

Bulletin

NOW
TWICE A
WEEK!

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

VOLUME TEN NUMBER SEVENTEEN 353

FRIDAY, MARCH 1, 1974

FIFTEEN CENTS

Mass Layoffs, Wild Inflation Ahead

THE GOLD RUSH



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BY THE EDITORS

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Silver, platinum, and gold coins rose to record levels as speculators rushed this week to get out of paper dollars. The old double eagle—a \$20 gold coin—was being purchased Tuesday afternoon in New York City for \$300.

The skyrocketing gold price must lead to a massive rise in the cost of living. The Committee of the Group of Ten, which represents the major capitalist countries, are now meeting to decide whether to raise the official price of gold from \$42 to its present selling price.

If, as expected, the Group of Ten decides to revalue gold to at least \$120 per ounce, the official value of the dollar will be slashed by two-thirds.

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Steel mills may be shut down next week if the strike continues because coke production requires a steady supply of coal. Many miners must drive as

much as 100 miles a day to and from work when gas stations are closed.

REFUSED

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Now United Mine Workers President Arnold Miller refuses to back this strike and call for the entire labor movement to demand Nixon's removal from office. He has consistently opposed using the strength of the UMW to lead a campaign against Nixon.

At the UMW Convention, he opposed a resolution calling for Nixon's removal from office.

The strike by West Virginia miners and the decision of Harlan County miners to extend their strike to other regions shows the powerful movement of the working class against Nixon.

ALTERNATIVE

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see page 5

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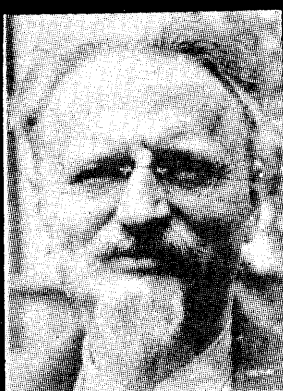
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Conditions For Revolution: Britain And America Today

In this issue, we are preparing Leon Trotsky's draft notes on "What Is A Revolutionary Situation" written in 1931.

Trotsky's writings on the political and economic conditions for revolution have an immediate significance today as conditions rapidly mature in every country for the working class to take power and establish socialism.

In England, in the United States, and throughout the colonial countries we have entered a revolutionary period.

What We Think

Trotsky wrote that there are three basic economic conditions for revolution: a decline in the productive forces, inflation, and permanent unemployment.

The necessary political conditions are a break in the consciousness of all classes in society and above all the searching of the working class for a revolutionary way out and the preparedness of the leadership of the working class, the revolutionary party.

Today, the economic crisis of capitalism has reached the stage where these conditions are being created on a worldwide scale.

The severing of gold from the dollar which has now forced gold up to \$175 an ounce threatens the entire capitalist economy with collapse on a far more violent scale than in the past.

In Britain, production is stagnating. The backwardness of the British economy has forced it out of many world markets. Unemployment is over two-and-a-quarter million and inflation is out of control.

Heath has imposed a three day week, passed laws to destroy trade union rights and declared a state of emergency.

The workers in Britain, led by the miners who defied Heath and went on strike, are determined to defend their rights. They will never allow the capitalists to return them to the conditions of the 1930s.

Their strength has created a split within the Tories who were forced to call an election and are divided on how to deal with the working class.

Large sections of the middle classes, traditionally pro-Tory, are turning towards the working class to show a way forward.

Unlike 1931, when the Labour Party dominated the working class, today there is a growing disillusion and disgust with the reformist leaders and a turn towards a revolutionary movement.

Above all, the most decisive subjective factor, the revolutionary party, is being built by the Workers Revolutionary Party, the British section of the International Committee of the Fourth International and is rapidly gaining support among broad layers of the population.

Britain is on the verge of a revolutionary situation and events in the United States will follow closely behind.

In the US, there is already recession, and a decline in production as expressed in the mass auto layoffs. The

US is facing bitter competition on the world market, has begun a policy of mass unemployment and has slashed living standards through inflation.

While the economic conditions are rapidly maturing here for revolution, the political conditions lag behind.

The Nixon administration has already split apart and is divided on how to handle the economic crisis.

Nixon is not only despised by the working class but by large sections of the middle and lower middle classes who have been affected by inflation and unemployment also. There is a break in confidence of people in all capitalist politicians.

The working class is entering big battles against the government over wages and jobs in which big explosions are already taking place against the reformist bureaucracy in the unions.

In these battles, the political conditions can be rapidly transformed as millions of workers see in their experiences that only the destruction of capitalism and the building of their own party can defend their rights.

This is why the construction of the revolutionary party is the most critical task. Trotsky stressed that a revolutionary situation is not a matter of speculation but a question of action.

We must go forward and build the Workers League within all unions, to recruit masses of workers and construct a mass revolutionary youth movement and prepare for a daily Bulletin.

In the fight for a labor party on the basis of socialist policies, we will expose all the reformists and capitalist parties and prepare the next stage in which the working class will be able to take the power.

Support Builds For WRP

BY MELODY FARROW

The candidates of the Workers Revolutionary Party have received a tremendous response in the final weeks of campaigning before the British election February 28.

In rallies, factory gate meetings, at shopping cen-

WRP candidates have continuously exposed that it is the British capitalists, and not striking miners and other workers whom Heath labels as "extremists," that are the real cause of the crisis.

Heath instituted a three day week last December; unemployment is over two million; prices rose 12 percent last year and food rose 20 percent.

That the economic crisis is the real issue was revealed this

highly successful rally outside the huge Ford Dagenham factory where she called on auto workers to be prepared to occupy the plants to defend their jobs.

Labour Party campaigners who showed up later failed to distract the 100 workers who were attentively listening, and were finally forced to leave.

In Lambeth Central, where thousands are homeless and tenants have been evicted, Sylvester Smart has exposed the Labour Party's betrayal of tenants who defied the Tory Housing Finance Act. A torchlight march was organized in the area to demand the Labour Party take action to defend tenants and the homeless.

At an election rally, Smart said that the Tory talk of extremists "means the entire working class—trade unionists, housewives, tenants, and youth.

"The question of power is posed and nothing will be settled by the election. The Labour Party leaders will abandon the working class. We need a new instrument to take the working class forward.

"This is your fight. Ulster is already in Britain. We must build the Workers Revolutionary Party to take the power."

In Swindon, where Kate Blakeney is the WRP candidate, youth, workers and housewives have come forward to help. In one weekend of campaigning at the shopping centers, over 600 copies of Workers Press were sold.

Stephen Hammond is the WRP candidate in Dunbartonshire Central where James Reid, the candidate of the Communist Party, is also running.

Meetings have been held at the Clydebank shipyards where Hammond has spoken against the "work-in" organized by the Stalinists when employers threatened to close the yard, which resulted in a carve up that slashed 30 percent of the jobs.

At an election rally of 70 people, Hammond said that no issue, food prices, housing or jobs, could be solved without nationalization under workers control of food and building monopolies and all major industries and urged those in attendance to vote for and join the



WRP candidate Stephen Hammond campaigns at shopping center.

WRP.

Gerry Healy, national secretary of the WRP, declared at the meeting that the employers would never return to full employment and would eliminate two out of every five workers permanently.

"It is now class against class. It is a question of dictatorship or slavery and we are in favor of the dictatorship of the working class over the capitalist class.

"...The working class in this country is the most powerful working class in the world. They fought bitterly to gain their living standards and all their working conditions.

"Now the time has come once more for the working class to fight against the enemy. You must come forward and join this fight. There is no escape."

In every area, workers have immediately joined the campaign. Miners in Pontefract-Castleford, a traditional Labour Party stronghold, have offered their help as well as in the Welsh mining area of Merthyr-Tydfil where Roy Battersby is running.

Everywhere teams of housewives, responding to the WRP's program on food prices have spent long hours doing volunteer work.

In Stretford, where the WRP was not known before, youth have gone out campaigning as soon as they read the Young Socialist newspaper and now a new YS branch has been established.

Factory meetings have generated heated discussions

among trade unionists on the policies of the Labour Party leadership and the Stalinists.

What is seen in this election campaign is the turn of workers towards a revolutionary solution, towards the policies of the WRP. This is shown in the spontaneous support the WRP candidates have received and in the distrust and anger with the Labour Party.

The hatred of the Tories extends not only among workers, but among students, the middle class, and shopkeepers.

Enoch Powell, an extreme right-wing Tory who advocates an all-white Britain and the crashing of industry to create mass unemployment, has publicly called for a vote for the Labour Party.

Powell, a declared enemy of the unions, is now breaking with the Tories in order to build up his own independent movement based on these reactionary policies.

The Tories are clearly worried they may lose this election. Many workers will still vote for the Labour Party to keep the Tories out, but with no illusions in its leaders.

This will create conditions for the rapid growth of the revolutionary movement as the Labour leaders are forced to attack the working class.

Only the Workers Revolutionary Party is preparing for this next stage of the struggle in which the fight for power by the working class will be on the agenda.



Actress Vanessa Redgrave addresses WRP meeting in London.

ters and at housing projects, youth, workers, and housewives have come forward to pledge their votes and to offer help in the campaign.

In every constituency where there are candidates of the WRP, trade unionists, disgusted with the Labour Party leadership, have welcomed the WRP as the only alternative to the Tories in this election.

Only the WRP candidates have clearly put forward a socialist program to the unemployment and inflation hitting the working class, warning constantly of the dangers of Heath's moves towards a military-police dictatorship.

week when the balance of trade figures showed a new record deficit of \$880 million in January.

The Workers Revolutionary Party has entered the election to expose the reformists of the Labour Party who refuse to fight for socialist policies or defend the miners and to build support for the Workers Revolutionary Party as the only party prepared to lead the struggle for power.

