

Bulletin

NOW
TWICE A
WEEK!

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

VOLUME TEN NUMBER SIXTY ONE 397

FRIDAY, AUGUST 2, 1974

FIFTEEN CENTS



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BY DAVID NORTH
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(Continued On Page 12)

Bulletin Monthly Fund

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This shows the response of our supporters to the needs of the movement as the working class moves forward throughout the world. But at the same time, the raising of funds must take place each day. It cannot be left to the last minute.

In The Midweek Edition

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Greece: A New Stage Of Revolutionary Struggle

The collapse of the Greek military dictatorship, greeted by a massive outpouring of workers into the streets, means that the socialist revolution is on the agenda—not only in Greece, but throughout Europe.

The dictatorship of General Gizikis did not simply resign, but was forced out by the tremendous strength of the working class and its determination to fight.

Despite seven years of fascist repression, mass arrests, indefinite imprisonment, brutal torture, and murder of opponents, the Greek military and the CIA

have not succeeded in crushing the working class.

The fall of the junta is a powerful blow against the US government which planned and directed the original coup d'etat in 1967 and has been the main prop of

the regime ever since.

As in Portugal, where only three months ago, a 50-year-old dictatorship also collapsed, it is the insoluble economic crisis that is unleashing massive revolutionary struggles.

Since 1967, the Greek generals have been unable to stabilize the economy. Inflation has gone over 30 percent, the highest rate in Europe. The foreign debt and the balance of payments deficit have soared. Industry is in a state of collapse, unemployment is skyrocketing, and tourism has declined.

But the most decisive factor was the fierce resistance of the working class whose refusal to sacrifice its rights and living standards to pay for this crisis only deepened the crisis a hundred fold.

This crisis lies behind the desperate attempt of the Greek junta to seize control of Cyprus and move in a hand-picked dictator. As in Portugal, where the Portu-

guese capitalists need the African colonies as a source of raw material and investment, Cyprus was to serve the same purpose for Greece.

As in Portugal, it was precisely the disastrous defeats in the war that brought the crisis to a head and brought down the regime.

Now, when the working class is on the offensive, when the capitalists stumble from one crisis to another, the lessons of Chile and Portugal must be learned so that workers can take advantage of this crisis and prepare the struggle for power.

The new Caramanlis regime is extremely right wing and in no way represents a return to "democracy." Like the Spinoza government in Portugal, it has been put in power through a deal with the army to hold back the working class.

It is nothing more than a facade behind which the military stands in the wings preparing a new dictatorship.

Thus the most important and immediate task in the struggles that are beginning is the building of a revolutionary party in the working class to expose the new regime and to fight for a workers government. This is the task of the Workers International League, Greek section of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

Above all, the lessons of the treacherous history of betrayal of the Greek Communist Party must be learned by a new generation of workers.

The Greek CP leaders have already welcomed Caramanlis's call for a government of "National Union" and are eager to form a popular front coalition to bail out the capitalist system.

In 1944, the Greek Communist Party was the most powerful force in the country and masses of workers waited the call to launch an insurrection when the Nazi occupation ended.

On direct orders from Stalin, the Greek CP instructed the powerful workers militia, ELAS, to

disarm and subordinate itself to the new capitalist Papandreou government, while behind the scenes, the allied powers conspired to crush the working class by force.

In the bitter civil war that followed, many unarmed workers were machine gunned to death. In spite of the betrayal of the Stalinist leadership, the Greek working class conducted a general strike and virtually controlled Athens for a month before being defeated.

Greece today will not be a repeat of 1944. The depth of the economic crisis has produced a powerful offensive of workers simultaneously in almost every country, uniting workers in the colonial and in the advanced capitalist countries together in a common battle.

Every attempt by the capitalists to resolve their crisis by subjugating workers in one part of the world is immediately exploded by an upsurge in another area. This is deepening the economic crisis to the breaking point within the heart of capitalism, the United States.

This is why US imperialism must turn the guns and troops used against the peoples of Indochina, Latin America, and Greece against the American working class.

This crisis will now unfold in the US with great rapidity and sudden explosions. American workers must prepare for these struggles and the political tasks they pose in the fight for a labor party based on socialist policies. Through this struggle in the unions, a revolutionary leadership must be trained to prepare masses of workers for the struggle for power.

Today, the Trotskyist movement is a powerful movement in many countries which, through a ruthless exposure of Stalinism, will become the leadership of millions.

This means the building of the Workers League in the United States. We urge all workers to attend our annual summer camp in Canada this August, as an essential step in preparing this leadership.

What We Think

Cyprus Pact Contains Seeds Of New War

BY FRANK MARTIN

The July 30 agreement signed by Greece, Turkey, and Britain on the future of Cyprus has only one purpose—to retain imperialist domination of the island by slicing the Cypriot working class in two.

The agreement grants all the major demands of the right-wing Turkish regime of Bulent Ecevit. These include the continued presence of Turkish troops on Cyprus for an indefinite period, the granting of police powers to the Turks on any part of the island to assure the "security" of Turkish Cypriots, and the setting up of two "autonomous" governments.

The Turkish army has broadened its salient on the northern coast of Cyprus in the days following the official ceasefire. Turkish troops moved six miles east from their stronghold of Kyrenia, shelling and overrunning the town of Ayios Epiktitos.

Ecevit has ordered that United Nations troops in Kyrenia, who have been guarding Greek Cypriots, be moved out. Latest reports indicate that Turkey plans to send another 8000 men bringing their troop strength on the island to over 25,000.

The bourgeois nationalist leaders on Cyprus—Makarios and acting president Glafkos Clerides—are prepared to accept and enforce this rotten, imperialist agreement. Makarios met with Henry Kissinger in Washington recently and praised

his "efforts at establishing peace in Cyprus."

Makarios continues to receive the full backing of the Cypriot Communist Party, AKEL, which has the support of the majority of the Greek-Cypriot workers. It was their slavish support of Makarios, which opened the door to the coup of the Greek National Guard.

Reports emerging from Cyprus reveal that thousands of trade union militants, particularly AKEL members, were murdered by the Greek officers and the right-wing EOKA-B during Nicholas Sampson's nine-day rule.

While the Greek-led National Guard carried out a terror



Greeks in Athens celebrate fall of the Gizikis dictatorship.

campaign against the Turkish minority, the Turkish military has been rounding up Greek workers in and around Kyrenia. Reports are now circulating about mass killings. In the village of Alminos, 25 miles south of Nicosia, National Guard troops marched in, lined 13 Turkish workers up against a

wall and gunned them down.

The only purpose of the Geneva talks is to formalize the division of the Cypriot working class. Having failed to oust Makarios, Kissinger and the CIA are hoping to use the Turkish military to preserve American imperialism's interests in Cyprus.

New Fighting In Vietnam

North Vietnamese and troops of the National Liberation Front have captured three towns on the outskirts of Saigon and overran the town of Mang Buk near Da Nang in the heaviest fighting since the January 1973 ceasefire.

At Ben Cat, 25 miles from Saigon, a force of over 1000 soldiers inflicted over 2600 casualties, including 500 deaths, on the demoralized army of South Vietnamese dictator Thieu.

For over a year since the ceasefire, the liberation armies, under the leadership of the Stalinists, have carried out no major offensive to topple Thieu. Thieu has used the lull in fighting to extend his army's control over whole areas of the countryside.

Vietcong units were overrun by Saigon troops in the critical Tri Phap delta area, which can only be attributed to the fact that the NLF leadership was unprepared.

The new defeats on the battlefield are already intensifying the political crisis in Saigon, where last week docile deputies for the National Assembly challenged Thieu for the first time.

Who Is Constantine Caramanlis?

BY A REPORTER

When the Greek junta was forced to resign two weeks ago, it sent for Constantine Caramanlis, an exile in Paris, to head a new civilian government.

Who is this man who now poses as the savior of Greek democracy?

Caramanlis, a long-standing anticommunist, was first appointed premier in 1956 by the late King Paul following the death of the post-civil war dictator Marshal Papagos.

He won the 1961 election only with the aid of what one press commentator called: "An enormous military and police operation of intimidation and fraud."

While Caramanlis was in office, the left-wing parliamentary deputy Gregory Lambrakis was murdered by a fas-

cist gang in open collaboration with the police.

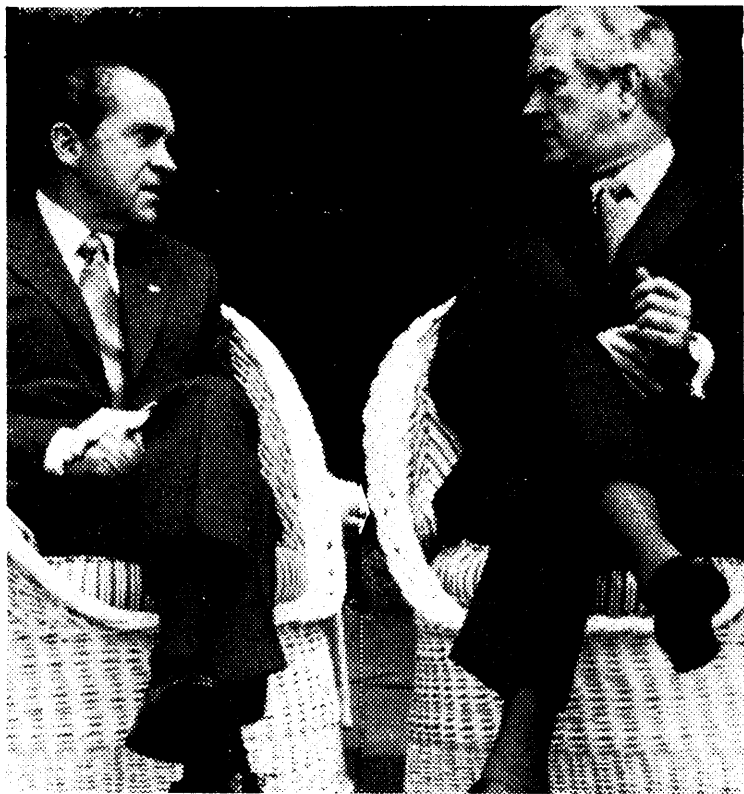
Caramanlis's role in this affair has never been clarified. Since his return to power, not a word has been mentioned about this affair or any other part of his history.

In the political crisis resulting from the Lambrakis affair, Caramanlis lost the support of the royal family. He resigned and went into voluntary exile in Paris.

Now, 13 years later, he has been summoned back by the Greek colonels and their masters in the American State Department. He has been forced to release the colonel's political prisoners, allow the return of exiles with full citizenship rights restored, and imprison the most brutal military torturer, Brig-Gen. Demetrios Ioannides, only to gain time to consolidate power.



Caramanlis likes to refer to his political philosophy as "a left-wing policy with a right-wing government."



John Connally with Nixon.

Grand Jury Indicts Connally For Bribery

BY DAVID NORTH
John B. Connally, former treasury secretary and one of Nixon's closest advisers, was indicted Monday by a Watergate Grand Jury on five counts dealing with bribery, perjury, and conspiracy to obstruct justice.

These charges, which carry a combined maximum penalty of 19 years in jail and a

\$50,000 fine, make Connally the fourth former cabinet member in the Nixon administration to undergo criminal prosecution.

Connally now joins a criminal fraternity of Nixon men which includes former Attorney Generals John Mitchell and Richard Kleindienst, former Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans, approximately 20 White House aides, and former Vice-President Spiro Agnew.

The former treasury secretary is accused of having accepted \$10,000 in bribes from a representative of the dairy industry in exchange for influencing Nixon to raise price support levels for the industry.

