

Bulletin

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

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NOW
TWICE A
WEEK!

VOLUME TEN NUMBER SIXTY FIVE 401

FRIDAY, AUGUST 16, 1974

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Ford's Plan - SLASH WORKERS WAGES



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BY THE EDITORS

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"American wage earners know that a government big enough to give you everything you have is a government big enough to take from you everything you have."

Ford called on the Congressmen to slash federal spending and said:

"The first thing we all have to learn to do is say no."

He asked Congress to reactivate the Cost of Living Council to expose abuses in wage and price increases and called for an "economic summit" to include

representatives of both political parties as well as labor leaders.

Ford's proposals were warmly applauded by both Democrats and Republicans. House Republican leader John Rhodes said it "will take a scalpel and a meat axe" to bring federal spending into line and Mike Mansfield, Senate Majority leader declared that wage controls should be restored and that a tax increase would be given "utmost consideration."

Paul McCracken, Nixon's former head of the Council of Economic Advisors and a man close to Ford said that the new Council should have the power to "delay" price and wage

increases and recommended John Dunlop as chairman.

It was Dunlop who as chairman of the Cost of Living Council under Nixon allowed the corporations unlimited price increases while minimal wage increases of 7 to 8 percent were held up or slashed.

Ford's so-called program to fight inflation is completely fraudulent. Any new Cost of Living Council is a weapon aimed exclusively against the labor movement and is a step towards re-imposing mandatory controls.

At the same time, billions of dollars will be slashed from the budget that will destroy

thousands of jobs and eliminate every social program in health, education and welfare.

But even this is only part of the main strategy of Ford and the capitalist class to divide and weaken the organized working class with massive unemployment. This is the meaning of Ford's support for the policy of the Federal Reserve Board to keep tightening credit, leading to collapses in entire industries such as construction jobs and throwing countless numbers of workers out of their jobs.

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(Continued On Page 12)

In The Midweek
Edition

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•"The Transitional Program and the Workers Revolutionary Party." First in a new series of three articles by Cliff Slaughter.

INSIDE:

First part of a review of:

The American Working Class
a materialist assessment
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Why The SWP Refuses To Fight For A Labor Party

The Socialist Workers Party, in an editorial in the August 16 issue of the *Militant*, deliberately refuses to fight for the central task posed to the working class by Nixon's resignation—the construction of an independent party of labor.

The unprecedented political crisis in the capitalist class expressed by Nixon's downfall has sharply exposed the bankruptcy of the SWP and their complete abandonment of Marxism.

What we said about the policies of the SWP in a two

**What
We
Think**

part article entitled "Watergate and Revisionism" last October, has been confirmed. We said that the SWP raised the slogan of the labor party, not as an immediate and urgent task of the working class but as a propa-

ganda demand to cover its increasing turn toward alliances with the trade union bureaucracy.

Now, precisely when the economic and political crisis explodes to the surface and new opportunities are created to take the fight for a labor party forward, the SWP drops the demand and deliberately seeks to head off any independent political fight by the working class.

The resignation of Nixon has caught the SWP by surprise and left them helplessly foundering for an explanation.

The momentous events of the past week, in which for the first time in US history, a president was forced out of office and replaced by an administration that has not been elected, is passed off by the SWP as just an ordinary event. Their editorial begins:

"The political life of Richard Nixon, a typical example of a lying venal capitalist politician, is finished."

The rest of the editorial is centered on this basic theme—that the conspiracies uncovered in the Watergate investigations, the attempts by Nixon to turn his office into a presidential dictatorship did not represent a change in the methods of rule by the capitalist class but were just part of "a system that is by necessity built on corruption, on secrecy and lies."

But if, as the SWP claims, Nixon was no different than other capitalist politicians and if Watergate was just the run of the mill capitalist corruption, how do they explain why he was forced out?

The one feeble answer in the editorial is that it was "to restore confidence to the two-party system and other institutions."

The SWP turns the meaning of Nixon's resignation into its opposite.

The ruling class was forced to oust Nixon not to preserve the two party system but to prepare for an all out confrontation with the working class, to pave the way for dictatorship and the destruction of bourgeois democracy.

They are forced in this direction by the tremendous economic crisis of capitalism. This is the driving force behind the upsurge in the class struggle that was decisive in leading to Nixon's collapse.

This crisis is expressed in the uncontrollable inflation raging in every country that now has reached the stage where production cannot go forward and economies of entire nations could go bankrupt at any moment.

Only by understanding the depth of this crisis and the revolutionary struggles it has already unleashed can we grasp the powerful forces that are at work in capitalism and prepare the working class for the struggle for power.

The SWP denies the existence of the economic crisis and belittles the power of the working class.

The SWP rejects a materialist assessment of Nixon as a representative of a desperate class and serves up totally idealist comments on Nixon's character, gleaned from the capitalist press.

Only months prior to Nixon's resignation, the SWP had turned the Watergate conspiracy into a sick joke, and SWP leader Fred Halstead was calling Nixon "my favorite enemy."

In a speech in June, Halstead declared "In any case, whether it's Nixon or Ford, for the next two and a half years, it's a ruling class affair. It's none of my affair."

This statement is an open admission that the SWP accepts capitalism as permanent and has no intention of leading any fight against it.

Thus it is no surprise that the program put forward by the SWP is indistinguishable from the American Communist Party.

Like the Stalinists' "anti-monopoly peoples' coalition," the SWP states in its editorial:

"...Only by relying on the independent power of the working masses and all of the oppressed can the prerogatives of the capitalist rulers be challenged."

What the SWP and the Stalinists refuse to raise is the fight for a concrete political alternative for the working class, a labor party based on socialist policies, and to take this forward in the campaign for a special election to throw Ford and the Democrats out.

In this fight we will build the Workers League as a mass revolutionary party as the only alternative to prepare masses of workers for the struggle for power.

The formulations of the SWP and the CP add up to pressuring the capitalists for reforms. There is a perspective not to bring the working class to power but to use the working class to curb the "excesses" of the ruling class.

Far from being able to learn from the new developments, the SWP reacts with hostility to every new struggle by the working class and draws closer and closer to the liberals of the Democratic Party.

Israel Prepares New War

BY A REPORTER

The Syrian and Lebanese press are charging that Israel is about to launch a new war in the Middle East.

Al Baath, the newspaper of the Syrian Socialist Baath Party, stated last Monday: "Enemy preparations, including reserve call-up, drills, and troop buildups, indicate a war against the Arab countries, particularly Syria, is imminent."

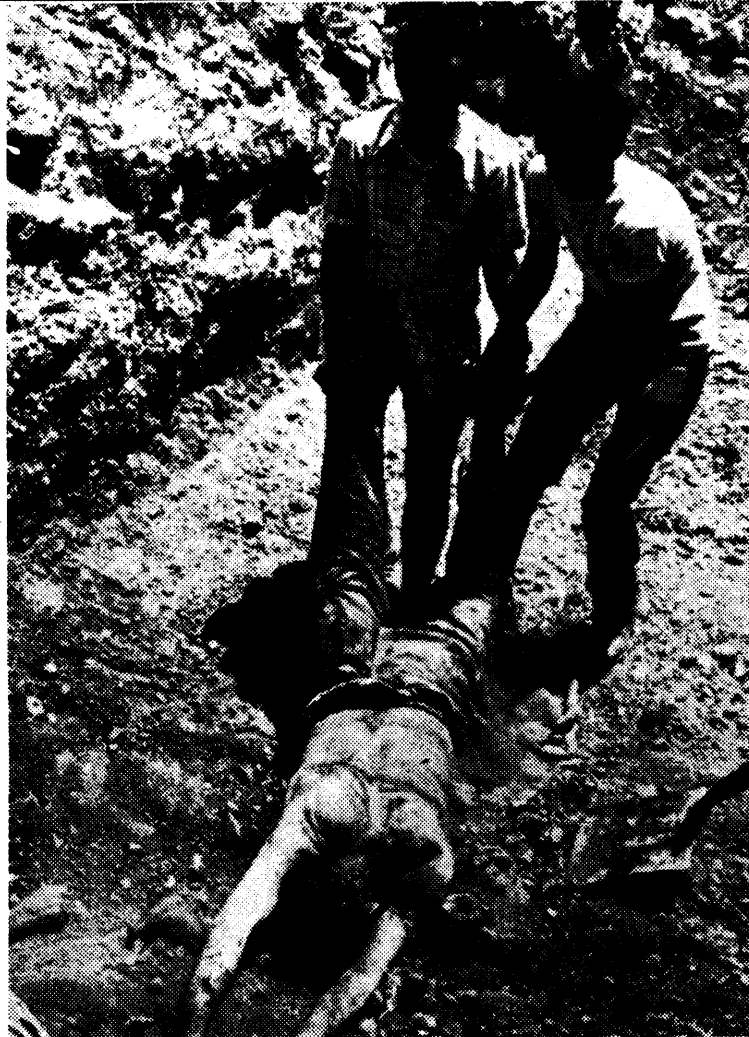
Another leading Syrian daily, An Nahar, stated that the Soviet Ambassador to Lebanon, Sarvar Azimov, had told Yasir Arafat that the Soviet Union possessed information about an imminent Israeli assault against the Arabs.

A further indication of war preparations was the shakeup last Monday in the Syrian military command. Syrian President Assad named Major General Kikmat al Shehabi as Chief of Staff, in place of Major General Youssef Chakkour.

Kissinger is currently engaged in a furious round of talks with the Arab governments and Israel. Israeli Foreign Minister Yigal Allon just returned to Israel after talks with Kissinger in Washington. Kissinger also met with Jordanian Prime Minister Zaid Rafai and this week he is conferring with Egyptian Foreign Minister Ismail Fahmi.

Israel continues to launch brutal raids against Palestinian refugee camps. This past week, Israeli gunboats shelled the Rashidieh camp on the coast of southern Lebanon for 30 minutes, killing one civilian and wounding 5.

The previous week, Israeli planes struck the village of Rachaya Fukhar, a village in the guerrilla-controlled area of southeast Lebanon, on three successive days.



Uncovering a mass grave in Cyprus.

Turkey Launches Attack On Cyprus

BY A CORRESPONDENT

Full scale war was renewed on Cyprus on Tuesday as Turkey walked out of the Geneva talks and launched bombing raids against the Cyprus capital, Nicosia.

The break in the talks occurred when Turkey refused to consider a request by the Greek and Cypriot delegations for a 36 hour recess to consult with their governments about the Turkish proposal.

The Turkish government of Bulent Ecevit demanded a "cantonal" system on Cyprus. This would give Turkey six cantons under Turkish-Cypriot administration, the largest being the area around the northern city of Kyrenia.

These cantons would not only give Turkey access to the sea but would place 34 percent of Cyprus territory under its control.

Henry Kissinger has been in close contact with all parties in the Geneva talks. Robert Anderson, a spokesman for the State Department, issued a statement which affirmed US support for Turkey's expansionist aims.

"We recognize the position of the Turkish community on Cyprus requires considerable improvement and protection.

"We have supported a greater degree of autonomy for them."

The United States government has not the slightest concern for the Turkish workers and peasants. In fact, it was the US and the CIA who were intimately involved in the Greek coup d'etat on Cyprus.

The United States is now turning to Turkey, rather than Greece, where the military dictatorship has fallen, to protect its interests.

Bloody Fighting In Portuguese Colonies

BY MELODY FARROW

Bitter civil war is convulsing the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Guinea Bissau, and Mozambique as the Portuguese junta of General Spinoza seeks to maintain its domination.

On August 12, thousands of Africans in Mozambique, armed with clubs and machetes, marched through the villages, smashing up shops and looting.

Hundreds of Europeans have abandoned their homes and demonstrated outside military headquarters demanding police protection. The Portuguese army brought in 1000 com-

manders to try and restore control.

This uprising is in response to the attacks of an extreme right-wing movement, UNITA, composed of European whites who want the colonies to remain Portuguese and are terrorizing the African population.

Last week, in Luanda, the capital of Angola, hundreds of whites manned cars and demonstrated, shouting "Portuguese Angola".

KILLED

In the fighting that erupted, 21 were killed. A total of 41 were wounded including 24 hit by bullets. Again on August 9, a new outbreak of fighting left four dead.

Europeans have formed a "Revolutionary Armed Front" in Angola to fight against the

African struggle for independence.

The recent announcement by the Portuguese government that it would grant independence to the colonies is a deception. The actual plan that has been unveiled would maintain Portuguese control and the Portuguese Army is using the recent right-wing activity as an excuse to keep troops there.

The commander of the military junta in Mozambique declared that any deal signed with FRELIMO, the African liberation movement, would have to include the condition that Portuguese troops remain.

In Angola, the target date for independence is not until 1976. A provisional government including whites and members of all the liberation groups will be

formed and elections for a constituent assembly will not take place for two years.

This deal has been rejected by the National Front for the Liberation of Angola.

There is no final decision on the future of the Cape Verde Islands or the colony of Guinea Bissau.

DOMINATION

The Portuguese junta, faced with increasing struggles for wages by its own working class, is desperately trying to get a breathing space in Africa without relinquishing its political and economic domination.

But the recent struggles by Africans is just the beginning of a powerful rebellion throughout the colonies that will deepen the crisis of Portuguese capitalism.

Jersey IBEW Unites Against Western Electric

**BY BARRY GREY
NEWARK—Striking electrical workers at the huge Western Electric headquarters here are determined to win their demands in spite of arrests and harassment by the police and the strike-breaking attempts of the company.**

Every morning, bus loads of strikers arrive from the plant in Kearney to help picket the Newark headquarters of Western Electric.

The police have set up railings running right through the picket line for the scabs to walk through. Two police are always stationed on the steps to the main entrance to insure easy passage for the scabs.

The strikers get a different treatment. One young worker told the *Bulletin* how he was arrested the first day of the strike:

"Nine of us were arrested for interference. People were trying to cross the lines and the cops were protecting them. I was charged with assault on a police officer."

A woman said, "The cops shouldn't be on the steps. We should be on the steps, keeping the people out. The cops are supposed to be on the curb to keep order. This is our picket line."

The strike in Newark by Local 1470 of the International

Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) is part of a national strike against Western Electric. The IBEW went out after the leadership of the Communications Workers of America (CWA), which represents the majority of telephone workers, broke their pledge of unity with the IBEW and signed a tentative agreement with the company.

The agreement was for a 10.7 percent wage increase the first year, and 3.3 percent in each of the remaining two years of the contract.

This settlement amounts to a mere .7 percent over the company's original offer, when the CWA and the IBEW had agreed to demand 15 percent the first year.

Despite this treachery by Glenn Watts, president of the CWA, the resistance from CWA locals all over the country is erupting in a wave of wildcats. Walkouts have taken place in Ohio, Minnesota, Michigan, California, and Washington, DC.

Local 1470 members in Newark reported that the Bell Telephone workers there might go on strike any day. There is a good chance the CWA members will vote to reject the settlement. Results are to be released on September 1.

A striking drafting checker at the Newark headquarters said the company had closed up the Kearny plant in order to send all its supervisory personnel to scab in Newark.

He said, "You have to consider



Striking electrical workers at the Western Electric headquarters in Newark defy police terror.

that the cost of living this year alone has gone up 20 percent. There are more unions on strike this year than even during the depression.

"People are getting sick and tired of being pushed around and not getting enough money to eat. It seems to me in 10 or 15 years we're going to have a revolution in this country."

A draftsman said, "I think the police should step out of the way and let us do it our own way. You have to watch the scabs go upstairs. You can't do anything about it because of the cops. It's

like a freak show, walking around. All you can do is curse at them."

Willie Clark, a young drafting checker, said, "I saw the arrests and those people weren't doing anything. A lot of people who were never involved in anything like this before hate the police now."

"This is the first time I've ever seen the Blacks and whites in this company sticking together. If we're going to win, we're going to have to hang together."

A scab, a young Black man, walked past at this point and said

the strike was a trick to get all the Black strikers fired. As more Black strikers arrived on the scene, the scab quickly walked away.

"Did you hear what that man said?" one picket said. "Telling us all those company lies. They always send these Toms out here to get us back to work."

The tremendous opposition to Watts' sellout must be mobilized to bring the CWA out on strike together with the IBEW. The offensive must be taken forward politically with the fight for new elections and a labor party.

The Summer Camp And The Resignation Of Nixon

We call on all workers and youth to attend the Second Annual Summer Camp in order to prepare for the new stage of class struggles in the United States opened up by the resignation of Nixon.

