

## Youth Hit Hardest

# UNEMPLOYMENT SOARS TO 5.2%

See page 2.

## Stormy Debate Concludes UAW Convention

BY SHEILA BREHM  
LOS ANGELES, Cal.—Although the 1974 Constitutional Convention of the United Auto Workers was not convened to discuss the 1973 auto contract, the hatred for that contract and the Woodcock leadership dominated the entire convention.

On the final day, UAW head Leonard Woodcock had to take the floor to beg the 3000 delegates to pass the resolution extending the term of local union officials from two to three years.

Two days before, hundreds of delegates booed Woodcock and walked out after a similar resolution was rammed through extending Woodcock's and top officials' terms to three years, guaranteeing that Woodcock will negotiate the 1976 contract.

Referring to that rebellion as a "stormy debate," Woodcock declared: "I'm standing before this convention to plead with you...I think it is absolutely imperative that we harmonize with the prospect at the International level. If we keep the two year cycles, you are going to have a situation where completely new teams can be elected on the eve of collective bargaining."

Although this resolution passed, in spite of intense opposition, the delegates speaking against it had to admit that although they were not necessarily opposed to the Woodcock team, their membership was, especially the younger workers.

Victor White, speaking from the Canadian UAW, a delegation which unanimously opposed the three year term, said: "In the plant, there is much alienation of the younger workers, of the newer workers. By putting a three year election of our local union and executive officers and using the argument that we have a three year contract, this convention is going on record in favor of three year agreements and long agreements."

### PRINCIPLE

"The labor movement was not built on that kind of principle. To have longer and longer periods between elections puts us in the same position as our brothers in the AFL-CIO, where the union is becoming moribund."

"We are not saints, but I've heard Moses talked about and the rest of that stuff. The only thing that wasn't mentioned was Mom's apple pie, in order to sell this stuff."

The peace of the convention was shattered again when the chair recognized a motion to call the question after only a few minutes of discussion.

Amid boos and catcalls, directed at the top union officials, Hank Wilson from Detroit Local 600 declared that the convention procedures of allowing each region one speaker for and against had been violated. "This is not democracy," he shouted.

Bill Brinton, Local 75 Milwaukee, took the microphone to charge that he had seen several of the 600 International staff members that Woodcock brought to the convention voting:

"They had no right to vote,  
(Continued On Page 12)



Section of demonstration of Arab auto workers who marched outside UAW convention in Los Angeles denouncing International's support for Zionist regime.

### Building The Bulletin

## 2021 Subs In Detroit!

The May Bulletin subscription drive has been successfully completed with a total of 5466. This was made possible through the magnificent effort of the Detroit trailblazers, who sold a grand total of 2021 subs, double their quota and the highest ever in our history.

However, it must be noted that many branches did not fulfill their quotas, so that the total outside of trailblazing, was 555 below the quota. This cannot happen again and every branch must learn from the trailblazers what can now be done in this period.

Some 759 subs were gotten for the Young Socialist, going way over the 500 monthly quota. We plan now to continue to be way over on the YS, aiming for a new goal of 1000.

The national Young Socialist subscription weekend will be held June 15-16, while the national Bulletin trailblazing weekend will be held June 22-23.

However, day by day work must be done for Bulletin subs, so that two-thirds of the quotas are met by the time of the trailblazing weekend.

### In The Weekend Edition

•Workers League Kicks Off Election Campaign. Photo feature of the Barbeque Nixon party.

•Part Three of "The American Revolution" by Tim Wohlforth. The Sons of Liberty and the Mobility, and The American Revolution as Civil War.



# Bulletin

NOW  
TWICE A  
WEEK!

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

VOLUME TEN NUMBER FORTY SIX 382

TUESDAY, JUNE 11, 1974

FIFTEEN CENTS

## Youth Hit Hardest

# UNEMPLOYMENT SOARS TO 5.2%

See page 2.

## Stormy Debate Concludes UAW Convention

BY SHEILA BREHM

LOS ANGELES, Cal.—Although the 1974 Constitutional Convention of the United Auto Workers was not convened to discuss the 1973 auto contract, the hatred for that contract and the Woodcock leadership dominated the entire convention.

On the final day, UAW head Leonard Woodcock had to take the floor to beg the 3000 delegates to pass the resolution extending the term of local union officials from two to three years.

Two days before, hundreds of delegates booed Woodcock and walked out after a similar resolution was rammed through extending Woodcock's and top officials' terms to three years, guaranteeing that Woodcock will negotiate the 1976 contract.

Referring to that rebellion as a "stormy debate," Woodcock declared: "I'm standing before this convention to plead with you...I think it is absolutely imperative that we harmonize with the prospect at the International level. If we keep the two year cycles, you are going to have a situation where completely new teams can be elected on the eve of collective bargaining."

Although this resolution passed, in spite of intense opposition, the delegates speaking against it had to admit that although they were not necessarily opposed to the Woodcock team, their membership was, especially the younger workers.

Victor White, speaking from the Canadian UAW, a delegation which unanimously opposed the three year term, said: "In the plant, there is much alienation of the younger workers, of the newer workers. By putting a three year election of our local union and executive officers and using the argument that we have a three year contract, this convention is going on record in favor of three year agreements and long agreements."

### PRINCIPLE

"The labor movement was not built on that kind of principle. To have longer and longer periods between elections puts us in the same position as our brothers in the AFL-CIO, where the union is becoming moribund."

"We are not saints, but I've heard Moses talked about and the rest of that stuff. The only thing that wasn't mentioned was Mom's apple pie, in order to sell this stuff."

The peace of the convention was shattered again when the chair recognized a motion to call the question after only a few minutes of discussion.

Amid boos and catcalls, directed at the top union officials, Hank Wilson from Detroit Local 600 declared that the convention procedures of allowing each region one speaker for and against had been violated. "This is not democracy," he shouted.

Bill Brinton, Local 75 Milwaukee, took the microphone to charge that he had seen several of the 600 International staff members that Woodcock brought to the convention voting:

"They had no right to vote, (Continued On Page 12)



Section of demonstration of Arab auto workers who marched outside UAW convention in Los Angeles denouncing International's support for Zionist regime.

## Building The Bulletin 2021 Subs In Detroit!

The May Bulletin subscription drive has been successfully completed with a total of 5466. This was made possible through the magnificent effort of the Detroit trailblazers, who sold a grand total of 2021 subs, double their quota and the highest ever in our history.

However, it must be noted that many branches did not fulfill their quotas, so that the total outside of trailblazing, was 555 below the quota. This cannot happen again and every branch must learn from the trailblazers what can now be done in this period.

Some 759 subs were gotten for the Young Socialist, going way over the 500 monthly quota. We plan now to continue to be way over on the YS, aiming for a new goal of 1000.

The national Young Socialist subscription weekend will be held June 15-16, while the national Bulletin trailblazing weekend will be held June 22-23.

However, day by day work must be done for Bulletin subs, so that two-thirds of the quotas are met by the time of the trailblazing weekend.

## In The Weekend Edition

•Workers League Kicks Off Election Campaign. Photo feature of the Barbeque Nixon party.

•Part Three of "The American Revolution" by Tim Wohlforth. The Sons of Liberty and the Mobility, and The American Revolution as Civil War.

# Youth Hit Hard By 5.2% Jobless Rise

BY

A REPORTER

Unemployment in May rose to 5.2 percent, up from 5 percent in the month of April.

The increase of .2 percent in one month is the direct consequence of the deliberate policy of the Nixon government, as stated recently, by his Council of Economic Advisors, to curb inflation by allowing unemployment to rise.

The biggest increase was unemployment among teenagers from 16 to 19 years of age, which went from 13.8 percent in April to over 15 percent last month.

A total of 33.5 percent of Black teenagers are unemployed and 14 percent of white teenagers. Among veterans, the unemployment rate is now 10.3 percent.

The Labor Department which released these figures tried to minimize the rise by claiming that the April figures had been too low and that this is just a "seasonal" rise.

But it is now clear that the rate of unemployment involving hundreds of thousands of workers will continue to go up, as the policy of the Federal Reserve to restrict loans to businesses to encourage recession takes effect.

## INTERNATIONAL

The insoluble crisis facing the capitalists was expressed at the recent International Monetary Conference in Williamsburg, Virginia. A special panel of economists issued a report to the bankers and government officials that warned that inflation represented "an overriding threat to economic, social, and political stability."

The report stated that unless the rate of inflation was reduced, all nations faced "massive economic disruption."

The unlimited inflation that the capitalists allowed after World War Two is now out of control. The vast hoards of paper currency used to finance industries were transformed into meaningless paper by Nixon's 1971 move to end the conver-

tibility of the dollar into gold.

This inflation has now reached a point where whole sections of industry and banking built up on credit are threatened with imminent collapse as in the case of Franklin National Bank and Lockheed, the aerospace firm.

## SOLVE

The capitalists are unable to solve this inflation. All the economists in Williamsburg could propose was to "buy time" and to continue with tight credit, the loans made by banks to big corporations, which will fuel the unemployment even further.

This reveals the enormity of the threat now facing the working class. Because the inflation is rooted in the ever-growing disproportion between paper money and gold, the capitalists cannot halt it even with a great increase in unemployment.

To restore value to the dollar, the American ruling class needs to crash the economy, to destroy vast sections of capital and throw millions out of their jobs.

At every step of the way, the government seeks to use this unemployment as blackmail to defeat organized workers fighting for decent wages and conditions.

The governor of the West German Central Bank warned that entire banks could collapse if funds invested on a short-term basis were loaned out at long-term to countries who could not repay.

## ROCKEFELLER

David Rockefeller, speaking for the bankers at the Monetary



David Rockefeller

Conference, said that the rise in oil prices was creating "staggering" amounts of money that the banks can no longer invest or loan out, threatening the Euro-dollar market with collapse.

Karl Klases, governor of the West German Central Bank warned that if banks continued to lend out money invested on a short-term basis to countries at long-term, which then could not repay, the resulting bankruptcies of nations would create a "holocaust."

What the bankers mean is that millions of jobs must be wiped out and ruthless dictatorship imposed to force these measures on the masses of workers.

Not only will workers, with many years seniority, be laid off but the vast majority of working class youth will never get into the plants and will face a future of permanent unemployment.

The working class must impose its own solution to inflation and unemployment by fighting to put its own political party in power that will place all industry under workers control run on a planned, socialist basis.

## Smallpox Kills 20,000 In India Epidemic

BY A

CORRESPONDENT

Over 20,000 people have died of smallpox in an epidemic that is raging through the state of Bihar in India.

At least 75,000 people have already caught the disease, and those who have not died have been left permanently blinded. The epidemic is now spreading into neighboring Uttar Pradesh.

The epidemic in Bihar now accounts for 60 percent of the world's smallpox cases. Virtually no cases of smallpox have been reported outside of countries on the Indian subcontinent—Pakistan, Bangla Desh, Nepal.

The government of Indira Ghandi has done virtually nothing to either prevent or stop the epidemic. At present, there are only 50 doctors with a skeleton staff working in Bihar. All vaccinations are being done by hand and there are virtually no medical facilities in which to treat patients.

## ATTACKED

The World Health Organization, a United Nations body, attacked the Indian government in a report published earlier this year: "Delayed and incomplete reporting and inadequate containment measures permitted limited outbreaks to develop into large-scale epidemics involving most districts in the afflicted states, including many of the major cities and towns."

Bihar was the center of massive anti-government demonstrations by students last year which forced the resignation of the state government.

While smallpox victims are left to die, the government is pouring millions into its nuclear arms program following the explosion of India's first nuclear bomb.



Demonstrators in Lisbon demand independence for the African territories. Where does the Communist Party stand?

# Spinola Starts Left Crackdown

BY MELODY FARROW

The Portuguese provisional government of Antonio de Spino-la has launched its first attack on leftist organizations with the arrest of the editor of Luta Popular (Peoples Struggle).

Luis Saldanha Sanches is being held in custody by the army for writing an article opposing the government's continuation of the war in the African colonies. His organization, Movement for the Reorganization of the Portuguese Proletariat, led a demonstration last month at Lisbon airport to stop troops being sent to Mozambique and his paper has criticized the regime as too conservative.

This arrest is the beginning of a major crackdown, with the full cooperation of the Portuguese Communist Party, against the left, and in particular against the supporters of the International Committee of the Fourth International. The government fears the Trotskyist movement, which alone has exposed the capitalist nature of the government and their Stalinist supporters.

Negotiations between the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique and the Spino-la government in Portugal have just concluded in Lusaka, Zambia with no agreement on a ceasefire.

Samora Machel, leader of FRELIMO requested the meeting which was set up by Mario Soares, Minister of Foreign Affairs for Spino-la and leader of the Socialist Party. In the past, Machel has declared that FRELIMO would keep fighting until full independence was won from Portugal.

Machel told Soares that he will not accept a ceasefire unless it is tied to a political settlement.

In an effort to smooth the way for the talks, Minister of Overseas Territories Antonio de Almerda Santos said Angola and Mozambique would be granted greater autonomy in local affairs until a referendum is held in the colonies later.

Spinola has no intention of relinquishing control of the colonies. He wants a political

settlement that will allow Portugal to continue to exploit the natural resources of the colonies and use them as a source of vitally needed investment for Portuguese capitalism.

The Portuguese Communist Party is supporting this reactionary deal.

The Daily World, newspaper of the Communist Party quotes the Portugal CP's statement which says: "The PCP's attitude to the problem is quite clear: to demand activation of the process of political settlement by talks—without preliminary conditions and without departing from the spirit of the program of the Armed Forces movement."

On the question of the colonies, the program of the Armed Forces movement, which organized the April 25 coup, only calls for "a frank, open debate at the national level on the overseas problem" and "laying down of the basis of an overseas policy that will lead to peace."

## FORCED

By the same token, the Portuguese Stalinist leaders have forced striking bakers and transit workers to return to work. The same pressure was used to end the occupation at the Lisnave shipyards by workers striking for higher wages.

In a speech at the swearing in of the Council of State June 1 Spinola declared: "Such a risk becomes acute among us because of the possibility of counterrevolutionaries infiltrating our well-intentioned movements...and causing us to exceed the limits of the reasonable and the possible, promoting civil disorder and thereby bringing about a return to the past which we strongly wish to abolish."

The Communist Party, trotting at Spinola's heels, continues to slander workers who strike as "adventurers" accusing them of playing into the hands of "reactionaries."

The Inter-sindical, a body which claims to represent 90 unions, has officially condemned the strikes, and seven railroad unions made a joint statement opposing strikes as a means to get wage increases.

Contrary to what the Stalinists say, the "reactionaries" are in the government and it is the CP through its coalition with the army which is paving the way for a new dictatorship.

# Cambodian Students Die In Draft Protest

Massive student demonstrations have broken out in the Cambodian capital of Phnom Penh against the CIA-backed regime of General Lon Nol.

Two students were killed and 10 were arrested when police stormed a high school in which the education minister, Keo Sangkim and his deputy, Thach Chea were being held hostage. Both Sangkim and Chea were killed in the raid.

The demonstrations broke out last week in opposition to a new army draft law, which allows the government to force 12-year-olds into military service. The protests were also aimed at the vast government corruption and skyrocketing prices.

The students took the minister and his deputy hostage at the education ministry and marched him to the high school. They de-

manded the release of five students who had been jailed earlier in the week.

Military police cordoned off the area and made two charges on the high school—the first time with tear gas and the second with guns and explosives.

Police claimed that Sangkim and Chea had been killed by the students, but American newsmen and teachers inside the school at the time report that a police gunman broke through student lines and shot both men at point blank range.

The government has used the incident for a crackdown on all political and student groups and has changed the evening curfew from 10:30 pm to 6:30 pm.

In the middle of the fighting, the Cambodian Khmer Rouge liberation forces launched a rocket attack into the center of Phnom Penh.

## How The Communist Party Betrayed Ruchell MaGee

The American Communist Party has betrayed the fundamental principle of the unconditional defense of political prisoners, persecuted by the government.