PAID

Jake Jacobsen, a lawyer for Associated Milk Producers, Inc., allegedly paid Connally the money in two installments: the first \$5000 was handed over on May 14, 1971 and the balance on September 24.

The indictment declares that Connally and Jacobsen "unlawfully, willfully, and knowingly did combine, conspire, confederate, and agree together...cor-

ruptly to influence, obstruct, and impede...the due administration of justice" and conspired to "make false material declarations" to the grand jury on two occasions.

Nixon's role in the conspiracy to raise milk price support levels is under investigation. He has repeatedly declared that his decision to raise price supports was not influenced by the industry's pledge to contribute \$2 million to the 1972 presidential campaign.

It is believed that the tapes now being turned over to the federal court may contain extremely damaging evidence to Nixon on this criminal affair.

The man who is now charged with taking \$10,000 in bribes was the architect of wage controls and gained an international reputation as the most ruthless spokesman for American imperialism.

In late 1971 and through the middle of 1972, Connally traveled around the world threatening European and Japanese capitalists with ruin unless they submitted to US plans to reverse its balance of payments deficit.

FREEZE

Around the same time he was getting paid off from the dairy industry, Connally was implementing the August 15 wage freeze which was then followed by the 5.5 percent guideline.

In January 1972, as Nixon was preparing for the presidential campaign, Connally rallied big business and bitterly attacked the working class.

He told the US Chamber of Commerce:

"This administration has defented the American business enterprise in this nation far more than you have defended yourselves..."

"This administration has not been one bit afraid to talk about profits, or defend the system under which you make profits."

Connally concluded that American labor could "no longer thumb its nose at the public and take everything it can grasp."

But Connally was doing plenty of grasping for himself.

Economists Predict Jobless Rise

Herbert Stein, Nixon's outgoing economic advisor, and Arthur Burns, head of the Federal Reserve Board, have issued another declaration of war on workers.

Stein, who has been predicting inflation would drop to seven percent told the Congressional Joint Economic Committee that inflation would be higher than expected and unemployment would rise to 6 percent by the end of the year.

Stein also said that the gross national product which has already declined over six percent since the beginning of the year would register an over all drop for 1974.

Stein denied the existence of a bank liquidity crisis and optimistically said "I'm not aware of any potential liquidity crisis similar to the situation affecting the Franklin National Bank."

But the far more blunt and ruthless proposals put forward by Burns make it clear that unemployment is going to be pushed way beyond six percent.

He indicated that interest rates, far from going down from the present record levels of over 12 percent, would go even higher, due to the soaring

demand for commercial bank loans by companies.

By making the cost of these loans more and more expensive, the Federal Reserve is preparing to allow businesses who depend on credit to go bankrupt.

Burns urged the Committee to re-establish the construction industry stabilization board to hold down "costs" in the industry and to prevent a repeat of the wage explosion of 1970.

It is precisely through credit

restrictions which are hitting the construction industry hardest that Burns intends to create a permanent pool of unemployed workers as a weapon against wage increases.

While Burns assured the congressmen that "we shall surely not stand aloof and permit a crisis to develop," it is obvious that Burns fears that the entire financial and monetary system of capitalism is on the brink of collapse.

FRELIMO Calls Cease-fire In Mozambique

BY A CORRESPONDENT

Portuguese President Antonio de Spinoza has announced that independence would be awarded soon to the Portuguese colonies in Africa, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and Angola.

During the week preceding the announcement, the governments in both Mozambique and Angola were replaced by military juntas hand-picked in Lisbon. Spinoza's action is a desperate measure to halt the deteriorating military situation in Africa and by establishing quasi-independent governments which will allow the continued Portuguese dom-

ination of the colonies' economic resources.

In Mozambique, where Portuguese troops have refused to go into battle against FRELIMO, the national liberation movement, guerrilla leaders declared an immediate cease-fire. Since the mutinies, FRELIMO has not staged any attacks on civilian targets. Explosions on the railroad lines have paralyzed traffic between Beira and the dam at Cabora-Bassa, and on the Beira Umtali route.

In Guinea-Bissau, which Spinoza says will be the first to be granted independence, the PAIGE movement responded angrily to indications in Spinoza's speech that the Cape Verde islands will not be granted status as part of independent Guinea. Spinoza also hinted that Macao, on the China coast, and Timor in Indonesia will remain under Portuguese control.

Camp Program—Marxism And The Party

An exciting and critically important educational program is being prepared for the Second Annual Summer Camp which begins on August 24.

The educational program will be the heart of the summer camp and the Workers League and Young Socialist's preparation for the emerging revolutionary struggles of the American working class.

At our first camp last year, the central theme of the lectures and discussion was the need to turn to materialism. The Workers League and Young Socialists fought for the understanding that only through a struggle for materialism could the revolutionary party grasp the objective developments taking place in the world and prepare its perspectives for leading the working class to power.

The perspective put forward last summer based on a materialist assessment of the economic crisis has been confirmed in the actual developments of the past 12 months.

Inflation is now raging throughout the world driving the economies of every major capitalist country into a slump and at the same time producing a powerful movement of the international working class.

Millions of workers in every part of the world and in the United States now feel the impact of this crisis through attacks on their standards of living and basic democratic rights. Nixon is now adopting policies of tight money and credit restrictions which will mean a sharp increase in unemployment over the coming months.

The powerful strike wave that is sweeping throughout American industry and the massive demonstration of 50,000 construction workers in Trenton demanding jobs makes it clear that workers will fight every attempt to lower their living standards through inflation and unemployment.

Our preparation for the new situation requires that we deepen our fight for mater-

ialism at the coming camp.

This is why the educational program will concentrate on a study of the origins of Marxism. The basic text for the lectures will be a recently published book by the Bolshevik leader David Riazanov, entitled *Marx and Engels*.

Drawing upon a great deal of new information contained in this biography, the first series of lectures will deal with the development of philosophy during the 18th and 19th centuries, leading up to Marx's break with mechanical materialism and the development of dialectical materialism.

The struggle waged by Marxists in defense of materialism will be dealt with in lectures on "Idealism: The Method of Revisionism."

The third lecture will be on "Dialectical Materialism: The Method of the Workers League" and the fourth lecture will deal with the task of "Building the Fourth International."

These two lectures are partic-

ularly critical because they will bring together the questions of contradiction and the basic elements of Marxism with the fundamental issues of perspectives for the construction of the revolutionary party.

In these lectures, questions of philosophy will be brought together with perspectives for the Party's work among youth, in the trade unions and our fight for the construction of a labor party as a vital step in the political development of the working class.

The fight to bring together questions of philosophy and perspectives represents a development over the past camp; a development that is required by the movement of millions of workers into revolutionary struggles.

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

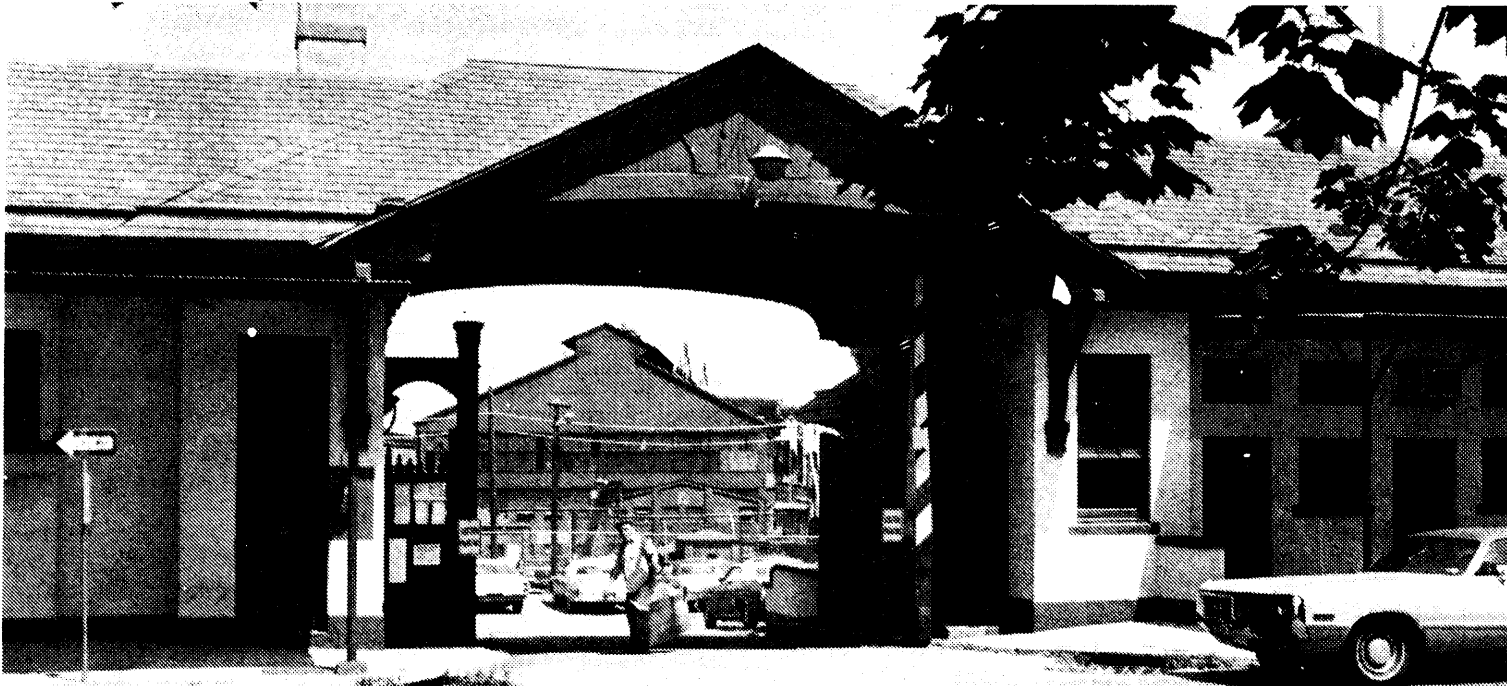
A series of special lectures will be given by Workers League



Leon Trotsky

National Secretary Tim Wohlforth, including one on "American Slavery: From the Old South to Lordstown."

We urge every youth, trade unionist, housewife and Bulletin subscriber to make definite plans to attend the summer camp. The basic reading for the lectures can be obtained from all Bulletin salesmen.



The Roebling steel mill near Trenton, New Jersey, where over 1400 lost their jobs.

CF&I Axes 1400 Steel Jobs

**BY A REPORTER
TRENTON, NJ—**
Over 1400 steelworkers, many of them with seniority of 30 years and more, were thrown out of work July 28 when the

CF&I steel mill in Roeb-
ling, NJ shut down.

This follows the closure of CF&I mills in Palmer, Massachusetts, Trenton, NJ, and South San Francisco. This is four plants out of the

five bought by the Crane Co. plumbing and steel conglomerate in 1969. Thomas Mellon Evans, who is chairman of the board at Crane, is also responsible for five other plant shutdowns in the Trenton area, wiping out a total of

over 4500 New Jersey jobs since 1968.

Evans' ruthless axing of CF&I reveals the complete arrogance with which these industrialists buy, operate and close down whole companies to make a quick profit, with complete contempt for the rights of the workers.

Even his own officials characterize Evans as "a very tough operator." A Roebling mill executive said: "If you don't make money, he closes you down, regardless of what it does to the employees or to the community."