This is the first time in American history that a President has been thrown out of office. This breakup in the political structure—and Nixon's resignation is only the beginning—reveals to us the enormous economic crisis that is forcing millions of workers in this country into struggle to defend their living standards and basic rights.

We are holding this camp to build the party that meets the urgent need of the working class for leadership. The dangers confronting the working class require that the Workers League and Young Socialists be built as the revolutionary leadership of the working class. The educational program of the camp will be vital for training workers and youth as materialists so that they lead the fight for the building of this party.

Materialism holds that being determines consciousness. The changes in the economic base of society produce the great crisis in the political superstructure. Workers must train themselves as Marxists so that they can, as members of the revolutionary party, prepare the working class for the struggles that are being



prepared by the economic crisis.

It is the crisis of the economy that has brought about this unprecedented political crisis. We live in a period in which the laws of the capitalist method of production, which function independent of the desires and aims of the people in society, are producing a world-wide slump which is beyond the power of the ruling class to control.

Inflation is now skyrocketing at a rate entirely unprecedented in the United States. Last month, wholesale prices went up at a rate of 44 percent a year.

Production is slowing down as the capitalists, particularly in the auto industry, refuse to make new investments and actually cut back.

Under these conditions, the ruling class seeks to defend its profits by driving down our living standards with mass unemployment, wage cutting, speedup, and attacks on the unions.

Enormous power was concentrated in the hands of Richard Nixon in order to lead these at-

tacks. Watergate was part of a conspiracy by big business to develop dictatorial tendencies to beat back the movement of the working class.

As they worked to build up an authoritarian state, the exposure of Nixon's crimes before the entire working class destroyed his authority. That is why the very men who conspired with Nixon for so long—Alexander Haig and Henry Kissinger and others—turned against Nixon in the last moment and installed Gerald Ford.

Ford has been placed in power to carry out the policies of mass unemployment required by big business.

The Ford Administration does not solve the economic crisis, but represents a further stage in the movement of big business toward the destruction of democratic rights and dictatorship.

The power of the American working class brought down Nixon. Workers will bitterly resist Ford's attempt to make them pay for the economic crisis. The inauguration of Ford

has in no way slowed down the movement of the working class.

A bitter strike is in progress against Western Electric. Meatcutters have struck A & P. Coalminers are calling a nationwide walkout this coming week.

But as workers enter into struggle, their thinking changed by the impact of the crisis on their lives, they cannot automatically grasp the political tasks posed by this crisis.

This understanding must be brought into the working class by the revolutionary party fighting for policies based on a scientific understanding of the changes taking place in the world.

Millions of workers see that Ford is Nixon's man and seeks to carry out the hated policies of the past administration. They see the Democrats supporting the policies of Ford, endorsing his call for a return to the Cost of Living Council to monitor wages.

Only the Workers League has taken up the fight for the working class to construct a labor party against the parties of big business. We must build our

forces in the trade unions and in the communities to fight for the construction of a labor party and we must fight for this party to be pledged to socialist policies.

The Meanys and the Woodcocks will do nothing. We must build our forces as the leadership of the working class, fighting for a labor party as a stage in the construction of the mass revolutionary party.

Workers must take up the fight to build this leadership, and turn to materialism so that we can prepare the working class for the tasks it faces. We must reflect in our thinking the enormous changes taking place in the world in order to carry out the responsibility of building the party that will lead the working class to power and change the world.

The lectures at the camp will be vital preparation for this task. One series of lectures will deal with Party work among youth, in the trade unions and our fight for the labor party as the critical step in the political development of the working class from the standpoint of perspectives.

There will be elementary classes for Young Socialists and for those attending the camp for the first time as well as more advanced courses for Workers League members.

We urge every youth, trade unionist, housewife and *Bulletin* reader to make final plans for attending the camp.

Meatcutters Strike A&P

BY BARRY GREY
NEW YORK, NY—The A & P supermarket chain has been struck by 18,300 butchers throughout the metropolitan New York area.

Last Monday, Locals 174, 342, 464, and 489 of the Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen of North America set up picket lines in a fight for a big wage increase, a hike in pensions, improvements in vacations, and other benefits.

Most of the stores in New York City, northern New Jersey, Westchester, Rockland and Long Island were closed as of Wednesday. Those that remained open were being manned by supervisory personnel.

The meatcutters union represents all of the A & P employees, including the checkout clerks and the grocery and stock clerks.

NO PROGRESS

On Wednesday, Irving Stern, International vice-president of the union, released a statement that there had been no progress in negotiations and no meetings with the management had been scheduled.

Union spokesmen would give no details of the contract negotiations in keeping with the wishes of federal mediator Matthew Miller.

However, the main issue is wages. Contracts for 8000 more union members with other

chains in New York expire on August 24.

The strike is having a sharp impact on A & P's business. On Wednesday, at the store on 51st Street and Second Avenue, the manager took out all the perishable goods and sold them for half price on the sidewalk.

PENSION

Charles P. McKenna, a shop steward in Local 174, discussed the contract with the *Bulletin* in front of the A & P store at 31st Street and 3rd Avenue in Manhattan.

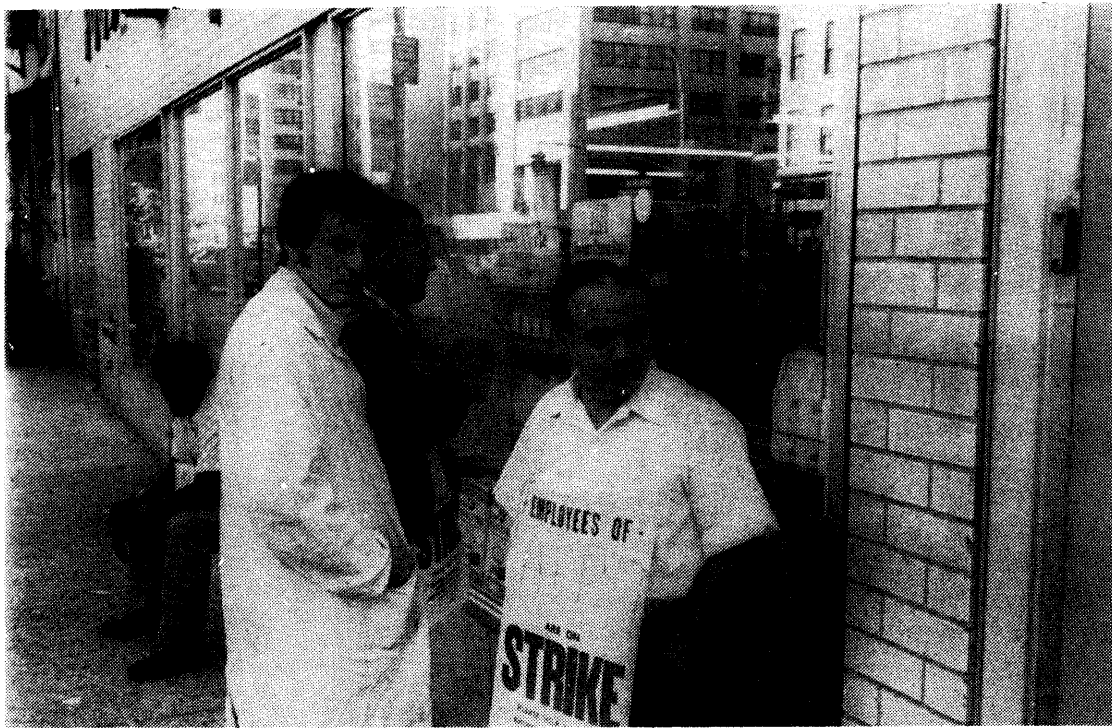
"My main beef is the pension. I've been 27 years with this company. They don't want to talk about pensions.

"They want to take away overtime. They want to take away our vacation pay for Washington's and Lincoln's birthdays. They don't want to give us a cost of living clause.

"Now suppose a meat truck comes along. I'm not a butcher, I'm a grocery clerk. But I've got to go out and unload the truck. They used to have two men on meat and produce trucks. Now they only have one.

"They want to cut out our Christmas bonus. They want to eliminate all job security for anyone hired after 1968."

The union is demanding \$75 a week wage increase over three years. The company is offering \$51.



Striking members of Local 174, Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, picket A&P store in Manhattan. A&P stores have been shut down throughout the New York metropolitan area by 18,300 butchers demanding a big wage increase.

UMW Calls Five Day Strike

BY A REPORTER

The United Mineworkers leadership has called a five day memorial shutdown of all mines beginning on Monday, August 19.

This shutdown, a preparation for the November contract fight, will take place as a new campaign of terror and violence is launched against striking miners in Duke Power's Brookside mine in Harlan County, Kentucky.

Union spokesmen declared that the five day strike would be in honor of "more than 100,000 miners," killed in accidents in the past century as well as "recent attacks on striking miners at Duke Power's Brookside and High Splint mines."

The UMW leadership of Ar-

nold Miller was forced to call this stoppage by the determination of miners to fight.

Last month, at a meeting of 4500 miners from all over the country in Harlan, Miller rejected appeals to call a nationwide strike in defense of the organizing drive against Duke Power.

Last week, miners were shot at, beaten and union property destroyed.

Phil Sparks, UMW official, called the situation "real volatile" and said that "acts of terrorism" and "the possibility of violence have increased."

Company goons have been nightriding through the town like vigilante squads. A barrage of gunfire was opened up on the home of Mickey Messer, president of the Harlan UMW local,

and the entire house was riddled with bullet holes.

A pick-up truck was smashed and sugar was poured in its gas tank.

Security guards are trying to intimidate photographers and scabs are now openly wearing guns.

The union is taking legal action to prevent Duke Power from evicting eight striking families from their company owned homes.

The president of Duke Power has refused to meet with Miller.

It is clear that Duke Power can only be defeated by a full scale national mine strike, not just a five day protest. This is the only real preparation for the November contract talks in which a strike is looming as inevitable.

Van Arsdale Surrenders To Fleet Owners

BY A REPORTER

NEW YORK, NY—Harry Van Arsdale, head of the New York City Taxi Drivers Union, Local 3036, signed a tentative agreement with the fleet owners last Tuesday, allowing them to raise fares by 25 percent.

Van Arsdale completely capitulated to the blackmail tactics of the fleet owners, who vowed to break their contract with the union unless the union agreed to the fare hike.

The majority of cab drivers are bitterly opposed to the fare hike because it will mean a big drop in customers and a sharp decline in tips.

UNANIMOUS

Drivers on the night shift at Pennsylvania Station in Manhattan were almost unanimous in their opposition to the contract.

John, who has been driving for about one year, said, "It's lousy. There's hardly any increase for the drivers. I think they should reject the contract. If they don't, business will drop off. As it is now, you have to drive ten to twelve hours a day to take home \$165 to \$175 a week.

"I think there should be a strike. One of the issues should be the ten cents the company takes off of the top of the meter for every trip.

"We weren't told anything about the contract ahead of time. We had to read about it in the papers like everyone else. This union is a company union."

A young driver said, "I've

been talking to people who've been in the business for years. They used to get twice as much in tips before the last fare increase. The union knows most of the drivers don't want the fare hike. I don't know why they're doing it."

PUT OFF

Rather than meet the threats of the fleet owners with the demand to raise the drivers' percentage of the meter, and to back this up with strike action, Van Arsdale twice put off a strike and finally accepted an offer in which the drivers pay for the owners' financial problems.

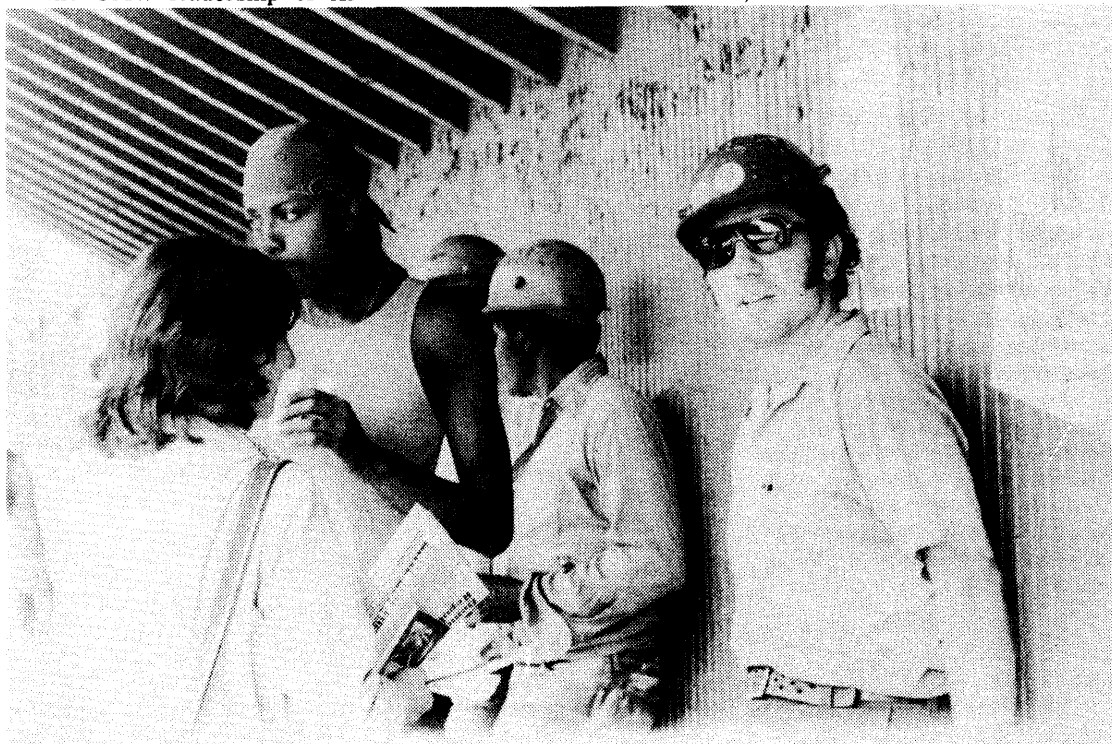
Out of the fare increase, the drivers are supposed to receive a pay hike of \$3.75 to \$4.60 a day. This amounts to about \$20 a week, which will not even begin to match the losses due to smaller tips and fewer fares.

Inside workers, such as utility men and mechanics receive a mere \$10 the first and second years, and \$11 the third year of the the contract.

Pension benefits are to go up from \$100 to \$125 a month. This figure is so low, it cannot even seriously be called a pension.

The tentative contract must be decisively rejected by the membership. Preparations must be made for a strike to win a big pay increase, eliminate the dime rakeoff, win a big increase in the pension benefits, and guarantee no fare increases.

Van Arsdale is the head of the New York City Central Labor Council. He must be forced to mobilize the city labor movement behind the cab drivers.



The Bedford-Stuyvesant Bulletin trailblazers campaign at the Brooklyn Navy Yard as part of drive for 1500 subscriptions.

NFLPA Sends Players Back

Football players in the National Football League Players Association are reporting to training camp this week for a 14 day "cooling off" period.

The 42 day old strike was ended Sunday with the announcement by Federal mediator W.J. Usery that the Association had agreed to the cooling off period during which negotiation would continue.

Association president, Bill Curry, in trying to justify his capitulation, said "We're not giving up. We're not selling out. We'll be back and we'll find out if the collective bargaining system works."

The vote by the executive committee of the players association was deeply divided on returning to work. Many angry players accused the committee of selling out the players demands.

None of the "freedom issues have been resolved. These include the players demand that NFL Commissioner Pete Rozell have less authority to discipline players and decide compensation when a man is transferred to another team.

It was the 26 club owners who constantly sought to sabotage the negotiations and refused to consider the players demands. There is no indication that the cooling off period will solve anything.

Ford - Nixon's Right-Hand Man

BY DAVID NORTH

Gerald Ford has been installed as President by the capitalist class to press ahead with Nixon's policies of mass unemployment, wage cutting and brutal attacks on the basic rights of every worker.

The movement of the working class against these policies has brought the utterly corrupt Nixon government down in shambles. Confronted with a rapid deterioration of the economic crisis, big business was forced to break with Nixon.

The speed with which Nixon was dumped, after months of laborious investigations and delays, reveals the depth of the crisis which required precipitous action.

