has not only become the most craven compromiser of our rights inside the plant, but now he is surrendering union independence to government control under the Ford administration's Labor-Management Committee."

TUALP is campaigning for a special national UAW convention to overturn Woodcock's policies around the following demands:

- Immediate reopening of the national agreement to secure jobs and recall all laid off men.

- A shorter work week at 40 hours pay.


- A minimum 20 percent wage increase, unlimited sub fund and full cost of living.

- Woodcock off the Labor-Management Committee.

- Prepare occupations of plants that are closing.

- Convene a congress of labor to unite the working class against unemployment and build a labor party that must nationalize industry under workers control without compensation.

MARXISM OR RANK-AND-FILE-ISM?



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

Published by the British Workers Revolutionary Party.

Available from Labor Publications, 135 W. 14 St., NY, NY 10011

BY FRANK MARTIN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

HEYDAY

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

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

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

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

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

QUICK BUCK

No industry was more chaotic in the late 1860s than the oil industry. Oil had just been discovered in western Pennsylvania and thousands of prospectors rushed to the area to make a quick buck. They flooded the market and drove down the price to just over that of water.

Refineries popped up everywhere, particularly in Midwest towns like Cleveland. The oil fields and the refineries and, in turn, the markets on the East



Rockefeller as philanthropist, extreme right, giving out dimes at age 91.

GOD BLESS STANDARD OIL RISE OF THE ROCKEFELLERS

Coast were connected by the railroads.

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

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

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

In partnership with a friend, Henry M. Flagler, whose father-in-law had made money in the whiskey trade, he set up a refinery in Cleveland. By 1867, he was producing 1,500 barrels a day.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

By 1870, his competitors were paying 40¢ on a barrel of crude oil from oil field to refinery, while Rockefeller was paying 25¢. His competitors were paying \$1.30 from refinery to

market, while Rockefeller was paying 90¢.

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

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

He offered to divide his freight evenly among all of them at set rates. In exchange, he demanded the following rebates: 40 to 50 percent off all oil coming in to his refineries; 25 to 50 percent off all oil leaving his refineries.

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

The railroad companies agreed because they wanted to stop their price wars and guarantee their freight supply. The beauty of the scheme was not only that it forced other refiners to pay twice the rate Rockefeller paid, but in paying those rates, they were adding to Rockefeller's wealth and cutting their own throats. The fact that

the scheme was totally illegal, set up through a series of dummy corporations, did not bother Rockefeller in the least. Nor did it bother the American government.

In one year, he wiped out or bought off all the Cleveland refineries. This gave him control of 20 percent of American oil output. By 1878, this had risen to 80 percent. The Standard Oil monopoly was established.

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

ILLEGAL

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

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

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

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

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

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

One could say that Rockefeller made philanthropy into a business, a "retail business" as one of his aides described it.

He gave away huge amounts of money, but for a purpose. The purpose was to buy off politicians and a host of other useful people in order to make more money.

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

The charter of the foundation carries a broad statement of purpose: "To promote the well-being of mankind."

Finally, at the end of his life, he engaged in one final scheme. In the 1930s he contributed to the American Liberty League, an ultra right-wing organization.

The League unsuccessfully approached Major General Smedley Darlington Butler and asked him to lead a demonstration against newly-elected President Roosevelt. It began to make plans for a coup d'etat to depose FDR and establish a military dictatorship.

But the American ruling class decided to back Roosevelt because they saw his New Deal policies as the safest way to save capitalism. The American Liberty League lost influence and Rockefeller died in 1937 at the age of 98.

**NEXT
ISSUE:
THE LUDLOW
MASSACRE**

SWP Slanders Coal Miners

comment...

The Socialist Workers Party is outraged. Coal miners—who apparently do not appreciate the “democratic” leadership of United Mine Workers President Arnold Miller which is so highly praised in the pages of *The Militant*—participated in protests against the new contract.

As far as the revisionists are concerned, such demonstrations are very suspicious. They consider it impermissible that miners actually oppose Arnold Miller. Therefore, *The Militant* joins the mudslinging campaign against the UMW ranks begun by the Stalinists of the Communist Party.