Actress Vanessa Redgrave is running in the Newham North East district opposing Labour's former Employment Secretary Reginald Prentice. She spoke at the Royal Docks and held a

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Prime Minister Messmer, left, resigned from government. Pompidou is at right.

Nixon Plans To Defy Them All

BY A REPORTER

Richard Nixon's Monday evening press conference represents the clearest warning that Nixon is determined to establish the conditions for dictatorship.

With absolute arrogance and defiance the president declared that he was completely independent from the Constitution, the courts, and the Congress.

Nixon revealed for the first time that he had refused a request from Special Watergate Prosecutor, Leon Jaworski, to testify before the Watergate grand jury and would only agree to provide answers to written questions or to meet personally with the prosecutor.

"I am prepared to cooperate with the Committee in any way consistent with my constitutional responsibility to defend the office of the presidency against any action which would weaken that office and the ability of future presidents to carry out the great responsibilities that any president will have."

In the most brutal manner possible, Nixon made it clear that no matter how unpopular he is and even at the cost of losing Republican seats in the coming elections, "we have a lot of work left to do, more than three years left to do it and I'm going to stay here till I get it done."

Nixon rejected completely the report of the House Judiciary Committee staff that proof of criminality is not necessary for impeachment.

"It is my belief that the House, after it considers its inquiry, will not reach that determination. I do not expect to be impeached."

According to the House report, Nixon could be impeached for his secret Cambodian bombings of 1969 or for his refusal to spend funds appropriated by Congress in the last budget.

Despite its hesitations, the

Judiciary Committee is preparing to demand that Nixon turn over evidence for its investigations. A presidential refusal will force them to issue subpoenas.

It is already clear that Nixon has evaded income taxes, set up the Watergate plumbers operation, violated the election laws through the acceptance of millions in illegal corporate contributions, authorized burglary and electronic surveillance, and surrounded himself with men who are either under criminal indictment or have already pleaded guilty to criminal offenses.

Most recent is the guilty plea of former Nixon lawyer Herbert Kalmbach to charges of illegally raising more than \$2 million for the 1970 elections and accepting a 100,000 contribution in exchange for a promised ambassadorship.

The recent hearings on the Pentagon spy ring now reveal that it was Nixon himself who stopped any prosecution of the generals involved.

When Nixon declares that he will not resign or be impeached, he is depending on the Pentagon chiefs and right wingers like George Wallace who he recently visited, to back him up.

When Nixon declares that "we have a lot of work left to do" he means the work of cutting wages, fueling inflation, destroying living standards, and creating mass unemployment. The job Nixon wants to do is preserve capitalism with whatever brutal and repressive measures are necessary.

Nixon has only been able to get away with these desperate maneuvers by the refusal of the labor leadership to act. The labor movement more than ever has the power to force out this isolated and hated president.

The trade unions must act to smash the plans of Nixon and the military for dictatorship by forcing Nixon out with a general strike and constructing a labor party to replace him with a government pledged to socialist policies.

Ethiopia Revolt Spreads

BY A REPORTER

Large sections of the Ethiopian Army and Navy are in full-scale revolt against Emperor Haile Selassie over demands for higher pay.

Soldiers and junior officers seized control of Smara, the second largest city on Tuesday, have rejected Selassie's offer of a \$9 a month increase, and have taken over the airport, government buildings, and banks. The generals have been placed under house arrest.

Soldiers in the capital Addis Ababa who were shooting demonstrators last week, have joined the revolt. Heavy shooting was continuing as many soldiers rejected the compromise.

The Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa was engulfed in strikes and demonstrations last week.

Teachers launched a wildcat

strike on February 18 for a salary increase and were joined by students and taxi drivers protesting an increase in gasoline from one dollar a gallon to \$1.40 a gallon.

Demonstrators estimate that 10 to 20 people were killed by police during the rioting in which buses, cars, and policemen were stoned. The government arrested over 500 people.

Selassie tried to halt the movement by promising teachers that their demands would be studied and by cutting fuel prices two cents a gallon.

Peasants, who were forced off their land by the drought and famine, joined the strikers to protest soaring prices for rice and flour.

Food distribution centers that were to feed peasants while they replanted the earth and 12,500 oxen they were to receive never arrived.

Shah Murders Two Iranian Marxists

BY A REPORTER

On February 19, the Shah of Iran had two Iranian Marxists shot to death by firing squad.

Karamat Danishiyan, a film maker, and Khosro Kolesorkhi, a writer, were singled out of 12 condemned defendants for execution because they spoke out in court in defense of Marxism and refused to beg for pardon.

Two days later, the Iranian government announced that six others, in an unrelated case, had also been shot for "acts of sabotage, assassination, voluntary arson, and armed aggression."

Danishiyan and Kolesorkhi and 10 others were accused of plotting to kidnap the Shah and members of his family.

During the trial, Danishiyan



Khosro Kolesorkhi

declared: "I am a political person and I should not be tried by the military court."

He denounced the "fascist methods of the court for cutting off his defense speech and said:

"If you are not afraid of the revolutionary forces and the struggle of the masses and in reality you do not believe in the death of the Iranian ruling class, history will show this reality to you."

"Marxism has never been in accordance with the desires of the ruling classes and their hangerson."

Kolesorkhi told the court: "The Iranian people must realize that I am being tried here simply because of my Marxist beliefs and it is for this that I have been condemned."

The courage of these men will be an inspiration to all those who are fighting the barbarous Shah regime which by ordering these savage executions reveals its fear of the Iranian masses.

Young Socialists

MARCH ON WASHINGTON

FORCE NIXON OUT!

Labor Must Act On Jobs

Build A Labor Party

Buses leaving from NYC, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Bethlehem Allentown-Reading area, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and Youngstown.



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Assemble: Sherman Park (Garfield & Loomis)
Rally: Ogden Park (Marquette & Loomis)
Transportation from Dayton, Detroit, St. Louis, Minneapolis, St. Paul
For information call 312-327-2620 evenings.

San Francisco

Assemble: Dolores Park
Rally: Union Square
Transportation from Los Angeles, Oakland, Palo Alto, San Jose

For further information call 415-824-4096.

March 16 \$5 transportation & dance

For further information call 212-924-0852

Mass. Jobless Rate Hits 7.3 Percent

BY DAVID NORTH
FALL RIVER, Mass.—The decline in the textile, apparel, and auto industries, exacerbated by the severe shortage of fuel, has driven unemployment in this state up to the level of 7.3 percent.

In towns like Fall River and New Bedford along the coast, where unemployment has steadily grown throughout the past decade, the increasing danger of mass layoffs in the large mills within the coming months could spell disaster for the workers in this region.

"It is not what you know, but who you know," said a young worker bitterly as she explained that even with training in special skills, it is becoming impossible to find a job in Fall River.

Unemployment in Fall River stands at 8.8 percent of the work force. In New Bedford, it is 7.5 percent. Further north, in Brockton, the breakdown in the shoe and leather industries has pushed the jobless rate up to 8.9 percent.

The town of Lowell leads the state in unemployment with 9.7 percent of the workers without jobs. Conditions in these towns are so bad that Springfield, which has 6.8 percent unemployed, is considered to be doing well by Massachusetts standards.

One thousand auto workers in the GM Framingham assembly plant are slated for permanent layoffs.

PETROCHEMICALS

The high cost and shortage of fuel threatens thousands of workers in the textile mills because the production of polyesters like nylon in the huge mills of Berkshire-Hathaway and other large companies involves the use of petrochemicals.

"When I come down here on Monday mornings," said Kenneth Madeiros as he waited in the Fall River unemployment office, "I can usually see 20 or 30 friends of mine." He has been out of work since November 14.

His brother Steve has been out of work for four months since the contractor who employed him laid him off as housing starts dropped sharply during the fall.

Because of the high level of unemployment, the companies hold down wages to two dollars an hour or even less. Workers are fired at the whim of the companies and receive little support from the unions.

Twenty-year-old Wally Silva was recently fired from the Ashworth Foundry in neighboring Somerset for refusing to do extra heavy work on a day he was ill.

"If the bosses see any sign or dissent or anything, they just let you go. It was the first time I had any trouble at work, but now I'm out."

FIRED

He said that he has been unable to find a job since he was fired.

"It just does not seem like there are any jobs," he stated. "Two years ago, I would have had a job in a few days."

Emmanuel Botelho, an Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union shop steward in the mill owned by Essex Manufacturers, declared that this is the worst year he can remember.

"Nixon should never have been in office," he said. "But I do not think he will be impeached by Congress. And Ford is no prize package. He was put in there by Nixon."

"I think Meany is saying the right thing when he says Nixon's got to go. But so far Meany is just doing a lot of talking."

"It is a tough situation. This gas business is just like the meat situation. When we pay them the price they want, we will have gas, not before."

"People here hate Nixon. Opinions have really changed quickly. Everyone wants him out."



Fall River, Mass. youth and workers spend hours each day scanning computer job list in unemployment center. Most of the jobs are already taken—or the applicant is told that he is "underqualified."

55 Workers Acquitted

BY A REPORTER
WASHINGTON, DC—Fifty-five George Washington University Hospital workers have been acquitted by the jury in a trial which be-

gan on February 19.

The workers were cleared on charges of illegal entry for a demonstration in support of a union recognition for Local 1199 last November 30 in the hospital lobby.

Twenty-four workers were fired as a result of this demonstration. The hospital administrator, Dowell C. Novack, has refused to allow an election to decide the question of union representation.

"Our position," he stated, on February 27 "is that there is no evidence of majority support of 1199."

Fifty hospital workers had set up a picket line in front of the courthouse. Judge Margaret Haywood announced that anyone who did not show up on time for the proceedings would be charged with bail jumping and risk a maximum penalty of five years or \$5000 or both.

