

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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*FBI Steps up Racist
Hunt Of Angela Davis*

*Key Unions Oppose
Nixon's Wage Freeze*

AGNEW DECLARES WAR ON THE WORKING CLASS



The Nixon Administration through its vitriolic spokesman, Spiro Agnew, last week issued its declaration of war against the working class. Agnew departing for Southeast Asia announced US imperialism's preparations for a new invasion of Cambodia and its intention to fight out the war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants to the bloody end. Agnew also made clear that the government will not tolerate the wage offensive underway by the American workers when he dismissed the recession as a "myth."

Agnew has opened his attacks in an atmosphere of anti-communism and racism. His onslaught on the working class is accompanied with a revival of the "Hard Hat" tactics warning of the growing

dangers of "Communism" and "Socialism" and a stepping up of the witchhunt against black militants.

Agnew, preparing for his crusade to Southeast Asia last Monday openly attacked the Hatfield-McGovern proposal which would halt American combat operations in South Vietnam at the end of this year and would fix the time of withdrawal to the middle of 1971. Speaking to the Veterans of Foreign Wars Agnew said:

"Hatfield-McGovern is a blueprint for the first defeat in the history of the United States—and for chaos and Communism for the future of South Vietnam...But, if this amendment, and similarly irresponsible proposals, can go down in humiliating

(Continued on Page 2)

30 YEARS AFTER --

**ASSASSINATION
OF TROTSKY
& AMERICAN CP**



what the editors think...

The full scale witchhunt launched by the the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the government against Angela Davis, 26, a black militant and Communist Party member who was allegedly involved in the Marin County Courthouse incident, is now reaching a peak of redbaiting and racial hysteria.

Davis, a former professor of philosophy



Angela Davis, target of massive witchhunt.

at Berkeley who was fired for her Communist Party membership, was active in the defense of the Panthers and the Soledad Three. Today she is on the FBI's "10 Most Wanted Criminals" list, and described as "possibly armed and dangerous."

The warrant for her arrest was originally gotten on the basis of a report that she had been seen in her home town of

Birmingham, Alabama the day after the Marin County Courthouse incident. The warrant for her arrest charged her with "flight to avoid prosecution."

Later Davis was charged with having bought the guns which were used by Jonathan Jackson in his brave but futile attempt to free the Soledad Three. A judge died, and three black prisoners as well as Jonathan Jackson were killed by police in the attempt. Now the charges against Angela Davis are for kidnapping, murder and flight to avoid prosecution.

The ruling class, through its press and its courts, are trying to whip up a lynching mood with the New Haven trial of the Panthers. This dragnet for Angela Davis adds fuel to the fire. More and more the ruling class is openly trying to use the weapon of racism to divide and weaken the working class. Whipping up an hysterical climate of redbaiting and racism, they try to imprison black militants or frame them with such heavy charges that they flee the country, as Cleaver did, as Rap Brown may have, and as Angela Davis herself may have.

What Nixon and Agnew have in store are the most repressive measures against all militants, black and white, students and trade unionists, who dare to fight against the brutality of racial oppression, the viciousness of imperialist war and the attacks on the living and working standards of the working class at home.

Angela Davis is a member of the Communist Party. We note that the Daily World has had precious little to say about her defense, and usually it is on page four. We cannot but conclude that the CP finds Davis' defense embarrassing in its relations with liberals and labor bureaucrats.

We say there is no ducking from the witchhunting and the judicial lynchings. These attacks must be met headon and openly taken in to the labor movement and serious trade union support built up for the victims.

EDITORIAL

Agnew Declares War On The Working Class

(Continued From Page One)

defeat for its sponsors in the Senate—then this nation will not go down in humiliating defeat on the battlefields of Southeast Asia—I promise you that."

Agnew's remarks sound very familiar. They are almost verbatim the rationalization employed by Hitler to begin World War II. Hitler attacked the leaders of Germany for accepting the "humiliating defeat" imposed on Germany by the Versailles Treaty.

But Agnew is also saying more—he is saying that defeat is precisely what is facing the US in Southeast Asia. Nixon and Agnew are unequivocal about their strategy to prevent this defeat and the victory of the workers and peasants.

In relation to the amendment passed by the Senate to prohibit US financing of South Vietnamese, Thai or other troops he said: "We have no commitment to Cambodia, but we do have a commitment to South Vietnam and we have a tremendous moral obligation to our own forces fighting in South Vietnam not to leave them in such a vulnerable and weakened position that they would be unable to extricate themselves." And then he added "There are many ways to bring about financial assistance to a friendly nation."

What this adds up to is a declaration that if—as is now likely—Cambodia falls to the workers and peasants, the United States plans to send troops back into Cambodia to "safeguard" American troops in Vietnam. At the same time Agnew and Nixon don't care one hoot what Congress passes on the question. Agnew openly thumbs his nose at the lawful decisions of Congress making it quite clear that if Congress bars financial aid to troops of other nations in Cambodia Nixon will supply that aid in some other fashion.

When Agnew declares that it is a "myth that we are in a recession," that in fact all that is involved is a "massive reordering of priorities," he makes clear his enemy is not only the workers and peasants of Southeast Asia but workers in the United States as well. When he claims before a \$500-a-plate fund raising dinner that various public welfare bills sponsored by Democrats would mean, if passed "We'd no longer have a free economy, we'd have socialism," he is making clear that he and Nixon plan to do nothing at all to aid the millions out of work and to allieviate the economic pressures on the majority of the American population which are having their real standards of living lowered by Nixon's inflation. The massive reordering of priorities he is speaking of means taking more from the working class so that the fat capitalists who attend his \$500-a-plate dinners can maintain their profits.

Agnew speaks with arrogance towards the liberals because he knows they are powerless to resist him and offer no real alternative. He openly states he will ignore the will of Congress and drag the country deeper into war in Southeast Asia because he knows that the liberals will only whimper a bit, and pray a bit, and march around a little, but in no serious way will resist him.

There is no way to fight Agnew through the liberals and Congress. What Agnew fears is the growing strength of the working class internationally. It is the movement of workers and peasants in Vietnam which frightens him to the point of scurrying to Asia to bolster up some resistance. Here at home he fears the fighting capacity of the American labor movement which is determined to see that the "massive reordering" of priorities no longer proceeds at its expense.

What Agnew states is the policy of American big business and the Nixon big business administration. Don't make any mistake about that. Don't be fooled for one second on that issue.

Nixon leaves the clearest statement of Nixon's aims to Agnew so that he is free to wheel and deal with the labor bureaucrats and the international Stalinist bureaucrats. His strategy is to seek to head off a confrontation with the working class as long as possible by compromising with the Soviet bureaucracy, as in the Middle East, and the labor bureaucracy as with George Meany, the traitor who has supported a wage freeze. At the same time Agnew rallies the forces of the right in preparation for crushing the workers at home and abroad.

The working class must build its counter-offensive now. Only the independent struggle of the working class can win. The power of the working class must be mobilized into massive action against Agnew's new war plans, into powerful support to the auto workers in their fight for more wages; into full support to the Panthers and other victims of judicial lynchings; and finally into the construction of a labor party dedicated to carrying forward politically this fight and tossing out Agnew and the class he represents.

Key Unions Defy George Meany And Oppose Nixon's Wage Freeze

BY THE EDITORS

Important sections of the labor movement have come out strongly against Nixon's plan to impose a wage freeze on the working class and to blame the workers for his own inflation. Speaking at the recent convention of the American Federation of Teachers, Robert Porter, Secretary-Treasurer of the AFT, and Jerry Wurf, President of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, both strongly attacked wage freezes.

Porter declared the AFT would oppose any wage freeze proposal from Nixon while Wurf concurred in this and attacked the Nixon administration charge that inflation was caused by wage increases pointing to the military expenditures and the war. Porter noted that the AFT on a district level was already negotiating settlements in excess of 6 per cent per year.

Joining AFSCME and the AFT on this issue was the International Typographical Union, which met in Buffalo, stating opposition to "any wage controls which are used by anti-labor forces to cover up the profiteering by big business and banking interests while ignoring past and present rises in prices and taxes and the decline in living standards of working people." The ITU resolution also urged all locals "to press energetically for substantial wage increases."

These actions by these key unions are an open repudiation of George Meany who has thrown his lot in with Nixon and Agnew not only on the Vietnam War but now also in support of a wage freeze.

With the auto contract now coming up, all of labor must stand behind the auto workers in their fight for substantial wage increases to gain back what Nixon and the bosses have stolen. At the same time labor must be prepared to fight back politically against any attempt to impose by legislation the wage freeze the bosses cannot get at the bargaining table. This is why the fight for a labor party to arm the labor movement politically is so pressing at this time.

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Trial Reveals Government Plot Against Panthers

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW HAVEN, CONN.—On Wednesday, August 26, the jury began its deliberations in the murder-conspiracy case of Lonnie McLucas, the first of the "New Haven 9" to be tried in connection with the murder of Alex Rackley. As the first of a series of trials whose aim is to continue the persecution of the Black Panther Party, the McLucas trial brought out the inherent weaknesses of the prosecution's case.

The purpose of the methodical rape of justice in New Haven becomes all the more clear as the state tries to crawl under the true facts of the case in order to reach Bobby Seale. This is the critical point to focus on in order to understand the strategy of the prosecution now against McLucas and later against the others.

George Sams, according to the bulk of the evidence, appears to be the central figure in the Rackley murder. He appears to have been the one who tortured Rackley with boiling water, he apparently was the one who, threatening with a pistol, ordered Warren Kimbro to murder Rackley and it seems he ordered McLucas—again with a pistol—to pump another shot into Rackley's already dead body.

CRUX

But Sams claims that he got his orders to kill Rackley from Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party. This is the crux of Sams' role in these trials. It lay at the heart of the whole reason for the trials. The prosecutor is out to pin the Panthers directly to the murder through an alleged order from Seale. However, this is also where the state perhaps has its weakest argument. Presently, the only evidence to show that Seale and thus the Panther Party ordered the murder is the solemn word of George Sams. This is where the prosecutor's actions in the McLucas trial comes into focus.

Of the three people present when the shooting of Alex Rackley took place, two of them, George Sams and Warren Kimbro, have turned state's witness leaving no direct witnesses to testify in defense of McLucas. Thus all the evidence is from the beginning stacked against him. And why should the state and the prosecution be so persistent in stacking the evidence against McLucas? Apparently, the state is using its incredible tactics on McLucas in order to pressure him into testifying against Bobby Seale. Last week it was reported that the state had offered McLucas parole after only eight years if he would testify against Seale. This tactic is in keeping with the basic state strategy of "divide and conquer"—that is, rather than trying the defendants in one group as they had requested, the state has decided to take them on one at a time. This way they could better get the first defendants up against the wall in an attempt to turn them against each other and particularly, against Seale.

This is necessary since Sams is so obviously a weak link in the prosecutor's

case. He has been in three mental institutions and has been considered dangerous and mentally defective ("a moron" according to one institution) and an "immature, unstable personality of borderline intelligence." Yet the court refuses to allow an examination by a psychiatrist chosen by the defense. One state psychiatrist was earlier allowed to examine him and on the basis of a very unscientific two-hour conversation with Sams said he was perfectly sane.

And on the very superficial examination by this psychiatrist, the prosecution's case stands against Seale. But even this was dealt a severe blow when Seale himself got up at the end of the McLucas trial and stated that he did not know who Rackley was, that he hadn't seen Sams since his expulsion from the Party long ago and had no idea who Warren Kimbro was. And when asked about the role "torture" played in the Panther Party, he said, "That's against all party rules and practice. If you treat people like enemies, they act like it."

Seale stated that he knew nothing of the Rackley murder until the indictment was made. McLucas' testimony supports Seale and that is why the prosecution wanted to either pressure McLucas by making him feel helpless, or to get a conviction on him in order to help discount his testimony when Bobby Seale's case comes up.