Referring to the protests in Ohio and West Virginia against the contract, Cindy Jaquith writes in the December 20 issue of *The Militant* that “the motives of the organizers of these actions remain unclear.”

What makes the motives of the protests “unclear”? Jaquith points out with some alarm that “opposition to the Miller leadership seemed to be more import-

ant to the protesters than the terms of the new contract.”

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

VENOM

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

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

The implication of this remark is that darker and more sinister forces are at work in the UMW which aim to bring about the downfall of Miller.

She finally gets to the point: “Others claimed that the 1971 contract, negotiated by Boyle, was better than the new contract.”

So there it is. The 38,000 miners who voted against the

contract are either agents or dupes of former union chief Tony Boyle.

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

This attempt to discredit the opposition among the ranks to Miller marks a further sharp turn to the right by the SWP. It is forced by the logic of its opportunism to take up arms against the working class and in defense of the bureaucracy. How long will it be before the SWP echoes the Stalinist slanders against the workers of Portugal?

So completely have the SWP revisionists tied themselves to the Miller clique that they no longer dare to make even indirect criticisms of it. Instead, they must continually seek to prove how “trustworthy” they are to the bureaucracy.

Even up to last week, *The Militant*—while avoiding a clear position on the contract—sought to cover its unprincipled relations with Miller by quoting, with so-called “impartiality,” miners for and against the contract.

Now even that cautious path is abandoned. The movement of

the miners threatens to throw the revisionists off the perch they have sought to establish for themselves within the labor movement through their pragmatic adaptation to the Miller leadership.

A rebellion against the miners pact is in full swing. Many miners who voted for the settlement because they never were given the opportunity to study the contract are now refusing to return to work because provisions with which they have become familiar only in the past week.

The opposition to the contract is also expressed in the widespread support among the ranks for the mine builders whose pickets have been respected throughout the coal fields.

Frank Lovell, the leading labor reporter of *The Militant*, chooses this moment to write an article explaining, “How to defend gains in new miners pact.”

This article, combined with the piece by Jaquith, exposes the real role of the SWP within the workers’ movement. It is called upon by the bureaucracy to defend the most open betrayals of the ranks.

Miners are not interested in defending the contract. They

want to throw it out.

In coal fields all over the country, miners are now defying court injunctions ordering them to return to work.

But Lovell, following the script written in the PR office of the UMW international, declares that the main fight before the miners is to compel the operators to observe the contract.

This would pose no problem. The contract was written by the operators and the government. The courts are prepared to enforce the contract. Details of the contract bear out this accusation. If Lovell is either unable to obtain or understand the contract, he has only to read the *Bulletin* for an accurate account of what is in it.

The document contains provisions attacking seniority, the local mine committees, the pension fund, and safety guarantees. It also enforces what amounts to a wage cut on coal miners by allowing a 17 percent wage increase over three years, which in no way compensates for the rate of inflation.

The SWP’s betrayal of Marxism has transformed it into a servant of the bureaucracy and an opponent of the working class.

Claude Reese’s Murderer Free

NEW YORK, NY—A grand jury has refused to indict Frank P. Bosco, the cop who murdered 14-year-old Claude Reese in Brownsville last September 15.