Every attempt of the defense attorney, Norman Blumenfeld, to discuss the democratic right of workers to be represented by a union was attacked by the government prosecuting attorney, Michael Pace and Judge Haywood, who declared that the courtroom is not the place for

political discussion.

Trade unionists, their wives, and friends were excluded from the jury on the grounds that they were not impartial.

The judge ruled that because the hospital was a private rather than a public place, the case does not fall under the First Amendment and therefore this issue must be kept out of court.

The government's case was that the workers disrupted hospital routine by singing union songs during the demonstration.

The workers said that they had no choice but to demonstrate their strength because the administration has refused for 18 months to meet with them to discuss a union election.

The real issues at stake—the intolerable working conditions, the low wages paid by this wealthy, profit-making hospital, and the union-busting tactics of the administration were not "admissible evidence," according to the court.

Despite this, the jury found them not guilty and was reportedly very sympathetic to their fight. The struggle must continue to unionize the hospital and for reinstatement for all those who were fired.

Framingham GM Shutdown

BOSTON—The first shift at the Framingham General Motors plant here will be closed down indefinitely beginning March 4.

The shutdown will throw out the remaining 1800 workers with no guarantee of a return to work. Framingham manufactures mainly middle-sized cars such as Buick.

Up until January 25, the plant was operating with 3900 workers. On that date, the entire second shift of 2100 workers was thrown out. Now the remaining workers will be out for what management has termed "an inventory adjustment."

The shutdown is predicted to last from one to two weeks, with some workers called back the second week. GM however, has refused to give any guarantee on even the two-week deadline.

SUB benefits exist for only 35 percent of the work force and more than 50 have already been laid off for the January 25 shift closure.

DC YS March Chants: We Demand Jobs, Food, Gas

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

WASHINGTON, DC—With chants of "We Demand Jobs for All—Build a Labor Party," and "Nixon Out, Heath Out, Workers Take the Power," over 40 supporters of the Young Socialists and Workers League marched through working class neighborhoods of Southeast Washington.

Workers, housewives and youth responded to the Young Socialists banners which demanded jobs for all, hands off the unions, and applauded the banner "We Will Not Accept Dictatorship."

Southeast Washington is a

densely populated housing enclave bisected by freeways, military reservations, and polluted waters. Eighty-five percent of the population live in apartments and 50 percent of the city's public housing is concentrated there.

Mark, who had recently joined the YS, eagerly fought with other youth and workers to join the march and rally and found that "they are all 100 percent with us: they all want Nixon out."

CHANT

Pam, a Young Socialist from Stanton Road, started a chant along the route which everyone responded to: "We Demand Jobs, We Demand Food, We

Demand Gas; Build a Labor Party."

At the rally held in Fort DuPont Park, a Baltimore teacher and member of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party spoke of the situation facing city teachers in their four-week-old strike for decent wages and working conditions.

BUILD

Gina, from the Southeast YS, urged all marchers to build the YS and the revolutionary party, as the only way to ensure a future for youth who are demanding jobs, good schools, decent food and transportation.

That evening a successful dance was held at the YS club-room where many youth signed up for March 16.

JUST OUT

Exposes empirical method behind Mandel's and the revisionist United Secretariat's theories of neo-capitalism.

This second 112-page edition includes a new introduction by Alex Steiner and Dennis O'Casey assessing Mandel's philosophical methods and reactionary policies in view of the new stage of the economic crisis.

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Ernest Mandel:
The Fraud Of Neo-Capitalism
 by Dennis O'Casey

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Bulletin Pamphlet Series **7**

what is a revolutionary situation?

by leon trotsky



Left: The truckers strike challenged the Nixon government and signals a massive movement of the American working class. Above: The British Hunger Marches of the 1930s. Trotsky wrote his draft notes to prepare for these revolutionary conditions.

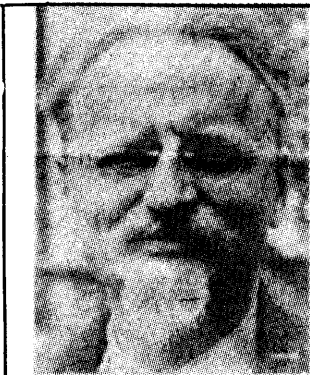
1. For an analysis of a situation from a revolutionary point of view, it is necessary to distinguish between the economic and social premises of a revolutionary situation itself.

2. The economic and social premises for a revolutionary situation begin, generally speaking, at that moment when the productive forces of the country are going not up but down, that is diminishing; when the specific weight of a capitalist country on the world markets is systematically reduced and when the incomes of the classes are likewise systematically reduced; when unemployment becomes, not a conjunctural event of fluctuation but a permanent social evil with a tendency to growth. All the foregoing characterize the situation in Britain completely and we can affirm that the economic and social premises for a revolutionary situation exist there in this form and are always becoming more and more acute. But we must not forget that the expression, revolutionary situation, is a political term, not alone sociological. This explanation includes the subjective factor, and the subjective factor is not only the question of the party of the proletariat. It is a question of the consciousness of the whole class, foremost, of course, of the proletariat and the party.

BREAK IN CONSCIOUSNESS

3. The revolutionary situation, however, begins only from the moment that the economic and social premises of a revolution produce a break in the consciousness of society and its different classes. What must be produced in this way for creating a revolutionary situation?

(a) In every situation which we must analyze, it is necessary to distinguish three classes of society; the capitalists, the



middle class (or petty bourgeoisie) and the proletariat. Those changes in the consciousness of these classes in order to characterize a revolutionary situation are very different for every one of these classes.

(b) That the economic situation is very acute, the British proletariat know very well, far better than all theoreticians. But the revolutionary situation begins only at the moment when the proletariat begins to search for a way out, not on the basis of the old society but along the path of a revolutionary insurrection against the existing order. This is the most important subjective condition for a revolutionary situation. The acuteness of the revolutionary feelings of the masses is one of the most important measures for the ripeness of the revolutionary situation.

(c) But a revolutionary situation is one which must, in the next period, permit the proletariat to become the ruling power of society, and that depends in Britain, less than in any other country, but also there to a degree, on the political thoughts and feelings of the middle class; the revolutionary situation would be characterized by the loss of confidence of the middle class in all the traditional parties (including the Labour Party, which is reformist), and its turn of hope to a radical, revolutionary change in

We are reprinting here from Keep Left, weekly newspaper of the British Young Socialists, Trotsky's draft notes on the political and economic conditions of a revolutionary situation, written in 1931 in relation to the crisis in Britain.

This was written at a time when Trotsky was still fighting to return the British Communist Party to Leninist policies. When this proved impossible after the German Stalinists failed to prevent fascism from triumphing in 1933, Trotsky founded the Fourth International.

These notes should be studied by all those who fight to construct the revolutionary party today as we are now in the period of revolutionary developments in every country. (See "What We Think" on page 2 for how this relates to the struggle today in the United States.)

the society (and not a counter-revolutionary change, viz, a fascist change).

(d) Both the changes in the consciousness of the proletariat and the middle class correspond to the change in the mentality of the ruling class which sees that it has not the means to save its system, loses confidence in itself, decomposes and splits into factions and cliques.

4. It cannot be foreseen or indicated mathematically at what point in these processes the revolutionary situation is totally ripe. The revolutionary party can only establish that fact by its struggles, by the growth of its forces, through its influence on the masses, on the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie of the towns, etc., and by the weakening of the resistance of the ruling class.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS ACUTE

5. If we adapt these criteria to the British situation we can see:

(a) That the economic and social premises, as has been stated, are existing and becoming more effective and acute.

(b) The bridge, however, from these economic premises to the psychological results, has not been crossed. For the revolutionary situation in Britain it is not necessary for great changes in the economic conditions, which are already unbearable, to

Introduction

come about. What is necessary is a new adjustment of the consciousness of the different classes to this unbearable catastrophic situation in Britain.

6. The economic change of society is very slow and is measured by centuries and decades. But when the economic conditions are radically changed, a transformation of the retarded psychological factors can be produced very quickly. However, quickly or slowly, such changes must inevitably be effected in the consciousness of the classes. Only then can we have a revolutionary situation.

7. In political terms it signifies:

(a) That the proletariat must have lost its confidence not only in the conservatives and liberals, but also in the Labour Party. It must concentrate its will and its courage for revolutionary aims and methods.

(b) That the middle class must lose its confidence in the big bourgeoisie, in the lords, and turn their eyes to the revolutionary proletariat.

(c) That the rich classes, the ruling cliques, rejected by the masses lose confidence in themselves.

8. These phenomena will inevitably come. However, they do not exist today. They can come in a short period of time through the acute crisis. They can arrive in two or three years,

or perhaps only a year. But this is a perspective and not a fact today. We must base our policy on the facts of today and not of tomorrow.

RIPENING POLITICAL CONDITIONS

9. The political conditions of a revolutionary situation are developing more or less parallel and simultaneously but this does not signify that they all become ripe at the same moment—there is the danger of the British situation of tomorrow. In the ripening political conditions, the most retarded is the revolutionary party of the proletariat. It is not excluded that the general revolutionary change of the proletariat and the middle class, and the political decomposition of the ruling class, will develop more quickly than the ripening of the Communist Party. It signifies that it does not exclude after tomorrow a genuinely revolutionary situation without an adequate revolutionary party. It would be to a certain degree, a reproduction of the situation in Germany of 1923. But to affirm that Britain is in such a situation today is absolutely false.

10. We say that it is not excluded that the development of the Party can remain retarded in relation to the other elements of the revolutionary situation, but that is not in any case inevitable. On this question we cannot make any prognosis, but the question is not merely a question of prognosis. It is a question of our own action.

11. How much time will the British proletariat need in the present state of capitalist society to break up its connections with the three bourgeois parties? By a correct policy of the Communist Party, it is entirely possible that its growth will take place in proportion to the bankruptcy and decomposition of the other parties. It is our aim, it is our duty to realize this possibility.