Ruchell MaGee has been imprisoned for 19 years and is innocent of every charge ever brought against him. Today he is fighting for his life.

The cynical and coldly calculated way the American CP dropped his case from the beginning in order to preserve their alliance with liberals in the Democratic Party, is the most sickening expression of the counterrevolution policies of Stalinism.

### What We Think

In fact, if Angela Davis, a CP member, had not agreed to separate her case from MaGee's in 1971, MaGee could be free today.

Few men have had to go through the ruthless, unrelenting persecution, mental and physical torture, beatings, and frameup conspiracies that MaGee has faced. The government through the courts is out to destroy him.

MaGee's original conviction in 1955 on a fabricated rape charge was a product of the reactionary judicial system and racial prejudice that dominated the South, especially in that period.

After six years in jail, he came to Los Angeles, and six months later was arrested in a quarrel over a \$10 debt.

MaGee charges that he was accused of "kidnapping," only to suppress his accusations of brutality against police who beat him so severely he was hospitalized for five days.

He was still in jail, on an indeterminate sentence seven years later when Jonathan Jackson, the brother of George Jackson, burst into the Marin County Courthouse to free the Soledad brothers. Jackson took Judge Haley as hostage and together with MaGee and two other prisoners fled in a van.

When police opened fire on the van, everyone was killed, except MaGee. Here the real conspiracy to put him away for life began.

MaGee is the only one who can expose the real circumstances surrounding the shootout which was started by the police. No one has ever proven whether Judge Haley was killed by the prisoners or by the police themselves.

The incident was used to launch a witch-hunt against Angela Davis, who was accused of having supplied the guns for the shootout. In the beginning, MaGee and Davis were charged and tried together.

The American Communist Party immediately set to work to dump MaGee as a political liability.

They conducted Davis's defense as an appeal to the middle class, the liberals, and the ministers to pressure the government to defend "democracy." The frameup of Davis was depicted as just racial oppression and not part of the government's attack on the entire working class.

On March 19, 1971, the Daily World wrote an article that was to pave the way for stabbing MaGee in the back:

"Though Miss Davis and MaGee have been made codefendants by the state, their cases contain different elements.

MaGee who has been in prison many years on an indeterminate sentence, had a bitter experience with some attorneys and came to the conclusion that no lawyer is to be trusted. On that basis, he insists on defending himself.

"The indictment links Miss Davis to the MaGee case and the alleged conspiracy to kidnap the judge because, according to the prosecution theory, she bought and registered the guns allegedly bought into the court by Jackson. She was nowhere near the scene and there is not an iota of evidence to show that Miss Davis had anything to do with their use in court."

While MaGee was chained in court fighting for his right to counsel himself, Angela Davis's lawyers were trying to get her out on bail. It was MaGee, not Davis, who forced a judge in the case to disqualify himself.

In July 1971, the CP severed Davis's case from MaGee's and from then on, at rallies and in their newspaper, his name was barely mentioned.

The CP did this, despite the fact that MaGee rejected a prosecution offer to give false testimony against Davis and had to be dragged from court shouting "Angela Davis is innocent."

As the Daily World statement makes clear, the CP did not want Davis to be connected to anything violent in order to preserve their image as pacifists and supporters of bourgeois legality. Their statement implies a condemnation of Jackson who heroically and desperately sought to free his brother and implies that MaGee might be guilty!

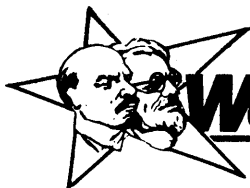
In the same way, the American CP would not sponsor the defense committee of Juan Farinas, a member of the Workers League, because we said that the frameup was part of the government's conspiracy to attack the basic rights of all workers.

The government is trying to tie MaGee to a false guilty plea because they have absolutely no evidence to convict him. The more MaGee stood on principle and demanded his rights, the greater the persecution became.

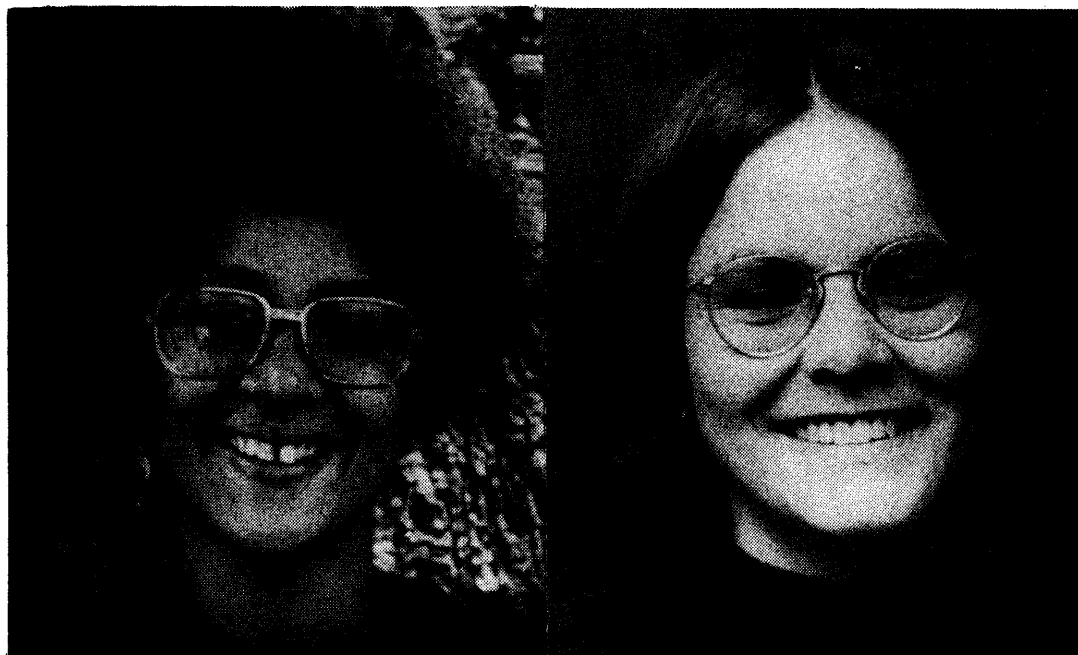
Such intense repression is concentrated on one man, just as in Los Angeles, 500 cops were used to murder six people and in Cleveland 300 cops attacked three men, because these are the methods being prepared to attack the entire working class as it fights to prevent living standards from being destroyed.

The CP's betrayal of MaGee is no different than the betrayal of the Portuguese Stalinists who denounce workers on strike for upsetting the capitalist economy.

As American workers move into struggle here and come into a political confrontation with the government, the American CP will apply the betrayal of Portugal to the United States.



**Workers Party** 12th C.D.  
14th C.D.



Helen Halyard

Theresa Delgado

# Workers League Kicks Off Election Campaign

**BY DAVID NORTH  
BROOKLYN, NY—**  
The Workers League officially launched its election campaign in two Bedford-Stuyvesant congressional districts as hundreds of trade unionists, housewives, and youth turned out for a kickoff "Bar-B-Que Nixon" campaign dinner and political rally.

The Workers League candidates are running under the banner of the Workers Party.

The election manifesto of the Workers League will be published this week and thousands of campaign posters will be distributed throughout the two districts.

Street corner rallies will be held throughout the week beginning an all-out drive to involve broad sections of workers and youth in the campaigns of Helen Halyard, candidate in the 14th District, and Terry Delgado, candidate in the 12th District.

At the heart of the campaign will be the Workers League's fight to build the revolutionary party and assemble the forces in the working class that will lead the fight for the building of a mass labor party.

#### BUILD

"Nothing will change except for the worse until American workers build their own independent party against Nixon and the Democrats," declared Helen Halyard.

"We cannot wait for this to happen by itself. No one will give us a labor party. The AFL-CIO bureaucracy will not do it. The workers themselves must take up this fight.

"The responsibility of the Workers League is to bring

forward this movement for a labor party by organizing the forces in the working class that will lead the political fight."

Conditions in both the 12th and 14th Congressional Districts are among the worst in all of New York. Housing in Bushwick, which is in the 12th District, is unfit for people to live in. Over one-third of all the workers in Bedford-Stuyvesant earn less than \$3000 per year in actual take-home wages.

"These conditions show most sharply what is facing the working class all over the country," said Terry Delgado.

"The Workers League will fight this campaign on national and international issues, based on an understanding of the economic crisis and the political tasks that are posed to workers.

#### CONTRIBUTION

"Nothing can be resolved on a communitywide basis, but every worker in Bushwick and Bedford-Stuyvesant who supports this campaign will be making a great contribution to the building of a leadership that will unite the working class in defense of its rights."

The election campaign will be critical for the strengthening of the Workers League and Young Socialists branches in Bedford-Stuyvesant, East Flatbush-Crown Heights, East New York and the newly launched branches in Bushwick and Brownsville. It will also establish the foundation for building new branches in areas such as Gowanus and Lafayette Gardens.

#### TRAILBLAZING

Bulletin subscription trailblazing drives will be organized in late July and early August in Bushwick and Bedford-Stuyvesant, fighting to double the subscription base in these areas.

Subscribers to the Bulletin will play a major role in the election campaign, helping to organize

the drive and rally support for the candidates on the blocks and in the buildings in which they live.

The petition drive to go way over the 3500 signatures required to be placed on the ballot will begin on the weekend of August 2. On that same weekend, there will be a national campaign to raise funds for the Brooklyn election drives.

Helen Halyard, national secretary of the Young Socialists, was born in Brownsville and raised in Bedford-Stuyvesant. She is the organizer of the East New York branch of the Workers League.

Terry Delgado, who was born in Puerto Rico, came to live in Bushwick after her father lost his job in upstate New York for participating in a strike that was broken by the police.

She has been a YS member since the founding conference in December 1971, and was elected to the National Committee at the Second National Conference.

#### BREWERY

"The brewery shutdowns have made the unemployment situation even worse," she stated. "The housing situation is so bad that at least five people have been burned during the last two months.

"The preparations for dictatorship can be seen in the use of hundreds of police against the youth of San Francisco, to murder the SLA in Los Angeles, and in the use of tanks against workers in East Cleveland.

"We are running in the election to demand that the trade unions build a labor party that will fight for socialism. We will call on all trade unionists in the area to take up this fight for the labor party in their communities and plants."

The Workers League urges all its supporters and subscribers to the Bulletin to volunteer to take an active role in this campaign.





Substitute and regular postal workers demonstrate at New York City's GPO against cut in working hours.

# Postal Workers Demand Regular Status For Subs

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE  
NEW YORK—More than 1000 workers demonstrated outside the huge General Post Office Thursday afternoon, demanding an end to forced overtime for regular postal workers and against the cutting of the substitutes work week to four or even three days.

The demonstration was called by the New York Area Metro Postal Union, and Branch 36, Letter Carriers Union.

The Postal Service has been forcing regulars to work overtime and weekends, and cutting substitutes to three and four day weeks. Subs in the Church Street Post Office report their last eight hour day was on May 19. In the Bronx, sub clerks have been scheduled for four work days; carriers for three. Subs are often called in for a four hour tour, and then sent home after an hour or two.

"This is not just a cost-cutting measure on the part of the postal corporation, but an attack aimed at breaking up the postal union. Subs, who have passed their civil service exams and are supposed to be full-time workers, cannot join the union until they have six consecutive months of full-time work.



Moe Biller

"The union can't organize a whole group of these workers, and that makes us all weaker," explained Cadillac, a mail handler at Church St.

"I was a sub last year and I made regular, but that was at another time and another post office.

## FULL

"We're not asking for more money now, just a full work week. I think there should be automatic upgrading after six months as a sub."

The union leadership attempted at every point to hold back the militancy of the ranks, who continuously demanded strike action.

The demonstration itself had been called as a diversion by Metro president Moe Biller, who dissolved the Subs Committee at the last union meeting and blocked resolutions that subs had prepared to submit to the NY State Convention for the 1975 contract.

When Vinnie Sombrotta, Branch 36 president, said this demonstration was "only the first step," the leadership lost all control in the waves of "strike" shouts. The union bureaucrats stated that "all we're doing here today is letting ourselves be counted."

A mail carrier, Castleman, told the Bulletin: "I blame the national leadership most. It should have been written into the contract to protect the subs. At least they should have called us all out when the Bronx walked out in January.

"It's the only thing they'll understand. We will have to strike, and I think before the contract is up."

## BROKE

About halfway through the demonstration, a group of young workers broke away from the line and headed for the truck entrance around the corner. Whole sections of the demonstration followed them, shouting: "Shut it down, shut it down," as a postal truck was blocked and 30 cops appeared out of nowhere.

Billier and Sombrotta disbanded the official demonstration almost an hour early hoping to dispense the workers. The truck was blocked until after 5 pm.

A majority of this break-away group was Vietnam vets brought in to the post offices last year under the phony VRA "rehabilitation" program. Two hundred fifty NY vets were hired for "preferential treatment" that excludes them from all contract rights.

They have no protection from arbitrary firing or layoff, can't file grievances, and get no Sunday premium pay. After a year as a VRA, these vets can be promoted to sub status.

## DIVIDE

The postal corporation seeks to divide up the workers and maintain huge sections of the operation with nonunion workers. The union leaders refused to call strike action and demand that all postal workers be granted permanent status immediately.

They are also assisted by the middle class radicals who dominate groups like Revolutionary Union and the Vietnam Vets movement. It is these groups who built Outlaw, a radical postal caucus, and led the break-away at the demonstration.

The "shut it down" actions of Outlaw become futile adventures that lead workers into confrontations without any program to win. The most militant workers are thus isolated from the main ranks of the union and their hostility against the betrayals of the leadership is turned into an antiunion position.

This group is opposed to political questions being brought into the struggle. The issues facing postal workers cannot be separated from the political fight all workers must take up against the Nixon government, who is directly behind the destruction of postal workers' rights.

A new leadership must be built in the postal union against Billier on the basis of a fight to force Nixon out and to construct a labor party.

# Clothing Workers Vote On Three Year Contract

BY A REPORTER  
NEW YORK, NY—

The general executive board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union endorsed a three year contract that reportedly gives \$1 an hour over three years. The striking clothing workers will be voting on the proposals on Wednesday.

Many pickets, who agree with ACW leaders that substantial wage increases and a cost of living clause are the central demands, are beginning to have doubts about what they will end up with. "\$1.10 an hour—I think they mean that for all three years, and I don't like it," a fitter at Mandelbaum Comp. ny said about the union's announced demand.

"We're all working people, family people. And you have nothing left.

"Everyone wants a piece of the cake, and they take and they take, and when they're done, you

look at your check and there's nothing for your family.

"This is my first strike. I don't especially like it. It's a shame that it has to be so prolonged.

"But we're just asking for some more money to keep up, and that should be given to us, should have already been given to us."

## NIXON

"If I could write the contract, the first thing I'd write in is to get Nixon out. The taxes, the lights, the gas—with him, everything goes up but our wages."

"The story of this strike goes back before you were born," Gus Holman, a cutter, told the Bulletin.

"It's a story of leaders who thought they had proved their strength, so they could get what we needed without fighting any more.

"It used to be that cutters were a proud bunch, skilled, high paid, like mechanics or electricians. But no cutter's son is a cutter—if you get anywhere, you get out of the garment district.

"I'll tell you, if this isn't settled by next week, we'll be picketing in July. And that will wipe out the fall season.

"It will hurt these guys, millions of dollar's worth, it will

hurt. But I'm not crying.

"After the war, you couldn't even find a suit. Hillman, past president of the ACW could have won anything. But he told Truman he'd hold the line. So all through the 1950s and the 1960s, everyone moved ahead and we fell back and back.

"Nixon said he'd hold the line on inflation. All he held was workers' wages. I don't see much dividing the Democrats and the Republicans, not much at all."

Antonia Castello explained that some workers on piecework contracts were very concerned about the wages settlement now being negotiated. "I examine men's coats, and I get paid \$26 for a hundred-count.