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

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

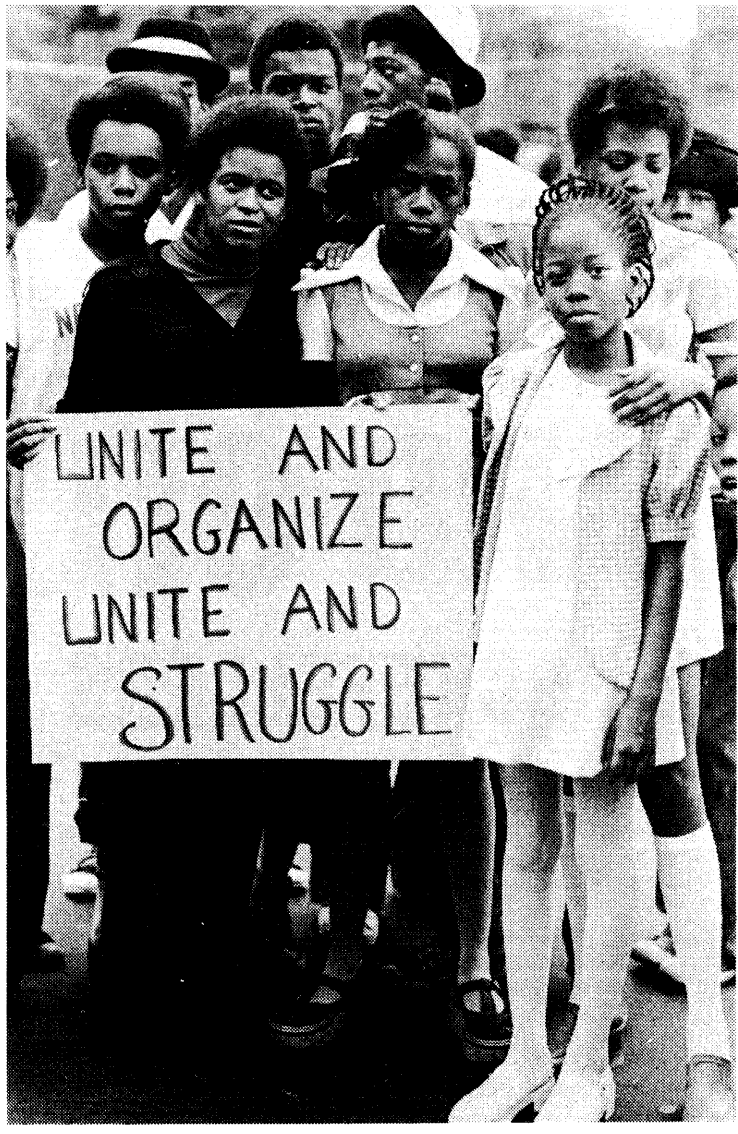
As in the case of 10-year-old Clifford Glover, murdered by Jamaica cops in 1973, Bosco claimed that he shot Reese because he believed that he was threatened by a drawn gun.

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

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

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

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



TUALP Speakers Address Local 30

BY A REPORTER

BORON, Calif.—A representative of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party spoke before the membership meeting of ILWU Local 30.

TUALP was invited to show *The Inheritance*, a film that depicts the struggle of the building of the unions in America.

Six weeks ago, the Boron workers ended their bitter four and one-half month strike against Borax and are living under a contract that is a blueprint for the destruction of the union.

Two hundred fifty scabs remain in the plant, while 219 union members are denied the right to return to their jobs.

Speaking before nearly 100 workers at the meeting, Sheila Brehm, speaking on behalf of TUALP, said:

“You will see in this film conditions that you now face at US Borax when workers were fired at will and they had no rights. This was before the unions were built and they were built out of struggle.”

ATTACKS

“The unions today are under the most vicious attacks in their history by the employers and their government. They are driven to try and destroy the unions because they face the deepest economic crisis in their history.”

“In order to make inroads against the right to jobs and seniority, US Borax had no easy time of it.”

“They had to hire a private army, call on the police, call on Reagan, and use the courts. But the biggest aid they had was Harry Bridges, who made empty promises to you and refused to mobilize the powerful dock workers to defend your rights.”

“What you face now is what every trade unionist will face. A new leadership must be built in the ILWU.”

“The issue before trade unionists today is not like in the film.

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

“We need our own political party, a labor party, pledged to socialist policies to defend the basic rights of the working class.”

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

“It requires a political solution, a labor party, and a new leadership prepared for this fight.”

WORKERS LEAGUE

“The Workers League and the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party is pledged to carrying out this task.”

“We will campaign on the docks and in the labor movement to defend Local 30 and propose that this fight be conducted on the following policies:

“Immediate recall of every union member on the job before the strike, according to seniority and with full back pay.”

“Drop all charges against union members.”

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

“To win this, Bridges must shut down the docks and the ILWU must break with the Democrats and Republicans and fight for a congress of labor to launch a labor party.”

