

Bulletin

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

NOW
TWICE A
WEEK!

VOLUME TEN NUMBER FORTY EIGHT 384

TUESDAY, JUNE 18, 1974

C-748

FIFTEEN CENTS

"Keep on not truckin'..."

Dodge Workers Wildcat!

BY KEN WESTON

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The next morning, they successfully organized a picket line to turn away the day shift men and shut down the entire Dodge-truck Sherwood plant of over 6400 workers.

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"We have grievances from December that aren't resolved. Some people with 20 years seniority got discharged. We're all in this together."

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"That's a lie. My wife and I were both fired yesterday."

"They use anything to break us up. That's what all this 'outside agitator' bit is all about."

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A report on the national YS trailblazing held June 15 will be given in the next issue.

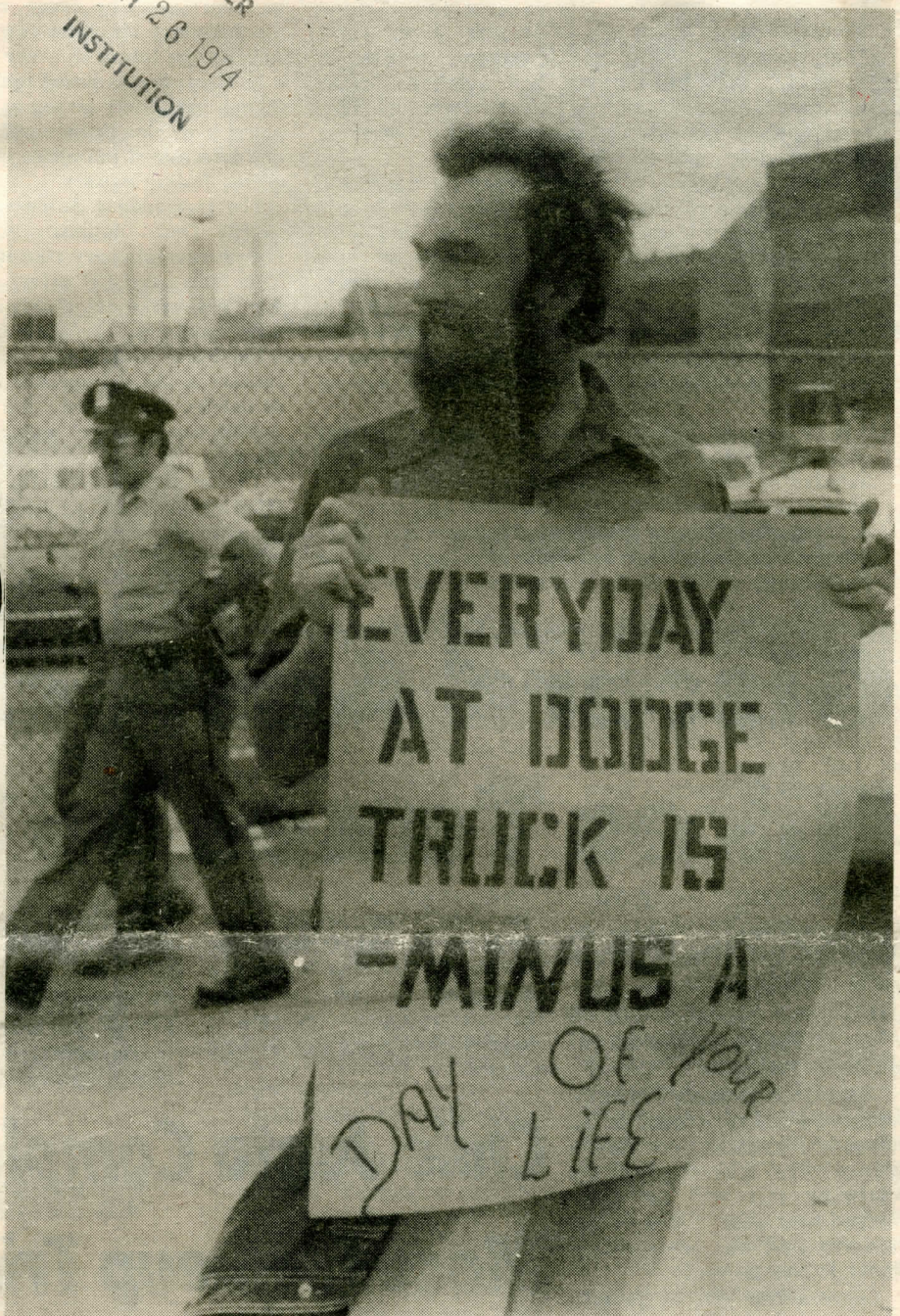
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Other workers spoke about the dangerous oil puddles that accumulate on the floor and of the large rats that infest the plant.

(Continued On Page 12)



A striker stands outside Chrysler's Dodge truck plant in Warren, Michigan to encourage others not to go in.

Commodities Prices Rising 32% A Year

BY DAVID NORTH

Industrial commodities rose last month at an annual rate of 32 percent, exposing the government's cynical lie that the end of controls would not lead to an explosion of price increases.

US Steel has boosted its prices an average of 8 percent, thus guaranteeing major hikes in every sector of the economy.

General Motors has raised the prices on 1974 models by 2.4 percent. New cars now cost about \$500 more than the 1973 models.

Seasonal declines in eggs, milk, livestock and grain—already at record heights—were more than offset by big increases in iron and steel products, refined petroleum products, electric power, coal, gas, chemicals, plastics, and machinery.

Popular food items like tuna cost about 10 cents more for a seven ounce can, and the going price for a 22 ounce loaf of bread is 58 cents—up about 28 percent from a year ago.

The orgy of price increases has reached the point where it has become a serious factor in the decline in business activity.

Domestic car sales were down 24 percent between June 1 to 10 from the same period one year ago. This figure has stunned Detroit because the first week in June is normally marked by a spring sales upsurge which has so far failed to materialize.

(Continued On Page 12)

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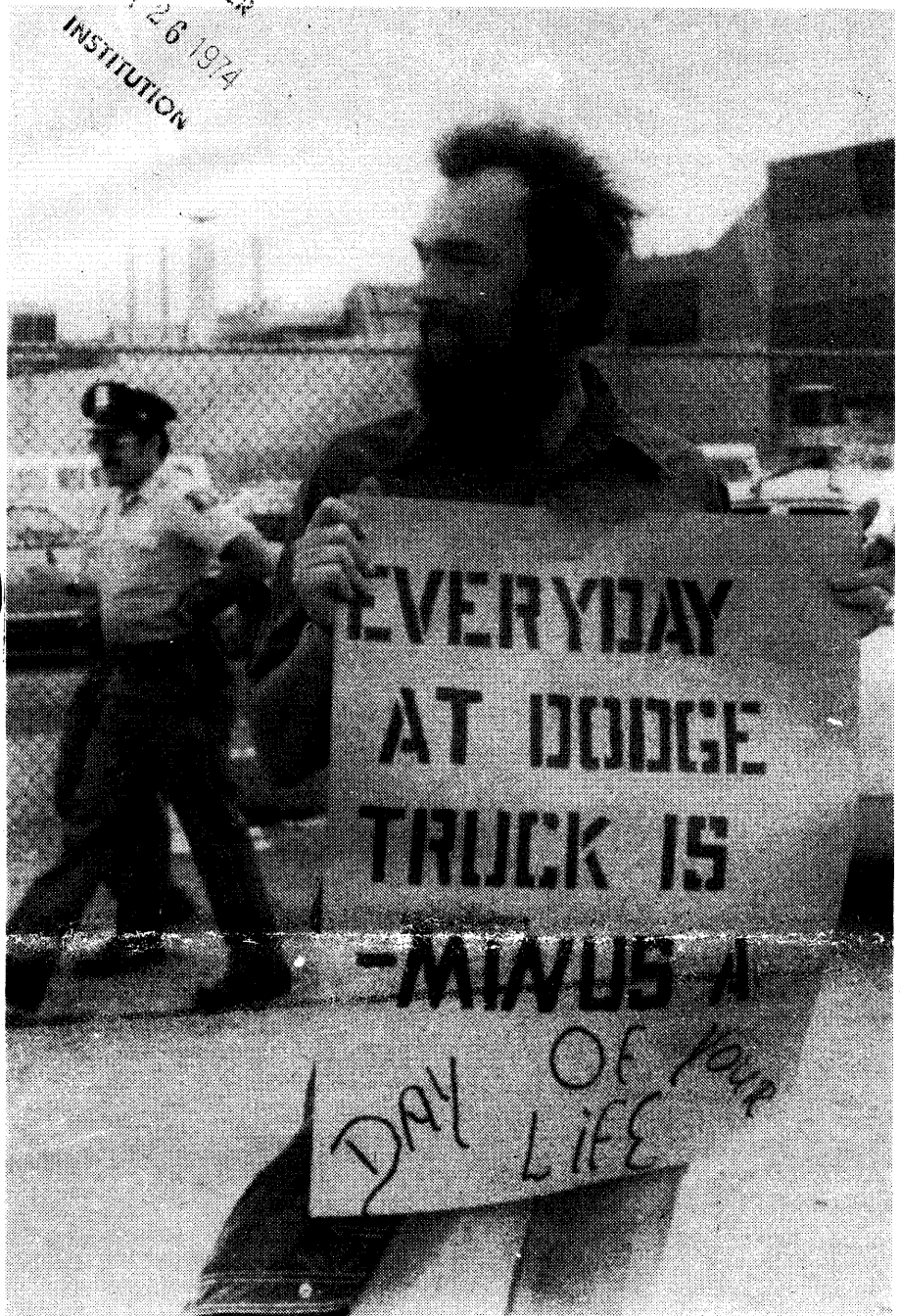
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Italy - A Warning To The Working Class

The virtual bankruptcy of Italy, which is now appealing to the international bankers for loans to pay its debts on a month by month basis, marks a new stage in the world economic crisis.

This stage will be marked not only by the collapse of industries, as during the depression of the 1930s, but by the collapse of entire states.

This massive economic crisis will create conditions of revolution in every capitalist country.

Just six weeks ago, the fascist Caetano dictatorship

What We Think

fell. While the struggles of the colonial masses in Angola and Mozambique weakened the regime, Caetano's fall was brought about by the breakup of the world economy reflected in the soaring Portuguese inflation. This

brought about the powerful movement of the working class which brought the dictatorship down.

Now Italy is going. Whatever attempts are made to patch up a new coalition, the days of the center-left or center-right are over. The bankruptcy of this state means that the working class must overthrow capitalism and establish socialism, or face a brutal fascist dictatorship.

The developments in Italy will have a tremendous impact internationally. Italy is different than Portugal. It is the strongest of the "soft underbelly" nations of Europe.

It is one of the three major Common Market countries on the West European continent. The auto industry of Italy is an important factor in the European economy, as is the petrochemical and other industries. For Italy to default on the payments of its debts would create a wave of panic extending from the Euro-money market to the major central banks of the world.

Furthermore, the enormous balance of payments deficit which has driven Italy to bankruptcy is not peculiar to Italy. The situation is almost as bad in France and England. And in this country, one economist predicts that the US balance of payments deficit may reach \$15 billion.

There is no peaceful solution to this crisis. Every capitalist country will now seek to overcome its own deficit by turning cannibalistically against its trade opponents. Imports will be slashed as the capitalists launch a trade war in preparation for a world war.

Within every country, the capitalists will seek to make the working class pay for this crisis. They will seek to destroy the trade unions and drive down living standards as the fascist junta in Chile.

The struggle between fascism and communism must be confronted in every country. The tremendous revolutionary struggles now seen in Portugal must be seen as the future of every capitalist country.

In Italy, this is posed immediately. The capitalists, though extremely aware of their own weakness compared to the power and confidence of the working class, are determined to impose impossible living conditions on the Italian masses.

The tremendous dangers in the situation flow primarily from Stalinism, which plays a completely counterrevolutionary role in Italy.

In Italy, the CP offers to resurrect yet another Rumor government, if only it is promised a portfolio in some ministry. The Stalinists make this treacherous offer even though the social democrats could not remain in the old government because the conditions demanded by Rumor, the conditions demanded by American bankers, mean the destruction of the working class.

The developments in Italy have critical lessons for the American working class. For as we say that Portugal is now present in Italy, we may also say that the conditions of Italy are emerging in the US.

Unlike the 1920s, America cannot contain the crisis to Europe. The US is the heart of the world crisis. For this

reason, developments here will take place in explosive leaps.

While the US due to its greater resources, may appear to be lagging behind Europe in the development of the economic crisis, explosive struggles between classes are in a very advanced stage of preparation.

This is shown in the level of police repression that can compare with a number of dictatorial governments, the acquittal of a cop who murdered a 10-year-old youth, the bitter struggle of working class youth like those in South Jamaica against this repression, and the buildup of an extremely powerful strike wave nationally.

In March alone, there were more strikes than at any similar time of the year since 1937.

The central lesson that we must therefore draw from events in Italy is that we must prepare. Lenin and Trotsky were absolutely right in their insistence that the construction of the revolutionary party is the central task of our epoch.

The Trotskyist movement today has opportunities that did not exist in the 1930s, when revolutionary situations arose under conditions extremely unfavorable to the Fourth International, conditions of isolation and very small forces.

We must now fight with the greatest determination to build this revolutionary party in the United States as part of the Fourth International. We must educate and train our forces in preparation for the coming social revolution.

We must learn from Lenin that the forces we develop among the masses and train as party members will prove decisive when our February to October arrives.

The Workers League and the Young Socialists are the only forces now preparing the working class for the revolutionary struggles that will be posed. We must see the campaigns which we are waging in two Brooklyn congressional districts as an opportunity to reach broad new forces among workers and youth and train the revolutionary leadership of the working class.

Giscard Austerity Hikes Taxes 15%

BY MELODY FARROW

The austerity measures announced by French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing are a savage attack on the living standards of French workers.

Taxes on individuals will be increased a full 15 percent for all those with incomes over \$2000 a year. The government is claiming this will be reimbursed next year. Taxes on petroleum fuel will be increased three to five percent.

Corporations will be permitted to pass higher taxes along in higher prices.

Giscard also called for tighter restriction over bank credits and public spending.