This is the amended perspectives resolution unanimously approved by the Central Committee of the Workers League in January.

POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES

CONTINUED FROM LAST ISSUE)

The Role Of Stalinism

As the crisis of capitalism deepens, the counterrevolutionary role of Stalinism becomes all the more pronounced. The Stalinist bureaucracy sees in the pending downfall of capital internationally the downfall of its bureaucratic rule within the workers states. It desperately acts to buttress capitalism precisely at the point when millions of workers go into struggle to overthrow it.

But the very crisis of capitalism requires of the capitalists renewed efforts to regain control of the one-third of the earth lost to direct capitalist exploitation. This means the Stalinists embrace the very force which is intent on their destruction. The imperialists in turn wine and dine with the Stalinist bureaucrats only to gain their aid against the working class. Once the imperialists are able to gain the upper hand in their struggle with the working class they will move swiftly to seek to destroy these very workers' states.

The meaning of Leonid Brezhnev's trip to the United States has become crystal clear in the role of the Soviet Union in the Middle East War. It sought first of all to prevent the offensive of the Arab countries. Once that offensive was underway it devoted its efforts to joint activity with the United States for the purpose of preventing a complete defeat of Israel which would have upset the present balance of power with the imperialist nations. It currently acts to prop up Israel and to deny to the Palestinians their right to self-determination. This did not prevent Nixon from calling a full scale military alert against the USSR in the midst of these events.

The role of each Stalinist party within each country is consistent with this international role of Stalinism. This can be seen most clearly in Chile. The Chilean Communist Party was the most consistent supporter of the popular front government of Allende. As part of this government it consistently attacked the left and urged the closest collaboration with the military. The result was the military overthrow of this government which of course did not spare the Stalinists during its terror.

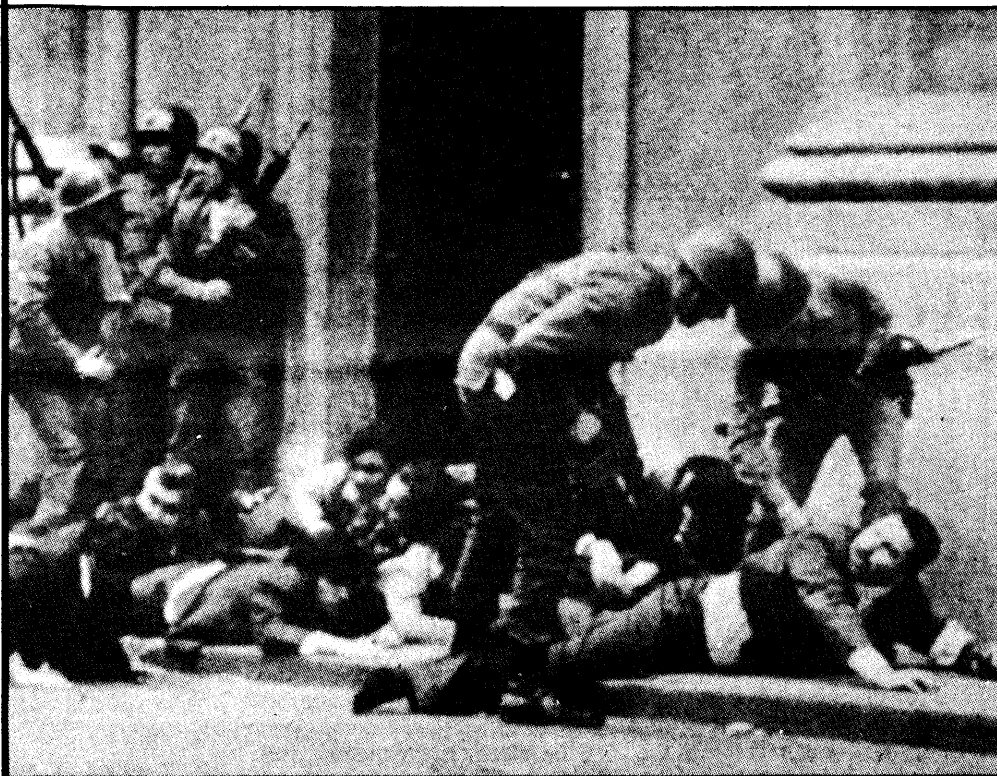
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The American Communist Party will be the main force within the socialist movement propping up the labor bureaucracy in this period of class struggle and opposing the development of the labor party. As the labor bureaucracy gets more and more exposed independent formations will develop inside the trade union movement. The Communist Party will act in relation to those formations seeking to keep them at the level of militancy alone and on this basis tying them to capitalism. The labor bureaucracy's very survival in the next period will depend on the Communist Party and various revisionist groups who align themselves with the CP.

The development of a revolutionary leadership in the trade unions will only be through a bitter struggle against Stalinism. In the course of this struggle the whole history of the development of Trotskyism must be consciously brought forward and a new leadership of workers trained in this way.

PERSPECTIVES FOR THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

(Revised)



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Revisionism is a political tendency which, breaking with the Marxist method, maintains adherence to Trotskyism in only a formal sense, while in practice liquidating Trotskyism and aiding Stalinism. The Workers League was born out of the struggle within the International Committee against the turn of the Socialist Workers Party back into the camp of Pabloite revisionism.

The tendency which became the Workers League was expelled from the SWP in 1964 for insisting upon a discussion of the entry of the LSSP into a bourgeois coalition government in Ceylon and the responsibility of Pabloism for that situation. We insisted that the refusal of the SWP to discuss the issues raised in the original split in 1953 led to the Ceylonese Coalition Government.

The results of this unprincipled reunification are now obvious to all. The principled position the Workers League fought for ten years ago together with other sections of the IC has been fully vindicated. Since 1969 the reunified United Secretariat has been torn apart by a completely unprincipled but nonetheless devastating division.

One faction around the old Mandel European leadership groomed by Pablo, defends guerrilla warfare, seeks to liquidate itself

into the "mass vanguard" of middle class forces, and more and more openly goes over to Stalinism. It views the Vietnamese Stalinists as a revolutionary party and has supported its deal with imperialism.

The other faction, supported by the SWP which is barred from membership in the United Secretariat by the reactionary Voorhis Act, has abandoned the Transitional Program in favor of liberal democratic demands, and is oriented exclusively to the middle class around its "red university" protest politics. This faction capitulates to Stalinism as well, as is seen by its collaboration with the Communist Party over Chile.

The unprincipled character of the current discussion is revealed in the refusal of both sides to seriously discuss the meaning of the 1953 split, and in that light reassess their own reunification in 1963. This issue is continuously forced into the discussion by the very logic of the development of the discussion but is just as constantly distorted and ignored by the participants. This is the meaning of the refusal of the SWP to accept the proposal of the International Committee for a general discussion of the meaning of 1953.

The result has been a series of splits and the disintegration of sections throughout the world. The SWP turns more and more against its own history and moves closer and closer to Stalinism.

The crisis of revisionism must be understood as being brought to a head now because of the crisis of capitalism and the

struggle of classes now dominating all countries of the world. The revisionists refused to recognize this crisis in its developments. They failed to make any preparations for it, to train their cadres in any way in the Marxist method to be able to intervene in the new movement of the working class. Thus this movement throws them into crisis while it provides the basis for the serious growth of the sections of the International Committee.

The struggle against revisionism must be conducted at all times in order to educate the new generation of workers, to clarify questions in the struggle against Stalinism, and to remove a centrist impediment to the development of the working class. The Workers League must continuously turn to its own rich history of struggle against revisionism as part of the International Committee as it turns outward into the working class. It will be through the construction of the revolutionary party in the working class that revisionism will be fundamentally defeated. This is the task in this next immediate period.

During its ten years of existence the Workers League has been largely confined to a propagandistic existence. It fought continuously for the principled positions of the International Committee, seeking within this limited framework to learn what it could of the Marxist method, always trying to go beyond the limits of development this propaganda existence imposed upon it. This was a necessary stage in the development of the League and without

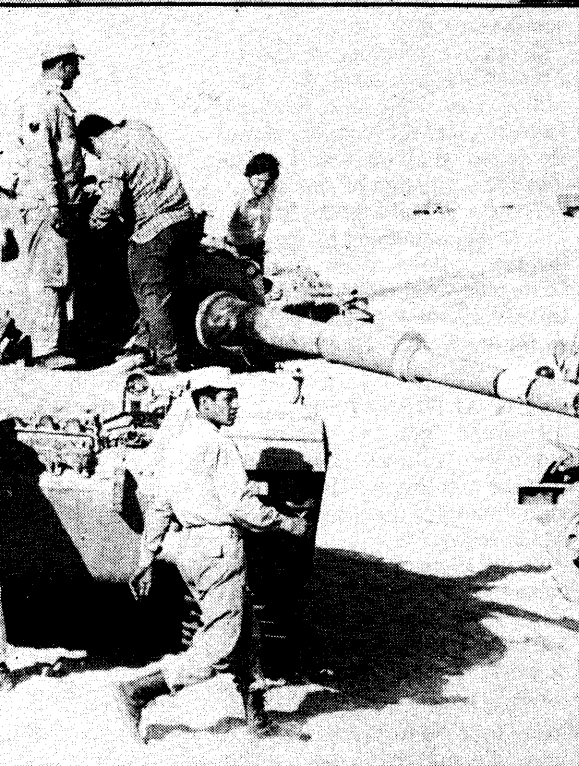
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passing through it the League could not undertake the tasks it now faces. In fact, there is a great wealth of knowledge accumulated in this period in the struggle against revisionism which can only now be realized because the party can posit against it its new experiences in the workers' movement.