The film won a great response from the Boron workers. In the past week, only a few union members were hired back, leaving 219 on the recall list.

US Borax has filed suit against the union charging that the ILWU does not represent the new workers, the scabs. The company recently paid union initiation fees for 45 scabs to assure the existence of the scab force.

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

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

Monday, December 23 7:30 PM

135 W. 14th St. 7th floor

New York City

call 924-0852 for information

books

BY MELODY FARROW

The story of Rubin Carter

The Sixteenth Round by Rubin "Hurricane" Carter. Viking Press, 1974. \$11.95.

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

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

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

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

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

When the shootings took place at the Paterson Bar and Grill in the early morning of June 17, 1966, the police had been after Carter for some time. He had marched with Martin Luther

King in Washington and had openly declared that blacks should be armed to defend themselves against the police.

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

He was born on May 6, 1937 in Delawanna, New Jersey and was raised in Paterson. His father was a senior deacon in the Baptist Church.

Carter soon found out about the Paterson police force, indistinguishable from the most racist police force in the heart of the South.

At the age of eleven, Carter was nearly killed by a crazed homosexual white man who assaulted him and members of a gang he belonged to, the Apaches. Carter stabbed the man in self-defense.

Shortly afterwards, he stood before a judge who denounced him as an "animal" and ordered him to be confined to a hellhole called Jamesburg State Home for Boys until he was 21—a full 10 years.

Carter repeatedly points out in his autobiography that every home and prison he ever saw

was designed to dehumanize, degrade, and destroy those it imprisoned. If you survived, you came out a different person from when you went in. Jamesburg was no exception.

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

BLACKJACKS

Security guards used blackjacks on anybody who made trouble.

Then there was segregation, a single cold concrete block with no toilet where Carter was often put with no clothes and no bedding for months at a time. Carter writes of this period:

"The ensuing years decisively changed my thinking. I witnessed many deaths and attempted suicides by frustrated inmates seeking refuge from atrocities committed against them—young boys who had first gone to the higher authorities begging for their help, only to be met by sadistic technicians who literally burned their brains out and then sent them right back to Jamesburg smoking..."

Carter escaped when he was 17—after seven years—when he was betrayed by prison officials who had pledged to release him. With the help of his family, he enlisted in the army.

As a paratrooper stationed in Germany, Carter, a natural fighter, got his first formal boxing training. When he was discharged two years later, he had twice won the European Light-Welterweight Championship by winning 51 bouts.

No sooner was he out and settling into a normal life in Paterson than the police stormed into his house in the middle of the night, kidnapped him, and took him back to prison.

IMPRISONMENT

He was kept there for 10 months illegally. No documents or formal papers were ever drawn up to justify his imprisonment.

When he came out, his car had been dispossessed and his GI veteran benefits had been taken away. Shortly afterwards, bitter and depressed, Carter snatched a purse and was shipped back to jail—this time for four years.

Between 1961 and 1966, Carter

waged a difficult struggle to win recognition as a professional boxer. He describes the exploitation boxers are subjected to under capitalism:

"I now accepted as a foregone conclusion that nobody really cared about us prize fighters and that we were looked upon with favor only as meal tickets.

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

On October 14, 1966, Carter and Artis were charged with the triple slaying at the Paterson Bar and Grill four months after it happened.

IDENTIFY

Carter and Artis had been picked up the night of the shooting, but had soon been released after no one could identify them.

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

In exchange for their fraudulent testimony, they were promised freedom from prosecution for their own crimes and a reward of \$12,500. Later, after the convictions, Bradley was apparently double-crossed and admitted to his fellow prisoners that he deliberately lied to help the police frame Carter.