With the largest steel companies like US Steel, moving to close down older plants and consolidate operations in centralized facilities using the latest techniques, Evans bought out CF&I, not to produce steel but as a bookkeeping measure. He has invested under 4 million dollars in the plant, which was built in 1900, and let it fall apart while he squeezed out 180,000 tons of steel a year.

The tremendous increase in the price of scrap steel, and the need for ready cash forced Evans to shut down his mills.

While the mill at Roebling shows a \$750,000 profit for May alone, this is largely based on the fact that CF&I has been able to charge 15 percent over competitors' prices for its tire bead wire and flat rod because supplies are so scarce.

By closing the mill, Evans receives a hefty tax write-off for his business "loss," plus ready cash from the sale of the facilities. He has refused to sell the operating mill, which Bethlehem and other companies were willing to buy, because he can clean as much as \$10 million more by selling off the equipment piecemeal. He expects to clear \$25 million this way.

Almost half of the USWA Local 2110 members at Roebling will be forced onto pensions of \$25 a month, and the rest onto unemployment compensation.

USWA officials say that the pension fund should contain \$58 million in company payments, while Evans says he only owes the workers \$40 million.

Of that amount, only \$20 million is actually on hand. The rest will be paid into the fund in annual installments out of the earnings of the sole remaining CF&I mill in Pueblo, Colorado—if Evans doesn't decide to shut that down, too.

Steelworkers head I.W. Abel has stood silently by while thousands of steelworkers have been thrown out of plants like the Roebling mill.

Social Service Leaders Walk Out On Meeting

**BY CYNTHIA BLAKE
NEW YORK, NY—**
The July 29 membership meeting called to discuss the citywide Social Service contract agreement was abruptly ended when the leadership of SSEU 371 stormed out of the hall.

President Pat Knight and his negotiators were only able to evade the growing anger of the ranks because of the diversion staged by the "Committee for a Solid Contract," a coalition of the Stalinist Progressive Labor and the Communist Party.

Over 500 social service workers turned out to demand the full details of the contract, which has been in negotiations for over seven months. The questions rapidly revealed that the Knight leadership had sold out every crucial demand:

- The so-called wage breakthrough will provide most workers with an increase of under \$50 a week from now through 1976, including the hike in base pay scales and the cost of living clause. The October, 1975 cost of living payment will not be locked into employees' salaries and therefore will not be used to figure later salary increases.

- The leadership's implication that all past job security was carried over was an outright lie. Even the flimsy protection of the last contract will apply only to present workers; new employees will have no job protection at all.

- The city will have total control of staffing and manning with full rights to lay off and transfer any employee at will. Grievances on violation of the inadequate state manning regulations can be filed, but the union has no right to set standards.

- Employees presently receiving education differentials will have them locked into salary scale; workers who

have not completed 60 credit hours will lose the extra pay they have been working toward when all differentials are dropped Sept. 1.

- Case Aides titles will be wiped out, with 26 uncertified case aides to be fired and the others to be tested for transfer to Caseworker status or other positions. Far from being the Career Ladder that the ranks have demanded, this is a massive undermining of the criteria for Caseworker established in earlier contracts.

- Dozens of SSEU members were fired as part of Beame's budget cutbacks last month, while Knight and Victor Gotbaum, leader of District 37 of AFSCME negotiated this agreement.

- Beame has already announced plans for further cuts in the provisional civil service work force and the state is using recent welfare check errors to threaten a reduction in state aid.

- The supporters of Progressive Labor in the union, by grabbing the microphone in a procedural

fight, cut off a real fight against the bureaucracy and help to cover for them. They have no program to fight against this contract.


In place of Knight's proposal for a mail referendum in violation of SSEU tradition, the Committee for a Solid Contract called for an on-site ballot to return to negotiations and then submit unresolved issues to fact-finding.

The Committee for New Leadership is campaigning to reject this agreement, and to mandate a fight for a 25 percent increase, full cost of living, plus all money cut in the last increase by the Cost of Living Council. There must be immediate rehiring of all provisionals, no further layoffs and no forced transfers.


This is the very minimum needed to defend the SSEU members.

Strike action must be prepared by fighting for support within AFSCME for an all-out fight by city labor against the Beame administration and for a labor party.

meet the candidates



Helen Halyard
14th CD



Terry Delgado
12th CD

bar-b-que
sat. aug. 3 8pm
864 bushwick ave. (corner lafayette)
\$2.50 workers league & young socialists

Greenspan On The 'Morality Of Capitalism'

"It will take pain" to save American capitalism, declares Alan Greenspan, the new chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers appointed by Nixon.

This is but one of the opinions held by Greenspan, whose fanatical belief in the morality of capitalism was shaped by the ultra-right wing author, Ayn Rand.

Greenspan assumed the government post only after receiving assurances that Nixon would accept a policy of tight money and credit restrictions which will intensify the recession and create massive unemployment.

Greenspan's friendship with Rand dates back many years, and he consulted with her before joining the government.

Born in Russia, Ayn Rand fled the Russian Revolution and her subsequent writings are dominated by two central themes: violent anticommunist hatred of the Soviet Union and contempt for the working class.

Her major work, *Atlas Shrugged*, describes how the working class is reduced to helplessness when a capitalist decides voluntarily to withdraw from society. This, says Rand, is the most severe punishment for the masses.



For a period in the early 1950s, Rand developed a certain following among right-wing students like Greenspan. She calls her trashy philosophy "Objectivism."

Describing Rand's influence, Greenspan said: "What she did—through long discussions and lots of arguments into the night—was to make me think why capitalism is not only efficient and practical, but also moral."

Greenspan believes that capitalism can be made perfect by ending income tax and all social welfare programs. He declares that capitalism has no place for any sort of anti-poverty program. Pensions should be abolished, and all social welfare programs should be replaced by "private charity."

Rand told reporters that she is thrilled by the appointment of her best disciple and called his decision to join the Nixon administration "heroic."



Construction Workers March For Jobs

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE

TRENTON, NJ—Construction sites throughout New Jersey were shut down tight July 29 as 50,000 construction workers poured into Trenton in a "March for Jobs."

The massive protest action was called by the AFL-CIO as unemployment at the peak season approaches 50 percent among road construction workers and 65 percent for general construction.

SIGNS

Laborers, carpenters, operating engineers and members of other unions, carried signs demanding "End the depression in New Jersey," and "Jobs, not promises." Two planes circled overhead carrying banners that read "Work, not welfare."

Workers told Bulletin reporters that virtually all federal funds have been cut off for highways and housing projects. In addition, a state moratorium had been called on construction of a

power plant, and a recreation park project.

"We came because we're worried and because we're mad," a laborer from East Orange said. "We have families and families need money."

"The union is trying to do things in a legal way, not start a revolution. But the men here, they will not put up with much more talk."

Workers denounced Democratic Governor Brendan Byrne who was elected six months ago with AFL-CIO support.

"The union leaders pushed this man to get him in, and he's hurting us," a laborer said. A carpenter from Warren County said that at the rally, "Byrnes promised jobs, a Cadillac in every garage and a chicken in every pot. But words are just words."

The huge crowd booed when Byrne tried to blame the unemployment on Nixon's economic policies. "Byrne and Nixon, they're brothers," a Local 415 member said.

"Politicians don't get elected by the working people," a young carpenter said, "They get in by the people who give them the

money to run. And that's who they serve."

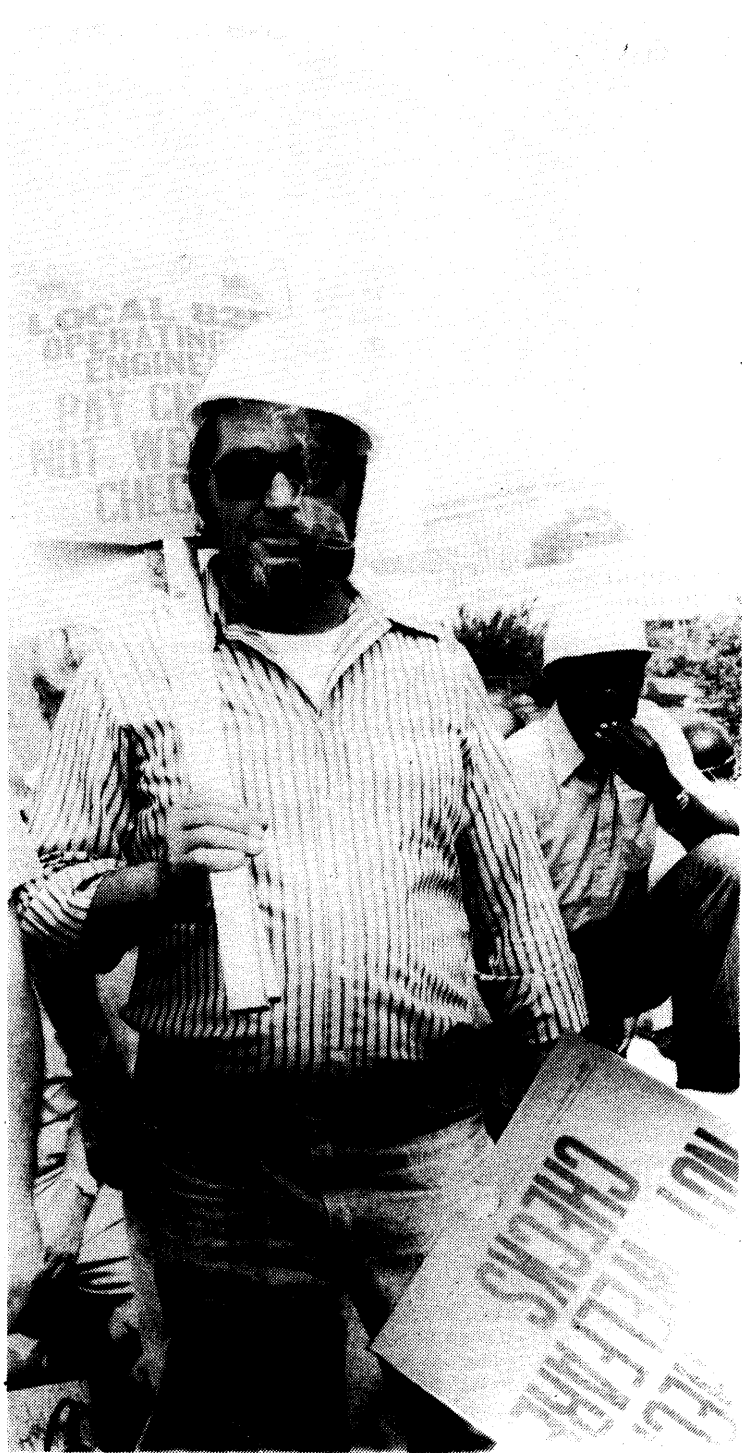
"Nixon says construction workers bring up inflation," said a member of Local 415 in Atlantic City. But \$7.00 an hour is only \$280 if you work 40 hours. And if you don't, you get \$86 a week—try living on that." Another worker pointed out that taxes ate up \$6.00 of their last \$20.00 raise, and gas money alone often runs over \$10.00 a day.

"Nixon wants me to save 15 cents out of every dollar. But I've got to earn that dollar first. Fifteen percent of nothing is nothing," a carpenter said angrily.

Most workers saw the powerful demonstration in Trenton as just the beginning of their fight. Many were disgusted with the leadership for not forcing all building craftsmen to come and allowing construction industry spokesmen to appear on the rally platform.

Richard Smith from Hackensack said: "This demonstration was really a one-day walkout, that's how I see it and that's why I'm for it."

"We should close it down, close down the whole state."