"Last year, I got \$31. They cut it in September I think, or maybe later, during the energy crisis or whatever it was. They never explained it to us.

"The union said they would not let it happen. But the checks just started coming that way and now I want to know what the new rates will be, because even \$31 wouldn't be enough this year to pay for the food.

"Maybe this Finley (new president of the ACW) is different from Hillman, some say he is. The piecework rate, it will tell."

# City Plans To Fire Teachers

BY A REPORTER  
NEW YORK, NY—City officials are preparing to fire over 3800 teachers and 2000 case aides and paraprofessionals in September.

This wholesale attack on jobs and education comes both from the Republican Nixon administration and the Democratic administration of Mayor Beame.

Beame's proposed Executive Budget, coming up for a vote in City Council, provides for over 1500 teachers among more than 60,000 city employees to be laid off.

The effects of the city budget cuts will be much greater, according to Bob Terte, from the Board of Education News Bureau.

"There is a 'hidden' cut of \$26 million in school program that's covered up by added money for heating and things like that."

Terte told the Bulletin that this would mean cuts in classroom teachers and a \$1.5 million cut from the current budget for Central Services—including high schools, special education programs, and the monitoring of the 32 decentralized elementary and junior high school districts.

"The important thing to see is that these are cuts from this year's budget, not from the budget requests submitted by the board. For instance, they have budgeted \$9 million for programs in special education and education of non-English speaking children.

"These programs are court-mandated as a result of class action suits filed by parents. They require \$18 million to meet the court's demands."

Terte said that Beame justifies the cut by citing statistics which predict a drop in school enrollment over the next few

years. "If that does happen, why can't they let us begin to catch up with all the things we haven't been able to do, like cutting class sizes."

The real blow is the cut in federal financing. \$40 million has been cut from federal funding for Title I schools, and there is an additional \$7 million cut in funds for inner-city schools covered by ESAA, the federal Emergency School Assistance Act.

A counselor at Seward High School on the Lower East Side told the Bulletin: "Those aren't cuts you're talking about, that's destruction; that's murder.

"Every spring they talk about cutting this many teachers and that many aides. But these are federal programs, so I'm afraid it will really happen this time. Nixon would do it and never think twice."



BY DAVID NORTH

DETROIT—"I don't think the men like the present situation they're caught up in. When you have a family to support and then your job is snatched away, that's violence. When they let you work one week and lay you off the next, that's violence."

It is not yet 9 am, but already Rufus Sankey and several hundred other workers are waiting inside the grimy red brick unemployment center on Connor Street.

Just several blocks away stand the Jefferson assembly and Mack stamping plants, where so many of the workers now standing on monotonous lines once worked.

Sankey had four years inside the Jefferson plant before Chrysler laid him off at the end of March with less than a 24-hour notice.

"I'm doing worse now than I ever was doing," he said. "If it wasn't for my wife working, we'd have to sell everything in the damn house."

The massive layoffs which began as soon as UAW President Leonard Woodcock signed the last of the national auto contracts have created explosive conditions throughout the industry, particularly in its center, the motor city itself—Detroit.

Young workers have been hit hardest by the layoffs, facing an increasingly desperate financial situation because their low seniority disqualified them for SUB payments.

Workers with more than a year seniority, like Sankey, cannot count on SUB beyond the first year of unemployment and are convinced that the payments will end long before that.

However, the impact of the layoffs has been felt by workers who still have their jobs, because the enormous reduction of the workforce has been accompanied by a brutal productivity drive within the plants.

Workers on Detroit assembly lines are being driven to do their own job faster, as well as the ones of their laid off buddies. Even in plants where a couple of thousand workers are still laid off, auto workers are being forced to work 9 and 10 hour days.

"Things were really rough in the plant just before I got laid off," Sankey told the Bulletin. "It was 95 degrees where I was working. Those cars were jammed up so close together that you couldn't even catch your breath."

**JEFFERSON**

"In the Jefferson plant, they tried to get as much production as possible done in one week so they could shut down the next week. The foreman was always riding us. He'd get fired if he didn't do that. It was terrible to work there."

"I had been there for several years, but the last few months were the worst. They were after you for everything."

"I never had any trouble. I had a good record. But then I asked for one night off for personal reasons, and they wouldn't give it to me."

"So I took it anyway. The management hounded me for a doctor's excuse."

Sankey said that he blames the situation he faces on Nixon and Woodcock more than he does on Chrysler.

"Chrysler couldn't do what it's doing without the help of the gov-



Lawrence Trammel, a Ford writer (top left) and Kenny X. Johnson, a Dodge Main worker (top right). Above, Detroit unemployment lines are constantly growing larger.

# Report from Detroit & Flint Auto Plants Speedup on the Line --Or Unemployment

ernment. People know that Nixon is a liar and a thief. If I had owed those taxes, I'd be behind bars.

"He owed more taxes than I make in a lifetime. That's grounds to be impeached. Labor should force the issue."

"Maybe they think that Nixon has to kill before they get him out. But he has killed people. He's just about got me killed because my family could starve to death."

"As for the UAW, the union has no authority in the plant. If you raise hell, you should have some backup. But if you raise your opinion now, you just get fired."

**CHRYSLER**

Kenny X. Johnson, who still works on the assembly line in the Chrysler Dodge Main plant, described the conditions as "foul." He said that puddles form on the floor of the plant when it rains, and men slip on the grease which accumulates on the floor.

"Woodcock said that the union would get voluntary overtime, but now there are men out on the street and we're forced to work overtime. The foreman will come around late and say, 'Hey,

we're working eight and one-half hours tonight or maybe nine."

"Whenever you have the line sped up, this in itself creates tension because you're working under abnormal conditions. You can't work normally. A man has to be at peace to get production out."

There was bitterness in Johnson's voice when he spoke of the Woodcock bureaucracy.

**BOUGHT**

"Everyone says the union leadership is bought. They all do what Chrysler wants."

"We've been snowballed by everyone. We want to get things together. But we're sick of being told what's going to be done when they won't go ahead and do it."

"I think the UAW Convention is the biggest farce of the year. They should be getting down on the job of giving the working man what they need, but they won't."

In Flint, the center of General Motors just 60 miles north of Detroit, unemployment is now down somewhat from its 16.9 percent peak. Workers at the Fisher Body plant, members of

Local 581, have been told that everyone will be recalled in August.

But the very pattern reveals the preparations GM is presently making for even more extensive layoffs once it completes its production quota for 1975 models, which of course is linked to their sales performance.

**PRESSURES**

It is clear that GM will subject recalled workers to tremendous pressures in order to complete the production quota in record time. This can be seen by the fact that skilled trades workers in Local 581 are forced to turn in exhausting overtime producing dyes for the 1975 models to build up a big stock that will be sent down assembly lines at a brutal pace once changeover is completed.

"It's wrong that I'm working 10 hours a day, 6 days a week while a lot of guys don't have any work at all," stated Robert McCormack, a skilled worker at the Fisher Body plant with 26 years seniority.

"I've never seen anything like this," he said. "The general

foreman is after everyone. He's always agitating."

"Just today, one of the best mechanics in the plant took a minute break and the foreman went after him."

"The company is trying to whip up racial animosities. Most of the guys where I work are white, so they get a Black foreman to order us around. Or they do just the opposite. A lot of guys are really taking it hard."

"In the old days, you couldn't lay one man off and let another guy work overtime. But they're doing it now."

**STRONG**

"In 1947, when I hired in, the union was very strong. But now management has the upper hand and can do whatever they want."

"For example, when I came in, you never saw the foreman working on the line or even with a wrench in his pocket. But now it goes on all the time because they're breaking down union rights."

The majority of production workers at Fisher Body Number 1 are not working. Before the layoffs began in January, 7100 men were on the job. Now there are only 3800.

In Fisher Body Number 1, as in the Chrysler plants in Detroit, those still working are under constant pressure to do more jobs. Grievances have piled up as workers resist the attacks on established work rules.

"They've just got too much work in there." Willis Hyman told the Bulletin. "The people who are laid off should be called back because they're short of manpower."

"Each foreman used to be able to call up five absentee replacements. Now they've got only two, maybe three. When a guy finishes his own job, he's got to do others."

"The conditions are just falling apart. The fans are usually broken so a lot of smoke accumulates. Management does nothing about it."

**DANGER**

The attacks on the working conditions place the lives of every auto worker in danger. The murder of a Lordstown assembly worker last week is the result of the same brutal speedup which the auto companies are driving for in every plant.

The UAW bureaucracy has given the companies a green light to proceed with the speedups and layoffs. These issues were not even raised at the Constitutional Convention which was held in Los Angeles during this past week.

Woodcock devoted his entire keynote address defending the 1973 contract and his deliberate separation of local negotiations from the national contract. It is precisely this separation which has allowed GM, Ford, and Chrysler to virtually invalidate the national agreement on working conditions by destroying conditions in every plant.

Auto workers can defeat the offensive of the corporations through a repudiation of the 1973 contract and a national strike for wage reopeners, the immediate recall of all laid off workers, and the end of the speedup.

A national UAW strike can rally the entire working class against the drive of Nixon and the corporations to destroy living standards, jobs, and basic rights through the convening of a Congress of Labor to build a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

The fight for these policies must be taken forward by the building of a Marxist leadership in the UAW to throw out the bureaucracy. We call on auto workers to take up this fight by joining the Workers League.



# Rebellion In The Colonies

There is one additional characteristic of early America which must be understood. The history of the colonial era was a tumultuous period. It is reported that when the first settlers approached American soil, they were forced to anchor the Mayflower in Plymouth Harbor overlooking Plymouth rock for a day while they were engaged in the bitterest internal struggle among themselves.

From that moment on, the history of colonial America was a history of class and intraclass struggle. That the authors of the Constitution should take for granted a continuous struggle of "factions" and viewed these factions as rooted in conflicting

"respectable" element in the colonies: the large merchants and landowners. But this action was not always successful, as it had to deal with an overwhelmingly rebellious population.

In form, the colonies were operated very much on the model of Britain, with the colonial governor as a stand-in for the King and aristocracy. The various popular assemblies were kept, like parliament of the time, as strictly limited by property qualifications as possible. Since the King together with the British parliament were supposed to represent the whole of the empire, the position of the governor was to have overriding influence over these popular bodies. But at the same time, the governor was beholden to these assemblies for his pay. In content, in the actual practice of colonial life, there were far more democratic rights than in the practice of England.

The American fledgling capitalist class learned very early that it had to rule under conditions in which it stood in a weakened position against the mass of the people. It

itself. This meant economic stagnation and misery.

This meant, in particular, that the subsistence farmer—economically backward from a capitalist point of view—would have to be destroyed in the course of capitalist development on the North American continent. This was as important to the development of capitalism as the eventual necessity to destroy slave labor in the South.

In the colonial period, there was also another important element of struggle—that of the rising merchant class in the cities against the power of the landed interests and the crown. The "mechanics," both self-employed and apprentices, found themselves very much a subordinate but militant element in the struggle of merchant capital against the old forces. With the triumph of the merchant class, the fledgling proletariat would find itself swept behind the massive political movements of the small farmers and unable to free itself from this radical domination until the present period.

He made appeals to neighboring sections of North Carolina and Maryland hoping for united resistance. In the end, it took 1100 British troops to put down the rebellion in 1677.

Another important struggle was over the Massachusetts Land Bank. The colony of Massachusetts had been dominated in the 1600s through the early 1700s by a Puritan theocracy. In this period, a very wealthy merchant, shipping, and banking class had emerged. The mass of the people in the countryside, as well as in the cities, were driven deeply into the debt of this class. So much restlessness existed in the colony that Cotton Mather and other leaders of theocracy stirred up a witch-hunt to terrorize any dissenters. As the eighteenth century progressed, the theocratic grip weakened and mass movements of the oppressed petty-bourgeoisie broke out.

By 1740, the debtor element, based largely among farmers in the Western part of the state but supported by artisans in Boston and surrounding towns, took over the as-

Bulletin  
tion  
and  
and  
per  
con  
cer  
hop  
sca  
cen  
ech  
adr  
lea  
four  
mor  
to  
pro  
po  
Pe  
tum  
that  
see  
whic  
prin  
In



## Part 2

By Tim Wohlfo

The history of America is one of the most bitter class struggles. From the seventeenth century on, small farmers and artisans fought the large capitalists to whom they were constantly indebted.

Small planters led by Bacon (shown left) rebelled against the governor of Virginia and temporarily overthrew the established colonial government. These struggles continued after the American

Revolu  
Ameri

economic interests was the result of 100 years of political experience on the North American continent.

One cannot underestimate the importance of this for an understanding of the American bourgeoisie. The American capitalists, from the earliest days, found themselves seeking to stay afloat and on top in a sea of dissent. They were but a thin strata on top of a massive small farmer population and a sizable embryonic proletariat in the cities. The latter had a considerable degree of independence because of the labor shortage inherent in a country with relatively free land.

In the South, the slave owners ruled precariously, with terror, over a veritable army of 600,000 slaves. In South Carolina, by the time of the American Revolution, the slave population was larger than the free. The slaves were in continuous communication with each other, maintaining a network of intelligence over hundreds of miles. Slave conspiracies and revolts were common even in this early period.

The situation was thus different than in England. The colonial administration did not and could not have the authority of the local administration in the home country. It was supported by only a very small armed force. It was in a new country with a new population and without any serious transplantation of the old aristocracy.

The colonial administration acted, of course, at every point in support of the

had to rule, therefore, always in a masked way. It had to learn methods of rule which kept the capitalists on top while giving the illusion to the masses that they in some sense also ruled. So demogogy and corruption go way back to the earliest American politics.

The character of colonial rebellion is extremely important to understand, for it would mark American politics right up to the end of the nineteenth century, and still shapes American thinking. The history of America was a history of continuous rebellion of the small farming class, joined at times by petty-bourgeois elements in the cities, against the large capitalists and their supporters.

This class fought for democratic rights, for "equality" as they saw it, against indebtedness to the banks, and in the early period, for a more vigorous war against the Indians.

At every point, they rebelled against the logic of capitalist development, its concentration of wealth in the hands of a few in the Eastern cities, while they accepted capitalism itself. Their rebellion was futile because big capital developed inevitably and brutally out of small capital. It inevitably crushed small capital. Even though small businesses were the overwhelming majority, nothing could be done about it. To the extent that the rebellion of the petty-bourgeoisie arrested the development of big capital, it arrested capitalist development

Typical of colonial struggle was the famous Bacon Rebellion in Virginia in 1675. It was led by a small planter in Western Virginia, a descendant of the famous philosopher Francis Bacon, in a period before the large scale introduction of slave labor into tobacco farming. The planters of the frontier area found themselves squeezed economically by the British merchants who had gained control of the tobacco trade and had forced down the price of the commodity. On the other hand, they felt the colonial government would take no action against the Indians. In fact, the clique around the colonial governor (wealthy coastal planters and merchants) were deeply involved in the fur trade with the Indians and so moved slowly when it came to war against them.

Bacon expressed the sentiments of the small farmer in all colonies when he stated: "The poverty of the Country is such that all the power and sway is got into the hands of the rich, who by extoracious advantages, having the common people in their debt, have always curbed and oppressed them in all manner of ways."

In 1676 Bacon, quite independently of the governor, organized an army and fought the Indians. He then got himself elected to the House of Burgesses. When the Governor refused to accept the decisions of the House, Bacon moved against him militarily, soundly beat the Governor and ruled the whole colony of Virginia for several months.

sembly and sought to institute a scheme called Land Banks. In effect, bills of credit would be issued to be used instead of money, which would allow the debtors to pay off their debts cheaply.

The debtor party was denounced as "the rabble" and the "mobility." The British government sided with the merchant class, outlawing the bank and declaring its supporters criminals. However, these events nearly precipitated a revolution in the colony which was forestalled by changing governors.