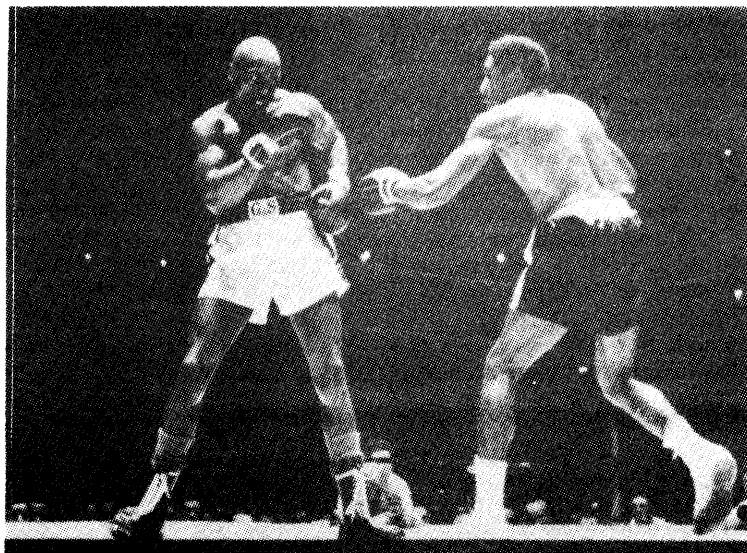
No weapons were ever produced, but the police planted two shells in Carter's car and then claimed they found them.

Despite the contradictory testimony, and the open prejudice of Judge Lerner against Carter, he was found guilty after less than two hours of deliberations.

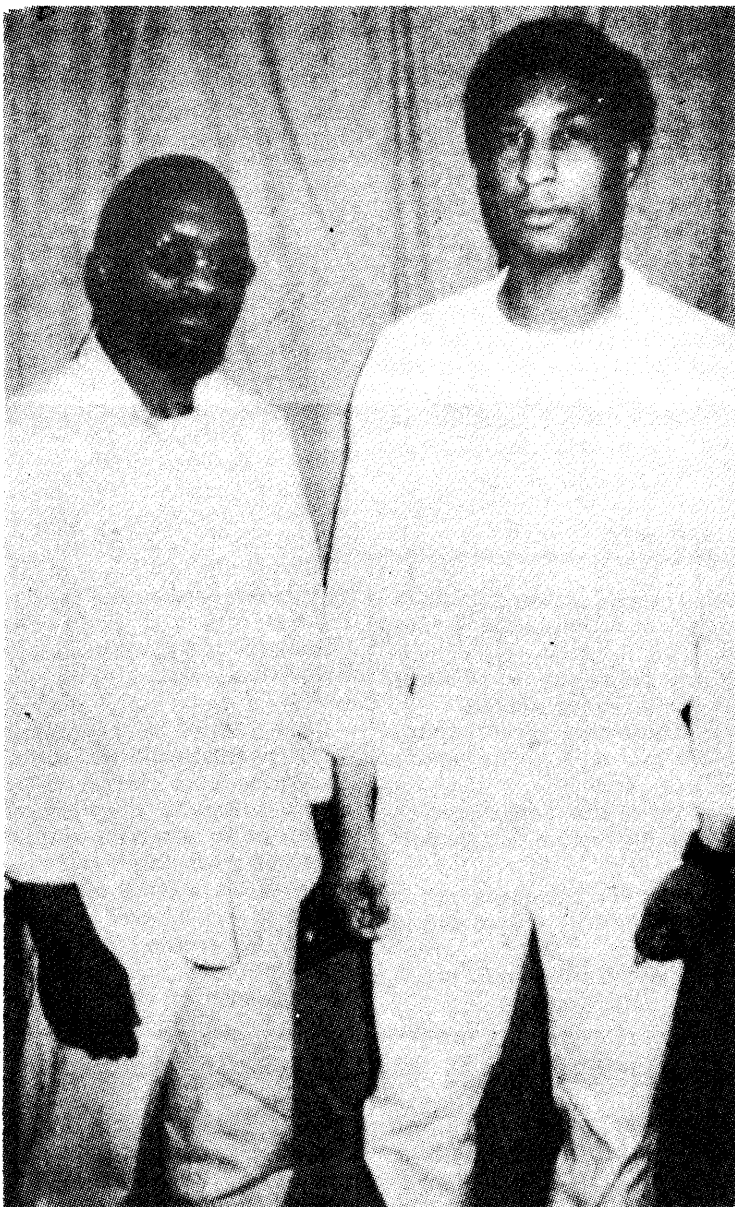
Carter went to Rahway prison and decided to keep fighting. With the help of his wife Mae Thelma and friends, he began to study law and prepare a struggle for a new trial. Carter concludes the book with these words:

"I've come to you in the only manner left open to me. I've tried the courts, exhausted my life's earnings, and tortured my loved ones with little grains and tidbits of hope that may never materialize.

