

# Bulletin

NOW  
TWICE A  
WEEK!

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

VOLUME TEN NUMBER FORTY FIVE 381

FRIDAY, JUNE 7, 1974

FIFTEEN CENTS

Report From The  
UAW Convention:

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BY  
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(Continued On Page 12)

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We wish to make a special appeal to all our readers and sympathizers. Individual contributions from you have made a big difference in this drive. We ask you to reach down into your pockets and make one last effort so that we can go over the top. Look over this issue and you will see why this must be done. And then do not delay! Send us a check and money order TODAY!

Defend Ruchell Magee!

exclusive report on the frameup trial of Ruchell Magee

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Local union representatives opposing the measure did so not out of disagreement with Woodcock's policies, but because they feared going back to the plants and telling the ranks that they had extended the terms of a leadership hated for the 1973 contract, the massive unemployment and deteriorating working conditions.

"If I have to go back to my local and tell them that I supported you for a three year term," declared one delegate as he pointed at Woodcock, "I'll never get elected again."

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When the first vote was taken on the proposal, the show of hands appeared equally divided. The announcement from the chair that the proposal had passed led to an uproar.

A second vote with delegates asked to stand led to the same result.

### ROLL CALL

Finally, when the chair denied a motion for a roll call vote in spite of the presence of a quorum, complete pandemonium broke out on the convention floor and hundreds of delegates walked out.

The explosion at the UAW Convention—the inability to conceal the bitter hatred of thousands of

auto workers for the entire Woodcock bureaucracy—totally vindicates the fight of the Workers League and its industrial arm, the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party, to build the alternative revolutionary leadership in the auto workers union to throw the bureaucracy out.

As the delegates amused themselves in the plush hotels of Los Angeles and arrogantly ignored every basic issue facing auto workers and their families, members of the Workers League and Young Socialists were in the second week of a Bulletin subscription trailblazing drive in Detroit and were surpassing all previous records for subscriptions.

The trailblazers are building the Workers League in Detroit and preparing for the construction of a new leadership in the UAW.

On Monday night, 30 Detroit auto workers and other trade unionists and housewives attended a report back meeting on the decisions of the recent National Auto Conference of the TUALP held in Dayton.

As the Workers League is actually assembling the forces among auto workers against this bureaucracy, the Stalinists and radicals inside the convention hall were grovelling in front of Woodcock, outdoing one another with pledges of loyalty.

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In the discussion on the extension  
(Continued On Page 12)

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## Where Has Gus Horowitz Been All These Years?

A tiny handful of fanatical Japanese officers, rather than admit defeat in World War Two, hid out in the South Pacific jungles, and for 29 years, lived as if the war was still going on.

When they finally emerged, they stepped into a completely transformed world, while their thinking was still shaped by the conditions of 1945.

The Japanese government immediately seized on this incident to revive the reactionary nationalist and chauvinist hysteria of that period, as a weapon against the wage offensive of the working class.

Gus Horowitz of the Socialist Workers Party is like one of these old Japanese warriors.

It is as if Horowitz has been holed up in some forgotten toilet at Low Library at

Columbia University since 1968, refusing to realize that the student occupations were over.

This is what we must conclude from Horowitz's four page article, "The State of the World Revolution Today," in the June 7 issue of *The Militant*, the weekly newspaper of the SWP.

If, in the 1960s, it was incorrect to say that the student struggle was the center of revolutionary struggle, to seek to maintain, as Horowitz does, the myth of student powerism now, in a period when the working class is on the offensive, is completely reactionary.

Horowitz constructs an analysis of the "process of world revolution" by dividing the struggle of the working class into three distinct "sectors": the colonial countries, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and the advanced countries.

This artificial division is the very same method first

advanced by Michel Pablo, a leader of the Fourth International in the 1950s, who asserted that the working class of the advanced countries was quiescent.

It was precisely Pablo's attempts to liquidate the Fourth International into the Stalinist and bourgeois nationalist movements that led the SWP leadership to break with him in 1953.

Today, the bitter fruits of the SWP's reunification in 1963 with these same revisionists can be seen in Horowitz's article.

For Horowitz, revolution is a noncontradictory, ever-unfolding, expanding process, suspended in time and space. Above all, Horowitz sees himself and his party as totally outside this process, which is something to contemplate and comment on.

Revolutionary perspectives are based on dialectical materialism as the method that enables us to understand and change the world.

We begin with the struggle between the two main classes, the working class and the capitalist class (the struggle of opposites) under conditions of the objective crisis of the capitalist economic system.

The revolutionary party is part of the working class, fighting as the conscious element in every struggle, on the basis of an understanding of the whole crisis and the tasks this poses.

The conscious role of the party is essential to enable the working class to transform the opposites, to overthrow capitalism and establish socialism.

This is what Pablo could not grasp in 1953. Declaring that capitalism had solved its crisis, he abandoned the struggle to build a party that could lead workers to power.

This is the decisive issue on which the International Committee broke with the SWP in 1963.

The contradictions of capitalist production and the inflation created by the ever-growing gap between the dollar and gold has reached the point today where the entire capitalist system is on the verge of bursting

apart, precipitating monetary and industrial collapse and throwing millions of workers out on the streets.

How does Horowitz see the struggle in the United States? Under a subhead titled: "The American Revolution," Horowitz writes:

"Examples include the development of radical caucuses among academics; the questioning among young lawyers, doctors, and other professionals of their traditional roles...the development of radicalization in areas that would previously have been thought to be unlikely—within the prisons and in the army, and the development of the gay liberation movement."

The working class is not even mentioned.

To defend this, Horowitz deliberately distorts the Communist Manifesto to shift its central emphasis:

"The class struggle is not reducible to issues like wages and working conditions alone; it includes the struggle against all new forms of oppression and all old forms that are perpetuated and exacerbated under capitalism."

Thus, Horowitz turns the Manifesto into its opposite, into a defense of middle class radical politics, when Marx's purpose in writing it was to establish that "all history is the history of the class struggle," and that the working class, as the leadership of this struggle, must be organized independently of all middle class forces.

Referring to the SWP over and over again as "a small nucleus," Horowitz reveals how far the liquidation of the SWP has gone.

This is a degeneration even from the party's position in the 1950s, when the SWP leadership at least considered itself a party, fighting for leadership among workers and youth.

These reactionary ideas force the SWP more and more into open collision with the movement of workers, and we warn that this party will line up with every liberal, centrist, and Democrat to prevent workers from turning to the revolutionary movement.

## What We Think

## Plant Blast Kills 30 In Britain

BY A CORRESPONDENT

Over 30 workers were killed in an explosion on Saturday that destroyed a petrochemical plant in Flixborough on England's east coast.

The explosion forced the evacuation of the entire town as huge palls of smoke containing toxic fumes spread throughout the Lincolnshire countryside. Virtually everyone in the plant at the time was killed, while 94 of the townspeople were hospitalized.

The Flixborough explosion was not an unforeseen tragedy, as the capitalist press in Britain and the US seek to portray it. Thirty workers were murdered because of a relentless drive to cut costs and increase profits.

The Nypro plant was set up three years ago to manufacture caprolactum, a raw product used for nylon fabrication. At least twice in that period, the chemical process was shortened and made cheaper.

The changes increased the dangers of an explosion equivalent in force to a nuclear explosion. First some stages of production were cut by using cyclohexane. This is a lethal gas which, unless refrigerated, will explode and give off a vapor causing immediate asphyxiation.

### BENZENE

Then, because cyclohexane was difficult to buy, Nypro began to produce its own. This involved the use of benzene—highly poisonous, inflammable, and explosive. This also boosted profits.

Flixborough, according to the *Sunday Times* Insight Team, was one of the most, if not the most, dangerous plant in the world.

All these changes were carried out in secret behind the backs of the workers. The complete contempt of the capitalists for human life was shown by Derek Ezra, chief of the National Coal Board, which owns controlling

shares in Nypro in his statement after the disaster:

"Not only was there a very large loss of life, there was the destruction of a very important industrial plant which contributed very substantially to Britain's balance of payments."

The recent death of an auto worker at GM's Lordstown plant shows that the American capitalists share this same contempt for the lives of workers in their drive to maintain their profits.

## Giscard Gears Up To Attack French Workers

BY MELODY FARROW

The new French government of Valery Giscard d'Estaing faces an enormous economic crisis, without having received any mandate in the May 19 election to launch the brutal attacks on workers living standards that the employers expect from him.

Giscard is seeking to give his government a liberal, reform image. In his first message to the National Assembly, Giscard said he would give the Constitutional Council wider powers and would provide an appeals system for complaints on violations of civil liberties. He has also ordered an end to wire tapping.

However, this means little within the context of the Constitution which gives virtually unlimited power to the President. Giscard has pledged to "make full use of" these powers.

His Premier, Jacques Chirac, is a member of the Gaullist



New French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing (left) with Jean Lecanuet, Minister of Justice and leader of the Reform Party.

Party and was appointed Minister of the Interior just before the death of former President George Pompidou.

Giscard has further tried to create a "liberal" image by appointing a member of the reform party, Michel Durafour, to the post of Labor Minister.

But none of these reforms will be carried out. Giscard must now seek to resolve the economic crisis by holding down wages and by taking measures that will at least double the unemployment, now at 12 percent.

Class relations are extremely tense. A tremendous strike wave, including occupations of factories, which was temporarily halted only because of the treachery of the Stalinist CGT (General Federation of Labor) during the election campaign, will now explode again.

Inflation is rising at an annual rate of 13 percent, double the 1972 level.

The balance of payments deficit, as a result of soaring oil prices, inflated prices on imported raw materials and a decline in exports, has soared to 8 billion dollars.

France's industrial goods are being pushed out of the world market by competition from Japan, West Germany and the United States, while France's

steel, machinery and tool industries are antiquated. The car industry is stagnating with huge unsold stocks piling up.

In this situation, the government is concerned that a continuing flight of capital out of the franc will precipitate a collapse.

A key part of Giscard's strategy will be to seek close ties to West Germany. Giscard's new Minister of Foreign Affairs Jean Sauvagnargues was the West German ambassador.

On June 1, Giscard met with German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and both leaders pledged not to use the kind of protectionist measures on imports, recently imposed by Denmark and Italy.

But the impossibility of any unity in Europe was expressed in the hostility of the German press to the meeting, and their warning that France could not expect any financial help from Germany to shore up the franc.

The government will now use mass unemployment—thousands of Concorde aircraft workers, auto workers and miners face layoffs—to weaken the powerful working class as it moves into struggle and will continue the preparation of the military and police for violent attacks on workers on strike.

## FRELIMO Opens Peace Negotiations

BY FRANK MARTIN

FRELIMO, the Mozambique liberation movement, has announced that it will open negotiations with the Portuguese government starting June 5 in Lusaka, Zambia.

This follows the start of talks between the PAIGC, the liberation movement of Guinea-Bissau, and the new Portuguese foreign minister Mario Soares in London.

The decision to open talks with the Portuguese is a retreat from FRELIMO's earlier position that no negotiations could take place until all Portuguese troops were removed and Mozambique was granted independence.

FRELIMO chief, Samora Machel, said: "We are not going to discuss independence with the Portuguese. That is our inalienable right."

"Our position on this is clear. The Portuguese must negotiate with FRELIMO to study the mechanism of transmitting power to the Mozambican people and the leadership of FRELIMO."

Machel decided to open talks after several days of intensive discussions with Zambian President Kenneth Kuanda and Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere. The Stalinists, who are directly participating in the new Portuguese government of General Spínola, have used their influence in the liberation movements to force the opening of talks.

Meanwhile, the first round of talks between the PAIGC and Soares have ended in London. The joint communique indicates, that, although nothing conclusive was ended, the PAIGC leaders have been making concessions.

They have agreed to negotiate separately the question of the Cape Verde Islands and mainland Guinea. At the same time, the communique hints at a deal which would set up a ceasefire before independence.

# St. Clair: Nixon Won't Be Impeached

BY DAVID NORTH  
Presidential lawyer James St. Clair arrogantly told reporters Wednesday that he was "convinced" that Congress would not impeach Nixon, in spite of crucial new evidence revealing Nixon's guilt.

Court-appointed experts have now reported that the 18-minute gap on a critical White House tape was caused by the "pushing of keys" at least five times.

A tape of a White House meeting March 23, 1971, heard in secret by the Judiciary Committee, includes a warning from John B. Connally, to Nixon that vetoing a hike in milk price supports would "lose Missouri, Wisconsin, and South Dakota and you may lose Ohio, Kentucky, and Iowa."

Nixon is said to have told his aides: "All right, make the best deal you can."

In a related case, a letter from Elmer H. Bobst, a drug company official and close friend of Nixon, has been published in which he promised Attorney General Mitchell a \$100,000 contribution if the FTC took a "more favorable attitude" on a merger of Warner-Lambert Pharmaceutical Co. and Parke-Davis, Inc.

St. Clair can brag that Nixon will not be impeached only because the Congress has time after time put off a confrontation.

The decision of former White House aide Charles W. Colson to plead guilty to one count of obstructing justice has all the elements of a behind the scenes plot to whitewash Nixon's role in the Watergate conspiracy.

While claiming outside the court Monday that he is ready to tell all he knows about Watergate, those who know Colson say that he will not reveal anything damaging to Nixon.

By agreeing to plead guilty, Colson obtained from Watergate special prosecutor Leon Jaworski the dismissal of charges against him in the

Watergate and Ellsberg coverup cases.

Colson is under no legal compulsion to produce any evidence in return. What he does say is not expected to clash with his previous denials of any involvement by either himself or Nixon in the Watergate coverup.

Furthermore, it is not even definite that Jaworski plans to use Colson in any Watergate-related trial.

## DISBELIEF

Federal prosecutors could barely contain their own disbelief that Colson, Nixon's number one political bully and hatchet man, will actually tell what he knows.

Proud of his reputation for ruthlessness, Colson declared in 1972 that to reelect Nixon, "I would walk over my grandmother if necessary."

Sentencing has been scheduled for June 21, which means that Jaworski and the courts do not plan to encourage Colson to talk by withholding sentencing until after he turns over evidence.

These endless series of deals expose both the fraudulence and conspiratorial character of the entire judiciary and impeachment proceedings.

Only the independent political mobilization of the working class through the construction of a labor party can force Nixon out and provide an alternative to his Democratic and Republican allies.

## Leaders Betray Palestinian Revolution

BY A CORRESPONDENT

The cease-fire agreement signed last week between Israel and Syria has caused a fundamental split within the Palestinian movement.

Three major Palestinian organizations have declared they are willing to go to the peace talks in Geneva set up by the US and the Soviet Union under UN resolution 242. The issue is now being debated at a Cairo meeting of the 151-member Palestinian National Council.