QUESTIONS

What is becoming absolutely clear, and this has come out in the court proceedings, is that it was not McLucas or Seale who were responsible for the murder of Rackley but the state's own witness, George Sams, planned and executed this crime. Rackley was already dead when Sams forced McLucas to fire his shot.

The only evidence the government has against Seale is based completely on Sams' testimony. Sams' character as we previously stated is highly questionable to say the least. Sams was expelled from the Panther Party for stabbing a fellow Panther in the leg. Sams was only admitted back into the party after Stokely Carmichael put pressure on the leadership of the Panthers. It is time Carmichael himself spoke out on this man Sams.

The Panthers were highly suspicious of "Crazy George" and many feared him. Sams claims he turned state's witness because these Panthers were becoming "too communist."

The question that this evidence raises is—Just WHO is George Sams Jr.? Is



The New Haven trial of Panther Lonnie McLucas (above) is part of legal lynching.

he not just the sort of sick character who is a sitting goose for recruitment by the police? Is it not possible that Sams was working for the police when he was re-admitted to the party or has been in their employ for a while? Why did Sams suddenly travel from the West Coast to New Haven, unknown to the leadership of the party? Is it not true that his testimony for the government is the only evidence against the Panthers?

If this is the case, then Sams' own admission of responsibility for the murder of Rackley raises the central question about the role of the police. If Sams was working for the police, and this appears to be the only logical conclusion, then the police, the courts, the state on up to the Justice Department are the ones responsible for brutal torture and murder of Rackley. Was this not the case in the Chicago murder of Panther leader Fred Hampton which Sams tried to insinuate the Panthers were behind?

As in the case of the cold blooded murder of Hampton, the murder of Vietnamese men, women and children in Song

My, it is the rulers of the US who must be held responsible for this crime—they are the ones that should be put on trial.

The trial of the "New Haven 9" and the attempted frame-up of Bobby Seale are directed partly against the whole of the working class movement, a movement which is becoming dangerous to the capitalists precisely because of the offensive of the working class which is threatening the very existence of this system.

These trials are important for the more direct implications they have for the labor movement. In effect the trials are preparing the stage for similar trials and attacks on the unions in an effort to arrest the growing radicalization within the workers' movement. The frame-up and murder of the Panthers show the lengths to which the capitalist class is prepared to go.

It is with this understanding that the strongest defense must be mounted for the Panthers. The tables must be turned and the real culprits attacked. The labor movement must mobilize its power independently in defense of the Panthers and all victims of political repression.

Recession Hits Workers, Youth With Inflation And Unemployment

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

The 0.4% hike in the July Consumer Price Index means the continuation of the systematic looting of American workers that the government and the employers have carried out now for the past four years.

The American labor movement is fighting back against this robbery through inflation like never before. The \$1.65 wage hike won by wildcatting Chicago Teamsters shows the way forward for all labor on this account. But despite the tremendous wage offensive being conducted by American labor, despite the fact that this offensive is squeezing the employers' profits like never before, the standard of living of American workers is systematically being chewed to bits.

Figures compiled by US News and World Report from a number of government sources in their August 24 issue make this abundantly clear.

BITE

According to these figures the average weekly pay of an American auto worker now stands at \$171.74. Although this represents a gain of \$5.30 from one year ago the net change in real income for this auto worker when the inflationary bite is taken into account amounts to a loss of \$3.07 over the last year. Similarly, aircraft workers have fallen back \$1.95 per week, steelworkers, \$8.00, while factory workers as a whole have fallen back \$2.31.

Even construction workers with a weekly

wage averaging \$200.08 have seen all but \$5.36 of their \$15.87 average increase in the last year disappear.

Against these tremendous losses only a miniscule 70,000 workers will receive the increases through escalator clauses in their contracts to which all workers should be entitled.

All attempts by Nixon's apologists to compare the .4% July inflation statistic with the .6% and .7% figures of last winter to suggest that perhaps Nixon has the economic crisis in hand must be exposed as a complete fraud.

Not only does the July figure represent no real dent in the inflationary spiral but worst of all it is now accompanied by a rate of unemployment that is already wreaking havoc with millions of American workers, their families and particularly the youth.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Behind the 5% July unemployment figure stand thousands of skilled aerospace workers in Seattle, Los Angeles and in dozens of cities from coast to coast who have been without jobs for a year or longer. These workers are facing foreclosures on their mortgages and the loss of their cars. In Detroit 200,000 auto workers are out

of work, many in the midst of their fourth or fifth layoff since December if not out of work for good. These workers are subsisting now on a fraction of their regular salaries in the form of union and unemployment benefits and even for this many do not qualify. Soon even these benefits will run out.

Male workers throughout the country unable to find jobs are forced to become housekeepers while their wives take on jobs at half the pay. For thousands more not only vacations and all forms of entertainment but dental and medical care, new clothing and dozens of other necessities become luxuries beyond reach.

Let there be no mistake about it. This is only the beginning. What is being prepared is a return to the days when unemployed workers sold apples in the streets.

YOUTH

For the youth the situation is equally disastrous. Statistics on youth unemployment released last week by the Bureau of Labor Statistics make the reasons behind explosions like those in New Bedford and Asbury Park abundantly clear.

July unemployment for all youths 16 to 21 years of age stood at the official figure of 15%. But on top of this the Bureau of Labor Statistics records that an additional 35% were "outside the labor force and not looking for work," i.e., had given up the futile attempt to find jobs. What this means is that in reality

fully 50% of all youth are unemployed. For black youth the corresponding figure is 71%.

Last week Agnew stated in an interview with the Washington Post that it is a "myth that we are in a recession," that in fact all that we were really involved in is a "massive reordering of priorities."

In the face of contemptuous statements like these the millions of unemployed workers and youth can only have the greatest loathing and desire to smash Agnew, Nixon and the system they represent.

REALITY

For these millions recession is no myth but a stark reality. In the period immediately ahead Nixon and Agnew and the capitalist system they represent will not only burden the working class with sharper inflation and unemployment but will in fact seek to place the whole weight of the inevitable '79 style crash that is on the way directly onto the backs of the working class.

This means that the fight ahead must reach beyond a mere defense of present conditions through militant trade union struggles however critical such struggles like the one shaping up in the UAW may be.

There is now only one way out of the present crisis for the working class. Each struggle must be taken up from the standpoint of preparing the working class to take power. This means taking the step to build a powerful political weapon, a labor party.



Hearings To "Discover" Cause Of Campus Unrest

BY PAT CONNOLLY

The President's Commission on Campus Unrest last week held public hearings in Kent, Ohio, where four students were killed by National Guardsmen during a demonstration against the invasion of Cambodia last May.

At the same time as the hearings were being held "to determine the cause of campus unrest," Major General S. T. DelCorso of the Ohio National Guard announced that all units of the Guard will now be equipped with the rapid-fire M-16 rifle, both for combat and for use in civil disorders. The M-16 is like a sub-machine gun in that it is automatic and capable of sustained bursts of shots, rather than the single shot action of the old M-1. The National Guard will also be armed with shotguns for use in civil disorders.

This, more than all the testimony, sheds light on "the causes of campus unrest." The truth is that no matter what the public hearings uncover or "discover," the ruling class is preparing for further and more violent repression.

SPARK

The head of student government at Kent State, Craig Morgan, a ROTC cadet, pinpointed the cause of the Kent riot in the hearings: "President Nixon and Agnew can squirm all they want, but the Cambodian invasion was it—the spark that set it off."

But Nixon and Agnew are not squirming, they are going ahead with their plans. This is the meaning as well of Agnew's statement that no matter what Congress votes for, the Administration will hire foreign troops to fight in Vietnam and Cambodia.

The capitalist class and the Nixon Administration have every intention, no matter what, of going ahead with their war against the working class in Vietnam and at home. This is the meaning of the murder of the Kent State students this spring.

These murders cannot be separated from the shooting of 90 black youth in Asbury Park, N.J., the shooting of both black and white youth in Chicago this summer. Nor can they be separated from the legal lynching procedures that are going on in the New Haven trial of the Black Panthers, and the red-baiting manhunt for Angela Davis framed for conspiracy to murder and kidnap in the Marin County Courthouse incident.

SIGNAL

The ruling class in its attacks on both black and white youths and militants is clearly preparing to take on the working class full scale. The militancy of the students and black youth is the precursor, the first signal for the increasing militancy of the American working class.

Both the University officials and the National Guard officers are trying to shift the blame and pass the buck for the Kent State murders. Brig. Gen. Robert Canterbury claimed in the hearing that University President Robert White had "asked that we not permit" the noon rally where the murders took place. White says that "By and large the National Guard was in charge."

But it is both of them together with Governor Rhodes who are responsible. It is they, together with Nixon and Agnew, who ordered the invasion of Cambodia and the escalation of the war against the Indochinese workers and peasants, who are the murderers.

RHODES

Rhodes, the day before the murders, appeared in Kent and made the statement that what had happened so far was "probably the most vicious form of campus-oriented violence yet perpetrated by dissident groups and their allies. They're worse than the Brown Shirts and the Communist element and also the night vigilantes. They're the worse type of people that we harbor in America. We're going to use every part of the law enforcement agencies of Ohio to drive them out of Kent."

Is it any wonder that this, combined with Nixon's talk of "campus bums" and Agnew's "effete snobs" resulted in the cold blooded murder of four students whose only crime was opposing the criminal invasion of Cambodia?

The officer in charge of the troops at Kent stated in the hearings that "The mob started closing in on the troops. There were several hundred on the Taylor Hall side, charging and yelling 'Kill the pigs, stick the pigs.' He also claimed that "hundreds of rocks" were thrown at troops. These statements were met with gasps of disbelief by students in the hearing room who had witnessed the events and who testified that less than six students were running toward the guardsmen when they opened fire.

Immediately after the killings, Major General DelCorso issued a statement that the troops had fired in response to sniper fire. No evidence whatsoever ever surfaced to substantiate this claim and even the FBI later stated that no one but the National Guard fired any weapons.

The Guardsmen, according to testimony in the hearings, were "terribly scared" and, with loaded M-1s, they were told to fire if they felt their life was in danger. The feeling of danger was built up by local police reports that "planeloads" of militants were landing at the Akron airport.

RED SCARE

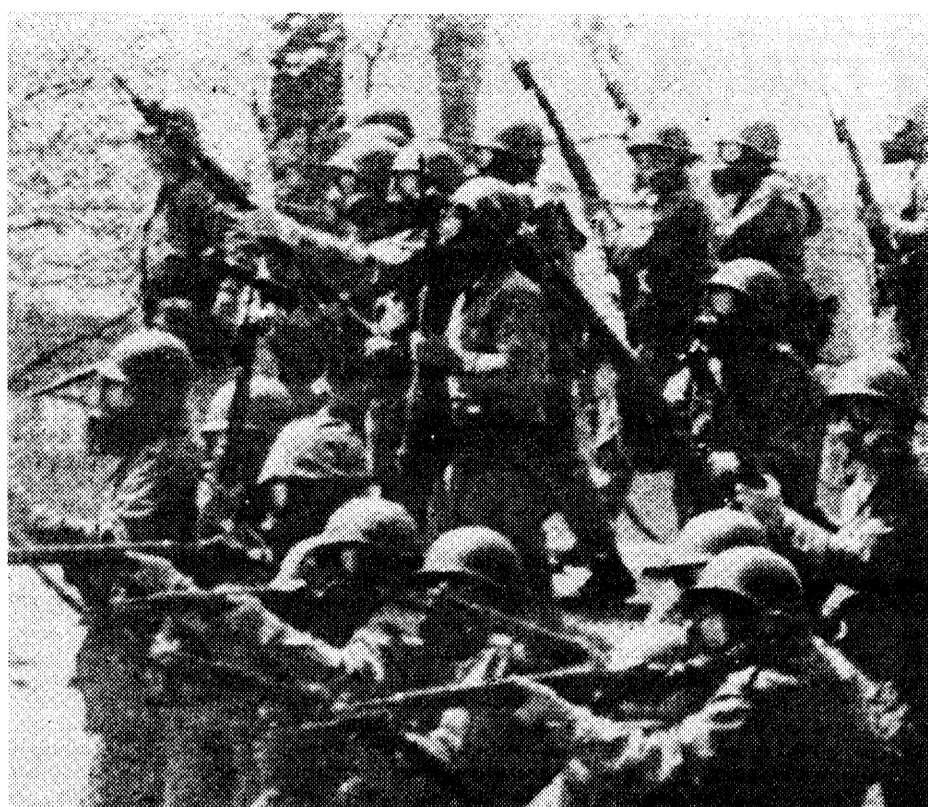
The local police chief in Kent said at the hearings: "In my opinion this whole thing was started, it was well planned and it was subversive elements that caused it. On May 1 this writing started on the walls—'Get Out of Cambodia'—and there were speakers on the campus."