Debtor-creditor struggles took place in almost every colony and in every case, the merchants and bankers, colonial and English, received the fullest support of the British crown.

Bernard Bailyn, who is certainly no Marxist, characterized the political life of the colonies as follows:

"There was...a milling factionalism that transcended institutional boundaries and at times reduced the politics of certain colonies to an almost unchartable chaos of competing groups. Some were personal groups, small clusters of relatives and friends that rose suddenly at particular junctures and faded again as quickly, merging into other equally unstable configurations.

"Others were economic, regional, and more generally social interest groups, some quickly rising and more quickly falling, some durable, persisting through a genera-

Leish  
the  
chan  
milit  
of th  
town  
was  
betw  
Neith  
Whic  
near  
app  
whol  
tion  
In  
comb  
the  
mach  
The  
poly  
hand  
indiv  
of th  
How  
emer  
Morr  
first  
the  
deeph  
Fren  
was  
supp  
which  
upper  
their  
crow



## Bulletin

tion or more, though never highly organized and consequently only irregularly active and prominent and continuously shifting in personnel...

"All were vocal; most were difficult to control; and while in certain colonies at certain times, political life attained the hoped-for balance and tranquility, there was scarcely a governor in the eighteenth century who at one time or another did not echo the early questions and the anguished admonition of William Penn to the political leaders of the City of Brotherly Love a mere four years after it was founded: 'Cannot more friendly and private courses be taken to set matters right in an infant province?... For the love of God, me, and the poor country, be not so governmentish!'"

Perhaps the best example of the kind of tumultuous inter- and intraclass conflict that existed in the urban population can be seen in the history of the New York colony which led up to the famous trial of the printer John Peter Zenger.

In 1689, a German by the name of Jacob

Morris then turned to the masses for popular support. The agitation of his faction against the regime of the governor was unsurpassed in any colony for degree of radicalism. Masses in the city of artisans and apprentices were lined up behind Morris.

John Peter Zenger was the printer who published the *New York Weekly Journal*, which led the agitation against the governor. This paper had wide influence throughout the colonies. The governor moved legally against Zenger on the basis of British libel laws. Zenger's defense was extremely unusual for the day.

He readily admitted printing what he was accused of printing. But he claimed the right to print it because it was true. Never before had the question of truth or falsity of "libel" been discussed by a court. The jury acquitted Zenger.

These events show not only how unstable the colonies were, but also reveal the deep conflicts which existed between factions of the emerging bourgeoisie. This bour-

movements which were not only progressive in their aims and democratic in their program, but revolutionary in their methods and achievements...

"Jefferson was a spokesman for a revolutionary democracy...The distinctive ideas, demands, institutions, and customs of democracy were forged in their revolutionary furnaces...They were pushed to the point where they had either to submit to outright tyranny by a minority or adopt the most radical measures to ensure that the will of the majority prevailed..."

We cannot accept this simplistic and idealist "explanation" for the American Revolution. If the colonies were fighting for "liberty," the question is: liberty from what and in order to do what?

After all, the large merchants had always opposed the liberty of the majority of the population, the small farmers, and urban masses. They had worked with the colonial governors time and again against the will of the majority.

Certainly, Thomas Jefferson cuts a somewhat incongruous figure as a "revolutionary democrat," considering that he was a slave owner. The Declaration of Independence, which he authored, contains an attack on the British crown for fomenting slave revolts in the colonies.

What is required is a materialist explanation. During the eighteenth century, a very wealthy bourgeois class developed in the American colonies. In the North, the merchant class arose which, together with the British merchants, shared in the trade and shipping of the whole world. Its interest appeared to coincide with those of its English brethren for a long and profitable time. They conflicted with the mass of the American people.

In the South, a slave owning aristocracy of considerable wealth and influence grew up, dominating the southern colonies and being an important factor in world trade in agricultural products.

This development was a product of the success of the mercantile system, as well as a signal of its doom. Under this system, colonies were established and dominated through royal companies closely associated with the crown.

These companies made immense profits for the mother country through their dominance of trade to and from the colony. There was no room in the mercantile system for any sizable bourgeoisie in the colonial countries. Such a bourgeoisie could only be viewed as a competitor.

The mercantile system also acted as a fetter upon further development of manufacturing capital within England itself. This gave rise to the Whig party in England composed of those merchants outside the royal companies, as well as the growing manufacturing bourgeoisie and supported by the fledgling working class.

For a whole period, the American merchant class, enjoying the protection of the British Navy overseas and of the colonial government against the masses at home, lived within this system quite happily. More accurately, it lived within and around it. It made much of its money through violating the restrictions of mercantilism: engaging in illegal trade with the French and Spanish West Indies, smuggling, and piracy. Britain, in turn, tolerated this situation because its system as a whole was developing and profits were being made.

The war with France and Spain brought this process to a head. With the war severely weakening the treasury, the British crown sought new revenues from the colonies. The need for these revenues must be understood within the framework of the dying mercantile system. The King and his supporters who dominated parliament needed revenues to maintain this domination against the rising tide of manufacturing capital and free trade merchants.

Beginning with the Stamp Act, the British government instituted a series of measures, all quite legal under the British Constitution. None of them were really unique, though in the past, such measures were rarely rigidly enforced. The purpose of the measures was to extract funds out of the colonies. They restricted liberty in America for this purpose.

For instance, the purpose of the tax stamps was to raise funds independent of the assemblies to support the colonial administration so it could be utilized to enforce other revenue measures. Liberty was restricted because the new policies

were unpopular among the masses as well as the merchants.

This conflict with the merchants coincided with an extreme crisis facing the slaveowning aristocracy in the South. The tobacco trade was dominated by English merchants.

These merchants had used their position to place the leading American planters in debt. By the time of the American Revolution, the entire planting class was almost completely bankrupt. Thomas Jefferson described the situation:

"Virginia certainly owed two millions sterling to Great Britain at the conclusion of the war (French and Indian War). Some have conjectured the debt as high as three millions...This is ascribed to the peculiarities in the tobacco trade. The advantages made by the British merchants on the tobacco consigned to them were so enormous, that they spared no means of increasing those consignments.

"A powerful engine for this purpose, was the giving of good prices and credit, till they got him more immersed in debt than he could pay, without selling his lands or slaves. Then they reduced prices given him for his tobacco, so that let his shipments be ever so great, and his demand of necessities ever so economical, they never permitted him to clear off his debt.

"These debts had become hereditary from father to son, for many generations, so that the planters were a species of property, annexed to certain mercantile houses in London."

This explains why there was constant wavering on the part of the merchant class of the North, while the planters of the South were steadfast in their opposition to Britain between 1765 and 1776. These planters produced the patriot agitator Patrick Henry, the theoretician of the revolution, Thomas Jefferson, and the military leader of the revolution and America's first president, George Washington.

There is something else which must be cleared up. Was the American Revolution a colonial revolution, a struggle for national independence? It obviously was a revolt of a colony which established a new nation. But it did so in a manner far different than modern colonial revolutions. The nature of capitalism in its imperialist stage is such that it prevents the development of a national bourgeoisie. But in America, a national bourgeoisie had begun to develop which could rival, in certain respects, that of the mother country. The American Revolution thus represented in certain respects a break between sections of the English bourgeoisie.

This explains why it was that the colonists for so long supported the Whig opposition in England, and viewed themselves as Whigs, while the Whig opposition supported them even during the actual war against England. The colonists viewed themselves as Englishmen right up until one to two years before the war actually broke out.

Uniquely, American culture was very close to that of Britain. The revolution was the break of colonists with the mother country, not the rebellion of a subjugated people against a foreign invader. The subjugated people were the Indians, and the colonists were the invaders.

When Aptheker speaks of "the developing sense of American nationality, transcending class lines," referring to different "fauna and flora," "climate," and "psychology and even language," he is reading back into history what was not yet there.

There were far greater differences in flora and fauna and climate within the colonies than between some colonies and Britain. Whatever minor differences in accent may have existed this early, they were far less than the differences in accent which exist within present day England!

The American Revolution was brought about by, and contributed to, the breakup of the mercantile system. It was led by the already existent merchant and slave owning classes. The liberty its leaders sought was liberty to further develop capitalism in the North and the slave system in the South by breaking it from the fetters of British mercantilism.

It was, nonetheless, a necessary step in the development of all mankind and as Lenin stated: "One of those great...revolutionary wars of which there have been so few."

TO BE CONTINUED

# The American Revolution

Wohlforth



Revolution, such as Shay's Rebellion which broke out in 1787 (shown center.) Masses of Americans, such as indentured servants (shown right) had no rights at all.

Leisler was able to overthrow the power of the dominant group of Anglo-Dutch merchants and landowners. Leisler had a small military band and relied heavily on support of the poor farmers and the poor of the towns. Between 1689 and 1717, the colony was torn apart by continuous factionalism between pro- and anti-Leislerite factions. Neither faction could gain firm control. Whichever faction was on the outs would appeal for popular support, invoking the whole tradition of the Cromwellian revolution against autocracy.

In 1717, Governor Robert Hunter combined with a clever Creole politician by the name of Lewis Morris to build a machine capable of controlling the colony. The basis of this machine was a near-monopoly on the Indian trade in furs on the one hand, combined with a system of favors to individuals which extended into each county of the colony.

However, by 1727 a new faction had emerged strong enough to replace the Morris faction. Its major ingredients were first of all a group of rich merchants around the DeLanceys in New York. They were deeply committed to the illegal trade with French Canada which the Morris faction was cracking down on. They won the support of the influential Philips family which ruled as kings over a section of the upper Hudson Valley. They also, through their merchant partners in England, got crown support and unseated the Morrisites.

geoisie, existing in a country with such a numerous petty-bourgeoisie, was forced to demagogically utilize popular sentiments in its struggles. We can see in these events much about the future of American politics.

## Causes Of The American Revolution

What was the American Revolution all about? As far as those who made it were concerned, it was a fight for "liberty" against the oppressive designs of the British government. Most idealist historians accept this view as well.

The Stalinist historians also agree, for, as Herbert Morais stated: "The First American Revolution was the product of two general movements: the struggle for self-government and national independence and the struggle among the American people for a more democratic order."

The Stalinists are joined in this position by George Novack, particularly in his later writings when the Socialist Workers Party had already degenerated considerably. He writes:

"Jefferson, in the First American Revolution, and Lincoln, in the Civil War, led



# Rebellion In The Colonies

There is one additional characteristic of early America which must be understood. The history of the colonial era was a tumultuous period. It is reported that when the first settlers approached American soil, they were forced to anchor the Mayflower in Plymouth Harbor overlooking Plymouth rock for a day while they were engaged in the bitterest internal struggle among themselves.

From that moment on, the history of colonial America was a history of class and intraclass struggle. That the authors of the Constitution should take for granted a continuous struggle of "factions" and viewed these factions as rooted in conflicting

"respectable" element in the colonies: the large merchants and landowners. But this action was not always successful, as it had to deal with an overwhelmingly rebellious population.

In form, the colonies were operated very much on the model of Britain, with the colonial governor as a stand-in for the King and aristocracy. The various popular assemblies were kept, like parliament of the time, as strictly limited by property qualifications as possible. Since the King together with the British parliament were supposed to represent the whole of the empire, the position of the governor was to have overriding influence over these popular bodies. But at the same time, the governor was beholden to these assemblies for his pay. In content, in the actual practice of colonial life, there were far more democratic rights than in the practice of England.

The American fledgling capitalist class learned very early that it had to rule under conditions in which it stood in a weakened position against the mass of the people. It

itself. This meant economic stagnation and misery.

This meant, in particular, that the subsistence farmer—economically backward from a capitalist point of view—would have to be destroyed in the course of capitalist development on the North American continent. This was as important to the development of capitalism as the eventual necessity to destroy slave labor in the South.

In the colonial period, there was also another important element of struggle—that of the rising merchant class in the cities against the power of the landed interests and the crown. The "mechanics," both self-employed and apprentices, found themselves very much a subordinate but militant element in the struggle of merchant capital against the old forces. With the triumph of the merchant class, the fledgling proletariat would find itself swept behind the massive political movements of the small farmers and unable to free itself from this radical domination until the present period.

He made appeals to neighboring sections of North Carolina and Maryland hoping for united resistance. In the end, it took 1100 British troops to put down the rebellion in 1677.

Another important struggle was over the Massachusetts Land Bank. The colony of Massachusetts had been dominated in the 1600s through the early 1700s by a Puritan theocracy. In this period, a very wealthy merchant, shipping, and banking class had emerged. The mass of the people in the countryside, as well as in the cities, were driven deeply into the debt of this class. So much restlessness existed in the colony that Cotton Mather and other leaders of theocracy stirred up a witch-hunt to terrorize any dissenters. As the eighteenth century progressed, the theocratic grip weakened and mass movements of the oppressed petty-bourgeoisie broke out.

By 1740, the debtor element, based largely among farmers in the Western part of the state but supported by artisans in Boston and surrounding towns, took over the as-

### Bulletin

tion or more, though never highly organized and consequently only irregularly active and prominent and continuously shifting in personnel.

"All were vocal; most were difficult to control; and while in certain colonies at certain times, political life attained the hoped-for balance and tranquility, there was scarcely a governor in the eighteenth century who at one time or another did not echo the early questions and the anguished admonition of William Penn to the political leaders of the City of Brotherly Love a mere four years after it was founded: 'Cannot more friendly and private courses be taken to set matters right in an infant province?...For the love of God, me, and the poor country, be not so governmentish!'"

Perhaps the best example of the kind of tumultuous inter- and intraclass conflict that existed in the urban population can be seen in the history of the New York colony which led up to the famous trial of the printer John Peter Zenger.

In 1689, a German by the name of Jacob

Morris then turned to the masses for popular support. The agitation of his faction against the regime of the governor was unsurpassed in any colony for degree of radicalism. Masses in the city of artisans and apprentices were lined up behind Morris.

John Peter Zenger was the printer who published the *New York Weekly Journal*, which led the agitation against the governor. This paper had wide influence throughout the colonies. The governor moved legally against Zenger on the basis of British libel laws. Zenger's defense was extremely unusual for the day.

He readily admitted printing what he was accused of printing. But he claimed the right to print it because it was true. Never before had the question of truth or falsity of "libel" been discussed by a court. The jury acquitted Zenger.

These events show not only how unstable the colonies were, but also reveal the deep conflicts which existed between factions of the emerging bourgeoisie. This bour-

movements which were not only progressive in their aims and democratic in their program, but revolutionary in their methods and achievements...

"Jefferson was a spokesman for a revolutionary democracy...The distinctive ideas, demands, institutions, and customs of democracy were forged in their revolutionary furnaces...They were pushed to the point where they had either to submit to outright tyranny by a minority or adopt the most radical measures to ensure that the will of the majority prevailed..."

We cannot accept this simplistic and idealist "explanation" for the American Revolution. If the colonies were fighting for "liberty," the question is: liberty from what and in order to do what?

After all, the large merchants had always opposed the liberty of the majority of the population, the small farmers, and urban masses. They had worked with the colonial governors time and again against the will of the majority.

Certainly, Thomas Jefferson cuts a somewhat incongruous figure as a "revolutionary democrat," considering that he was a slave owner. The Declaration of Independence, which he authored, contains an attack on the British crown for fomenting slave revolts in the colonies.

What is required is a materialist explanation. During the eighteenth century, a very wealthy bourgeoisie class developed in the American colonies. In the North, the merchant class arose which, together with the British merchants, shared in the trade and shipping of the whole world. Its interest appeared to coincide with those of its English brethren for a long and profitable time. They conflicted with the mass of the American people.

In the South, a slave owning aristocracy of considerable wealth and influence grew up, dominating the southern colonies and being an important factor in world trade in agricultural products.

This development was a product of the success of the mercantile system, as well as a signal of its doom. Under this system, colonies were established and dominated through royal companies closely associated with the crown.

These companies made immense profits for the mother country through their dominance of trade to and from the colony. There was no room in the mercantile system for any sizable bourgeoisie in the colonial countries. Such a bourgeoisie could only be viewed as a competitor.