Yasser Arafat's Al Fatah, Nayef Hawatmeh of the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and the Syrian based Saiqa guerrilla



## YS Launches Unemployment Campaign

NEW YORK, NY—Youth and young workers joined the June 1 march through the Bedford-Stuyvesant and Bushwick areas to demand that the trade unions mobilize the power of the working class to force Nixon out and build a labor party, and act against the massive unemployment facing both youth and older workers.

The march ended with a spirited rally on Madison Street where everyone on the block leaned out their windows to listen.

Terry Delgado, a member of the Young Socialists National Committee, will be running for Congress from this area.

Helen Halyard, YS National Secretary, who is running in the adjacent 14th Congressional District, said "Our first election campaign will pose the need for workers to build their own party. The working class will fight back; we march to build a new leadership, so the capitalists can't push the crisis that exists in their system onto the backs of all the workers and youth."

The same day, marches were held in Baltimore, Southeast and Northwest Washington DC, San Francisco, San Jose, Oakland California and in Youngstown, Ohio.

## Payments Deficit Drives Europe To Disaster

BY A REPORTER

"There is only one possibility to keep Europe from falling apart economically and that is a credible anti-inflation program among all the major countries."

With these words, a high official in the West German Ministry of Finance expressed the insoluble crisis facing the Common Market, under the impact of soaring inflation and quadrupled oil prices.

Each European country is involved in a cut throat struggle to resolve its own balance of payments deficit at the expense of the other countries.

Helmut Schmidt has become the most aggressive spokesman in Europe for deflationary policies that would allegedly

"solve" inflation by creating unemployment in the millions.

Schmidt recently stated "It is impossible to keep a joint market going with some partners suffering heavy trade deficits while Germany enjoys large export surpluses and has a positive balance of trade."

"The Italians clearly don't have the political strength or the will to undertake unpopular economic policies."

The rise in oil prices combined with the soaring prices of imported commodities has led to deficits of over \$8 billion in both France and Italy, \$13 billion in Britain while West Germany expects a surplus of \$5 billion this year.

What Schmidt is saying is that governments must allow their economies to crash rather than

group have jointly submitted a 10 point program to the council that represents a stab in the back to the Palestinian people.

The program calls for setting up a Palestinian state on the West Bank of the Jordan River and in the Gaza Strip, areas now controlled by Israel.

## ARMED

For the first time, the document drops the term "armed struggle" and calls for a "Palestinian-Jordanian Front" to "create a democratic national government" in Jordan.

In the past, the Palestinian Liberation organizations have called for the forcible over-

throw of Jordan's King Hussein, who is a direct agent of US imperialism.

The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, led by George Habash, has denounced this plan, opposes the Geneva talks and stands for the establishment of a secular state in Palestine, to include all Moslems, Christians, and Jews.

A PFLP spokesman warned that they would fight to overthrow the PLO leadership and disrupt the Geneva Convention if Arafat's program was adopted.

There are 900,000 Palestinians who live in land occupied by Israel since the 1967 war—300,000 in the Gaza Strip

and the rest on the West Bank. Another 900,000 live in Jordan and almost 250,000 Palestinians live in refugee camps in Lebanon.

The recent agreement between Syria and Israel not only creates a buffer zone within Syrian territory to be occupied by 1250 United Nations troops, but gives Israel the territory in the Golan Heights seized in 1967.

The Soviet Union and Kissinger hope to permanently dispose of the Palestinian question in Geneva. Whatever deal is made, it will deny the right of the Palestinian people to return to their native lands in what is now called Israel.

The fraudulence of their program is seen in their praise of the Soviet Union which was instrumental in aiding Kissinger to arrange the cease-fire.

The betrayal of the PLO will set off a fierce struggle within the Palestinian movement. Among the masses in the refugee camps and the guerrillas, there will be massive opposition to halting the armed struggle and accepting the agreement.

The reactionary leadership of Arafat and others will now seek to police the guerrilla movement for imperialism, physically attacking left-wing guerrilla groups as they have done in the past.

The settlement will lead to a renewal of struggle within all the Arab countries, particularly by the Syrian workers and peasants against Assad, who has given up Syrian land to Israel.

try to continue financing the deficits through one loan after another.

Schmidt together with other European leaders, while continuing to pay lip service to European unity, are convinced that they can only survive by bankrupting their rivals.

In his recent visit to France, Schmidt pressed President Giscard d'Estaing for a pledge that France would not impose restrictions on imports, as Denmark and Italy have done, which would damage West Germany's export trade.

At the same time, the United States government continues to pressure the European capitalists to open the Market to US goods. At the recent meeting of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development,

the ministers of 24 nations pledged to avoid protectionist measures.

The Common Market has agreed to reduce duties on 24 American products.

The hopelessness of the situation can be seen in the proposal to establish a special IMF fund to grant long term loans, at high interest rates, to help finance the oil deficits. This plan excludes the 30 poorest nations in the deepest crisis as not being "credit worthy" while it would only deepen the debt of the industrialized nations.

Schmidt's statement about unpopular economic policies is a warning that all the capitalist nations recognize that dictatorship is necessary to push massive unemployment on the working class.



# SSEU Ranks Battle Layoffs

**CYNTHIA BLAKE**  
**NEW YORK, NY**—A lunch-hour demonstration against the scheduled layoff of several hundred city workers was turned into a political circus by the leadership of Social Service Employees Union Local 371.

The only alternative to this rotten betrayal is the Com-

mittee for New Leadership, which is running Lee Erikson as citywide delegate to District Council 37 and for delegate in DIAR.

Erickson is demanding that the SSEU call citywide strike action against any layoff of provisional or regular workers. At the same time, the CNL demands that the SSEU break with its support to Beame, who stands behind the layoffs, and demand that the union movement force Nixon out and call a Congress of Labor to launch a labor party

based on socialist policies to answer the budget slashing of the Democrats and Republicans.

The SSEU leadership has no perspective for defending jobs, and handed over the platform at the demonstration to city councilmen, spokesmen for borough presidents and Congressman Alard Lowenstein. They all tried to convince the workers they supported them, but all they said was that the workers, if laid off, would cost the city more if they were forced onto welfare.

One young worker muttered:

"He's not on our side, he's on his side. He thinks he can use our crisis to build himself up, that's all."

The provisionals were originally brought in through programs like Work Incentive Program, in order to slash welfare rolls. From the start, the SSEU leadership has refused to demand that the jobs in these programs be upgraded to permanent positions and, in some cases, even to bring the provisionals under union protection.

Now, every city worker is threatened. At the same time that the city comptroller was reporting that Beame's budget, which proposed firing 2500 provisional workers outright, would still be over \$87 million in deficit, the SSEU bureaucrats wrote a letter saying that they were trying to find a way to make the layoffs "more palatable."

The official signs called for "No Layoffs" and "Hiring Now," but many hand-lettered signs raised specific demands for upgrading provisionals, for education programs for case aides, and a fight against Mayor Beame.

The union leadership, which has let the city prepare for the current slashes by working without a contract for six months, cut off workers who began a chant demanding "sign our contract now."

Many of these same workers were among 300 who stormed out of the last local meeting after Knight's bureaucratic maneuvering prevented them from raising the question of the layoffs to the whole membership.

One of the biggest contingents to the demonstration came from the Addiction Services Agency, which has been demanding an emergency union meeting since their demonstration two weeks ago.

Job actions have also been held at the Bronx Protective Services office, which now is so short of staff that the caseload is 167 percent over the state guidelines, which are far less

stringent than the contract guidelines the SSEU had won in New York City.

Groups of high school youth came out for the demonstration from the Genesis Center of the ASA and the Flushing Youth Center. Gary, from the Flushing Center told the Bulletin that he was determined to defend the jobs of everyone at the center.

"Without them, I'd be in jail now, or dead on the streets. I was really messed up.

"Now they're getting messed over, and if I can help them to keep their jobs, I'll do anything.

"But I don't know if this demonstration will help—I don't trust all these politicians, because it's Beame that's cutting the jobs and they are all part of his operation."

The explosive situation within the union was revealed when a TV interview almost turned into a mass fight. Model Cities workers accused the union of refusing to defend their jobs, and one of Knight's goons tried to shut them up.

Ben Ortiz, a Progressive Labor Party candidate against Knight, tried to smooth over the fight by saying: "Everyone came here for the same purpose today, I'm sure."

This rotten coverup for Knight's refusal to defend jobs was backed up by the WAM leaflet distributed at the march. The leaflet completely accepts the layoffs, demanding only that 30 for 40 be negotiated in the contract to win new hiring.

Ozzie Edwards, who was campaign manager for Knox, played the most reactionary role.

Edwards, who was part of the leadership under Stan Hill, now comes forward to deepen the divisions engineered by the provisionals plan by saying that the layoffs are a racist attack because most of the provisionals are Black and that is why the leadership will not defend the jobs.

The rally made it crystal clear—Knight will not defend jobs because he defends Beame, and the radicals stand with him.



Youth from the Genesis Center marched with their aides at SSEU rally at City Hall. "We'll fight anybody to save their jobs," one girl told the Bulletin.

## ACWA Waits For 3 Days To Organize Picket Lines

**BY CYNTHIA BLAKE**  
**NEW YORK, NY**—Picket lines were set up in the garment district here on June 4, three days after the strike of over 100,000 members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers began.

"They just weren't ready

for it, I guess," the floor chairman of a boys' clothing company said. "But we sure were.

"They aren't telling us anything. It could last another day or a year. They're going to Washington to negotiate, but it's not going to be easy. We have to win that cost of living escalator or nobody will go back, I think."

The company's final wage of-

fer was 80 cents an hour over three years, with no cost of living clause. The leadership of the ACW has made the escalator the central issue, asking only \$1.10 increase in basic pay.

"We should be getting about \$25 a week more right now," Julio, a young fitter, said angrily.

"Some of us are making only \$80 or \$90 a week.

"And we need medical benefits, a drug plan, and dental plan. Everyone should have the right to keep their kids healthy without going into debt.

"The machine operators, they work on piece-work. They need the raise most of all, because they really have to break their backs to try to keep up with the grocery stores."

Many workers said that job security is just as central as the wages. The union leadership has created great confusion on this question, blaming the growing unemployment on increased imports.

"We need to defend our jobs," Julio said. "The union spends a lot of time lobbying for import quotas. But that doesn't really help the workers in those countries, does it?"

"It worries me, what will happen. For a lot of companies, this strike could make them close down.

"It is their new season, and you can't deliver the new clothes late. But we had to strike, or we couldn't stay alive.

"I think there is a big collision there. The union has always negotiated, but the strike, it seems to say that the time for talking is past.

"It's them or us. I won't vote 'yes' unless we've won our money and some guarantees."

workers league  
 kickoff dinner to launch Helen Halyard's congressional election campaign

## BAR-B-QUE NIXON



latin and soul music

all the food you can eat—  
 all the beer you can drink

Saturday June 8 8pm  
 27 So. Oxford St. Brooklyn  
 backyard \$2.50

## ENY Tenants Hit Rent Hike

**BY A REPORTER**  
**NEW YORK, NY**—Residents of the Louis Pink Houses in East New York, Brooklyn, met June 4 to plan action against the proposed 7 to 8 percent rent hike for all city housing projects.

The federal government is forcing this increase on New York City tenants, claiming cost increases, such as the price of oil.

The District 7 delegate Miller to the Residents Advisory Council reported on a citywide campaign to petition Governor Wilson, Mayor Beame, and HUD. The RAC has also called a demonstration at City Hall for June 17.

The petition protests the rent increases "based on the fact we feel a rent increase is unjust due to the New York City Housing Authority not complying with contract agreements" in the areas of maintenance and tenant protection.

The RAC protest is actually meant to smother a fight against the increases, which would mobilize thousands of workers against Wilson and Beame. The

meeting at Pink Houses was announced just one day in advance, and many tenants did not even know about it.

When tenants learned they will have to pay the increase (about \$12) over and above the yearly increase they have already paid if family income has gone up, the tenants were furious.

### DISTRUST

One worker expressed her distrust of the RAC after the meeting: "The only way the RAC will do anything is if Miller wants to get into some position. Then they'll help him get over."

Helen Halyard, Workers League candidate for Congress, spoke against the protest campaign: "Nixon, Wilson, Beame, and all of them agree that workers should pay for the tremendous inflation," she said.

"We should turn to the trade unions for the support we need. These officials that are raising rents are, at the same time, cutting out summer jobs and firing thousands of city workers.

"The unions have the strength to fight this. Tenants who are in trade unions should demand support from their locals."

Delegate Miller prevented Halyard from finishing when it became clear that she was opposed to the policy of pressuring the Democrats and was speaking on the need for workers to have their own political party.



BY CYNTHIA BLAKE

A critical contract is now up for approval by members of the Daily News and the New York Times Chapels of New York Typographers Union No. 6.

Newspaper publishers hope to use this 11-year pact as a pattern for smashing the ITU and breaking up union controls of the printing industry nation-wide. In this fight, the newspapers take the lead for all of industry. The defense of the printing trades unions is a battle in defense of every union and every worker.

The agreement ended a 17-day lockout at the New York Daily News, after over a year of negotiations with the News, the Times and the New York Post. The lockout took place in defiance of the ITU International leadership, which has blocked every move by Local 6 throughout the negotiations.

During the year of negotiations, the papers signed contracts with all but two of the 10 unions, installed computerized typesetting equipment, and trained personnel to handle it. Thus, they were able to produce a scab paper throughout the lockout, while the leadership of the Newspaper Guild and the other printing crafts forced their members across ITU lines.

Under these conditions, Local 6 members will vote on a contract which will mean a serious blow to the two huge chapels of Local 6, the largest local in the ITU.

The contract guarantees jobs for life, with a no-layoff provision, to all present employees, both regular and substitute. But the contract runs until 1984, with a no-strike clause that will force ITU members to scab on other unions when they move against the attacks of the publishers.

Common contract expiration dates, which began to break down the dangerous limits of craft union organization, are completely destroyed by this clause. The publishers moved with confidence, since the individual contract agreements they'd signed over the last year had already broken it down in practice.

The typographers are tied to the wage agreements signed by the other unions until 1975. Then they will receive a two percent wage hike and a one percent productivity bonus. There is a 100 percent cost of living clause, but the wage package cannot be re-opened except by submitting it to arbitration in 1978 and 1981.

The company plans to force hundreds of members out of the trade in the next 2 or 3 years. A large retirement bonus is offered, in a trade where the average worker is 56 years old. Substitute printers will be hired as regulars, but only if they're still on the job in 1975. Until then, they are only guaranteed the same number of days they worked last year.

Workers can be moved to other jobs at the publishers' option. The retirement incentives and intolerable working conditions will be used to weaken the union through attrition, while training on the new equipment proceeds. Then the company will be able to throw out the contract and smash the union shop.