These measures amount to a virtual declaration of war on the working class and government officials speak openly of the possibility of another general strike. Giscard ran on a fraudulent platform of social reforms and full employment.

The austerity program is aimed at forcibly reducing the consumption of the working class in order to drive up the level of exports abroad, especially to West Germany. Giscard has vowed to restore the balance of payments deficit which, under the impact of oil price increases, has soared to \$6.5 million.

The slightest restriction on credit will mean a sharp increase in unemployment which Giscard is consciously using as a weapon to weaken the powerful French unions.

Giscard is seeking to establish a mutual trade agreement with West Germany, the only European country with a trade surplus. At a recent meeting with West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, Giscard pledged not to impose import restrictions as Italy had done.

George Seguy, leader of the

most powerful union federation, the Stalinist controlled CGT, reacted to the tax increases by stating that the government had hesitated to institute even harsher measures "because it feared the reaction of the people."

The CGT leaders held private consultations with the government before the program was announced and obviously pledged to hold back a strike wave in exchange for modifying some aspects of the austerity plan.

Chile Junta Completes Mass Frameup Trial

BY A CORRESPONDENT

The trial of 57 air force officers and 10 civilians in Chile accused of supporting the former regime of Salvador Allende has ended. Sentences will be announced at the end of the month.

The military junta is seeking to establish a precedent that the Popular Unity government, overthrown last September, was illegal. This would allow the army to charge Allende's supporters of treason under the state of siege regulations still in effect.

The defendants' lawyers are contesting this on the basis that they cannot be accused of what was not a crime before the coup d'etat September 11.

The junta opened the trial for the first time to newsmen and foreign legal observers only to give a "democratic" cover for the frameups.

The entire prosecution case is based on confessions extracted by force after prolonged periods of torture.

Erich Schnake, a former So-

cialist Party Senator, faces 30 years in jail. He signed a confession that he tried to extract information from an air force officer after being held in solitary confinement, denied food, tied up with a sack over his head and beaten.

Luis Corvalan, leader of the Chile Communist Party went on trial June 7 after being jailed and tortured on Dawson Island south of Chile.

On trial with Corvalan are Clodomiro Almeyda, the Popular Unity Foreign Minister and the ex-ministers of Defense, the Treasury, Economics and Justice.

There is rising discontent and anger throughout the country not just among the workers and poor peasants but among the lower middle classes who originally backed the junta.

INFLATION

The junta has been unable to control the inflation. The government's own statistics show a 64 percent rise in prices in the first three months of this year and a 5 percent increase in unemployment.

The economic situation is deteriorating so rapidly that an official for the Confederation of Retailers and Small Businessmen, an association of shopkeepers that supported the coup d'etat, said:



Japanese teachers raise fists in defiance at rally against the arrest of union leaders.

Teachers Defy Tanaka

The 600,000 member Japanese teachers union (Nikkoso) is locked in struggle with Premier Kakuei Tanaka over his attempts to restore emperor worship and militarism to public education.

Tanaka's popularity is at a new low of 20 percent in the polls. With consumer prices rising at an annual rate of over 27 percent, Tanaka is building up a right-wing campaign based on the old imperial themes of blind patriotism and obedience to the government.

Tanaka is demanding that the national anthem be taught and sung each day and that there be regular flag raising ceremonies. Morals would be taught including Tanaka's "Five Principles," and part of the imperial doctrine of the Emperor Meiji written in 1890 which states: "In case of national emergency, dedicate yourself to patriotism and enhance our eternal imperial institution."

Last month, teachers went on strike after the police moved in and arrested union leaders for participating in a walkout by government workers last April for higher wages.

"If this economic situation goes on much past the end of the year, we'll have to start fighting again."

VIOLENCE

Small acts of violence such as the smashing of the windows in a general's car in Santiago are becoming more frequent.

Tension is mounting at the giant open copper mining pit at Chuquicamata in the Atacama desert where miners have been pushed to produce the maximum while wages are frozen and strikes were illegal.

The income of the working class has been slashed to the bare minimum needed for survival. Sugar, meat, eggs and cheese have been priced out of a workers reach. The average worker lives on nothing more than beans and bread.

The fascists in Chile seek to tighten their reign of terror while the international economic crisis continuously undermines it. It is the actions of the working classes in the US, Europe and the rest of Latin America that can deal powerful blows to this dictatorship.

Nixon's Second Coverup

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE

WASHINGTON, DC—Reports and testimony given in secret to the House Judiciary Committee have brought out important new evidence hidden in Nixon's editing of the Watergate transcripts.

The section omitted from the official White House transcripts reveals Nixon's own deliberate conspiracy to build a second coverup. At one point, Nixon says openly: "After the election, we've got to have another plan."

Four days before March 21, 1973, when Nixon says he first heard about the coverup, he told John Dean to prevent officials of CREEP from implicating H.R. Haldeman in the scandal. "We've got to cut that off. We can't have that go to Haldeman," Nixon said.

On March 21, Nixon specifically instructed John Mitchell to continue the coverup, in a statement that clearly reveals that Nixon knew of the coverup all along.

"I don't give a s... what happens. I want you to (unintelligible) stonewall it, plead the

Fifth Amendment (unintelligible) else, if it'll (unintelligible). Even up to this point, the whole theory has been containment, as you know, John."

Nixon has claimed throughout that he was unaware of the activities of the White House staff because he relied on the official report written by Dean. New information leaked on June 12 shows that Dean was instructed by Nixon from the beginning on exactly what to put in the report.

PLOT

In a March 21 discussion, Nixon discussed a plot to blame the Cuban-American committee for the breakin:

"As far as what happened up to this time, our cover there is just going to be the Cuban committee did this for them up through the election?"

Dean replied: "Well, yeah, we can put that together. That isn't, of course, quite the way it happened, but—" and was cut off when Nixon said: "I know, but it's the way it's going to have to happen."

The same day that Ehrlichman, Mitchell and Nixon discussed the Dean report, Ehrlichman told Nixon it would exonerate everyone in the White House and then commented, with Nixon laughing in agreement: "Well, that's what we could say and it happens to be true—as for that transaction."

Nixon told Mitchell: "We can't have a complete cave and have the people go up there and testify. You would agree to that?...Particularly if, particularly if we have the Dean statement that may have been given out."

Mitchell: "Give it to the committee for the purpose (unintelligible) to limit the number of witnesses which are called up

there, instead of a buckshot operation."

HELP

Ehrlichman: "Say 'Here,' and also say that 'This might help you in your investigation. This is everything we know, Mr. Senator.'"

Nixon: "That's what I was preparing to say. 'This is everything we know, I know nothing

more.' This is the whole purpose in that sense."

The committee also received evidence that the White House might have staged the election-eve "leak" that Alabama Gov. George Wallace and his brother were being investigated on federal tax evasion charges in 1970. Wallace narrowly beat Lt. Gov. Albert Brewster in the gubernatorial primary that year.

British Trade Deficit Soars To \$1.5 Billion

BY DAVID NORTH
Britain's balance of payments deficit soared to a new record of \$1.5 billion in May, revealing that the British economy is rapidly headed for the same collapse as Italy.

The increase in the deficit by \$216 million exposes the insoluble and permanent nature of the capitalist crisis. The import bill rose to \$4.2 billion, while exports remained the same at \$3.1 billion.

This means that independently of the huge increases in oil prices, which accounts for a major part of the deficit, the position of the British exports is steadily declining.

This deficit further undermines the British pound, which fell in value on the exchange markets, while the stock market also declined.

Only last month, the British government borrowed huge sums from the Eurodollar market to cover the previous deficit. In exchange for this loan, the government announced a series of tax increases and cuts in spending that was aimed at increasing exports by slashing the consumption of the working class.

Anwar Sadat—Nixon's Agent In Mid East

Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's slavish adulation before Nixon is a cold blooded betrayal of the long and bitter struggle of the Arab people against imperialism.

For two days, Nixon was wined and dined and displayed before thousands of Egyptian people as a great defender of "world peace."

The entire two day trip was carefully stage managed by Sadat. Huge posters of Nixon and Sadat together and banners proclaiming "We Trust Nixon" were plastered all over Cairo.

Trucks were used to transport crowds to greet Nixon as he traveled by train from Cairo to Alexandria, while loudspeakers blared "Long Live Sadat—Long Live Nixon."

Sadat lavished praise on Nixon by declaring: "The role of the US under the leadership of Presi-

But the May trade figures show that even this deflationary budget has not resolved anything.

The Bank of England warned: "The general situation of the economy remains nevertheless one of great difficulty which will take several years to overcome...The problems though in some respects familiar, are on a scale which goes beyond previous experience."

Britain is heavily dependent on the import of high priced raw commodities, while her industry is unable to compete with the more advanced industries of Western Europe, Japan, and the United States.

A report by the National Institute of Economic and Social

Research predicts that the economy will go into recession this year and will shrink by one percent.

The report also says that real income will fall 3.5 to 4 percent by the second half of 1974 and there will be a rise in inflation to at least 17 percent.

The Labor Party government of Harold Wilson will have to accept whatever terms are dictated by the international bankers to raise new loans to cover this enormous deficit.

These terms will mean the most savage onslaught on workers living standards and massive unemployment, as whole sections of British industry are driven to the wall.

'I Will Resign' Bluff Stampedes Senators To Support Kissinger

BY A REPORTER

"And if it is not cleared up, I will resign."

Declaring that his "honor" was at stake, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger threatened to resign in the midst of his trip through the Middle East as evidence mounted of his role in organizing wiretapping.

Kissinger demanded that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee reopen hearings on his role in Nixon's personal order to wiretap 4 newsmen and 13 government officials on grounds of "national security."

Kissinger also denied having helped to set up the "plumbers" unit, to stop news leaks of the SALT talks, and other administrative activities.

In a speech patterned on Nixon's tearful appeals to public sympathy, Kissinger said: "I do not believe that it is possible to conduct the foreign policy of the United States under these circumstances, when the character and credibility of the Secretary of State is at issue."

During his confirmation hearings last year, Kissinger had denied encouraging or helping Nixon tap phones of 10 aides to the National Security Council and 3 other government officials. Information uncovered during the investigation of Nixon by special prosecutor Leon Jaworski indicated that Kissinger perjured himself.

RALLIED

Every politician in Washington immediately rallied around Kissinger. Jaworski denied that Kissinger was a target of his staff's

investigation and said that the work they have done has uncovered no criminal liability or evidence of perjury.

Fifty-two Senators rushed to sign a resolution which was submitted by Alabama Democrat James B. Allen. It states that the Senate "holds in high regard Dr. Kissinger and regards him as an outstanding member of this Administration, as a patriotic American in whom it has complete confidence, and whose integrity and veracity are above reproach."

REFUSED

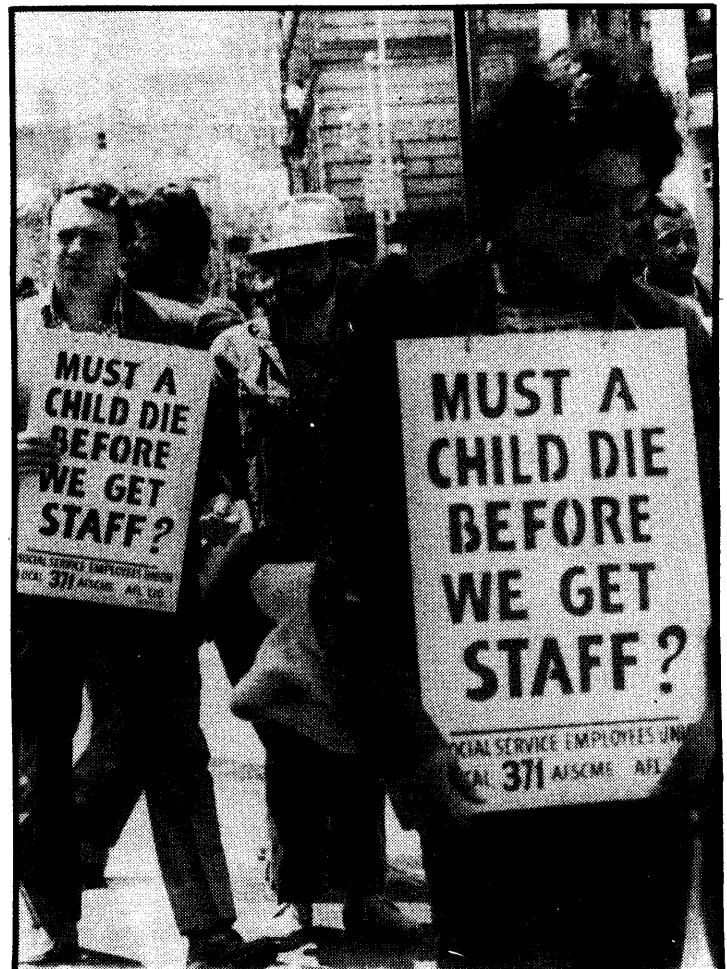
The courts have so far refused to release FBI documents and memos relating to the wire-tapping to the Foreign Relations Committee which took Kissinger's original testimony last fall.

A "protective order" issued in Federal District Court April 1 bars disclosure of the material until a civil suit against Kissinger is settled.

SUIT

The suit was filed by Dr. Morton H. Halperin, a former Kissinger aide who was tapped. William A. K. Lake, another former aide, has also filed a civil suit against Kissinger, who said in Saltzburg that when he submitted names to Nixon, "we knew that a wiretap was a probable outcome."

In his confirmation hearings, Kissinger had stated that he never recommended the tap, but "went along with it to the extent of supplying the names of people."



Workers from the Bureau of Child Welfare in Manhattan demonstrate against overload of cases. See story on page 4.

dent Nixon is vital to promote peace and tranquility in the area."

While Sadat was handing out awards to Nixon and Kissinger, Israeli gunners pounded three Lebanese villages on the slopes of Mount Hermon on the Golan Heights.

ATTACKS

Sadat and Nixon's "peace" in the Middle East leaves Israel in control of the Golan Heights, free to launch attacks on the Arab villages below.

It was Sadat who agreed to a cease-fire at the high point of fighting in the Sinai Peninsula

last October, isolating Syria which had to fight alone.