The mercantile system also acted as a fetter upon further development of manufacturing capital within England itself. This gave rise to the Whig party in England composed of those merchants outside the royal companies, as well as the growing manufacturing bourgeoisie and supported by the fledgling working class.

For a whole period, the American merchant class, enjoying the protection of the British Navy overseas and of the colonial government against the masses at home, lived within this system quite happily. More accurately, it lived within and around it. It made much of its money through violating the restrictions of mercantilism: engaging in illegal trade with the French and Spanish West Indies, smuggling, and piracy. Britain, in turn, tolerated this situation because its system as a whole was developing and profits were being made.

The war with France and Spain brought this process to a head. With the war severely weakening the treasury, the British crown sought new revenues from the colonies. The need for these revenues must be understood within the framework of the dying mercantile system. The King and his supporters who dominated parliament needed revenues to maintain this domination against the rising tide of manufacturing capital and free trade merchants.

Beginning with the Stamp Act, the British government instituted a series of measures, all quite legal under the British Constitution. None of them were really unique, though in the past, such measures were rarely rigidly enforced. The purpose of the measures was to extract funds out of the colonies. They restricted liberty in America for this purpose.

For instance, the purpose of the tax stamps was to raise funds independent of the assemblies to support the colonial administration so it could be utilized to enforce other revenue measures. Liberty was restricted because the new policies

were unpopular among the masses as well as the merchants.

This conflict with the merchants coincided with an extreme crisis facing the slaveowning aristocracy in the South. The tobacco trade was dominated by English merchants.

These merchants had used their position to place the leading American planters in debt. By the time of the American Revolution, the entire planting class was almost completely bankrupt. Thomas Jefferson described the situation:

"Virginia certainly owed two millions sterling to Great Britain at the conclusion of the war (French and Indian War). Some have conjectured the debt as high as three millions...This is ascribed to the peculiarities in the tobacco trade. The advantages made by the British merchants on the tobacco consigned to them were so enormous, that they spared no means of increasing those consignments.

"A powerful engine for this purpose, was the giving of good prices and credit, till they got him more immersed in debt than he could pay, without selling his lands or slaves. Then they reduced prices given him for his tobacco, so that let his shipments be ever so great, and his demand of necessities ever so economical, they never permitted him to clear off his debt.

"These debts had become hereditary from father to son, for many generations, so that the planters were a species of property, annexed to certain mercantile houses in London..."

This explains why there was constant wavering on the part of the merchant class of the North, while the planters of the South were steadfast in their opposition to Britain between 1765 and 1776. These planters produced the patriot agitator Patrick Henry, the theoretician of the revolution, Thomas Jefferson, and the military leader of the revolution and America's first president, George Washington.

There is something else which must be cleared up. Was the American Revolution a colonial revolution, a struggle for national independence? It obviously was a revolt of a colony which established a new nation. But it did so in a manner far different than modern colonial revolutions. The nature of capitalism in its imperialist stage is such that it prevents the development of a national bourgeoisie. But in America, a national bourgeoisie had begun to develop which could rival, in certain respects, that of the mother country. The American Revolution thus represented in certain respects a break between sections of the English bourgeoisie.

This explains why it was that the colonists for so long supported the Whig opposition in England, and viewed themselves as Whigs, while the Whig opposition supported them even during the actual war against England. The colonists viewed themselves as Englishmen right up until one to two years before the war actually broke out.

Uniquely, American culture was very close to that of Britain. The revolution was the break of colonists with the mother country, not the rebellion of a subjugated people against a foreign invader. The subjugated people were the Indians, and the colonists were the invaders.

When Aptheker speaks of "the developing sense of American nationality, transcending class lines," referring to different "fauna and flora," "climate," and "psychology and even language," he is reading back into history what was not yet there.

There were far greater differences in flora and fauna and climate within the colonies than between some colonies and Britain. Whatever minor differences in accent may have existed this early, they were far less than the differences in accent which exist within present day England!

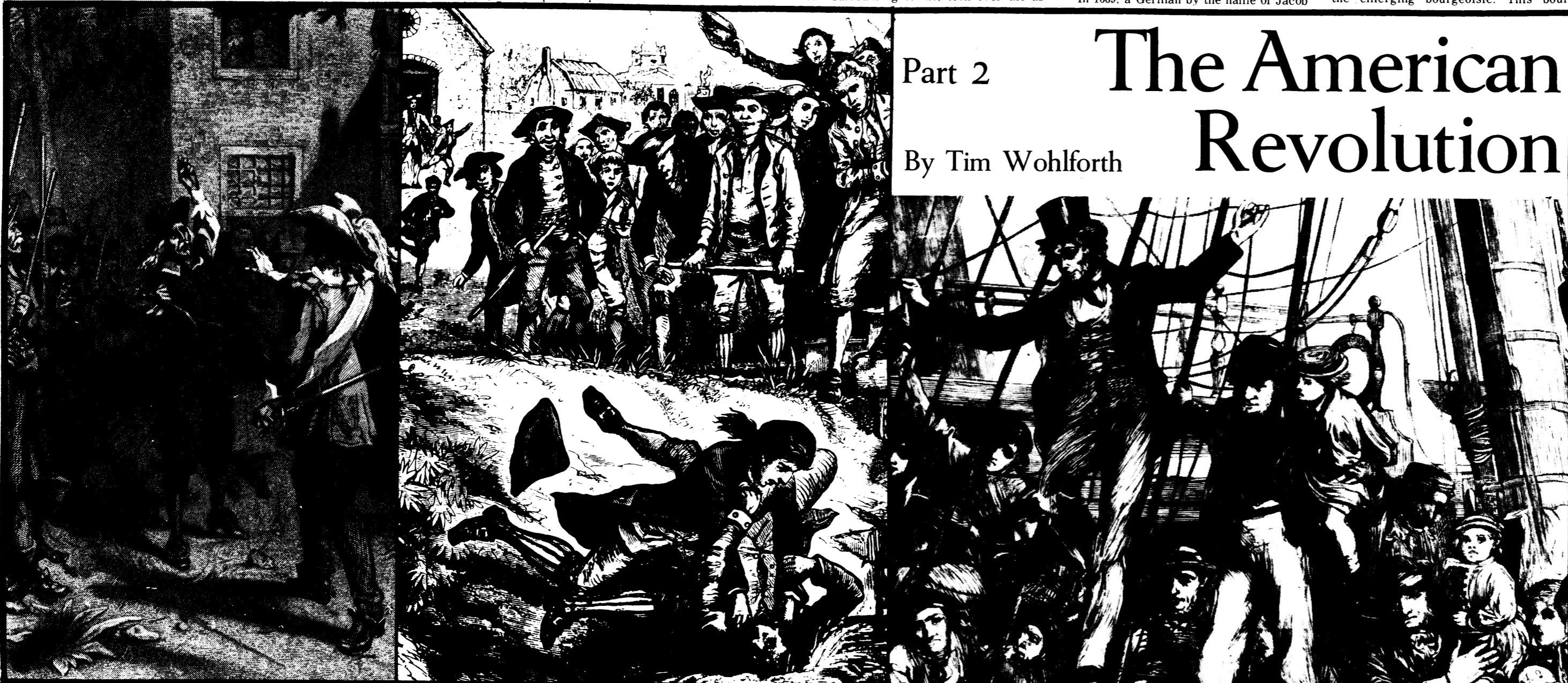
The American Revolution was brought about by, and contributed to, the breakup of the mercantile system. It was led by the already existent merchant and slave owning classes. The liberty its leaders sought was liberty to further develop capitalism in the North and the slave system in the South by breaking it from the fetters of British mercantilism.

It was, nonetheless, a necessary step in the development of all mankind and as Lenin stated: "One of those great...revolutionary wars of which there have been so few."

TO BE CONTINUED

# Part 2 The American Revolution

By Tim Wohlforth



The history of America is one of the most bitter class struggles. From the seventeenth century on, small farmers and artisans fought the large capitalists to whom they were constantly indebted.

Small planters led by Bacon (shown left) rebelled against the governor of Virginia and temporarily overthrew the established colonial government. These struggles continued after the American

Revolution, such as Shay's Rebellion which broke out in 1787 (shown center.) Masses of Americans, such as indentured servants (shown right) had no rights at all.

economic interests was the result of 100 years of political experience on the North American continent.

One cannot underestimate the importance of this for an understanding of the American bourgeoisie. The American capitalists, from the earliest days, found themselves seeking to stay afloat and on top in a sea of dissent. They were but a thin strata on top of a massive small farmer population and a sizable embryonic proletariat in the cities. The latter had a considerable degree of independence because of the labor shortage inherent in a country with relatively free land.

In the South, the slave owners ruled precariously, with terror, over a veritable army of 600,000 slaves. In South Carolina, by the time of the American Revolution, the slave population was larger than the free. The slaves were in continuous communication with each other, maintaining a network of intelligence over hundreds of miles. Slave conspiracies and revolts were common even in this early period.

The situation was thus different than in England. The colonial administration did not and could not have the authority of the local administration in the home country. It was supported by only a very small armed force. It was in a new country with a new population and without any serious transplantation of the old aristocracy.

The colonial administration acted, of course, at every point in support of the

had to rule, therefore, always in a masked way. It had to learn methods of rule which kept the capitalists on top while giving the illusion to the masses that they in some sense also ruled. So demogogy and corruption go way back to the earliest American politics.

The character of colonial rebellion is extremely important to understand, for it would mark American politics right up to the end of the nineteenth century, and still shapes American thinking. The history of America was a history of continuous rebellion of the small farming class, joined at times by petty-bourgeois elements in the cities, against the large capitalists and their supporters.

This class fought for democratic rights, for "equality" as they saw it, against indebtedness to the banks, and in the early period, for a more vigorous war against the Indians.

At every point, they rebelled against the logic of capitalist development, its concentration of wealth in the hands of a few in the Eastern cities, while they accepted capitalism itself. Their rebellion was futile because big capital developed inevitably and brutally out of small capital. It inevitably crushed small capital. Even though small businesses were the overwhelming majority, nothing could be done about it. To the extent that the rebellion of the petty-bourgeoisie arrested the development of big capital, it arrested capitalist development

Typical of colonial struggle was the famous Bacon Rebellion in Virginia in 1675. It was led by a small planter in Western Virginia, a descendant of the famous philosopher Francis Bacon, in a period before the large scale introduction of slave labor into tobacco farming. The planters of the frontier area found themselves squeezed economically by the British merchants who had gained control of the tobacco trade and had forced down the price of the commodity. On the other hand, they felt the colonial government would take no action against the Indians. In fact, the clique around the colonial governor (wealthy coastal planters and merchants) were deeply involved in the fur trade with the Indians and so moved slowly when it came to war against them.

Bacon expressed the sentiments of the small farmer in all colonies when he stated: "The poverty of the Country is such that all the power and sway is got into the hands of the rich, who by extortious advantages, having the common people in their debt, have always curbed and oppressed them in all manner of ways."

In 1676 Bacon, quite independently of the governor, organized an army and fought the Indians. He then got himself elected to the House of Burgesses. When the Governor refused to accept the decisions of the House, Bacon moved against him militarily, soundly beat the Governor and ruled the whole colony of Virginia for several months.

assembly and sought to institute a scheme called Land Banks. In effect, bills of credit would be issued to be used instead of money, which would allow the debtors to pay off their debts cheaply.

The debtor party was denounced as "the rabble" and the "mobility." The British government sided with the merchant class, outlawing the bank and declaring its supporters criminals. However, these events nearly precipitated a revolution in the colony which was forestalled by changing governors.

Debtor-creditor struggles took place in almost every colony and in every case, the merchants and bankers, colonial and English, received the fullest support of the British crown.

Bernard Bailyn, who is certainly no Marxist, characterized the political life of the colonies as follows:

"There was...a milling factionalism that transcended institutional boundaries and at times reduced the politics of certain colonies to an almost unchartable chaos of competing groups. Some were personal groups, small clusters of relatives and friends that rose suddenly at particular junctures and faded again as quickly, merging into other equally unstable configurations.

"Others were economic, regional, and more generally social interest groups, some quickly rising and more quickly falling, some durable, persisting through a genera-

Leisler was able to overthrow the power of the dominant group of Anglo-Dutch merchants and landowners. Leisler had a small military band and relied heavily on support of the poor farmers and the poor of the towns. Between 1689 and 1717, the colony was torn apart by continuous factionalism between pro- and anti-Leislerite factions. Neither faction could gain firm control. Whichever faction was on the outs would appeal for popular support, invoking the whole tradition of the Cromwellian revolution against autocracy.

In 1717, Governor Robert Hunter combined with a clever Creole politician by the name of Lewis Morris to build a machine capable of controlling the colony. The basis of this machine was a near-monopoly on the Indian trade in furs on the one hand, combined with a system of favors to individuals which extended into each county of the colony.

However, by 1727 a new faction had emerged strong enough to replace the Morris faction. Its major ingredients were first of all a group of rich merchants around the DeLanceys in New York. They were deeply committed to the illegal trade with French Canada which the Morris faction was cracking down on. They won the support of the influential Philips family which ruled as kings over a section of the upper Hudson Valley. They also, through their merchant partners in England, got crown support and unseated the Morrisites.

geoisie, existing in a country with such a numerous petty-bourgeoisie, was forced to demagogically utilize popular sentiments in its struggles. We can see in these events much about the future of American politics.

## Causes Of The American Revolution

What was the American Revolution all about? As far as those who made it were concerned, it was a fight for "liberty" against the oppressive designs of the British government. Most idealist historians accept this view as well.

The Stalinist historians also agree, for, as Herbert Morris stated: "The First American Revolution was the product of two general movements: the struggle for self-government and national independence and the struggle among the American people for a more democratic order."

The Stalinists are joined in this position by George Novack, particularly in his later writings when the Socialist Workers Party had already degenerated considerably. He writes:

"Jefferson, in the First American Revolution, and Lincoln, in the Civil War, led



# LABOR TODAY

## RAFT Ditches Fight Against Abel PART TWO

The evolution of RAFT into an utterly bankrupt left cover for IW Abel must be seen in the context of its attempt to build an opposition modeled on the MFD's fight for "union democracy."

First, it is necessary to understand the real character of the MFD. A section of the Boyle bureaucracy, led by Yablonski and later Miller, came into opposition with the official leadership as a massive movement began among miners over the disastrous decline in their living and working conditions.

While this movement represented the first stirrings of the movement of industrial workers against the trade union bureaucracy, it found its reflection in the MFD which was led by a section of the bureaucracy. It had—and to this day retains—a reformist leadership which sought to confine this movement to the issue of union democracy.

All the political tasks posed to the miners in their struggles, above all the task of breaking with the Democratic Party and establishing a labor party pledged to socialist policies, were opposed by the MFD leaders.

However, this opposition to a political fight against the government now brings Arnold Miller of the UMW into a collision with the very forces which brought him to power.

Within the UMW, union democracy disintegrates as Miller moves bureaucratically against the ranks and seeks to negotiate a new contract behind the backs of mine workers.

The experience of the "tragedy" of the Miners For Democracy exposes the "farce" of the Rank and File Team, which has since its inception shared with the old MFD leadership a total hostility to the mobilization of the working class politically against Nixon through the construction of a labor party.

It has none of the strengths of the old MFD—that is, its base among masses of workers, but all of its weaknesses. To talk about "union democracy" in 1974 as some sort of abstract theme, separated from the fight against the government and employers trying to destroy the rights of the working class, is a complete betrayal.

One of the few workers who came to the Chicago meeting independently grasped this point when he told the workshop on union democracy:

"How can we have union democracy when we don't have democracy on the streets. You can't win democracy just in the trade unions. Look at Operation Zebra and what they did to the SLA."

All efforts to build an opposition within the trade unions on the basis of "union democracy" or rank and fileism serve only as diversions from the building of a revolutionary leadership in the trade unions based on Marxism.