The History Of American Radicalism: The Communist Party & The CIO by Nancy Fields

The beginning of a new era of labor upsurge occurred shortly after the 1932 election of Franklin Roosevelt. Throughout 1933, this upsurge was sporadic, isolated, and was generally defeated. Nevertheless, it did signal that the industrial working class was once again beginning to move. The attacks of the employers, which had been sullenly accepted during the darkest days of the depression because of fear of unemployment, were now going to be answered by workers in strike struggles. These struggles would culminate in the birth of the mass industrial union movement in a few short years.

There were 1695 strikes in 1933, compared with 841 in 1932, and the number of workers involved in those strikes rose from one million to over three million. These strikes were met with all the brutality of the capitalist state. During that period, the American Civil Liberties charged: "Too many employers confuse Roosevelt's New Deal with Coolidge's New Capitalism. The methods of that era are used flagrantly to smash labor's efforts to organize despite the NRA. At no time has there been such widespread violation of workers rights by injunctions, troops, private police, deputy sheriffs, labor spies, and vigilantes."

The reasons for this new movement in the working class are to be found in the objective developments within the economic crisis itself and the response to these developments by the government. By the end of 1932, the depression, rather than lessening, was in fact deepening. Thus, when Roosevelt took over, he was confronted with having to save a dying capitalist system and he set out to do that by any means necessary. The entire strategy of his so-called New Deal was aimed at doing that.

Thus, from the very outset of Roosevelt's presidency, any illusions that he was a friend of labor should have been immediately dispelled. However, as we shall see later, the entire labor bureaucracy, together with the American Communist Party, rallied to support Roosevelt at the time when there was a mass movement among workers to build their own party.

THE ROLE OF THE CP

His first major act after taking office was to save the big banks and big depositors at the expense of the small banks. His bank moratorium on withdrawals of deposits, and other emergency measures, did just that. This action, carried out in the service of the giant monopolies, was not motivated by some liberal concern for humanity, but was aimed solely at preserving the profit system. One of his closest advisors, Raymond Moley, in his book *After Seven Years* noted how close the system was to total collapse when FDR took office:

During this period, the struggles of the working class were occurring within the AFL unions. The American CP, still following the third period ultraleft line of building separate "red unions," refused to participate in these mass struggles. Thus, for a whole period, the CP stood in a sectarian position outside of the actual developments in the class struggle itself. Writing in late 1934, Earl Browder was forced to admit that this policy had a devastating effect on the CP. He noted:

"It cannot be emphasized too strongly that the policies which vanquished the bank crisis were thoroughly conservative policies. If ever there was a moment when things hung in a balance, it was on March 5, 1933—when unorthodoxy would have drained the last remaining strength of the capitalist system. Capitalism was saved in eight days."

"After the establishment of the NRA, the reformist United Mine Workers Union swept through the coal fields with a broad recruitment campaign, and our Red Union members (without even consulting us) went along with the masses, and together with them, organized the strike movement of July and thereafter the local unions of the United Mine Workers. We were slow in reorientating ourselves to work mainly through the reformist unions, and therefore were weakened quite seriously for a period."

Furthermore, any concessions Roosevelt granted to workers, and these were few indeed, were only made out of tremendous fear of the masses and to prevent them from moving to revolution. He openly voiced this fear in his 1932 acceptance speech when he said he had a "resentment against the failure of Republican leadership. The failure of Republican leaders to solve our troubles may degenerate into

This is not to say that the CP played no role in the new labor upsurge. On the contrary, as will be shown in an examination of the three great strikes that were a prelude to the building of the CIO, the party did play a role, and a very vicious one at that. Their ultraleft policy was to split the labor movement and thus, they attacked the strike struggles in such a way as to



The CP sought to split up the working class during the powerful labor upsurge of 1934 which exploded in three historic struggles: the Minneapolis General Strike (top) led by Trotskyists which laid the basis for organizing over-the-road drivers; the victory of Toledo Auto-lite workers (center) led by Muste; the San Francisco General Strike in which two workers were killed on "Bloody Thursday", July 5, 1934 (below). Thousands of workers staged a massive funeral procession four days later.

Movement Toward

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The policies of Roosevelt aided the monopolies and as their profits once again began to mount, the working class began to move to get back what they had lost between 1929 and 1933. They saw in the passage of the Norris-Laguardia Act in 1932 and in Section 7(a) of the National Recovery Act, both of which guaranteed the right to organize unions and to free collective bargaining, the green light to launch an all-out organizing drive.

THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW LEADERSHIP

Roosevelt did not pass Section 7(a) because he was in favor of labor organizing, but as a reluctant response to the growing upsurge of workers.

While the American Communist Party was sitting out the class struggle, workers themselves were moving forward to take on their employers. When the conservative bureaucracy itself refused to lead this fight, workers moved against them and in the course of this, a new leadership, out of the rank and file was being created. These men would fight to build the CIO, only to be viciously cast aside by the rotten labor bureaucracy, once the organization was firmly established. During this period, the American Trotskyist movement began to emerge as a real force within the unions. Contrary to the CP's ultraleftism, the Trotskyist movement, led by James P. Cannon, developed a perspective for work within the AFL. They understood that the new movement in the working class would go way beyond the limits of the AFL and lead to the formation of the CIO. Cannon, writing in the September 2, 1933 *Militant*, stated:

Even John L. Lewis, a staunch supporter of Roosevelt, had to admit: "Roosevelt was not too friendly to Section 7(a); and if there was any time when I began to question and wonder and have reservations about the president, it was at that time."

Nevertheless, Section 7(a) did play a role in the growing labor upsurge. Union leaders for the first time in years actually got out of their offices and began to organize.

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industries for effective struggle. The resurgent struggles of the masses will probably break out of the formal bounds of the AFL and seek expression in a new union movement. Nevertheless, the center of gravity at the present moment is unquestionably in the conservative mass organizations. That is where we must be."

That Cannon was absolutely correct in his perspective is revealed in the three strike battles that sparked the upsurge which led to the formation of the CIO. These strikes were: the Toledo Electric Auto-Lite, the San Francisco General Strike, and the Minneapolis truck drivers strike.

THE TOLEDO ELECTRIC AUTO-LITE STRIKE

The city of Toledo had been the scene of great struggles by the unemployed—one out of every three persons was out of work—led by A.J. Muste's organization: the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, which later became the American Workers Party until it fused with the Trotskyist movement in 1934.

On February 23, 1934, the Auto-Lite workers, newly organized in AFL Federal Local 18384, went on strike. It was quickly ended by the AFL bureaucracy, who agreed that negotiations should be conducted through the government agency set up under the NRA.

Following a month and one-half with no agreement, the workers, against the instructions of the bureaucracy, walked out again. The courts issued an injunction to limit picketing so that the company could employ scabs, which they did, hiring more than 1800 of them.

The strike would have been lost had the workers followed the orders of their leadership, who insisted that the terms of the injunction be followed.

However, here, as was to occur time and again during this period, the strikers turned to search for a new leadership, one that was willing to fight all the way through to the end. They found that leadership in Muste's Unemployment League. As described in *Challenge to the New Deal*:

"The Lucas County Unemployment League, also enjoined, refused however to let the fight go that way. Two of its officers, Ted Selander and Sam Pollock, and several auto local members wrote Judge R. R. Stuart, advising him that they would violate the injunction by encouraging mass picketing. They went out and did so.

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THE SAN FRANCISCO GENERAL STRIKE

At the same time that the battle was being fought out in Toledo, 15,000 West Coast members of the AFL International Longshoremen's Association walked out on an unauthorized strike. This figure rapidly grew to 25,000, as the ILA members were joined by workers from the seamen's organizations.

The strikers were demanding a coast-wide agreement, union control of the hiring halls, a closed shop, \$1 an hour instead of 85 cents, and a 30 hour week instead of 48.

The militancy and determination of the strike was a forerunner of what was to come in the 1935 to 1936 sitdowns. As Frederick Lang noted in *Maritime, A History and Program*:

"It was a real rank and file strike, with the 'leaders' swept along in the flood. It encountered every weapon then in the arsenal of the employers. The shipowners hired their own thugs who tried to work the docks and man the ships. The city police of every port on the Coast were mobilized on the waterfronts to hunt down strikers. The newspapers, launching a slander campaign against the strikers, called on the citizenry to form vigilante committees to raid strike headquarters, the actual organization of this dirty work being entrusted to the American Legion and other 'patriotic societies.'"

In the face of these all-out attacks, the strikers held fast, and within 45 days, the entire economy of San Francisco was paralyzed. At this point, two forces intervened in an attempt to break the strike.

The first was Joseph Ryan, head of the ILA, who attempted to divide the unity of the workers by signing local agreements in the ports outside of San Francisco. He also signed an agreement, over the heads of the local leadership, in San Francisco, giving up the main demand for the union controlled hiring hall. However, except for Seattle, the strikers refused to accept these agreements.

The second force which intervened to try to divide the strikers and sow confusion was the Communist Party. The chief strike leader in San Francisco was Harry Bridges who, while he was later to become a supporter of the CP, was an independent at the time. Bridges led the AFL-ILA on the coast.

However, his was not the only union on the waterfront. As a result both of the craft fragmentation of the AFL and the red union policy of the CP, there existed several dif-

ferent unions, many of them directly overlapping each other throughout the ports. While Bridges was fighting to unite all the workers in order to insure the success of the strike, the Stalinists issued a leaflet denouncing him. To create complete confusion, it called upon the strikers "to resist the strikebreaking efforts of the ILA."

In spite of these attacks and maneuvers, the strikers held out. Finally, the corporations decided to smash the strike by attacking its strategic center: the waterfront. The violence that ensued is now known as the "Battle of Rincon Hill."

In response to this massacre, where two were killed and over 100 wounded, the labor movement was forced to call a general strike. For two days, the working class controlled San Francisco. Fearing that things were getting out of hand, the AFL called off the strike and the longshoremen were isolated and divided among various craft formations.

Dockers were forced to accept arbitration on all issues, and the agreement established jointly operating hiring halls with union dispatchers, but employer choice among available workers. Each employer won the right to introduce labor-saving devices and to institute methods of discharging and loading cargo that he considered best-suited to the conduct of his business.

The reason for the failure of the San

THE MINNEAPOLIS TRUCKERS STRIKE

The high point of this 1934 strike wave occurred in Minneapolis, which was a completely open shop town. The Citizens Alliance, an organization of antiunion employers, ruled the city. The strike of the Minneapolis truckers was to transform that city into a complete union town.

The strike was organized by Local 574 of the AFL International Brotherhood of Teamsters. It first began with the coal yard workers over the right to union recognition. The strike was timed perfectly, to occur at the coldest time of year to insure a speedy settlement. Within three days, the workers had paralyzed the coal yards and won union recognition.

The struggle was organized by the American Trotskyist movement. Its leadership, from the Dunne brothers to Carl Skoglund and to Farrell Dobbs, were all members of the Trotskyist movement. As Art Preis noted in *Labor's Giant Step*:

"The Dunne brothers, Skoglund, and their associated proved to be a different and altogether superior breed of union leaders compared to the type represented by the craft-minded bureaucrats of the AFL who were content to build a little job-holding trust and settle down for life to collecting dues.

"After first victory, they set out to organize every truck driver and every inside warehouse worker in Minneapolis. A whirlwind organizing campaign had recruited 3000 new members into Local 574 by May."

At that point, the employers refused to deal with the union, and so a second strike was called. From the start, the strike was an example of brilliant trade union organizing. The strike leaders pioneered techniques which were later to be employed in the great CIO battles in auto.