Big business now turns to Gerald Ford to succeed where Nixon failed so disastrously. The very men who conspired with Nixon for years—like Alexander Haig and Henry Kissinger—to-day stand beside Ford.

In his first speech to the Congress, Ford made it clear that he understood the real reason he has been put in office.

"The first thing we all have to do," he told applauding Congressmen, "is to learn how to say 'no'."

What Ford means is "No" to workers demanding wage increases, "No" to workers who demand their basic democratic rights.

This government will not be accepted by the working class. Big business seeks to impose Ford upon workers, having for the first time in history installed a President never elected in a national vote.

The only man who voted for Ford is Nixon, who appointed him vice-president last October.

Like Nixon before him, Ford has been groomed by big business over a period spanning a generation. Until the moment he became vice-president, Ford was a virtually unknown figure in the United States.

However, he accumulated great authority in the Congress behind closed doors, based entirely on his unflinching opposition to trade unions, communism, and even the mildest reforms.

The career of Ford parallels in many ways the career of Nixon. Both served in the Second World War and sought to parley their uneventful military service into political careers with timely use of anticommunism.

All the reactionary odors of the anticommunist hysteria whirled around both Nixon and Ford. It took Nixon only one year to gain the backing of right-wing California businessmen anxious to finance politicians who would serve as the mouthpiece of the most rabid labor haters.

Two years later, in 1948, Gerald Ford entered Congress with the backing of Michigan businessmen. His political training took place in the atmosphere of the Cold War, Korean War, and McCarthyism.

Coming from a right-wing rural district where the organized labor movement has been weakened by chronic high unemployment, Ford was assured a "safe" Congressional seat from where he could amass considerable power.

In the course of 24 years in the



House of Representatives, Ford stood on the right wing of the Republican Party. He was allied with conservative banking interests which have been opposed to the inflationary policies of the boom.

Ford's connections with the banks and his entire political record make him the man of the powerful banking interests who are now demanding deflationary policies to halt the inflationary crisis even at the cost of massive unemployment.

In his Congressional election campaigns, Ford always received strong support from the banks. The Bankers Political Action Committee donated \$2000 to one of his campaigns, Securities Industry Campaign Committee (a Wall Street outfit) gave \$5000.

Another banking outfit set up the National Resources Campaign and gave \$3000.

The Associated Milk Producers, which bribed former Treasury Secretary John Connally to the tune of \$10,000, contributed \$4000 to a Ford reelection drive.

Contributions to his 1970 campaign led to the charge by Washington lobbyist Robert Winter-Berger that a total of \$11,500 in campaign contributions were never reported on Ford's income tax return.

Charges of illegal practices also hovered around the manner in which Ford became a director on the board of the Old Kent Bank and Trust. However, a serious investigation into these matters was prevented by Congress after Nixon nominated Ford for the vice-presidency.

Ford's banking connections and bitter opposition to all Federal spending on social programs prepared him to become the voice of those demanding deflationary policies. Ford is now on extremely close terms with Alan Greenspan and Arthur Burns, the architects of deflationary policies, which they began to implement just as Nixon entered his final crisis and no longer effectively controlled economic policies.

Ford's entire voting record can be seen as his preparation for the role which big business has assigned to him now—the driving back of the living standards of the working class to the conditions of the depression.

Since 1965, when he became minority leader of the House, Ford voted against every important social welfare program.

He opposed Medicare, model cities, rent subsidies, the food stamp program, boosts in the minimum wage, aid to mass transit, educational grants and even the rat extermination bill.

Ford supported every right-to-work measure introduced into Congress and helped push through the 1971 Nixon bill which ended the West Coast longshoremen's strike.

Together with his banker friends, Ford has very close connections with leading industrialists. His closest friends are the chief lobbyists for Ford Motor and US Steel.

Ford's rise to power in the House as minority leader was sponsored by the Chowder and Marching Club, an elite clique in the Congress of House members with the most solid ties to the established banking and industrial interests.

The most cynical passage in Ford's first address to the Congress was the one in which he declared that he would oppose wiretapping. While in Congress, Ford was an ardent supporter of wiretaps as well as "no-knock" entries into workers' homes. He sponsored bills dating as far back as 1950 aimed at witch-hunting "subversives."

During the student movement of the late 1960s, he proposed that any student charged with participating in a demonstration should lose state or federal scholarships.

Ford also introduced, shortly before being chosen vice-president, Nixon's bill calling for the reinstatement of the death penalty for the charge of treason.

In the field of foreign policy, Ford will carry out all the bloody imperialist policies required for the defense of American capitalism. Actual policy-making



rests in the hands of Kissinger, but Ford's views reflect his bitter anticommunism and hatred of the working class.

He emerged from the shadows in 1966 to demand the utter destruction of North Vietnam.

"I have never been able to understand," Ford stated at the time, "why they have not more fully utilized our capability to destroy significant military targets in North Vietnam."

Throughout his career, Ford has been a ruthless enemy of the working class. He entered into the Congressional establishment and wielded considerable influence. At all times, he remained virtually unknown, secure in a rural Republican district in Michigan.

Now, this man who has never faced an election outside Kent County has been installed as

President of the United States. Every Democrat from Kennedy to McGovern now sings his praises as Ford maintains around him the authors of the Watergate conspiracy.

This government has no mandate from the working class. Ford has been installed behind the backs of millions of people.

The struggle against these attacks now poses to every worker the fight to force this government out, the immediate call for new elections, and the construction of a labor party pledged to socialist policies. These demands must be fought for in the trade unions.

A labor party will rally millions of workers against Ford and all the Watergate-stained politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties.

STATEMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE FOURTH IN

GREECE AND CYPRUS: a new stage of

The collapse of the military junta in Greece marks a qualitatively new stage, not only for the class struggle in that country but for the development of the international crisis and the world revolution.

So profound is the economic crisis of world capitalism following the collapse (1968-1971) of the post-war boom and the Bretton Woods agreement, that the whole relationship of class forces which has maintained imperialism since World War Two is breaking up, and creating a situation which is unprecedentedly favorable for the working class.

Already in April 1974 Portuguese fascism collapsed. Just as the mass movement in Greece and Cyprus broke up the plans of the imperialists, so it was in Portugal. The problems for the Portuguese fascists resulting from world inflation could not be solved by taking any more from the working class, despite the massive apparatus of repression.

A section of the bourgeoisie itself, politically organized in the Armed Forces Movement, was forced to set up a Bonapartist regime, leaning heavily on one side on the Stalinists and reformists, and through them on the masses and on the other side on the weakened bourgeoisie.

The mass movement in Portugal gained a tremendous new scope for development and the workers' movement in Spain, already greatly revived in recent years, received a terrific boost. In Spain too, inflation is undermining the economy rapidly, and the political superstructure is crumbling.

World inflation had already brought the polarization of class forces in Chile. There, Stalinist betrayals assured the temporary victory of the military junta, but it is certain that revolutionary struggles will break out in Bolivia, Argentina, Peru and once again Chile as a result of the continued and uncontrolled inflation.

Portugal made it clear that this inflation is the most powerful international revolutionary factor, bringing a homogeneity into the struggle in different continents which surpasses anything in the past. In Portugal we saw the first political explosion on the continent of capitalist Europe resulting from the world inflation. In the intervening period, revolutionary struggles had begun in Ethiopia, and of course the face of Africa will inevitably be changed by the break-up of Portuguese fascism and its colonial empire.

The April 1967 dictatorship was the result of an acute political crisis, caused in the early 1960s by the conjuncture of two basic factors. On the one hand there was the revival of the workers' movement, that had decisively overcome the defeat in the civil war, and on the other hand, the slashing by the Kennedy administration of aid to the underdeveloped countries.

The first clouds of the coming monetary crisis and the threat of recession were gathering. The imperialists tried hard to avoid the inevitable by forcing the underdeveloped countries to bear the brunt of their problems. As a result, there was a series of coups, as in Indonesia, Ghana, Algeria, and elsewhere.

PALACE PLOT

In Greece, the attempts to implement a deflationary policy confronted an all-powerful workers' movement. In 1961, the country was shaken by the big struggles of the building workers, and, in 1963, the then premier, Karamanlis, whose chief aim was to support the Greek drachma at the expense of labor was overthrown.

The crisis that broke out meant essentially the end of parliamentarianism. With the intervention of the State Department, the Center Union was formed as an alternative political formation. But the new party had no real social basis, nor was there any room for the implementation of a policy, other than that of Karamanlis. The Center Union came to power in February, 1963, and soon became bankrupt. It split and collapsed in July 1965.

To complicate matters, a reactionary conspiracy was instigated by the Palace against the democratic rights of the masses. The working class, the peasants and the youth revolted and, for 80 consecutive days, occupied the streets demanding the abolition of the monarchy.

The country was plunged into an absolute political impasse. On the one side, there were the bourgeois parties, which proved unable to form a strong government capable of taming the insurgent working class. On the other side, the working class did not have a political leadership determined to take up the struggle to overthrow the monarchy and the fake parliament and open the road to a socialist perspective.

The Stalinist leadership, recognized by the working class, working through EDA, capitulated to the monarchy, and dragged the masses behind Papandreou senior, the Center Union leader.

In other words, there was a balance in the relations of class forces, in which neither of the major social classes was in a position to resolve the crisis. Into this impasse there stepped inevitably the junta.

It did not have a power of its own, it did not defeat the working class. It drew its opportunity to take the power and to govern from the political stalemate created by the failure of the monarchy to crush the working class and the frustration of reformist-Stalinist leadership which refused to overthrow the monarchy.

While the regime that was established by the April 1967 coup was meant to overturn the relations of class forces to the benefit of the bourgeoisie and American imperialism, it never dared to challenge the power of the working class. It was forced to base itself on the preservation of the balance of class forces, and, in this sense, it embodied this balance on a governmental level. It embodied the crisis and the impasse.

The junta's strategy was to avert the transformation of the economic problems into political ones, and for this purpose they continued and extended the inflationary policy of their predecessor parliamentarian governments, rapidly multiplying the country's foreign debt.

RECONCILIATION

Nevertheless, the junta's strategy was possible only on the basis of the inflationary policies of imperialism and the attachment of the drachma to the dollar. The ending by Nixon of dollar convertibility into gold made it impossible and unbearable for capitalism to any longer preserve through inflationary concessions the balance of forces.

In Greece, and throughout the world, the working class had to be smashed and to bear the brunt of the crisis. This meant that the bonapartist dictatorship of Papadopoulos had either to transform itself into a fascist regime or to collapse.

It was in this stage that the Papadopoulos junta tried a policy of reconciliation with the EEC, to get aid from it and win support from the Greek opposition politicians. Papadopoulos aimed at creating a political basis for his regime and to acquire the strength necessary to carry out his counterrevolutionary plans against the working class.

This was the meaning of the "decentralization" which included a referendum for a new constitution, release of political prisoners, suspension of the activities of EOKA-B in Cyprus, and a pledge for an election under the Markezinis government.

OCCUPATION

But an epoch in which the economic crisis of capitalism is beyond any control is also characterized by capitalism's inability to control completely the trend of political developments. The "democratization" strengthened the self-confidence of the masses and undermined the dictatorship. In the conditions of tremendous inflation, the occupation of the Athens Polytechnic in November 1973 assumed revolutionary proportions and smashed all the plans and timetables of the regime.

The class struggle took its own course, not only against the will of the junta but also against the will of the Stalinists. The Partsalides faction openly and the Kolliyanis faction hesitantly, welcomed the promise of an election and saw in the occupation of the Polytechnic a "provocation" jeopardizing the attempt to establish democracy. They denounced the occupation as the work of "extremist elements" and deserted the battlefield politically and physically.

Their student and worker supporters were left alone in an untimely confrontation with the junta's tanks. The victims were counted in hundreds. But this sacrifice did not go in vain. The Polytechnic massacre filled the masses with anger, terrified the junta and threw it in a worse crisis.

The Gizikis coup, on November 25 was an attempt to save the American-backed regime. It was a manifestation of crisis within a regime of crisis. The new variety of dictatorship coincided with a sharp worsening of the economic crisis created by the massive increase in oil prices. A period of recession and a rapid rise in unemployment began in the country.

In order to discourage the working class and to stop it fighting for its demands, the regime unleashed a wave of terror and arrests. At the same time it tried to curb the rise of prices and the rise in unemployment, so undermining public funds and reducing foreign exchange reserves.

The result of this policy was the bankruptcy of the Athens council while other public services faced the same fate.

The regime was once again thrown into a conclusive crisis politically more damaging than the previous one. Papadopoulos's men were exiled to the island prison of Yiaros, while others were dragged into court for scandals connected with meat imports.

The commander of the 3rd Army Corps based in Salonika, General Davoos, openly opposed the Athens government, while the right-wing paper Greek North of Salonika, obviously echoing his views, called the Gizikis government a "bunch of hoodlums," who had deposed the "mafiosi."

The dictatorship since its establishment in 1967 faced the opposition of important sections of the bourgeoisie, especially after the devaluation of the dollar and the consequent collapse of the drachma.

The Greek capitalists, faced with the spectre of catastrophe in the present crisis, accused the dictatorship of serving foreign interests at their expense. This section of the bourgeoisie, together with the King, and with the approval of the European imperialists, organized the abortive Navy coup in the spring of 1973. The bourgeois opposition also expressed its open approval of the Polytechnic occupation.

Under these conditions all hope for the survival of the regime lay in a massive political diversion around the question of the Aegean sea oil—forgotten since 1951—and Enosis with Cyprus. In both cases it was confronted with the Turkish bourgeoisie, suffering from the same crisis and faced with similar problems.

The Turkish government claimed certain parts of the Aegean and it later imposed its will unilaterally by sending an oceanographic vessel to carry out tests in the disputed area.

The Athens regime—lacking any political support—was sunk in the sharpest economic problems and was unable to react. Despite the intervention of the Americans—who rushed to protect it—Turkey refused to withdraw its claims. This refusal, and the subsequent intervention of the Turkish army in Cyprus, in violation of its NATO commitments, brought into the open a new element in the crisis—the strengthening of nationalism in the underdeveloped countries.

The coup in Cyprus, which overthrew Makarios, the last of the "non-aligned" leaders of the "third world," was known by the CIA and it was related to the plans of the Americans to reinforce their positions in the eastern Mediterranean, transforming the island into a reliable military base against the Arab peoples.



Turkish tank landing.

At the same time this coup cannot be seen separately from the strengthening of Greek nationalism which appeared with the strong pressure exerted by the bourgeoisie and sections of the army on the Gizikis regime, for action against the Turkish claims in the Aegean and for the defense of the "national interest" and the "Hellenic heritage."

Fearful of the masses at all times, Makarios, like Allende, refused to arm the masses and again like Allende, relied on a handpicked force of elite police who were absolutely incapable of defending the regime in its hour of crisis.

Makarios's refusal to clear the British bases out of Cyprus and to establish the unconditional sovereignty of the island from British imperialism and the Greek bourgeoisie alienated the Turkish minority without in any way dissuading the Greek junta from trying to annex Cyprus.

Makarios and the Akel Stalinists were incapable of smashing EOKA-B because to do so they would have had to arm and mobilize the working class and to do that would be to create a dual power in Cyprus. The renunciation of the struggle for the liberation of the Cypriot working class by Akel doomed itself to a position of passive impotence when the forces of EOKA-B struck.

As a result the Makarios regime—despite the heroism of individual Stalinists—remained suspended like a rotten apple before falling ignominiously into the lap of the Greek colonels. The defeat of Makarios is not a defeat for the forces of socialist revolution in Cyprus. On the contrary it is a complete exposure of the rottenness and impotence of the native bourgeoisie and the necessity to replace this regime with a socialist workers' and farmers' government uniting the Turkish and Greek masses.

FIGHT GREEK POPULAR FRONT

All foreign troops out of Cyprus!

The Stalinists with their talk of the "democratic opening" deluded the masses in Greece before the 1967 coup. Now they are coming forward with appeals for a government of national unity.

The discredited Greek bourgeoisie and its equally discredited politicians will be completely relying on the Stalinists to discipline the masses.

The Stalinists' demand is for a Popular Front government and this constitutes the most deadly danger for the working class. CP participation in the government would sow confusion among the masses.

It would bring about disappointment among workers and the petty bourgeoisie because of the anti-working class policies the Popular Front would follow.

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class and would on the other hand strengthen the confidence of the right wingers in the army and increase their influence on certain strata, mainly within the petty bourgeoisie.