What is necessary in one period becomes unnecessary and reactionary in the next. This is why transitions in a party take place only through the most implacable struggle of opposites during which many who could play a suitable role in one period become an impediment for development in the next. It is precisely this question which dominated Lenin's struggle in the period of *What Is To Be Done?* and *One Step Forward; Two Steps Back*.

What is now required is the turn of the Workers League into the working class. This in turn means a constant struggle within the League against circle propagandism. This circle approach is expressed in two complementary ways.

First is abstract propagandism. The propagandist starts from abstractions which are fixed, formal and dead. He deals with what is new only for the purpose of adjusting and readjusting his abstractions. Practice is for the self-development of the idea, of the abstraction. With this method he is continuously blind to what is new, unable to develop anyone around him, subjective and hostile to the actual development of a party of workers.

Second is the activist. He rejects theory altogether operating only at the level of the current thinking of the workers around him. His practice is without contradiction, without conflict with previously developed theory.

The turn into the working class is a theoretical task. It is actually a turn into the very source of the development of knowledge which lies in the conflict of classes in the material world. But knowledge does not develop as a simple reflection of the working class. If this were true then a party would be unnecessary. It is developed only consciously through a process of conflict of the new experiences with previously developed theory as we fight as part of the working class to construct a conscious leadership.

This means that the first reaction of a turn into the working class can be a turn away from theory in the party, a tendency for activism to dominate those sections which attempt work in the working class and abstract propagandism, those who stand aside altogether. This is what developed in Lenin's day in the form of economism. This is why at the very point when the party turns into the working class the struggle within the party for theoretical development, for conscious practice, must also be at its highest point.

It also means that the central task of the party is the development of workers as Marxists. Only when a layer of workers is trained who fight as party people in the

unions, continuously learning themselves on the basis of the Marxist method, only then will the Workers League be on the road to becoming a mass workers party.

Socialism is always brought into the workers' movement from the "outside" in the sense that it does not develop naturally within the trade unions. But the "outside" is not the middle class. It is the party composed of comrades from the working class, the middle class, the students, etc., a party in which these distinctions are broken down through an actual struggle of opposites. It will be party members in the trade unions who will have the central task of bringing socialism in from the "outside."

The struggle which takes place within the party against propagandism and activism, against revisionism as expressed within our movement, must be brought into a unity through conflict with the struggle to train new cadres in the working class. Nothing can be resolved on the former level as long as this experience in the workers' movement is not also part of the party's practice.

Build The Mass Young Socialists

The construction of the Young Socialists is the first priority in all the work of the

Workers League. This is first of all a theoretical question. This period requires a revolutionary perspective. Only in this way can we develop cadres in the trade unions. But we cannot develop theory in a vacuum but only out of our own experience as participants in the class struggle. We must penetrate the most revolutionary section of the working class, the young workers, in order to be able to develop our work in all layers of the working class. At the same time, it will be the youth who carry the program through the paper into all sections of the trade union movement. The middle class youth as well from the universities will make an important contribution particularly through their bitter struggle for theory against revisionism and in numerous ways because of their intellectual and cultural training. Student youth can play this role only if they throw themselves entirely into the workers' movement.

The construction of the Young Socialists can only take place if the YS fights each day in defense of working class youth on the basis of its program. An actual youth organization must be created, led by youth, defending youth, organizing youth into social and sports activities as well as fighting among youth for Trotskyist politics.

We must understand that the fight for the development of the Young Socialists is a party fight. It means the party must take full responsibility for the development of the Young Socialists. It means that to the extent that youth come forward to the point where they fight other youth for a Marxist understanding and prepare themselves to become party members, to that extent an actual youth leadership is the central and most difficult task of the building of a youth movement. It is also central to the building of the revolutionary party.

The Young Socialists can only be built and developed in a campaign way. There must be continuous recruiting drives and campaigns which bring the youth around us out, always out among newer and newer layers of youth. The moment this is dropped in favor of routine visiting and discussion, of building youth circles, at that moment the youth movement dissolves.

The development of the mass circulation of the Young Socialist newspaper, already the most widely read socialist youth paper in America, is critical to the building of the Young Socialists. At the same time every effort must be made to raise its theoretical level and to continuously bring the life of the working class youth into the paper. The paper must also be a campaign paper leading the struggle of the Young Socialists, building its forces, training its cadres.

Towards The Daily Bulletin

It is through the *Bulletin* that the party campaigns in the working class, fighting at each point to draw the lessons from developments of the need for the working class to construct its own party. The Workers League has been built around the *Bulletin*, now completing ten years of publication. The *Bulletin* always brings the party out into wider layers of the working class.

It was because of our assessment of the depth of the capitalist crisis and the movement in the working class that this crisis would bring forward that we decided to launch the twice-weekly *Bulletin* in the Fall of 1973. 1973 was the year of the twice-weekly *Bulletin*. It was given over to raising \$100,000 for the *Bulletin*, installing a web offset press and much related equipment, training a technical staff, setting up a 100 percent union shop, and developing the circulation of the paper when it came out.

We accomplished every task we set ourselves. We have been able to make important strides in the construction of the party through campaigning with the twice-weekly *Bulletin*. We have built whole new branches in important cities like Cleveland and Pittsburgh this way as well as within New York City.

1974 is the year of transition to the *Daily*. This year will be devoted to the development of the twice-weekly's circulation, its financial base, its geographical distribution, its content and above all its actual support within the trade union movement itself, which will permit the launching of a daily paper in 1975.

CONCLUDED

This is the amended perspectives resolution unanimously approved by the Central Committee of the Workers League in January.

POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES

(CONTINUED FROM LAST ISSUE)

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It is through the Bulletin that the party campaigns in the working class, fighting at each point to draw the lessons from developments of the need for the working class to construct its own party. The Workers League has been built around the Bulletin, now completing ten years of publication. The Bulletin always brings the party out into wider layers of the working class.

It was because of our assessment of the depth of the capitalist crisis and the movement in the working class that we decided to launch the twice-weekly Bulletin in the Fall of 1973. 1973 was the year of the twice-weekly Bulletin. It was given over to raising \$100,000 for the Bulletin, installing a web offset press and much related equipment, training a technical staff, setting up a 100 percent union shop, and developing the circulation of the paper when it came out.

We accomplished every task we set ourselves. We have been able to make important strides in the construction of the party through campaigning with the twice-weekly Bulletin. We have built whole new branches in important cities like Cleveland and Pittsburgh this way as well as within New York City.

1974 is the year of transition to the Daily. This year will be devoted to the development of the twice-weekly circulation, its financial base, its geographical distribution, its content and above all its actual support within the trade union movement itself, which will permit the launching of a daily paper in 1975.

CONCLUDED



Inflation Fuels Collapse

The worldwide economic and financial crisis of capitalism is now most sharply expressed in the unprecedented rise in the price of gold.

This is not simply a matter of some speculators operating to make a quick killing. Behind it is the collapse of paper money as a universal means of exchange and the growing insistence by the large capitalists that production can only continue on the basis of payment in gold.

But this means that a fundamental breakdown is now taking place in the system of world trade and capitalist production.

Capitalist production takes place only on the basis of the exchange of commodities which are the products of human labor for money which must embody human labor. This is the role of gold, and paper money has value only insofar as it is backed by gold.

But capitalist production has expanded for the last thirty years on the basis of the almost unlimited printing of paper money on a limited gold base.

Today, none of this paper represents gold and its real value is unknown. Hundreds of billions in dollars and credit are now faced with destruction.

The depreciation of currencies now expressed daily in the huge rises on the commodities markets and the uncontrollable inflation in all the industrial countries is now directly contributing to the collapse of production.

For example, the huge rise in the cost of animal feed combined with the growing inability of workers to pay the higher prices for beef and pork are creating a situation in which the meat growers are deliberately holding back production.

This will lead to a situation of extreme shortages with prices so high that meat will be removed from workers' diets.

The same sort of developments are now taking place with wheat. High world market prices are bringing record US wheat sales abroad, threatening a bread shortage.

This is compounded by speculators hoarding so much grain that shortages in fertilizers in the US may make it impossible to reach planned levels of wheat production.

Money is now deteriorating so rapidly that it is impossible for capitalists to plan long range investments. Whereas before the oil crisis, the large oil companies held back investment in refineries, the cost of constructing a refinery today has gone from \$150-\$200 million to \$600 million.

No capitalist will tie up money in investments when he has no idea what the money he will get back at the end will be worth.

Instead, the large corporations have joined in the speculation seeking to make quick profits.

The largest food producers are able to pass the inflationary increases at every stage from the growing to the packaging to the ultimate sale to the consumer, while selling to themselves at every stage. The oil companies which drill, transport, refine, and sell at their own outlets do the same thing.

The record profits being raked in by the largest corporations in this situation testify to the desperate weakness of the system and not its strength.

Shortages are now so extreme that many commodities are not available for money.

The case of Union Carbide is typical. One of its many products is styrene monomer, a plastic used in molded parts and plastic cups. Benzene is necessary for its production and has gone from 18 cents a gallon to \$2.50 on the world market, even higher on the black market. If a company has benzene and wants Styrene monomer, Union Carbide will take the benzene and convert it, keeping some of the styrene for itself.

Japan has just concluded a deal with Brazil and several Arab states. Japan takes sugar from Brazil and refines it. The sugar is exchanged for oil which is then divided between Japan and Brazil.

The escalation of barter deals between Europe, Japan, and the Arab states for oil is well-known.

Such primitive methods can only serve a tremendously reduced volume of world trade. That major capitalist nations are now reduced to such methods reveals the degree to which the entire world economy is breaking up.

Only by taking the means of production and putting the vast resources and techniques available to planned use under a socialist economy can the working class prevent the destruction of its conditions of life under worldwide anarchy and barbarism.