The killings, the red scare tactics, the use of troops, all of this is in preparation for vicious attacks on the working class in the new wave of the class struggle coming up with the UAW auto contract this month.

Ohio Governor James Rhodes has called out the National Guard 30 times in the last two years. At the same time as the Kent State events, the Guard was being used to break the wildcat Teamsters' strike in Ohio.

Troops were used to break the Post Office strike in New York this spring, and the ruling class will have no qualms about trying to break an auto workers' strike with troops, and shooting down workers if they must to preserve their profits.

This is the meaning of Kent State that the President's Commission on Campus Unrest will never make public. "Campus Unrest" of the kind that swept across the country after the Cambodian invasion and



National Guard at Kent State open fire on students protesting Cambodia, killing four.

the murders at Kent, is but a precursor, a warning of the deepening class conflict in society, the conflict between the capitalist class and the working class.

CAUSE

A Kent State graduate student testifying before the hearings stated that Kent State students "will not allow themselves to be shot at again without shooting back." He also said that if things are not changed the United States "will soon face a civil war."

Students fighting against the war in

Vietnam are seeking to take a side in the class struggle. Sensing the strength of the working class internationally, in Vietnam, in Europe and in America, they are beginning to take up the fight against imperialism and its war. This is the cause of campus unrest.

As the class struggle deepens, with the working class going into battle in the UAW contract fight, with the struggle against the war penetrating deeper into the working class, the fight to unite students and workers, black and white, around a program capable of fighting and defeating capitalism must be taken forward.

Jobless Future For Youth Exposed At Minn. State Fair

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MINNEAPOLIS—The severity of the unemployment among youth in Minnesota (particularly students looking for summer jobs) was brought home sharply during hiring for the Minnesota State Fair. A record crowd of over 1,700 youth applied for the 1,000 jobs on the first day of hiring, with over 1,000 more applying later in the week.

Although jobs are not given out on a first-come, first-served basis, a number of the teenagers spent the night on the sidewalk outside the employment office in order to be first in line. For most, this wait was the end of a summer of fruitless job hunting, the last chance to earn money before the start of school.

The coveted jobs are, in truth, a brutal 10 to 12 days of near slavery. Workers spend as much as 14 hours a day on the hot, dusty fairgrounds running concessions, manning carnival rides and doing maintenance work. Wages at the State Fair, which is touted as a showcase of the "Quality Life in Minnesota," run in the \$1 to \$1.25 range. Total earnings for most will not be over \$125. In addition, many workers will have to pay the \$1.50 admission fee each day from their own pockets, and many will bear the blame for shortages, or even be accused of theft. Still thousands line up for these jobs—as these jobs are better than unemployment.

CRISIS

This crisis facing Minnesota youth is directly tied to that of their parents here, as well as all over the nation and the world. Thousands of workers have been laid off or fired in the Twin Cities during this spring and summer with the closing of the Swift meat packing plant, the slowdown in construction and the cut-back in government contracts at such companies as Honeywell, Control Data and Univac. In addition, there have been several long and bitter strikes. At present, Northwest Airlines clerks are still out, and UAW workers at St. Paul's Ford plant are preparing for a strike early in the fall.

This job crisis is worsened by the fact that Minnesota's cost of living is rising even faster than other places in the nation. Figures from June, 1969 to June, 1970 show an increase of 8% in Minneapolis, as compared to the national average

of 6%. New figures to be released in September are expected to continue the trend.

OPPOSE

It is obvious then, that the employment problems of the youth cannot be solved in isolation from the problems of the entire working class. This is the reason for the complete failure of such jobs-for-youth programs as that of the National Alliance of Businessmen. It also explains why even youth-oriented "peace" candidates like Minnesota's Earl Craig cannot offer a meaningful program to solve the real problems of youth.

What is needed is a revolutionary youth movement that can tie the interests of black and white youth to that of the working class as a whole. Youth must look to the strength of the trade union movement, and demand that it fight with them for full employment, meaningful apprenticeships, student allowances, better education and housing, an end to the war in Southeast Asia, and an end to all racism and repression. Most of all, they must fight together to build a Labor Party that will carry forward this program. Youth and the working class must oppose the two-faced capitalist parties of repression and war, and the liberal candidates who pretend to oppose them.

MARXISM & MILITARY AFFAIRS

By Leon Trotsky

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EUROPE and AMERICA

Two speeches by
LEON TROTSKY

2 WHITHER EUROPE?

We are publishing in this and the next issue of the Bulletin two speeches made by Leon Trotsky in the 1920s to Soviet workers. Their theme—'Europe and America'—is one that dominates the international situation today. Without a clear understanding of the complex inter-relationships that have developed between the Old and New worlds over the last 60 or more years, there can be no really effective struggle for socialism in either the United States or Europe. The first speech—'Perspectives of World Development'—was delivered on July 28, 1924. The second speech—'Whither Europe'—was made on February 15, 1926.

The two poles of the labour movement—the most perfected type of conciliationism

COMRADES: The contemporary world labour movement is polarized: two poles determine, with unprecedented clarity, the two basic tendencies within the world working class. One of them, the revolutionary pole, is in our country, the Soviet Union; the other, the conciliationist pole, is in the United States. Never before have there been such perfected forms and methods of reformism, that is, politics of compromise with the bourgeoisie, as are to be found in the American labour movement for the last two or three years.

Politics of class compromise has been observed in the past; we have observed it through the eyes of history and with our own eyes. We estimated—and this was correct so far as the past is concerned—that opportunism in its most perfected form was furnished in the pre-war epoch by England where the perfected type of conservative trade unionism was produced.

But today it is necessary to say that English trade unionism of the classic era, that is, of the latter half of the 19th century, bears the same relation to existing American opportunism as handicraft production does to an American factory. In the United States there is now a vast movement of the so-called company unions, that is, organizations which, in contrast to the trade unions, consist not only of workers, but also of the bosses, or rather, representatives of both. In other

words, the phenomenon that occurred at the time of the guild organization of production, and which disappeared after feudalism, has now assumed unprecedented and entirely new forms in the most powerful capitalist country.

If I am not mistaken, Rockefeller was the initiator of this movement before the war. But this movement spread to the most powerful concerns of North America only recently, beginning with 1923.

The American Federation of Labour, the official trade union organization of the labour aristocracy, has adhered with certain reservations to this movement which signifies the complete and absolute recognition of the identity of interests between labour and capital, and consequently the rejection of the need for independent class organizations of the proletariat, even in the fight for immediate objectives.

Along with this, we find at this very time in the United States the development of labour savings banks and insurance societies where representatives of labour and capital sit side by side. Needless to say, the widespread notion that American wage levels assure a very high standard of living is extremely exaggerated; nevertheless, this wage level does permit the upper layer of the workers to make certain 'savings'. Capital siphons off these savings through the medium of labour banks and puts them at the disposal of enterprises in that branch of industry where the workers are able to save from their wages. In this way the bosses increase their circulating capital and, above all, reinforce the interests of workers in the development of industry.

The AFL has recognized the need of introducing the sliding scale of wages on the basis of a complete solidarity between

labour's interests and those of capital: Wages should vary in correspondence with the productivity of labour and profits. The theory of the solidarity of the interests of labour and capital is thus sealed in actual practice and we get a seeming 'equality' of benefits from the national income. Such are the main economic forms of this new movement which must be carefully examined in order to be understood.

The AFL (whose leader was Gompers) has lost during these past few years a large part of its membership. It now has no more than 2,800,000 members, which represent an insignificant fraction of the American proletariat when we take into consideration the fact that industry, commerce and agriculture in the United States employ at least 25,000,000 wage earners.

But the AFL has no need for a large membership. Its own official doctrine is that problems are not settled by mass struggle, but by conciliation between labour and capital. To the extent that this idea has found its highest expression in the company unions, the trade unions can and must limit themselves to the organization of the aristocratic summits of the working class, who act in the name of the entire class.

Nor is collaboration limited to the industrial and financial fields (banks, insurance societies). It is transplanted lock, stock and barrel into the sphere of domestic and world politics. The AFL, together with the new company unions, to which it is closely linked and on which it leans directly or indirectly, carry on an energetic fight against socialism, and generally against European revolutionary doctrines, among which it includes those of the Second International and of the Amsterdam International.* The AFL adapts the Monroe Doctrine, 'America for Americans', in a new way by interpreting it as follows:

'The European rabble can and will be instructed by us but they must keep their noses out of our affairs.' In this the AFL only echoes the bourgeoisie. Whereas formerly the latter declared: 'America for Americans, Europe for Europeans'; today the Monroe Doctrine signifies a prohibition to others not to meddle with America's affairs, but in no wise prohibits America from interfering in the affairs of the rest of the world. America for Americans, and Europe too!

The AFL has recently created a pan-American Federation, that is, an organization extending to South America and preparing the way for North American

* The International Federation of Trade Unions.—Ed.

imperialism in Latin America. Wall Street could not find a better political instrument. But at the same time this means that the struggle of the South American peoples against US imperialism that is crushing them will also be a struggle against the degenerating influence of the pan-American Federation.

The organization created by Gompers remains, as you know, outside the Amsterdam International. In the eyes of the AFL the latter is an organization of decadent Europe, an organization too much poisoned by revolutionary prejudices. The AFL remains outside Amsterdam just like American capitalism remains outside the League of Nations. But that does not prevent American capital from manipulating the strings of the League of Nations; nor the AFL from drawing behind it the reactionary bureaucracy of the Amsterdam International.

Here too a perfect parallelism is to be observed between the operations of Coolidge and those of Gompers' heirs. The AFL supported the Dawes plan when American capital installed it. In all parts of the world it fights for the rights and pretensions of American imperialism and, consequently, first and foremost against the Soviet Republic.

This new conciliationism is of a much higher type than any seen before; it is conciliationism drawn to its ultimate logical conclusion, organically sealed by inter-class institutions like company unions, coalition banks and insurance societies and this conciliationism has attained at one stroke American proportions. Large capitalist enterprises have been created which organized, by contract, factory committees on equal footing with the bosses, or along the lines of Lower and Upper Houses, etc. Conciliationism is standardized, mechanized and produced by large capitalist concerns. This is a purely American phenomenon—a sort of social conveyor line for the mass production of conciliationism by means of which the subjugation of the working class is automatically strengthened.

The economic power of the USA as the basis of conciliationism

ONE might ask why capital has need of this. The answer is obvious if one takes into account the actual power of American capital and the plans that it is capable of projecting. For American capital, the USA is no longer a shut-in field of action, but a drill ground for

new operations on a gigantic scale. The American bourgeoisie must insure its security in this drill ground by means of conciliationism in its most complete and perfected form, in order to be able to expand more securely abroad.

Another question arises: How is it possible to realize now, in the second quarter of the 20th century this standardized conciliationism in practice, after the imperialist slaughter in which the USA participated, and after the great experiences of the workers of all countries? The answer to this question is to be found in the power of American capital, to which nothing in the past can compare.