Sadat lines up with Nixon against the Palestinian people who sit in refugee camps in the desert, having been denied for 20 years the right to return to their land.

Sadat claims that Nixon, the imperialist butcher who massacred thousands in Indochina and provided billions of dollars to finance Israel's war against the Egyptian and Syrian people, has "changed his strategy."

Sadat cynically deceives the Egyptian people about Nixon who would not dare appear, much less speak, in public anywhere in the US.

BY A
BULLETIN
REPORTING TEAM
JAMAICA, NY—The tremendous anger over cop Thomas Shea's acquittal of the murder of nine-year-old Clifford Glover exploded Thursday night June 13, as rioting broke out throughout South Jamaica, New York.

Six people were arrested as hundreds of police moved in in riot gear and cordoned off whole sections of the community.

Shea's acquittal gives the police full license to kill and terrorize workers and youth in every working class community. The court's verdict was that Shea shot Glover "in the line of duty."

This was based on Shea's claim that Glover had turned around and handed a gun to his stepfather Add Armstead as they were fleeing from Shea.

This was clearly an open lie, as the gun was never found and Glover was shot in the back.

From beginning to end, the trial was conducted in an open atmosphere of racism.

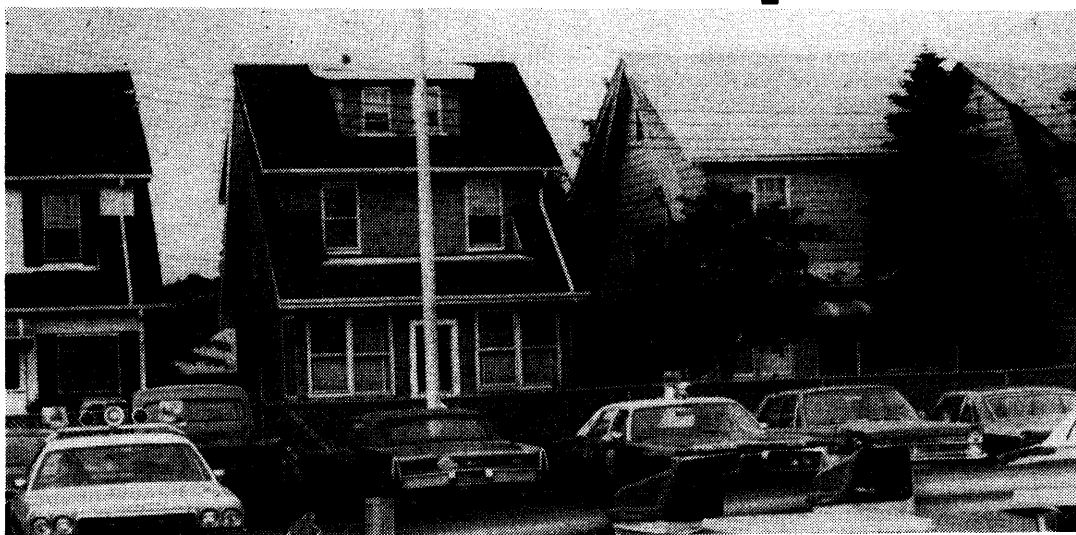
Christina, a YS member, describes the situation:

"I knew it was going to happen, because they were talking about it at school. The cop came around telling people to get in their houses.

"When they refused to go, the cops tried to force them in the houses, using clubs and their riot gear. The cops were beating every Black person they saw.

"The Blacks were beating whites coming off the bus at the

Cops Sweep Jamaica After Shea Acquittal



Police stationed in MacDonald's parking lot after youth smashed windows on June 13.

Van Wyck Expressway.

"When I heard that they let him off, tears came to my eyes. I could hardly believe they found him innocent.

SCHOOL

"There was a lot of talk in the school about what they were going to do Thursday night.

"The situation in South Jamaica is bad. People are getting their heads busted.

"Cops are going around busting the heads of anybody with Black skin, both Black and white cops. They have to go."

Under these conditions, full-scale rioting broke out. Three police patrol cars had their windows smashed. A McDonald's restaurant was torn apart and looted.

At Gertz's Department Store on 163rd St. and Jamaica Ave., a whole crowd of workers and youth broke through the store's doors. The police detective inside was beaten up.

Throughout Thursday and Friday nights, the community officials assisted the police in "trying to calm down the situation." They were joined by Mayor Beame who was dining at an exclusive restaurant in Queens the night of the rioting and "liberal" Deputy Mayor Paul Gibson. Beame spent his entire time at the precinct visiting the Gertz detective in the hospital.

"It definitely wasn't fair. It leaves us with no alternative. It's legalized murder.

"Why do you think the people

rioted last night—to get justice," said a Bulletin subscriber.

Gary, a Bulletin subscriber: "I think they should have hung him. It's hard to be a 10-year-old boy and frightened, and under those conditions to pass a gun to your stepfather. That doesn't make sense.

RIOTED

"The youth shouldn't have rioted here, they should have gone to the Justice Department. Nixon is protecting his side, and they are protecting him.

"Justice, broken down, means 'Just Us.'

"The Justice system stinks. It's against the working people."

Charisse, a YS subscriber: "Shea should have gotten life in jail or death. I think the govern-

ment was behind Shea 100 percent.

"All the big people like Nixon get off. Clifford Glover's mother and father went through all that with lawyers for nothing."

On Saturday, the Queens Young Socialists campaigned on Jamaica Avenue with the Bulletin headlined: "Killer Cop Goes Free." A large force of police surrounded the YS literature table and tried to force them to leave.

At that point, a large number of workers and youth came around the YS members and bought the Bulletin in open defiance of the police.

In a related development, William Walker, a New York policeman was indicted for the murder of John Brabham, 23, a Brooklyn College student in April 9, 1973. Walker is the second New York policeman to be indicted for murder.

Brooklyn District Attorney Eugene Gold kept the indictment secret until after Shea's acquittal to "avoid influencing the jury." Walker has claimed that he shot "in self-defense."

A toy gun was found at Brabham's body. Two policemen have testified that Walker had carried the toy gun with him the night of the murder.

It is only the Workers League and the Young Socialists that is leading the fight against this police terror. The Young Socialists fights to turn the youth to the working class to build a revolutionary leadership to fight in the labor movement for the construction of a labor party. This is the only way that the real criminals—Nixon, his courts, his cops,— can be smashed once and for all.



Lithographers on strike against Harvard University.

Harvard Printers Have Had Enough

BY KATHY BROWN
CAMBRIDGE, Mass.—Lithographers and bookbinders, members of Graphic Arts Local 300 continue their strike against Harvard University.

The strike began April 9, the first in the union's history since they won recognition seven years ago.

On Thursday, June 13, Harvard met union officials and refused to waiver from their 5.5 percent offer. They refused to even discuss the 1974 contract

and would accept only written demands for 1975.

It was made clear that any increase would only be effective after July 1.

"Harvard will give us what they want to," one picket at the main Allison center told the Bulletin. "Even if Jesus Christ or Nixon walked down here, they wouldn't move.

"They answer to no one. They think they can make you think anything is a great offer.

"The main thing is that they hate unionism with a passion.

CNL Candidate Wins DIAR Delegate Post

BY
A REPORTER
NEW YORK, NY—Lee Ericksen of the Committee for New Leadership in the Social Services Employees Union has won an uncontested post as delegate for the Division of Inter-Agency Relations of the Bureau of Child Welfare.

The Committee for New Leadership was not challenged directly because the supporters of the bankrupt Knight leadership in DIAR are incapable of mounting any campaign to defend their bankrupt policies. Knight called a series of lunch hour demonstrations on June 14 in different borough centers of the Bureau of Child Welfare in an effort to head off the

growing threat of wildcats and job actions.

Knight told SSEU members the demonstrations were to put pressure on Beame to hire more workers in BCW through "public opinion" and "influencing the media."

Each worker has 26 caseloads, rather than the customary 20, in field units such as Intake, Protective, and Preventive Services.

Attrition and the job freeze have created such an overload that workers in the field units are refusing to accept more than one new case a week.

Knight and his supporters want to limit the struggle to protest rather than fight for decent caseloads, new hiring, and the recall of provisional workers fired in June.

DIAR workers must now handle an average of 1500 children per unit, when 1000 is the maximum. These workers also face new speedup by productivity groups from the state.

Workers in Allocations and Hospital Inspection, the other two sections, will soon be forced to place children with agencies within 10 days, or face harassment if the children are refused.

The way to fight these attacks is not by protesting to Beame, who proposed the firing of all provisional city workers and rammed it through even before his proposed budget was approved by the City Council.

The Committee for New Leadership demands increased hiring to meet the staggering caseloads; a fight to win a contract including 25 percent immediate wage hike, full back pay and bonuses; cut by the pay board, and airtight job security. Citywide strike action must be called to stop all layoffs and force the rehiring of provisionals already fired.

Workers throughout SSEU-371 can fight for these policies by campaigning and voting for Lee Ericksen of the CNL for citywide delegate to the CLC and DC 37.

They will do anything to keep the unions out.

"Just a couple of weeks ago, they gave 4000 secretaries an 11.5 percent raise just to keep a union out."

INCREASES

Harvard has granted recent wage increases to all employees except Local 300, the only Harvard unionized workers with a contract. Steiner, an official speaking for the university, made it quite clear: "If they

weren't on strike, we'd give them an increase."

Three dollars an hour is the top wage for men in mail communications who have been there for 12 years.

"This whole university is a joke. The 31 of us have started everyone else to thinking about joining unions. Just look at these guys, most of them fought in the war."

"They were ready to die for their country and Harvard doesn't think we will walk out on

the street to defend our rights?

"They say you have to be able to distinguish between rich and poor. That's what Harvard stands for.

"Years ago, one guy dropped dead in the plant and they just rolled him out of the place on a skid. I don't know what the normal procedure is, but I don't think this is it.

"I'm planning on retiring here. Am I supposed to wait for this to happen to me?"



Detroit Blitz Receives Tremendous Support: 2021 Subs In 2 Weeks!

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM DETROIT, Mich.—A team of seven Workers League and Young Socialists members from the Midwest has just completed a record trailblazing campaign here, selling 2021 Bulletin subscriptions in two weeks.

worth of Marxist literature. The trailblazers were supported by \$500 in donations raised day by day in the community.

A meeting of 30 trade unionists and housewives was held in the midst of the campaign, and nearly 50 youth and young auto workers joined the Young Socialists march held June 8 to end the two-week trailblazer.

The march through the East Side demanded that the unions act against unemployment by forcing Nixon out and constructing a labor party. When the march passed Chrysler's huge Jefferson assembly plant, the youth chanted: "Stop the layoffs, stop the speedup, national auto strike now," and "Stop Nixon, stop Chrysler, labor party now!"

Detroit is the center of the layoffs hitting the auto industry. On the East Side, where the drive centered, almost every family includes an auto worker—working, laid off, or retired.

Workers told the trailblazing team that many of those laid off since mid-winter are still out of work while speedup and working conditions in the plants are the worst they have ever known.

During the campaign, the team moved down the neighborhood streets speaking to housewives, second shift workers, and retired workers. Regular drives were made at unemployment centers and auto plants in the area. One Saturday, 210 Bulletin subscriptions and 40 Young Socialist subscriptions were sold.

In addition to doubling the subscription sales of previous trailblazers, they sold 203 subs to the Young Socialist and nearly \$275

An unemployed auto worker who walked more than two miles to get to the march told the rally afterwards:

"Some young people may think that factory work is really something great. Well, let me tell you it just isn't so.

"They cut out the job I was on and that's why I'm still out of work.

"That's what Nixon did. That's Watergate. We'll get him out before this year is out."

This trailblazing drive shows the determination of workers and youth to fight and has laid the basis for a tremendous leap forward in building branches of the Workers League and the Young Socialists in Detroit.



Bottom left: After the first week of the trailblazing campaign, 30 trade unionists and housewives attended a meeting on the situation facing auto workers. Bottom right: Young Socialists rally held after the march through the East Side of Detroit.

The Constitution As Thermidor

The French Revolution was the classic bourgeois revolution, the most radical revolution in the history of that class. The leading element of the revolution was the Jacobin faction, which exercised a revolutionary dictatorship which carried through an effective purge of the old element of the feudal order. This was a necessary stage in the French Revolution, as it cleared the way for future capitalist development.

It was not the capitalists themselves which carried on this revolutionary work. The petty bourgeoisie performed the task for them. But this petty bourgeoisie could not build on these conquests, could not take forward what it had begun.

Of necessity, after its historic work was completed, power slipped from its hands back to the more conservative layers of the big bourgeoisie. They overthrew Robespierre and the Jacobins in the month of Thermidor (as July was known in the revolutionary calendar). This Thermidorian Reaction created the conditions for the army coup d'etat that brought Napoleon Bonaparte to power.

Thermidor has come to mean a counter-revolutionary stage of a revolutionary process which does not undo the social conquests of the revolution. France, under Thermidor, moved sharply away from its equalitarian popular high point, but the old feudal classes did not regain a foothold. France was decisively in the camp of the bourgeoisie. The counterrevolution could not undo the change in relations of production which had taken place.

In the American Revolution, the lines between Jacobin and Thermidorian elements were by no means as sharp as they would later be in France. After all, the social revolution had already taken place in England a century earlier, and the American settlers rested firmly on this capitalist basis.

There was, nevertheless, a Thermidorian wing of the revolutionary movement made up of the large merchants and planters. This wing dominated development early on and was able to rule right through the Revolutionary War itself.

This war was nevertheless a revolutionary war, if of limited scope. The masses fought the war and were brought into civil war against Tory elements during it. The task this Thermidorian element—homespun American Tory class—faced following the revolution was how to establish firmly, for all time, its rule against the petty bourgeois majority so that capital could develop. The writing of the American Constitution would play a decisive role in this counterrevolutionary effort.

The American Revolution was a popular revolution, won because it involved the masses in the war effort. These masses gave their lives in the war and expected some change in their lives afterwards. This popular revolution was dominated at every stage by the big merchants of the North and the large planters of the South.

The government which emerged from this war was a weak confederation of states. This form of government most suited the majority, who saw government as something to be tolerated only, as weak as possible.