YS marching through St. Louis to demand that Nixon be kicked out.

YS Marches In St. Louis

BY A REPORTER

ST. LOUIS—Over 40 youth and trade unionists marched against unemployment in the first march ever held by the Young Socialists in St. Louis last Saturday.

The highly spirited chanting led by Willie on the bullhorn and banners calling for Nixon Out and Build a Labor Party brought a tremendous response from

workers, shoppers, and youth along the route.

Many joined the march. Over 100 Bulletins and 30 Young Socialists papers were sold and many people gave donations.

The march began near Soldan High School and proceeded through the shopping areas and the working class community of the St. Louis southside to Fairground Park near Beaumont High School.

At the park, Yvette from the Young Socialists told the rally how this march was part of a national campaign by the Young

Socialists and called on all present to build the St. Louis contingent for the Regional March at Chicago, on March 16.

Two unemployed trade unionists spoke about the conditions facing both the younger and older workers. James, a member of the International Association of Machinists, said that he had been looking for a job for two months without success. He joined the Young Socialists because the only way forward was to kick out Nixon and for the working people to control their own lives.

George, a member of United Auto Workers Local 25, described how 2000 auto workers had been laid off from his plant. He called on all auto workers to join the campaign of the Young Socialists to build a new leadership in the union and to register for the National Auto Workers Conference, called by the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party on March 31 in Dayton, Ohio.

ALTERNATIVE

Howard brought greetings from the Workers League and told the marchers: "Only socialist policies are the alternative to Nixon today."

"Capitalism is breaking up; it cannot provide jobs or schools. Even basic necessities like food are being priced out of the reach of working people today.

"That is why we do not march today to plead to Nixon to give us jobs. We march to call on the working class to throw him out and all of his kind and replace him with a labor party pledged to socialist policies."

The campaign concluded with a very successful dance in the evening.

7500 Strikers Shut Whirlpool Plants

EVANSVILLE, Indiana—Seventy-five hundred members of Local 808, International Union of Electrical Workers, are on strike against three Whirlpool plants here.

Picket lines were set up on February 18 after a mass meeting voted to strike, with only 30 dissenting votes.

Local 808 President Charles Johnson said that negotiations were broken off the Saturday before the contract deadline and that "the general sentiment is that Whirlpool's offer is so poor we could not believe it."

According to Johnson, the total offer, including fringe benefits, amounts to 65 cents an hour, 25 cents on signing, and 15 cents for each of the next two years. The cost of living clause is to be revised.

The workers at the Evansville Division won a package

totalling about \$1.35 an hour after a 110-day strike three years ago.

Whirlpool spokesmen have already announced that they have sufficient stocks of air conditioners and refrigerators to carry them through a number of weeks, because "sales recently have not met forecasts."

The local's strike fund is only adequate for about four weeks.

In addition, workers expect widespread layoffs throughout the Evansville area, as Whirlpool suppliers close down.

Within 24 hours of the strike's start, General Tire and Rubber had sent home 80 workers, and Kent Plastics, which makes the plastic panels inside the refrigerator doors, had sent home 50.

Both companies expect further layoffs. Cutbacks at Inland Container, Springfield Wire, and Crescent Plastics are expected to affect over 1500 workers.

National Auto Conference Of The Trade Union Alliance For A Labor Party

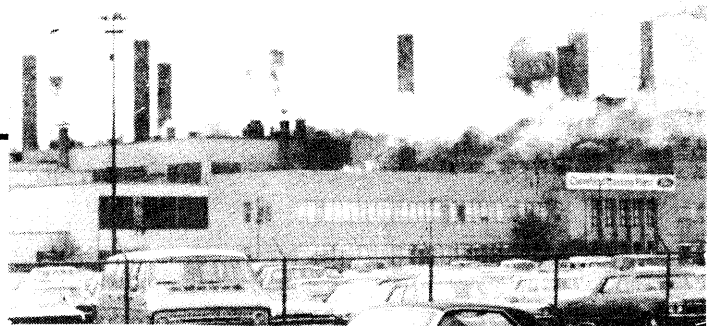
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"That the UAW International follow the lead of truckers in the fight against inflation and unemployment by calling together the representatives of the trade union movement for the purpose of forcing Nixon out through national strike action and the building of a labor party as an alternative to Nixon."

This motion, put forward by the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party, passed in Local 1112, Lordstown.



midwest news Miners Picket To Support Harlan Strike

BY DAVID NORTH
HARLAN, Ky., Feb. 27—Picket lines are being set up outside mines operated by the Duke Power Company throughout Kentucky and West Virginia as Harlan County miners are moving to strengthen their eight-month-old strike for a union contract.

Nearly all of the 200 miners in the High Splint coal field owned by Duke Power refused to cross the new picket line and declared their solidarity with the Harlan miners.

Pickets are also hitting the R. Jay mine in Pineville and two other Duke Power mines in neighboring Martin County.

The miners plan to shut down the neighboring mines as well as those in West Virginia two or three days every week in order to reduce the 37-day supply of coal reportedly held by Duke Power.

"I think this is going to get more lively now," Harlan County Black Lung Association President Hobart Grills told the Bulletin. "We hope to bring that coal pile down to no more than a day's supply."

The miners have heard rumors that an attempt will soon be

made to operate the Brookside mines, but they thought such an attempt might be delayed because scabs have now been moved up to High Splint.

The Harlan strike is spreading just as 10,000 West Virginia miners are on strike to protest the lack of gasoline to drive to work.

The action of West Virginia miners and the spreading of the Harlan strike shows the determination of the miners to fight Nixon.

However, United Mine Workers President Arnold Miller is trying to channel this powerful movement against Nixon into a bankrupt appeal to big business politicians and middle class reformists to support the Harlan miners.

Miller has invited a "Citizens Public Inquiry" to come down on March 11 to Harlan and investigate conditions. This panel includes such people as Senator Fred Harris and former Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz.

Grills said that he felt "the unions should organize among themselves. When one union has a problem, all have a problem."

He stated that Harlan miners were interested in the British miners strike.

"They're calling them communists and everything just because they want a decent wage," he said.

"If any American scab coal is going over to England, it should be stopped by any means necessary."



Farah workers during strike.

3 Farah Plants To Shut Down

BY MITCH PATTERSON

The five-year long struggle to unionize the Farah Manufacturing Company in Texas has finally come to an end.

Approximately 9500 workers in El Paso who are employed by Farah are now represented by a local of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. The announcement was made by the National Labor Relations Board on February 25.

At the same time, 1300 Farah workers at the plants in San Antonio, Victoria, and Las Cruces have lost their jobs because these plants have now been shut down.

Almost 100 percent of Farah workers are Chicanos, many from Juarez, Mexico, a small

town directly across the border from El Paso.

They left the unbearable conditions in the Mexican fields to face some of the worst factory conditions in the country. Farah workers received \$1.60 an hour with no benefits of any kind, for the same work done by skilled garment workers in other parts of the country.

For years, Farah fired anyone who raised even verbal opposition to the working conditions. Racism and harassment of every kind were used by the company against the workers.

In 1969, a unionized Levi Strauss plant moved into El Paso. A worker from Farah, Adon Gonzalez, went to the union hall to see if a union could be organized at Farah. When the company found out about Gonzalez's visit to the union, he was immediately fired. This was the beginning of the Farah struggle.

On May 2, 1972, a strike of all Farah plants in Texas was called. In the earlier stages of the strike, 500 Farah workers were arrested.

The almost exclusive use of the boycott, and the endless hearings which dragged out the case, helped to create a situation in which three plants have been closed. This is a heavy price to pay for union recognition.

Meany and the AFL-CIO leadership who now call the settlement a "great victory" never used the full power of the labor movement to force Farah to give in. If this had been done early in the fight, a rapid victory could have been won.

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IUE Ends Kuhns Strike

BY A REPORTER
DAYTON—The 87-day-old strike at Kuhns Brothers Foundry was sold out when leaders of Local 786 of the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) and International representatives agreed to a secret vote under provisions of the anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act.

The Kuhns workers had twice rejected company offers. The result was that AFL-CIO International representatives took charge of negotiations and made their deal with federal mediator A.B. Donnelly to end the strike by any means possible.

The first day of the strike, a Democratic judge, Walter Rice issued injunctions limiting pickets to four at an entrance.

The following week, Rice stopped pickets from checking company trucks that were removing parts from the plant. The parts were later machined at Durion Foundry which is also organized by the IUE. The IUE leaders allowed this in spite of the fact that Kuhns workers asked for support from all IUE locals in the Dayton area.

The company went so far as to breaking its own windows and then accusing the strikers of destruction of property. A striking worker was run over by a truck breaking through the Kuhns pickets. Another worker was hit by a police car that was used to provoke mass arrests.

Judge Rice and the company had 10 workers arrested for trying to keep warm. The excuse given was that a fire built in a barrel by workers was "burning too high."

The Kuhns strike is the

Government Drags Out AIM Trial

BY A REPORTER
ST. PAUL, Minn.—The trial of Wounded Knee Defendants Dennis Banks and Russell Means continues in federal court. The testimony of government witnesses is being exposed by defense attorneys Mark Lane and William Kunstler as an amalgam of lies and inconsistencies.

It is obvious that the government intends to drag out the case as long as possible, in an effort to drain the financial and legal resources of AIM and the Wounded Knee Defense Committee.

In South Dakota Kenneth Tilsen, one of the defense attorneys, told the Bulletin that

clearest warning that militancy alone cannot win strikes in this period.

Members of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party were on the picket lines with the Bulletin, discussing the need for a new leadership in the union to take forward a political fight against Nixon and exposing the role of the Local 786 leadership.

TUALP calls on every Kuhns worker to begin this fight by attending the National Auto Conference in Dayton Ohio on March 31.

notice was received on February 25 setting two cases for trial in Aberdeen South Dakota for March 18, and warning a date will soon be set on a third.