No few experiments have been made by the capitalist system in different countries of Europe and in different parts of the world. The whole history of mankind can be viewed as a tangled chain of attempts to create, remodel, improve, raise the social organization of labour: from patriarchy, through slavery to serfdom and finally, capitalism. It is with capitalism that history has carried out the greatest number of experiments, first of all and in the most varied manner in Europe. But the most colossal and 'successful' attempt appears on the North American continent.

Just think of it: America was discovered near the close of the 15th century, after Europe had already passed through a rich history. During the 16th, 17th and even 18th centuries, and in large part throughout the 19th, the United States was a distant area nourished with the crumbs of European civilization. In this interim, a country of 'unlimited possibilities' was taking shape and developing, for here nature had created all the conditions for a mighty economic expansion.

Europe cast across the ocean wave upon wave of the most awakened and the most tempered elements from among its population, elements best qualified for developing productive forces. All the European movements of religious-revolutionary as well as political-revolutionary character—what did all these signify? They signified the struggle of the most progressive elements, first of the petty bourgeoisie and then of the working class, against feudal and clerical rubbish which impeded the development of the productive forces. Everything that Europe cast out crossed the ocean. The flower of European nations, her most active elements, all those who wished to make their own way at any cost fell into an environment where this historic rubbish did not exist but where virgin nature with its inexhaustible abundance reigned. Such is the basis of America's development, America's technology, America's wealth.

What inexhaustible nature lacked was—man. Dearest of all in the USA was labour power. Hence, the mechanization of labour. The principle of production by means of the conveyor line is not an accidental principle. It is an expression of the tendency to replace man by machines, multiplying labour power, bringing and carrying away, lowering and lifting by

automatic means. All this must be accomplished by a conveyor line and not by human backs. This is the principle of the conveyor system of production.

Where was the elevator invented? In America, in order to dispense with a man bearing a sack of wheat on his back. And pipe lines? They were invented in the United States which has 100,000 kilometres of pipe lines, that is, conveyors for liquids. Finally, the conveyor line, which furnishes the transport within the factory and whose supreme model is the Ford organization, is known to the whole world.

America knows very little about apprenticeship; time is not wasted there on training apprentices because labour power is dear; apprenticeship is replaced through a subdivision of the labour process into infinitely smaller parts that require little or no training. And who brings together all the parts of the labour process? It is the endless belt, the conveyor line. And it also serves as the instructor. In a very short time a young peasant from southern Europe, the Balkans or the Ukraine is transformed into an industrial worker.

Serial production as well as standardization is bound to American technology: that is mass production. Goods and articles intended for the upper layers, adapted to individual tastes, etc., are manufactured much better in Europe. Fine cloth is furnished by England. Jewellery, gloves, cosmetics, etc., come from France. But when it is a question of mass production intended for a vast market, America is far superior to Europe. That is precisely why European socialism will learn technique at the American school.

Hoover, the most competent statesman in the economic field, is carrying on an intensive campaign for the standardization of manufactured goods. He has already concluded several score contracts with the biggest trusts for the production of standardized articles, among them the baby carriage and the casket. It turns out that an American is born standardized and dies standardized. I do not know how convenient this is, but it is at least 40 per cent cheaper.

The American population, thanks to immigration, numbers many more elements (45 per cent) fitted for work than the European population. First of all, the relation between the age groups is different. The whole nation is thereby rendered more productive. The higher coefficient of productivity is further multiplied by the greater output per worker. Because of mechanization and the more rational organization of the labour process, a miner in America extracts two and a half times more coal and ore than in Germany. The farmer produces twice that of Europe. We see what the results are.

It was said of the ancient Athenians that they were free men because there were four slaves to each Athenian. Every inhabitant of the USA has 50 slaves, but

* According to 1926 figures.—Ed.

† Soviet registry of civil acts of state, especially marriages.

mechanical ones. By calculating the available machine power* and translating horse power into man power one will obtain this figure that every American citizen, including suckling babes, possesses 50 mechanical slaves. Obviously this does not prevent American economy from resting on living slaves, that is, hired workers.

The annual income of the USA amounts to \$60 billion. Annual savings, that is the sum remaining after all obligations are paid, total between \$6 and \$7 billion. I speak only of the United States, i.e., the area so labelled in old text books. Actually, the USA is greater and richer. Canada, without offence to the British Crown, is an integral part of the United States. If you consult the Annual Report of the US Department of Commerce, you will discover that trade with Canada is entered under internal trade; and that Canada is politely and somewhat evasively referred to as the northern prolongation of the United States, without the blessing of the League of Nations. Besides, the latter was not even consulted, and for good reason: there was no need for this Zags.†

The economic forces of attraction and repulsion are already operating almost automatically; English capital holds hardly 10 per cent of Canadian industry; American capital holds more than a third of it; and this proportion is steadily growing. English imports into Canada are valued at £160 millions while those of the USA are almost \$600 million. Twenty-five years ago English imports were five times those of the United States. Most Canadians consider themselves Americans, with the exception, ironically enough, of the French section of the population which considers itself profoundly English.

Australia is passing through the same process as Canada, but at a slower tempo. Australia will take her stand alongside of the country whose navy will defend her against Japan and will perform this service most cheaply. In this competition victory is assured to the United States in the near future. At all events, should a war break out between the US and Great Britain, Canada, 'the British Dominion', would serve as one of the reservoirs of manpower and food supplies for the US against England.

Such, in its main features, is the material power of the United States. It is this power that permits the American capitalists to follow the old practice of the British bourgeoisie: fatten the labour aristocracy in order to keep the proletariat shackled. They have entered into this practice to such a degree of perfection as the British bourgeoisie would never even have dared to consider.

The new roles of America and Europe

THESE last years, the economic axis of the world has been radically displaced. The relations between the USA and Europe have become drastically altered. It is the result of the war. Naturally, this change was prepared long since: there were symptomatic indications of it, but it has become an accomplished fact only recently, and we are now trying to account for this gigantic shift that has taken place in mankind's economic life and, consequently, in human culture.

A German writer has recalled in this connection Goethe's words describing the extraordinary impression made on contemporaries by the Copernican theory according to which not the sun revolves round the earth but, on the contrary, it is the earth, a modest and middle-sized planet, that revolves around the sun. There were many who refused to believe it. Their geocentric patriotism was outraged. The same is true now in regard to America. The European bourgeois does not want to believe that he has been shoved to the background, that it is the USA that rules the capitalist world.

I have already pointed out the natural and historic causes that have prepared this gigantic world shift of economic forces. But it required the war in order at a single blow to raise America, lower Europe and lay bare the abrupt shift of the world axis.

The war as an enterprise for the ruination and decadence of Europe, cost America around \$25 billion. If we recall that American banks now hold \$60 billion, that sum of 25 billion is relatively small. Furthermore, 10 billions went as a loan to Europe. With the unpaid interest these 10 billions have now become 12, and Europe is beginning to pay America for its own ruination.

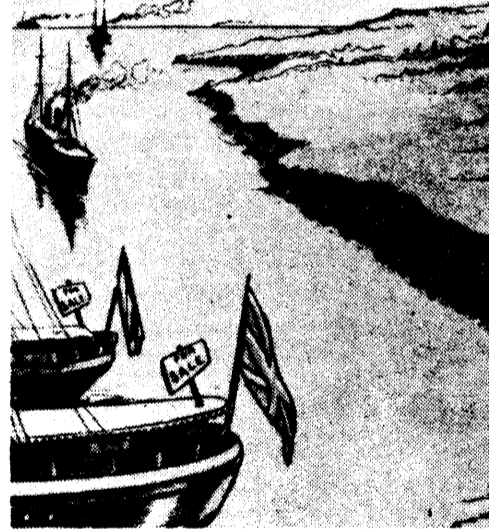
Such is the mechanism whereby the United States was able to rise at one stroke above the whole world as the master of its destinies. This country with

a population of 115 million* has Europe entirely at her command, with the sole exception, of course, of the USSR. Our turn has not yet come and we know that it will not come. But leaving our country out of it, there still remain 345 million Europeans, that is, a population three times as large as that of the USA.

The new relation of roles of nations is determined by the new relation between their respective wealths. The estimates of the national wealth of the various countries are not very exact, but approximate figures will suffice. Let us take Europe and the USA as they were, 50 years ago, at the time of the Franco-German war. The wealth of the United States was then estimated at \$30 billion, that of England at 40 billions, that of France at 33 billions, that of Germany at 38 billions.

As is apparent, the difference between the respective levels of these countries was not great. Each possessed from 30 to 40 billions. And of these four richest countries in the world it was the US that was the least rich. This was in 1872. But what is the situation now, half a century later? Today, Germany is poorer than in 1872 (36 billions); France is approximately twice as rich (68 billions); likewise England (89 billions); but the wealth of the US is estimated at \$320 billion. Thus, of the European countries which I have cited, one has regressed to its former level, two others have doubled their wealth, and the United States has become 11 times wealthier. That is why in expending 15 billions for the ruin of Europe, the United States has completely achieved its purpose.

Before the war America was Europe's debtor. The latter served as the principal factory and the principal depot for world



Above: The caricature of the American bank 20th century. The banker, having gained control

commodities. Moreover Europe, above all England, was the central banker of the world. All these three leading roles now belong to the United States. Europe has been relegated to the background. The US is the principal factory, the principal depot and the central bank of the world.

Gold, as we know, plays a certain role in capitalist society. Lenin wrote that under the regime of socialism gold would be used as building material for certain public places. But this will be under socialism. Under capitalism there is nothing more important than a bank vault filled with gold. How do matters stand on this score in America? Before the war, the American gold reserve, if I am not mistaken, amounted to nine-tenths billions; on January 1, 1925, it rose to 4½ billions, which represents one-half of the total world reserve; today this proportion is not less than 60 per cent.

Now, what was happening to Europe while America was concentrating in her hands 60 per cent of the world's gold? Europe was declining. It had been plunged into war because European capitalism was suffocating within the narrow framework of the national states. Capitalism tried to extend these limits, to create for itself a larger arena and in this the wildest pressure was exerted by the more

* Apparently an estimate for 1926. The 1930 census figure was 122 million.—Ed.

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progressive German capitalism which set the 'organization of Europe' as its aim. But what was the outcome of the war? The Treaty of Versailles has created in Europe about 17 additional, independent new states and territories. Europe has added 7,000 kilometres of new frontiers, customs barriers and on each side of these new customs barriers, a corresponding number of fortifications and armies. Europe now has one million more soldiers than before the war. To arrive at such achievements Europe destroyed an enormous mass of material values devastated and impoverished herself.

But that is not all. In return for all her misfortunes, her economic ruin, her new and senseless customs barriers that disorganize commerce, her new frontiers and armies; for her dismemberment, ruination and decadence, for the war and the Peace of Versailles, Europe must pay to the US the interest on her war debts.

Europe is impoverished. The quantity of raw materials that she works up is 10 per cent lower than it was before the war. The specific weight of Europe in world economy has diminished by many times. The sole stable thing in present-day Europe is—unemployment. And, curiously enough, in their search for avenues of escape, bourgeois economists have exhumed from the archives the most reactionary theories from the epoch of primitive accumulation. They see remedies for unemployment in Malthusianism and

emigration. During the period of its expansion, triumphant capitalism had no need for these theories. But now that it has reached decay, senility and arteriosclerosis, it becomes childish in the realm of ideas and returns to the old witch-doctor remedies.



Coolidge

of the political party in power but of the bourgeois regime itself. Up to the present time, the US has invested \$10 billion in the economy of other countries. Of these 10 billions, two have been granted to Europe in addition to the 10 billions formerly supplied for its devastation.

Now, as we know, the loans are granted in order to 'restore' Europe. Devastation, then restoration: these two aims complement each other, while the interest on the sums appropriated for both keep flowing into the same

governmental loans in favour of industrial loans. The meaning of this is clear enough. 'We have given you the opportunity of re-establishing the national currency in Germany and in England; we will consent to do it in France on such and such conditions, but for us this is only a means to an end. And our end is to lay our hands on your economy.'