It represents attempts to pull the working class back from going beyond its past experiences with the reformist elements in the trade union bureaucracy.

Forces such as RAFT are supported precisely for this reason by the Stalinists of the American Communist Party, which seeks to maintain the influence of the reformists. RAFT has worked closely with the Stalinists and their own caucus in the mills, the National Rank and File Steel Workers Caucus.

The defense of the steel workers rights requires a real break with the bureaucracy, based on the fight to build a new leadership in the struggle to overturn the contract and rally the working class politically against Nixon through the building of a labor party.

We call on steel workers to join the Workers League to take this fight forward.

by David North

## Just Out!



**HEROES OF THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT**—The history of the struggles of the American working class and the revolutionary fighters who led those struggles.

All the material contained in this book was first published in the **Young Socialist** paper in six installments—Nat Turner and the Slave Rebellion, The German-American Marxists, The Men of Haymarket Square, Eugene V. Debs, Big Bill Haywood, and John Reed.

This book is essential reading for workers and youth today as the American working class prepares to enter into a new period of revolutionary struggles. **\$1.00**

Order From:  
Labor Publications, Inc.,  
135 W. 14th St., 7th Floor,  
New York, NY 10011.

# Frigidaire Workers: 'Its Just Like A Prison'

BY JOHN WERNER  
DAYTON, Ohio—An explosive confrontation nearly took place between the 14,000 workers at Frigidaire and General Motors when management at the Stroop Road Plant decided to close the gate which workers use to go out to lunch.

Over 400 appliance division workers began converging on the gate at the beginning of the 30 minute lunch break. They gripped the eight

foot chain-link fence, topped by barbed wire and began shouting: "Open the gate." One worker told the Bulletin: "This shows how Frigidaire is a prison. Frigidaire workers have no rights. I hope you'll write that in your paper."

Another worker stated: "It's like a penitentiary in here."

One worker explained to the Bulletin: "Two guards retired and they're not replacing them. They want us to use the rear gate, about two blocks away. By that time, our lunch period would be over. They want us to use that gate also if we're late. That would just make us later."

After five minutes, the

security guards opened the gate. As one worker stated: "They knew the gate was coming down one way or the other."

Arnold Thompson, president of IUE 801, pretended he knew nothing about the gate closing, despite the fact that other trade unionists knew a week ago that the company was planning this move.

The skilled trades workers have been launching "Blue Flu" sick-ins against the sellout wage cut of \$1 per hour agreed to by the IUE local and International leaders.

All the repairmen called in sick Monday. One worker stated: "Plant No. 2 may walk out and if they do, we should join them."

## Big Opposition To Dayton Tire Pact

BY A  
REPORTER

DAYTON, Ohio—The Dayton Tire Local 178 United Rubber Workers contract was ratified June 4, with a large section of the workers voting "no."

The settlement was a model of the Firestone contract, with only a 25 cent raise the first year, 24 cents the second year, 23 cents the third year, and no cost of living clause.

Nothing was done about the company's retiming of standards on the production jobs, which are mainly incentive. Those who have already lost \$1.50 to \$2 an hour in cuts in the last year from the introduction of automation machinery and the retiming are to receive a 55 cent raise in the base rate. If they run more than 133 percent, they will be paid an additional 30 cents per hour.

As one worker pointed out to the Bulletin: "There is no way on these jobs that have been retimed, such as the east Tuber, the No. 27 Banbury, and the new truck tire machines, that you can make more than 133 percent consistently, whereas on the old machines, you used to make 150 to 160 percent."

"They've put computers on these machines that set the moves on the machine. They pay only when the machine is moving. The supervisor has complete say over down time. They cut the manpower with the new machinery. Both jobs and money have been lost."

Workers were furious because they wanted to eliminate the right of the company to set these standards without the union having any voice. This was supposed to be the main issue in the strike.

## Police Jail 3 Strikers At Harshaw Plant

SOLON, Ohio—Three striking workers were arrested by police here as members of Local 852 International Chemical Workers Union struck Harshaw Chemical's Solon plant on Tuesday.

According to local President Harold Berdos, two of them were charged with "obstructing official business" and "prohibitive conduct on a picket line."



Workers at Dayton Tire, in Ohio have gone back to work after a narrow vote on a new contract.

A worker told the Bulletin the International has, in the past, stated the retiming was legitimate. The one case that was taken to arbitration by the union was lost.

It is clear that the company now has a free hand to proceed with the installation of automation machinery and retiming in the departments such as the west Tuber, that has not yet been affected by the cuts. Workers in that department told the Bulletin they will resist any attempt of the company to retime their jobs.

One worker on standard rate told the Bulletin everything has gone up more than 25 cents. Even \$1 an hour wouldn't be enough.

Other workers said: "You might as well say we didn't get any raise."

"This whole settlement was cut and dried," said another worker. We were out on the

streets eight weeks for nothing."

The meeting was packed, in a union hall that has a seating capacity of only 500. Workers were crowded into aisles and doorways. Many of the younger workers questioned the local union president, Robert Yates, but all he would do is repeat himself or cut the questions off. The vote was by voice and very close. One worker said: "If a couple of men had run up and shouted no, they would still be on strike."

### 30 DAYS

Originally Yates had said that if they were out for more than 30 days he would go for a higher wage increase since the wage freeze has been lifted.

During the strike, the leadership made no attempt to stop work from being shipped out to other plants and refused to call for a shutdown of all of Firestone and the reopening of all the rubber contracts.

## PUBLIC MEETING Lenin: The Man, The Party, The Revolution.

Speaker: Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary, Workers League.

BOSTON  
WED. JUNE 12  
Roxbury YMCA  
Warren St.  
7 p.m.  
\$1 Admission



midwest news



Members of the grainmillers union are striking Nabisco's Cream of Wheat plant in Minneapolis for a 100 percent cost of living clause.

## Nabisco Strikers Want 100% COL

BY J. NELSON  
MINNEAPOLIS, Mn.—Two hundred members of Grainmillers Local 1 have struck the Cream of Wheat Company in Minneapolis, the first in the plant's history.

For years, Cream of Wheat, owned by Nabisco, has run a shop notorious for its rotten working conditions.

The union's central demand is for a 100 percent cost of living escalator clause.

### 100 PERCENT

William Krumm, shop steward, told the Bulletin: "It has to be 100 percent. Unless you get 1 percent for every 1 percent rise in the cost of living, you're a fool."

"You would continually fall behind prices. And the prices will keep going up, with a few dips sure, but always higher."

Another main issue in the

strike is the company's discrimination against women workers. To date, women have been hired for only the two lowest job categories and have been ineligible for postings and upgrading.

One woman picket told the Bulletin that a woman machine operator will often be paid as much as a dollar less an hour for performing the same job as a male operator.

Pay rates even vary according to the floor on which you work. A worker on the fifth floor of the plant can be receiving 50 cents less than a worker doing the same job on the third.

Cream of Wheat has also been transferring workers from department to department and from job to job without regard to job classifications or categories, thereby blocking any real shop floor control by the workers.

## 5100 Defy Extra-Work Order

BY DEBRA WATSON  
CHICAGO Ill.—Nearly one-half of the 5100 Cook County Public Aid workers walked off their jobs at 4:30 pm on June 3, defying the attempt of the Public Aid Department to force them to work an extra half hour every day without an increase in pay.

Public Aid officials have been attempting to impose this ever since the department was merged with the Illinois State Department of Public Aid in January. All State Public Employees work a 37.5 hour week. The Cook County Aid workers have had an official 35.5 hour week since 1950.

The Illinois Public Aid Director has docked all those who joined in the action for time lost and has threatened to fire employees who continue to leave at the regular time.

Joel Edelman, the Director, announced in a special press conference: "If work interrup-

tions persist, we will consider further actions.

"We have the power to suspend or terminate an employee, but we hope termination will not be necessary."

The Service Employees International Union local has filed suit for an injunction to stop the department from forcing employees to leave at 5:00 pm and a court order granting hearings for all those workers who have already been suspended for leaving work early.

Max Liberles, president of the Illinois SEIU local which represents the Aid workers, revealed that an agreement was signed with the State Personnel Director which guaranteed all rights of union members in the County would be upheld even after the merger took place. This included an agreement on hours.

Liberles said: "We're not saying we won't work longer hours. We're saying that if we do, we want more money for it."

Since January, the Aid Department has refused to submit the question to arbitra-

# ACWA Ranks Stand Firm For Big Wage Increase

CHICAGO, Ill.—Over 5000 members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers picketed Chicago area manufacturers for the second day as part of the nationwide strike of clothing workers for higher wages.

One of the largest firms shut down here is Hart, Schaffner, and Marx.

A new subscriber to the Bulletin, spoke to this reporter about the strike and conditions in the industry.

"We had a gigantic meeting Monday, and they told us what the company had offered. Tuesday, we went again and signed

up for picketing. We'll stay out until this is settled.

"The company offered us 80 cents for three years and the union laughed in their face. They told them they have to be crazy.

"Wages, fringe benefits, and cost of living is the main thing. What can you buy with 80 cents, a half gallon of milk? With these prices today, how can I feed my family?"

"Everyone was surprised at this strike. We were getting along fine before. Every three years, we got the new contract, and as long as we had work, we were happy. But now, they don't want to give us anything."

With slack work and pay given on a piece rate basis, the fight for wages to keep up with inflation becomes critical. The soaring cost of clothing, with a resultant drop in sales, drives the manufacturers to attempt to gouge wages.

"At a job like this, you can't tell what you make. It's seasonal, one month good, the next, no work.

"The old orders are now out, and the new ones on the way. It's been very slow—about 4 hours a day. Nobody, on 13 floors, is working 8."

There's a lot of support for this—there are a lot of people out. That's how it is, you know."

## IBT Shuts Building Sites

BY HOWARD WEST  
ST. LOUIS, Mo.—Strikes by construction workers spread throughout all of Illinois this week when 4000 Teamsters shut down construction sites in support of demands for higher wages and cost of living allowances.

These workers join the 20,000 construction workers in St. Louis who have been striking since May 1.

These construction strikes involve over 50,000 workers throughout the bistate area. The Illinois Teamsters are demanding a 30 percent wage hike over three years, while the building contractors have limited their offer to 8 percent for the first year and will reopening the contract for the second and third years.

In St. Louis, the building contractors are determined to smash the unions, especially those covering the unskilled workers. Five unions are involved in the present dispute: Carpenters, Operating Engineers, Cement Masons, Laborers, and Teamsters. The main dispute now is with the Laborers Union over hiring of shop stewards.

The move towards hiring non-

union laborers at lower wage rates by many contractors has forced the union to demand the right to appoint their own shop steward at each site.

The contractors, through the Construction Industry Combined Committee, has responded by filing an unfair labor practices suit against the Laborers Dis-

trict Council. They are charging that the union is seeking to impose a closed shop.

Union spokesmen have pointed out that especially now with unemployment among union laborers above 30 percent, any shop steward appointed by the boss who stands up for the union will be quickly fired.

## Scabbing Goes On At Star

BY J. NELSON  
KANSAS CITY, Mo.—Kansas City Pressmen have organized pickets in front of outlets of the Jone's Store Co., the owner of Kansas City's largest chain of department stores, urging workers' families to boycott the stores because of its advertising in the Kansas City Star.

The boycott is the second phase in Local 14's campaign to get 98 pressmen rehired and union recognition.

On May 16, the Star sacked the 98 pressmen along with 30 mailers who protested the firing of a press operator. The Star not only fired the pressmen, but broke off all relations with Pressmen's Local 14 which has organized the Star's presses for over 20 years.

Local President Fowler said that other key Star advertisers would be picketed in the hopes that the action would bring pressure against the Star to end the dispute.

A spokesman for the Jone's

Store Co. said that the company will not halt its contracts with the Star.

### BOYCOTT

Local 14 also reports that its drive to get unionists to boycott the Star by cancelling their subscriptions has caused a 20 percent drop in the paper's circulation.

Meanwhile, the Star's presses operate with scab labor imported from all over the country. Members of nine other craft unions working at the Star have been ordered by their leaderships to cross the pressmen's picket lines.

This kind of scabbing is what weakened the New York printers strike and led to a settlement that allows the publishers to keep the automated equipment until the typographers local is eliminated through attrition.

The Missouri AFL-CIO must take action to shut down the Kansas City Star, and all unions at the newspaper must be forced to call out all their members with the pressmen.

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

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

Speaker: Tim Wohlforth,  
National Secretary, Workers  
League

swimming  
barbeque  
basketball

**Cleveland**      **St. Louis**  
**Saturday June 15**      **Saturday June 22**  
**At Holiday Hideaway**      **Rustic Hills Park**

Transportation also available  
from Youngstown, Pittsburgh,  
Dayton, Detroit.      Transportation also available  
from Chicago, Minneapolis.

Cost: \$5 (includes transportation)



# books

## Karl Marx And Friedrich Engels

Part 3

by David North

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels: An Introduction to Their Lives and Work. By David Riazanov, Monthly Review Press, \$8.95.

In explaining the development of Marx and Engels, Riazanov outlined the enormous transformation of the material world brought about by the industrial and French revolutions. These events molded the epoch into which they were born.

These events in themselves, however, do not explain the development of Marxism. It is necessary to understand that Marx's thinking came out of the previous development of philosophy and a struggle against idealism.

Writing this biography in the 1920s, in order to assist in the education of the workers of the Soviet Union as Marxists, Riazanov devoted considerable space to precisely this aspect of Marx's development. This book is of great value as we must turn to a study of philosophy at every point in the struggle to build the revolutionary party.

Riazanov laid special emphasis on Marx's struggle against the passive materialism of Feuerbach, who had seen consciousness as simply the reflection of a material world outside of man and thus transformed man into a passive contemplator of the world.

### Central

This remains a central issue in the struggle against idealist thinking which holds the working class back in its struggle against capitalism. The economic crisis is not, as the idealist maintains, something to be recorded in one's thinking and commented on, seen apart from the actual struggle of classes.

The Marxist party fights as part of the working class for an understanding of the tasks posed in the struggle against the capitalists under conditions of an objective economic crisis. The party draws knowledge from this struggle and prepares the working class to act consciously to overthrow capitalism, thus transforming history and man himself.

The most basic question that has been raised throughout the history of philosophy, and only resolved by Marx, concerns the relation of thinking to being. Idealists hold the position that thinking exists independently of the material world. Materialists demonstrate that matter is primary over thought.

Riazanov explained that all idealist thinking leaves the door open for some form of God, a force existing outside the material world which created it. This is the heart of the concept of the First Principle. God may take on all sorts of forms, Riazanov noted:

"He may reveal himself in the greatest variety of forms. But once we recognize the existence of some divine being who, on waking one beautiful morning, uttered, 'Let there be a world,' and the world sprang into being.

"Thus the thought, the will, the intention to create our world existed somewhere outside of it. We cannot be any more specific as to its whereabouts, for the secret has not yet been revealed to us by any philosopher.

"This primary entity creates all being. The idea creates

matter; consciousness determines all being. In its essence, despite its philosophic wrappings, this new form of the manifestation of the First Principle is a recrudescence of the old theology. It is the same Lord of Sabaoth, or Father or Son or Holy Ghost. Some even call it Reason, or the Word, or Logos. 'At the beginning was the Word.' The Word created Being. The Word created the world."

This conception aroused the opposition of the French materialists of the eighteenth century who attacked religion in order to fight the feudal system still existing in France. Religious thinking was the ideological cement of the decaying feudal social order, and the writings of the French materialists represented the philosophical preparation for the coming revolution which finally erupted in 1789.

### Advance

The historic advance made by these eighteenth century philosophers was their insistence that matter is primary over thinking, that being determines consciousness.

They attacked all conceptions of an extramundane creator. However, they developed their theories at a time when science was still at the stage of mechanics, and therefore the French materialists could understand consciousness only as the mechanical reflection of matter.