A minority was highly dissatisfied. This minority was the decisively important ruling classes of the North and South. They felt that only a strong federal government could create the conditions for the further development of capital. They saw such a government as needed precisely to prevent the mass of the people from interfering with their rule.

The most decisive event in convincing the ruling class that it must change the form of government was Shay's Rebellion in western Massachusetts. A former major in the Revolutionary Army led an uprising of debt-ridden western farmers against the state government of the east which was strangling the western farmer. It took some 2000 troops to put down this armed uprising of 8000. Referring to Shay's Rebellion, Hamilton wrote:

"The tempestuous situation from which Massachusetts has scarce emerged evinces that dangers of this kind are not merely speculative. Who can determine what might have been the issue of her late con-

vulsions, if the malcontents had been headed by a Caesar or by a Cromwell."

The Southern plantation owners wanted a strong government in case of a slave revolt, as well as to catch runaway slaves in other states. Madison, aware of this concern, warned them of the danger of slave revolts combined with civil war in the North:

"I take no notice of the unhappy species of population abounding in some of the states who, during the calm of regular government, are sunk below the level of man; but who in the tempestuous scenes of civil violence, may emerge into human character and give a superiority of strength to any party with which they may associate."

There were also immediate economic questions to consider. During the revolution, the soldiers had received promissary notes and land grants in lieu of money, of which there was very little. Most of these poor soldiers could not afford to hold on to

minority of the capitalist class.

Madison was the clearest thinker of them all. He writes, 50 years before Marx, on classes and class struggle:

"...The most common and durable source of factions has been the various and unequal distribution of property. Those who hold and those who are without property have ever formed distinct interests in society. Those who are creditors, and those who are debtors, fall under a like discrimination. A landed interest, a manufacturing interest, a mercantile interest, a moneyed interest, with many lesser interests grow up of necessity in civilized nations, and divide them into different classes actuated by different sentiments and views."

It was Madison's opinion that the different factions and parties in politics emerge from conflicting class interests. For this reason, factions could not be done away with nor controlled by "moral or religious motives." He recognized that the

"He should have added: This is my manure pile, which I and my wife, child, servant, maid, and cattle have produced. Which Europeans are those whose 'dreams' have been fulfilled here? Not the communist workers, but bankrupt shopkeepers and artisans or ruined dirt farmers who strive for good fortune of becoming petty bourgeois or farmers again in America.

"And what kind of 'wish' is it that is to be realized through fourteen hundred million acres? No other than to transform all people into private property owners, a wish that is as realizable and communistic as the one that would transform all people into emperors, kings, and popes."

"Secure the public good and private rights against the danger of such a faction," stated Madison on the petty bourgeoisie and propertyless, "and at the same time, preserve the spirit and the form of popular government is then the great object to which our inquiries are directed."

This means we must have the form of



The rich bankers, merchants, and planters were determined to prevent the masses of small farmers from exercising any political power. The writing of the American Constitution (above) was a counterrevolutionary act carried out in secret, repealing the Articles of Confederation and

establishing a powerful central government that could oppress slaves which the capitalists feared. Masses of poor farmers were dependent upon their production of whiskey (top) for

this paper until it was paid off. So they sold it for a fraction of its face value.

This paper was accumulated in large quantities by the merchant class, the people who were to write the Constitution. Needless to say, this Constitution honored all this paper at face value and used the new government to get the funds from the people to pay off the paper.

The Constitutional Convention was organized in a conspiratorial fashion. The states were asked to send representatives to a body which would consider amending the existing Articles of Confederation. Every effort was made to ensure that the right people were sent from each state.

Once assembled in Philadelphia, the delegates closed the doors to the hall, swore all members to secrecy, and decided to dispense with the Articles of Confederation altogether, a decision they had no power to make. They acted out of fear of the majority of the population which they knew would resist their proposals.

The thinking of the framers of the Constitution was shaped by the whole past experiences of class struggle in America. It was the thinking of a class which feared the majority, but which felt itself too weak to rule without some participation on the part of this majority.

The problem of the Constitution was thus how to grant the majority democratic rights in a formal sense, while preventing this majority from exercising those rights so as to remove the rule of the small

dominant division in his day was that between creditor and debtor, between the big bourgeoisie and the small petty bourgeoisie farmer and artisan. However, he feared most the rise of a landless proletariat. He sought to fashion the Constitution to guard against both the petty bourgeoisie of his day and the working class of tomorrow.

Thomas Jefferson was in general agreement with him on these matters. Jefferson hoped, however, to minimize factionalism by creating a country of farmers, of the small propertied. He felt a man without some property was not to be trusted, and a man with too much property would be overbearing.

Jefferson could not grasp that big property emerged out of small. There was no way to arrest the development of capitalism at an "equal" petty bourgeois stage. This would remain the dream of petty bourgeois radicals for the next century.

Karl Marx, in 1846, in one of his first writings on America, took up this petty bourgeois dream. One of the early German communists, a former colleague of Marx who had come to America, Hermann Kriege, had gotten caught up in agrarian radicalism. Kriege quoted a poem to express this dream of the petty bourgeois to a plot of land:

"This is my cottage which you did not build; this is my Heath whose embers you envy me."

To this Marx states:

popular government, with provisions so that the popular will is not allowed to be carried through to the point where it hinders the property rights of the minority.

Madison wrote on this matter even more clearly in a letter to Jefferson:

"Wherever the real power in a Government lies, there is the danger of oppression. In our Government, the real power lies in the majority of the Community, and the invasion of private rights is chiefly to be apprehended, not from acts of Government contrary to the sense of its constituents, but from acts in which the Government is the mere instrument of the major number of the constituents.

"This is a truth of great importance, but not yet sufficiently attended to, and is probably more strongly impressed upon my mind by facts, and reflections suggested by them, than on yours which has contemplated abuses of power issuing from a very different quarter. Wherever there is an interest and power to do wrong, wrong will generally be done, and not less readily by a powerful and interested party than by a powerful and interested prince."

The purpose therefore of the Constitution, in the opinion of its drafters, was to figure out some way to diffuse, to break up the power of the majority, so that it could not be used to hinder the power of the ruling class. For this purpose, the "balance of power" government was developed. Madison wrote:

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elect ed immediately by the people, the Senate by the State legislatures, the President by electors chosen for that purpose by the people, there would be little probability of a common interest to cement these different branches in a predilection for any particular class of electors."

The American Constitution is a Thermidorian document. It was written to limit the popular masses not to extend their power. It was written by the rich out of fear of the poor.

Even the statement of democratic rights, the Bill of Rights, was not in the original document, but had to be added as the first ten amendments to get a measure of popular support for the adoption of the Constitution as a whole.

But the rich had to win. Capital could only develop through them. To the extent that development was held back to a small capitalist level, stagnation would take place. Such attempts were, as Marx pointed out, utopian in any event.

made out of squared logs, a mark of distinction. Only the rich had clabbered homes.

At that time, Pittsburgh was the trading center for those heading further west. Facing the town was Coal Hill, where the coal vein came to the surface and mining had already begun for coal used locally to heat homes. The future of Pittsburgh as a mighty steel center was difficult to foresee in that day.

Surrounding Pittsburgh, small farmers settled near the various creeks and streams that flowed into the Monongahela River and by the river itself. They were of English, Scotch-Irish, and German descent. The Scotch-Irish from Scotland and Ulster were the leading element and gave the frontier much of its unique character.

These farmers lived in extreme poverty, almost exclusively involved in subsistence farming. The average farmer was lucky to have \$20 pass through his hands in a single

Spanish settlements in the Mississippi Valley with which trade was already brisk, or an alliance with the Indian tribes.

Inspired by the French Revolution, there was much talk about the guillotine and it was the necks of the Easterners like Hamilton they had in mind.

There was not only talk, there was also action. First was the attack on Bower Hill. Bower Hill was the country estate, near Pittsburgh, of General Neville, a Westerner of some wealth who Washington had put in charge of collecting the excise.

The militia marched on the estate and destroyed every building with the exception of the smokehouse. The 18 Negro slaves on the estate asked that it be spared, for it contained their only source of food.

The most ominous event was the muster at Braddock's Field. Braddock's Field was a low flat area along the Monongahela a few miles from Pittsburgh. It was and is one of the few flat spots in an otherwise mountainous region. Today, it comprises

ing this, the movement began to peter out.

At the same time, preparations went forward in the East to move militarily against the West. Hamilton, in particular, did not want a compromise. He wanted military suppression of the rebellion to establish the authority of his capitalist government.

The attitude of the Westerners towards this danger was expressed in the following statement in the Pittsburgh Gazette:

"Brothers, you must not think to frighten us with fine arranged lists of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, composed of your water-melon armies from the Jersey shores; they would cut a much better figure in warring with the crabs and oysters about the Capes of Delaware."

Washington mobilized an army of some 15,000 with considerable difficulty because of popular resistance to the draft. After all, many remembered the ill-treatment of the soldiers of the Revolutionary War, while the leaders plundered and profitted. There was sympathy for the rebels right up to the shoreline of the country. In the end, the force, led by the New Jersey troops, headed across the mountains singing the marching song:

"To arms once more, our hero cries,
Sedition lives and order dies;
To peace and ease then bid adieu
And dash to the mountains, Jersey Blue."

The army crossed the Allegheny Mountains with the greatest difficulty, comparing the effort to Hannibal's crossing the Alps! It arrived in Monongahela country only to find that the rebellion had long since dissipated for lack of leadership.

In the following year or two, literally thousands of rebels fled the area, partly to avoid prosecution and partly out of despair over the existing state of things, pushing further on into Kentucky, into the Ohio Valley. Many of those in the "Water-melon Army" stayed on in the Monongahela Valley replacing the former rebels.

We must understand the historic significance of the military crushing of the Whiskey rebels. The Constitution created the formal and legal framework for the rule of big capital in America. But that rule needed to be firmly established in practice. This was the task of the Federalist Party's rule of America under Washington and Adams. The Whiskey Rebellion was a revolutionary uprising against that rule. Its crushing was essential.

A few years later, the Jeffersonian Party (Democratic Party) came to power and repealed the excise law. It appeared on the surface that the western farmer, in league with the southern planter, had removed Eastern capital from power. A little later, Jackson emerged from the West to establish a political rule that lasted up to the American Civil War. It appeared that within the coalition of the western farmer with the southern planter, the western element had gotten the upper hand.

But it was only appearance. Big capital continued to develop and exert its influence through the parties of the petty bourgeoisie. The counterrevolution of Washington, Hamilton, Madison, and Adams could not be undone. The Whiskey rebels came as close as the American petty bourgeoisie ever would to unseating the big capitalists.

This rebellion of the petty bourgeoisie would continue to mark American history. It was a rebellion which could not succeed.

Only with the emergence of the working class—that class so feared by Madison and Jefferson—could a progressive solution be realized to the democratic as well as economic oppression this petty bourgeoisie rebelled against.

The working class, however, had to first break politically with the middle class, and establish its own class political independence. Only through this negation can the working class take forward what was progressive in the struggle of the farmers and artisans of the early period.

There is one central lesson from American history: **The American capitalist class never gave anyone anything willingly.** It connived and conspired against democracy right at the very moment it fought for its liberty against the British. What democratic rights there have ever been in this country have been gotten because of bitter struggle, often violent in character, against the rule of big capital.

The American working class movement today is the inheritor of this tradition. We stand with the "mobility" of Newport, of Boston. We stand with that rider through the streets of Pittsburgh who, tomahawk in hand, said: "This is not all we want...I am but beginning yet."

CONCLUDED

Part IV The American Revolution

By Tim Wohlforth



ent that could put down rebellions by the masses and es of poor farmers barely eeked out an existence and whiskey (top) for their livelihood. A rebellion broke out

when a tax was imposed on whiskey in 1794, spreading through Pennsylvania and rallying forces in what is now the city of Pittsburgh. A horseman with a tomahawk in his hand rode through the town, calling for insurrection with the words: "This is not all we want ... I am but beginning yet."

The Whiskey Rebellion

The meaning of the Constitution can be better understood if we turn to that much neglected chapter of American history which occurred so shortly after the ratification of the Constitution—the Whiskey Rebellion of 1794.

Soon after the ratification of the Constitution, the newly formed government of George Washington, whose main political leader was the New York banker Alexander Hamilton, decided it was necessary to build up federal revenues. These revenues would allow the beginning of a standing army. The revenues and army would give state power to the government for the purpose of maintaining the very fragile and weak rule of big capital.

Therefore an excise tax was passed on all alcoholic spirits entering the country and made within it. This excise law appeared to the Western farmer as an intolerable act of despotism beyond even the Stamp Act, the Townshend Act, and the other financial measures of the British which precipitated the American Revolution.

The heart of the rebellion was in the Monongahela region of Pennsylvania, with Pittsburgh as the central town. Nearby areas of western Virginia and Maryland were also affected.

Pittsburgh had about 1800 inhabitants. Most of these lived in log cabins, with a few

year. Many could not even afford to own a gun, using instead the tomahawk of the Indians. In fact, these frontier farmers were known derisively in the East as the "White Indians."

Whiskey was an essential ingredient in their lives. Beer and wine were generally unknown. A bottle of recently distilled whiskey at least 120 proof was on the tables at all meals, including breakfast. Facing the hard work and the chill of the mountain weather, the farmer would warm himself with whiskey during the day as he plowed the field and harvested his crop.

His only connection with the world of money was through whiskey. He turned his surplus rye and wheat into whiskey which he sold to the East or used as barter for what he needed. The tax on whiskey appeared to these farmers as a special tax against them, against the West, another weapon to drive them deeper into poverty.

Modelling themselves on the techniques of the Sons of Liberty, the Westerners drove out the excise men. The local militias of the western counties were mustered in this effort.

The entire region went into rebellion. Liberty poles were erected throughout the area, each flying a flag with 6 stripes to stand for the 6 western counties instead of the 13 stripes of the Union.

Everywhere there was talk of a new revolution. Some muttered that they were no better off, perhaps worse, than under the British. Some considered getting support from the remaining British forts in the upper Middle West, of aid from the

the towns of North Braddock and Braddock where US Steel has a large mill and some of the worst slum housing in the country is located. The revolutionary events of 1794 in Braddock will be repeated there by the working class in the next period.