I have recently read in 'Der Tag', organ of German metallurgy, an article entitled, 'Dawes or Dillon'. Dillon is one of those new *condottieri* whom American finance sends for the conquest of Europe. England gave birth to Cecil Rhodes, its last colonial adventurer on the grand scale, who established a new country in South Africa. Such figures are now being born in America, not for South Africa, but for central Europe. Dillon's task is to buy up German metallurgy at a low price. He has collected only \$50 million for this purpose—Europe is not now selling herself dearly—and, with these \$50 million in his pocket, he is not deterred by such European barriers as the frontiers of Germany, France and Luxemburg. He must combine coal and metal; he wishes to create a centralized European trust; he does not bother with political geography—I even believe that he is ignorant of it.

What does it matter? Fifty million dollars in present day Europe is worth more than any kind of geography. His intention, as I said, is to group in a single trust the metallurgy of central Europe, then to oppose it to the American steel trust, whose king is Gary. Europe's 'defending herself' against the American steel trust comes down in action to this, that two American octopuses fight each other in order to unite at a given moment for a more planful exploitation of Europe. That is precisely why the organ of German metallurgy weighs the alternative: 'Dawes or Dillon'. The choice is limited, there is no third. Dawes is a creditor armed from tip to toe. With him there is little else to do than to submit.

But Dillon is in some ways an old lady's companion. To be sure of a very special type, but, who knows, perhaps he will not strangle us. . . . The article ends with this remarkable sentence: 'Dillon or Dawes, that is the most important question for Germany in 1926'.

The Americans have already secured, by purchasing stock control of the so-called 'D banks', the four most important banks of Germany. The Germany oil industry is obviously hanging on the tails of American Standard Oil. The zinc mines, formerly the property of a German firm, have passed into Harriman's hands who obtained thereby the monopoly control of crude zinc on the world market.

American capital does business wholesale and retail. In Poland, the American-Swedish match trust is taking its first preparatory measures. In Italy they go further. The contracts which American firms sign with Italy are very interesting.

Italy is given charge, so to speak, of managing the Near East market. The US will supply semi-finished articles to Italy in order that the latter adapt them to the taste of the Oriental consumer. America hasn't the time to bother with details. She furnishes standardized products. And the omnipotent trans-Atlantic businessman comes to the artisan of the Apennines and says to him: 'Here is all that you need, but paint it up and polish it up to the taste of the Asiatics'.

France has not yet come to this. She is still obstinate and resists. But she will have to stabilize her currency, that is, put her head in the American noose.

Each state awaits its turn at Uncle Sam's counter.

How much have the Americans spent to secure such a situation? A very small sum. Investments abroad, without counting war debts, come to 10 billions, Europe has received all in all 2½ billions, and America is already beginning to treat her as a conquered country. American investments in European economy represents only a hundredth, and even less, of the total wealth of Europe. When a scale is swinging, only a slight tap of the finger is necessary to tip it to one side. The Americans have given this tap of the little finger, and they are already masters.

Europe lacks the necessary capital for the work of restoration and the necessary circulating capital for the part of her economy already restored. She has buildings and equipment worth hundreds of millions but lacks ten millions to set the machine going. The American arrives, gives the ten millions, and lays down his conditions. He is the master, he issues the orders.

I have received an extremely interesting article on one of those new Cecil Rhodes that America is now giving birth to and whose names we are obliged to learn. It is not very pleasant, but it can't be helped.

We have learnt quite well the name of Dawes. Dawes is not worth a pin's head, but all of Europe can do nothing against him. Tomorrow, we will learn the name of Dillon or that of Max Winkler, vice-president of the 'Financial Service Company'. Gobbling up everything within reach on the globe, that is called financial service. Max Winkler speaks of financial service in poetical language, even biblical poetry:

'We occupy ourselves', he says 'with financing governments, local and municipal authorities, and private corporations. American money permitted the restoration of Japan, after the earthquake; American funds permitted the defeat of Germany and Austria-Hungary and have played a very important role in the raising up of these countries.'

First you destroy, then you restore. And for both operations you collect an honest fee. Only the earthquake in Japan manifestly took place without the intervention of American capital. But listen to the following:

'We grant loans to Dutch colonies and to Australia, to the government and cities of Argentina, to South African mining industries, to the nitrate producers of Chile, to the coffee planters of Brazil, to the producers of tobacco and cotton in Columbia. We give money to Peru for the realization of sanitary projects; we give some to the Danish banks, to the Swedish manufacturers, to the hydro-electric stations of Norway, to the Finnish banks, to the factories of mechanical construction of Czechoslovakia, to the railroads of Yugoslavia, to the public utilities of Italy, to the Spanish telephone companies.'

You may like it or not, but this has a genuine ring. This rings with the sound of those \$60 billion that are now in American banks. We will have to hear this symphony again in the approaching historic period.

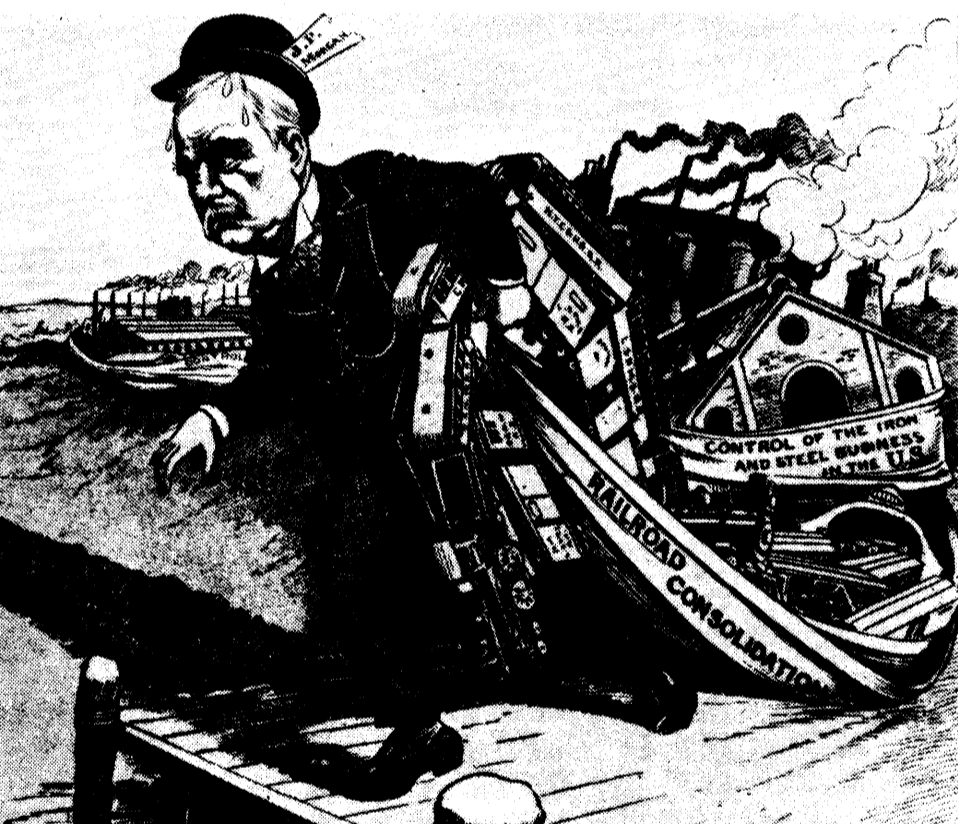
Shortly after the war, when the League of Nations was in the process of establishing itself, and pacifists of all European countries were lying each in his own tongue, an English economist, George Paish, presumably a man of the best intentions proposed the floating of a loan to the League of Nations for the pacification and reconstruction of all mankind.

He estimated that \$35 billion were needed for this worthy enterprise and proposed that the US subscribe 15 billions, England five billions, and other countries the remaining 15 billions. According to this splendid plan, the US had to provide nearly half of this great loan, and as the remaining shares would be divided among a great number of states, the US would obtain the controlling share. This all saving loan did not materialize, but what is happening at the present time is by and large a more effective realization of this same plan. The US progressively gobbles up the shares which will give her control of the human race. Assuredly, a great undertaking. But a risky one. The Americans will not be long in convincing themselves of it.

Pacifism and muddleheads

BEFORE continuing, I must dispel a certain confusion. The world processes under study are developing with such rapidity and on such a scale that our minds can only with great difficulty grasp, comprehend and assimilate them.

It is not surprising that there has



banker J. P. Morgan epitomizes Trotsky's analysis of the growth of American capital in the control of the railways and steel industry reaches out for world shipping.

The imperialist expansion of the United States

FROM THE power of the United States and the weakening of Europe flows the inevitability of a new division of world forces, spheres of influence and world markets. America must expand while Europe is forced to contract. In precisely this consists the resultant of the basic economic processes that are taking place in the capitalist world. The US reaches out into all world channels and everywhere takes the offensive. She operates in a strictly 'pacifist' manner, that is, without the use of armed force as yet, 'without effusion of blood' as the Holy Inquisition said when burning heretics alive.

She expands peaceably because her adversaries, grinding their teeth, are retreating step by step, before this new power, not daring to risk an open clash. That is the basis of the 'pacifist' policy of the United States. Her principal weapon now is: finance capital, backed by its billions of gold reserve. This is a terrible and overwhelming force in relation to all parts of the world and particularly in relation to devastated and impoverished Europe. To grant or refuse loans to this or that European country is, in many cases, to decide the fate not only

reservoir. The US has invested the most capital in Latin America which, from the economic standpoint, is becoming more and more a dominion of North America. After South America, Canada is the country which has obtained the most credits; then comes Europe. The other parts of the world have received much less.

Ten billions is a very small sum for so powerful a country as the United States, but this sum is rapidly increasing and to understand this process it is most important to take into account its tempo. During the seven years following the war, the US invested abroad around \$6 billion: nearly half of this sum has been supplied these last two years; in 1925 the investments have been much greater than in 1924.

On the eve of the war, the US still needed foreign capital, received this capital from Europe and placed it in industry. The growth of American industrial power led at a certain stage to the rapid formation of finance capital. . . . Once begun, this process proceeds with ever greater acceleration. What two or three years ago was still in the field of conjecture is now taking place before our eyes. But this is only the beginning. The campaign of American finance capital for the conquest of the world will actually begin only tomorrow.