The two cases involve Al Cooper, a peace activist from New Mexico and one of the few non-Indians facing trial, and Bernard Escamilla, who headed the Chicano group at Wounded Knee. These two men are charged under multiple indictments and face various charges which could mean life imprisonment.

The defense will demand a change of venue and postponement of their cases until after the Means-Banks trial.

"We will contest these cases on these three questions all the way up the court system. There

is no way we will allow the government to force us to spread our resources so thin," Tilsen declared.

In one case, involving four local people, the government moved for dismissal the first day, claiming a key witness had disappeared. According to the defense, the prosecution considered this case the strongest and wanted it to come last.

A second group of cases, involving Vaughn Baker and Marianne DeCore, has just completed hearings in which the defense won a motion to suppress evidence, seized illegally by the government.

Pretrial hearings for a change of venue and suppression of evidence are now underway in a third set of cases in Sioux Falls.

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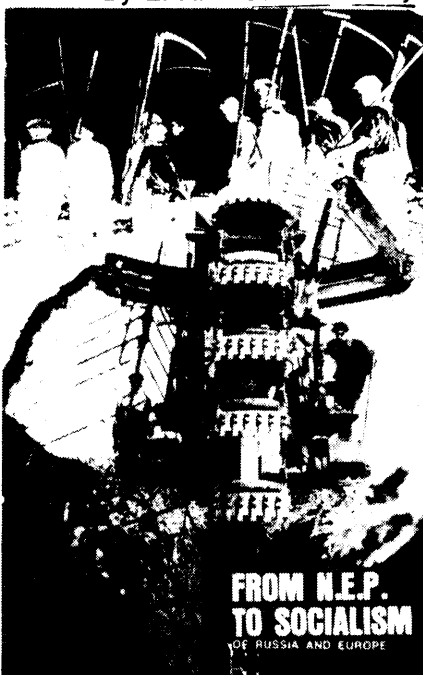
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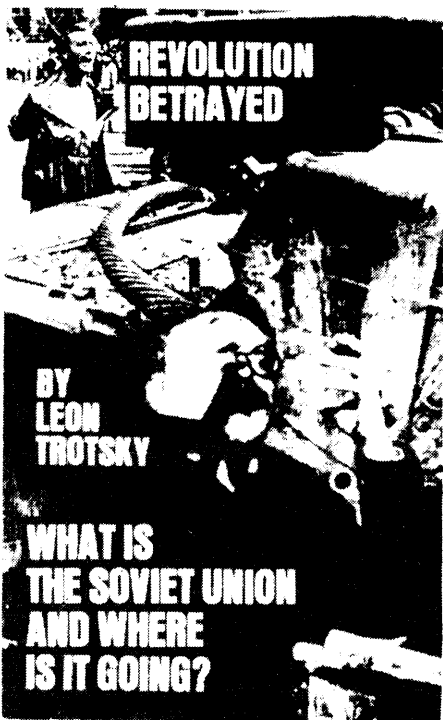
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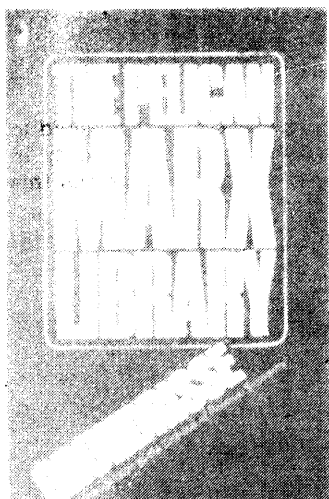
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Police at Sears picket lines.

Sears Machinists Go Back

BY MARTY MORAN
SAN FRANCISCO—Members of Machinists Local 1327 returned to work Monday at Sears, crossing the picket lines of Retail Clerks Locals 1100 and 410 who are continuing the month long strike.

A contract was ratified by the machinists last Wednesday. The leaders of Local 1327 agreed to terms substantially the same as those accepted by Teamsters Local 853 three months ago.

Local 853 was the first of the five striking locals to break the joint strike pact. The electricians union, representing appliance repairmen, has also gone back to work.

Asked if Sears intends to offer the same terms to the clerks, Sears spokesman William Holland replied, "Those are completely different questions. It's like comparing apples and oranges."

Sears has now obtained an injunction limiting pickets to six at any entrance at the Geary Street store. The company claimed pickets were damaging cars of shoppers entering the parking lots.

STRATEGY

In the face of this arrogant determination to isolate and break the clerks union, Local 1100 President Walter Johnson proposed absolutely no change in his strategy of protest demonstrations designed to put pressure on Sears management to settle.

Johnson denied that the decision by the officials of the

AFL-CIO machinists to cross a labor council sanctioned picket line was anything new. "That happened in 1960," he said, "We fought alone before and we'll fight alone now."

COLLAPSE

The desertion of the machinists marks the collapse of any effort by the labor leadership to support the strike. They are writing the Sears strike off as a "loser" because it requires defiance of the injunctions and of unfair practices laws to stop the flow of merchandise to the stores.

One striker said: "There's got to be changes. It seems like strikes are getting longer and longer."

Sears workers must demand that the labor council enforce respect for its sanctioned picket lines and begin mass picketing to shut down Sears.

Prosecutor Defends Nazis

BY ANN LORE
SAN FRANCISCO—The trial of Yvonne Golden which opened Monday revealed the lengths to which the government will go to silence any opposition to its policies.

Mrs. Golden is being charged with inciting to riot, disturbing a lawful assembly, and disturbing the peace. If found guilty she could face up to one and one-half years in prison and/or a large fine.

These charges stem from the provocation by the Nazis (National Socialist White People's Party) at a Board of Education meeting on January 8 which erupted in fist fights. Many people were beaten and Workers Action Movement supporters were arrested on the spot. Mrs. Golden was not arrested until almost a week later, after charges were filed by Dr. Hopp, president of the school board.

RIOT

The prosecutor announced he will call 60 witnesses to show there was a riot and that Golden, by calling on the board members to kick out the Nazis and then calling on the crowd to do it, initiated it.

The district attorney is openly defending the Nazis in order to prosecute Golden. He said, "There were two ideologically opposing groups...one wearing brown shirts and the other...carrying signs 'Down with Nazis,'" and added, "We cannot characterize these people

as Nazis. We don't know for a fact he is (a Nazi), only that he's wearing a Nazi uniform."

"Their involvement was only to defend themselves. There will be pictures to show there were injuries."

Vincent Hallinan, the attorney for Golden, instead of exposing the way the state is building up the Nazis to use against the left and the whole working class and directing his defense politically against Nixon, is basing his case on two premises: first, that Yvonne Golden is a great humanitarian, a brilliant teacher, who has been "a gadfly in the board system," exposing the "encrusted bureaucracy in the school board," and secondly that it is a question of free speech.

"There has been a lot of talk of free speech for Nazis. What about free speech for Yvonne Golden?"

The defense announced that Mrs. Golden went out to call the police into the hall and two

policemen will be called as witnesses for Mrs. Golden to show that she is really on the side of the board.

The defense wants to show there was no association between Golden and the Workers Action Movement and this is the reason for splitting the trial. The implication is that WAM carried on "illegal" acts, but Golden did not.

The day before, a rally held in defense of Golden attracted only 100 people. A previous rally of 400 was held at Glide Memorial Church. The Communist Party, which is directing this defense with the full cooperation of the Socialist Workers Party, cannot mobilize working class youth on the basis of this liberal campaign.

Only a political defense which begins by exposing those in the government who allow Nazis complete freedom, and links Golden's defense to the defense of all workers rights, can win this case.

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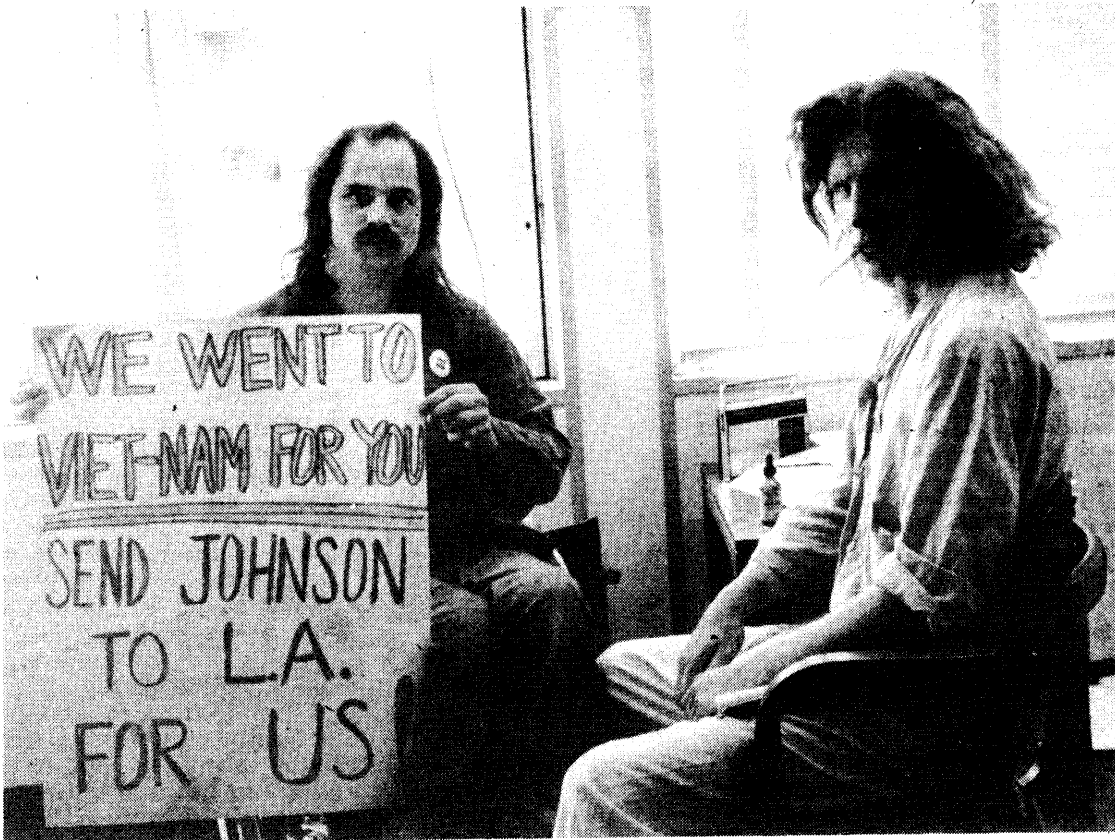
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Vietnam veterans on fourteenth day of hunger strike and sit-in demanding decent treatment in VA hospitals.