The philosopher Immanuel Kant felt that he had to accept science and stated that there existed a material world. However, he assumed a skeptical approach to that material world by stating that man only gets the impression of matter through his senses, but could never know the material world itself.

Kant formulated a mystical "thing-in-itself" which man could not know.

Kant accepted the existence of the material world, and saw that man derives knowledge of it through his senses. However, by creating a "thing-in-itself" that was unknowable to man, Kant assumed a skeptical position, saying that the material world was the source of knowledge, but maintaining at the same time that man could not ascertain the correctness of this knowledge. He thus set up an impenetrable wall between thinking and being.

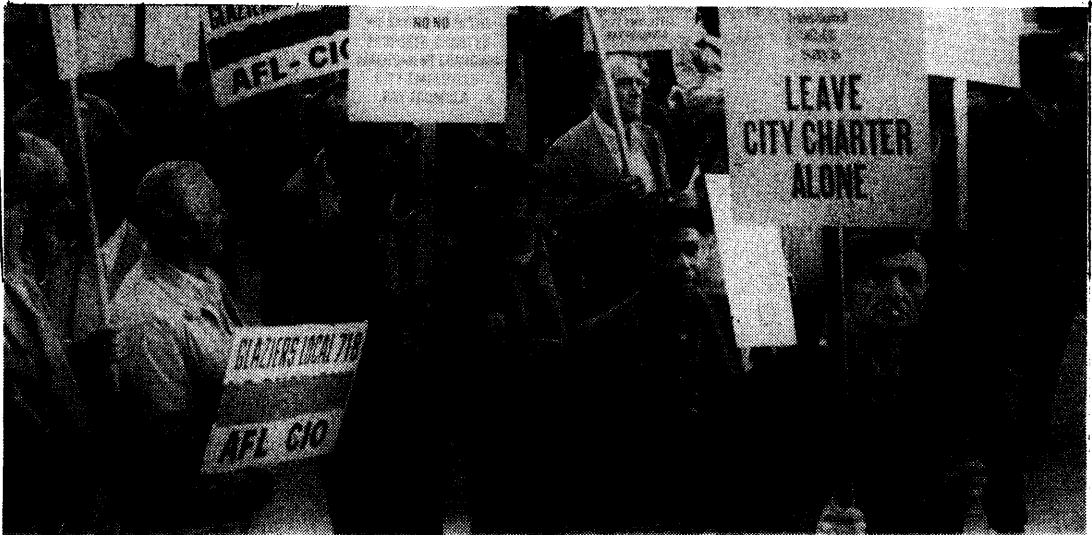
### Contradiction

Yet, the great contribution of Kant was that he exposed the contradiction between consciousness and the material world. While the French materialists had seen consciousness as the mirror reflection of the material world, Kant saw a complex and contradictory relation between man's thinking and the material world.

Most of Kant's important work was complete before the outbreak of the French Revolution. This event, the most decisive in modern history up until the Russian Revolution in 1917, had a powerful effect on the thinking of man.

Within months, extraordinary transformations took place. France, which had been frozen for several hundred years in the most rigid of feudal systems, became a battlefield of competing social forces.

TO BE CONTINUED



San Francisco city workers surround City Hall to protest charter amendment that would slash wages.

# City Workers Rally Against Pay Cuts

BY BARRY GREY  
SAN FRANCISCO—  
Over 600 city workers converged on city hall to protest the city's plans to outlaw collective bargaining and freeze wages indefinitely.

While hundreds of city employees, mostly uniformed Muni drivers, picketed outside, almost 300 jammed into the Board of Supervisors chambers. The board is dominated by Democrats, most of whom were put in with support of the San Francisco union leadership.

They met to consider a charter amendment for a referendum in the November election. The amendment would limit by law the wages of all city workers to no more than 3 percent above the statewide average for union and

nonunion workers.

For Muni drivers, in particular, this would mean a savage cut in wages, which are close to the highest in the country.

The workers carried signs reading: "Trust a 'friend in City Hall?' Never again."

Since the city workers strike, the Chamber of Commerce, the courts, and the city government have been trying to rip up the contract and destroy collective bargaining. The city comptroller has stated he will hold up the wage increases won in the strike until all suits filed by the Chamber of Commerce and private individuals against the strike are settled.

At the same time, the city attorneys have ruled that the dental plan won is illegal.

The union bureaucracy is desperately trying to contain the struggle to protest. In this way, they seek to patch up their relations with Mayor Joseph Alioto and the Democratic Party.

Originally, the San Francisco Labor Council voted to sanction a one day strike to oppose the wage freezing charter movement. Then Jack Crowley, the labor council head, backpeddled from even this mild action in favor of a protest demonstration.

The tremendous strength mobilized by the Muni drivers completely exposed the bankruptcy of the union bureaucrats. Officials from the Transport Workers Union Local 250A got up at the Board of Supervisors meeting to beg for an exception to be made for Muni drivers. No preparations were made for strike action to smash the charter amendment.

The wage increases are due to begin on July 1. If the city fails to meet this deadline, Alioto must be met with a total strike of all city workers until every clause of the contract is lived up to and the charter amendment is shelved.

## Judge Denies Motion Rules MaGee Guilty

BY A REPORTER  
SAN JOSE—Judge William Ingram found Ruchell MaGee guilty without a trial on June 5, in a 13 page memorandum denying MaGee's motion to withdraw a plea of guilty.

When Ingram tried to move immediately to sentencing, MaGee requested a stay of proceedings while the appeals court heard motions for habeas corpus and for probation.

MaGee showed how his guilty plea was the result of "fraud, deception, and coercion" by his judges and court appointed attorneys over many years. He charged that the judge had conspired with the head of the public defenders office, Siegel, to force him to plead guilty.

The judge interrupted MaGee saying: "Mr. MaGee, the court has already heard this before. Do you want to present your motion."

MaGee said: "You're about to sentence me to life, and I plan to finish what I have to say."

### DENIED

The judge denied every motion. MaGee stood up, demanded to leave the courtroom, and walked out shouting at the judge.

Frank Katz, MaGee's new lawyer, asked permission for the public defenders office to withdraw from the case because of conflict of interest. He said

Siegel had turned over to the judge and the prosecutor a memorandum supporting MaGee's motion for probation before MaGee had approved it or even seen it.

"Someone is stabbing MaGee in the back," Katz said. "It is grossly improper for us to continue to represent him."

Siegel replied that he saw nothing improper in delivering the memo, and Ingram denied Katz's motion to withdraw without comment.

Katz then got up and moved to the spectators seats. Later he told the Bulletin: "This is a political decision. Judge Ingram had made up his mind a long time ago to get Ruchell. He'll do anything he can to hurt him."



Ruchell MaGee

When MaGee was brought back into the courtroom, he said: "Where are my attorneys?"

He turned to the spectators. "This isn't a courtroom, this is a war," and pointing to Ingram shouted: "That dog has nowhere to run." Then he threw over the defense table and was dragged out of court again.

subscribe now to the twice-weekly!

# Bulletin

- \$1.00 for 2 months
- \$3.00 for 6 months
- \$6.00 for 1 year

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY ..... STATE ..... ZIP .....

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



# Bay Area Police Protect Nazi Clerk

**BY MARTY MORAN  
SAN FRANCISCO—**  
Working in the very same Police Department that launched "Operation Zebra" two months ago to terrorize the Black working class youth of San Francisco is a leading member of the American Nazi party, Sandra Silva.

Police Chief Donald Scott, who commanded Operation Zebra, has declared that being a Nazi and a cop are completely compatible. The fascists are the kind of forces with which the police now link up as they move against the working class.

In an interview with The New York Times, Silva declared that she sought employment in the Police Department "because there you get a better class of people—no Blacks or Jews."

She stated that her political beliefs were shaped by her father, an ex-cop who now works in the probation office.

Silva gave the interview in the presence of the Nazi party leader Matt Koehl, who was in San Francisco for a rally to honor Rudolf Hess, one of Hitler's closest associates.

Silva, who earns \$514 a month working for the police, declared

that she is fighting for "an all-white America—free from alien interests, minorities, and Communists."

## SUPREMACIST

Due to the atmosphere in the home of her white-supremacist father, Silva said that she always believed in fascism. "I didn't understand why, but I always felt this disgust for Blacks. They disgusted me—they were always causing trouble."

The real meaning of Operation Zebra and its relation to the development of American fascism is revealed in the presence of human garbage like Silva on the police force.

Several months before Operation Zebra, Mayor Alioto defended the presence of uniformed Nazis at school board meetings and supported the cops who arrested those who tried to throw the Nazis out.

Later, Alioto used a number of random homicides to unleash police terror against every Black youth in the Fillmore District.

The very Police Department which carried out this paramilitary exercise is a hotbed of fascist propaganda. While there is at least one known Nazi, her beliefs are shared by hundreds of her fellow cops.

Now, the liberals are coming to the defense of the Nazis. The American Civil Liberties Union has offered to defend the right of the Nazis to work in the police

department, speak publicly, and strut around in brown uniforms with swastikas.

The ACLU has been joined by the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of San Francisco.

The ACLU's defense of Nazis like Silva flows not from some abstract conception of free speech but from the class position of liberals who are impotent to fight the fascists and provide them with a cover to spread their movement.

The Nazis have mounted a campaign over the last six months in San Francisco in order to test out the support they can now openly receive from sections of the capitalist class.

The labor bureaucracy refuses

to prepare the working class for the growing danger of the development of right-wing forces. Rather, it maintains its alliance with Democrats like Alioto who encourage the activities of the fascists.

The workers of San Francisco must demand that the AFL-CIO immediately break with the Democratic and liberal politicians and launch a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

The Young Socialists is building branches in San Francisco and other parts of California, to mobilize workers and youth against the government and to construct a working class movement that will wipe out these vermin.



Sandra Silva

# California Workers Plan Building Strike

**BY A BULLETIN  
REPORTER**

**SAN FRANCISCO—A statewide strike by construction trades in California is threatened later this month when contracts covering carpenters, laborers, operating engineers, plumbers, and other trades expire between**

**June 1 and June 30.**

A massive offensive by construction workers is growing nationwide to win back wages lost to inflation and cut by Nixon's Construction Industry Stabilization Committee (CISC) and to win new increases.

The 1971 contracts were cut to ribbons by the pay board, and when the contracts were

restored after the wage controls were lifted, none of the money was paid back retroactively.

Last winter, northern California carpenters staged a seven week wildcat against the CISC. The strike was defeated because the union leadership refused to sanction the strike. However, the carpenters saw the tremendous strength they could mobilize.

Vern, a carpenter who has worked for 10 years in Oakland, told the Bulletin: "I didn't go along with the way the strike was done."

## DEMANDS

"They should have presented our demands and if our demands weren't met, we should have gone out as a whole. They were trying to buck the government and it was stupid the way it was done."

"I spend \$15 or \$16 more a week on food now than last year. I have to cut corners to buy necessities like dresses, things like that."

"I think the AGC is going to hold out. We'll probably have to strike."

Vidal, a laborer, said: "We're way behind. In 1950, I only made \$3 an hour, and I always had \$100 in my pocket. Now I have nothing."

## FRAUD

The propaganda by Common Cause that this will be a "trumpet blast" to awaken political reform movements is a complete fraud.

The Democrats and Republicans will face no difficulties under their own legislation. But beginning in 1975, any contributor to a socialist or labor candidate would be known to the government and exposed to direct harassment.

# Proposition 9 Bars Labor From Politics

**SAN FRANCISCO—Proposition 9, billed as the "campaign reform initiative" passed by a three to one margin in Tuesday's primary election.**

The new law was placed on the ballot by Common Cause, a middle class reform group. It will allow the monitoring by the government of contributions to working class parties, and is an attempt to stop the unions from participating in politics.

It was bitterly fought by the state labor movement. Following its passage, John Henning, the head of the California AFL-CIO, continued to call it unconstitutional. "There must be a court challenge of it, particularly its provisions denying free speech as far as labor union functions are concerned."

The provision the unions are fighting prohibits lobbyists from donating any campaign funds. Under state law, anyone seeking to influence the state legislature is registered as a lobbyist.

Many labor officials are so registered. The AFL-CIO has announced it is filing suit against that provision.

The new law also requires elaborate reports for political contributions and spending. Beginning in 1975, when it goes into effect, the campaign committee for any candidate must report the name, address, phone number, occupation, and employer's name and address for every contribution over \$50. Anonymous contributions are specifically prohibited.

## west coast news



The Fremont assembly line of General Motors where time and motion studies are used to occupy every hundredth of a minute of a worker's time.

# GM Pushes Brutal Speedup On Fremont Plant Workers

**BY A UAW 1364  
MEMBER**

**FREMONT—**The current drive in Fremont General Motors Assembly Division to bring all jobs up to "full standards" is part of GM's national strategy to introduce speedup in order to build up stock and cut costs.

The same conditions that sparked the Midwest strikes against deteriorating work-

ing conditions exist at Fremont.

Car sales are down 27 percent over the same period last year. It is rare to see a customer order coming down the assembly line. Cars being produced now are being stockpiled in preparation for a new round of mass layoffs.

## GODFREY

Two years ago, GM boss Godfrey announced the policy for GMAD plants: "If we can occupy a man for 60 minutes, we've got that right."

So intense now is the drive to extract every last cent of profit, that a minute is broken down

into a hundred parts with the drive now on to "occupy" every worker for every one-hundredth of a minute.

## OCCUPY

It had been the long standing position of the union that on the time and motion studies, GM can only "occupy" its workers 85 parts of a minute with the remaining 15 parts of a minute to be used for the personal needs of each worker.

Now workers who are laid off have their jobs broken down into their simplest component parts in order to better facilitate its distribution among the re-

maining workers who are told that their job standards of 85 percent are now being brought up to "full standards."

There is a bitter resistance to this brutal speedup which is breaking up established work rules. The Woodcock bureaucracy has done nothing to defend working conditions or jobs. The treachery of Woodcock exposes the urgency for a new leadership in the UAW to fight for a national strike to throw out the entire 1973 agreement, to defend working conditions and jobs, and for the building of a labor party pledged to socialist policies to throw out Nixon.

**Bulletin** NOW TWICE A WEEK!

**TRUCKERS SHUT DOWN**

**IT IS TIME TO RENEW**

if the number 6 is after your name on the address label:

**ACT NOW AND YOU WILL NOT MISS A SINGLE ISSUE OF THE**

**TWICE-WEEKLY**

\$3.00 for 6 months  
 \$6.00 for 1 year

Name .....  
Address .....  
City .....  
State .....  
Zip .....

135 West 14 Street, 7th Floor, New York, NY 10011

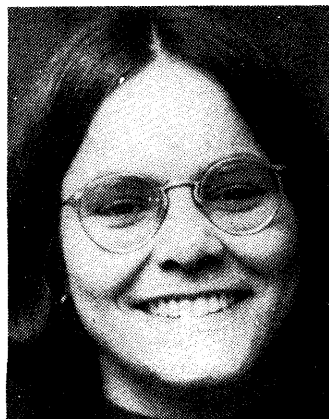


La labor de esta columna es la construcción de un nuevo liderato en la clase obrera. Es por ello que necesitamos el apoyo de todos los obreros hispanos en desarrollar esta columna. Favor de dirigir su correspondencia a: Lucia Rivera, c/o Labor Publications, 135 West 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011

# lucha obrera

lucía rivera

## La Liga Obrera Lanza Campaña Electoral En Distritos 12, 14



Teresa Delgado



Helen Halyard

La Liga Obrera ha comenzado una campaña electoral en los distritos congresionales 12 y 14 en Brooklyn, Nueva York. Es esta la primera vez en nuestra historia que intervenimos con candidatos independientes en las elecciones.

Teresa Delgado, miembro del Comité Nacional de la Juventud Socialista, será la candidata en el distrito 12 el cual cubre una amplia sección de Bushwick y partes de Bedford Stuyvesant, Bronsville y East New York.