Under this agreement, the ITU nationally could be reduced to as little as one-fourth its present size. This threat involves not just the new computerized equipment, but the economic crisis in capitalism.

Jobs can no longer be defended through trade union struggles alone, but only in a battle to

# The Printing Trades Battle For Survival Part 3



El Diario workers who went on strike in March 30, 1972. The craft divisions led to the ITU crossing the picket lines of the pressmen who walked out over the publishers plan to subcontract their work to a scab automated shop in New Jersey.

transform the system which now threatens to collapse into worldwide bankruptcy and mass unemployment.

Inflation, released from all restraint by Nixon's decision to end convertibility of the dollar to gold in 1971, has shaved profit margins to the disaster point. Now entire corporations face bankruptcy through the abrupt withdrawal of credit and the collapse of other companies which supported them.

This means the employers must now increase their rate of profit by destroying the independence of the trade unions—either smashing them or binding them to a corporate state.

This can already be seen in industries besides printing. The two longshore unions have had whole locals practically wiped out by the combination of containerization and changes in trade patterns caused by the international monetary crisis.

Unprecedented interest rates and the high cost of materials have cut deeply into construction, with 15,000 building tradesmen in New York City alone unemployed at the start of the busy season. The United Auto Workers faces the same deci-

of labor's own party. Without such a party, labor has no weapon to counter the injunctions and police terror brought in to support the publishers' union-busting.

Common expiration dates must be established industry-wide, and every official bound to the policy of "no contract, no work." The process of amalgamation, begun in the formation of the Graphic Arts International Union must be accelerated. Contracts must be short-term.

Workers must fight for an industry-wide, nation-wide contract to prevent runaway shops and the break up of union wage patterns and conditions.

No technological changes can be allowed without the approval of all the trade unions involved. There can be no limitation on the right to strike for any reason.

Workers cannot accept the policy of "a job for each worker," which sets up conditions for forcing men out of the shop. Rather than accepting job cuts through attrition, a shorter work week must be won with no cut in pay.

This would also provide the opportunity for vast new apprenticeship programs to train hun-

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dreds of young workers in these vital skills.

Printing is vital to the cultural development of the working class. It must be expanded, not restricted. Not one more job can be sacrificed.

Not one more paper can be allowed to fold. Workers themselves must prepare to take over and run publishing companies that will not continue to publish, nationalizing them without compensation.

To win this program, the entire working class must be mobilized to build a labor party, committed to socialist policies to force the Nixon administration out.

The ranks in the printing trades, and throughout the union movement must construct a leadership to fight in their defense, in a period when the goals outlined by the printers in 1852 can and must be carried out so that "Labor determines to sell itself no longer to speculators, but to become its own employers; to own and enjoy itself and the fruits thereof; and Labor will be forever rescued from the control of the capitalist."

CONCLUDED



# Historical Materialism

A study of the First American Revolution is critical today as we prepare for a new, socialist, American revolution.

The objective economic conditions which pit class against class in the United States are international in character. At the same time, the working class in each country takes up the struggle under very concrete conditions which differ from country to country.

This is why a study of history is so necessary in order to understand how the American working class will develop in the next period, as well as to how we can struggle to break this class from the limits

political forms of rule, culture, religion, thinking, are important and deserve careful attention and study. But they stand as a superstructure in relation to the basic economic structure of the society and can only be understood in that relationship.

American historiography has been almost exclusively idealist in outlook. For this reason, outside of important compilations of data and fact, it has been largely useless for an understanding of the development of America.

The idealist can deal with history only on the level of its surface, its superstructure, and thus is unable to explain why anything happens. He sees the triumph of "democracy," the development of the American "character," or even the forces of "reaction" and "intolerance" in American history. To the extent that history is seen other than as the development of concepts and ideas, it is seen from the point of view of the personal motives of its leading figures.

Stalinist school of historiography led today by Herbert Aptheker. Herbert Aptheker attacks Beard in order to defend his own idealist concept of history. For instance, he quotes a bourgeois historian, Charles M. Andrews, who criticized Beard as a "Marxian" stating:

"To emphasize the economic aspects to the exclusion of all else is to interpret human affairs in terms of material things only, to say nothing of the spiritual power necessary to use these material resources for human welfare, to ignore the influence of sentiment and morality, and to underrate the rich and varied stuff of human nature, the distractions of statesmen, and the waywardness and uncertainty of events."

It is clear that within this context, Beard is wholly right and Andrews wholly wrong. "Material things" are not acted upon by the "spiritual power" of men, but rather material conditions give rise to, are the ultimate

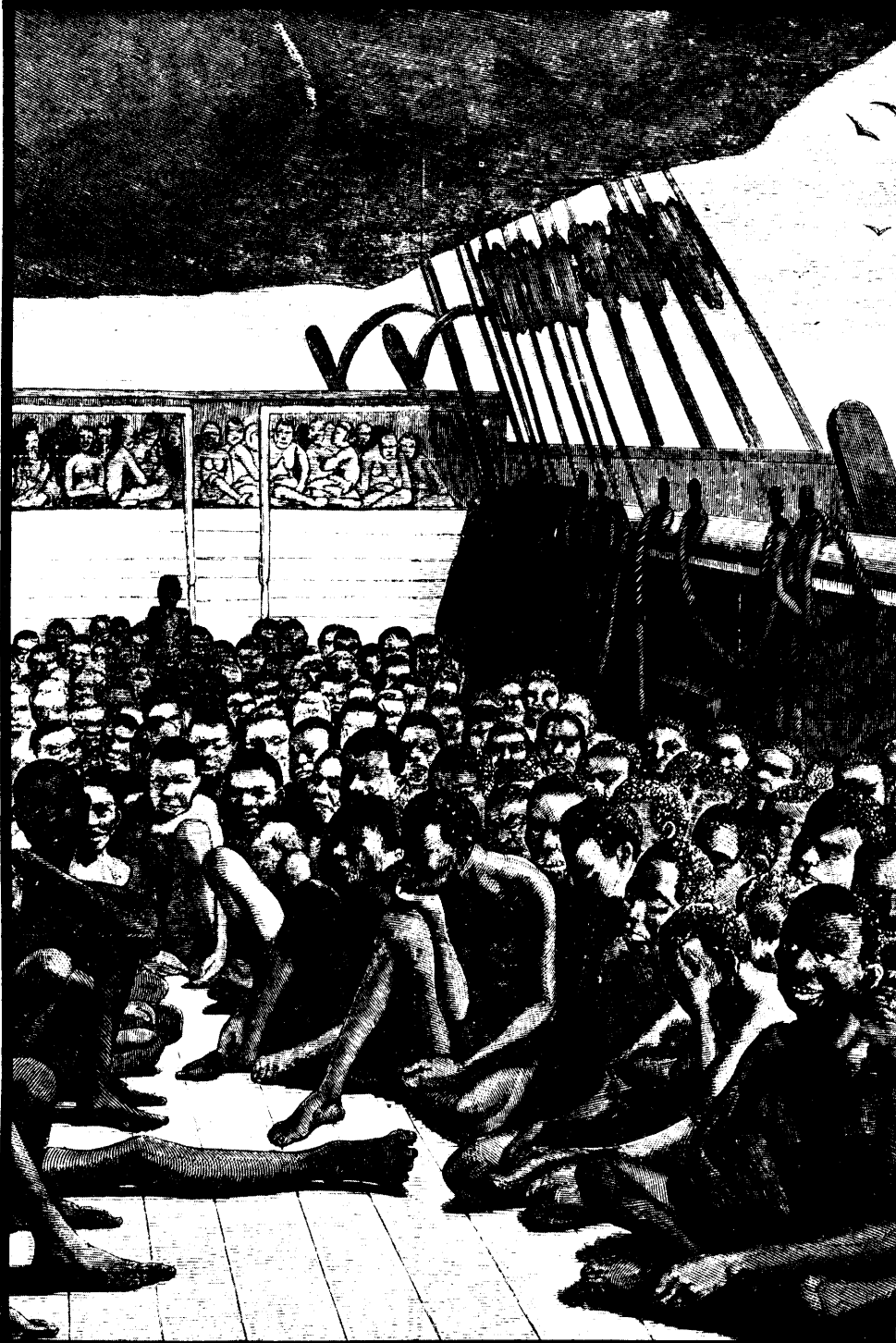
American people for a more democratic order."

Phrased this way, this sounds like a grade school text or a politician's Fourth of July speech. Political forms are dealt with here quite independently of their class roots and in this fashion, the contradictory nature of the American Revolution is entirely missed.

This is why his book, *American Revolution*, from which these quotes are taken, is largely worthless, inferior actually to the non-Marxist Beard's *The Rise of American Civilization*.

Aptheker approaches American history this way for very central political purposes. He wishes to discern within the American bourgeois revolution a "democratic" trend which is not historically limited. This way, he can call for a return to this "democracy" as a cover for collaboration today with a section of American imperialism. He thus seeks to gloss over the strictly bour-

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## Part 1

By Tim Wohlforth

America was settled for the sole purpose of creating profits. The three essential elements in the development of capitalism on North American soil were (1) the genocidal destruction of the non-

capitalist economy of the Indians (shown center operating a primitive copper mine; (2) slavery (shown left), which was the backbone of the plantation system of production for agricultural

of bourgeois thinking which hold back its revolutionary development.

In turning to a study of the bourgeois revolution of 1776, we can understand much about the character of American bourgeois thinking which in turn permeates the working class. This thinking is the product of massive material changes in man's relation to nature which took place in that period.

We study American history on the basis of historical materialism. Historical materialism holds that the determining factor in history is the relationship between the productive relations and the development of the productive forces in any given society.

Productive relations means the class relations and the whole economic system of production these class relations are based on. Productive forces refers to the machinery and technique developed by man for the purpose of providing man's needs from nature.

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

All other aspects of a society such as

Or, finally, any attempt at meaning, at answering the whys, is abandoned for pure description.

Even this is fraudulent for the author is really saying that what happened, happened, and that it could only have happened as it happened. So, today, what happens must happen and we are only to accept it and assess it rather than battle to change it.

The closest any writings of this idealist school have come to historical materialism are the writings of the economic determinist school of the early Charles A. Beard and others. His *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*, written in 1913, stands to this day as perhaps the most important work ever written on any aspect of American history outside of Marx and Engels's writings on the American Civil War.

This work, however, is limited in that it sees the relationship of the economy to the superstructure in an immediate and simplistic way because Beard does not grasp dialectics. He writes as an empiricist. Thus, in his later writings, he goes over to idealist notions of American history as a development of "democracy."

At the same time, with all its weakness, the work of Beard towers above that of the

cause of, the thinking of men. Instead of making this point, Aptheker concedes everything to the idealists: "Marxism ignores none of the forces mentioned by Andrews."

"Marxism," according to Aptheker, "in viewing the economic factor as ultimately decisive, does not think of 'economic factor' in the narrow sense as this or that particular economic conflict or economic interest..." He then proceeds to explain that the economic factor is only "ultimately the decisive one," concluding: "It is quite different from considering any particular economic item or 'factor' as determinant; and it insists upon the interpenetrating complex—dialectical quality of life and history."

In this fashion, Aptheker is able to view the question of the materialist roots of historical developments as some distant ultimate cause, while he can treat the fabric of history he discusses in an idealist fashion, quite independent of this "first cause." This, he quotes the Stalinist historian Herbert M. Morais as saying:

"The first American Revolution was the product of two general movements: the struggle for self-government and national independence and the struggle among the

geois and thus limited character of the first American revolution.

## The Nature Of Colonial America

America was settled for one purpose and one purpose only—PROFIT. Its settlement was the result of the development of capitalism in Europe, especially England, and at the same time was a great spur to its further development. The great colonial trade between England and the West Indies and America began to develop for the first time a world market, allowing England to emerge as the workshop of the world.

The first great social revolution on the American continent—in every respect the most brutal and violent—was the destruction of the preexisting social system in America, Indian society, and its violent replacement by the capitalist mode of production. This was a social revolution carried out by military conquest.

While there was a great variety in levels of development among the Indians, they all had in common a single feature: tribal or

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communal ownership of the land. The capitalist development of America required the destruction of communal land ownership and its substitution with private land ownership. However, to destroy communal land ownership meant the destruction of the entire fabric of Indian life, the entire Indian culture which was rooted, like all cultures, in productive relations.

There is no more bloody chapter in the history of mankind than the war of the settlers against the Indians. It could not be compromised. Friendly Indians as well as hostile were massacred and driven like animals from their lands.

Found useless as slaves, they were simply treated to a genocide which has left today only a few hundred thousand. Even these Indians, after 300 years of capitalist development in America, have the highest unemployment, the worst housing and education, and the greatest ill health of any section of the American working class.

slavery. Marx noted this in one of his earliest writings on America in 1846:

"Direct slavery is the pivot of our industrialism today as much as machinery, credit, etc. Without slavery, you have no cotton, without cotton you have no modern industry. It is slavery that has given value to the colonies; it is the colonies that created world trade: it is world trade that is the necessary condition for large-scale machine industry.

"Also, before the slave trade in Negroes, the colonies supplied the old world with but few products and did not visibly change the face of the world."

It would be a great mistake to not see the critical importance of this assessment of Marx's. During the seventeenth century, economic development in America was very slow, the total worth of the colonies to the mother country minor, world trade only just at a beginning stage of development, and the industrial revolution in England not

However, soon after the revolution, cotton culture developed. The development of the cotton gin in the first part of the nineteenth century led to agricultural trade of unheard of heights, creating the great wealth of the slave owning class of the South, as well as the basis for the industrial development of England in the critical Midlands region.

The slave system of the South was actually the heart of the early American economy, being responsible not only for the wealth of the slave owners, but also for the wealth of the commercial towns of the North, as well as English economic development.

As we have noted, capitalist relations were established on North American soil through a ruthless war against the Indians and their communal property forms. But the capitalists revived from ancient society, slavery, in the form of the private ownership of people.

Within the framework of capitalist agricultural development of the day, this represented an economic advance. The reason for this was that it permitted the plantation system, the use of large numbers of laborers in collective agricultural labor. This was economically superior to the small family farm unit of the day. It allowed the production of a very sizable agricultural surplus when used in highly fertile soil over larger areas of land. This agricultural surplus was the source of most of the wealth produced in colonial America.

However, the mass of the inhabitants of the colonies were free farmers. This was true in the South as well as North. These small farmers contributed very little to the economy of the colonies and the world. Marx explains:

"There are the colonies proper, such as in the United States, Australia, etc. Here, the mass of the farming colonists, although they bring with them a larger or smaller amount of capital from the motherland, are not capitalists nor do they carry on capitalist production.