An extremely significant fact: in the course of the past year, American capital has more and more abandoned



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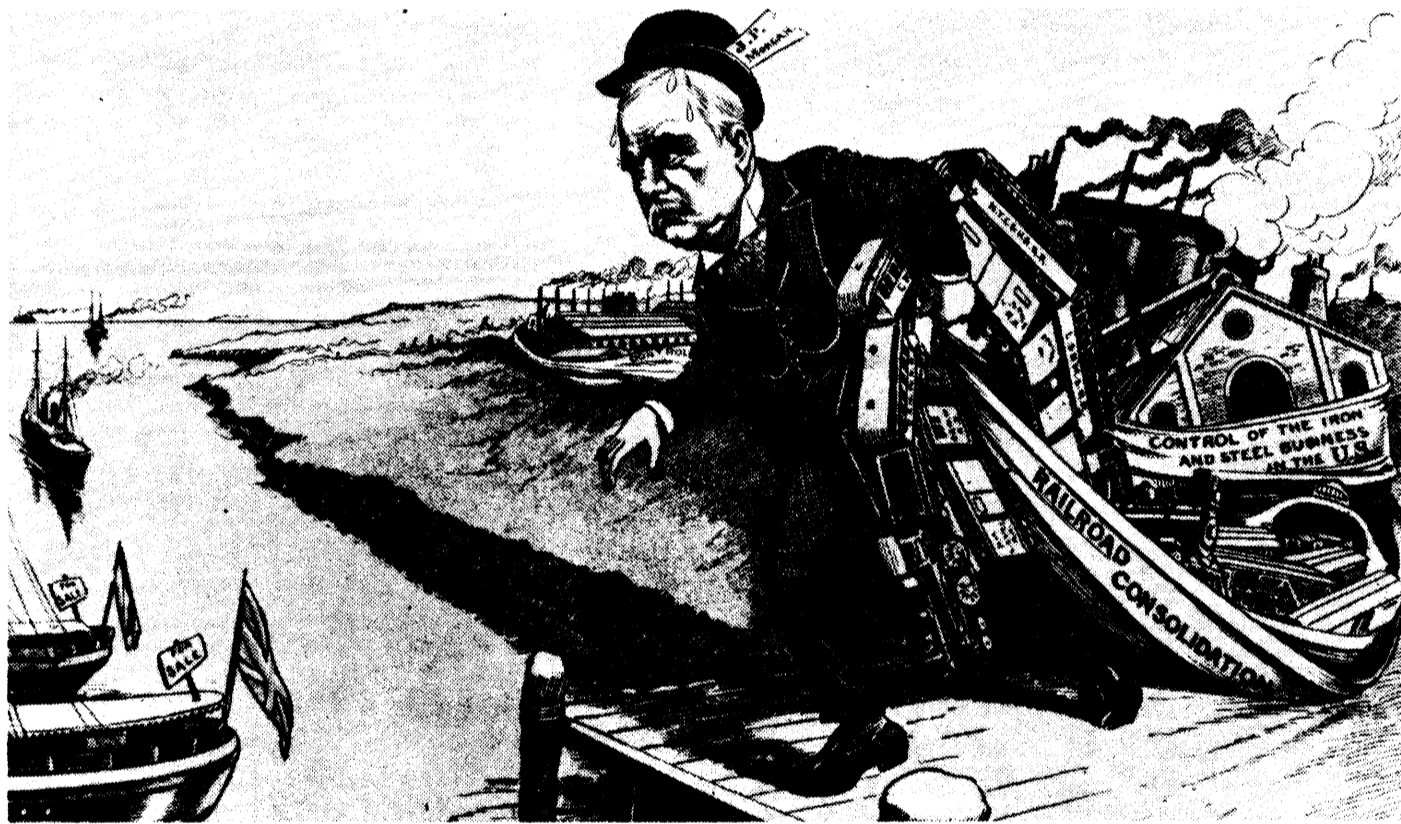
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 figures will suffice. Let us take Europe
 and the USA as they were 50 years ago,
 at the time of the Franco-German war.
 The wealth of the United States was
 then estimated at \$30 billion, that of
 England at 40 billions, that of France at
 33 billions, that of Germany at 38 billions.

As is apparent, the difference between
 the respective levels of these countries
 was not great. Each possessed from 30
 to 40 billions. And of these four richest
 countries in the world it was the US
 that was the least rich. This was in 1872.
 But what is the situation now, half a
 century later? Today, Germany is poorer
 than in 1872 (36 billions); France is
 approximately twice as rich (68 billions);
 likewise England (89 billions); but the
 wealth of the US is estimated at \$320
 billion. Thus, of the European countries
 which I have cited, one has regressed to
 its former level, two others have doubled
 their wealth, and the United States has
 become 11 times wealthier. That is why
 in expending 15 billions for the ruin of
 Europe, the United States has completely
 achieved its purpose.

Before the war America was Europe's
 debtor. The latter served as the principal
 factory and the principal depot for world



Above: The caricature of the American banker J. P. Morgan epitomizes Trotsky's analysis of the growth of American capital in the 20th century. The banker, having gained control of the railways and steel industry reaches out for world shipping.

commodities. Moreover Europe, above all
 England, was the central banker of the
 world. All these three leading roles now
 belong to the United States. Europe has
 been relegated to the background. The
 US is the principal factory, the principal
 depot and the central bank of the world.

Gold, as we know, plays a certain role
 in capitalist society. Lenin wrote that
 under the regime of socialism gold would
 be used as building material for certain
 public places. But this will be under
 socialism. Under capitalism there is nothing
 more important than a bank vault
 filled with gold. How do matters stand on
 this score in America? Before the war, the
 American gold reserve, if I am not mis-
 taken, amounted to nine-tenths billions;
 on January 1, 1925, it rose to 4½ billions,
 which represents one-half of the total
 world reserve; today this proportion is not
 less than 60 per cent.

Now, what was happening to Europe
 while America was concentrating in her
 hands 60 per cent of the world's gold?
 Europe was declining. It had been plunged
 into war because European capitalism
 was suffocating within the narrow frame-
 work of the national states. Capitalism
 tried to extend these limits, to create for
 itself a larger arena and in this the
 wildest pressure was exerted by the more

* Apparently an estimate for 1926. The 1930
 census figure was 122 million.—Ed.

progressive German capitalism which set
 the 'organization of Europe' as its aim.
 But what was the outcome of the war?
 The Treaty of Versailles has created in
 Europe about 17 additional, independent
 new states and territories. Europe has
 added 7,000 kilometres of new frontiers,
 customs barriers and on each side of
 these new customs barriers, a correspond-
 ing number of fortifications and armies.
 Europe now has one million more soldiers
 than before the war. To arrive at such
 achievements Europe destroyed an enorm-
 ous mass of material values devastated and
 impoverished herself.

But that is not all. In return for all
 her misfortunes, her economic ruin, her
 new and senseless customs barriers that
 disorganize commerce, her new frontiers
 and armies; for her dismemberment, ruin-
 ation and decadence, for the war and the
 Peace of Versailles, Europe must pay to
 the US the interest on her war debts.

Europe is impoverished. The quantity
 of raw materials that she works up is
 10 per cent lower than it was before
 the war. The specific weight of Europe
 in world economy has diminished by many
 times. The sole stable thing in present-
 day Europe is—unemployment. And, curi-
 ously enough, in their search for avenues
 of escape, bourgeois economists have
 exhumed from the archives the most
 reactionary theories from the epoch of
 primitive accumulation. They see remedies
 for unemployment in Malthusianism and
 emigration. During the period of its
 expansion, triumphant capitalism had no
 need for these theories. But now that it
 has reached decay, senility and arterio-
 sclerosis, it becomes childish in the realm
 of ideas and returns to the old witch-
 doctor remedies.

The imperialist expansion of the United States

FROM THE power of the United States
 and the weakening of Europe flows the
 inevitability of a new division of world
 forces, spheres of influence and world
 markets. America must expand while
 Europe is forced to contract. In precisely
 this consists the resultant of the basic
 economic processes that are taking place
 in the capitalist world. The US reaches
 out into all world channels and every-
 where takes the offensive. She operates in
 a strictly 'pacifist' manner, that is, with-
 out the use of armed force as yet, 'with-
 out effusion of blood' as the Holy Inqui-
 sition said when burning heretics alive.

She expands peaceably because her
 adversaries, grinding their teeth, are
 retreating step by step, before this new
 power, not daring to risk an open clash.
 That is the basis of the 'pacifist' policy
 of the United States. Her principal
 weapon now is: finance capital, backed
 by its billions of gold reserve. This is a
 terrible and overwhelming force in rela-
 tion to all parts of the world and particu-
 larly in relation to devastated and
 impoverished Europe. To grant or refuse
 loans to this or that European country is,
 in many cases, to decide the fate not only



Coolidge

of the political party in power but of the
 bourgeois regime itself. Up to the
 present time, the US has invested \$10
 billion in the economy of other coun-
 tries. Of these 10 billions, two have been
 granted to Europe in addition to the 10
 billions formerly supplied for its devasta-
 tion.

Now, as we know, the loans are
 granted in order to 'restore' Europe.
 Devastation, then restoration: these two
 aims complement each other, while the
 interest on the sums appropriated for
 both keep flowing into the same

governmental loans. The me-
 trial loans. The me-
 enough. 'We have
 tunity of re-establis-
 rency in Germany
 will consent to do
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 is to lay our hands

I have recently
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 entitled, 'Dawes or
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 South Africa. Suc-
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 conditions. He is th-
 orders.

I have received a
 article on one of th-
 that America is no-
 whose names we a-
 is not very pleasant,

An extremely significant fact: in the
 course of the past year, American
 capital has more and more abandoned

recently appeared a lively discussion on this subject in the international press, proletarian and bourgeois. In Germany various volumes have been published, devoted especially to the role of the US vig., to Balkanized Europe. In the international controversy that has arisen over this question, reference was made to a report delivered by me from this platform two years ago. I have in my hand an American labour review that I recently opened at precisely the page devoted to the relations between America and Europe, and my eyes fell by chance on a reference to 'rations'. Naturally, that interested me; I read the article, and here comrades, is what, to my great astonishment, I learned:

'Trotsky is of the opinion that we have entered into the period of **pacifist Anglo-American relations**; the influence of Anglo-American relations (according to Trotsky) will contribute more to the consolidation than to the decomposition of world capitalism.'

Not bad, is it? MacDonald could hardly improve on it. And further:

'The old theory of Trotsky of Europe being put on rations. [Why old? It is hardly two years old.—L.T.] and made a Dominion of America was linked to this appreciation of Anglo-American relations.' And so forth and so on. (J. Lovestone, *Workers' Monthly', November 1925.)

On reading these lines, so great was my astonishment that for three minutes I rubbed my eyes. Where and when have I said that England and America maintained pacific relations, and that owing to this, they were going to regenerate European capitalism and not cause its decomposition? Generally speaking, if any communist past the Pioneer age said this or something similar, one would simply have to expel him from communist ranks.

Naturally, after having read these absurdities attributed to me, I re-read what I had occasion to say on that subject from this platform. If I refer back to the speech I made two years ago, it is not to explain to Lovestone and his like that if one wishes to write on any subject—whether in English or French, in Europe or in America—one must know what he is writing about and where he is leading the reader. No, I do so because the way in which the question was then posed by me still holds good today. That is why

* Lovestone, a follower of the Bukharin right wing of the Russian Party, was then a leader of the American Communist Party. His deliberate falsification of Trotsky's ideas was part of the international Stalin-Bukharin pogrom against Trotsky. Lovestone is now a follower of the pro-war Union for Democratic Action.—Editor F.I. 1943.



Jay Lovestone in 1924

I must read you several excerpts from my speech.

'What does American capital want? What does it seek?' I asked two years ago. And I replied: 'It seeks, we are told, stability. It wishes to re-establish the European market. It wishes to make Europe solvent. To what extent and how? Under its hegemony. What does that mean? That Europe will be permitted to rise again, but only within well-defined limits, that restricted sectors of the world market will be reserved for her. American capital now dominates; it commands the diplomats. It is likewise preparing to give orders to the European banks and trusts, to the entire European bourgeoisie.'

Two years ago I said, 'It commands the diplomats (in Versailles, in Washington) and is preparing to give orders to banks and trusts'. Today I say: 'It already gives orders to the banks and trusts of various European states and is preparing to give orders to the banks and trusts of the other European states.'

I continue the citation: 'It will divide the market into sectors, it will regulate the activity of European financiers and manufacturers. If one wishes to answer clearly and succinctly the question what American capital wants, one would say: It wishes to **put capitalist Europe on rations**'. I did not say that it has put Europe on rations or that it will put her

on rations, but that it wishes to do so. That is what I said two years ago.

Lovestone claims that I spoke of the 'pacifist collaboration' of England and America. Let us refer to the minutes where the speech is recorded. 'It is not only a question of Germany and France; it is also a question of Great Britain. She too will have to prepare to submit to the same fate. . . . It is often said, to be sure, that America now walks along with England, that an Anglo-Saxon bloc has been formed; one speaks of Anglo-Saxon capital, of Anglo-Saxon politics. . . . But to speak in this way is to show one's lack of understanding of the situation. The main world antagonism proceeds along the line of the interests of the United States and Great Britain. That is what the future will show more and more clearly. . . . Why? Because England is still, after the United States, the richest and most powerful country. It is the principal rival, the main obstacle.'

I developed this same idea somewhat more forcefully in the Manifesto of the Fifth World Congress of the Communist International, but I will not weary you with texts.