Helen Halyard, Secretaria Nacional de la Juventud Socialista y miembro del Comité Central de la Liga Obrera, será la candidata del distrito 14 que abarca gran parte de Bedford Stuyvesant y otras secciones en Bronsville, East Flatbush, Fort Greene y Williamsburg.

Nosotros llevamos esta campaña basados en la necesidad urgente de la clase obrera de construir su propio partido de clase, un partido, obrero. Nuestra intervención en estas elecciones no es con la ilusión que el proceso electoral pueda cambiar las actuales condiciones a la que se enfrenta la clase obrera.

El liderato de la AFL-CIO, unión internacional que agrupa a más de 22 millones de trabajadores, ha rehusado construir una alternativa independiente de los demócratas y republicanos. Es en la Liga Obrera que recae esta tarea de construir una alternativa de clase. Nuestra intervención en las elecciones es para preparar a la clase obrera y a la juventud a tomar el poder a través de la construcción del partido revolucionario de masas.

Burns, el presidente de la junta de reserva federal, ha declarado semanas atrás que no existe ninguna solución a la crisis económica y que la economía se esta transformando, de una inflacionaria a una de deflación (cierre masivo de industrias, desempleo masivo).

Esa misma semana otro representante de la clase capitalista en Inglaterra Catherwood señaló que Inglaterra estaba enfrentandose a una época de depresión y que uno de los factores principales eran las uniones y sus luchas por aumentos salariales.

La clase capitalista ha de utilizar otros medios para salvar su sistema de ganancias. Esto requiere que ellos ataquen abiertamente los derechos basicos de la clase obrera. Esto lo podemos ver claramente en East Cleveland, donde el gobierno movilizó un tanque de 12 toneladas y más de 300 policías en contra de tres afro-americanos. Ellos han de utilizar las mismas medidas en contra de los trabajadores y la juventud.

El liderato de las uniones han rehusado movilizar el poder de la clase obrera para sacar a Nixon del gobierno, y de presentar una alternativa en contra de los ataques al nivel de vida y los derechos basicos.

Ellos conjuntamente con el Partido Demócrata son los responsables de que Nixon aún este en el poder. El Partido Demócrata no le interesa sacar a Nixon ya que estan de acuerdo con sus métodos en contra de los trabajadores.

La presente congresista en el Distrito 12 es la Demócrata Shirley Chisholm, quien al igual que Nixon fue sometida a una investigación federal al no informar la fuente de los fondos utilizados en su campaña presidencial.

El distrito 12 es un área donde el nivel de lectura de los estudiantes es el más bajo de toda la ciudad, donde el porcentaje de los jóvenes que abandonan la escuela es altísimo debido a la pobre educación que reciben. La comunidad de Bushwick, predominantemente hispana, padece de un desempleo crónico y de condiciones de vivienda insostenibles.

Pero Chisholm al igual que los demócratas y republicanos no han de cambiar estas condiciones, ya que ellos comienzan con la preservación del sistema capitalista. La presenta congresista se pasa rogándole a Washington para que provea fondos, pero toda esa época en la cual el gobierno repartía migajas a las comunidades obreras llegó a su fin. El gobierno esta cortando a su vez los fondos a los programas comunales.

La construcción de la Liga Obrera en un partido de masas es la única forma que la clase obrera puede preparar un liderato en contra de los ataques del gobierno.

## WOODCOCK. . .

(Continued From Page 1)

they are appointed. This is in direct violation of the constitution. What in hell is going on?"

After this resolution passed, opposition came from the delegates regarding the raise in salary for International officers and staff.

### INCREASE

One delegate, pointing to the platform, said: "I want to know why you don't have to stick with the 3.5 like we do. Your increase is a lot more than we got."

The chair at this point repeated that the increase was 11.6 percent.

Rick Martin, a 22-year-old delegate from Local 600, later told the Bulletin: "Woodcock hasn't shown me where on the paycheck we got 11.6 percent. Hell, our membership won't believe me if I tell them we really got 11.6 percent."

"I don't feel my membership is too happy with the '73 contract, really. The cost of living is something else, you know that. I'm against the three year term. If anything, it should be getting shorter instead of longer."

"I feel it is the ones who are not confident as far as their leadership and their sincerity to the workers that want the three year term."

Martin was elected by his unit in order to raise before the convention the fight for overtime pay on weekends. His resolution was deleted by the Resolutions Committee, however.

"I have a whole lot of 'AWOLs.' About 90 percent of my cases are AWOLs. They're mostly young workers who don't want to work weekends without compensation. They want time and one-half or double time."

"My membership is not going to be too happy to know that Leonard Woodcock has put them off until 1976, when this resolution will be discussed at the collective bargaining."

### OPPOSITION

Big opposition also came from the skilled tradesmen at Ford, who after rejecting the 1973 contract were overruled by Woodcock. Don Liddell, also from Local 600, said on the floor of the convention: "I told my people that after the 1966 convention, we had separate ratification rights. Then I have to go back six years later and tell these people that I was wrong."

"What do you think that does to my credibility, and what do you think it does to the credibility of the UAW? It hurts."

"What is the sense of voting if you're unhappy and vote 'no' and then it doesn't mean anything?"

Without a doubt, the number one issue at this convention was the 1973 contract, which already has been proven to be wholly inadequate in the face of 100,000 layoffs, 15 percent inflation and the brutal speedup in the plants that has meant the destruction of working conditions.

At no point in this convention did the United National Caucus or the Stalinist-supported Auto Workers Action Committee propose any program to fight these attacks, or the Woodcock leadership.

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party is the only force inside the UAW which is committed to mobilizing workers against the Woodcock leadership.

The TUALP calls on all auto workers to join the fight to reopen the contract for a 20 percent wage increase through strike action, to recall all laid off workers, to resolve all local grievances, and to end the speedup in the plants through establishing specific line speeds depending on



Joint demonstration by the United National Caucus and Brotherhood outside the UAW convention was a cover for their refusal to fight Woodcock and the UAW bureaucracy inside the convention.

models and manpower. This fight requires above all, a political fight to force Nixon out and replace him with a labor party pledged to nationalize auto under workers control.

## Bay Area Nurses Strike Hospitals

**SAN FRANCISCO**  
More than 4000 nurses walked out at 40 Bay Area private hospitals on June 7, closing all services except emergency and intensive care units.

Negotiations between the California Nurses Association (CNA) and Kaiser-Permanente and two other groups of hospitals were broken off last Wednesday by the Association.

The nurses are asking for a \$60 a month salary increase, a guarantee of every other weekend off, better fringe benefits, and better staffing levels. CNA Executive Director Irene

Pope said: "We have been trying to negotiate all of these issues with management for six months and have gotten nowhere."

The strike is the first ever called by the Association. Nurses at public hospitals, who are mainly in the Teamsters union are not joining the strike.

Most nonemergency patients are being discharged, and no new admissions are being accepted. The CNA leadership has agreed to send some nurses across picket lines.

A press campaign against the nurses is already underway, slandering them with endangering the lives of critical patients and premature babies, when one of the nurses main demands is an end to the practice of assigning nurses without necessary training to intensive or coronary care units.

The Workers League-Young Socialists Invites You To:

# Arrow Park Outing Saturday June 29

Swimming and boating at private lake, sports, picnic facilities, near Bear Mountain.

## Educational Program Watergate

— The Ugly Face Of Capitalism

Speaker: Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary, Workers League

Cost: \$5 (includes transportation.) Buses leave 135 W. 14th St., 8:30 AM Sharp  
Transportation also available from Connecticut, Philadelphia, Bethlehem, Boston, Baltimore, and Washington, DC.  
For information call: 212-924-0852  
Make all checks payable to the Workers League, 135 W. 14th St., New York, NY 10011





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: Lucia Rivera, c/o Labor Publications, 135 West 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011

# lucha obrera

lucía rivera

## La Liga Obrera Lanza Campaña Electoral En Distritos 12, 14



Teresa Delgado



Helen Halyard

La Liga Obrera ha comenzado una campaña electoral en los distritos congresionales 12 y 14 en Brooklyn, Nueva York. Es esta la primera vez en nuestra historia que intervenimos con candidatos independientes en las elecciones.

Teresa Delgado, miembro del Comité Nacional de la Juventud Socialista, será la candidata en el distrito 12 el cual cubre una amplia sección de Bushwick y partes de Bedford Stuyvesant, Bronsville y East New York.

Helen Halyard, Secretaria Nacional de la Juventud Socialista y miembro del Comité Central de la Liga Obrera, será la candidata del distrito 14 que abarca gran parte de Bedford Stuyvesant y otras secciones en Bronsville, East Flatbush, Fort Greene y Williamsburg.

Nosotros llevamos esta campaña basados en la necesidad urgente de la clase obrera de construir su propio partido de clase, un partido, obrero. Nuestra intervención en estas elecciones no es con la ilusión que el proceso electoral pueda cambiar las actuales condiciones a la que se enfrenta la clase obrera.

El liderato de la AFL-CIO, unión internacional que agrupa a más de 22 millones de trabajadores, ha rehusado construir una alternativa independiente de los demócratas y republicanos. Es en la Liga Obrera que recae esta tarea de construir una alternativa de clase. Nuestra intervención en las elecciones es para preparar a la clase obrera y a la juventud a tomar el poder a través de la construcción del partido revolucionario de masas.

Burns, el presidente de la junta de reserva federal, ha declarado semanas atrás que no existe ninguna solución a la crisis económica y que la economía se esta transformando, de una inflacionaria a una de deflación (cierre masivo de industrias, desempleo masivo).

Esa misma semana otro representante de la clase capitalista en Inglaterra Catherwood señaló que Inglaterra estaba enfrentandose a una época de depresión y que uno de los factores principales eran las uniones y sus luchas por aumentos salariales.

La clase capitalista ha de utilizar otros medios para salvar su sistema de ganancias. Esto requiere que ellos ataquen abiertamente los derechos basicos de la clase obrera. Esto lo podemos ver claramente en East Cleveland, donde el gobierno mobilizó un tanque de 12 toneladas y más de 300 policías en contra de tres afro-americanos. Ellos han de utilizar las mismas medidas en contra de los trabajadores y la juventud.

El liderato de las uniones han rehusado movilizar el poder de la clase obrera para sacar a Nixon del gobierno, y de presentar una alternativa en contra de los ataques al nivel de vida y los derechos basicos.

Ellos conjuntamente con el Partido Demócrata son los responsables de que Nixon aún este en el poder. El Partido Demócrata no le interesa sacar a Nixon ya que estan de acuerdo con sus métodos en contra de los trabajadores.

La presente congresista en el Distrito 12 es la Demócrata Shirley Chisholm, quien al igual que Nixon fue sometida a una investigación federal al no informar la fuente de los fondos utilizados en su campaña presidencial.

El distrito 12 es un área donde el nivel de lectura de los estudiantes es el más bajo de toda la ciudad, donde el porcentaje de los jóvenes que abandonan la escuela es altísimo debido a la pobre educación que reciben. La comunidad de Bushwick, predominantemente hispana, padece de un desempleo crónico y de condiciones de vivienda insostenibles.

Pero Chisholm al igual que los demócratas y republicanos no han de cambiar estas condiciones, ya que ellos comienzan con la perseveración del sistema capitalista. La presenta congresista se pasa rogándole a Washington para que provea fondos, pero toda esa época en la cual el gobierno repartía migajas a las comunidades obreras llegó a su fin. El gobierno esta cortando a su vez los fondos a los programas comunales.

La construcción de la Liga Obrera en un partido de masas es la única forma que la clase obrera puede preparar un liderato en contra de los ataques del gobierno.

## WOODCOCK...

(Continued From Page 1)

they are appointed. This is in direct violation of the constitution. What in hell is going on?"

After this resolution passed, opposition came from the delegates regarding the raise in salary for International officers and staff.

### INCREASE

One delegate, pointing to the platform, said: "I want to know why you don't have to stick with the 3.5 like we do. Your increase is a lot more than we got."

The chair at this point repeated that the increase was 11.6 percent.

Rick Martin, a 22-year-old delegate from Local 600, later told the Bulletin: "Woodcock hasn't shown me where on the paycheck we got 11.6 percent. Hell, our membership won't believe me if I tell them we really got 11.6 percent."

"I don't feel my membership is too happy with the '73 contract, really. The cost of living is something else, you know that. I'm against the three year term. If anything, it should be getting shorter instead of longer."

"I feel it is the ones who are not confident as far as their leadership and their sincerity to the workers that want the three year term."

Martin was elected by his unit in order to raise before the convention the fight for overtime pay on weekends. His resolution was deleted by the Resolutions Committee, however.

"I have a whole lot of 'AWOLs.' About 90 percent of my cases are AWOLs. They're mostly young workers who don't want to work weekends without compensation. They want time and one-half or double time."

"My membership is not going to be too happy to know that Leonard Woodcock has put them off until 1976, when this resolution will be discussed at the collective bargaining."

### OPPOSITION

Big opposition also came from the skilled tradesmen at Ford, who after rejecting the 1973 contract were overruled by Woodcock. Don Liddell, also from Local 600, said on the floor of the convention: "I told my people that after the 1966 convention, we had separate ratification rights. Then I have to go back six years later and tell these people that I was wrong."

"What do you think that does to my credibility, and what do you think it does to the credibility of the UAW? It hurts."

"What is the sense of voting if you're unhappy and vote 'no' and then it doesn't mean anything?"

Without a doubt, the number one issue at this convention was the 1973 contract, which already has been proven to be wholly inadequate in the face of 100,000 layoffs, 15 percent inflation and the brutal speedup in the plants that has meant the destruction of working conditions.

At no point in this convention did the United National Caucus or the Stalinist-supported Auto Workers Action Committee propose any program to fight these attacks, or the Woodcock leadership.

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party is the only force inside the UAW which is committed to mobilizing workers against the Woodcock leadership.

The TUALP calls on all auto workers to join the fight to reopen the contract for a 20 percent wage increase through strike action, to recall all laid off workers, to resolve all local grievances, and to end the speedup in the plants through establishing specific line speeds depending on



Joint demonstration by the United National Caucus and Brotherhood outside the UAW convention was a cover for their refusal to fight Woodcock and the UAW bureaucracy inside the convention.

models and manpower. This fight requires above all, a political fight to force Nixon out and replace him with a labor party pledged to nationalize auto under workers' control.

## Bay Area Nurses Strike Hospitals

**SAN FRANCISCO**  
More than 4000 nurses walked out at 40 Bay Area private hospitals on June 7, closing all services except emergency and intensive care units.

Negotiations between the California Nurses Association (CNA) and Kaiser-Permanente and two other groups of hospitals were broken off last Wednesday by the Association.

The nurses are asking for a \$60 a month salary increase, a guarantee of every other weekend off, better fringe benefits, and better staffing levels. CNA Executive Director Irene

Pope said: "We have been trying to negotiate all of these issues with management for six months and have gotten nowhere."

The strike is the first ever called by the Association. Nurses at public hospitals, who are mainly in the Teamsters union are not joining the strike.

Most nonemergency patients are being discharged, and no new admissions are being accepted. The CNA leadership has agreed to send some nurses across picket lines.

A press campaign against the nurses is already underway, slandering them with endangering the lives of critical patients and premature babies, when one of the nurses main demands is an end to the practice of assigning nurses without necessary training to intensive or coronary care units.

The Workers League-Young Socialists Invites You To:

# Arrow Park Outing

## Saturday June 29

Swimming and boating at private lake, sports, picnic facilities, near Bear Mountain.

## Educational Program Watergate

— The Ugly Face Of Capitalism

Speaker: Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary, Workers League

Cost: \$5 (includes transportation.) Buses leave 135 W. 14th St., 8:30 AM Sharp  
Transportation also available from Connecticut, Philadelphia, Bethlehem, Boston, Baltimore, and Washington, DC.  
For information call: 212-924-0852  
Make all checks payable to the Workers League, 135 W. 14th St., New York, NY 10011