"They are more or less peasants who work for themselves and whose main object, in the first place, is to produce their own livelihood, their means of subsistence. Their main product, therefore, does not become a commodity and is not intended for trade.

"They sell or exchange the excess of their products over their own consumption for imported manufactured commodities, etc. The other, smaller section of the colonists who settle near the seas, navigable rivers, etc., form trading towns. There is no question of capitalist production here either. Even if capitalist production gradually comes into being, so that the sale of his products and the profit he makes from this sale becomes decisive for the farmer who himself works and owns his own land; so long as, compared with capital and labor, land still exists in elemental abundance providing a practically unlimited field of action, the first type of colonization will continue as well and production will therefore never be regulated according to the needs of the market—at a given market value.

"Everything the colonists of the first type produce over and above their immediate consumption, they will throw on the market and sell at any price that will bring in more than their wages. They are, and continue for a long time to be, competitors of the farmers who are already producing more or less capitalistically, and thus keep the market price of the agricultural product constantly below its value."

This explains why it is that the overwhelming mass of the American people of the period, the independent small farmers, contributed relatively little to the economic development of the colonies compared to the slave system. At the same time, it becomes clear why this mass of farmers lived in such dire poverty, in wretched conditions, comparable to the slaves, and were in almost continuous revolt.

They were forced to produce agricultural products and sell them below their actual value. These cheap agricultural goods became, as years went by, more and more the mainstay of the working classes of Europe. And so the Manchester workers were maintained cheaply through cheap food from America as they spun the cotton produced cheaply by slave labor in America's South, while the Manchester manufacturers accumulated the immense wealth they used to dominate the whole world.

We must now turn to the population of the commercial towns. While only a relatively small population lived in these towns, the biggest with no more than 25,000 people, this

population would prove decisive in the revolutionary events to come.

First and foremost, was the powerful colonial bourgeoisie. This class, some of them very wealthy, were primarily involved in trading, shipping, and related commercial activities. On this basis, important banking wealth also grew up and everyone speculated in land.

Great wealth had been accumulated through the slave trade, the related rum traffic, the importing of manufactured goods to be sold to the farmer and the urban population, the exporting of agricultural goods, the fishing industry, and the shipping of goods back and forth. American ships were viewed as British ships and protected by the British navy which dominated the world's oceans. American ships went everywhere and a very important portion of world shipping went in American bottoms.

Much of this wealth was accrued illegally. Virtually all merchants were involved in smuggling to avoid customs in America and in illegal traffic with the French and Spanish sections of the West Indies and Canada. Americans made great fortunes off of trafficking with the enemy during the Seven Years War of England with France (here called the French and Indian War.) Most of those involved in shipping were also involved in piracy.

By and large, the great New England shipping magnates who did not make their fortunes off of the slave trade did so with the help of smuggling and piracy. They, of course, never missed a church service nor especially a witch-burning.

The next most important strata in the towns were the mechanics. They, in turn, had already begun to be divided along the beginnings of class lines. The master mechanics were a strata out of which the manufacturing bourgeoisie would later develop. They employed the labor of the apprentice mechanics and produced the ships, houses, wagons, silver and iron ware, etc. used throughout the colony. This strata, as we will see, played a critical role in the Sons of Liberty, who actually organized the American Revolution.

Then there was the "Mobility" as it was derisively called—the most feared section of the town and its clear majority. Inclined, as it was noted by the "respectable element," towards "riotous and intemperate behavior," the "mobility" was made up of apprentices, seamen, free Negroes, unemployed youth, etc. This was the infant proletariat.

Even below the "mobility," though many times acting with it, were the white slaves: the indentured servants. Close to 15 percent of the population at the time of the American Revolution were indentured, actual slaves for the duration of the indenture. These white slaves worked on the large estates of the Hudson Valley, as well as in the towns for the master mechanics and merchants.

There was one last stratum—the forces of the nobility and king. This was a layer of colonial governors, employees, merchants with special privileges from the King, proprietors who owned whole colonies, and the virtually feudal lords of upper New York State and New Jersey who controlled whole kingdoms with private armies, signed their own treaties with the Indians, employed hundreds of indentured servants, and held the local farmers in a vassal-like relationship to them.

This was colonial America as it really was. The capitalist mode of production was established through the ruthless destruction of Indian society. At the heart of capitalist development stood the ancient form of slave production. On this basis a wealthy class of slave owners developed in the South supplemented by a merchant class in the northern towns.

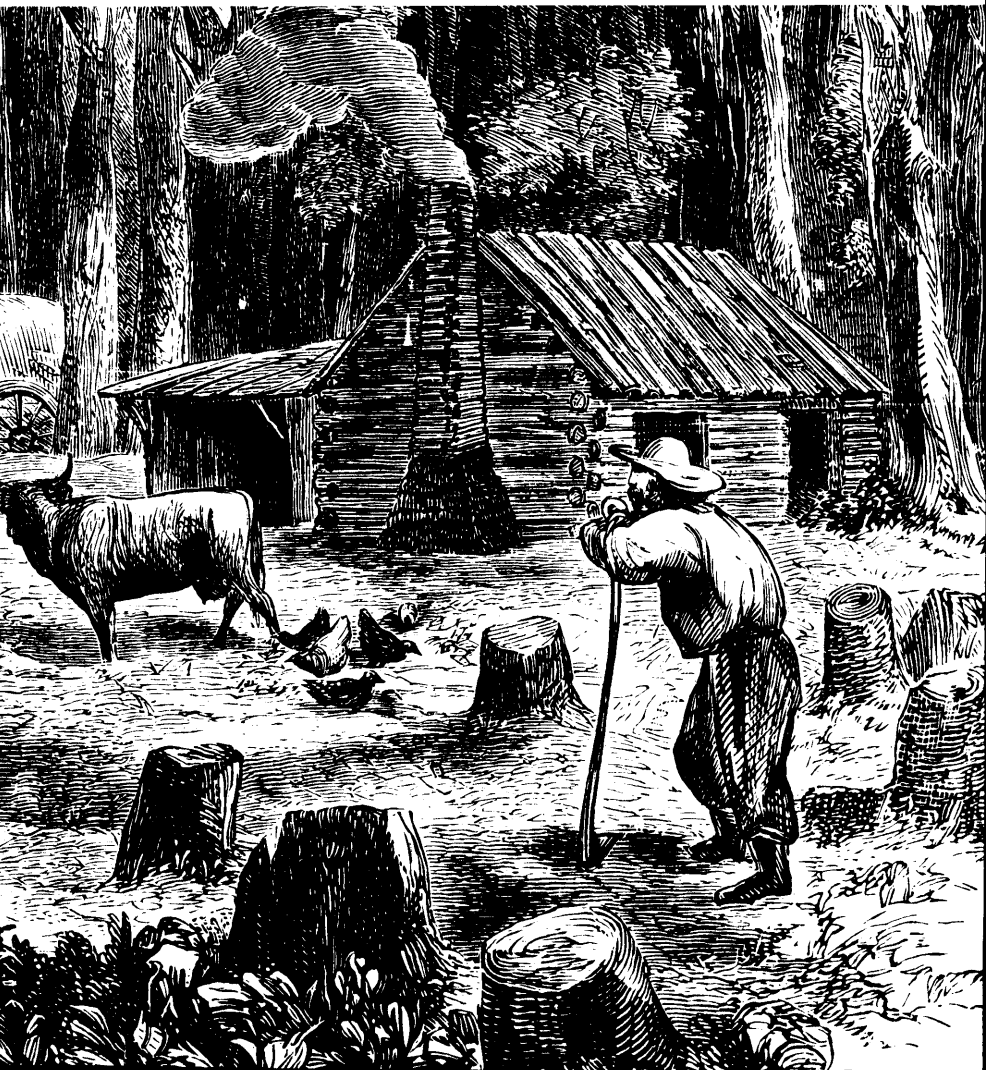
The mass of the population—three and one-half million at the time of the revolution—were small farmers marginal to the economy, living in a primitive stage of economic development not far removed from the barbarism of the Indians around them.

In fact, they were known derisively by the town folk as "white Indians."

In the cities, a proletariat had begun to emerge deprived of all civil rights and living in the cruelist poverty. At the time of the American Revolution, some 35 percent of the inhabitants of the colonies, excluding Indians, were either slaves or indentured servants.

# The American Revolution

ohlforth



exports to Europe; and (3) small farming by settlers (shown right) who were forced to produce and sell agricultural products below their actual value.

Thus, it is clear that America was founded on the basis of private property relations on the land. These relations were imported from abroad. They were spread throughout the continent through conquest of a less developed people, not through overthrow of feudal relations, as in Europe.

America is a country without a feudal past. Private property was established through the eradication of the peoples who previously inhabited the continent and who clung to the earlier communal form of property ownership. It is, above all, the land of capitalist development.

America was, and remained until the Civil War, an agricultural country. Its main products for export were agricultural. Its main imports were manufactured goods from England, purchased primarily by the agricultural classes. Its bustling and important commercial cities were dependent on this agricultural trade for their health. America supplied the raw materials which permitted England to devote its manpower to manufacturing, as well as supplying the market for the products of British industry.

The central ingredient to the American economy, and for this reason integral to the development of European industry, was

yet really begun. The number of slaves in the colonies was minor and no-large scale plantation agriculture existed. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, this dramatically changed, as plantation agriculture was introduced into the West Indies, as well as Virginia and South Carolina.

Under these conditions, the slave trade, the beginning of capitalist world trade, flourished. The heart of the slave trade was the famous triangular trade between the West Indies, Africa, and New England.

Slaves were purchased in Africa and taken to the West Indies where they were put to work on sugar plantations. The sugar was turned into molasses and shipped to New England, where it was turned into rum, which in turn was shipped to Africa. Many a fortune was made in this trade for a pious New England Puritan.

Later on, there developed the huge tobacco plantations of Virginia and the rice and indigo plantations of South Carolina. As the American Revolution approached, this slave economy was beginning to disintegrate, as the backward methods of agriculture of the time ruined the land in coastal Virginia, leading to lower and lower productivity. This factor encouraged antislavery sentiment.



# Historical Materialism

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The objective economic conditions which pit class against class in the United States are international in character. At the same time, the working class in each country takes up the struggle under very concrete conditions which differ from country to country.

This is why a study of history is so necessary in order to understand how the American working class will develop in the next period, as well as to how we can struggle to break this class from the limits

political forms of rule, culture, religion, thinking, are important and deserve careful attention and study. But they stand as a superstructure in relation to the basic economic structure of the society and can only be understood in that relationship.

American historiography has been almost exclusively idealist in outlook. For this reason, outside of important compilations of data and fact, it has been largely useless for an understanding of the development of America.

The idealist can deal with history only on the level of its surface, its superstructure, and thus is unable to explain why anything happens. He sees the triumph of "democracy," the development of the American "character," or even the forces of "reaction" and "intolerance" in American history. To the extent that history is seen other than as the development of concepts and ideas, it is seen from the point of view of the personal motives of its leading figures.

Stalinist school of historiography led today by Herbert Aptheker. Herbert Aptheker attacks Beard in order to defend his own idealist concept of history. For instance, he quotes a bourgeois historian, Charles M. Andrews, who criticized Beard as a "Marxian" stating:

"To emphasize the economic aspects to the exclusion of all else is to interpret human affairs in terms of material things only, to say nothing of the spiritual power necessary to use these material resources for human welfare, to ignore the influence of sentiment and morality, and to underrate the rich and varied stuff of human nature, the distractions of statesmen, and the waywardness and uncertainty of events."

It is clear that within this context, Beard is wholly right and Andrews wholly wrong. "Material things" are not acted upon by the "spiritual power" of men, but rather material conditions give rise to, are the ultimate

American people for a more democratic order."

Phrased this way, this sounds like a grade school text or a politician's Fourth of July speech. Political forms are dealt with here quite independently of their class roots and in this fashion, the contradictory nature of the American Revolution is entirely missed.

This is why his book, *American Revolution*, from which these quotes are taken, is largely worthless, inferior actually to the non-Marxist Beard's *The Rise of American Civilization*.

Aptheker approaches American history this way for very central political purposes. He wishes to discern within the American bourgeois revolution a "democratic" trend which is not historically limited. This way, he can call for a return to this "democracy" as a cover for collaboration today with a section of American imperialism. He thus seeks to gloss over the strictly bour-

communal ownership of the land. The capitalist development of America required the destruction of communal land ownership and its substitution with private land ownership. However, to destroy communal land ownership meant the destruction of the entire fabric of Indian life, the entire Indian culture which was rooted, like all cultures, in productive relations.

There is no more bloody chapter in the history of mankind than the war of the settlers against the Indians. It could not be compromised. Friendly Indians as well as hostile were massacred and driven like animals from their lands.

Found useless as slaves, they were simply treated to a genocide which has left today only a few hundred thousand. Even these Indians, after 300 years of capitalist development in America, have the highest unemployment, the worst housing and education, and the greatest ill health of any section of the American working class.

slavery. Marx noted this in one of his earliest writings on America in 1846:

"Direct slavery is the pivot of our industrialism today as much as machinery, credit, etc. Without slavery, you have no cotton, without cotton you have no modern industry. It is slavery that has given value to the colonies; it is the colonies that created world trade; it is world trade that is the necessary condition for large-scale machine industry."

"Also, before the slave trade in Negroes, the colonies supplied the old world with but few products and did not visibly change the face of the world."

It would be a great mistake to not see the critical importance of this assessment of Marx's. During the seventeenth century, economic development in America was very slow, the total worth of the colonies to the mother country minor, world trade only just at a beginning stage of development, and the industrial revolution in England not

However, soon after the revolution, cotton culture developed. The development of the cotton gin in the first part of the nineteenth century led to agricultural trade of unheard of heights, creating the great wealth of the slave owning class of the South, as well as the basis for the industrial development of England in the critical Midlands region.

The slave system of the South was actually the heart of the early American economy, being responsible not only for the wealth of the slave owners, but also for the wealth of the commercial towns of the North, as well as English economic development.

As we have noted, capitalist relations were established on North American soil through a ruthless war against the Indians and their communal property forms. But the capitalists revived from ancient society, slavery, in the form of the private ownership of people.

Within the framework of capitalist agricultural development of the day, this represented an economic advance. The reason for this was that it permitted the plantation system, the use of large numbers of laborers in collective agricultural labor. This was economically superior to the small family farm unit of the day. It allowed the production of a very sizable agricultural surplus when used in highly fertile soil over larger areas of land. This agricultural surplus was the source of most of the wealth produced in colonial America.

However, the mass of the inhabitants of the colonies were free farmers. This was true in the South as well as North. These small farmers contributed very little to the economy of the colonies and the world. Marx explains:

"There are the colonies proper, such as in the United States, Australia, etc. Here, the mass of the farming colonists, although they bring with them a larger or smaller amount of capital from the motherland, are not capitalists nor do they carry on capitalist production."