Let me cite again from my speech that which pertains to the 'pacifist' relations established by America: 'This American "pacifist" programme of putting the whole world under her control is not at all programme of peace; on the contrary, it is pregnant with wars and with the greatest revolutionary convulsions. It is not very likely that the bourgeoisie of all countries will consent to be shoved into the background, to become vassals of America without at least trying to resist. The contradictions are too great, the appetites are too monstrous, the urge to preserve the old rulership is too great, the habits of world domination are too powerful in England. Military conflicts are inevitable. The era of "pacifist" Americanism that seems to be opening up at this time is only a preparation for new wars of unprecedented scope and unimaginable monstrosity.'

That is what I said two years ago about 'pacifist' relations.

Finally, this is what I said from this platform concerning the cessation of European contradictions owing to America's influence:

'It is absolutely incontestable that those contradictions which prepared the imperialist war and turned it loose on Europe ten years ago, those contradictions aggravated by the war and diplomatically sealed by the Versailles Treaty, continue to exist like open wounds and have been intensified by the subsequent development of the class struggle in Europe. And the United States will run up against these contradictions in all their acuteness.'

Two years have passed. Comrade Lovestone is perhaps a good critic, as good as those about whom the Russian proverb

says that they point a finger at the sky and they always hit the bull's eye. But time is a still better critic.

Let me conclude with the advice that Engels once gave to one Stibelling, also an American: 'When one wishes to occupy one self with scientific problems, it is necessary first of all to read books as the author wrote them, and especially not read into them what does not exist'. These words of old Engels are excellent and they are good not only for America but for the entire five continents.

TO BE CONTINUED



Frederick Engels.



Writings of Leon Trotsky

This Fall marks 30 years since Trotsky was brutally murdered by Stalin's agent in Mexico. The republication of a number of Trotsky's articles from the 1930s—most long out of print—is of the greatest importance because of the immediate relevance of his struggles then to the tasks today of preparing a new leadership of the working class. Certain themes run like a thread through these collections reflecting the questions of greatest concern to Trotsky in this period. Most of the articles deal with Trotsky's related struggle against Stalinism and the horrors of the Moscow Trials and his efforts to construct the Fourth International. Today both questions are posed as urgently but the prospects for the construction of the Fourth International and the decisive defeat of Stalinism are far brighter than they were in the 1930s. Every serious revolutionary must take up a study of these writings immediately!

(1937-1938) (1938-1939) (1939-1940) \$2.95 each

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TV Union Crews Clash With Scabs

BY MARTY JONAS

NEW YORK—A fight broke out on August 20, right before a scheduled Department of Correction's news conference between the WNEW-TV news crew and the news crews of several other New York TV stations. At the height of the brawl nearly all the 30 newsmen in the room were involved.

The WNEW-TV newsmen are all scabs—supervisors and clerks taking over as cameramen, soundmen, and electricians. All the other men involved are union TV technicians, members of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees (IATSE), AFL-CIO.

The brawl culminated the three months of ill feeling between union crews and the WNEW-TV scab crew. Since the strike of WNEW-TV technicians began on May 22, union crews have had to work side by side at press conferences and other events with the scab crew and have bitterly complained and in some instances dismantled their equipment and left. Seventy-five WNEW-TV technicians, members of IATSE Local 794, are involved in the strike against the New York outlet of Metromedia Inc.

AUTOMATION

What makes the strike so bitter is the main issue—automation of technical equipment, such as cameras. The question of unemployment is breathing hard down the necks of all those involved in the entertainment industry. Along with the automation of the industry goes the whole cutback in funds. Only a fraction of the number of live dramas or films made a decade ago are made today. The Screen Cartoonists' local of the IATSE records the highest rate of unemployment in its membership in its history. The various technological advances, such as TV tape, bring only layoffs under capitalism.

The crisis of the entertainment industry in England, where thousands of technicians and actors are unemployed, due to massive withdrawal of American capital from films and theater, is beginning to happen here.

The fight at the press conference is only a hint of the sharpness with which the strongly unionized workers in the entertainment industry will take on the threat of unemployment.

ARMY RESEARCH CENTER EXPLODES IN MADISON

BY STEPHEN DIAMOND

MADISON, WIS., August 24, 1970—This morning at about 4:00 a.m. the Army Math Research Center was blown to bits with explosives. Army Math Research has been the target of "trashings" by students earlier this year, and it, along with ROTC, is a major symbol of University involvement with US imperialism.

While we do not know the political motivation for the bombing, which may have been the work of right wing provocateurs, it is easy to see its objective significance. The state has begun a crackdown on radical students, initiating repressive measures against students involved in various political actions. At the same time it has instituted severe tuition hikes, particularly for out of state students, and has reduced out of state enrollment to about 10%. The state has used the terrorist character of much of the radical student politics to divide the students from the workers and to obscure the fact that the attacks on the students are really attacks on the working class.

STRATEGY

None of the major radical tendencies on campus has responded to the attacks with a strategy to unite workers and students around a working class program. The YSA has sought to defend its members from state attack through the popular front, while the RYM group has restricted itself to attacking symbols of imperialism.

The bombing here is not an isolated incident. These explosions signal the explosion of the class struggle. What is required today is the building of a Trotskyist youth movement which unites the struggles of student and worker youth against capitalism.

BRAC Strikers Demonstrate

BY MICHAEL ROSS

MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL, August 21—Northwest Airlines' clerical strike now heads for its eighth week with some 3,500 BRAC strikers showing no letup in their militancy and determination to get a living wage.

Today some 50 off-duty pickets massed in front of Northwest's ticket counters in the Twin Cities airport terminal for a spirited sing-in to publicize their struggle. Joined by a number of members of the Machinists, their songs announced to NWA management that "We intend to win" and until that happened they meant to "keep those red tails on the ground."

This followed a mass picket of Northwest's main base on August 17, when NWA management tried to call machinists in to work, despite official IAM support of the strike.

UNION-BUSTING

On that same day the most recent session with one of Nixon's federal mediators was held. But Northwest had no intention of meeting with the union even through a mediator. What Northwest management in all its arrogance is saying is that they have no intention of talking to the union. They want to break BRAC and then all unions on their line, setting a vicious union-busting precedent for the airline industry.

But what both Northwest and every striker know is that the company is hurting from this strike. They are flying

no more than 10% of their normal flights, mostly the giant 747s. And these are flying only about one-fifth of capacity.

At the same time business on other carriers has increased, even with companies with relatively small Twin Cities operations, such as Eastern, experiencing a 30-40% pickup in passengers.

Only the strikebreaking actions of the pilots' union (ALPA) is allowing Northwest to make any flights at all.

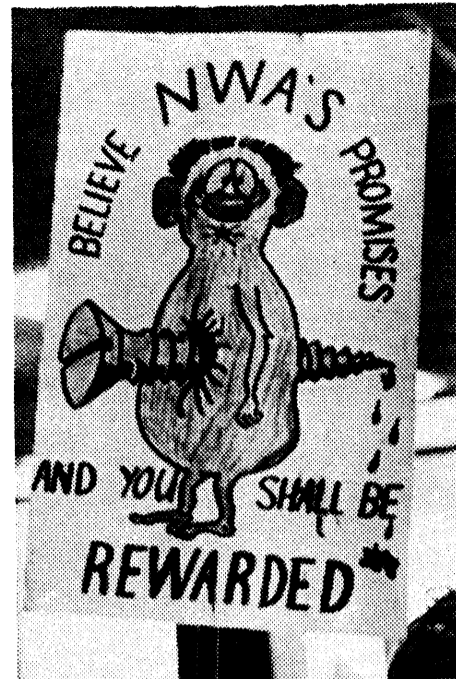
PILOTS

But those ALPA members still flying NWA planes had better think twice. Northwest's proposed merger with Northeast Airlines threatens the standards of most Northwest pilots. Some 500 Northeast pilots, most having more seniority than the 2,000 Northwest pilots, will be thrown into the same seniority unit. This will result in the downgrading of hundreds of Northwest pilots, meaning a loss of tens of thousands of dollars in potential lifetime earnings to these pilots.

BRAC strikers now stand on the verge of breaking Northwest's inflexibility. This can be done all the quicker by mobilizing support from the labor movement, through mass rallies and mass picketing.

ENCOURAGEMENT

But as BRAC International Vice President Jack Fletcher noted: "We have to keep in mind that only we can win this strike. Nobody else can do it for us." And no BRAC striker should expect Nixon's

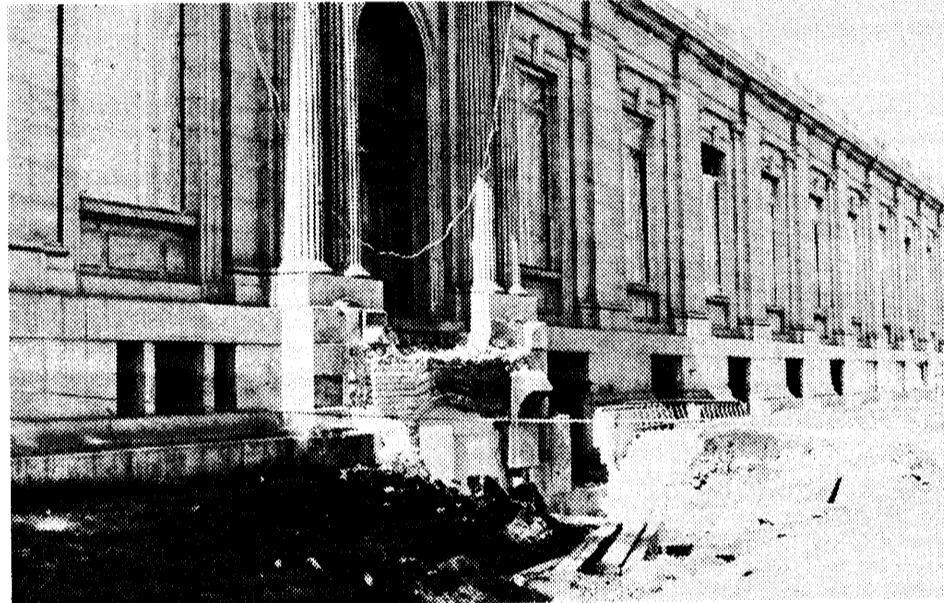


Placard carried by Northwest strikers.

federal mediators, authors of the notorious GE and Westinghouse contracts, to win anything for them.

A victory for BRAC must now be seen as the way to carry forward labor's wage offensive against the employers and Nixon, and as encouragement for the struggles of millions of lower paid workers.

FBI, Politicians Mount Witchhunt In Twin Cities



Minneapolis Old Federal Building (above), housing induction center, after bombing.

BY JEAN RENEE

MINNEAPOLIS—Danger of a witchhunt against all workers, youth and minority groups mounted in Minnesota this week, in the wake of an early morning bombing of the Old Federal Building in Minneapolis, local draft induction center and later of Dayton's, a major department store in the Twin Cities.

US Attorney Robert Renner spoke of a substantial amount of dynamite being brought into Minnesota illegally. Governor Harold LeVander warned about groups

of people "that are trying to destroy government and other institutions." This pervasive terror atmosphere is being encouraged by the press and other public officials, including almost all political candidates. This, plus suspicious details of the bombing itself, create the powerful suspicion in the minds of class-conscious workers that the bombing could have been the work of an agent provocateur.

The professional nature of the job, the bomb site itself (far from any draft records or any other records of worth),

the absence of suspects with suspicion cast on everyone in the so-called "Left," these facts combine to emphasize again the danger of agents provocateur in this type of activity.

The FBI boasts that it is routinely questioning almost everyone connected with the antiwar movement. In fact, if Minnesota had the kind of laws regarding preventive detention and the "no knock" law recently passed in Washington, D.C., hundreds of these youths could be in jail today. One danger threatening now, in fact, is that this terror will be used by the politicians to build pressure for similar laws in Minnesota.