A Popular Front carries the danger of bringing the country face to face with a counterrevolutionary coup as in Chile.

The most crucial task of the Greek section of the International Committee is to fight uncompromisingly against a Popular Front. This means it will have immediately to undertake a struggle for the Transitional Program and to unmask and undermine the class-collaborationist policies of the Stalinists as a precondition for the overthrow of the Popular Front and its replacement by a genuine workers' and farmers' government carrying out socialist policies and protected by an armed workers' militia.

Nobody should be deceived by the euphoria and the contrived demagogy of the new Athens regime. The new premier Karamanlis is certainly well known for his right-wing anti-working class policies during the 1950s.

Gizikis is still holding his position. Ioannides lurks in the background. Nevertheless, this is only the surface appearance. The essence of this situation is insoluble crisis and unavoidable confrontation with Turkey over Cyprus and the Aegean.

The Americans will not abandon their positions easily, and they are bound to fight decisively against European influence and against sections of the Greek bourgeoisie opposed to them.

But a return to power of the junta is inconceivable without a decisive defeat of the working class in a civil war. Karamanlis's government cannot assure any of the democratic rights of the working class or establish even the semblance of political democracy in Athens.

Like Spínola's government in Portugal, it will restrict and repress the working class with the aid of the Stalinists while opening the door to extreme right wing reaction backed by European and US imperialism.

It has already reinstated the 1952 constitution and it will not be able to avoid granting the Communist Party's call for government participation (on Karamanlis's terms) in the immediate future. Related to this are the talks Karamanlis recently had with the leader of the EDA, Eliou.

United States imperialism is already wracked by an internal political crisis greater by far than anything in that country's history. The American bourgeoisie must face the mighty US working class, as the slump approaches, under conditions where it has no political stability whatsoever. Now on the international level comes a mighty setback for US imperialism.

Nixon's visit to the Near East was intended to break the Soviet military and intelligence influence there and in the Mediterranean, as well as to take advan-

tage of the funds going into the oil countries from Europe. Along with this, he sought to reinforce the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. These were the preparations of imperialism against the working class throughout southern Europe.

Now, however, the Cyprus fiasco and the subsequent collapse of the Greek colonels have shattered these plans. The forces of the working class in these countries are the forces of the world revolution. The great historical lesson is that for all the support of US imperialism, the colonels's regime and the puppet Sampson were unable to survive.

Greek capitalism, because of its historical weaknesses, among them the fear of post-war investment because of the strength of the working class, was the first victim, along with Portugal, of the world crisis and its effects in Europe. The stage is now completely set for the European socialist revolution. From Portugal across to Cyprus and Turkey, the masses have created a situation of complete instability and crisis for imperialism.

Now the Italian working class faces the vicious attacks of the Christian-Democrat government under wholly changed conditions. These attacks are forced by the same economic crisis which afflicts Greece, and they will produce revolutionary confrontations. The fascist MSI has grown as the crisis has matured, because of the betrayals of the Stalinists.

Now the Italian proletariat will confront these forces within a new situation. The events in Greece show beyond doubt that the working class will not permit the victory of the fascists, and the conditions for building a revolutionary leadership have never been more favorable.

But the Stalinist bureaucracy will not be slow to understand these profound changes, and will make their own counterrevolutionary preparations. Already in Czechoslovakia there has begun the biggest round of arrests and repressions since 1968. In that year, similarly, the Kremlin bureaucracy moved against the working class of Eastern Europe in response to the revolutionary events in France.

ESSENCE

There is no doubt that the divisions reported within the Soviet ruling clique are centered on how to deal with this changed situation forced by the strength of the working class and its ability to act despite the role of the bureaucracy. In Greece, the same Stalinists who deluded the masses before the coup of 1967 will now come forward with popular front politics of "governments of national unity."

Above all they will see it as their role to prevent the political independence of the working class, seeking to tie it to the tail of "democratic" bourgeois politicians. The political essence of the revolutionary struggle in Greece today is an implacable fight to defeat Stalinism in the course of a turn to the masses in every way possible.

The governments in Athens, Ankara and Nicosia are bourgeois governments who must seek to stabilize the situation for imperialism. They cannot solve a single one of the problems which caused the collapse of the previous regime, and they will inevitably come into direct conflict with the masses.

The Stalinists will play their counter-revolutionary role of politically disarming the working class before these struggles and paving the way for reaction. We have reached the stage of the world revolution at which Trotskyist parties can and must be built and must prepare to lead the struggle for working class power, and in the course of this defeat the discredited Stalinists.

Greece now takes the front line in this process. The Greek section of the International Committee of the Fourth International will receive every assistance from all the Committee's sections in order that the revolutionary party can be built in Greece.

All the revisionists and Stalinists who capitulated with the theory that capitalism had left behind the stage of crisis and proletarian revolution are prostrate before the unfolding events. Greece brings a new dimension into the struggle. While the developing crisis poses the same necessities—either proletarian power, or fascist repression—as between the world wars, we now have clearly revealed the fact that the bourgeoisie is unable to repeat the experience of that period of working class defeats in the same way.

The imperialists are at a later stage of the decay of their system. Fascism has collapsed in Portugal and the junta has fallen in Greece. World imperialism plunges deeper into crisis.

Dominating over this change is the unbroken strength of the working class internationally since World War Two. It is the inability of the capitalist class to deal with this unbroken strength which accounts for the chain of revolutionary developments in Vietnam, Ethiopia, Portugal, Greece, and which creates simultaneous crises from the United States right through Western Europe and Japan.

The advanced workers in every country will now go through a rapid development of struggle and consciousness, because the separateness of their struggle in each country is being overcome every day. This internationalization of the struggle, and the great reverse suffered by imperialism, indicate beyond doubt that the economic crisis has now passed the point where it prepares a new, revolutionary relationship of class forces.

To the tempo of development of the rapidly worsening economic crisis is now added the rise of the world revolution itself. Just as the bourgeoisie's defenses against inflationary crisis have been swept away in Greece, so in Western Europe, Britain, the United States, and Japan, the old political relationship of forces will undergo profound shocks, and the working class will have, in the immediate future, great revolutionary opportunities.

The primary task of the revolutionary movement, of the sections of the International Committee of the Fourth International, is to respond to these changes. Everything now depends on a decisive turn into the masses, and the training of thousands of workers in every country in the theory and practice of Marxism, established in the struggle for the Fourth International.

Only parties built on this basis can carry through the strategy and tactics required by the working class in the revolutionary period we are now in. Only the Trotskyist movement can defeat the counterrevolutionary plans of the Stalinists and reformists as they rush to defend imperialism in the new stage of its crisis.

The bourgeoisie must now stake everything on the hope that the coming slump will weaken and divide the working class, opening the road for fascist repression.

This plan has received a massive setback in Greece and Portugal. But there must be the utmost vigilance and bitter struggle against the Stalinists and reformists, whose role is precisely to weaken the working class in preparation for these plans of the class enemy. That was the lesson of Chile.

If the change in the world situation is consciously grasped, and the revolutionary leadership is built, then this stage of capitalism's economic crisis can bring the defeat of imperialism in the major countries. That is the meaning of the changes in Greece.

The International Committee is confident that the undefeated international working class will provide the basis for this victory, and that thousands of workers, youth and intellectuals will come forward to build the parties of the Fourth International.

All those who revised Marxism under the pressure of the so-called invincibility and overpowering strength of US imperialism have been confounded! The oldest fascism in Europe, Portugal, has disintegrated under the impact of the crisis. Now the first right-wing dictatorship erected against the working class as the boom ended has crashed. All the reputed "strength" of imperialism and its CIA, fascist and military agencies have proved completely vulnerable, because they are all founded on the shifting sands of a social system in its last stages of decay.

This was always the historical basis of the Communist International, of the Left Opposition and of the Fourth International.

All over the capitalist world, the approaching slump is signified by collapse of credit, banking crises, decline of investment and production, plunging of stock markets. But the capitalists cannot carry out the necessary policies, because the masses get more and more combative, still fighting against inflation. As against the organized strength of the working class, the capitalist class finds itself racked by corruption and political and moral disintegration.

All the economic, political and cultural conditions of breakdown and of proletarian revolution have matured. It remains only to bring the subjective factor into line with these objective preconditions.

The opportunities for the building of revolutionary parties, sections of the International Committee of the Fourth International, are now at their highest. They arise out of an inescapable necessity not just in Greece but in every other country.

Nowhere will the working class be able to avoid revolutionary struggles; the question of victory or defeat is the responsibility of the forces of the International Committee.

In Greece, the Workers Internationalist League (section of the International Committee) must drive deeper and deeper into the mass movement as it comes into collision with the Karamanlis government.

From these struggles on wages, living standards, democratic liberties, unemployment, and every other basic question which the bourgeoisie is totally unable to answer, many thousands of recruits will come forward for the revolutionary movement and can be trained in the struggle to defeat the treacherous Stalinists.

PROGRAM

The bourgeoisie will be forced to attempt to reimpose dictatorship. They cannot do this now without civil war and the most ferocious resistance of the working class and peasantry. The Greek Trotskyists must take every possible advantage for the expansion of their publications and of their membership in the youth and the working class.

•No partition of Cyprus! Down with federalism! Withdraw all foreign troops from Cyprus! Scrap Zurich Agreement!

•Unconditional release of all prisoners and restoration of all liberties, passports, etc.

•Immediate arrest and punishment by people's courts of the colonels and all their assistant torturers!

•Down with the Karamanlis government, for a workers' and peasants' government!

•Expropriation of the banks, big industries and shipping companies under workers' control and without compensation!

•Break with NATO immediately. No ports for the Sixth Fleet!

•Nationalization of the land. Immediate assistance to the peasants by revoking of all debts to banks and monopolies, and new terms for supply of farm machinery, chemicals etc. on the basis of the nationalization program.

Only such a program, carried out by a workers' and farmers' government, can begin to tackle the economic crisis. In the struggle for such a government and such a program, the International Committee fights to prepare the working class for the only solution to the problem, the exposure and defeat of the Stalinists and the winning of workers' power.

Build the Fourth International in Greece! Long live the Greek proletarian revolution!

STATEMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL —

GREECE AND CYPRUS: a new stage of world crisis—

The collapse of the military junta in Greece marks a qualitatively new stage, not only for the class struggle in that country but for the development of the international crisis and the world revolution.

So profound is the economic crisis of world capitalism following the collapse (1968-1971) of the post-war boom and the Bretton Woods agreement, that the whole relationship of class forces which has maintained imperialism since World War Two is breaking up, and creating a situation which is unprecedentedly favorable for the working class.

Already in April 1974 Portuguese fascism collapsed. Just as the mass movement in Greece and Cyprus broke up the plans of the imperialists, so it was in Portugal. The problems for the Portuguese fascists resulting from world inflation could not be solved by taking any more from the working class, despite the massive apparatus of repression.

A section of the bourgeoisie itself, politically organized in the Armed Forces Movement, was forced to set up a Bonapartist regime, leaning heavily on one side on the Stalinists and reformists, and through them on the masses and on the other side on the weakened bourgeoisie.

The mass movement in Portugal gained a tremendous new scope for development and the workers' movement in Spain, already greatly revived in recent years, received a terrific boost. In Spain too, inflation is undermining the economy rapidly, and the political superstructure is crumbling.

World inflation had already brought the polarization of class forces in Chile. There, Stalinist betrayals assured the temporary victory of the military junta, but it is certain that revolutionary struggles will break out in Bolivia, Argentina, Peru and once again Chile as a result of the continued and uncontrolled inflation.

Portugal made it clear that this inflation is the most powerful international revolutionary factor, bringing a homogeneity into the struggle in different continents which surpasses anything in the past. In Portugal we saw the first political explosion on the continent of capitalist Europe resulting from the world inflation. In the intervening period, revolutionary struggles had begun in Ethiopia, and of course the face of Africa will inevitably be changed by the break-up of Portuguese fascism and its colonial empire.

The April 1967 dictatorship was the result of an acute political crisis, caused in the early 1960s by the conjuncture of two basic factors. On the one hand there was the revival of the workers' movement, that had decisively overcome the defeat in the civil war, and on the other hand, the slashing by the Kennedy administration of aid to the underdeveloped countries.

The first clouds of the coming monetary crisis and the threat of recession were gathering. The imperialists tried hard to avoid the inevitable by forcing the underdeveloped countries to bear the brunt of their problems. As a result, there was a series of coups, as in Indonesia, Ghana, Algeria, and elsewhere.

PALACE PLOT

In Greece, the attempts to implement a deflationary policy confronted an all-powerful workers' movement. In 1961, the country was shaken by the big struggles of the building workers, and, in 1963, the then premier, Karamanlis, whose chief aim was to support the Greek drachma at the expense of labor was overthrown.

The crisis that broke out meant essentially the end of parliamentarism. With the intervention of the State Department, the Center Union was formed as an alternative political formation. But the new party had no real social basis, nor was there any room for the implementation of a policy, other than that of Karamanlis. The Center Union came to power in February, 1963, and soon became bankrupt. It split and collapsed in July 1965.

To complicate matters, a reactionary conspiracy was instigated by the Palace against the democratic rights of the masses. The working class, the peasants and the youth revolted and, for 80 consecutive days, occupied the streets demanding the abolition of the monarchy.

The country was plunged into an absolute political impasse. On the one side, there were the bourgeois parties, which proved unable to form a strong government capable of taming the insurgent working class. On the other side, the working class did not have a political leadership determined to take up the struggle to overthrow the monarchy and the fake parliament and open the road to a socialist perspective.

The Stalinist leadership, recognized by the working class, working through EDA, capitulated to the monarchy, and dragged the masses behind Papandreou senior, the Center Union leader.

In other words, there was a balance in the relations of class forces, in which neither of the major social classes was in a position to resolve the crisis. Into this impasse there stepped inevitably the junta.

It did not have a power of its own, it did not defeat the working class. It drew its opportunity to take the power and to govern from the political stalemate created by the failure of the monarchy to crush the working class and the frustration of reformist-Stalinist leadership which refused to overthrow the monarchy.

While the regime that was established by the April 1967 coup was meant to overturn the relations of class forces to the benefit of the bourgeoisie and American imperialism, it never dared to challenge the power of the working class. It was forced to base itself on the preservation of the balance of class forces, and, in this sense, it embodied this balance on a governmental level. It embodied the crisis and the impasse.

The junta's strategy was to avert the transformation of the economic problems into political ones, and for this purpose they continued and extended the inflationary policy of their predecessor parliamentary governments, rapidly multiplying the country's foreign debt.

RECONCILIATION

Nevertheless, the junta's strategy was possible only on the basis of the inflationary policies of imperialism and the attachment of the drachma to the dollar. The ending by Nixon of dollar convertibility into gold made it impossible and unbearable for capitalism to any longer preserve through inflationary concessions the balance of forces.

In Greece, and throughout the world, the working class had to be smashed and to bear the brunt of the crisis. This meant that the bonapartist dictatorship of Papadopoulos had either to transform itself into a fascist regime or to collapse.

It was in this stage that the Papadopoulos junta tried a policy of reconciliation with the EEC, to get aid from it and win support from the Greek opposition politicians. Papadopoulos aimed at creating a political basis for his regime and to acquire the strength necessary to carry out his counterrevolutionary plans against the working class.

This was the meaning of the "decentralization" which included a referendum for a new constitution, release of political prisoners, suspension of the activities of EOKA-B in Cyprus, and a pledge for an election under the Markezinis government.

OCCUPATION

But an epoch in which the economic crisis of capitalism is beyond any control is also characterized by capitalism's inability to control completely the trend of political developments. The "democratization" strengthened the self-confidence of the masses and undermined the dictatorship. In the conditions of tremendous inflation, the occupation of the Athens Polytechnic in November 1973 assumed revolutionary proportions and smashed all the plans and timetables of the regime.

The class struggle took its own course, not only against the will of the junta but also against the will of the Stalinists. The Partsalides faction openly and the Kollynias faction hesitantly, welcomed the promise of an election and saw in the occupation of the Polytechnic a "provocation" jeopardizing the attempt to establish democracy. They denounced the occupation as the work of "extremist elements" and deserted the battlefield politically and physically.

Their student and worker supporters were left alone in an untimely confrontation with the junta's tanks. The victims were counted in hundreds. But this sacrifice did not go in vain. The Polytechnic massacre filled the masses with anger, terrified the junta and threw it in a worse crisis.