On the morning of the gathering at Braddock's Field, it is reported that a man rode on horseback through the streets of Pittsburgh waving a tomahawk. He stated:

"This is not all that I want. It is not the excise law only, that must go down; your district and associate judges must go down; your high offices and salaries. A great deal more is to be done: I am but beginning yet."

It is estimated that as many as seven thousand men, armed with muskets and tomahawks, mustered that day on Braddock's Field. They were prepared to march on Pittsburgh, raze the town if necessary, and move on to the nearby fort, seize its supply of ammunition, and begin the rebellion.

However, there was no leadership. Thousands milled around not knowing what to do. Crafty western lawyers like E. ackenridge conspired to thwart the will of the majority. It was a mass of poor farming folk, determined to fight it through, each more than able to handle himself against all the powers of nature and even certain powers of man, but together unable by class character to go any place.

And so the muster was followed by an orderly march through Pittsburgh. Follow-

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"I take no notice of the unhappy species of population abounding in some of the states who, during the calm of regular government, are sunk below the level of man; but who in the tempestuous scenes of civil violence, may emerge into human character and give a superiority of strength to any party with which they may associate."

There were also immediate economic questions to consider. During the revolution, the soldiers had received promissory notes and land grants in lieu of money, of which there was very little. Most of these poor soldiers could not afford to hold on to forward what it had begun.



The rich bankers, merchants, and planters were determined to prevent the masses of small farmers from exercising any political power. The writing of the American Constitution (above) was a counterrevolutionary act carried out in secret, repealing the Articles of Confederation and

this paper until it was paid off. So they sold it for a fraction of its face value.

This paper was accumulated in large quantities by the merchant class, the people who were to write the Constitution. Needless to say, this Constitution honored all this paper at face value and used the new government to get the funds from the people to pay off the paper.

The Constitutional Convention was organized in a conspiratorial fashion. The states were asked to send representatives to a body which would consider amending the existing Articles of Confederation. Every effort was made to ensure that the right people were sent from each state.

Once assembled in Philadelphia, the delegates closed the doors to the hall, swore all members to secrecy, and decided to dispense with the Articles of Confederation altogether, a decision they had no power to make. They acted out of fear of the majority of the population which they knew would resist their proposals.

The thinking of the framers of the Constitution was shaped by the whole past experiences of class struggle in America. It was the thinking of a class which feared the majority, but which felt itself too weak to rule without some participation on the part of this majority.

The problem of the Constitution was thus how to grant the majority democratic rights in a formal sense, while preventing this majority from exercising those rights so as to remove the rule of the small

minority of the capitalist class. Madison was the clearest thinker of them all. He writes, 50 years before Marx, on classes and class struggle:

"The most common and durable source of factions has been the various and unequal distribution of property. Those who hold and those who are without property have ever formed distinct interests in society. Those who are creditors, and those who are debtors, fall under a like discrimination. A landed interest, a manufacturing interest, a mercantile interest, a moneyed interest, with many lesser interests grow up of necessity in civilized nations, and divide them into different classes actuated by different sentiments and views."

It was Madison's opinion that the different factions and parties in politics emerge from conflicting class interests. For this reason, factions could not be done away with nor controlled by "moral or religious motives." He recognized that the

"He should have added: This is my manure pile, which I and my wife, child, servant, maid, and cattle have produced. Which Europeans are those whose 'dreams' have been fulfilled here? Not the communist workers, but bankrupt shopkeepers and artisans or ruined dirt farmers who strive for good fortune of becoming petty bourgeois or farmers again in America.

"And what kind of 'wish' is it that is to be realized through fourteen hundred million acres? No other than to transform all people into private property owners, a wish that is as realizable and communistic as the one that would transform all people into emperors, kings, and popes."

"Secure the public good and private rights against the danger of such a faction," stated Madison on the petty bourgeoisie and propertyless, "and at the same time, preserve the spirit and the form of popular government is then the great object to which our inquiries are directed."

This means we must have the form of



establishing a powerful central government that could put down rebellions by the masses and slaves which the capitalists feared. Masses of poor farmers barely eeked out an existence and were dependent upon their production of whiskey (top) for their livelihood. A rebellion broke out

popular government, with provisions so that the popular will is not allowed to be carried through to the point where it hinders the property rights of the minority.

Madison wrote on this matter even more clearly in a letter to Jefferson:

"Wherever the real power in a Government lies, there is the danger of oppression. In our Government, the real power lies in the majority of the Community, and the invasion of private rights is chiefly to be apprehended, not from acts of Government contrary to the sense of its constituents, but from acts in which the Government is the mere instrument of the major number of the constituents.

"This is a truth of great importance, but not yet sufficiently attended to, and is probably more strongly impressed upon my mind by facts, and reflections suggested by them, than on yours which has contemplated abuses of power issuing from a very different quarter. Wherever there is an interest and power to do wrong, wrong will generally be done, and not less readily by a powerful and interested party than by a powerful and interested prince."

The purpose therefore of the Constitution, in the opinion of its drafters, was to figure out some way to diffuse, to break up the power of the majority, so that it could not be used to hinder the power of the ruling class. For this purpose, the "balance of power" government was developed. Madison wrote:

"The House of Representatives being

elect immediately by the people, the Senate by the State legislatures, the President by electors chosen for that purpose by the people. There would be little probability of a common interest to cement these different branches in a predilection for any particular class of electors."

The American Constitution is a Thermidorian document. It was written to limit the popular masses not to extend their power. It was written by the rich out of fear of the poor.

Even the statement of democratic rights, the Bill of Rights, was not in the original document, but had to be added as the first ten amendments to get a measure of popular support for the adoption of the Constitution as a whole.

But the rich had to win. Capital could only develop through them. To the extent that development was held back to a small capitalist level, stagnation would take place. Such attempts were, as Marx pointed out, utopian in any event.

made out of squared logs, a mark of distinction. Only the rich had clabbered homes.

At that time, Pittsburgh was the trading center for those heading further west. Facing the town was Coal Hill, where the coal vein came to the surface and mining had already begun for coal used locally to heat homes. The future of Pittsburgh as a mighty steel center was difficult to foresee in that day.

Surrounding Pittsburgh, small farmers settled near the various creeks and streams that flowed into the Monongahela River and by the river itself. They were of English, Scotch-Irish, and German descent. The Scotch-Irish from Scotland and Ulster were the leading element and gave the frontier much of its unique character.

These farmers lived in extreme poverty, almost exclusively involved in subsistence farming. The average farmer was lucky to have \$20 pass through his hands in a single

Spanish settlements in the Mississippi Valley with which trade was already brisk, or an alliance with the Indian tribes.

Inspired by the French Revolution, there was much talk about the guillotine and it was the necks of the Easterners like Hamilton they had in mind.

There was not only talk, there was also action. First was the attack on Bower Hill. Bower Hill was the country estate, near Pittsburgh, of General Neville, a Westerner of some wealth who Washington had put in charge of collecting the excise.

The militia marched on the estate and destroyed every building with the exception of the smokehouse. The 18 Negro slaves on the estate asked that it be spared, for it contained their only source of food.

The most ominous event was the muster at Braddock's Field. Braddock's Field was a low flat area along the Monongahela a few miles from Pittsburgh. It was and is one of the few flat spots in an otherwise mountainous region. Today, it comprises

Part IV The American Revolution

By Tim Wohlforth

when a tax was imposed on whiskey in 1794, spreading through Pennsylvania and rallying forces in what is now the city of Pittsburgh. A horseman with a tomahawk in his hand rode through the town, calling for insurrection with the words: "This is not all we want ... I am but beginning yet."

The Whiskey Rebellion

The meaning of the Constitution that be better understood if we turn to that much neglected chapter of American history which occurred so shortly after the ratification of the Constitution—the Whiskey Rebellion of 1794.

Soon after the ratification of the Constitution, the newly formed government of George Washington, whose main political leader was the New York banker Alexander Hamilton, decided it was necessary to build up federal revenues. These revenues would allow the beginning of a standing army. The revenues and army would give state power to the government for the purpose of maintaining the very fragile and weak rule of big capital.

Therefore an excise tax was passed on all alcoholic spirits entering the country and made within it. This excise law appeared to the Western farmer as an intolerable act of despotism beyond even the Stamp Act, the Townshend Act, and the other financial measures of the British which precipitated the American Revolution.

The heart of the rebellion was in the Monongahela region of Pennsylvania, with Pittsburgh as the central town. Nearby areas of western Virginia and Maryland were also affected.

Pittsburgh had about 1800 inhabitants. Most of these lived in log cabins, with a few

towns of North Braddock and Braddock where US Steel has a large mill and some of the worst slum housing in the country is located. The revolutionary events of 1794 in Braddock will be repeated there by the working class in the next period.

On the morning of the gathering at Braddock's Field, it is reported that a man rode on horseback through the streets of Pittsburgh waving a tomahawk. He stated:

"This is not all that I want. It is not the excise law only, that must go down; your district and associate judges must go down; your high offices and salaries. A great deal more is to be done: I am but beginning yet."

It is estimated that as many as seven thousand men, armed with muskets and tomahawks, mustered that day on Braddock's Field. They were prepared to march on Pittsburgh, raze the town if necessary, and move on to the nearby fort, seize its supply of ammunition, and begin the rebellion.

However, there was no leadership. Thousands milled around not knowing what to do. Crafty western lawyers like E. Ackenridge conspired to thwart the will of the majority. It was a mass of poor farming folk, determined to fight it through, each more than able to handle himself against all the powers of nature and even certain powers of man, but together unable by class character to go any place.

And so the muster was followed by an orderly march through Pittsburgh. Follow-

ing this, the movement began to peter out. At the same time, preparations went forward in the East to move militarily against the West. Hamilton, in particular, did not want a compromise. He wanted military suppression of the rebellion to establish the authority of his capitalist government.

The attitude of the Westerners towards this danger was expressed in the following statement in the Pittsburgh Gazette:

"Brothers, you must not think to frighten us with fine arranged lists of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, composed of your water-melon armies from the Jersey shores; they would cut a much better figure in warring with the crabs and oysters about the Capes of Delaware."

Washington mobilized an army of some 15,000 with considerable difficulty because of popular resistance to the draft. After all, many remembered the ill-treatment of the soldiers of the Revolutionary War, while the leaders plundered and profited. There was sympathy for the rebels right up to the shoreline of the country. In the end, the force, led by the New Jersey troops, headed across the mountains singing the marching song:

"To arms once more, our hero cries, Sedition lives and order dies; To peace and ease then bid adieu And dash to the mountains, Jersey Blue."

The army crossed the Allegheny Mountains with the greatest difficulty, comparing the effort to Hannibal's crossing the Alps! It arrived in Monongahela country only to find that the rebellion had long since dissipated for lack of leadership.

In the following year or two, literally thousands of rebels fled the area, partly to avoid prosecution and partly out of despair over the existing state of things, pushing further on into Kentucky, into the Ohio Valley. Many of those in the "Water-melon Army" stayed on in the Monongahela Valley replacing the former rebels.

We must understand the historic significance of the military crushing of the Whiskey rebels. The Constitution created the formal and legal framework for the rule of big capital in America. But that rule needed to be firmly established in practice. This was the task of the Federalist Party's rule of America under Washington and Adams. The Whiskey Rebellion was a revolutionary uprising against that rule. Its crushing was essential.

A few years later, the Jeffersonian Party (Democratic Party) came to power and repealed the excise law. It appeared on the surface that the western farmer, in league with the southern planter, had removed Eastern capital from power. A little later, Jackson emerged from the West to establish a political rule that lasted up to the American Civil War. It appeared that within the coalition of the western farmer with the southern planter, the western element had gotten the upper hand.

But it was only appearance. Big capital continued to develop and exert its influence through the parties of the petty bourgeoisie. The counterrevolution of Washington, Hamilton, Madison, and Adams could not be undone. The Whiskey rebels came as close as the American petty bourgeoisie ever would to unseating the big capitalists.

This rebellion of the petty bourgeois would continue to mark American history. It was a rebellion which could not succeed.

Only with the emergence of the working class—that class so feared by Madison and Jefferson—could a progressive solution be realized to the democratic as well as economic oppression this petty bourgeoisie rebelled against.

The working class, however, had to first break politically with the middle class, and establish its own class political independence. Only through this negation can the working class take forward what was progressive in the struggle of the farmers and artisans of the early period.

There is one central lesson from American history: The American capitalist class never gave anyone anything willingly. It connived and conspired against democracy right at the very moment it fought for its liberty against the British. What democratic rights there have ever been in this country have been gotten because of bitter struggle, often violent in character, against the rule of big capital.

The American working class movement today is the inheritor of this tradition. We stand with the "mobility" of Newport, of Boston. We stand with that rider through the streets of Pittsburgh who, tomahawk in hand, said: "This is not all we want... I am but beginning yet."

LABOR TODAY

CP Covers For Woodcock

Leonard Woodcock was not the only one astonished by the rebellion that broke out on the floor of the UAW Convention over the proposal to extend his term in office to three years. The Stalinist Communist Party was equally surprised that the UAW head, whom they have so slavishly supported, met with such intense opposition.

Before the convention, the CP had nothing but the highest praise for Woodcock. It raised no opposition to the 1973 contracts. It based its support of Woodcock entirely on the lip service paid by the International to the policies of detente with the Soviet Union.

Now, forced to acknowledge the explosion that occurred at the convention, the CP covers up the role it played in defending Woodcock both before and during the proceedings. In the **Daily World** and its West Coast weekly **People's World**, the CP mildly slaps Woodcock on the wrists for violating union democracy. But it says nothing about the fact that supporters of the Stalinists at the Convention specifically disassociated themselves from any opposition to Woodcock himself.

Even in reporting the opposition to the three year term, the **Daily World** took no position on this issue and did not call for Woodcock's removal.

When the issue of Woodcock's reelection came up, the Stalinist influenced Auto Workers Action Committee (AWAC) and the United National Caucus (UNC) withdrew their opposition candidates.

With unbelievable cynicism, the **Daily World** writes: "Most critics simply don't see any point in casting only token opposition ballots."

In its reporting of the convention, the CP will not print what AWAC members actually said on the convention floor.