These techniques were the union commissary, set up to feed the strikers, the Women's Auxiliary which played a major role in picketing as well as organizing the strike, the emergency hospital, and the "flying squads of pickets" who continuously cruised in cars from one strategic point to the other, making it almost impossible for the police to arrest them.

The strike represented the highest development of class struggle trade unionism. Following five weeks of the most bitter labor conflicts in the history of the American working class, the strikers emerged victorious. Their victory paved the way for the organization of unions throughout all Minneapolis industry, as well as set the stage for the organizing of all the over-the-road truck drivers into the Teamsters union.

As Dan Fried stated in "The SWP and the Rise of the CIO": "The initial period of the Trotskyist leadership of the Minneapolis strikers based on the conception of 'the class fight' represented the highest development of the American Trotskyists as an independent leadership in the trade union movement."

At the same time, the conduct of the strike itself revealed the continued domination of pragmatic American radicalism. The American Trotskyist movement was new and only just emerging from a five year period of isolation. Its leadership came out of the CP, where there had been no theoretical training in Marxism.

Cannon himself had begun his work in the labor movement in the Industrial Workers of the World and he never fully broke from their theories that militant trade unionism alone was enough to bring about the revolutionary overthrow of society. He tended to see political struggle as a mere aid to the trade union movement rather than a vital necessity. He had never understood the labor party question and when he was in the Communist Party, he had voted against its inclusion into the CP's program in 1924.

Most importantly, while Cannon did recognize the importance of the economic

struggle in the unions and of the necessity to construct a revolutionary party, he never understood that the battle to organize the working class to take power was a threefold struggle, as Lenin had insisted in *What Is To Be Done?*

While the party must continuously fight on the economic and political fronts, it must above all, struggle theoretically against the present, trade union consciousness of the working class. At the same time, it must battle against all forms of revisionism within the workers movement, which in America, meant an all-out struggle against the Communist Party. Only through such a struggle can revolutionary cadres be trained and the party prepared to lead the struggle for power.

From the outset, all these principles were violated in the Minneapolis strike. First, the strike was almost conducted outside the party itself. At the beginning, the National Office and the National Secretary were not even apprised of the situation. Writing later about this situation, Ray Dunne noted:

"I'm quite sure—here looking backward—that we made a grievous mistake in our failure to keep the party center informed of the fast-developing situation in Minneapolis. This must be registered as a bad error in judgement.

"We talked about this, Skoglund and I, but agreed that to do so would be loading onto the New York local problems that would only add to troubles in the center with which they were confounded, due to an already developing faction fight with a petty-bourgeois grouping."

This situation was not simply some tactical mistake, but flowed from a perspective of seeing trade union work as simply trade union work, not as party work in the unions. Once the party itself did assume control of the strike, it still continued to conduct it on the basis of trade union militancy alone.

Cannon continuously praised the militancy of the strike and stated that one of the major accomplishments of the strike was that "Trotskyism introduced into all the plans and preparations of the union and the strike, from beginning to end, the class line of militancy." (my emphasis, NF.)

It refused to bring in the political questions and to educate workers in the need to establish their own party, a labor party. In fact, when they were criticized by the Stalinists for refusing to call a general strike in order to expose Olsen, the Farmer-Labor Governor of Minnesota to masses of workers, Cannon wrote:

"An attempt to call a general strike for the exposure and defeat of Olsen would have been over the heads of the workers. The facts were that the workers had seen the government in operation and they had learned some practical lessons."

The point here is not that the Stalinists were correct in demanding a general strike. In fact, they were dead wrong. However, Cannon's reply to them reveals both the party's adaptation to the present thinking of workers, as well as the conception that somehow workers will spontaneously begin to fight politically.

The third principle the party violated in Minneapolis was their refusal to take on the Stalinist movement head-on and thereby educate the many new members who were joining in a theoretical struggle against revisionism.

Rather, they simply held that the Stalinists had no base in the unions there, which was true at that time. Therefore, they were no threat and they would eventually dry up and wither away. By turning their back on the CP, the Trotskyists allowed the Stalinists to gain control of the Farmer-Labor Party and thereby gain control over the working class politically.

Thus, Minneapolis revealed that American radicalism continued to dominate the workers movement. This in part was natural because the Trotskyist movement was still young and inexperienced. What was required, as Trotsky insisted, was a turn to the "systematic theoretical training" of its membership to prepare the party to break the stranglehold of American radicalism on the workers movement and thus, lead the working class to power.

TO BE CONTINUED

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Within a month, this strategy of uniting the employed and unemployed workers resulted in more than 10,000 people daily manning the picket line. When the National Guard was called in and opened fire on the strikers, killing 2 and wounding 25, a civil war battle raged throughout the streets of Toledo.

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Only through the leadership of the Muste organization was this strike won. This new type of labor leadership, which was directed by the policies of class struggle, not class compromise, was to be taken even further, as we shall see in the Minneapolis truckers' strike.

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The reasons for this new movement in the working class are to be found in the objective developments within the economic crisis itself and the response to these developments by the government. By the end of 1932, the depression, rather than lessening, was in fact deepening. Thus, when Roosevelt took over, he was confronted with having to save a dying capitalist system and he set out to do that by any means necessary. The entire strategy of his so-called New Deal was aimed at doing that.

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The strikers were demanding a coast-wide agreement, union control of the hiring halls, a closed shop, \$1 an hour instead of 85 cents, and a 30 hour week instead of 48.

The militancy and determination of the strike was a forerunner of what was to come in the 1935 to 1936 sitdowns. As Frederick Lang noted in *Maritime, A History and Program*:

"It was a real rank and file strike, with the 'leaders' swept along in the flood. It encountered every weapon then in the arsenal of the employers. The shipowners hired their own thugs who tried to work the docks and man the ships. The city police of every port on the Coast were mobilized on the waterfronts to hunt down strikers. The newspapers, launching a slander campaign against the strikers, called on the citizenry to form vigilante committees to raid strike headquarters, the actual organization of this dirty work being entrusted to the American Legion and other 'patriotic societies.'"

In the face of these all-out attacks, the strikers held fast, and within 45 days, the entire economy of San Francisco was paralyzed. At this point, two forces intervened in an attempt to break the strike.

The first was Joseph Ryan, head of the ILA, who attempted to divide the unity of the workers by signing local agreements in the ports outside of San Francisco. He also signed an agreement, over the heads of the local leadership, in San Francisco, giving up the main demand for the union controlled hiring hall. However, except for Seattle, the strikers refused to accept these agreements.

The second force which intervened to try to divide the strikers and sow confusion was the Communist Party. The chief strike leader in San Francisco was Harry Bridges who, while he was later to become a supporter of the CP, was an independent at the time. Bridges led the AFL-ILA on the coast.

However, his was not the only union on the waterfront. As a result both of the craft fragmentation of the AFL and the red union policy of the CP, there existed several dif-

ferent unions, many of them directly overlapping each other throughout the ports.

While Bridges was fighting to unite all the workers in order to insure the success of the strike, the Stalinists issued a leaflet denouncing him. To create complete confusion, it called upon the strikers "to resist the strikebreaking efforts of the ILA."

In spite of these attacks and maneuvers, the strikers held out. Finally, the corporations decided to smash the strike by attacking its strategic center: the waterfront. The violence that ensued is now known as the "Battle of Rincon Hill."

In response to this massacre, where two were killed and over 100 wounded, the labor movement was forced to call a general strike. For two days, the working class controlled San Francisco. Fearing that things were getting out of hand, the AFL called off the strike and the longshoremen were isolated and divided among various craft formations.

Dockers were forced to accept arbitration on all issues, and the agreement established jointly operating hiring halls with union dispatchers, but employer choice among available workers. Each employer won the right to introduce labor-saving devices and to institute methods of discharging and loading cargo that he considered best-suited to the conduct of his business.

The reason for the failure of the San

Francisco strike lay in the AFL's old methods of craft unionism. Nevertheless, the strike revealed the tremendous power of the working class, and its defeat was to be only temporary. In the course of the battle, thousands of workers were beginning to recognize the necessity of building industrial unions. Out of that recognition, capitalism would almost be brought down in the next period.

THE MINNEAPOLIS TRUCKERS STRIKE

The high point of this 1934 strike wave occurred in Minneapolis, which was a completely open shop town. The Citizens Alliance, an organization of antiunion employers, ruled the city. The strike of the Minneapolis truckers was to transform that city into a complete union town.

The strike was organized by Local 574 of the AFL International Brotherhood of Teamsters. It first began with the coal yard workers over the right to union recognition. The strike was timed perfectly, to occur at the coldest time of year to insure a speedy settlement. Within three days, the workers had paralyzed the coal yards and won union recognition.

The struggle was organized by the American Trotskyist movement. Its leadership, from the Dunne brothers to Carl Skoglund and to Farrell Dobbs, were all members of the Trotskyist movement. As Art Preis noted in *Labor's Giant Step*:

"The Dunne brothers, Skoglund, and their associated proved to be a different and altogether superior breed of union leaders compared to the type represented by the craft-minded bureaucrats of the AFL who were content to build a little job-holding trust and settle down for life to collecting dues."

"After first victory, they set out to organize every truck driver and every inside warehouse worker in Minneapolis. A whirlwind organizing campaign had recruited 3000 new members into Local 574 by May."

At that point, the employers refused to deal with the union, and so a second strike was called. From the start, the strike was an example of brilliant trade union organizing. The strike leaders pioneered techniques which were later to be employed in the great CIO battles in auto.

These techniques were the union commissary, set up to feed the strikers, the Women's Auxiliary which played a major role in picketing as well as organizing the strike, the emergency hospital, and the "flying squads of pickets" who continuously cruised in cars from one strategic point to the other, making it almost impossible for the police to arrest them.

The strike represented the highest development of class struggle trade unionism. Following five weeks of the most bitter labor conflicts in the history of the American working class, the strikers emerged victorious. Their victory paved the way for the organization of unions throughout all Minneapolis industry, as well as set the stage for the organizing of all the over-the-road truck drivers into the Teamsters union.

As Dan Fried stated in "The SWP and the Rise Of The CIO": "The initial period of the Trotskyist leadership of the Minneapolis strikers based on the conception of 'the class fight' represented the highest development of the American Trotskyists as an independent leadership in the trade union movement."

At the same time, the conduct of the strike itself revealed the continued domination of pragmatic American radicalism. The American Trotskyist movement was new and only just emerging from a five year period of isolation. Its leadership came out of the CP, where there had been no theoretical training in Marxism.

Cannon himself had begun his work in the labor movement in the Industrial Workers of the World and he never fully broke from their theories that militant trade unionism alone was enough to bring about the revolutionary overthrow of society. He tended to see political struggle as a mere aid to the trade union movement rather than a vital necessity. He had never understood the labor party question and when he was in the Communist Party, he had voted against its inclusion into the CP's program in 1924.

Most importantly, while Cannon did recognize the importance of the economic

struggle in the unions and of the necessity to construct a revolutionary party, he never understood that the battle to organize the working class to take power was a threefold struggle, as Lenin had insisted in *What Is To Be Done?*

While the Party must continuously fight on the economic and political fronts, it must above all, struggle theoretically against the present, trade union consciousness of the working class. At the same time, it must battle against all forms of revisionism within the workers movement, which in America, meant an all-out struggle against the Communist Party. Only through such a struggle can revolutionary cadres be trained and the party prepared to lead the struggle for power.

From the outset, all these principles were violated in the Minneapolis strike. First, the strike was almost conducted outside the party itself. At the beginning, the National Office and the National Secretary were not even apprised of the situation. Writing later about this situation, Ray Dunne noted:

"I'm quite sure—here looking backward—that we made a grievous mistake in our failure to keep the party center informed of the fast-developing situation in Minneapolis. This must be registered as a bad error in judgement."