The Gizikis coup, on November 25 was an attempt to save the American-backed regime. It was a manifestation of crisis within a regime of crisis. The new variety of dictatorship coincided with a sharp worsening of the economic crisis created by the massive increase in oil prices. A period of recession and a rapid rise in unemployment began in the country.

In order to discourage the working class and to stop it fighting for its demands, the regime unleashed a wave of terror and arrests. At the same time it tried to curb the rise of prices and the rise in unemployment, so undermining public funds and reducing foreign exchange reserves.

The result of this policy was the bankruptcy of the Athens council while other public services faced the same fate.

The regime was once again thrown into a conclusive crisis politically more damaging than the previous one. Papadopoulos's men were exiled to the island prison of Yiaros, while others were dragged into court for scandals connected with meat imports.

The commander of the 3rd Army Corps based in Salonika, General Davoos, openly opposed the Athens government, while the right-wing paper Greek North of Salonika, obviously echoing his views, called the Gizikis government a "bunch of hoodlums," who had deposed the "mafiosi."

The dictatorship since its establishment in 1967 faced the opposition of important sections of the bourgeoisie, especially after the devaluation of the dollar and the consequent collapse of the drachma.

The Greek capitalists, faced with the spectre of catastrophe in the present crisis, accused the dictatorship of serving foreign interests at their expense. This section of the bourgeoisie, together with the King, and with the approval of the European imperialists, organized the abortive Navy coup in the spring of 1973. The bourgeois opposition also expressed its open approval of the Polytechnic occupation.

Under these conditions all hope for the survival of the regime lay in a massive political diversion around the question of the Aegean sea oil—forgotten since 1951—and Enosis with Cyprus. In both cases it was confronted with the Turkish bourgeoisie, suffering from the same crisis and faced with similar problems.

The Turkish government claimed certain parts of the Aegean and it later imposed its will unilaterally by sending an oceanographic vessel to carry out tests in the disputed area.

The Athens regime—lacking any political support—was sunk in the sharpest economic problems and was unable to react. Despite the intervention of the Americans—who rushed to protect it—Turkey refused to withdraw its claims. This refusal, and the subsequent intervention of the Turkish army in Cyprus, in violation of its NATO commitments, brought into the open a new element in the crisis—the strengthening of nationalism in the underdeveloped countries.

The coup in Cyprus, which overthrew Makarios, the last of the "non-aligned" leaders of the "third world," was known by the CIA and it was related to the plans of the Americans to reinforce their positions in the eastern Mediterranean, transforming the island into a reliable military base against the Arab peoples.



Turkish tank landing.

At the same time this coup cannot be seen separately from the strengthening of Greek nationalism which appeared with the strong pressure exerted by the bourgeoisie and sections of the army on the Gizikis regime, for action against the Turkish claims in the Aegean and for the defense of the "national interest" and the "Hellenic heritage."

Fearful of the masses at all times, Makarios, like Allende, refused to arm the masses and again like Allende, relied on a handpicked force of elite police who were absolutely incapable of defending the regime in its hour of crisis.

Makarios's refusal to clear the British bases out of Cyprus and to establish the unconditional sovereignty of the island from British imperialism and the Greek bourgeoisie alienated the Turkish minority without in any way dissuading the Greek junta from trying to annex Cyprus.

Makarios and the Akel Stalinists were incapable of smashing EOKA-B because to do so they would have had to arm and mobilize the working class and to do that would be to create a dual power in Cyprus. The renunciation of the struggle for the liberation of the Cypriot working class by Akel doomed itself to a position of passive impotence when the forces of EOKA-B struck.

As a result the Makarios regime—despite the heroism of individual Stalinists—remained suspended like a rotten apple before falling ignominiously into the lap of the Greek colonels. The defeat of Makarios is not a defeat for the forces of socialist revolution in Cyprus. On the contrary it is a complete exposure of the rottenness and impotence of the native bourgeoisie and the necessity to replace this regime with a socialist workers' and farmers' government uniting the Turkish and Greek masses.

FIGHT GREEK POPULAR FRONT

All foreign troops out of Cyprus!

The Stalinists with their talk of the "democratic opening" deluded the masses in Greece before the 1967 coup. Now they are coming forward with appeals for a government of national unity.

The discredited Greek bourgeoisie and its equally discredited politicians will be completely relying on the Stalinists to discipline the masses.

The Stalinists' demand is for a Popular Front government and this constitutes the most deadly danger for the working class. CP participation in the government would sow confusion among the masses.

It would bring about disappointment among workers and the petty bourgeoisie because of the anti-working class policies the Popular Front would follow.

It would split the unity of the working

class and would on the other hand strengthen the confidence of the right wingers in the army and increase their influence on certain strata, mainly within the petty bourgeoisie.

A Popular Front carries the danger of bringing the country face to face with a counterrevolutionary coup as in Chile.

The most crucial task of the Greek section of the International Committee is to fight uncompromisingly against a Popular Front. This means it will have immediately to undertake a struggle for the Transitional Program and to unmask and undermine the class-collaborationist policies of the Stalinists as a precondition for the overthrow of the Popular Front and its replacement by a genuine workers' and farmers' government carrying out socialist policies and protected by an armed workers' militia.

Nobody should be deceived by the euphoria and the contrived demagogy of the new Athens regime. The new premier Karamanlis is certainly well known for his right-wing anti-working class policies during the 1950s.

Gizikis is still holding his position. Ioannides lurks in the background. Nevertheless, this is only the surface appearance. The essence of this situation is insoluble crisis and unavoidable confrontation with Turkey over Cyprus and the Aegean.

The Americans will not abandon their positions easily, and they are bound to fight decisively against European influence and against sections of the Greek bourgeoisie opposed to them.

But a return to power of the junta is inconceivable without a decisive defeat of the working class in a civil war. Karamanlis's government cannot assure any of the democratic rights of the working class or establish even the semblance of political democracy in Athens.

Like Spinola's government in Portugal, it will restrict and repress the working class with the aid of the Stalinists while opening the door to extreme right wing reaction backed by European and US imperialism.

It has already reinstated the 1952 constitution and it will not be able to avoid granting the Communist Party's call for government participation (on Karamanlis's terms) in the immediate future. Related to this are the talks Karamanlis recently had with the leader of the EDA, Eliou.

United States imperialism is already wracked by an internal political crisis greater by far than anything in that country's history. The American bourgeoisie must face the mighty US working class, as the slump approaches, under conditions where it has no political stability whatsoever. Now on the international level comes a mighty setback for US imperialism.

Nixon's visit to the Near East was intended to break the Soviet military and intelligence influence there and in the Mediterranean, as well as to take advan-

The governments in Athens, Ankara and Nicosia are bourgeois governments who must seek to stabilize the situation for imperialism. They cannot solve a single one of the problems which caused the collapse of the previous regime, and they will inevitably come into direct conflict with the masses.

The Stalinists will play their counter-revolutionary role of politically disarming the working class before these struggles and paving the way for reaction. We have reached the stage of the world revolution at which Trotskyist parties can and must be built and must prepare to lead the struggle for working class power, and in the course of this defeat the discredited Stalinists.

Greece now takes the front line in this process. The Greek section of the International Committee of the Fourth International will receive every assistance from all the Committee's sections in order that the revolutionary party can be built in Greece.

All the revisionists and Stalinists who capitulated with the theory that capitalism had left behind the stage of crisis and proletarian revolution are prostrate before the unfolding events. Greece brings a new dimension into the struggle. While the developing crisis poses the same necessities—either proletarian power, or fascist repression—as between the world wars, we now have clearly revealed the fact that the bourgeoisie is unable to repeat the experience of that period of working class defeats in the same way.

The imperialists are at a later stage of the decay of their system. Fascism has collapsed in Portugal and the junta has fallen in Greece. World imperialism plunges deeper into crisis.

Dominating over this change is the unbroken strength of the working class internationally since World War Two. It is the inability of the capitalist class to deal with this unbroken strength which accounts for the chain of revolutionary developments in Vietnam, Ethiopia, Portugal, Greece, and which creates simultaneous crises from the United States right through Western Europe and Japan.

The advanced workers in every country will now go through a rapid development of struggle and consciousness, because the separateness of their struggle in each country is being overcome every day. This internationalization of the struggle, and the great reverse suffered by imperialism, indicate beyond doubt that the economic crisis has now passed the point where it prepares a new, revolutionary relationship of class forces.

To the tempo of development of the rapidly worsening economic crisis is now added the rise of the world revolution itself. Just as the bourgeoisie's defenses against inflationary crisis have been swept away in Greece, so in Western Europe, Britain, the United States, and Japan, the old political relationship of forces will undergo profound shocks, and the working class will have, in the immediate future, great revolutionary opportunities.

The primary task of the revolutionary movement, of the sections of the International Committee of the Fourth International, is to respond to these changes. Everything now depends on a decisive turn into the masses, and the training of thousands of workers in every country in the theory and practice of Marxism, established in the struggle for the Fourth International.

Only parties built on this basis can carry through the strategy and tactics required by the working class in the revolutionary period we are now in. Only the Trotskyist movement can defeat the counterrevolutionary plans of the Stalinists and reformists as they rush to defend imperialism in the new stage of its crisis.

The bourgeoisie must now stake everything on the hope that the coming slump will weaken and divide the working class, opening the road for fascist repression.

This plan has received a massive setback in Greece and Portugal. But there must be the utmost vigilance and bitter struggle against the Stalinists and reformists, whose role is precisely to weaken the working class in preparation for these plans of the class enemy. That was the lesson of Chile.

If the change in the world situation is consciously grasped, and the revolutionary leadership is built, then this stage of capitalism's economic crisis can bring the defeat of imperialism in the major countries. That is the meaning of the changes in Greece.

The International Committee is confident that the undefeated international working class will provide the basis for this victory, and that thousands of workers, youth and intellectuals will come forward to build the parties of the Fourth International.

All those who revised Marxism under the pressure of the so-called invincibility and overpowering strength of US imperialism have been confounded! The oldest fascism in Europe, Portugal, has disintegrated under the impact of the crisis. Now the first right-wing dictatorship erected against the working class as the boom ended has crashed. All the reputed "strength" of imperialism and its CIA, fascist and military agencies have proved completely vulnerable, because they are all founded on the shifting sands of a social system in its last stages of decay.

This was always the historical basis of the Communist International, of the Left Opposition and of the Fourth International.

All over the capitalist world, the approaching slump is signified by collapse of credit, banking crises, decline of investment and production, plunging of stock markets. But the capitalists cannot carry out the necessary policies, because the masses get more and more combative, still fighting against inflation. As against the organized strength of the working class, the capitalist class finds itself racked by corruption and political and moral disintegration.

All the economic, political and cultural conditions of breakdown and of proletarian revolution have matured. It remains only to bring the subjective factor into line with these objective preconditions.

The opportunities for the building of revolutionary parties, sections of the International Committee of the Fourth International, are now at their highest. They arise out of an inescapable necessity not just in Greece but in every other country.

Nowhere will the working class be able to avoid revolutionary struggles; the question of victory or defeat is the responsibility of the forces of the International Committee.

In Greece, the Workers Internationalist League (section of the International Committee) must drive deeper and deeper into the mass movement as it comes into collision with the Karamanlis government.

From these struggles on wages, living standards, democratic liberties, unemployment, and every other basic question which the bourgeoisie is totally unable to answer, many thousands of recruits will come forward for the revolutionary movement and can be trained in the struggle to defeat the treacherous Stalinists.

PROGRAM

The bourgeoisie will be forced to attempt to reimpose dictatorship. They cannot do this now without civil war and the most ferocious resistance of the working class and peasantry. The Greek Trotskyists must take every possible advantage for the expansion of their publications and of their membership in the youth and the working class.

*No partition of Cyprus! Down with federalism! Withdraw all foreign troops from Cyprus! Scrap Zurich Agreement!

*Unconditional release of all prisoners and restoration of all liberties, passports, etc.

*Immediate arrest and punishment by people's courts of the colonels and all their assistant torturers!

*Down with the Karamanlis government, for a workers' and peasants' government!

*Expropriation of the banks, big industries and shipping companies under workers' control and without compensation!

*Break with NATO immediately. No ports for the Sixth Fleet!

*Nationalization of the land. Immediate assistance to the peasants by revoking of all debts to banks and monopolies, and new terms for supply of farm machinery, chemicals etc. on the basis of the nationalization program.

Only such a program, carried out by a workers' and farmers' government, can begin to tackle the economic crisis. In the struggle for such a government and such a program, the International Committee fights to prepare the working class for the only solution to the problem, the exposure and defeat of the Stalinists and the winning of workers' power.

Build the Fourth International in Greece! Long live the Greek proletarian revolution!

LABOR TODAY

Meany Butters Up Ford



Last Tuesday's meeting between Gerald Ford and George Meany exposes the desperate efforts of the trade union bureaucracy to derail the movement of the working class against the government and prevent the construction of a labor party, against the Democrats and Republicans.

Ford has now been appointed to the Presidency, without any popular support, to impose policies which the working class has already demonstrated that it will not accept. Having gone through the experience of Watergate and seen the corruption and criminality of capitalist rule, workers are more determined than ever to fight to defend their living standards and reject every hypocritical call for "sacrifice" issued by Ford, the Democrats or the Republicans.

The resignation of Nixon has made the working class even more confident of its strength. Important new struggles have broken out with the call for a five-day nationwide coal miners strike and the walkout of A&P Meatcutters. At the same time, police violence against Western Electric workers makes clear that repression will be stepped up under Ford because of the deterioration of the economic crisis. The struggle in defense of living standards and jobs has immediately thrown the working class into a collision with Ford, who seeks to carry out Nixon's policies of inflation and unemployment.

Powerful support will now emerge among workers for new elections and for the construction of a labor party to throw out Ford and his allies in both big business parties.

It is to prevent this development that the labor bureaucracy is rallying around Ford. Within hours of Nixon's resignation, the bureaucracy was falling all over itself with messages of support to Ford, a man whom workers have never elected to any office.

UAW President Leonard Woodcock declared: Obviously, the UAW will cooperate with the new Ford administration in any effort it would make to correct the enormous economic and moral difficulties the nation faces."

Steel Workers President I.W. Abel stated: "Much needs to be done to renew the people's faith in their government and it is my fervent hope that, under President Ford, we will get on with the business of meeting the many challenges confronting America and the American people."

A spokesman for the IUE said that the union leadership "wishes President Ford well."

Meany himself has gone to the White House and pledged cooperation with Ford, who is seeking to gain the support of the bureaucracy for corporate state measures in which the independence of the trade unions is broken to meet the needs of the capitalists.

Ford's first measure has been to call upon Congress to revive the Cost of Living Council to monitor wage increases. This is the first step to direct wage controls.

He seeks to draw the labor bureaucracy into direct collaboration with big business by retaining Peter Brennan as Labor Secretary. Brennan, who led the building trades in New York, was Nixon's staunchest supporter as the jobs of thousands of construction workers were destroyed.

Meany has left no doubt that he will work with Ford on plans to control wages. An AFL-CIO spokesman stated that Meany "must absolutely be included" in an economic summit of businessmen and bankers that Ford has said he will convene.

The willingness of Meany, Woodcock, and the rest of the labor bureaucracy to work with Ford means that they are willing to accept the policies of recession and mass unemployment that Ford advocates.

For Meany to visit the White House to support a man whom the AFL-CIO by its own records has branded an enemy of the working class represents a disgusting betrayal. The AFL-CIO bureaucracy is embracing the hand-picked successor of Nixon who is determined to carry out the conspiracy against the working class that has been revealed by Watergate.

Workers in every local must demand an end to this obscene collaboration with Ford. The AFL-CIO must break off with Ford, the Democrats and Republicans. Mass demonstrations must be called demanding new elections and the convening of a Congress of Labor to construct a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

—by david north

Drought Hits Farmers—

BY MIKE ROTH
LIVERNE, Minn.—
The great Corn Belt begins here in Rock County and sweeps southward through Iowa and west to the Dakotas and Nebraska.

This southwest Minnesota farm community got its first rainfall in weeks on August 10th but too late to save the corn crop.

Over 90 percent has already been destroyed and some farmers have nothing at all. In Rock County, seven farmers have already filed for bankruptcy and there are three times as many farm auctions this year than last.