Lasker Smith, leader of AWAC, spoke on Woodcock's demand for a three year term: "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."

Another leading member of the AWAC, Local 6 President Norman Roth, told the **Bulletin** that he's "not for dumping Woodcock. In fact, there are some things I like about him."

What the Stalinists "like" is Woodcock's support for detente. The interests of auto workers are utterly subordinate to the maneuverings of the Kremlin with American imperialism for the purpose of maintaining its bureaucratic privileges.

George Morris of the **Daily World** carefully reviews the foreign policy resolutions of the UAW and in reporting Woodcock's keynote address writes: "He restated the union's support of the detente pacts, as he did in his printed report, and particularly stressed the role labor can play in making peace secure by maintenance of solidarity relations with unions of the socialist lands."

The rebellion against Woodcock at the convention reflected the massive movement of auto workers now breaking out against the bureaucracy. This movement of the working class opens up a tremendous crisis for the Stalinists who rest on the bureaucracy.

They see the tremendous struggles developing inside the plants against speedup and layoffs leading to a confrontation with this government, as a threat to all the counterrevolutionary deals made by Brezhnev with Nixon.

Therefore, the Stalinists fight to hold back this movement against Woodcock. They ally themselves with centrists like the United National Caucus, and as soon as they see real opposition to Woodcock, withdraw from the elections and endorse the discredited "Woodcock Team."

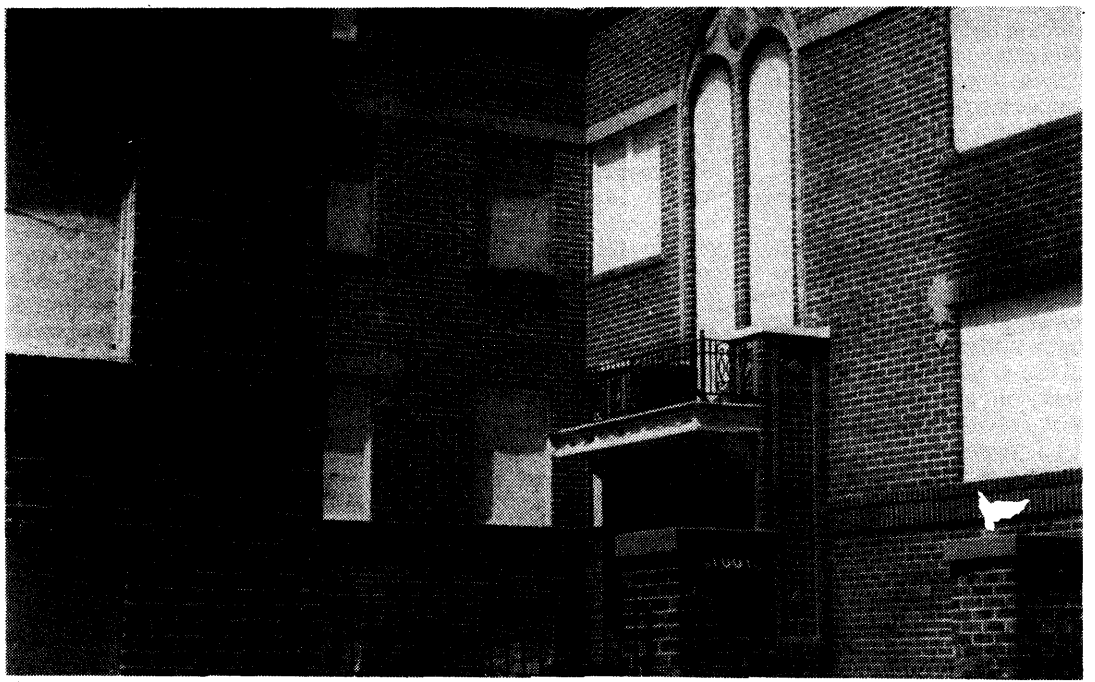
Whatever mild criticisms the CP now feels compelled to make, after the upheaval at the convention, are a fraud. It is a cover for the actual backing of Woodcock in practice and his ties to the Democratic Party. The CP endorsed Woodcock's "strong impeachment resolution" which leaves Nixon in office.

The point is, however, that Woodcock would not call for Nixon's resignation, and the resolution specifically states its opposition to resignation because it would destroy American democracy.

To try to peddle illusions of American democracy when the Watergate conspiracy reveals plans for dictatorship, when the police in every city are gearing up to attack trade unionists in the communities and on the picket lines, is to openly oppose the struggle to prepare the working class for power through the construction of a labor party and the building of the revolutionary leadership.

For this reason, the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party, the industrial arm of the Workers League, is going forward in constructing the required leadership to meet the tasks before the working class.

by david north



"Our Homes Are Like Abandoned Houses"

BY MIKE ROTH
MINNEAPOLIS—"I came here in 1951 from the South.

"Then this neighborhood was real nice. The homes were almost new. Filled with families, children. You can see for yourself what it's like now."

Every day on the Northside, more homes are abandoned and more lots fill up with garbage. Landlords, completely unwilling to make the most minor repairs, board up apartment houses and walk away.

Workers and their families are crowded into rundown duplexes, charged outrageous rents without stoves or refrigerators, and are frequently denied heat and hot water. When these conditions become intolerable, they are forced into newer housing blocks like the Cecil B. Newman Plaza, where trash is picked up infrequently, roaches multiply, and the private owners extort high damage deposits giving no service in exchange.

Virginia, just graduated from North High, moved into Cecil Newman with her baby three weeks ago: "This certainly wasn't my first choice, but after looking around the Northside I had to move in here.

"They promised to paint and they haven't. I had to give them \$100 damage deposit all at once.

WATERBUGS

"I paid my rent from the first and couldn't get in until June 8. I've heard there are waterbugs and hot water's been off sometimes for three weeks."

Tenants at Cecil Newman were forced to take the management to court to get repairs. Another tenant reported to the **Bulletin** that the bugs come because the building's foundation is so low.

More than 200 people live there. Most families have very young children, but there are only three washing machines for the entire complex.

Rents run from \$140 to \$160 for two and three bedroom apartments.

South of Olson Highway sits the Glenwood Projects which are city-owned. They lack playgrounds and stores are run by a Housing Authority which holds the tenants responsible for all damage.

Ann, a young mother with two children, pointed out a large cracked and sagging section of

her kitchen ceiling: "They came out here four times and told me that I'd let the upstairs leak. Finally, they found a rusty pipe in the wall."

Another tenant, Al, said: "You can't take a whole shower without the water running cold."

His wife added: "There isn't enough hot water to do one load of dinner dishes. The kids got to walk blocks just so they can swing.

"All I see the housing men do is ride around," said Al. "I haven't figured out yet just what they do."

FIXED

Surrounding the projects, retired workers on low fixed incomes rent apartments in several hi-rise towers.

One older woman described her situation: "Before this inflation, I used to have a little money, now I barely scrape by. On Social Security, after I pay rent and the telephone I have less than \$20 to spend.

"The increase in Social Security won't help. I'm going to get \$4 more, but then I'll be on a higher income level and they will increase my rent \$8."

From Olson Highway north to Plymouth Ave. abandoned buildings begin to outnumber inhabited ones.

"Why's there so much about the boarded up ones?" said Leroy. "The places you live in are as bad as the empty ones."

Leroy, a laid off construction worker, cleans the hallways for nothing because the owner will not.

"I had to get my own stove and refrigerator. My bathroom door is so rotted it breaks off when I open it, no sense fixing the hinge, it's so rotten it would be like putting a screw into a wad of cotton."

"I came up from Tennessee," Leroy added. "Most people around here like me have been living like this their whole lives. But you got to ask yourself, does it have to be this way forever?"

"I can lay bricks, fix streets. A lot of people can do this. Around here, we could repair the whole place. We could work right around here.

MONEY

There's the money, but the rich won't let it loose. These kids, they've got nothing to do but throw rocks at the empty houses.

Wilder-Homewood is an area of more than 100 square blocks stretching north and west to the

city limits. Traditionally, workers have owned their own small stucco houses here.

In the last two years, the number of vacant homes has nearly quadrupled. Now, there are over 250 shells in the neighborhood with the familiar FHA sign, "For sale—Anybody can buy."

Two years ago, more than \$3 million was promised by the government in small homeowner's loans. Last year, the Nixon administration impounded this money. Less than \$500,000 has finally been released.

A worker might arrange an FHA mortgage at lower rates than banks, put down a small payment, and take possession. Then when he steps in, he finds that to fix the plumbing, floors or roof he needs thousands more. Unable to get this money from a bank, he is forced to leave, losing his whole investment. This story has been repeated literally hundreds of times.

Those who stay have to perform the labor themselves after work.

This section of the Northside is convenient to workers at the huge Honeywell plant in Golden Valley, the Tennant Co. factory, and numerous other plants located in the St. Louis Park industrial areas.

By bus, people can get to work in 20 minutes. But with housing falling apart so fast, they are forced to live further and further away from the Northside.

The Northside area has virtually no shopping facilities. The Glenwood Center, built in the late 1960s, is two city blocks in size. It is completely boarded up, except for a drug store and laundromat. Families without cars have to take cabs to the market.

"It's money problems of course," said one man who lives next door to the empty shell of a new house on Fremont. "I've watched them try to build that little place for two years. The people no sooner get a little money together, when the price of everything takes off."

At the corner of Lyndale Ave. near Broadway stands a sign telling everyone to "watch for the construction of 175 houses." Behind it, there are several acres of bulldozed lots. The sign is the only thing erected on this property in the last three years.

One young woman described the situation: "They can't get rich on you, so the owners neglect the buildings until they are falling down around you. Then you've got to move."

Ford Workers Strike Over Grievances

BY DEBRA WATSON
CHICAGO—Over 4100 workers are on strike at the Ford Stamping Plant in Chicago Heights.

At 11 pm on Tuesday, June 11, the entire plant was shut by a walkout. Most workers left the parking lot and stopped only a block away at the UAW local hall.

One of the men going in and out of the union hall told the Bulletin: "This strike isn't like the ones before. The men are not together."

"Nobody knew it was going to happen. Really, it happened so fast. At about nine minutes to eleven, the two committeemen started coming around waving their hands, so we all got up and got out. We really weren't sure what to do."

One worker said: "Everything from A to Z is going on inside there. The discipline procedures, ventilation, heating, speedup, increased production. They're not telling us anything inside, they said to come back tomorrow at five for a meeting."

Many men reported that the major issues that forced the strike were ventilation and ex-

cessive noise levels. Last November, the plant went out over the same grievances. The strike, which took place at the same time the national contract was being negotiated, was not sanctioned by the International.

The company called it a wildcat and slapped an injunction on the men. The local leadership called the men back to work after the injunction was imposed.

The Chicago Heights plant has been without a local contract since November.

The stamping plant makes parts for the Torrence Avenue assembly plant.

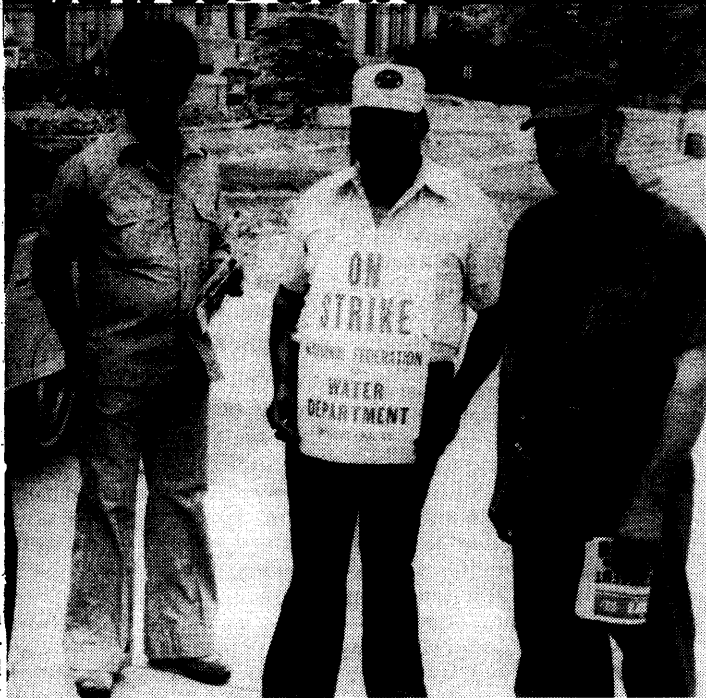
This plant has been going three and four hours overtime for the last few weeks. If the strike continues at the stamping plant, Torrence will have to shut down.

There is a bitterness over the amount of grievances that had been allowed to pile up, but many men also brought up the issue of wages.

"I definitely think we were sold out on the national agreement."

"The only thing I don't like about this strike is that it won't get me any more money. We really need more money."

midwest news



Employees of the National Federation of Water Departments in St. Louis are on strike. The city is only offering a 4 percent wage increase.

Water Strike Shuts St. Louis

BY A REPORTER

ST. LOUIS—All the members of the National Federation of Water Departments Local 675 have gone on strike for higher wages against the city.

They are asking for nearly a 10 percent wage increase.

The city has offered 4 percent.

Virtually all city services have been shut down, as the other unions are honoring the lines.

The Public Employees Union Local 410 is meeting this weekend to vote on whether or not to support the strike and go out.

"I'm making less money now than I was at the beginning of the year, with everything going up in price," one worker said.

"We're asking for a \$60 a month raise across the board. This is the only way we're going to be able to keep up."

"We can't live on 4 percent," said one man. "The city takes 1 percent back in taxes."

Six people on the picket lines have been hit by cars driven by scabs. One spent some time in the hospital.

Police have arrested several pickets for "interfering with police officers duties." The cops survey the lines 24 hours a day.

Another worker said: "One guy ran through the lines in a panel truck and hit two pickets."

"He got out and threatened the strikers with a switch blade. The police didn't do anything about it."

"About twice a day the company takes pictures of us from the roof," another said.

AIM Rejects 'No-Contest' Trial Deal

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

LINCOLN, Neb.— More than 100 Indians scheduled to go on trial in Lincoln, Nebraska for charges growing out of the Wounded Knee occupation in South Dakota last spring refused a government offer to plea bargain.