"We talked about this, Skoglund and I, but agreed that to do so would be loading onto the New York local problems that would only add to troubles in the center with which they were confounded, due to an already developing faction fight with a petty-bourgeois grouping."

This situation was not simply some tactical mistake, but flowed from a perspective of seeing trade union work as simply trade union work, not as party work in the unions. Once the party itself did assume control of the strike, it still continued to conduct it on the basis of trade union militancy alone.

Cannon continuously praised the militancy of the strike and stated that one of the major accomplishments of the strike was that "Trotskyism introduced into all the plans and preparations of the union and the strike, from beginning to end, the class line of militancy." (my emphasis, NF.)

It refused to bring in the political questions and to educate workers in the need to establish their own party, a labor party. In fact, when they were criticized by the Stalinists for refusing to call a general strike in order to expose Olsen, the Farmer-Labor Governor of Minnesota to masses of workers, Cannon wrote:

"An attempt to call a general strike for the exposure and defeat of Olsen would have been over the heads of the workers. The facts were that the workers had seen the government in operation and they had learned some practical lessons."

The point here is not that the Stalinists were correct in demanding a general strike. In fact, they were dead wrong. However, Cannon's reply to them reveals both the party's adaptation to the present thinking of workers, as well as the conception that somehow workers will spontaneously begin to fight politically.

The third principle the party violated in Minneapolis was their refusal to take on the Stalinist movement head-on and thereby educate the many new members who were joining in a theoretical struggle against revisionism.

Rather, they simply held that the Stalinists had no base in the unions there, which was true at that time. Therefore, they were no threat and they would eventually dry up and wither away. By turning their back on the CP, the Trotskyists allowed the Stalinists to gain control of the Farmer-Labor Party and thereby gain control over the working class politically.

Thus, Minneapolis revealed that American radicalism continued to dominate the workers movement. This in part was natural because the Trotskyist movement was still young and inexperienced. What was required, as Trotsky insisted, was a turn to the "systematic theoretical training" of its membership to prepare the party to break the stranglehold of American radicalism on the workers movement and thus, lead the working class to power.

LABOR TODAY

Crisis In Construction

The powerful demonstration of New Jersey construction workers in Trenton on Monday occurs as the deepening economic slump finds its sharpest expression in the break-up of the building industry.

In New Jersey, approximately 30 percent of all workers in the building trades are unemployed.

New York, considered the architectural capital of the United States, now has 15,000 unemployed construction workers. In the city, the dollar value of construction between January and May 1974 is down 20 percent from the same period one year ago.

With plans for new construction being laid aside, the size of professional staffs of architects and draftsmen are down by 44 percent since 1970.

The situation is as critical in Boston, and the slump is also hitting hard on the West Coast. Even in the South, where the building boom had been most dramatic, a major downturn has begun.

Single family housing, the backbone of most building firms, has dropped sharply.

Kaufman & Broad, one of the largest builders in the country, reported that its earnings declined in the second quarter of 1974 to \$294,000 from a figure of \$5.4 million one year earlier.

The huge United States Financial Corporation of San Diego has gone into bankruptcy.

However, as bad as the situation is now, it is going to get much worse. The current stage of the slump in building is based on economic conditions which existed last year at the very onset of a recession that is now developing in every section of the economy.

"What we're building now reflects decisions made at least a year or two ago," stated Richard Ravitch, president of HRH Construction Corporation. "But our pipeline for brand new projects is empty."

The economic crisis threatens a complete collapse of the construction industry. The policies unveiled by Richard Nixon last week for deliberate recession bars any recovery in construction.

The skyrocketing inflation cripples construction. It is vital for a contractor to be able to make a realistic estimate of costs, particularly when construction spans a period of several months, perhaps more than a year. But how can a contractor make such an estimate when the cost of materials are changing week by week? Housing starts have declined precipitously because contractors fear that a new project may mean throwing money into a bottomless pit.

The inflationary problem is intensified by its natural companion, high interest rates.

With interest rates now at the 12 percent mark and money extremely hard to obtain, contractors are finding it almost impossible to finance new construction. Normally, they depend upon mutual savings banks and loan associations for financing. However, these institutions are being drained of deposits by investors attracted by high-interest rates to short-term speculations.

Therefore, contractors are forced to obtain money at rates even above 12 percent.

Furthermore, Federal Housing subsidies which contributed to the building boom in the 1960s are no longer available. Nor can consumers meet the enormous costs of a new home at a time when their income is being driven down by inflation.

Construction firms are also suffering big losses on real estate which they bought several years ago in anticipation of a continued building boom. Now, with no building being planned, the contractors are selling back the land at a loss.

Under these conditions, contractors seek to survive through brutal attacks on building trades workers. Having been forced in some areas like the West Coast to grant major wage increases, the contractors are out to break the strength of construction workers with unemployment.

Particularly in New Jersey, contractors see unemployment as a means to break the trade unions.

The objective conditions of the crisis make it necessary for workers in the building trades to fight politically to defend the right to work.

Burnes and the Democratic and Republican politicians cannot create jobs when the contractors find it's unprofitable to build. Their policies are determined by the needs of the contractors and the profit system.

The creation of new jobs is possible only on the basis of socialist policies: the nationalization of the building industry under the control of the workers themselves. The fight for these policies requires that the working class build its own political party, a labor party based on the trade unions.

by david north



A view of wreckage at the Universal Cooperative Paint plant after the explosion.

The Explosion That Nearly Blew Up Alliance

BY

A REPORTING TEAM ALLIANCE, Ohio— This is a small city set in the countryside between Youngstown and Akron. On July 14 during a severe thunderstorm, lightning struck the plant and warehouse building of the Universal Cooperative Chemical Co.

The plant exploded and released a huge cloud of poisonous chemicals that sent 125 people to the hospital.

Five hundred people were evacuated and for 48 hours firemen battled the blaze.

Mayor J.P. Puckett declared a state of emergency and preparations were made to evacuate the entire city of 25,000 in case wind conditions moved the cloud of gas toward the downtown area.

Environmental protection officials directed that lime be spread around the street drains to neutralize acid contained in the water runoff from the fire hoses.

No one yet knows the extent of the pollution damage done to the river, the city's major source of drinking water. The explosions reduced the plant building to rubble and twisted steel, but amazingly there was no visible damage to the houses on the other side of West Ely Street where the plant was located.

It was just luck that it happened on a Sunday, or hundreds of employees would have been killed.

All this is of secondary importance to the owners and supervisors of Universal Cooperative Chemical Corp.

Since the company took over the building 20 years ago, it has fought to insure that residents did not interfere with its profits. Clarence Woolfe, who is now a retired express depot clerk, moved with his family into 429 West Ely Street 36 years ago. He explained: "When the chemical company moved in, none of us liked it very much. We used to talk about it.

"But then came the times when the tanks leaked and the gas would kill all the flowers in the garden. If you opened the doors or windows, it would make you sicker than a dog.

"It was terrible the way it would burn in your stomach. We raised hell about it. Everyone



Mrs. Rose Chiporo who lives near the plant.

around here will tell you how we got up petitions and went to the city council about it. But all that still did no good.

"What did the company do about it? Why they did nothing! They just paid us for the flowers."

Since it was lightning that set off the explosions, the company claims the fire was an act of God, an accident.

Mr. Woolf said: "Lightning can strike anywhere. But that old building didn't even have a sprinkler system in it. I don't think it had a lightning rod either.

"If the fire had spread to the brick building, half the city would have gone up with it.

"You have to take precautions with dangerous chemicals. If I knew this kind of thing was going to happen, I never would have bought this house. We were all hoping the city council would stand up to them, but they get by with it.

"Nixon just might get by with what he's done. The Democrats are just as bad. They are all just a pack of thieves.

"I have to clean up everything now—that's all the company said. Wash the rugs, walls and floors, and throw out all food exposed to the air."

Residents are very bitter about the treatment they have been getting from the company over the years. "You have to be scared of those tanks," said Mrs. Rose Chiporo, who also lives across the street.

"They tell us to clean up everything, even all the clothes. Well, I can't. I have a broken hand and I'm a widow. The company offered \$35 dollars a room.

"But it actually costs much more to have it done commercially.

"The company thinks they can call it an accident and then say it wasn't their fault. Who are they kidding.

"Do you know what chemicals they have over there? No one around here does. When it was killing the flowers, the company would try to hush it up by saying it was not dangerous.

"But do you know what the effects will be on my house or me in three months or three years from now? If I accept that \$350 check from the company, that's it. I can't even make an insurance claim after that."

Mrs. Chiporo has lived in her house for 20 years. Her husband died after working for 10 years at Universal Cooperative Chemical. She said: "I've always thought the chemicals did that to him."

She was visiting her grandchildren when the explosions came. She never expected to see her house again.

"No one knows what to do, no one will tell you what your rights are. The JC's said they will send people to help the elderly clean up. But if I get sick next week because of it, I have no protection.

"If you call your councilman, you don't get anywhere. Even if they moved and closed the company, it would throw men out of their jobs. The way it stands, the company is trying to get out from under their responsibility and the city government and insurance companies are with them. I think the labor party is a good idea—there is no other way to protect yourself today."

Secrecy Clamped On Lordstown Bargaining

BY NANCY RUSSELL
LORDSTOWN— Auto workers here entered their third week of a strike against General Motors, with news of the negotiations blacked out.

Unresolved are 5000 grievances and 40 local issues. The company is reportedly refusing to discuss its massive violations of work standards due to speedup and is preparing to hold out until the retooled Southgate plant is ready for production of Vegas on August 19.

At the present time, Lordstown is the only producer of Vegas in the US. Woodcock's treacherous delay on the Lordstown strike and his refusal to call a national strike now creates the danger that GM will use one plant to break the strike of another.

Lordstown workers have learned many bitter lessons during the last nine months of

working without a contract. The 11th District Court of Appeals today rejected the appeal of three of the four men victimized during the wildcat at the Vega Assembly plant last October 18. An eighteenth century law was dug up by a GM lawyer to charge the four masked pickets with "wearing a mask to conceal their identity."

Under this archaic law, these four men face 90 days each and a \$200 fine. Their appeal claiming the law was unconstitutionally vague and the sentence unreasonable harsh and cruel was rejected on Monday.

This wildcat took place because there was no local contract and several union committeemen were arbitrarily fired by GMAD.

Ronald Wire, a striking member of 1112 told the Bulletin: "The company is always trying to fire the committeemen. They use that as a weapon to get them back in return for dropping some overloads or health and safety grievances.

"GM's getting the courts to back them up. The law that they convicted these men on must

have come from the 1700s. It must have been one of the first laws passed, not to be able to cover up your face. The thing is, GM is one of the richest companies in the world."

Richard went on to point out that Woodcock and the International's refusal to fight was responsible for the victimization of the four and the disadvantages of a local strike at this time of year. "A regular local strike at a good time would have GM over a barrel, now they have us over two barrels. It's like fighting with one hand behind your back.

"We've needed this strike for a long time. Instead the International refused to strike when the company needed cars.

"The company doesn't need the cars now and they'll write this one off as a tax deduction. We sure can't write it off as a tax deduction.

It was announced this weekend that national profits have dropped disastrously for GM in the last year. The Vega economy model is the one hot seller left for GM. Profits for the first six months of 1974 were \$461 million as compared to \$1.6 billion last year, a drop of 73 percent. GM is prepared to do whatever is necessary to break the strength of the UAW and introduce vicious speedup in the plants.