While the capitalist newspapers and magazines blame rising food prices entirely on the drought, it is clear that the lack of rain is really oil on the already raging fire of inflation.

In 1974 the cost of producing an acre of corn or a head of cattle has in some cases doubled and tripled. James Forsell, an official of the Minnesota Farmers Union told the Bulletin:

"If 1973 hadn't been a good year for the farmer, I'd say that

and nine children. Willers said that on any one of his fields last year he would harvest more than 130 bushels of corn, but this year he would be grateful to get 10 bushels.

"City people must be made to understand that I have to get higher prices. I know the laboring man is in a bind, the man in the car factory isn't sitting too good. I don't know how he can afford to buy what I produce. But, I have no choice.

"With the drought," he continued, "I'm going to have to get by on last year's capital. We aren't going to buy anything my family doesn't desperately need."

Willers's farm represents an investment of over half a million dollars since he started farming in 1948. "Just look at the prices I have to pay," Willers said, "I need a new tractor. I went down to price one. A model that cost me \$9000 to \$10,000 last year, goes for \$13,000 now and that's a small one. The kind I need was \$18,000, it was \$14,000 last year. I forgot about that pretty damn fast."

Fuel has gone from 11 cents to 37 cents a gallon. Bailer twine for hay was \$8.50 a hundred feet in 1973 but now costs \$27.00

"On top of that," Willers

had meat coming out of their ears. Now, you have to realize that this 158,000 head record has nothing to do with what's in the stores or what people want. It's just a record for the meatpackers. I was lucky to get \$47.00.

"Your middle-man, your speculator is out to make money any way he can. Let me produce a percent surplus and the price will drop 25 percent. It's the same if I'm short 5 percent, there'll be a 25 percent rise."

In addition to inflation the farmer has not been able to borrow money from the banks. "A farmer is forced to invest," explained Willers, "Or else he can't stay in business. But some of the loan figures I hear around are fantastic \$200 or \$300 thousand."

While there is no huge corporate farming in Rock County now, the agribusinesses are moving in to neighboring Nobles county. "They swamp us," Willers said. "The big names like Cargill and Tennece can drive down prices with their production. They also have tax laws working for them.

While the Willers farm depends on his family's labor, the agribusinesses hire labor. "But," explained Willers, "It's brutal to a working man. You



Parched corn fields in southwest Minnesota.

with the inflation and now the drought we'd have a full-fledged disaster right this moment."

In 1973, prices paid to the farmer were at an all time high but this has been followed in the first six months of this year by severely depressed prices. Prices have gone up again in the last month.

When the farmer was receiving less for his crops and cattle, the retail cost of food dropped only marginally, but the big meatpackers and food processors have reaped enormous profits.

At the same time the cost of every manufactured article the farmer must buy has shot up tremendously, reducing his standard of living. Record high interest rates charged by the banks has also curtailed investment in machinery and land, making it impossible for the small farmer to increase his productivity. The drought will now be the finishing blow to thousands throughout the Corn Belt.

The Bulletin interviewed farmers in Rock County which has basically two types of farms—those that raise corn and soybeans as cash crops for the market, and livestock feeders who grow corn to provide feed for thousands of head of cattle and hogs for slaughter.

Burdell Willers farms 618 acres of corn and soybeans near Beaver Creek. His farm is family owned and is run solely by the labor of himself, his wife

added, "Case, a tractor company, just announced a 7.5 percent rise effective August 15. Just think of that increase."

The only thing the farmers in Rock County can do is cut the stunted and shriveled corn stalks for silage, which is a form of low quality feed.

The Bulletin spoke with Florin Taubert, Willers neighbor, who has 3000 head and about the same number of hogs. He raises corn exclusively for feed.

"Last year when beef prices were frozen, I was nearly destroyed before the government said that controls didn't work. There's always been vacillation in prices but nothing like what we're seeing now. Eastern speculators on the Board of Trade in Chicago run our prices up and down. There should be some laws to put this on an even keel."

In order to produce one acre of corn in 1974 the cost is \$113.00, compared to \$84.33 in 1973. Soybeans cost the farmer \$81.50 an acre to produce, and \$65.99 last year.

The livestock feeder is at the mercy of the meatpackers like Iowa Beef Processors and Armour. Taubert said "Last Wednesday I took a load of steers to Sioux Falls and got \$48.50 per hundred weight. On Thursday, the nation's meatpackers had a record kill of 158,000 head nationwide.

"When I took another load on Friday they told me that they

can't force a man to work the hours I do and pay him \$2 an hour, but that's what they do."

The drought could be fought in many areas with irrigation. In Rock County it would mean vast investment to pump in water great distances and more money to set up the system. However, just seven miles south in Iowa it's very practical from a technical point of view but it would cost more than \$30,000.

Both Willers and Taubert agree with some of the aims of the National Farmers Organization (NFO) but are skeptical about the ability to win.

"NFO is right when they say we have to be able to go direct from the farmer to the consumer and eliminate the processor and meatpacker. But you are talking about fighting a big business and farmers alone are going to lose.

"There has always been violence. Take your laboring man and his union. He wouldn't have got anywhere without some violence. When it comes down to it on a strike and you're a picket, and someone says, 'I'm going in there,' you've got to say, 'No you aren't.'

"Socialism? I think it's going to come."

Willers said, "Business tells the laboring man that the farmer's to blame for high prices and then business tells the farmer that the laboring man's to blame. I don't buy any of that."

UAW Blackout On Lordstown Strike

BY FRED MUELLER
LORDSTOWN, Ohio—At the GM complex here, the strike by United Auto Workers Local 1112 is at a critical point.

The strike began at a good time for the company, at the end of the model year when pressure for production was not as great. The car sales slump had especially hit the Vega which only got 48 percent in sales in July.

The determination of the ranks at Lordstown has changed this completely. Now the company has been forced to postpone model changeover until September.

With a dealer showroom date set for September 27, the pressure is on. A GM spokesman told the press: "The salesmen tell me that the first two or three weeks of the sales season are the key ones and if another guy has cars and you're still showing pictures, you're dead."

BLACKOUT

Robert Mitchell, a striking 1112 member, told the Bulletin: "The men don't know anything since the news blackout. GM is definitely trying to cut corners with the speedup and overworking the men. Now we're

just settling what should've been settled last year.

"The union hasn't dealt with the company at the right time. As far as I'm concerned about Woodcock, the International was supporting the company.

NATIONWIDE STRIKE

"A nationwide strike would be very effective right now. The company is getting more ruthless. When we bargain for little things like this, we never get anything. It goes to the company and we're back where we were last year this coming fall."

Another worker told the Bulletin: "The blackout is to try to get everybody's hopes up that we've got a decent settlement. But with GMAD, speedup is their policy—it's their technique.

STAYING OUT

"To settle anything here in terms of grievances and the line conditions, a nationwide strike would be the best way to fight. We have to get Ford and Chrysler too. Do it to them all at once, because this time the members told the union they wouldn't go for a mini-strike, for hit-and-run. They're staying out until we get our settlement.

"I think it's a good policy for a labor party. The strike starts out looking good but for the union alone, it always ends up selling you out to the company."

Last week the company tried

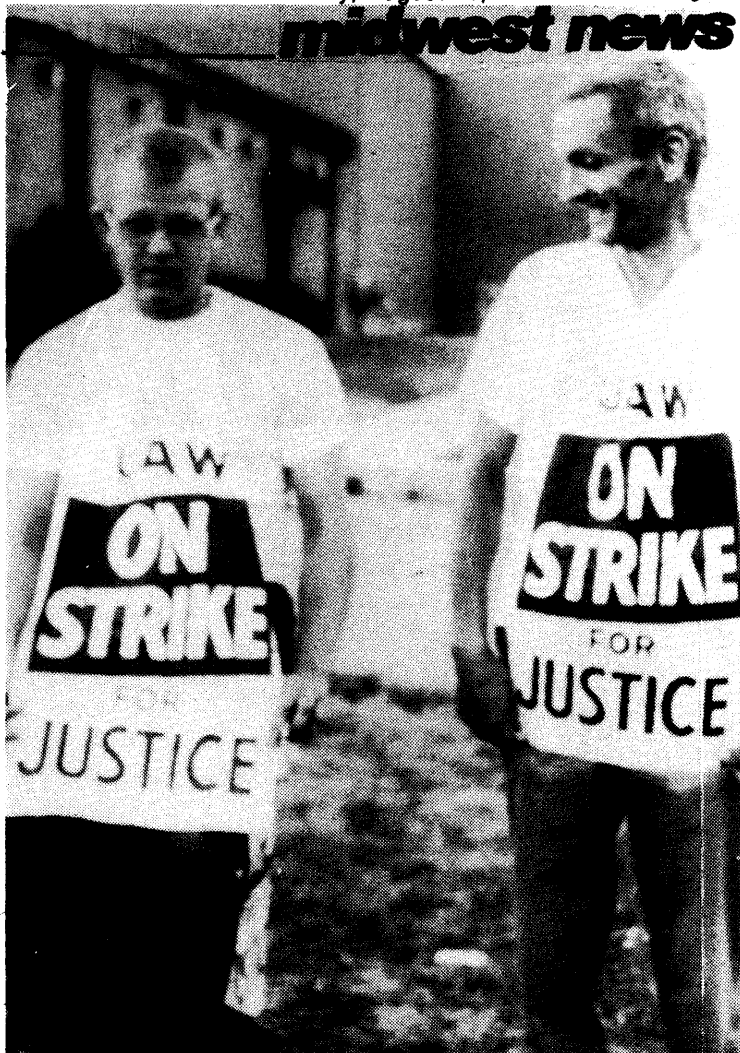
to provoke a series of incidents by driving salaried personnel through a plant gate at such a high speed that pickets were nearly injured.

The union leaders have been forced to report that 1600 grievances are unresolved as well as 15 other plant issues, including seniority, contract language, and planned production standards.

INTENTION

Neither the local leadership nor Woodcock have any intention of fighting this through to the end. Woodcock, along with the entire trade union bureaucracy, is rallying around the Ford administration.

Lordstown workers should demand a nationwide strike to defeat the speedup drive of GM as well as Ford and Chrysler, and the construction of a labor party as the auto companies prepare layoffs on a much more massive scale than anything in the past year.



Striking concrete workers have shut down construction in southwest Ohio.

Cincinnati Concrete Drivers Shut Construction In Ohio

BY JOHN WERNER

CINCINNATI—Resisting all pressure from the Mayor of Cincinnati, the press, and scab concrete suppliers, Cincinnati concrete drivers (Teamsters Local 100) have brought construction to a virtual halt in southwest Ohio.

A survey of southwest Ohio construction, both public and private, reveals that a half billion dollars worth of construction work is at a standstill due to the 70 day old strike of concrete workers.

The basic issue, as throughout the nation, is wages. The concrete workers demand 75¢ for 3 years, since there has been no cost of living clause in past contracts nor projected in the new contract. The companies offer only 55¢/50¢/50¢. One picket said "50¢ is like nothing" because of inflation.

The concrete workers on picket duty told this reporter that the wages of a driver is between \$6.40 and \$6.60, whereas in the building trades as a whole the range is from \$8.00 to \$10.00 an hour.

The pickets pointed out that the work is extremely hazardous and nerve wracking, re-

quiring life and death decisions on whether to drive the huge concrete mixer into a muddy site with 60 to 70 thousands pounds of concrete.

If it tips over they are held responsible, not to mention the danger to themselves. One worker stated, "They can flip on their top. We've lost three trucks in the last three years."

One worker on picket duty stated: "It would be different if we had a half-way decent cost of living clause."

As it is weather conditions that determine whether the drivers work, in the Winter two thirds of the drivers are laid off for a month or more.

Commenting on Nixon's resignation, one picket stated, "This country is run by big business. Half the committee probably had something on them. This country is going to hell."

Another picket expressed solidarity with the lower paid workers and people on welfare, stating, "Nixon's \$2.00 minimum hourly wage, how did he expect anyone to live on that? After taxes and everything, they would have \$50.00. What can you do with that? I don't blame people going on welfare."

The concrete workers on picket duty pointed out that

there is some scab concrete being pumped into the area. One scab concrete source is L&M Concrete in South Lebanon Ohio. Also some union concrete is coming in.

One source is Moraine Concrete from Middletown, Teamsters Local 836, whose secretary-treasurer is Carl Bray, a leader in the truckers strike.

Last week the bosses brought the Mayor of Cincinnati into the negotiations. Berry, one of the "liberal" Democratic Black mayors, failed to tip the scales against the concrete workers. The workers have instructed the union "not to submit to anything less than a substantial wage increase."

Abel Imposes ENA On Iron Ore Men

BY A REPORTER

MINNEAPOLIS—The United Steel Workers Union has signed contracts with four iron ore mining and processing companies that provides for the same wage increases and benefits as the contracts with the steel companies.

Strikes were ended at the Hanna Mining Company, Picklands Mather Company, and Oglebay Norton company in Eveleth, Minnesota.

The USW has also reached a settlement with Reserve Mining on Lake Superior which employs 3100 workers.

BREAKTHROUGH

The fifth company, Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company, isn't even near a settlement yet.

Spokesmen for the union called the three year contracts "the

biggest breakthrough in the history of iron ore negotiations."

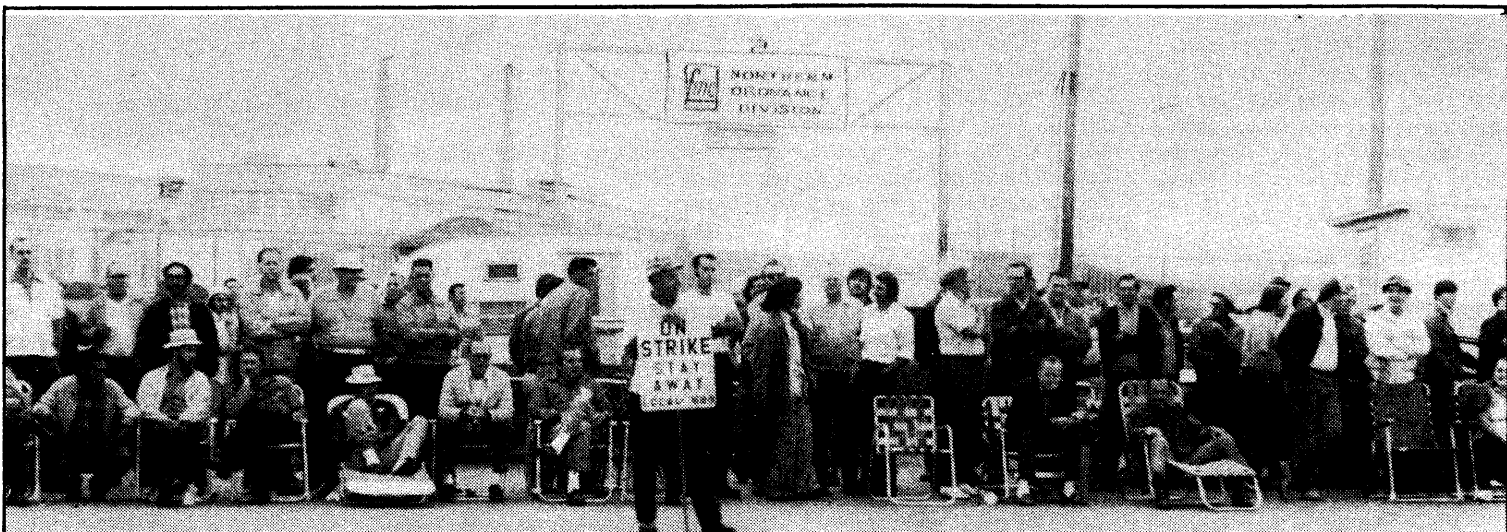
This "breakthrough" includes only a 3 percent wage increase and the Experimental Negotiating Agreement, or no-strike pledge, imposed on steelworkers, to begin in 1977.

CONDITIONS

Conditions in the iron ore mines are way below other industries. Up until this settlement, miners worked for 8 and one-half hours but were paid for only eight hours and did not get paid for lunch.

Now, miners will receive a 20 minute lunch period and work only eight hours.

Industry spokesmen are already claiming that this meager settlement of three percent will increase their labor costs 40 percent and will bring new price increases.



Hundreds of striking workers at FMC's Minneapolis plant organized a mass picket last week in defense of their demands.