"They are more or less peasants who work for themselves and whose main object, in the first place, is to produce their own livelihood, their means of subsistence. Their main product, therefore, does not become a commodity and is not intended for trade."

"They sell or exchange the excess of their products over their own consumption for imported manufactured commodities, etc. The other, smaller section of the colonists who settle near the seas, navigable rivers, etc., form trading towns. There is no question of capitalist production here either. Even if capitalist production gradually comes into being, so that the sale of his products and the profit he makes from this sale becomes decisive for the farmer who himself works and owns his own land; so long as, compared with capital and labor, land still exists in elemental abundance providing a practically unlimited field of action, the first type of colonization will continue as well and production will therefore never be regulated according to the needs of the market—at a given market value."

"Everything the colonists of the first type produce over and above their immediate consumption, they will throw on the market and sell at any price that will bring in more than their wages. They are, and continue for a long time to be, competitors of the farmers who are already producing more or less capitalistically, and thus keep the market price of the agricultural product constantly below its value."

This explains why it is that the overwhelming mass of the American people of the period, the independent small farmers, contributed relatively little to the economic development of the colonies compared to the slave system. At the same time, it becomes clear why this mass of farmers lived in such dire poverty, in wretched conditions, comparable to the slaves, and were in almost continuous revolt.

They were forced to produce agricultural products and sell them below their actual value. These cheap agricultural goods became, as years went by, more and more the mainstay of the working classes of Europe. And so the Manchester workers were maintained cheaply through cheap food from America as they spun the cotton produced cheaply by slave labor in America's South, while the Manchester manufacturers accumulated the immense wealth they used to dominate the whole world.

We must now turn to the population of the commercial towns. While only a relatively small population lived in these towns, the biggest with no more than 25,000 people, this

population would prove decisive in the revolutionary events to come.

First and foremost, was the powerful colonial bourgeoisie. This class, some of them very wealthy, were primarily involved in trading, shipping, and related commercial activities. On this basis, important banking wealth also grew up and everyone speculated in land.

Great wealth had been accumulated through the slave trade, the related rum traffic, the importing of manufactured goods to be sold to the farmer and the urban population, the exporting of agricultural goods, the fishing industry, and the shipping of goods back and forth. American ships were viewed as British ships and protected by the British navy which dominated the world's oceans. American ships went everywhere and a very important portion of world shipping went in American bottoms.

Much of this wealth was accrued illegally. Virtually all merchants were involved in smuggling to avoid customs in America and in illegal traffic with the French and Spanish sections of the West Indies and Canada. Americans made great fortunes off of trafficking with the enemy during the Seven Years War of England with France (here called the French and Indian War.) Most of those involved in shipping were also involved in piracy.

By and large, the great New England shipping magnates who did not make their fortunes off of the slave trade did so with the help of smuggling and piracy. They, of course, never missed a church service nor especially a witch-burning.

The next most important strata in the towns were the mechanics. They, in turn, had already begun to be divided along the beginnings of class lines. The master mechanics were a strata out of which the manufacturing bourgeoisie would later develop. They employed the labor of the apprentice mechanics and produced the ships, houses, wagons, silver and iron ware, etc. used throughout the colony. This strata, as we will see, played a critical role in the Sons of Liberty, who actually organized the American Revolution.

Then there was the "mobility" as it was derisively called—the most feared section of the town and its clear majority. Inclined, as it was noted by the "respectable element," towards "riotous and intemperate behavior," the "mobility" was made up of apprentices, seamen, free Negroes, unemployed youth, etc. This was the infant proletariat.

Even below the "mobility," though many times acting with it, were the white slaves: the indentured servants. Close to 15 percent of the population at the time of the American Revolution were indentured, actual slaves for the duration of the indenture. These white slaves worked on the large estates of the Hudson Valley, as well as in the towns for the master mechanics and merchants.

There was one last stratum—the forces of the nobility and king. This was a layer of colonial governors, employees, merchants with special privileges from the King, proprietors who owned whole colonies, and the virtually feudal lords of upper New York State and New Jersey who controlled whole kingdoms with private armies, signed their own treaties with the Indians, employed hundreds of indentured servants, and held the local farmers in a vassal-like relationship to them.

This was colonial America as it really was. The capitalist mode of production was established through the ruthless destruction of Indian society. At the heart of capitalist development stood the ancient form of slave production. On this basis a wealthy class of slave owners developed in the South supplemented by a merchant class in the northern towns.

The mass of the population—three and one-half million at the time of the revolution—were small farmers marginal to the economy, living in a primitive stage of economic development not far removed from the barbarism of the Indians around them.

In fact, they were known derisively by the town folk as "white Indians."

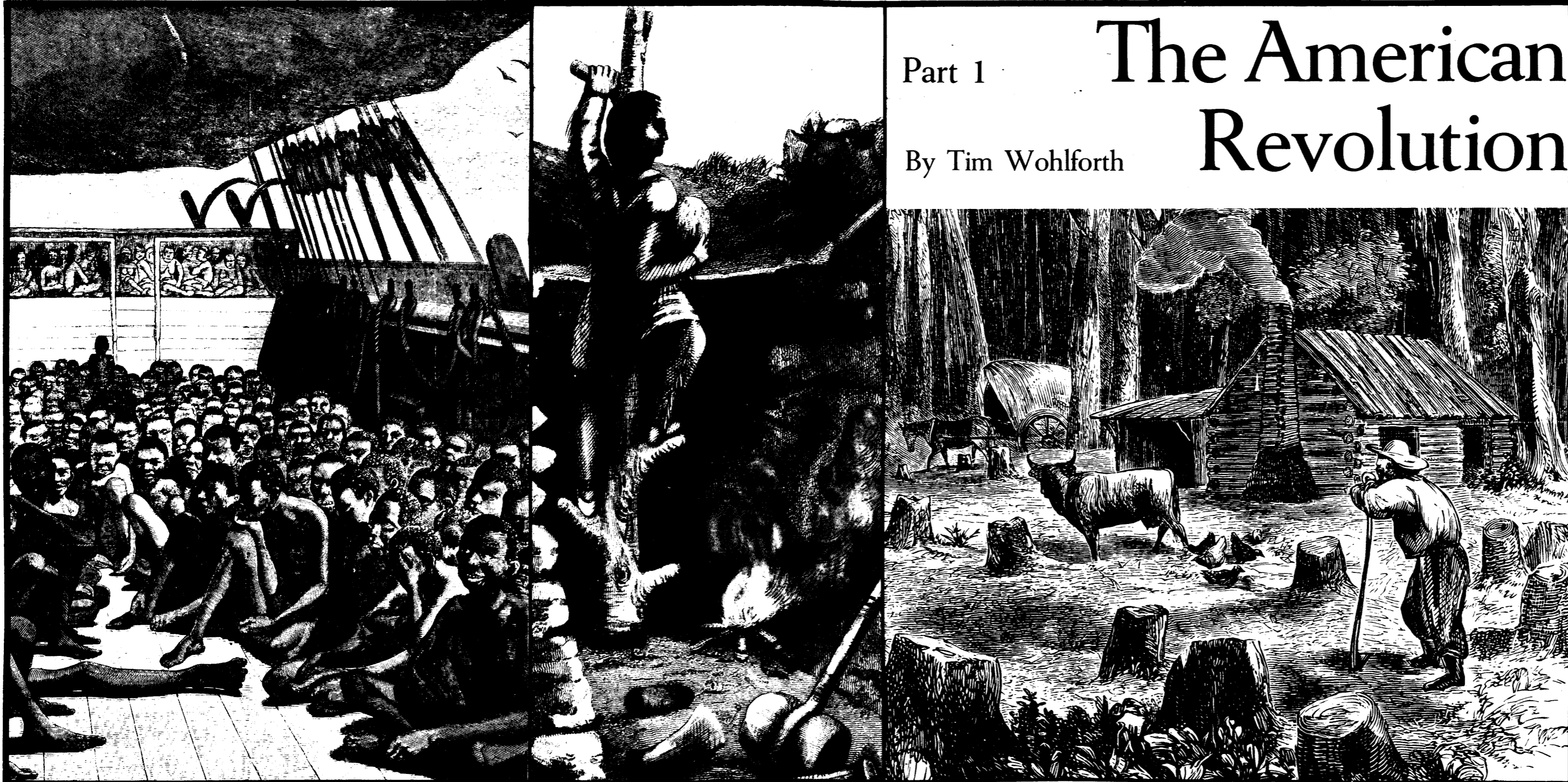
In the cities, a proletariat had begun to emerge deprived of all civil rights and living in the cruellest poverty. At the time of the American Revolution, some 35 percent of the inhabitants of the colonies, excluding Indians, were either slaves or indentured servants.

TO BE CONTINUED

Part 1

By Tim Wohlforth

# The American Revolution



America was settled for the sole purpose of creating profits. The three essential elements in the development of capitalism on North American soil were (1) the genocidal destruction of the non-

capitalist economy of the Indians (shown center operating a primitive copper mine); (2) slavery (shown left), which was the backbone of the plantation system of production for agricultural

exports to Europe; and (3) small farming by settlers (shown right) who were forced to produce and sell agricultural products below their actual value.

of bourgeois thinking which hold back its revolutionary development.

In turning to a study of the bourgeois revolution of 1776, we can understand much about the character of American bourgeois thinking which in turn permeates the working class. This thinking is the product of massive material changes in man's relation to nature which took place in that period.

We study American history on the basis of historical materialism. Historical materialism holds that the determining factor in history is the relationship between the productive relations and the development of the productive forces in any given society.

Productive relations means the class relations and the whole economic system of production these class relations are based on. Productive forces refers to the machinery and technique developed by man for the purpose of providing man's needs from nature.

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

All other aspects of a society such as

Or, finally, any attempt at meaning, at answering the whys, is abandoned for pure description.

Even this is fraudulent for the author is really saying that what happened, happened, and that it could only have happened as it happened. So, today, what happens must happen and we are only to accept it and assess it rather than battle to change it.

The closest any writings of this idealist school have come to historical materialism are the writings of the economic determinist school of the early Charles A. Beard and others. His *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*, written in 1913, stands to this day as perhaps the most important work ever written on any aspect of American history outside of Marx and Engels's writings on the American Civil War.

This work, however, is limited in that it sees the relationship of the economy to the superstructure in an immediate and simplistic way because Beard does not grasp dialectics. He writes as an empiricist. Thus, in his later writings, he goes over to idealist notions of American history as a development of "democracy."

At the same time, with all its weakness, the work of Beard towers above that of the

cause of, the thinking of men. Instead of making this point, Aptheker concedes everything to the idealists: "Marxism ignores none of the forces mentioned by Andrews."

"Marxism," according to Aptheker, "in viewing the economic factor as ultimately decisive, does not think of 'economic factor' in the narrow sense as this or that particular economic conflict or economic interest..." He then proceeds to explain that the economic factor is only "ultimately decisive one," concluding: "It is quite different from considering any particular economic item or 'factor' as determinant; and it insists upon the interpenetrating complex—dialectical quality of life and history."

In this fashion, Aptheker is able to view the question of the materialist roots of historical developments as some distant ultimate cause, while he can treat the fabric of history he discusses in an idealist fashion, quite independent of this "first cause."

This, he quotes the Stalinist historian Herbert M. Morais as saying: "The first American Revolution was the product of two general movements: the struggle for self-government and national independence and the struggle among the

geois and thus limited character of the first American revolution.

## The Nature Of Colonial America

America was settled for one purpose and one purpose only—PROFIT. Its settlement was the result of the development of capitalism in Europe, especially England, and at the same time was a great spur to its further development. The great colonial trade between England and the West Indies and America began to develop for the first time a world market, allowing England to emerge as the workshop of the world.

The first great social revolution on the American continent—in every respect the most brutal and violent—was the destruction of the preexisting social system in America, Indian society, and its violent replacement by the capitalist mode of production. This was a social revolution carried out by military conquest.

While there was a great variety in levels of development among the Indians, they all had in common a single feature: tribal or

Thus, it is clear that America was founded on the basis of private property relations on the land. These relations were imported from abroad. They were spread throughout the continent through conquest of a less developed people, not through overthrow of feudal relations, as in Europe.

America is a country without a feudal past. Private property was established through the eradication of the peoples who previously inhabited the continent and who clung to the earlier communal form of property ownership. It is, above all, the land of capitalist development.

America was, and remained until the Civil War, an agricultural country. Its main products for export were agricultural. Its main imports were manufactured goods from England, purchased primarily by the agricultural classes. Its bustling and important commercial cities were dependent on this agricultural trade for their health. America supplied the raw materials which permitted England to devote its manpower to manufacturing, as well as supplying the market for the products of British industry.

The central ingredient to the American economy, and for this reason integral to the development of European industry, was

yet really begun. The number of slaves in the colonies was minor and no-large scale plantation agriculture existed. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, this dramatically changed, as plantation agriculture was introduced into the West Indies, as well as Virginia and South Carolina.

Under these conditions, the slave trade, the beginning of capitalist world trade, flourished. The heart of the slave trade was the famous triangular trade between the West Indies, Africa, and New England.

Slaves were purchased in Africa and taken to the West Indies where they were put to work on sugar plantations. The sugar was turned into molasses and shipped to New England, where it was turned into rum, which in turn was shipped to Africa. Many a fortune was made in this trade for a pious New England Puritan.

Later on, there developed the huge tobacco plantations of Virginia and the rice and indigo plantations of South Carolina. As the American Revolution approached, this slave economy was beginning to disintegrate, as the backward methods of agriculture of the time ruined the land in coastal Virginia, leading to lower and lower productivity. This factor encouraged antislavery sentiment.



# LABOR TODAY

## RAFT Ditches Fight Against Abel PART ONE

"Hegel remarks somewhere that all facts and personages of great importance in world history occur, as it were, twice. He forgot to add: the first time as tragedy, the second as farce."

In these first lines from *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, Marx explains that the element of farce emerges whenever individuals and political movements representing social classes seek to mask their bankruptcy in existing historical conditions by fraudulently mimicking the individuals and parties of the past produced under different conditions.

An example of a farce is the Youngstown-based Rank and File Team, led by Local 1462 officers Ed Mann and Bill Litch, who claim that they are building an opposition to the Abel bureaucracy in the United Steel Workers Union by modeling their caucus on the old Miners For Democracy which ousted Tony Boyle.

At a small conference of dissident caucuses held in Chicago over the Memorial Day weekend, Ed Mann declared that RAFT is a new MFD and will rally steel workers against Abel on the issue of "union democracy," just as Jock Yablonski led miners against Boyle.