A national strike to unite all UAW locals must be called to win 20 percent in increased wages, union control of the line speed and safety conditions and an end of the speedup.

Ronald Wire said to the Bulletin: "The International is too powerful for us, like Abel and the no-strike pledge. Now that we are in a recession we feel it. Like when GM was booming, we were booming. But the International and the USWA are all letting us down, leaving the little guy.

"When the locals go out now they should all go out together. I stay out and fight or I don't bother going out.

"What makes me mad is that Woodcock is supposed to negotiate our next contract too, and our local officers voted down his extension of office. The International said he was unanimously voted an extension but I know that most of the people were so disgusted they walked out."

St. Louis GM Talks Stalled

BY JOHN DUNN
ST. LOUIS, July 30— The struggle of United Auto Workers Local 25 for a local contract against General Motors goes into its sixth week.

The major issue in the strike is the fight against the vicious speedups that GM is and has been trying to introduce in its plants across the country.

Local 25 and the company had been meeting on Sundays until a couple of weeks ago, when GM cut off negotiations.

With 40 percent of its work force laid off, GMAD has only reduced its auto production by 25 percent. This situation has led to the firings and disciplinary layoffs of over 450 workers, and over 300 workers going on sick leave.

Over 14,000 grievances were



An auto worker picketing with football players at the Hall of Fame Memorial game in Canton, Ohio last week.

Job Crisis Chief Topic At Carpenters Conference

BY DEBRA WATSON
CHICAGO—The thirty-second national convention of the nation's largest building trades union is just taking place here.

In his opening address, William Sidell, president of the 850,000 strong carpenters union charged that housing starts or commitments in the United States are at a disastrous decline. He added: "Housing is being definitely put out of the reach of the poor and the middle class peoples of our nation who need it most."

Sidell referred to recent moves by the government to allow interest rates for home loans to be raised in order to attract money to the market. These rate increases have crushed the hopes of thousands of workers and their families from ever owning a home.

Sidell continued: "The time has come to remove the housing industry from the free enterprise banking system. In its place, I propose the federal government broaden the federal housing administration and provide funds directly to the citizens at interest rates commensurate with the needs of that industry.

"Not the 9, 10, and 11 percent

we are heading for today, but more in the 4 or 5 percent category. If in our present system, money for housing must compete with the money market, then I say take it out of the money market.

"It is ironic that in the early 1970s the people of the United States were led to believe that the culprits of the economy were the organized worker, particularly the building trades craft. It now becomes clear that this overt and boisterous attack upon us was only intended to divert attention from the real culprits of the economy: the financial interests of our nation."

Sidell called on the convention delegates to mount organizing drives both in the United States and Canada to combat the widespread growth of nonunion workers on construction jobs, and urged the labor movement to reduce active labor organizations to eliminate costly work stoppages caused by the jurisdictional fights.

A labor party pledged to nationalize the home-building industry is the only way forward.

The invitation to Peter Brennan, Nixon's loyal Secretary of Labor to speak at the convention is a clear indication of where Sidell really stands.

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Wounded Knee Trial In Recess

BY JEAN BRUST
MINNEAPOLIS—The first phase of the long trial of Dennis Banks and Russell Means ended last week as the prosecution rested its case on 10 charges growing out of the 71 day occupation of Wounded Knee in the spring of 1973.

The first of 200 witnesses on behalf of the defense will begin their testimony on August 12.

The trial so far has revealed the extent to which "Watergate" and police state preparations are widespread. The government's own witnesses re-

vealed evidence of FBI infiltration into AIM, illegal wiretapping of the AIM phone by the FBI and Bureau of Indian Affairs agents, the intervention of the Department of Defense into the situation illegally without the required declaration of a civil disorder, federal use of the goon squads of Tribal chief Dick Wilson, a BIA stooge, and the presence of an unlicensed trading post on the reservation.

The government has charged the defendants, national leaders of the American Indian Movement, with forced occupation, possession of arms, interfering with the BIA agents, wounding of a FBI agent, vandalism and burglary of the trading post, and a blanket charge of conspiring with others to commit all of the above acts and more.

But they have introduced no evidence linking the defendants to any of the charges. The government claims that Means and Banks are leaders and as such are responsible for all that took place, so no evidence is needed linking them to the actual events.

The defense is making three motions for dismissal. First, the dismissal of all charges because little or no evidence was presented to show the guilt of Banks and Means.

Second, a motion to dismiss on grounds that the 200-300 federal marshalls and FBI agents were on the reservation illegally, since the law required that the president declare a civil disorder before military forces can be used to intervene in a civil disorder. The Defense Department supplied armored personnel carriers, rifles, ammunition, and other equipment.

Third, a motion to dismiss the charges because the Sioux Treaty of 1868 prohibits the federal agents from entering the reservation, making their presence at Wounded Knee illegal and the efforts of AIM supporters to exclude them legal.

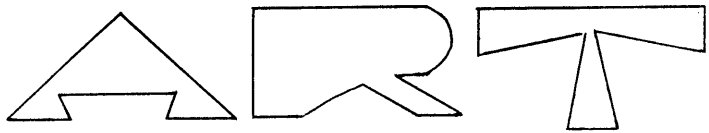
put in during the past year. Two and a half years ago, there were over 10,000 workers at the plant. Today, there are 5700.

One worker said: "GM wants to speed up the Fisher side (where the bodies are assembled) like they've done the Chevy side. When guys were transferred from Fisher to the Chevy side, they couldn't keep up. The Corvette line always has been a slave shop.

"The hangup in the negotiations is over work overload. They guys shipped from where they make the bodies to where they make the cars were faced with tremendous work overload.

"The company claims we have too many workers as it is. They claim it's costing them more to produce cars here than at their other plants."

One worker told the Bulletin: "We need to fight them all over the country. We need a labor party—an international party."



Artists And The Social Revolution

"Mastery of the art of the past is a necessary pre-condition not only for the creation of new art, but also for the building of a new society."

—Trotsky

What does the word "art" mean? It can be applied to all sorts of human creativity: music, literature, poetry, theater, cinema, etc. But when someone talks about "art," most of us immediately think of man-made images or objects such as paintings and sculptures, which express all sorts of feelings, thoughts and awareness when we look at them.

In these articles, it is this sort of art which we will think about in particular.

We all begin life with some ability to make art. Most of us were given wax crayons to play with as children: when we made marks and put colors onto a piece of paper, we made "images."

An image can be made in all sorts of ways: it can be flat or three-dimensional; (a piece of sculpture is a three-dimensional image). It can look like something which already exists, or it can consist of shapes and patterns and forms which the artist has invented.

SCHOOL

At school we are often encouraged to make a drawing or painting look exactly like the object we are studying. Some people can do this. Others don't find the task so easy, but they might produce a beautiful picture by making their own arrangement of colors and shapes, without trying to be realistic.

The possibilities of art are vast and exciting, but very few people get a chance to experiment and make discoveries and really involve themselves in art. Art lessons seem less and less important as we go through school, so that most people have completely lost interest in their own artistic possibilities by the time they start work.

Trotsky writes, "Apart from rare exceptions, the sparks of genius in the suppressed depths of the people are choked before they can burst into flame." And this applies also simply to sparks of interest. The very desire to make discoveries about a subject like art is choked at an early age in the majority of people, under the capitalist system.

MINORITY

The people who take up art seriously are a small minority who get places in art colleges or universities. So we get this small race of people called "artists." Under socialism, the role of artistic creation within society will be very different.

Lenin says, "Art belongs to the people. Its roots should be deeply implanted in the very thick of the laboring masses. It should be understood and loved by these masses. It ... must stir to activity and develop the art instincts within them."

The creation of art under the capitalist system is very different from this. In this country today, only a very small section of the population has any understanding of the activities and

achievements of past or present-day artists.

For most workers it is certainly not an ordinary event to visit an art gallery or buy a book on art. In addition, many people think of artists as "cranks" or "freaks." Art students in particular have a reputation for being "way-out" and eccentric. And in many ways people are justified in feeling this, because within this society artists are very alien.

Their ideas, aims, activities and way of life are different to those of the majority of people. An artist's work involves looking at the world, thinking about it, feeling it and expressing it in some way.

Other workers are not allowed anything like the same freedom and creativity in their work, and so this relationship develops where workers and artists have very little in common and have great difficulty in sharing their experience. But under capitalism, there is no basis for people to work together for common goals. Only socialism can provide a collective basis for society, where every man and woman contributes consciously to the needs of the whole population.

ISOLATED

Under capitalism, artists are even separated among themselves. Each one stands isolated with his own ideas and aims, which have no link with any particular social purpose.

Throughout history, in most cultures before industrial capitalism, artists have had some clearly understood relationship to some part of society. Studies in archaeology and ancient history show us how, in primitive communities, art is an expression of the whole group. Exceptional individual talent may emerge, but spiritually it is shared and understood by the whole community, and produced for their immediate and obvious benefit.

COMMITMENT

In other periods artists have produced for a court, a personal patron, a religious sect or a particular political party. But capitalism does not demand any social commitment or social feeling from artists; it only demands that they make economically valuable objects.

Some artists today do join together in groups and work collectively. Some devote their energies to the service of particular causes, including political groups.

Artists committed to the socialist revolution can play a very important role, as we shall see in the following article, but the point here is that artists cannot find a truly collective base until capitalism is replaced with socialism; and this is the task of the international working class led by the revolutionary parties.

TO BE CONTINUED

Reprinted from Keep Left, weekly newspaper of the British Young Socialists.



Two Outings On West Coast A Huge Success

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

The two West Coast outings held this weekend were a tremendous success, and expressed the powerful movement developing in the working class.

Over 55 youth, trade unionists and their families attended the outing in the Redwoods from San Francisco, San Jose, Oakland, and from as far away as Portland, Oregon. Well over 70 attended the outing near Los Angeles at Cedar Lake.

Longshoremen, carpenters, printers, teamsters, textile workers and several other trade unionists came to these outings through the campaigns of the Young Socialists in the local areas.

Following an afternoon of swimming, volleyball, and canoeing, Tim Wohlforth, national secretary of the Workers League spoke on "Watergate: The Ugly Face of Capitalism."

Referring to the 200 police that were mobilized in North Holly-

wood against a 13-year-old girl who turned out not to be Patricia Hearst, Wohlforth said, "After it was all over, the police said it was 'an excellent exercise.' One exercises to get in shape, like a boxer for a fight, or a football player for a game. What were the police exercising for? Not just to take on a person here and a handful there, but take on the whole working class.

"This is a government of conspiracy and illegality. They build up the police because they know the working class will fight, they will not tolerate the destruction of their living conditions.

BUILD

"We must now build a revolutionary leadership to fight for socialist policies, not to defend profits. We must break the masses of people from the Democrats and build a labor party. The summer camp in Canada is critical now in preparing the forces to do this."

A very lively discussion followed at both outings. In Los Angeles, the basic issues of materialism and idealism were raised. A youth said she didn't see why Marxism was required, instead of religion.

Curtis, a worker replied,

"When I was a seaman, I always studied the Communist Manifesto. It was on all the ships. And you could begin to see how religion is a tool to keep us oppressed. Naturally they use it in the schools to keep the youth confused. But you have to study how man really developed so we can understand how we can change this system."

A printer who spoke during the discussion said, "We have to fight now, there's nothing after we're dead. I want to know what I can do besides subscribing to the Bulletin, which I do, and contributing money, because I support this movement and I want to help."