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books

by Sheila Brehm

PART ONE



Nancy Fields & Tim Wohlforth

The American Working Class a materialist assessment

The American Working Class—A Materialist Assessment by Nancy Fields and Tim Wohlforth. Labor Publications, New York, 1974. 383 pages. \$3.45.

This book is vital reading for arming workers and youth with the knowledge of the material conditions which have shaped the development of the American working class in order to build the revolutionary party today.

The publication of this book, which gives a Marxist analysis of the American Revolution, the Civil War, the development of politics and radicalism in America, the birth and development of the socialist and communist movement, and the trade unions, is an invaluable contribution to the Marxist movement.

Its publication is highly appropriate today. Never before in history has capitalism been gripped with such an enormous economic and political crisis. With the resignation of Richard Nixon, a mighty blow has been dealt to world capitalism, signalling not only the collapse of presidents, but of capitalism itself.

To prepare for this new stage in the class struggle, to build a party to take the power, workers and youth must take up the study of the history of the American working class.

This is necessary, not just to understand the past, but precisely because the past now lives in the struggles today, shaping the way workers think as they move into battle.

This book is invaluable in equipping revolutionists with a materialist, scientific understanding of how the working class will develop in the next period, and how we can struggle to break the working class from the limits of bourgeois thinking which holds back its revolutionary development.

The publishing of this book is a powerful blow to all those like Herbert Aptheker of the Communist Party and George Novack of the Socialist Workers Party, who view history, not in a materialist way, but in an idealist way, always seeking to justify their relationship with the capitalist class and to hold back the working class from its revolutionary tasks.

In particular, the writings of Novack and Aptheker on the American Revolution have dealt with only the surface, the superstructure of society. Therefore they have not been able to explain why anything happened or what is the driving force that destroys one system and brings another into being.

Aptheker and Novack view Thomas Jefferson's phrase of

"Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness" as a "magnificent, timeless generalization with intensely democratic content."

Wohlforth in the beginning chapters of the book documents that this slogan of the American Revolution meant (and still does) freedom and liberty of the slave owners, of which Jefferson was one, and of the commercial classes to pursue profit, no matter what. It was precisely to expand capitalism, which was a progressive step then, that the revolution took place.

Leaps, changes, revolution itself, is seen by these idealists as a development of ideas, or else, as stemming from the motives or wishes of history's leading figures. According to the school of idealism we must assess and contemplate what happens, but never actively battle to change it.

In the opening pages of the book, Wohlforth writes, in opposition to the idealist conception of history, "Historical materialism holds that the determining factor in history is the relationship between the productive relations and the development of the productive forces in any given society."

The productive relations are in the final analysis relations between people in order for the development of the productive forces to take place for the purpose of providing for man's needs.

"A social revolution takes place according to historical materialism, at the point where the productive relations become a fetter, hold back the development of the productive forces.

"...It is this which threatens to transform America into a world like the South of the 1840s and 1850s—a world of decay, a world of collapse, with decay of homes, collapse of education, the emptying out and idleness of factories, with millions unemployed.

"We now face a world where capitalism, like the slave system of 100 years ago, means the end not only of progress, but the destruction of wealth and the development that man has reached to this point. It is for this reason that the Constitution is thrown into crisis."

The events of today—Watergate and the conspiracy against democratic rights, the grooming and training of special police units in every major city, and now the appointment of Gerald Ford—behind which lies the conspiracy of both the Democrats and Republicans to preserve the rule of capital—exposes the way in which America was founded from its origins.

TO BE CONTINUED

City Ranks Fight Wage Cut

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM
SAN FRANCISCO—

"The city workers haven't got their raise. We haven't got our raise either. We were supposed to get one on the first, but no one's seen it.

"The union's not doing anything about it. I think we should shut the place down."

That is what one San Francisco Municipal Railway bus driver had to say about the San Francisco city government's refusal to pay wage increases promised and scheduled for more than 15,000 city employees.

Last March, San Francisco city workers paralyzed the city for eight days with a strike that began among clerical, hospital, and social service workers, but soon shut down buses, sewage treatment plants, rapid transit

Civil Service Commission finally recommended a 35 cent an hour increase Tuesday, August 6, six weeks late, but the supervisors have yet to act on it.

This has been backed up with a newspaper campaign about the financial crisis of the city, centering on hysterical denunciations of street sweepers, who are paid at the same rate as general laborers in construction because they will get a gross pay of \$17,000 by the end of next year.

The refusal by the controller to pay wage increases won in the general strike is due to a suit filed by a retired trade union bureaucrat, but instigated by the Chamber of Commerce, which charges that all public employee strikes are illegal, and therefore the settlement ending the strike is illegal too. The controller claims he cannot pay

government workers in most other cities because of this. To wait for a wage increase until wages in Fresno or even Los Angeles catch up, means huge wage cuts.

John, a bus driver, told the Bulletin: "I don't think the men here will strike because we didn't get the raise on time. Everybody's used to getting everything retroactive anyway.

"What we might be striking about is the ordinance. They're trying to pass this law that would take away our three-month money. I think of it like taking away a cost of living thing.

"The thing is that the union gives support to all these supervisors. They give them \$500 for their campaign, and then they think they'll be in our corner, but it just doesn't work that way.

"The top men in the union,



San Francisco teachers and paraprofessionals picket the Board of Education against the firing of 500 paraprofessionals. The Board claims the layoffs are necessary to finance the teachers raise, but they have not seen a penny of it. Below, a bus driver.

trains, and the docks. They received massive support from other trade unionists who honored the picket lines.

Union leaders of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) caved in before court injunctions obtained by the Chamber of Commerce and threats by Mayor Alioto to begin mass arrests.

They agreed to a settlement with the Board of Supervisors for an across the board increase of \$50 a month, barely half what the strikers were demanding, and a prepaid dental plan.

The Chamber of Commerce and the Board of Supervisors, frightened by the power of the strike, have taken advantage of this display of cowardice to launch an all-out political attack on the wages of all city workers.

During the last month:

- The city controller has refused to pay over \$500,000 a month in wage increases that were due 10,000 clerical, hospital, and social service workers from the agreement which ended the March strike.

- The Board of Supervisors used a technicality to cut off \$2.7 million in pay increases due July 1 to 1188 craft workers.

- Wage increases due 1600 Muni drivers to keep parity with New York have been held up. The

until the suit is cleared up, which could take years.

On top of all these individual acts of robbery, the Board of Supervisors has been debating an amendment to the city charter to be placed on the ballot in the November election, which would destroy every trade union right of city workers.

With a deadline of August 12 for final action, each supervisor is trying to curry favor with the Chamber of Commerce by adding more and more restrictive amendments to a bill to limit pay to any city workers within three percent above or below the average for that classification in the state of California.

Amendments under consideration would place a ceiling of 7.5 percent a year on wage increases, and remove clauses now in the charter which require matching fringe benefits paid in private industry.

What this would mean in practice is an indefinite freeze on all city workers wages, written in to the city charter, San Francisco workers have built up the highest pay scales in California, and in many cases the whole United States, through powerful trade union organization.

City workers, though poorly paid, are better paid than local



once they get their office, with two or three pretty secretaries, they get so that they're no different from the company."

Wage increases due 4000 teachers from their strike in March have also been deferred. At the same time, the Board of Education claims it must lay off hundreds of teachers aides and paraprofessionals to finance the wage increase it isn't paying.

Cop Terror In Tomato Strike

BY MARTY MORAN
STOCKTON, Calif.—
Fighting broke out on the picket lines last week as 500 tomato pickers went into their third week of strike.

Thirty-four members of the United Farm Workers (UFW) have been arrested so far, and many more have been assaulted by police. Some workers are facing felony charges of throwing rocks or clods of dirt.

One farmworker said that a youth had been seized by police and thrown up against a barbed-wire fence so that the wire slashed his throat and he could not speak.

A young woman farmworker said, "The police grabbed me and all at once I was in the car and my husband was on the floor with three cops on him hitting him. So I got mad and got a stick with the flag on it and hit them. I don't think it was right. They've got him for a felony. He didn't do anything and they're messing up his record."

Highway patrolmen and sheriff's deputies are enforcing a temporary restraining order which limits picketing to one every thirty feet.

Pickets stand surrounded on both sides with police only a few feet behind them, riot equipped and with a cameraman making

films of every worker. Only a few feet on the other side, blue-suited private thugs armed with rifles guard the field to keep the strikers fenced off from the workers brought in from Mexico.

UFW leader Cesar Chavez has taken the lead in driving the illegal workers into the arms of the growers and labor contractors by demanding that the US Immigration Service immediately deport all illegal immigrants.

Al Rojas, leader of the UFW in Stockton, tried to place the blame for this reactionary policy on the workers. He said "normally we don't care very much for bringing in the immigration. It's the workers who are actually on strike and having their jobs taken away when they are doing it."

But later he said, "When the illegals cross a picket line they take a stand. They should be deported. Let them go back and fix what is wrong with their country."

Rojas was considerably more concerned for the growers' goons, saying, "Not all of them are bad people."

At this point, Rojas started accusing the Bulletin reporters of being "CIA agents" and "agents of the growers." Rojas broke off the interview but could not attack this reporter because almost half of the strikers outside the union hall had read the Bulletin, had offered food and in other ways shown their support.

Mass Arrests, Curfew Hit Foster City

BY BOB GEHRIG
FOSTER CITY, Calif.—Relations between teenage youth and the police in this small community are at the breaking point.

Hundreds of youth have been intimidated, arrested, and had records made on them for only minor offenses.

Foster City is mainly a middle class, racially integrated community, between San Jose and San Francisco.

There is nothing in the way of recreation for the youth, especially those under 18 who make up 47 percent of its population.

Phil, 15 years old, who goes to San Mateo High School, told the Bulletin, "I fought a guy 19 years old and he went and called the police. They handcuffed me and told my mother. They thought it was a racial thing because the guy was white, but it wasn't."

"Then my friend comes up to the police car and waves his cigarette at them and they busted him for assault on a police officer."

"They're out to get us, especially Officer Blumberg. I was walking down the street and he said to me, 'Hey monkey, go get your banana.'"

"They're really afraid because there are a lot of us and everybody is pretty much a fam-

ily, Black and white.

"We can't be anywhere without them stopping us. Six years ago, they promised to build a high school over there but it is still an empty lot."

"There are no basketball courts or gym to play in and you have to go to San Mateo just to go swimming, but I don't even have a car."

"They promised us everything when we moved in, but there's just this one recreation center which was put in two months ago. Now they might close it down because of the fight that we had here last night."

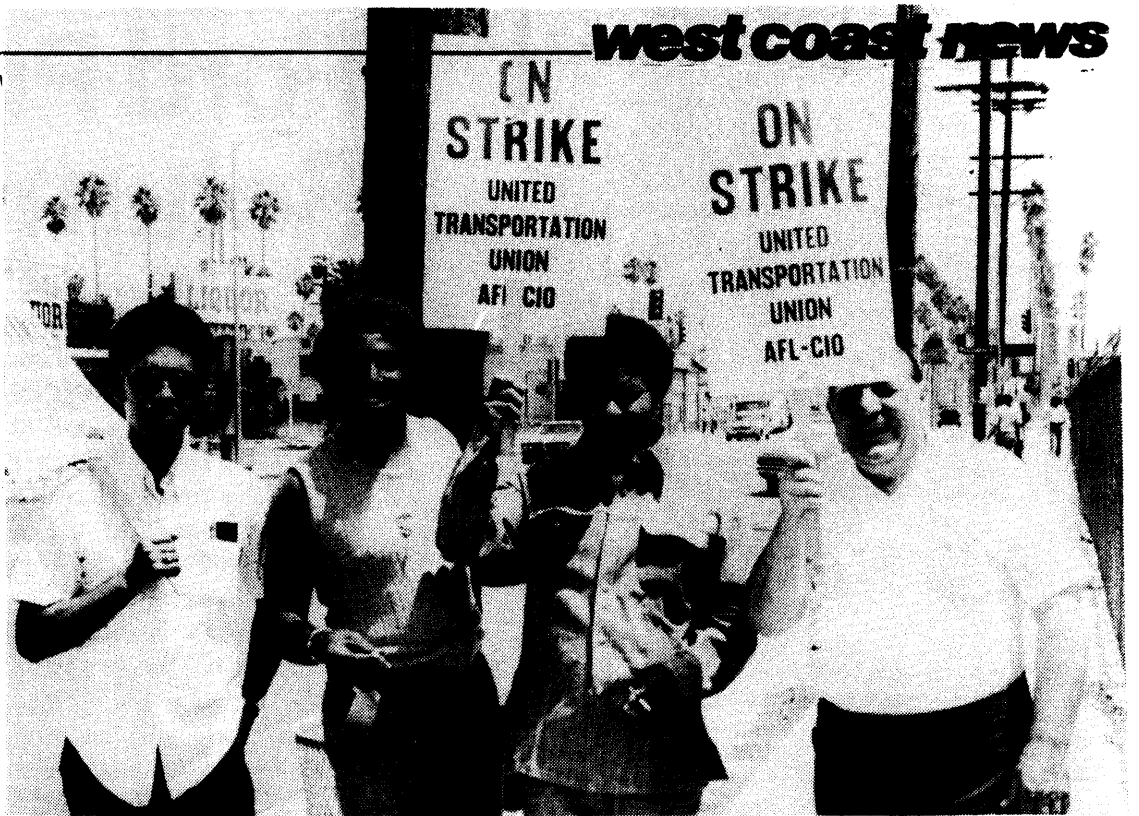
Dan Parhm, 16, said, "The police had it on my record that I got busted for marijuana but I never have been. Nobody has any jobs but with a record, it makes it even worse."

"Some people have been arrested 12 or 13 times for curfew or for just standing in a group. I think I'm glad Nixon is out, but he should be in jail."

Last week a "study session" was called by the city council and the mayor who said that "a volatile situation" existed, and "had to be resolved quickly."

Mayor Duffelmeyer and Police Chief Norton were met with boos from the people in the meeting. One youth stood up and said he had been "mugged, and fingerprinted" for being out after the 10 pm curfew.

The mayor has reacted by calling in Police Chief Cohee from Compton, California, as a



Bus drivers in Oakland have rejected proposed contracts and are continuing their strike.

Oakland Drivers Vote No

BY TED BAKER
SAN FRANCISCO—
Transportation workers here are in a powerful strike wave for wages that is on the brink of shutting down all of San Francisco and Oakland.

AC Transit bus drivers in Oakland and Airporter bus drivers at San Francisco International Airport have both rejected contracts recommended by the union leadership, and continue their strikes.

AC Transit management had refused to meet with union negotiators since the proposed settlement was rejected by the rank and file for the second time. Management is demanding com-

pulsory arbitration.

San Francisco Yellow Cab drivers ended their two week strike with complete victory as they forced the city Board of Supervisors to approve a fare increase.

2000 San Francisco Municipal Railway bus drivers won a 14.6 percent wage increase for this year, finally approved by the Board of Supervisors in the face of a strike threat.

Both these settlements could shortly blow up. Yellow Cab has the unprecedented right in the new contract to nullify it within the next sixty days if they feel they need a further fare increase.

The entire Muni pay scale is threatened by a referendum placed on the fall election ballot by the Supervisors the same day they approved the wage increase.

A Muni driver told the Bulletin, "The Board of Supervisors agreed to the raise, but now they want to take away proposition G. They're going to put it on the ballot and tell the taxpayers it'll save them money, to confuse the issue. What they really want to do is to take away our right to negotiate, our right to have a union at all."

Every driver interviewed said that a special union meeting last month had authorized an immediate strike if the Board placed the charter amendment on the ballot.

Most drivers were awaiting a strike call by the union leadership, but Transport Workers Union international vice-president, Al Provenzano, issued a statement that "the union would take the issue to the people" in the elections but would not strike.

consultant who is being paid by the Justice Department.

In the late 1960s, construction began on tracked housing in Foster City but was stopped quickly in favor of townhouses and apartments which were cheaper to build.

It is only about a mile square

built on top of the polluted South Bay but advertising tries to attract people by calling it the "Island of the Blue Lagoons."

Dave told the Bulletin how he heard of Foster City: "When me and my family came from Idaho they told us that this place was a perfect community and that you

could swim in the blue lagoons, but they're nothing but pollution. It stinks."

When asked why the high school and other needed facilities were never started, Councilwoman Arlene Larson said,

"The problem is that the kids are economically not useful."