However, within minutes of the meeting's beginning, it became very clear that RAFT is nothing more than a tendency within the steel workers' union bureaucracy which stands with Abel against the ranks on everything from union democracy to the fight against the rotten contract to the struggle to force Nixon out.

The first order of business at the conference was discussion of a motion introduced by Litch and Mann to exclude representatives of the working class press from all workshops. Although this was defeated, it showed very clearly the position of RAFT on "union democracy."

Once the conference began, there was absolutely no discussion on the present contract, which holds the steel workers to a three percent wage increase, provides for tremendous speedup in the mills, and opens the door to massive layoffs in the coming months.

For all their talk about the fight to regain the "right to strike," which Abel gave up with the Experimental Negotiating Agreement, RAFT opposes an actual struggle for this basic trade union right through a campaign for national strike action to overturn the contract.

RAFT's opposition to ENA is therefore completely passive, nothing more than an appeal to Abel to withdraw from the ENA sometime before 1976 when the next contract rolls around.

The fact that RAFT seeks only to pressure Abel was admitted by Mann who told the conference: "Abel will get this feedback...We're getting to the guy if the bottom can just keep applying the pressure."

The perspective of RAFT is not to throw the bureaucracy out, but to pressure it, presumably by giving men like Litch and Mann greater authority in the International.

RAFT sees the central fight against Abel as something taking place on the floor of the upcoming Atlantic City convention—a bureaucratic gathering from which steel workers are excluded—and completely divorced from the struggle to mobilize steel workers independently of the bureaucracy through the construction of an alternative leadership.

Therefore, the Chicago meeting ended after nine hours of talk with no concrete program, except a vague commitment to fight the ENA through the courts controlled by big business. As far as RAFT is concerned, there is nothing steel workers can or should do except support various protest activities against Abel.

**TO BE CONTINUED** by David North



Herbert O'Neal next to his car that was destroyed by cops in the East Cleveland shootout. "See where the armored truck went across the sidewalk, then tore up two of my cars. I haven't found out who is supposed to pay."

# "The Cops Were Going Crazy With Guns"

On May 31, 300 Cleveland and East Cleveland police launched an attack on three men, Craig Fowler, Larry Johnson, and Charles Jordan who were attempting to rid the East Cleveland community of a big drug dealer.

When they ran into the home of Catherine O'Brien to escape, the police began an assault with tear gas, machine guns, and an armored truck.

The three are now being held on \$1.2 million bail, the highest ever set in Cuyahoga County.

The following are interviews with residents of Mt. Union Street in East Cleveland who witnessed the shootout:

A woman who lives at the far end of Mt. Union St. said:

"This was like what the police did in Los Angeles. We woke up to gunfire. They were pouring gunfire into the O'Brien house.

"We didn't know what to think. We found out from a friend who called the police and told us we were supposed to keep our lights out and stay indoors.

"You couldn't look out the window without getting shot. The police shouldn't have been running around like that, it was criminal. My whole family could have been killed.

"I hope this isn't what's coming, this kind of military rule. The Congress isn't strong enough to fight Nixon and I want him out.

"He didn't need 150 men to capture three men. The police are the law unto themselves."

Freddy O'Neal lives at 1839 Mt. Union Street, next door to the O'Brien home:

"I watched the whole thing from right next door. The cops chased them. There just wasn't any warning.

"They didn't say come out with your hands up or anything. They didn't need the guns, they just needed tear gas and a bullhorn.

"The O'Brien's said the men were polite and OK. They told them they were trying to stop the dope dealers.

"There were about 200 to 300 police. They had machine guns and an armored car that tore up both our cars.

"The police were acting trigger happy. The sergeant would say, 'Stop the shooting,' but the police circling the back of the house would keep on shooting.

"It's possible that all of them, all the police and the hostages, were shot by the police. They were all scared. They looked like a bunch of rookies.

"It just wasn't necessary to shoot up the houses. They didn't use the loudspeakers until one-half hour after they began shooting.

"I heard the O'Brien's screaming and suffocating from the tear gas. The men didn't want to hurt them."

Alfred Shaw was on his way to his home, three doors from the O'Brien house, when he was ordered by police to get out of his car. His car was searched and he was asked for identification.

When the shooting was over, the far side of his house had 31 bullet holes in it and his car was damaged.

"If they can shoot up my car and my house like that, they can shoot anybody. I'm a poor person and the people whose house it was are poor and nobody wants to pay for the damages caused by the police.

"It's the same thing that happened in Los Angeles—wholesale murder. It's the most frightening thing I've ever been through.

"I was crawling on the floor like a dog, me, my wife, and daughter. You know that I'm mad."

Leonard is a member of the Cleveland Young Socialists: "There were only three people out there. The family could have

been killed. "The police didn't care. When I first saw it on TV, I thought it was a war.

"It was training for the police. The ones that had the shakes, they're going to get rid of them. The cold blooded killers, they'll keep.

"The police are preparing. We have to prepare too. We can't fight them gun for gun. We have to build our march and our movement."

Katie O'Neal: "I was on the floor. Bullets were falling like rain. There were 100 East Cleveland and 200 Cleveland police.

"One policeman told me the three men had been captured down the street at the restaurant before the shootout. It seems like they staged it.

"I sure hope they pay for our car. It looks to me like the government in the US just says what they want and does what they want and you've got to live by it.

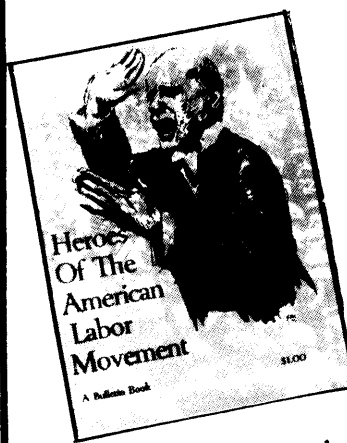
"It looked to me like the police shot the O'Briens. I saw them fall. If they wanted to shoot them, they could have done it inside. Mrs. O'Brien was begging the police to stop shooting. I could hear her."

Janet Patterson: "The police were running around; they didn't know what to do. They tried to run around the block of houses and they ran back. They were very disorganized. There was complete chaos.

"When they were running around, that's when one of the cops got shot in the leg. The cops down on Euclid Avenue one block from the house were going crazy with guns. I don't think he shot intentionally. It was just the panic of the other police.

"When the police came down into the parking lot, at MacDonalds restaurant, they ran through 25 people and began shooting at the lights. The bullets were ricocheting off the lights and could have hit any of the people."

## 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 Hayward, and John Reed.

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# Truckers Shut Illinois Construction

**BY WILL ROEMER**  
**CHICAGO**—Practically all construction has been halted in the state of Illinois as 4000 Teamsters in the central and southern regions walked out at dawn yesterday demanding increased wages and cost of living.

The 13 Teamster locals who struck yesterday joined 2500 concrete truckers who have been on strike for two weeks in the northern Illinois region.

Robert Barker, head of Teamsters Local 627 and chief negotiator for the 13 striking locals said that the members voted to strike after 15 unsuccessful attempts to negotiate a new contract after the previous agreement expired on April 1. The unions are holding out for \$2.20 increase, an increased cost of living, and 45 cents in health, welfare, and pension funds.

Local 73 of the Sheetmetal Workers, which was scheduled to strike yesterday over the demand of a guaranteed wage, has returned to negotiations, waiting for federal mediators advice.

There is widespread sympathy among building tradesmen. Clarence Sanders, member of District Council 13 of the Carpenters told the Bulletin: "These strikes are a reflection of what Nixon has done. He hasn't helped the working man at all and everybody that has helped him has come out making a bundle."

### LABORERS

"Our contract goes on for two more years. The Laborers got a really bad contract: 1 cent per hour in their check and 9 cents on welfare. Most of the carpenters that I know felt that our contract was good, but work has been very limited because of the increased interest rates on money."

"This has knocked a lot of work out. Many companies just don't have the money to build anything."

"Turner Construction Company, which usually has a lot of work, has very little now. The only thing they're building is a jail and a few small jobs. I've heard that the union hall is packed with men looking for work."

The contractors fear that if the Sheetmetal Workers win a guarantee, all the building trades would get the guarantee.



Workers at N & L Industries in St. Louis, members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, went on strike May 31. The company is seeking to take away the cost of living clause won in the last contract.

# Building Workers Strike

**BY LOUIS MILLER**  
**CINCINNATI, Ohio**—A major wage offensive by 3500 building trades union members has paralyzed all new construction in this city.

The strike involves laborers, pipefitters, painters, concrete workers, truck drivers, and asbestos workers.

The wage offensive was initially led last week by 3600 members of the carpenters and bricklayers unions. These two unions have already won 75 cent hourly wage increases over one year contracts.

### NEGOTIATING

In addition, 800 lathers and plasterers are still negotiating new contracts. Nine other unions involving 5000 members are to decide on new contracts this week.

The rank and file of the combined building trades unions which are now on strike are conducting a bitter fight for adequate pay raises, against the union leadership.

All initial contract offers involving less than 75 cent hourly raises have been overwhelmingly defeated. Members of Pipefitters Local 392 are demanding a more than 90 cent hourly wage increase and less than the usual three year contract.

# Cops Jail 7 Pickets In St. Louis Strike

**BY JOHN DUNN**  
**ST. LOUIS**—Last week, seven strikers were arrested by police here, detained, and charged for "disturbance of the peace," for attempting to stop a non-union truck from crossing their picket line.

tions, and more holidays," said Charles on the line.

"We want a \$1 an hour raise each year. Right now, if you've worked there over a year, the men make \$3.16 an hour and the women make \$3.09 an hour base rate."

"The company has offered us 50 cents over three years. We also want cost of living increases."

"In three years, the price of bread will be three dollars a loaf," one woman said.

At night, the company puts guards on the roof with machine guns and rifles. They use the police to escort in nonunion trucks, and relatives of the supervisors work as scabs.

They also threatened a lawsuit against machinists, members of District 9, International Association of Machinists, because they are still working under their contract. They are now forced to go to work or be fired.

Charles, on the need for a labor party, said: "If it has any strength, it would be good for the working man. The others aren't doing us any good."

"The police are on their side. When we tried to stop a truck, they called three or four squad cars," said a striker.

Three hundred and fifty members of Local 110 of the Stove, Furnace, and Allied Appliance International Union of North America have been on strike since the contract expired May 15 against the Jackes-Evans Manufacturing company which has government contracts to make machine gun belts and other items.

"We are asking for an increase in wages, an increase in the pension plan, better working condi-

# Court Denies Legal Rights For Youth

**BY MIKE ROTH**  
**MINNEAPOLIS**—County and city officials here are moving to deprive youth of all rights to legal protection and court trials.

Hennepin County has received a federal grant under the "Crime Control Act" to set up various "services" for youth 15 to 18 who get picked up by police for the first time. Under the scheme, they would have no right to a lawyer, would not even be entitled to a court appearance to defend themselves.

broken up and the child be placed under state supervision if in his opinion, the family was "incorrigible."

### PROTEST

A storm of protest, led by such organizations as the Urban League and NAACP, made the judge "publicly apologize." At the same time, the county was asking the Nixon administration for the money to create the spy network in the neighborhoods.

Now armed with several hundred thousand dollars, the Juvenile Detention Center has begun to hire the case workers and other functionaries to regulate the lives of the youth. How the system will work can be seen in the case of one Northside youth, Jeff, who was removed from his home last week and will not be permitted to return.

His "crime" was an argument with his parents in which police intervened. Jeff, who is under 18, was immediately hauled to the Juvenile Detention Center and will be placed in a foster home with daily checking up done by case workers and school administration.

Hundreds of identical cases could be cited in which the youth never see a lawyer.

Now that school is out, unemployment among youth is soaring and police patrols have increased. Hennepin County, now armed with additional federal money, is attempting to fragment and terrorize the youth by arbitrarily removing them from the neighborhoods.

### DEFEND THE YOUTH!

MARCH WITH THE MINNEAPOLIS YOUNG SOCIALISTS THROUGH THE SOUTHSIDE

SATURDAY JUNE 8

This program implements the notorious surveillance proposal made by county Judge Lindsay Arthur last fall. At the time, Judge Arthur declared that the entire family of a youth be held responsible when he was arrested and that, if necessary, a policeman be assigned to watch the family.

Moreover, Arthur recommended that the family be

**PUBLIC MEETINGS**

**Lenin: The Man, The Party, The Revolution.**  
 Speaker: Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary, Workers League.

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**WASHINGTON DC**  
 SAT. JUNE 8  
 Federal City College  
 925 "E" Street NW  
 Electric Playhouse  
 7 p.m.

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**BOSTON**  
 WED. JUNE 12  
 Roxbury YMCA  
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\$1 Admission

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

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**St. Louis** Saturday June 22  
 Rustic Hills Park  
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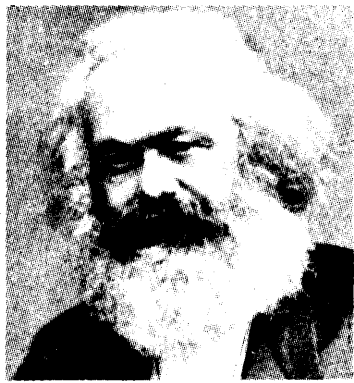


# books

## Karl Marx And Friedrich Engels

Part 2

by David North



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

The reactionaries had their biggest problems in Germany. In the period of Marx's birth, a big movement developed among students and intellectuals for the unification of Germany. At the time, the country was still divided into numerous tiny kingdoms, some of them no bigger than East Flatbush or Bedford-Stuyvesant. Each kingdom had its own laws and currencies and this made it very hard for the emerging capitalists to develop their businesses through trade and commerce.

Numerous secret organizations and even terrorist societies developed in Germany.

However, once again, the big explosion took place in France. Revolution broke out in 1830, and the old king was forced to flee Paris. Political power passed decisively into the hands of the bankers.

### Historical

This event had great historical significance and would profoundly influence Marx's development because it opened the way for the emergence of the proletariat as a revolutionary class in constant conflict against the bourgeoisie.

This new epoch of the class struggle between the capitalists and the working class was heralded in 1831, when the first working class rebellion broke out in the French city of Lyons under the banner "Live by work or die in battle." The rebellion was defeated.

But from the 1830s on, the revolutionary character of the proletariat became clear. For the first time, revolutionary working class organizations emerged with the express purpose of overthrowing the ruling class. The most important revolutionary leader of that period was Auguste Blanqui, who believed that a group of revolutionists could secretly organize a seizure of power and then turn it over to the working class. Blanqui made such an attempt in 1839 but it was a complete failure.

As Riazanov shows, this was the historical environment in which Marx developed. There were particular reasons why it had such an important effect on Marx and Engels.