Following the meetings several people signed up for the camp, joined the YS, and volunteered for fund-raising activities for the summer camp. Over \$50 was raised at the LA outing, with one trade unionist pledging \$2 each week for the next 2 years! A large amount of literature was bought including several books on the history of the Russian Revolution and the Bolshevik Party.

The Bar-b-ques were a huge success. The real speciality for everyone at the LA outing was barbecued ribs prepared by a longshoreman.



Ed Reinecke Stays Despite Conviction

BY SHANNON JONES
California Lieutenant Governor Ed Reinecke has refused to resign his position despite a recent conviction of perjury. Reinecke has stated that he will not resign unless forced to while awaiting action on his appeal, a process which may take weeks.

Reinecke was found guilty last week by a Federal Grand Jury of lying to the Senate Judiciary Committee about an ITT offer to help finance

the 1972 presidential convention. Reinecke was involved in covering up the involvement of then Attorney General John Mitchell and the administration in illegal dealings with ITT.

ITT had pledged \$400 million to help underwrite the Republican National Convention two months before the Justice Department settled three anti-trust disputes with ITT. The Senate committee had wanted to know if Mitchell had any knowledge of the ITT offer before the settlement.

Mitchell claimed he knew nothing of the pledge until Reinecke told him six weeks later.

Under pressure from the administration, including a breakfast and briefing at the White House before the Senate hearings, Reinecke gave testimony backing up Mitchell's story.

He was so confident of not being prosecuted by the Nixon administration, he later refuted his own statement to reporters. Mitchell at that time was also being investigated for perjury.

California Attorney General Evelle Younger has expressed no opinion on the matter and has refused to do so before conferring with the staffs of Reinecke and Governor Ronald Reagan. Younger has said however that he feels "99% sure" that California law does not rule Reinecke out of office in this situation.

Top California politicians can only find words of sympathy for this convicted felon who today remains in a top state office. State Controller Houston Flournoy, who has continued to order payment of Reinecke's \$35,000 a year salary said he was "saddened" by Reinecke's conviction. Governor Ronald Reagan called the conviction a tragic event.

The California State Government Code states that any person convicted of a felony may not hold public office, yet no public official will stand up and say Reinecke should be removed from office.



Ed Reinecke leaving courthouse after his conviction.

Furniture Union Takes Only 10%

BY A REPORTER
LOS ANGELES—1300 members of striking Furniture Workers Local 3161 are back at work after settlement of their strike.

The union accepted a 10 percent wage increase over the first year, after having originally struck for a 20 percent wage boost. Workers at many of the struck plants earn only \$2.00 an hour.

When asked about how the union got the contract accepted, member Charles Austin stated "they called a special meeting and I don't know how they notified anybody. I still don't know what they settled for today."

"I think most people came back to work because they needed a job. We only knew the strike was over because we came and saw the pickets were gone."

Conditions at the plant have always been hard, with few breaks and continual speedup. Now these efforts are being intensified. When asked about the effect of the strike, one worker stated: "I got a 43¢ raise. I hear now because of the raise they cut back one of the wood-working machines."

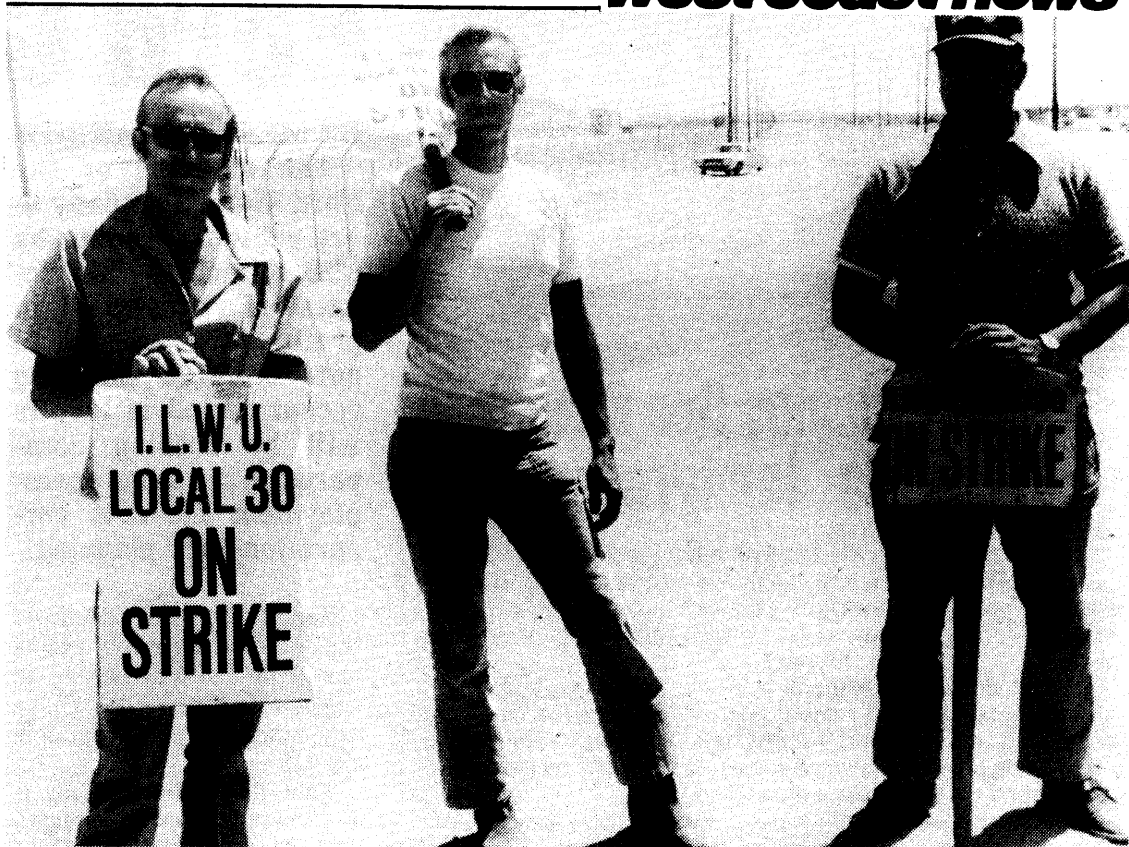
LA Times Reporter Gets 5 Day Term

BY A REPORTER
LOS ANGELES—Los Angeles Times reporter William Farr who was sentenced in 1971 to an indefinite term for refusing to reveal news sources has been given a new "maximum" five day sentence for his actions.

MORAL PRINCIPLES

Farr's "life sentence" was lifted last June when Superior Judge William Levit ruled that Farr's decision was based on "established moral principles."

The sentence Farr now receives is the maximum the law allows for his actions. Even



All negotiations have broken off as the strike against the Borax mining and processing plant in Boron, California, enters its second month. Many residents fear that the effect of the strike will turn Boron into a ghost town. Borax is spending a fortune on special scabs to break the strike.

Yellow Cab Drivers Strike Arnholt Smith's Company

BY JOHN BURTON
SAN FRANCISCO—Local 265 Teamster cab drivers closed down operations of the Yellow Cab company. The 1000 drivers, who have been without a contract since June 1, struck after the San Francisco Board of Supervisors voted 5 to 5 against a fare increase.

Drivers were preparing to extend picketing to Yellow Cab operations throughout the Bay Area.

The company has stated that it

can no longer pay health benefits totalling \$62 a month written into the last contract unless they get the raise in cab fares. The increase would raise the price of the initial fare from 65 cents to 80 cents.

The vice-president of the Yellow Cab Company, Charles O'Conner, said that if the increase is not granted: "We have no alternative but to sell our 1000 cab permits and go out of business here."

One driver, Chuck, with 15 years seniority with the company, told the Bulletin: "The company is going broke. If they can't get an increase out of the Board of Supervisors, we'll all be out of a job. We're not asking for anything."

The Yellow Cab Company is owned by financier C. Arnholt Smith, Nixon's closest big business supporter, who is now under indictment for charges of fraud in the collapse of his financial empire. Smith's conglomerate, Westgate-California corporation, which is now bankrupt, controls the bulk of taxicab concessions in California.

Yellow cab is trying to make the drivers pay the price for Smith's swindling. The union leadership agrees that the drivers must limit their demands so as not to put the company out of business. Two years ago, the bureaucrats even proposed that the individual drivers take the whole burden of the company's financial crisis on their backs by buying out the cab permits themselves at a profit to the company.

Pacific Gas Lineman Electrocuted

BY JAMES BREWER
SAN JOSE—Robert Scott, an apprentice lineman for the Pacific Gas and Electric Co., is in the Valley Medical Center burn unit in "very critical" condition after receiving a high voltage electric shock on the job last Sunday.

He received third degree burns over all of his body and is not expected to live.

Scott was one of the PG&E crewmen working to move high power wires to a new utility pole from one that was damaged in a car accident. He and coworker, John Martinez, were working in a mechanically operated bucket-lift. Scott leaned out of the bucket and grabbed a 12,000 volt feeder line for the neighboring residential area.

A witness described what happened. "All of a sudden, there were sparks and flashes. Then he was hanging over the side of the bucket by one leg all aflame. The bucket was bobbing up and down and it looked like the other guy was trying to control it, but his hands were too badly burned."

Martinez, who had both of his hands and face badly burned while trying to pull Scott back into the bucket stated to the San Jose Mercury that they were told that the power from the feeder line was shut off before they attempted to work on it.

PG&E bears full responsibility for this "accident." It has not even been a year since another San Jose PG&E worker was crushed by a rotten utility pole which he was ordered to climb. When a Bulletin reporter visited Martinez at his home Tuesday, he said that he was instructed by his employer to make no statements on the "accident" until their "investigation" was completed. PG&E declared that the incident was being "blown up."

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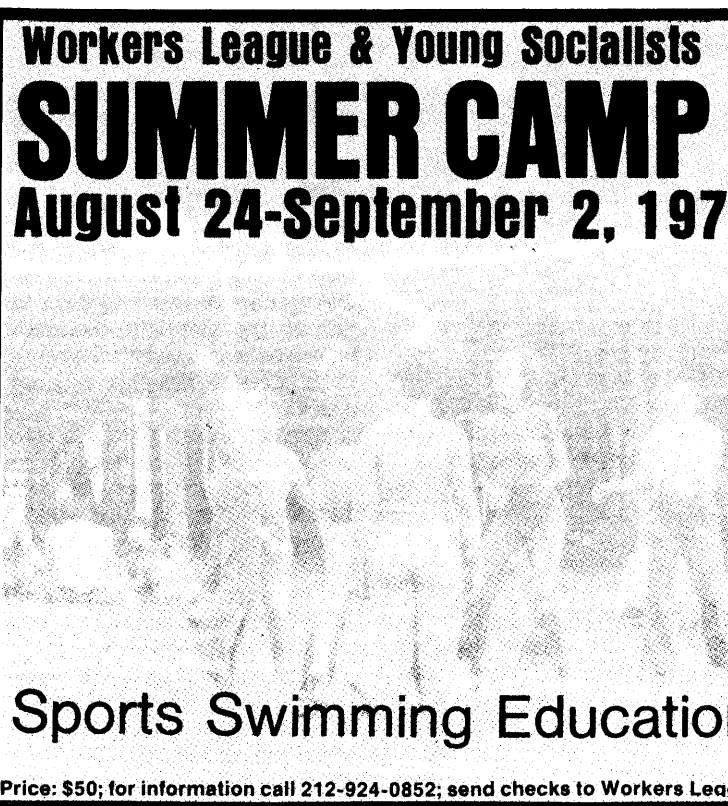
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