Firemen Rally To San Mateo Men

SAN MATEO, Calif.—
The two day old strike by San Mateo firemen is rapidly developing into an all out fight by the San Mateo county labor movement and firemen from all over the state.

When Governor Reagan ordered seventy men from the state division of Forestry to man San Mateo's fire equipment as strikebreakers, workers at the sewage plant, parks, and the corporation yard which maintains the fire equipment all walked off in support of the strike.

Hundreds of firemen from all over the state have joined the picket lines. Ron McGee, vice president of the firefighters union, Local 2250, told the Bulletin, "We've gotten just unbelievable support from all over the state. The LA area sent up twenty men on a plane to man

our picket lines."

Tomorrow the union will shut down the county fair and the Bay Meadows race track, the two biggest money makers for the city.

San Mateo firemen are 12 percent behind the wages of firemen in other departments in the Bay Area. They are demanding a 24 percent raise, and an increase in the manning of fire equipment.

McGee told the Bulletin, "We want three men crews for each piece of equipment. Right now it's usually a one man crew, all the guy can do is just get there and park it."

The city has refused to negotiate after making an original offer of a 5.1 percent raise. San Mateo is following the policy of the California League of Cities which is advising all city governments to provoke strikes and to "ride them out," to break public employee unions, and "end the problem of strikes forever."

Ron McGee said, "The state

forestry men are here now, they're manning five of our seven stations. They're professional strikebreakers. We have some of our members here from Vallejo and Sacramento, and they recognize some of these guys as some of the same ones sent in during their strikes."

Reagan has endangered fire protection all over the state at the peak of the brush fire season by taking men off their regular duty to break this strike. Three days ago, a small crew of men was fighting over sixty forest fires and two other fires were burning out of control.

McGee said, "Up to a year ago we felt that, especially public safety workers morally should not be involved in politics. But now we have to face reality and get involved."

"Fire fighters don't go on strike every day you know. You have to push us pretty hard to do anything this drastic. Whatever happens in this strike, nothing will ever be the same for a long time after."

La labor de esta columna es la construcción de un nuevo liderazgo en la clase obrera. Es por ello que necesitamos el apoyo de todos los obreros hispanos en desarrollar esta columna. Favor de dirigir su correspondencia a: Lucía Rivera, c/o Labor Publications, 135 West 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011

lucha obrera

lucía rivera

Asistan Al Campamento De La Juventud Socialista

En este período en que la construcción de un partido de los trabajadores es más necesaria que nunca, el Segundo Campamento Anual de la Liga Obrera y la Juventud Socialista es fundamental en la preparación de un liderazgo revolucionario entre los trabajadores y la juventud.

Fueron solo la Juventud Socialista y la Liga Obrera los que hicieron campaña para obligar a Nixon a renunciar, marchando en Washington, DC el 16 de marzo y en todas las ciudades principales del país, para movilizar el poder de la clase obrera y obligar al gobierno a renunciar.

Todas estas marchas fueron posibles debido al desarrollo de la Juventud Socialista y la Liga Obrera durante el primer campamento de verano. En este campamento se luchó por la comprensión de que solo a través de una lucha por el materialismo el partido revolucionario puede entender los cambios que toman lugar en el desarrollo de la crisis económica y en la lucha de clases, pudiendo así preparar su propia perspectiva para dirigir a la clase obrera en la toma del poder.

Por materialismo entendemos el método de pensamiento marxista—que el mundo material existe independiente de nosotros y que este mundo independiente es la fuente de todas nuestras ideas. Esto es lo opuesto a lo que enseñan los capitalistas a través de su sistema educacional—los periódicos, la televisión, las escuelas—que las ideas son producto de los individuos y que son separadas del mundo.

Las perspectivas planteadas el verano pasado, basadas en una evaluación materialista de la crisis económica, han sido confirmadas en la práctica—en los cambios ocurridos durante los últimos 12 meses.

La inflación se hace sentir en todo el mundo llevando a la quiebra a cada país capitalista y al mismo tiempo, produciendo una poderosa ofensiva internacional de la clase obrera.

La política de Ford para la crisis ya ha sido delineada. Su consejero económico más cercano, Arthur Burns, Presidente del Banco Federal de Reserva, quiere detener la inflación con una intensa reducción en el presupuesto y crédito.

Esto significa desempleo masivo y cortes salariales—política que solo puede llevarse a cabo implantando un régimen dictatorial. Estos son los ataques que la clase obrera confrontará en el período que estamos entrando hoy.

En el campamento del verano pasado la Liga Obrera y la Juventud Socialista decidieron penetrar en la clase obrera, construyendo células de la Liga Obrera y de la Juventud Socialista en las comunidades de las principales ciudades. En los últimos tres meses, más de 2500 trabajadores, amas de casa y jóvenes han participado de las actividades del partido—torneos deportivos, barbecues, paseos al campo, conferencias, etc.

Hoy, debemos de dar un nuevo paso. Debemos de movilizar a todas las fuerzas que están alrededor nuestro en la tarea de construir un partido revolucionario.

Es por esto que el programa educacional estará centrado en el estudio de los orígenes del marxismo y la historia del proletariado americano. El texto básico para las clases es el recientemente publicado libro del líder bolchevique David Riazanov, titulado **Marx y Engels**.

La primera serie de clases tratarán sobre el desarrollo de la filosofía durante los siglos 18 y 19 que llevaron a Marx a romper con el materialismo mecanicista y el desarrollo del materialismo dialéctico.

La lucha de Marx en defensa del materialismo será el tópico de la segunda serie sobre "Idealismo: El Método del Revisionismo."

La tercera serie será sobre "Materialismo Dialéctico: El Método de la Liga Obrera" y la cuarta serie sobre "La Construcción de la Cuarta Internacional."

Estas dos series son particularmente críticas porque relacionarán las cuestiones de contradicción y los elementos básicos del Marxismo con las cuestiones fundamentales de las perspectivas para la construcción de un partido revolucionario.

La lucha por relacionar las cuestiones filosóficas y las perspectivas del partido revolucionario representan un desarrollo sobre el campamento del año pasado; un desarrollo que es requerido por el movimiento de millones de trabajadores en una lucha por tomar el poder.

En el campamento también habrá un Torneo Deportivo de softball, handball, volleyball y basketball. Los juegos se tendrán durante todos los días y los ganadores recibirán trofeos.

Se proyectarán tres películas—**Night of the Living Dead**, **Grapes of Wrath** y **Salt of the Earth**—y **Camino a la Libertad**, la última película sobre la Juventud Socialista en Inglaterra.

Habrán fiestas casi todas las noches y un show de talentos que fue un gran éxito el verano pasado.

En construir un liderazgo revolucionario este campamento es una obligación para cada joven y trabajador. Llamamos a cada joven, trabajador, ama de casa y suscriptor al **Bulletin** que venga al campamento o que contribuya económicamente para que otros puedan asistir.

Ford Promises To Return Nixon Tapes

BY BARRY GREY
President Ford's press secretary, J.F. terHorst, announced last Thursday that all of the tapes of Nixon's conversations with aides and advisors and all of his Presidential and personal papers will be turned over to Nixon as his personal property.

Those tapes now in the possession of Judge Sirica and Watergate Prosecutor Leon Jaworski are to be handed over to Nixon after they are finished with them.

This conspiracy to cover Nixon's crimes and protect him from prosecution is openly being directed by President Ford, in conjunction with Nixon's lawyers, James St. Clair and J. Fred Buzhardt, Attorney General Saxby, Special Watergate Prosecutor Leon Jaworski, and the entire Congress.

The labor movement must not permit the destruction of the evidence of Nixon's conspiracy to smash the unions and impose dictatorship upon the working class.

The capitalist class is united in keeping the truth from the working people, because Nixon's crimes are a reflection of the criminal intentions and actions of the billionaire bankers and corporation heads whom he served.

Therefore the unions must act. In every union local the call must be raised for an independent commission of inquiry of the labor movement into the crimes of Richard Nixon. The AFL-CIO, UAW, Teamsters, and every other union must demand that the evidence of these crimes be published in full, and not one single tape or memorandum be returned to Nixon.

All of Nixon's papers and tapes must be impounded now. Nixon himself must be put on trial.

A White House official admitted that the mass of tapes and papers are legally public property and not the personal property of Nixon.

Not only is this therefore an illegal act to obstruct justice by destroying evidence, but the legal opinion behind it, according to Press Secretary ter-

Horst, was by Nixon's own former defense lawyers, James St. Clair and J. Fred Buzhardt.

A spokesman for Watergate Prosecutor Jaworski said he had been informed of the decision and had raised no objection to it.

President Ford and Attorney General Saxby have made it clear they have no intention of prosecuting Nixon. They are leaving it up to Jaworski.

Jaworski's aides said the Special Prosecutor will allow a "cooling off period" of at least several weeks before deciding whether or not to prosecute the ex-President. This will allow the conspirators to destroy the mass of evidence against him.

There is increasing speculation in Washington that the Watergate Grand Jury, which named Nixon as an unindicted co-conspirator last March, is demanding that Jaworski approve an indictment of Nixon.

FORD

(Continued From Page 1)

Food prices in the New York area rose a full two-tenths of one percent in just one week, fueled by rapidly rising meat price increases.

The destruction of the corn crop will mean huge price increases in what corn supplies do exist as well as in beef and will create the threat of worldwide starvation in countries that depend on US food aid.

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La labor de esta columna es la construcción de un nuevo liderato en la clase obrera. Es por ello que necesitamos el apoyo de todos los obreros hispanos en desarrollar esta columna. Favor de dirigir su correspondencia a: Lucía Rivera, c/o Labor Publications, 135 West 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011

lucha obrera

—lucía rivera—

Asistan Al Campamento De La Juventud Socialista

En este período en que la construcción de un partido de los trabajadores es más necesaria que nunca, el Segundo Campamento Anual de la Liga Obrera y la Juventud Socialista es fundamental en la preparación de un liderazgo revolucionario entre los trabajadores y la juventud.

Fueron solo la Juventud Socialista y la Liga Obrera los que hicieron campaña para obligar a Nixon a renunciar, marchando en Washington, DC el 16 de marzo y en todas las ciudades principales del país, para movilizar el poder de la clase obrera y obligar al gobierno a renunciar.

Todas estas marchas fueron posibles debido al desarrollo de la Juventud Socialista y la Liga Obrera durante el primer campamento de verano. En este campamento se luchó por la comprensión de que solo a través de una lucha por el materialismo el partido revolucionario puede entender los cambios que toman lugar en el desarrollo de la crisis económica y en la lucha de clases, pudiendo así preparar su propia perspectiva para dirigir a la clase obrera en la toma del poder.

Por materialismo entendemos el método de pensamiento marxista—que el mundo material existe independiente de nosotros y que este mundo independiente es la fuente de todas nuestras ideas. Esto es lo opuesto a lo que enseñan los capitalistas a través de su sistema educacional—los periódicos, la televisión, las escuelas—que las ideas son producto de los individuos y que son separadas del mundo.

Las perspectivas planteadas el verano pasado, basadas en una evaluación materialista de la crisis económica, han sido confirmadas en la práctica—en los cambios ocurridos durante los últimos 12 meses.

La inflación se hace sentir en todo el mundo llevando a la quiebra a cada país capitalista y al mismo tiempo, produciendo una poderosa ofensiva internacional de la clase obrera.

La política de Ford para la crisis ya ha sido delineada. Su consejero económico más cercano, Arthur Burns, Presidente del Banco Federal de Reserva, quiere detener la inflación con una intensa reducción en el presupuesto y crédito.

Esto significa desempleo masivo y cortes salariales—política que solo puede llevarse a cabo implantando un régimen dictatorial. Estos son los ataques que la clase obrera confrontará en el período que estamos entrando hoy.

En el campamento del verano pasado la Liga Obrera y la Juventud Socialista decidieron penetrar en la clase obrera, construyendo células de la Liga Obrera y de la Juventud Socialista en las comunidades de las principales ciudades. En los últimos tres meses, más de 2500 trabajadores, amas de casa y jóvenes han participado de las actividades del partido—torneos deportivos, barbecues, paseos al campo, conferencias, etc.

Hoy, debemos de dar un nuevo paso. Debemos de movilizar a todas las fuerzas que están alrededor nuestro en la tarea de construir un partido revolucionario.

Es por esto que el programa educacional estará centrado en el estudio de los orígenes del marxismo y la historia del proletariado americano. El texto básico para las clases es el recientemente publicado libro del líder bolchevique David Riazanov, titulado **Marx y Engels**.

La primera serie de clases tratarán sobre el desarrollo de la filosofía durante los siglos 18 y 19 que llevaron a Marx a romper con el materialismo mecanicista y el desarrollo del materialismo dialéctico.

La lucha de Marx en defensa del materialismo será el tópico de la segunda serie sobre "Idealismo: El Método del Revisiónismo."

La tercera serie será sobre "Materialismo Dialéctico: El Método de la Liga Obrera" y la cuarta serie sobre "La Construcción de la Cuarta Internacional."

Estas dos series son particularmente críticas porque relacionarán las cuestiones de contradicción y los elementos básicos del Marxismo con las cuestiones fundamentales de las perspectivas para la construcción de un partido revolucionario.

La lucha por relacionar las cuestiones filosóficas y las perspectivas del partido revolucionario representan un desarrollo sobre el campamento del año pasado; un desarrollo que es requerido por el movimiento de millones de trabajadores en una lucha por tomar el poder.

En el campamento también habrá un Torneo Deportivo de softball, handball, volleyball y basketball. Los juegos se tendrán durante todos los días y los ganadores recibirán trofeos.

Se proyectarán tres películas—**Night of the Living Dead**, **Grapes of Wrath** y **Salt of the Earth**—y **Camino a la Libertad**, la última película sobre la Juventud Socialista en Inglaterra.

Habrán fiestas casi todas las noches y un show de talentos que fue un gran éxito el verano pasado.

En construir un liderazgo revolucionario este campamento es una obligación para cada joven y trabajador. Llamamos a cada joven, trabajador, ama de casa y suscriptor al **Bulletin** que venga al campamento o que contribuya económicamente para que otros puedan asistir.

Ford Promises To Return Nixon Tapes

BY BARRY GREY
President Ford's press secretary, J.F. terHorst, announced last Thursday that all of the tapes of Nixon's conversations with aides and advisors and all of his Presidential and personal papers will be turned over to Nixon as his personal property.

Those tapes now in the possession of Judge Sirica and Watergate Prosecutor Leon Jaworski are to be handed over to Nixon after they are finished with them.

This conspiracy to cover Nixon's crimes and protect him from prosecution is openly being directed by President Ford, in conjunction with Nixon's lawyers, James St. Clair and J. Fred Buzhardt, Attorney General Saxby, Special Watergate Prosecutor Leon Jaworski, and the entire Congress.

The labor movement must not permit the destruction of the evidence of Nixon's conspiracy to smash the unions and impose dictatorship upon the working class.

The capitalist class is united in keeping the truth from the working people, because Nixon's crimes are a reflection of the criminal intentions and actions of the billionaire bankers and corporation heads whom he served.

Therefore the unions must act. In every union local the call must be raised for an independent commission of inquiry of the labor movement into the crimes of Richard Nixon. The AFL-CIO, UAW, Teamsters, and every other union must demand that the evidence of these crimes be published in full, and not one single tape or memorandum be returned to Nixon.

All of Nixon's papers and tapes must be impounded now. Nixon himself must be put on trial.

A White House official admitted that the mass of tapes and papers are legally public property and not the personal property of Nixon.

Not only is this therefore an illegal act to obstruct justice by destroying evidence, but the legal opinion behind it, according to Press Secretary ter-

Horst, was by Nixon's own former defense lawyers, James St. Clair and J. Fred Buzhardt.

A spokesman for Watergate Prosecutor Jaworski said he had been informed of the decision and had raised no objection to it.

President Ford and Attorney General Saxby have made it clear they have no intention of prosecuting Nixon. They are leaving it up to Jaworski.

Jaworski's aides said the Special Prosecutor will allow a "cooling off period" of at least several weeks before deciding whether or not to prosecute the ex-President. This will allow the conspirators to destroy the mass of evidence against him.

There is increasing speculation in Washington that the Watergate Grand Jury, which named Nixon as an unindicted co-conspirator last March, is demanding that Jaworski approve an indictment of Nixon.

FORD

(Continued From Page 1)

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