Both men were born in the Rhine, the very province of Germany most influenced by the French Revolution. For many years, the area in which Marx was born had been controlled by France. Marx came from a Jewish family which particularly welcomed the liberating effects of the Revolution, and Riazanov notes that Marx's father was a great admirer of the French enlightenment philosophers whose

writings demolished the age-old suspicions in god and paved the way for the development of materialism.

The city in which Marx was born, Treves, was an important center of the textile industry. It was also known as the most international of German localities.

Thus, Marx developed into manhood in a revolutionary period in which he was able to recognize the objective force within society—the working class—which could overthrow the capitalist society that was still developing.

### Utopian

Socialists before Marx, like St. Simon, Fourier, and Owen, did not understand this historic role of the working class and therefore their visions of communist society had a make-believe, utopian character.

As Riazanov wrote, "... they worked on the assumptions that the proletariat was merely the most suffering class, the most indigent class, that it had to be taken care of, and that this care had to be exercised by the higher, cultured classes. In the poverty of the proletariat they saw only poverty, they did not fathom the revolutionary possibilities imminent in this poverty, the product of the decay of bourgeois society.

"Marx was the first to point out that the proletariat besides being merely the suffering class, was the active fighter against the bourgeois order; it was the class which in every condition of its existence was being converted into the sole revolutionary element in bourgeois society."

Riazanov explains how Marx, based on the material developments of society, was able to take up an investigation of the actual laws of the class struggle.

The book sketches the major events in the lives of Marx and Engels, from the revolution of 1848 to the founding of the Second International. It explains in some detail the struggle waged by Marx upon the foundation of the First International for a clarification of the basic principles upon which the communist movement must be based.

Riazanov explained emphatically that Marx insisted that the First International recognize that the emancipation of the working class could be achieved only by the working class itself to establish the principle of no collaboration with the bourgeoisie, that the working class marches always under its own banner.

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels should be seriously studied in order to grasp the essentials of Marxism and its early development.

TO BE CONTINUED

# west coast news

## "There's Not Enough Food And I Couldn't Find A Job"

BY SUSAN FREDERICKS SACRAMENTO—

"There's not enough food and I couldn't find a job and I have no transportation. I don't want this to sound like a sob story. I just want to get this money and get out."

This was stated in a TV interview with Brian Young, age 19 and Michael Madigan, 18, during their holdup of a Crocker Citizens Bank in Rancho Cordova, outside Sacramento, May 31. The two youth seized 25 bank customers as hostages and held off police for 7 hours. They demanded one million dollars in ransom which was brought by officers in a shopping car.

### SURROUNDED

During their occupation, over 100 police, highway patrolmen, and FBI agents surrounded all rooftops and walls in the shopping center. An army helicopter, armed to the teeth, buzzed overhead throughout.

The youth claimed they would not give up until a local TV station was allowed in to interview them and it was broadcast.

Said Michael Madigan: "I'm crazy to do this and I regret it in a sense. I wanted to tell how the establishment gets it out of you."

"I don't want to go to jail. If I'm caught, I'm going to blow my brains out."

## Lockheed Collapse Threatens Jobs

BY MARTY MORAN Lockheed Aircraft is on the brink of bankruptcy, threatening the immediate destruction of tens of thousands of jobs and a possible chain reaction of collapses.

While the desperate attempt to rescue Lockheed by linking it to Textron, a \$2 billion Rhode Island-based conglomerate, has taken the headlines, the real news is that Lockheed is writing off as a loss over \$600 million in capital invested in the L-1011 jumbo jet.

This huge sum was carried on the books as an asset for many years, always "subject to the realization of L-1011 inventories," as the company's accountants put it. This represented more than one-third of Lockheed's claimed assets.

The company once estimated that it would have to sell 200 of the giant planes, similar to the Boeing 747, in order to break even.

Only 135 have actually been sold, and due to inflation, the company still is spending more on producing each new L-1011 than the selling price of the L-1011s still in inventory.

### DEBT

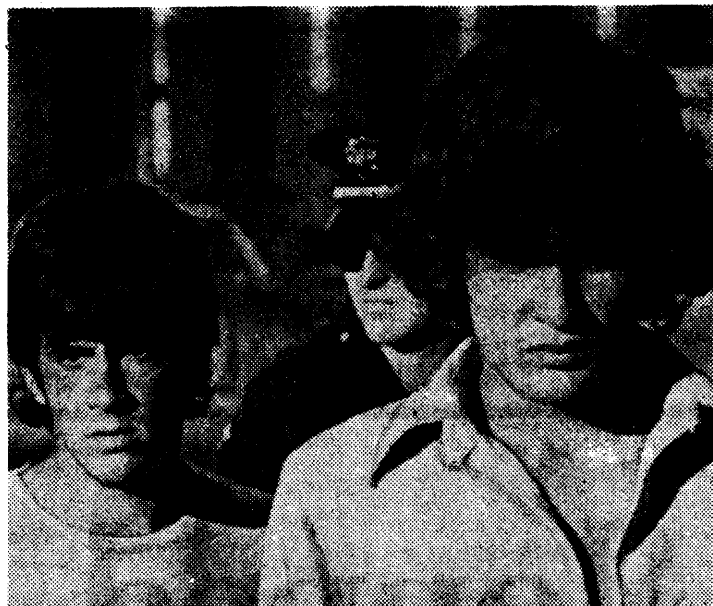
The write-off brings the company's assets dangerously near to being less than its total debt,

Both youth are now being held on \$15,000 bail, charged with armed robbery, extortion, and assault with a deadly weapon. Both families are on welfare. Madigan's father has been ill for a while and out of work and Young's mother is supporting seven children.

While the press brags that the

Base and surrounding electronic and other factories.

Youth must turn to the Young Socialists to build a movement against this system, which cannot provide for the basic needs of the masses of people, by bringing forward the entire working class to force this government out.



Michael Madigan and Brian Young, after their arrest for robbing a bank because they couldn't find jobs.

## Strike Ends At Stanford

BY JOHN ARMAND

PALO ALTO—Technical, service, and maintenance workers of the United Stanford Employees Union ended their three week old strike, winning an average yearly wage increase of 9 percent.

Despite the intimidation employed by Stanford University during the strike, the union succeeded in getting its first contract. At one point, a scab truck attempted to crash through a picket line, hitting a striker.

Police arrested the president of the union, Jim Berk, for obstructing construction equipment on Stanford University property.

Stanford has already announced major cutbacks in its budget, in areas like the Stanford Linear Accelerator Center. The only provisions in the contract against layoffs gives workers with seniority preference in retaining jobs, and those with four and one-half years work can receive severance pay. The contract does not guarantee the jobs of newer workers.

The union also backed down from its demand for a union shop and accepted a joint agency shop.

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# Bulletin

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



Ruchell Magee has been waging a courageous and lone battle against the capitalist courts and police for 19 of his 35 years.

In 1955, when he was 16 years old, a Louisiana jury convicted him of attempted rape against a white woman and sentenced him to 12 years in jail. Magee had been living with the woman for six months when he was arrested.

Paroled after six years and eight months and ordered to leave the state, Magee went to Los Angeles. Six months later, he was arrested and convicted of robbery and kidnapping with intent to rob.

These charges were manufactured by the police after an incident in which Magee and a cousin forced an acquaintance of theirs to make good on a \$10 dollar debt.

Magee was hospitalized for five days after the arrest due to a savage beating by the police. But his court-appointed lawyer

refused to produce the hospital records of the beating as part of his defense. Magee claimed the kidnap charges were designed to put him away so he could not bring charges of brutality against the police.

Magee was given an indeterminate sentence which under California law gives the prison authorities the right to extend the jail term each year arbitrarily, until it becomes a virtual life term.

Magee was still serving time for the \$10 robbery seven years later on August 7, 1970, when he was called to testify in Marin County Courthouse in the Soledad Brothers trial.

After the escape attempt led by Jonathan Jackson, in which police killed four people, a vast witch-hunt began against Black militants. Communist Party member Angela Davis was arrested and charged along with Magee, who was the only survivor of the escape attempt.

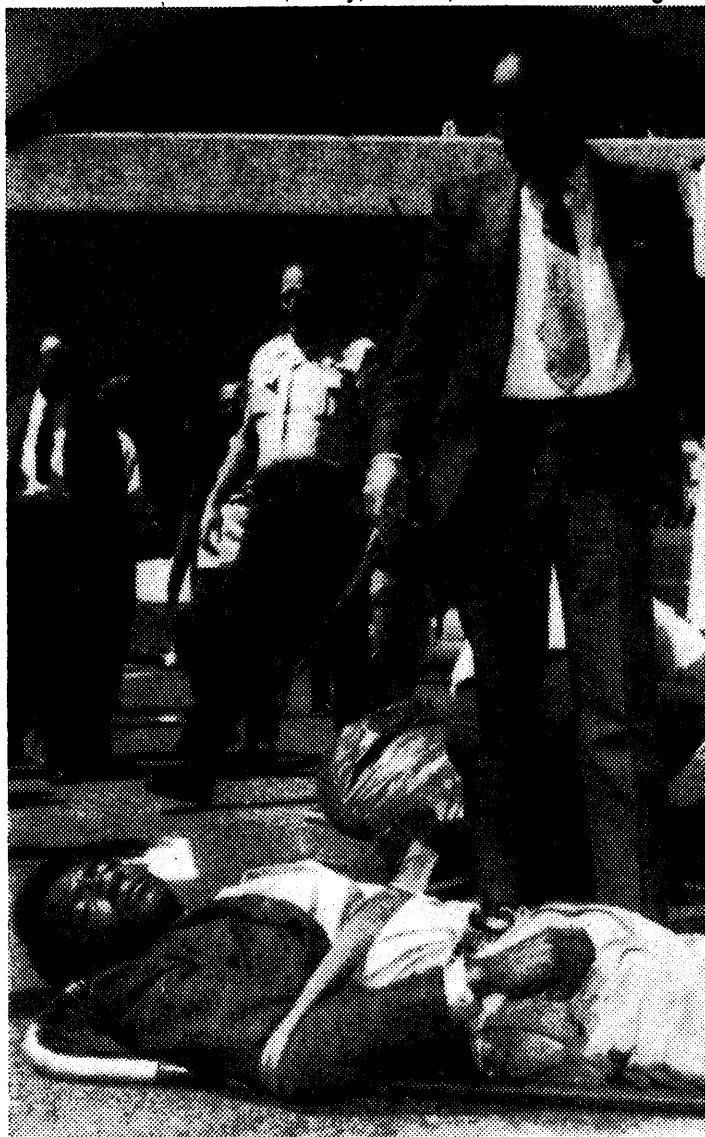
He defended his right to escape on the grounds that his previous false conviction amounted to slavery, and slaves had the right to escape in any way possible. Magee succeeded in disqualifying judge after judge.

In July 1971, Davis's lawyers moved to sever her case from Magee's. Since then, the Communist Party has come out more and more openly against Magee.

Once Davis had been acquitted, Magee's name virtually disappeared from the West Coast CP newspaper, People's World.

The defense of Magee is an inseparable part of the fight to defend the working class against the attacks on jobs, wages, and democratic rights. Magee must not be isolated. We urge all trade unionists, workers, and youth to fight for his release.

The methods of violence and repression against Magee will be used by the courts against all workers fighting for their rights. For lack of space, we have not been able to reprint the entire enclosed document sent to us by Magee.



Ruchell Magee lies wounded after the Marin County Courthouse shootout on August 7, 1970.

# Defend Ruchell Magee!

## LETTER FROM RUCHELL MAGEE

May 31, 1974

Dear Bulletin:

Please publish this enclosure and below.

The California Attorney General Evelle Younger just made his first move to try to get fraudulent judge Ingram out of the Federal court suit No. 74-1165 (as shown in the foreclosure). I have made some legal moves myself to stop him this time.

Judge Ingram and others have got to answer and surrender all court records. Over 12 judges are involved in the murder of Judge Harold Haley on August 7, 1970.

This Ingram dismissed the murder charge against me and went to work with the public defender in a desperate effort to psych me. All evidence surrounding the murder of Judge

Haley is covered up and suppressed.

Judge Ingram now comes up with a record showing where the public defender Sheldon Portman was relieved from the case by him (May 10, 1974) 5 or 6 minutes prior to my so-called guilty plea, without my knowing.

Just yesterday, during a motion to withdraw the alleged guilty plea, I was trying to subpoena the public defender. They claim that he left the state. He's hiding out!

Judge Ingram is supposed to have a decision on the motion to withdraw the plea on June 5, 1974.

It is necessary that your paper print this, in order to help awaken the people.

I am, Cinque Ruchell Magee

## FREELY & VOLUNTARILY GUILTY PLEA

The society made it law, on the California attorney general Evelle Younger's suggestions, to make it legal for Ingram to hound the Magee's with lawyers until they made free and voluntary guilty pleas or be restrained in such a way they can only sit and watch themselves railroaded or due processed to death.

I FEEL GOOD AND STILL PROUD OF ONE THING, I ain't never turned agent like some more POLITICAL PRISONER SUPPORTERS I know who exploit the poor for the police. Some cops are gonna pay for me and my family suffering because material junk can't buy me off, nor klan game destroy my mind.

Magee vs. Younger, Judge Ingram, and others, Civ. No. 74-1165-AAH, (pending) United States District Court for the Central District of California, at Los Angeles, California.

Has the news media printed one word about Magee's civil suits, where he shows the federal and state courts, the vicious attacks of Judge Ingram, the public defenders?

Since July 1973, the civil suit of Magee vs. Judge Samuel Conti, Lawyer Carrow, Lawyer Jacke, Court reporter Minnick and others, No. 73-1697 LTL, has been suppressed in the United States Central District Court, at Los Angeles with no summons allowed to be served on the parties it's against. All the judges wait to see how judge Ingram and the public defender can work their way in getting an unlawful conviction on me.

Another civil suit is: Magee vs. Judge Ingram, Public defender Portman, No. 301633, Superior Court (civil division) of Santa Clara county pending. This is the suit that really would expose them, if it was directed to the public attention. I pointed out facts that Portman used false transcripts in my name in an attempt to bind me to fraud records prepared by Younger and others. Portman filed a motion to dismiss my suit claiming that I was legally in prison with a life sentence and did not have civil rights to sue in the state courts.

Speaking of the habeas corpus,

it was the one I filed February 19, 1974. Judge Ingram for the first time did not deny it, rather he passed it on to his conspirator Judge Racanelia in this same county. What Racanelia did was called the habeas corpus no merits. That writ, like the civil suits, has enough merits for any court with a half fair mind to grant relief.

It shows undisputable facts of lawyer Jacke making a false insanity plea in my name, tricking a jury with it to find me guilty, and thereafter withdrawing it by admitting that it was unlawfully made by him without any evidence indicating a doubt to my sanity.