Government prosecutors and defense attorneys had worked out an agreement to drop charges against 120 defendants in the "nonleadership" cases recently transferred to Lincoln, Nebraska by US District Court Judge Warren Urbom.

In exchange for dropping these charges, five other defendants were to plead "no-contest."

AIM stated: "We would be telling the people of the United States we were wrong when we went to Wounded Knee."

The statement was made by John Thomas, coordinator for AIM of the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee. He went on to label the plea bargaining as a conspiracy to convict Russell Means and Dennis Banks in the trial now going into its sixth month in St. Paul.

ACCEPTANCE

The initial acceptance of plea bargaining was made by the attorneys, not the defendants, he reported. "The only way the trials will not be held, is if the government dismisses all charges against all the defendants," Thomas concluded.

The offer of the government to release the defendants resulted from the acquittal May 29 in Judge Urbom's Sioux Falls S. Dakota Court. Charges were dismissed against Tonia Ackerman, Lorelie DeCora Means, and Madonna Gilbert following Urbom's ruling that the government had not presented enough evidence for conviction.

This brings to nine the number of cases dropped or dismissed so far. Not a single conviction has been secured by the government.

St. Louis Pact Lets Contractors Appoint Union Shop Stewards

BY HOWARD WEST

ST. LOUIS—Construction union leaders have recommended acceptance of an agreement which allows the building contractors to appoint laborers shop stewards on each site.

This agreement opens the door to attacks on the rights of every trade in the construction industry.

The union leaders also accepted a wage settlement of less than 8 percent annually, while

inflation is rising at almost twice that rate.

Over 20,000 workers in St. Louis closed down all construction sites May 1 in a dispute over wages, cost of living, and the rights of unions to organize and defend members on the building sites.

Five unions were involved including the Carpenters District Council, Teamsters Construction Drivers, Cement Masons Hoisting Engineers, and the Laborers District Council.

The Laborers Union was in the center of this struggle, as the contractors refused to budge on the issue of appointing shop stewards. Now any shop steward who takes a stand for a worker

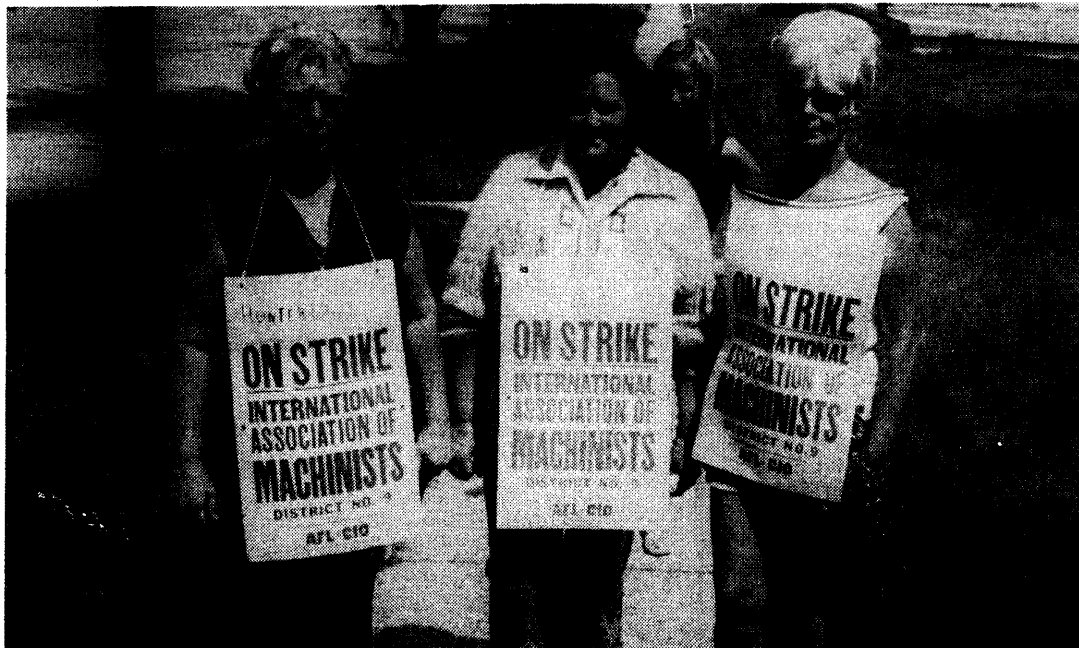
will face immediate dismissal from all building employment and can be replaced from the many hundreds of unemployed building laborers available.

By isolating this issue to the laborers, the building contractors were able to break up the Five Pact Alliance of the unions.

The laborers were pressured into accepting this agreement by the leadership of the other four unions.

The Carpenters have already ratified the contract. Most of the other unions will vote today.

The Laborers do not have a chance to vote on this agreement: it will be voted on by only delegates to the craft committee.



428 workers at the Hunter Engineering plant in St. Louis County have been on strike for higher wages since March 1. Scabs who have threatened strikers with guns are being escorted across the picket lines.

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books

Karl Marx And Friedrich Engels

Part 5

by David North

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

David Riazanov's biography of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels stands as an important contribution to Marxist literature. His grasp of the relation of Marx's early philosophical struggles against the idealism of Feuerbach to the development of scientific socialism and the understanding of the central role of the vanguard party in preparing the social revolution reflects the theoretical richness of the Bolshevik Party, which Riazanov played an important role in leading.

We therefore denounce the introduction to this volume, written by the Stalinist Dirk Struik, as a ruthless attack on Riazanov and a defense of Stalin's annihilation of an entire generation of Bolsheviks.

Cynically repeating the long-discredited charges made by Stalin in 1931, Riazanov is portrayed by Struik as a Menshevik saboteur who sought to overthrow the Soviet state. Struik writes:

"Riazanov's last years were an anticlimax. His Menshevik sympathies had long been tolerated in view of his enormous services to the (Marx-Engels) Institute. But the political climate of the early 1930s was not healthy for a man of his type. He seems to have gone just once too far."

This passage is an example of the form of gutter innuendo in which the Stalinists specialize. Until Riazanov was suddenly arrested in 1931, he had never been known for anything approaching "Menshevik sympathies."

Contemptuous

Indeed, for Struik to imply that a Menshevik—necessarily an anti-Marxist, an anticommunist, and reactionary idealist—could make "enormous contributions" to the Marx-Engels Institute betrays a contemptuous attitude toward Marxism.

When Struik states that the "political climate" was not healthy for men like Riazanov, he openly defends the climate of the Moscow Trials during which Stalin's public prosecutor, the ex-Menshevik and White Guardist Vishinsky, demanded that Bolsheviks be shot like "mad dogs."

The arrest of Riazanov was, as Trotsky explained in a recently published article in Writings 1930-31, a monstrous frameup required by Stalin to eliminate an old revolutionary and respected Marxist who knew too much about the history of Bolshevism to submit to the authority of the bureaucratic usurpers in the Kremlin. Trotsky wrote:

"All of Riazanov's activity was manifested in the realm of ideas, of books, of publications, and by that fact alone it was under the constant scrutiny of hundreds of thousands of readers throughout the world. Finally, and most importantly, Riazanov is accused not of sympathy for the deviation of the right-wingers in the party, but of participation in the counterrevolutionary conspiracy..."

"In one of his speeches Lenin spoke directly of the strong side of Riazanov and of his weak side."

Lenin did not see Riazanov as a politician. Speaking of his strong side, Lenin had in mind his idealism, his deep devotion to Marxist doctrine, his exceptional erudition, his honesty in principles, his intransigence in defense of the heritage of Marx and Engels. That is precisely why the party put Riazanov at the head of the Marx-Engels Institute which he himself had created. The work of Riazanov had international importance, not only of a historic-scientific, but also a revolutionary and political character. Marxism is inconceivable without the acceptance of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. Menshevism is the bourgeois-democratic refutation of this dictatorship.

Struggle

"In defending Marxism against revisionism, Riazanov, by all of his activity, conducted a struggle against the social democracy and consequently against the Russian Mensheviks. How then is Riazanov's principled position to be reconciled with his participation in the Menshevik conspiracy? To this question there is no reply. And we think there cannot be a reply. We are absolutely certain that Riazanov did not participate in any conspiracy. But in that case, where does the accusation come from? If it is invented, then by whom and toward what end?..."

"In every unit, there are now agents fresh from the plebiscite who on every occasion interrogate the hesitant and the irresolute: Do they regard Stalin as an infallible chief, as a great theoretician, as a classic of Marxism? Are they ready on the New Year to swear loyalty to the chief of the party—to Stalin? The less the party shows itself capable of controlling itself through ideological struggle, the more the bureaucracy is forced to control the party with the aid of agent-provocateurs..."

"Having acquired the power of the apparatus, Stalin feels himself weaker than ever internally. He knows himself well and that is why he fears his own position. The plebiscitary regime is pitiless: it does not reconcile itself with doubts, it demands perpetual enthusiastic acknowledgement. That is why Riazanov's turn came."

The fact that Professor Struik dredges up the old slanders is linked to the tremendous crisis of Stalinism and the utterly counterrevolutionary role it plays in this period.

Embrace

It not only revives the popular front as a weapon against the working class, as the Stalinists did in Chile, but they actually embrace the fascist military of Portugal in a desperate stand against the revolutionary tide.

Under these conditions, they must revive all the old slanders and lies to cover up the history of Stalinism and prevent, at all costs, the development of a true understanding of Trotsky's principled struggle against the bureaucracy. Professor Struik is more than happy to assist in the dirty work of the Stalinists.

CONCLUDED

Carpenter: 'Now You Do 2 Or 3 Men's Work'

BY TIM NELSON
SAN FRANCISCO—
"That last strike was an outburst, a safety valve.

"You see safety valves going off all over now. It's like blowing up a balloon.

"After a while, you run out of safety valves. Then it's a bomb."

Ira James has been a carpenter for 16 years. He told the Bulletin: "Today, when they see a few gray hairs, they lay you off."

The contractors threaten every man with layoff to force him to speed up. "Now you do two or three men's work. I was laying both ends of joists by myself. They are all prefabricating.

"They'll put on three men to bolt the thing down and maybe a couple for joisting, but you never see 15 to 30 carpenters."

In April, unemployment in construction rose to 10.3 percent, nationally. There are 70,000 workers who have lost their jobs.

Signs for the future are no better. San Francisco Golden Gateway Company, for example, has halted construction of four towers.

IMPROVEMENT

Manager, Dave Towner, said: "We're waiting for some improvement in the cost picture."

Interest rates predicted to be 10 to 11 percent have risen as

high as 16 percent. Prices for copper wire, and tubing, as well as petrochemical products like plastic pipe are rising uncontrollably.

The cost of cement is expected to rise 15 percent by July 1, and Japanese steel, critical in California, is expected to rise near \$70 a ton.

The contractors are driving to make each worker pay for these price rises through speedup.

Last November, carpenters went on strike, but the leadership refused official strike sanction.

"Al and Benny, business agents for Local 36, didn't even help out in that strike," said a young carpenter. "They aren't creating any program.

"They talk about Watergate, but they're not creating any jobs. I've only got four more weeks of unemployment. Then I'm really going to need a job."

IBEW Strikes For Union Rights

BY A REPORTER
CONCORD, Calif.—Striking workers at the Rucker Electronic Co. here are in the second month of struggle for \$1 an hour wage increase and union recognition for the IBEW.

On Tuesday, June 11, 300 workers demonstrated at the plant to defy the April 30 injunction against mass picketing. Fifteen workers were arrested for sitting down in the road to block scab cars.

Ninety percent of the workers are women who get paid \$2.05 an hour. Even while working, many still qualify for welfare, since their pay is so low, so the county

has been subsidizing the Ruckers Electronic branch in Concord. The IBEW Local 2131 finally got certification on April 4, after the NLRB took 11 months to investigate "charges" made by the company. Instead of negotiating with the union in accordance with the law, the company appealed the decision of the NLRB to the State Court.

The picketing was so effective that the company got an injunction on April 30 against mass picketing, which allows only two pickets per gate.

The union proposed that they would accept this if the company would allow only administrative personnel in. The company refused.



Youth from Outer Mission confront Tom Thompson, head of the Department of Public Works.

Funds For Jobs Returned

BY MARTY MORAN
SAN FRANCISCO—The city government has revealed that it returned as surplus over \$232 thousand from last year's summer job programs.

This was announced by Tom Thompson, head of the Department of Public Works summer jobs program to a meeting of 200 people from the Outer Mission District who came to demand more jobs for youth in that area.

The DPW turned over \$100,000 to the city's general fund because, according to Thompson, there were not enough youth referred to the program from City Hall.

The school district returned \$132,000 in a similar way, this time to the federal government's Department of Labor.

After Thompson had justified not using funds in the past because, supposedly not enough

youth wanted jobs, Mayor Alioto's social programs director Jose Meza refused to grant a single concession to the assembled groups.

Rather than demand more

jobs, the leaders of the protest called for giving a greater percentage of city supplied jobs to Outer Mission youth, which would mean taking the jobs away from other communities.

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IBEW Stays Out For 25% Pay Hike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN CARLOS—"The people here have woken up and we will stay out until we get what we are on strike for.

"It is about time the company woke up to what we want."

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 1969 at the Lenkurt Electronics plant in San Carlos is pressing its strike for a two year contract with a 25 percent wage increase, a dental plan, and paid sick leave.

By a vote of 1081 to 1028, workers rejected the company's latest proposal and are con-

tinuing their 11week-old strike.

Workers see a two year contract, instead of a three year contract as critical because of inflation. Lenkurt offered a three year contract with a 10 percent wage increase the first year and 5 percent each of the following years.

The maximum cost of living increase allowed would be 6 cents every six months and 12 cents for the third year.

CONTINUE

"We have to continue the strike. We don't have enough money. It's just out of necessity because of the prices," said one striker.

"We thought we would be back in a short time, but the company took back even what they offered before.

"They want a three year contract instead of two years."