Bridges Praises NLRB Decision

BY BARRY GREY
SAN FRANCISCO—Harry Bridges, president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), is hailing the recent decision by the National Labor Relations Board as a victory.

The NLRB ruled key sections of the contract with the Pacific Maritime Association are illegal.

The historic ruling struck down the container freight supplement which required the

PMA to pay a one dollar per ton tax to the ILWU for all containers which were not stuffed or unstuffed by the ILWU. This section of the contract also gave dockers the right to boycott all containers of non-ILWU firms.

REMOVED

The NLRB ruling has removed any protection for dockers against the use of containers loaded and unloaded away from the docks with non-ILWU labor.

The latest issue of the Dispatch, the ILWU newspaper, quotes Harry Bridges as saying: "It's a victory. Credit our lawyers. The NLRB has said we're entitled to our jurisdiction."

In fact, the ruling simply reaf-

firmed ILWU jurisdiction over containers loaded and unloaded on the docks. It granted Teamsters jurisdiction over all other containers, which prior to containerization was the work of dockers.

One longshoreman who has worked on the docks for 18 years said: "Once they got their foot in, it's hard to get it out. In Oakland, at the Matson Pier, the Teamsters are stuffing vans within hollering distance of the docks.

"I knew this would get out of hand when it started eight years ago. But you can't tell the officials anything, just like Nixon. They're passing money under the table."

Bridges is deliberately deceiving the ranks, while the PMA and the government prepare massive layoffs. Bridges hails the vicious NLRB ruling because he is opposed to a political fight by the labor movement against the government and the shippers.

The Communist Party, which supports Bridges, has remained silent, refusing to call for a strike in defense of the contract.

Dockers must demand that the ILWU call out the International Longshoremen's Association, which has begun negotiations on a new contract, to shut down both coasts, against this attack.

Jobs for all workers can only be guaranteed by a fight for a labor party to replace Nixon in order to nationalize the shipping industry under workers control.

grated immediately. Any delay divides the working class when it must be brought together to defend education and every other basic right against the attacks of Nixon and the whole capitalist class.

GOLDEN

Yvonne Golden of the Black Teachers Caucus and Joel Mitchell of the United Black Educational Caucus lined up with the right wing against integration.

Golden has been charged with incitement to riot for demanding that the Nazis be kicked out of a previous board meeting. At this meeting, the nationalists' demands for community control led them to advocate separatism.

Mitchell said: "We want separate but equal, but with control and money. It is too late to talk about desegregation and integration." Referring to the Nazis, he said: "At least they have the courage to speak their minds."

The board postponed action and will hold a special meeting to make a final decision. The Workers League will campaign in the labor movement for a massive trade union picket line at this meeting to keep out the Nazis.

Nationalists Line Up With Right On Busing

BY A REPORTER
SAN FRANCISCO—Over 800 people packed the San Francisco Board of Education meeting on February 26, the last in a series of meetings to decide on a school integration program for elementary and secondary schools.

A spirited lobby by the Young Socialists and the Workers League called for the San Francisco labor movement to mobilize against the Nazis, who have attended the last three meetings to speak against integration.

The Nazis did not appear at this meeting, but there is no doubt their campaign has had an impact. For the first time, a significant number of parents turned out to oppose any form of busing.

Most parents spoke in support of busing, but complained that some neighborhood schools already integrated were being broken up.

The schools must be inte-

west coast news

Hawaii ILWU Plans Strike Over Layoffs

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER
HONOLULU — The 15,000 sugar and pineapple workers, represented by ILWU Local 142 in Hawaii have voted by 90 percent to authorize a strike against the employers.

The sugar and pineapple employers have refused to negotiate with the union on the central question of job security. The major pineapple companies are planning to move to the Philippines and Thailand, where they can exploit cheap, nonunion labor.

CUT

The sugar companies are seeking to cut costs by eliminating jobs and rationalizing production. The central demand of the union is no layoffs.

The employers are out to pro-

voke a strike and the ILWU membership is ready to fight it out. The sugar companies broke off negotiations on February 19, and while negotiations with the pineapple firms are continuing, union spokesman Tommy Trask said the two sides are still "miles apart."

EXTENDED

The men are working without contracts which expired on January 31 and were extended to February 15.

The ILWU leadership is desperately trying to avoid a strike. A strike by the ILWU in Hawaii would paralyze the island and immediately bring about a collision with the state and federal government. Conditions exist to unite Hawaii workers with dock workers on the West Coast in one massive shutdown by the ILWU.

The International Executive Board of the ILWU is meeting in Honolulu on March 19 and Bridges and the local leadership are trying to postpone a strike until then.

Veterans Begin Hunger Strike

BY SHEILA BREHM

"The people who are sent to war are from the working class. We suffer and must pay all dues.

"We are asked to kill the wrong people, we are asked to come back with our bodies maimed, our eyes blinded, and with our dreams shattered.

"Now as veterans, we have decided to stand together as one in Senator Cranston's office behind these barricades to say that we have had enough. We won't leave or eat until the veterans from all wars are treated with the respect and dignity they deserve."

These were the words of Ron Kovic, leader of the American Veterans Movement (AVM). The sit-in and hunger strike by eight disabled veterans, including four confined to wheelchairs, is in its fourteenth day.

The veterans are protesting the mismanagement and slumlike conditions of the Veterans Administration Hospitals. The veterans described cockroaches in water pitchers and rats on the chests of paralyzed patients.

Kovic, like some of the other veterans who are involved in the sit-in, had joined the marines for two tours of duty in Vietnam and was originally for the war until: "I found out this system is unjust to human beings."

The veterans have not seen Senator Cranston since the first day of the protest. Kovic described the hearings Cranston is holding in VA Hospitals as a "whitewash."

The AVM has called for all veterans to come to Los Angeles to set up tents outside the federal building.

Recently, the American Federation of Government Employees passed a resolution supporting the sit-in.

Southgate To Close Five Months

BY DENNIS BREHM
LOS ANGELES—General Motors officially announced that the Southgate plant will be converted to production of the subcompact Chevrolet Vega. Production of the Chevrolet, Pontiac, and Buick regular sized models, will be discontinued April 5.

From that date until August, the plant will remain closed while the plant is converted to small car production. Production will start with the 1975 model Vega on a shift basis.

Steve Harris, public relations

representative for GM, claims that, "It will mean calling back many of the 2000 employees who were recently laid off indefinitely." But when asked by the Bulletin how many would be recalled, Harris said, "It is not possible to say."

CERTAIN

One thing is for certain—to make a profit on the small cars, the working conditions will be unbearable and the callback will be the absolute minimum. The line speed at the Lordstown Vega plant is over 100 jobs per hour, compared to 49 at Southgate for

bigger car production.

REFUSED

Woodcock and the local leadership have refused to launch a fight against the layoffs and have no intention of fighting the tremendous speed up that will be introduced when the plant reopens at the end of the summer.

Auto workers from Local 216 should attend the National Auto Conference called by the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party in Dayton, Ohio on March 31 to build an opposition against Woodcock.

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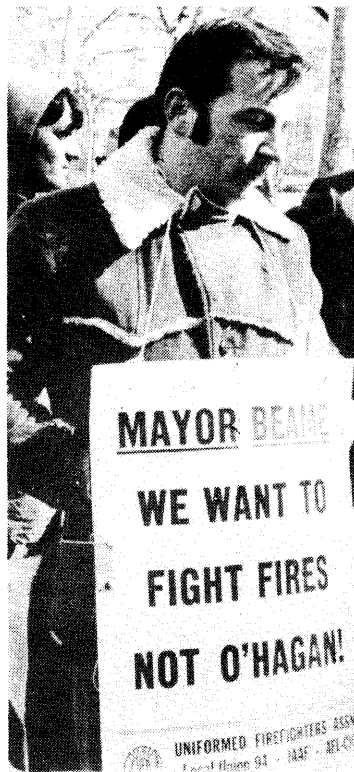
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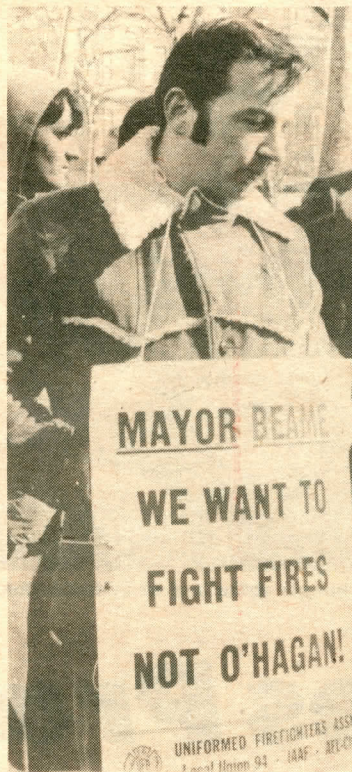
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