What is not in the records is where Judge Walker, upon ordering it withdrawn, stated that if the jury found me guilty on it I would get a new trial. The reason these and other proceedings are not in the transcripts they are seeking to bind me with is because I did not get the new trial the law requires when a jury hears unlawful insanity pleas.

Since 1970, I have been lied on by judges in the state and federal courts, held in prison for ten years on false pleas, beaten

repeatedly by police and prison guards, shot in the back, given false I.Q.'s, and attacked with some of the worst and shameful trickery, denied the right to see news reporters, friends and family people, hounded for years with so-called lawyers up to and in Judge Ingram's court, yet its easy for Ingram to commit wrong after wrong and ignore it to force guilty plea's in the deception arena of "freely and voluntarily."

Since being at this jail, before my people came from Louisiana, I was repeatedly interviewed by the lawyer Ernest Greaves and told by him how the judges (state and federal) had planned to definitely convict me and then overturn the unlawful L.A. conviction to make a deal by giving me time served and run me out of the country.

The reason they want to send or run me out of the country is, because they said I would cause trouble or try to kill them. According to Greaves and Portman, the courts would never allow my feet to walk on the ground in the American streets, so it was mandatory for me to be convicted one way or the other.

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

# lucha obrera

— lucía rivera —



## 110,000 Trabajadores Del Vestuario Se Van En Huelga

"Estoy orgulloso de estar en huelga. No tenemos otra alternativa. Somos obreros y la huelga es la única arma que tenemos", declaró un joven trabajador de la 'Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America' (ACWA). Esta unión, que representa a 365 mil obreros, ha declarado una huelga contra la 'Clothing Association Manufacturers', comprendiendo 110 mil trabajadores del vestuario en Nueva York, Philadelphia, Rochester, Baltimore, St. Louis, Los Angeles y San Diego.

Esta es la primera huelga de la unión desde 1921. Después de casi tres meses de negociaciones continuas con la Asociación, la unión se vio forzada a llamar a la huelga. Los trabajadores en huelga son de la manufactura de ropa para hombres.

Aunque la dirección de la ACWA no organizó líneas de piquete en el área de Nueva York, los trabajadores por propia iniciativa marcharon con sus propios carteles frente a las fábricas. Un grupo de trabajadores de la local 109 participaron en la línea de piquetes.

Las demandas de la unión son: un aumento de \$1.10 por hora distribuido a lo largo de tres años (el salario actual es de \$3.50 por hora), costo de vida, aumento en las pensiones, un programa de salud, feriados extra y vacaciones más largas.

Una de las demandas centrales es la del costo de vida. De acuerdo a los oficiales de la unión "Nuestros miembros son víctimas de la inflación y bajos salarios, que han causado daños a los trabajadores, particularmente en la industria del vestuario. Los salarios de los trabajadores del vestuario no se mantienen al paso del aumento del costo de vida."

Esta huelga en la industria del vestuario ha ganado apoyo especialmente de aquellos miles de trabajadores sin unión. Para la gran mayoría de estos trabajadores, especialmente hispanos y afroamericanos, las condiciones en la industria del vestuario son insostenibles. Ellos aún reciben un salario de \$75.00 y ningún beneficio.

"Nosotros somos los burros. Somos tratados como esclavos. Aquí es como hace 100 años. Si esta gente puede ganar lo que necesitan, nosotros podremos ganar algo también", declaró un joven trabajador sin unión que estaba mirando la línea de piquetes.

Muchos de los huelguistas que fueron entrevistados por el *Bulletin* expresaron sus dudas sobre el liderazgo de la unión. La ACWA fue la primera unión que fue al arbitraje en 1919, dejando que las cortes decidiesen sobre las demandas de los trabajadores.

Un trabajador de la unión declaró: "Nadie parece comprender que hay una huelga, porque el liderazgo de la unión ha rehusado organizar una línea de piquete. Si todo el distrito del vestuario se une, los tenemos en nuestras manos."

La militancia de los trabajadores está en aguda contradicción con la posición de la dirección de la unión. La lucha de Farah, que duró cinco años, por el derecho a organizar la unión (ACWA) fue mantenida al nivel del boicot y la protesta. Por el liderazgo de la unión que dijo que era imposible ganar la huelga porque los dueños eran muy poderosos para ser derrotados.

Esta huelga de los trabajadores de la ACWA puede iniciar una poderosa ola de huelgas en toda la industria del vestuario conjuntamente con los obreros organizados bajo la 'International Ladies Garment Workers Union' (ILGWU) y trabajadores sin unión. La oferta de 80 centavos por hora distribuidos a lo largo de tres años, planteada por los industriales, no debe de ser aceptada por los huelguistas si estos han de defender su nivel de vida.

La crisis capitalista es la que lanza a estos industriales a tratar de destruir el nivel de vida de los trabajadores, a través de la incontrolable inflación y el desempleo. La lucha de los trabajadores es de construir un partido independiente de la clase obrera. Esta lucha tiene que comenzar ahora en la ACWA luchando por un nuevo liderazgo en la unión que su programa este basado en demandas socialistas.



One of thousands of young workers now picketing clothing factories in New York City's garment district.

### UAW . . .

(Continued From Page 1) sion of the International officers' terms, the UNC and Stalinists took pains to make clear that their opposition to this measure in no way implied criticism of Woodcock.

UNC member Mike Singer of Local 588 stated: "When we talk about the three year term, we are not trying to debate the issue that we are trying to make our union take a look at who is president at this time. That is not the issue. The issue is where is our union and where are we going."

Lasker Smith of Local 2 and the chairman of the Stalinist Auto Workers Action Com-

mittee stated: "I would hope we would reject this proposal; not our leadership but that we reject this proposal for the three year term. Let them stay as close as possible to this membership so that they can stay responsive to this membership."

The Stalinists and centrists bear the responsibility with Woodcock for the conditions now facing auto workers. They put forward no program to fight:

- The layoffs which have hit more than 100,000 auto workers, and the danger of more layoffs as the industry continues to slump. New car sales in May dropped 23 percent.

- The brutal speedup in the

### CAMPAIGN . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

"Our campaign is centered on the fight for a labor party," Helen Halyard said, in explaining why we are running in this election. "Not one single condition that faces youth and workers in this area can change in the slightest without workers having their own party. As long as Shirley Chisholm has been serving in this area, the conditions have only gotten worse."

"We are fighting to bring forward the great hatred that workers have for Nixon and give it a political direction. This hatred exists not only for Nixon, but for the Democrats as well."

"The labor party will only be built through our fight. We, the workers, must organize ourselves and force the trade unions to act in our defense, to force Nixon out and build a labor party. Our campaign is actually to construct a new leadership within the working class for this purpose."

### CONDITIONS

The living conditions in these areas are among the worst in the city. The housing is virtually falling apart in many parts of these areas. In Bushwick alone, five people have burnt to death this year. The schools are overcrowded and falling apart. Medical care is being threatened throughout the area, with the closing of Adelphi Hospital and new pressure not to build the huge new East New York Hospital.

The docks and the Navy Yard, two of the area's largest employers, have cut their work forces drastically. Model Cities programs are being completely dismantled.

The Workers League has always drawn tremendous support from the workers here, with nearly 4000 families now subscribing to the *Bulletin*. This is also the center of the Young Socialists, which was founded among the youth in East New

plants that has meant the destruction of working conditions that led to the death of Lordstown assembly worker Floyd Wade last week.

- The 1973 contract's wage provisions that left auto workers with an insulting 3 percent increase while prices rise by more than 15 percent.

- The attacks of the Nixon government on the basic rights of the working class and the preparations for dictatorship revealed by the Watergate conspiracy and the police invasions of working class communities in San Francisco, Los Angeles and Cleveland.

Woodcock bought the silence of the Stalinists with a few flowery tributes to detente in his opening address.

The only opposition force in the UAW that is mobilizing auto workers against Woodcock is the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party.

The TUALP calls upon all auto workers to join the fight to defend the UAW against the attacks of the employers and the government by demanding a national auto strike to force the reopening of the 1973 contract to win an immediate 20 percent wage increase, the recall of all laid off auto workers, the resolution of all local grievances, and the end of the speedup in the plants through the establishment of specific line speeds depending on models and manpower.

### POLITICAL

Because all attacks on auto workers are directed by this government, the TUALP states unequivocally that the fight for these demands must be linked to a political struggle to force Nixon's resignation and to construct the alternative to Nixon, a labor party pledged to socialist policies including the nationalization of the auto industry under workers control.

This program must be fought for in the struggle to build the alternative leadership in the working class. The fight for the labor party and the struggle to throw out Nixon and his agents in the trade unions will be led by the Workers League.

We call on all auto workers, trade unionists, housewives and youth to take up this fight by joining the Workers League.

York and Brownsville in the fall of 1971.

Clubs in East New York, Brownsville, Bedford-Stuyvesant, Bushwick and East Flatbush will play a central role in building the campaign, which will include subscription drives through new areas in South Brooklyn.

We urge every *Bulletin* reader to plan now to take an active part in the Workers League campaign. For information, and tickets to the "Bar-B-Que Nixon" kick-off, call 924-0852.

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

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# lucha obrera

lucía rivera



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Muchos de los huelguistas que fueron entrevistados por el **Bulletin** expresaron sus dudas sobre el liderazgo de la unión. La ACWA fue la primera unión que fue al arbitraje en 1919, dejando que las cortes decidiesen sobre las demandas de los trabajadores.

Un trabajador de la unión declaró: "Nadie parece comprender que hay una huelga, porque el liderazgo de la unión ha rehusado organizar una línea de piquete. Si todo el distrito del vestuario se une, los tenemos en nuestras manos."

La militancia de los trabajadores está en aguda contradicción con la posición de la dirección de la unión. La lucha de Farah, que duró cinco años, por el derecho a organizar la unión (ACWA) fue mantenida al nivel del boicot y la protesta. Por el liderazgo de la unión que dijo que era imposible ganar la huelga porque los dueños eran muy poderosos para ser derrotados.

Esta huelga de los trabajadores de la ACWA puede iniciar una poderosa ola de huelgas en toda la industria del vestuario conjuntamente con los obreros organizados bajo la 'International Ladies Garment Workers Union' (ILGWU) y trabajadores sin unión. La oferta de 80 centavos por hora distribuidos a lo largo de tres años, planteada por los industriales, no debe de ser aceptada por los huelguistas si estos han de defender su nivel de vida.

La crisis capitalista es la que lanza a estos industriales a tratar de destruir el nivel de vida de los trabajadores, a través de la incontrolable inflación y el desempleo. La lucha de los trabajadores es de construir un partido independiente de la clase obrera. Esta lucha tiene que comenzar ahora en la ACWA luchando por un nuevo liderazgo en la unión que su programa este basado en demandas socialistas.



One of thousands of young workers now picketing clothing factories in New York City's garment district.

### UAW . . .

(Continued From Page 1) sion of the International officers' terms, the UNC and Stalinists took pains to make clear that their opposition to this measure in no way implied criticism of Woodcock.

UNC member Mike Singer of Local 588 stated: "When we talk about the three year term, we are not trying to debate the issue that we are trying to make our union take a look at who is president at this time. That is not the issue. The issue is where is our union and where are we going."

Lasker Smith of Local 2 and the chairman of the Stalinist Auto Workers Action Com-

mittee stated: "I would hope we would reject this proposal; not our leadership but that we reject this proposal for the three year term. Let them stay as close as possible to this membership so that they can stay responsive to this membership."

The Stalinists and centrists bear the responsibility with Woodcock for the conditions now facing auto workers. They put forward no program to fight:

- The layoffs which have hit more than 100,000 auto workers, and the danger of more layoffs as the industry continues to slump. New car sales in May dropped 23 percent.

- The brutal speedup in the

### CAMPAIGN . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

"Our campaign is centered on the fight for a labor party," Helen Halyard said, in explaining why we are running in this election. "Not one single condition that faces youth and workers in this area can change in the slightest without workers having their own party. As long as Shirley Chisholm has been serving in this area, the conditions have only gotten worse."

"We are fighting to bring forward the great hatred that workers have for Nixon and give it a political direction. This hatred exists not only for Nixon, but for the Democrats as well."

"The labor party will only be built through our fight. We, the workers, must organize ourselves and force the trade unions to act in our defense, to force Nixon out and build a labor party. Our campaign is actually to construct a new leadership within the working class for this purpose."

### CONDITIONS

The living conditions in these areas are among the worst in the city. The housing is virtually falling apart in many parts of these areas. In Bushwick alone, five people have burnt to death this year. The schools are overcrowded and falling apart. Medical care is being threatened throughout the area, with the closing of Adelphi Hospital and new pressure not to build the huge new East New York Hospital.

The docks and the Navy Yard, two of the area's largest employers, have cut their work forces drastically. Model Cities programs are being completely dismantled.

The Workers League has always drawn tremendous support from the workers here, with nearly 4000 families now subscribing to the **Bulletin**. This is also the center of the Young Socialists, which was founded among the youth in East New

plants that has meant the destruction of working conditions that led to the death of Lordstown assembly worker Floyd Wade last week.

- The 1973 contract's wage provisions that left auto workers with an insulting 3 percent increase while prices rise by more than 15 percent.

- The attacks of the Nixon government on the basic rights of the working class and the preparations for dictatorship revealed by the Watergate conspiracy and the police invasions of working class communities in San Francisco, Los Angeles and Cleveland.

Woodcock bought the silence of the Stalinists with a few flowery tributes to detente in his opening address.

The only opposition force in the UAW that is mobilizing auto workers against Woodcock is the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party.

The TUALP calls upon all auto workers to join the fight to defend the UAW against the attacks of the employers and the government by demanding a national auto strike to force the reopening of the 1973 contract to win an immediate 20 percent wage increase, the recall of all laid off auto workers, the resolution of all local grievances, and the end of the speedup in the plants through the establishment of specific line speeds depending on models and manpower.

### POLITICAL

Because all attacks on auto workers are directed by this government, the TUALP states unequivocally that the fight for these demands must be linked to a political struggle to force Nixon's resignation and to construct the alternative to Nixon, a labor party pledged to socialist policies including the nationalization of the auto industry under workers control.

This program must be fought for in the struggle to build the alternative leadership in the working class. The fight for the labor party and the struggle to throw out Nixon and his agents in the trade unions will be led by the Workers League.

We call on all auto workers, trade unionists, housewives and youth to take up this fight by joining the Workers League.

York and Brownsville in the fall of 1971.

Clubs in East New York, Brownsville, Bedford-Stuyvesant, Bushwick and East Flatbush will play a central role in building the campaign, which will include subscription drives through new areas in South Brooklyn.

We urge every **Bulletin** reader to plan now to take an active part in the Workers League campaign. For information, and tickets to the "Bar-B-Que Nixon" kick-off, call 924-0852.

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