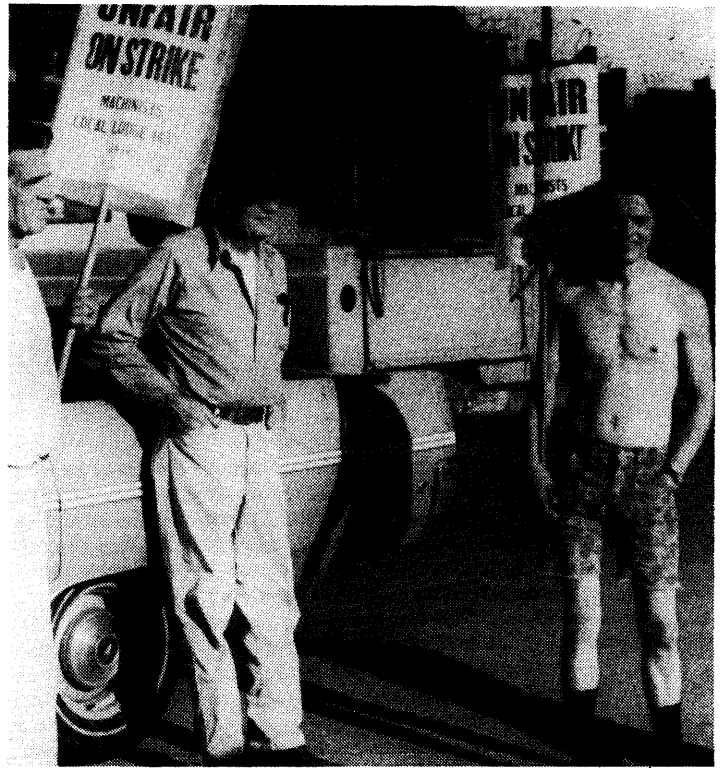
Lenkurt produces telephone carrier equipment and microwave radios. It is a subsidiary of General Telephone and Electronics, the seventeenth largest corporation in the world.

More than one-half of the production workers at the plant are women

Mass pickets called by the union have sometimes brought nearly 1000 workers surrounding the plant.

Teamster truck drivers have observed the picket line, as well as most nonunion drivers.

Material, however, has been moved by salaried personnel from Southern Pacific. Production is running about 20 percent of normal, with finishing jobs done by salaried employees.



Machinists on strike against Zidell Explorations in Portland.

Cement Workers Shut Construction In Northwest Strike

BY A REPORTER

PORTLAND—Most major construction projects in Oregon and southwest Washington have been shut by a strike of 650 members of Cement Masons Local 555.

The strike began June 10 after the membership of Local 555 rejected an offer of 75 cents an hour in wages and fringe benefits, agreed to by the Association of General Contractors and officials of five construction unions.

Most highway construction projects along Interstate Five and Interstate 205 in Oregon and southwest Washington are shut down, according to the AGC, together with the \$9 million hospital expansion program in Bend, Oregon, and the Lost Creek dam project near Metford, Oregon.

In Portland, work has stopped at the New Federal building, the US National Bank building, and the Evans products building. The only major construction still continuing is on the Lloyd building site.

It is not known what the unions demands are. Dick Lacey, assistant business manager of Local 55, maintains that the local leadership accepted the original 75 cent original increase, saying: "Our demand was considerably higher, but we have been flexible throughout the entire negotiations."

Cement masons are not alone in the fight for higher wages. Elsewhere in the Pacific Northwest, machinists are striking against Zidell Explorations in Portland; textile workers are continuing their strike at the Washougal Washington Pendleton mill and United Shop and Service Workers have shut Hyster.

Grocery clerks are out in Seattle and retail clerks are threatening to walk out at all Portland supermarkets.



Nurses picket at St. Luke's Hospital in San Francisco.

Bay Area Nurses Fight Against Deteriorating Health Care

BY JOHN BURTON SAN FRANCISCO—

The strike of over 4000 Bay Area nurses is now in its seventh day.

The nurses are determined to continue their strike until their demands are met.

"The strike looks good," a nurse named Lolly told the Bulletin. "We had a fantastic rally today at Union Square and we received a letter of support from Local 1199 in New York.

"This is no ordinary strike. It's a strike over principle.

"Our major demand is not over wages, but more say in patient care. After all, we're the ones that are with them all the time.

"Even though it's a dedicated profession, if you work 18 hours in a row, anybody would fall flat on their face."

REOPEN

A group of nurses yesterday approached Kaiser Hospital management and told them that they would be willing to reopen the coronary and intensive care units, but: "We got the door slammed in our face. I wouldn't like to be a patient now," said Lolly.

It is clear that the nurses major concern is for the health of their patients against deteriorating conditions and the understaffing in the hospitals. This gives the lie to the press campaign which pictures the

nurses as endangering patients lives.

The strike is taking place at the same time as 8000 delegates are meeting in San Francisco for the national convention of the American Nurses Association.

FBI To Jail KPFK Reporter

BY SHEILA BREHM

LOS ANGELES—Will Lewis, general manager of FM radio station KPFK, faces a possible contempt charge for refusing to turn over to the FBI the original tape the station received last week from Patricia Hearst.

The recorded message from Miss Hearst and Emily and William Harris concerned the shootout in Los Angeles which left six SLA members dead.

Lewis was subpoenaed to appear before the grand jury to turn over the tape recording, a mimeographed letter the station received from the "Weather Underground," and to answer questions on the circumstances of how the station received the two communications.

The station has turned over copies of the documents, but is withholding the originals on

grounds that to do so would violate the rights under the First, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Ninth, and Tenth Amendments of the Constitution.

Lewis refused to answer any questions before the grand jury and stated that it would violate a newsman's professional ethics of keeping his news sources confidential.

Lewis told the Bulletin: "I would rather go to jail than voluntarily turn the material over."

FINGERPRINTS

The FBI has maintained that they want the original materials in order to check for fingerprints that could lead to the whereabouts of members of underground groups.

Lewis has maintained that to provide the material to law enforcement agencies which could lead to the capture of those

who delivered the tape and letter would have a "chilling effect" on the free flow of information to the news media and the public.

"We believe the right to a free press is more important than our obligation to law enforcement."

"The law already knows the 'what and when' of the materials. They want to know 'who,' and to turn over the original would be a breach of confidentiality.

"It would make our First Amendment hollow words. We don't want the police to think they can just walk in here and get what they want."

Although Lewis was reluctant to compare his case and its possible sentence with Nixon's refusal to hand over copies of the Watergate transcripts, and being allowed complete freedom, he said: "No one should be allowed to be above the law as Nixon has declared himself to be."

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lucha obrera

lucía rivera

Comieza Campaña En Bushwick

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Fue esta área en el pasado una de las comunidades más industrializadas en el condado de Brooklyn. Los primeros inmigrantes fueron italianos y europeos orientales quienes llegaron al área en busca de empleos. En las últimas décadas, miles de latinoamericanos se han mudado a la comunidad al igual que que afroamericanos. La población hispana es de un 45 por ciento.

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Este verano el Youth Corps (programa gubernamental que provee empleos a los jóvenes) tiene 200 mil plazas para ofrecer a cerca de medio millón de jóvenes. Estos recibirán un salario semanal de \$36-\$40 dolares.

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Terry Delgado ha declarado en relación a su campaña, "La Liga Obrera ha de llevar esta campaña basado en los cuestiones nacionales e internacionales, basados en el entendimiento de la crisis económica y las tareas políticas a las que la clase obrera se enfrenta".

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PRICES. . .

(Continued From Page 1)

The fact of the matter is that workers and broad sections of the middle class cannot afford to buy new cars. Not only have the big cars continued to slump, but the economy lines have also fallen off.

Herbert Stein, the utterly-discredited economic adviser to Nixon, stated last week that "There are now signs that prices of industrial raw commodities on the average are declining and the post-decontrol bulge will not be repeated."

The inflation is being used by this government as a weapon against the living standards of every working class family in this country.

A powerful strike wave has already developed in which wage demands are the central issue. In addition to the first strike by members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union in 50 years, strikes have hit the construction and auto industry. Nurses have also gone out during the past month.

The fight for major wage increases with full cost of living protection must be carried forward with the call for a Congress of Labor to prepare a national strike to force Nixon out and construct a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

DODGE. . .

(Continued From Page 1)

"What makes it so bad is that the union called the Warren police to throw us out of the union hall. The cops came with paddy wagons just like a riot," the metal worker said.

"What we need is leadership in this union, someone who will stand up for our rights. If 80 or 90 percent of us unite, we can win. I'm for striking every plant."

"I'm for striking Solidarity House down on Jefferson," (UAW headquarters) said a woman assembly line worker.

"There's more of us working people than them. The Warren police aren't anything. We are going to win this."

WARNING

The charges against the 20 men have been dropped, but the court issued a new warning against picketing. The UAW leadership claims it will authorize a strike if the men vote to stay out at a meeting scheduled for Thursday, June 19.

Just one day after the Dodge workers went out, the UAW was forced to call a strike at the Ford stamping plant in Chicago Heights, Illinois.

UAW President Leonard Woodcock is sitting on an immense powder keg. A tremendous rebellion is growing in the plants against the brutal speedup on the line, the working conditions, forced overtime, and layoffs.

Woodcock's 1973 contract is a blank check to the employers to destroy all past contract rights and conditions.

At the Brook Park plant, a walkout nearly took place last week when reports of nearly 1000 layoffs circulated in the plant. Workers at the Norwood, Ohio plant of General Motors walked out on a wildcat for two days against speedup.

PRODUCTIVITY

The giant auto companies are spearheading a drive by all American industry to boost productivity, with a reduced work force, to extract as much profit as possible under slave labor conditions from the remaining workers.

The growing recession has thrown the auto companies into a deep crisis with sales from June 1 to 10 down a full 24 percent.



Chrysler, Ford, GM, all seek to finish production quotas on the 1975 models as fast as possible and then begin a new wave of layoffs.

The employers, with the full support of the Nixon government, now bring in riot police to terrorize workers, fire shop stewards at will, use the courts to outlaw the right to picket, and seek to create conditions in which workers are forced to work virtually at gunpoint.

These are the conditions facing not just auto workers, but every worker who strikes for his rights.

The UAW bureaucracy and the entire trade union leadership collaborate in this and openly act as strikebreakers for the company.

The strikes in auto are part of a growing strike wave throughout the country as inflation

reaches an annual rate of 16 percent.

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party industrial arm of the Workers League is leading the fight in auto for a national auto strike to throw out the 1973 contract and to demand a minimum 20 percent wage increase and an end to speedup and layoffs.

This fight can only go forward in a bitter struggle against Woodcock. An alternative leadership must be built in the UAW based on the need for a political struggle against this government.

Every basic right of workers can only be defended in a struggle to unite the working class in an independent labor party based on a socialist program to mobilize the power of the trade unions to force Nixon out.

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La campaña para conseguir 3500 firmas y tener el derecho de estar en los boletos de votación comenzará el 2 de agosto. Trabajadores y jóvenes deben de unirse a esta campaña ahora, levantando fondos para la campaña electoral y organizando mítines públicos en sus áreas.

PRICES. . .

(Continued From Page 1)

The fact of the matter is that workers and broad sections of the middle class cannot afford to buy new cars. Not only have the big cars continued to slump, but the economy lines have also fallen off.

Herbert Stein, the utterly-discredited economic adviser to Nixon, stated last week that "There are now signs that prices of industrial raw commodities on the average are declining and the post-decontrol bulge will not be repeated."

The inflation is being used by this government as a weapon against the living standards of every working class family in this country.

A powerful strike wave has already developed in which wage demands are the central issue. In addition to the first strike by members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union in 50 years, strikes have hit the construction and auto industry. Nurses have also gone out during the past month.

The fight for major wage increases with full cost of living protection must be carried forward with the call for a Congress of Labor to prepare a national strike to force Nixon out and construct a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

DODGE. . .

(Continued From Page 1)

"What makes it so bad is that the union called the Warren police to throw us out of the union hall. The cops came with paddy wagons just like a riot," the metal worker said.

"What we need is leadership in this union, someone who will stand up for our rights. If 80 or 90 percent of us unite, we can win. I'm for striking every plant."

"I'm for striking Solidarity House down on Jefferson," (UAW headquarters) said a woman assembly line worker.

"There's more of us working people than them. The Warren police aren't anything. We are going to win this."

WARNING

The charges against the 20 men have been dropped, but the court issued a new warning against picketing. The UAW leadership claims it will authorize a strike if the men vote to stay out at a meeting scheduled for Thursday, June 19.

Just one day after the Dodge workers went out, the UAW was forced to call a strike at the Ford stamping plant in Chicago Heights, Illinois.

UAW President Leonard Woodcock is sitting on an immense powder keg. A tremendous rebellion is growing in the plants against the brutal speedup on the line, the working conditions, forced overtime, and layoffs.

Woodcock's 1973 contract is a blank check to the employers to destroy all past contract rights and conditions.

At the Brook Park plant, a walkout nearly took place last week when reports of nearly 1000 layoffs circulated in the plant. Workers at the Norwood, Ohio plant of General Motors walked out on a wildcat for two days against speedup.

PRODUCTIVITY

The giant auto companies are spearheading a drive by all American industry to boost productivity, with a reduced work force, to extract as much profit as possible under slave labor conditions from the remaining workers.

The growing recession has thrown the auto companies into a deep crisis with sales from June 1 to 10 down a full 24 percent.



Chrysler, Ford, GM, all seek to finish production quotas on the 1975 models as fast as possible and then begin a new wave of layoffs.

The employers, with the full support of the Nixon government, now bring in riot police to terrorize workers, fire shop stewards at will, use the courts to outlaw the right to picket, and seek to create conditions in which workers are forced to work virtually at gunpoint.

These are the conditions facing not just auto workers, but every worker who strikes for his rights.

The UAW bureaucracy and the entire trade union leadership collaborate in this and openly act as strikebreakers for the company.

The strikes in auto are part of a growing strike wave throughout the country as inflation

reaches an annual rate of 16 percent.

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party industrial arm of the Workers League is leading the fight in auto for a national auto strike to throw out the 1973 contract and to demand a minimum 20 percent wage increase and an end to speedup and layoffs.

This fight can only go forward in a bitter struggle against Woodcock. An alternative leadership must be built in the UAW based on the need for a political struggle against this government.

Every basic right of workers can only be defended in a struggle to unite the working class in an independent labor party based on a socialist program to mobilize the power of the trade unions to force Nixon out.

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