"Now, the only chance I have is appealing directly to you, the people, and showing you the wrongs that have yet to be righted—the injustice that has been done to me."



Carter's February 12, 1965 fight, won by Luis Rodriguez.



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

RECESSION...

(Continued From Page 1)

the working class to prepare the way for a bloody intervention in the Middle East or wherever else imperialist interests are threatened.

The latest moves toward gold provide an urgent warning. The capitalists recognize that the defense of their falling profits requires the ability to impose the most savage exploitation in every factory and to take back every gain won by the working class since the 1930's.

The working class must act, and it must act politically, to smash up these reactionary preparations. The Meanys, Woodcocks and the other labor traitors must be given their marching orders to get off Ford's Labor-Management Committee and cease all collaboration with the government whose only purpose is to make the working class pay for the crisis.

No worker is responsible for this crisis which is entirely the product of the bankrupt capitalist system.

Not a single job must be sacrificed to save the capitalists. An immediate halt must be demanded to all layoffs and firings. Every job that has been eliminated must be restored.

If the employers claim there are no jobs, let them slash the working hours with no reduction in pay to provide jobs for all. If they attempt to impose layoffs, the labor movement must act to occupy the factories and throw the employers out.

Reductions in wages and benefits are not issues to be

negotiated. The working class has no responsibility for the inflation and the rise in the cost of living brought on by the policies of the bankers and the speculators.

Not a penny must be given up to inflation. The labor movement must demand wage increases to compensate fully for everything lost to higher prices and a 100 percent escalator clause to provide full protection for every paycheck.

If the employers claim they are unable to meet these demands, then the working class must act to demand the full nationalization of basic industry and the banks under workers control without a cent of compensation to these bankrupt parasites.

For Ford and his advisers the recession they intend to impose has only begun. For the Democrats the answer lies in new controls over wages. For both of these capitalist parties it is the right to profit that they defend first, last and always.

The enormous power of the labor movement must be directed politically to smash these parties of unemployment and repression. The fight must be taken into every union local to demand and organize the immediate calling of a congress of the entire labor movement to launch a labor party committed to this program.

Only the Workers League and the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party fight for these policies in the unions. We call on every worker to join us.

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lucha obrera

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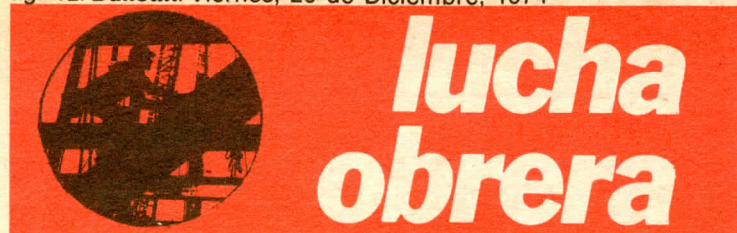
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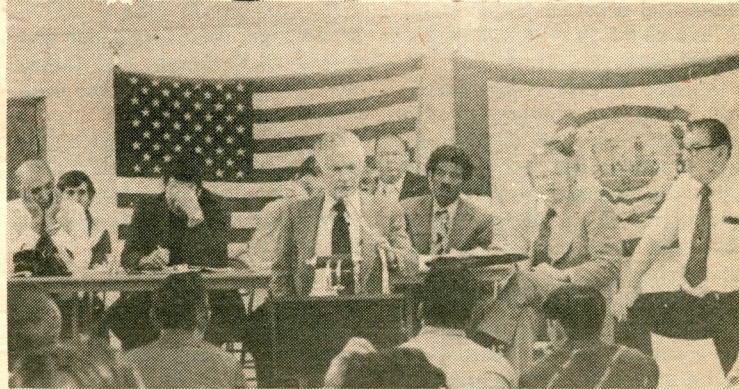
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