TERROR

The opposition of Marxists to acts of individual terrorism, such as these bombings, has nothing in common with the "shock and dismay" of the bourgeois politicians or philistine liberals at the destruction of property or even the threat to life. Their horror is sheer hypocrisy, in the face of the wanton destruction wrought by the capitalist system each day it exists!

It is, in fact, the hatred of the wasted life and property caused by capitalism that drives despairing middle class youths to seek solutions in acts of individual heroism. Marxists sympathize with their hatred, and deplore the wasted heroism.

The immediate need today is to fight within the labor movement to defend any witchhunt victims of this terror and defeat the witchhunt laws which are sure to be introduced in the near future.

Arab Students Protest CIA Funding Of NSA

BY BOB JOHNSON

ST. PAUL—The recent disclosure that the National Student Association was receiving funds from the CIA raised in the minds of many students serious questions about the very legitimacy of the NSA.

Nothing at the proceedings of the just concluded 23rd Congress of the NSA at Macalester College helped to dispell any of these questions.

A delegation of Palestinian students walked out of the Congress in its first few days after being coerced by what one of their members called "a very questionable character" into dropping their own independent resolution in favor of a joint resolution on the Middle East with the Zionists.

For ten days the congress delegates were treated to a "star-studded" cast of prominent liberals and radicals including Jessie Jackson, Charles Gary, Richard Goodwin, Rennie Davis, Senator

Charles Goodell, Leonard Woodcock, Betty Friedan and Ramsey Clark.

REFORMIST

One commentator writing in the Minneapolis Star wrote, "Despite hints of working within the system, most of the speeches urge revolution and disruption. The delegates of this once moderately-left organization now talk like members of the more radical groups, such as the Youth International Party (Yippies)."

But the point is, that beneath all the necessary radical talk at the congress there emerges the most consistent, anti-revolutionary reformist mishmash to confuse and divert student youth.

The chief debate at the congress centered around a proposal from Rennie Davis that if the war is not ended by next May 1 that the NSA call for massive action to close down Washington D.C. on that date. With that proposal being the center of the discussion, there was no chance for the class nature of the war to be brought out and the discussion revolved simply around the practicability of such an action. The

motion was defeated after several voting sessions.

All sorts of other resolutions passed supporting this and that struggle which amounted to just so much hot air.

UPSURGE

The tremendous upsurge on the campuses following the invasion of Cambodia and the Kent State murders marked a qualitative development in the student movement as students turned away from the old protest politics of the past toward the working class. This took many forms but the ruling class got the message. They fear that students will look beyond the confines of the campuses for allies in the struggle against capitalism.

The NSA congress does not really reflect this development, but instead focuses on the role of the student as a student to help solve the "nation's crises" in a reformist way. Links to the working class are to be between NSA leaders and union bureaucrats. The source of the confusion of many of the delegates stems from this perspective

how american cp helped



U.S. Communist Party was deeply implicated in murder of Trotsky, above, near death.

BY FRED MUELLER

AUGUST 20 WAS the 30th anniversary of the assassination of Leon Trotsky by an agent of the Stalinist secret police in Mexico. To Marxists this crime is as significant today as the day it occurred. The assassination was a blow aimed at the international working class and it must be exposed again and again as part of the struggle against the betrayers of the working class, who continue to go about their foul business today.

The assassination can first of all only be understood as the product of the clash of fundamental class forces. All those who see it in personal or psychological terms simply express their own ignorance.

The murder of Trotsky was the result of a conscious policy adopted by the bureaucratic caste which had usurped political power in the Soviet Union after the death of Lenin. This privileged layer of professionals and officials, with Stalin as its infallible leader, adopted the slogan of socialism in one country. This slogan, the utopian perspective of building a socialist society in backward Russia isolated from world developments, corresponded to the interests of the bureaucracy, to its profoundly conservative and nationalist outlook. It sought to protect its position by turning its back on the world proletariat.

The turning away from the perspective of world revolution led inexorably to the policy of "peaceful coexistence," of socialism in only one country, of preserving the status quo in alliance with a section of the world bourgeoisie. This was the meaning of the People's Front, ushered in by Dimitrov at the 1935 Congress of the Comintern.

Each empirical turn of the Comintern had led only to disaster, from Britain in 1926 and China in 1927 to the greatest disaster in Germany in 1933. Each defeat reinforced the bureaucracy in its turn away from Leninism. The People's Front was the product especially of the German defeat, and it marked a fundamental turn from centrism to open reformism, toward conscious alliance with the bourgeoisie.

Hand in hand with this foreign policy turn went a turn from "ordinary" means of persecution toward the actual liquidation of the left wing opponents of the bureaucracy inside the USSR and the world labor movement.

BLOODBATH

This was the meaning of the purge trials. The assassination of Kirov in December 1934, revealed by Khrushchev to have been staged by the bureaucracy, became the basis of the bloodbath which engulfed millions. Hundreds of thousands of devoted communists were executed or left

to die in labor camps. Even thousands of loyal supporters of Stalin became victims of the terror which was designed to wipe out an entire revolutionary generation.

The terror at home was accompanied by an efficient and murderous machine abroad. The Stalinist secret police devoted its energies to espionage and terror directed not against the ruling class but against its working class opponents.

In a recent memoir of Ignace Reiss by his widow(1) some of the details of this counterrevolutionary conspiracy are discussed. Ignace Reiss was a functionary in the foreign department of the NKVD. The NKVD in this period was built up as a secret apparatus organized internationally parallel to and independent of the Communist International. Throughout the apparatus there were those who opposed the bureaucracy when they saw that they were being used for counterrevolutionary ends. Reiss challenged the bureaucracy through a letter to the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party which proclaimed his intention of joining the Fourth International. Within weeks he was murdered by White Guard emigres doing the dirty work of the Kremlin.

On one level a vast secret police network recruited assassins from the most reactionary White Guard circles in West Europe. In the words of Reiss' widow, these elements "approved Stalin's liquidation of the Revolution." On another level the bureaucracy utilized undercover agents for all sorts of informational purposes including of course the setting up of the assassinations.

Jack Soble was one of the most prominent of these agents.(2) From the early 1930s in Europe until well into the 1950s in the United States he continued to gather and relay information on the Trotskyist movement, although after 1932 he functioned outside the movement.

ZBOROWSKI

One of the most effective of Stalin's agents inside the Trotskyist movement was a Ukrainian-born intellectual named Mark Zborowski. Zborowski is now teaching at the University of California in Berkeley. He is a man with whom the international working class movement has many scores to settle. Under the name of Etienne, Zborowski became one of the leading European Trotskyists and set up the murders of Ignace Reiss, Trotsky's

secretary Rudolf Klement, and finally Trotsky's son and closest collaborator, Leon Sedov.

It was only Zborowski and Sedov who knew of Reiss' whereabouts. It was Zborowski who insisted on taking Sedov when he was stricken with appendicitis in February 1938 to a hospital outside Paris staffed by many Russian emigre physicians. On February 16 Sedov suddenly died in the midst of an uneventful recovery from routine surgery.

All of these bloody trails were leading, as Trotsky himself understood very well, to the biggest crime of all. It was not until August 20, 1940, 3 years after Reiss' murder and 2-1/2 years after the murder of Sedov, that Stalin's agent finally caught up with Trotsky. As we have indicated this tenacious and well organized international conspiracy cannot possibly be explained in terms of revenge. Despite the small forces of the Fourth International Stalin lived in mortal dread of the revolutionist who embodied along with the party he was building the continuation of Lenin's struggle.

BUDENZ

Trotsky spent the last three and a half years of his life in the Western hemisphere and the US Communist Party took on an especially important role in the plots against him at this time. Much light has been shed on this role by Louis Budenz, former Managing Editor of the Daily Worker.(3)

Budenz is a particularly loathsome political specimen. His testimony is significant in spite of and indeed partly because of this. Budenz was always extremely hostile to Marxist theory. He was an extreme opportunist who never broke fully with the Catholic Church even after he joined the CP. He never had the slightest interest in or agreement with dialectical materialism, which he considered an alien philosophy. His approach can be summed up in the proposal he once made that socialism be introduced by a constitutional amendment.

Naturally enough Budenz was extremely hostile to Trotskyism. In his book on his political travels from Stalinism back to the Catholic Church, he says the following: "In the Trotskyites I saw crudely expressed those evils which only later I discovered were also present in the Stalinists."

Budenz had been in the Conference for Progressive Labor Action (CPLA) along with noted pacifist A. J. Muste and others. Within this grouping he fought to the last against unification with the American Trotskyists. It was precisely the uncompromising attitude of the Trotskyists on questions of theory and internationalism which disturbed Budenz so much. He thought of himself as a loyal American and his most important goal was to combine socialism with patriotic American-

ism.

As Budenz himself explains, he was a "people's front socialist." He finally joined the CP in 1935, after the eighth World Congress. It was the extreme right turn of the CP which appealed to Budenz. He was particularly impressed by the "positive" attitude taken toward Roosevelt, by the nauseating superpatriotism of the CP and by its new-found respect for the church. He left the CP when he concluded that he could best serve "his country" through the Catholic Church.

Budenz relates how even as a leader of the CP he continued to flirt with the church, and for several years before he left in 1945 he had resolved to return to Catholicism. After his break with the Stalinists he continued to agree with them on one thing—the nature of Trotskyism. He wrote in 1946 about the Trotskyists:

"They had a hatred for religion—bourgeois morality—and everything else currently in existence. It is no wonder, that, according to Rebecca West, Hitler used German Trotskyites as guards and encouraged them to persecute Catholics of the resistance movement. That is the Trotskyite style."

EVIDENCE

Thus this pious defender of the faith makes the same slanderous charges as the Stalinists without the slightest effort to present evidence. It is clear that Budenz went through the CP as a dedicated opponent of the revolutionary movement and emerged as an even more vicious opponent. His aim is to utilize his experience in the CP to smear Marxism. This of course is also the aim of the House UnAmerican Activities Committee, before which Budenz and others testified about CP activities in the late 1940s and early 1950s.(4) It is vital that we examine this evidence and testimony objectively in spite of the source, because only in this way can we understand the evidence provided on the actual role of the Stalinists.

Back in 1936 Budenz had relayed to a Soviet agent in the US a slanderous report that Trotsky had discussed with A. J. Muste in Norway plans for the violent overthrow of the Soviet government. Muste denied this absurd story, the kind of slander which formed the basis for the notorious Moscow Trials. But Budenz's lying report was actually used by the Kremlin in applying pressure to the Norwegian government to expel Trotsky from his refuge in that country.

Trotsky left Norway in December 1936 and arrived in Mexico in January 1937. It was precisely at this time that Budenz was first introduced to NKVD agents in the United States. In December 1936 he met "Richards," several months later "Michaels" and soon after "Roberts," who was to play the most important role in the assassination plans.

Budenz was told that his help was needed to offset and prevent sabotage and plots against the life of Stalin. This was just before and after the Piatakov-Radek Trial in Moscow. Naturally Budenz consented. He supplied the NKVD men with names and addresses and with information about the activities of the Trotskyists, utilizing numerous contacts he had from the recent period when he was in the Conference for Progressive Labor Action.

Budenz helped select party members who were interviewed prior to being assigned to undercover work. He himself sent spies into the Trotskyist movement, including a woman who was recruited to come from Chicago to New York, where she joined the Trotskyists and volunteered her secretarial abilities, thus providing the NKVD with copies of all important correspondence.

The most important of Budenz's services was his referral to Stalinist agent Roberts of Ruby Weil, whom he had known in the CPLA and who had also joined the CP. Ruby Weil was friendly with Hilda Ageloff and her sister Sylvia, who were in the Trotskyist movement.

ASSASSIN

On the grounds that her help was needed to stop Trotsky's plots against Stalin's life, Ruby Weil became the accomplice in Stalin's plots against Trotsky's life. Miss Weil went to Paris with Sylvia Ageloff in June 1938, made contact there with another agent and then introduced Sylvia Ageloff to Jacques Mornard, whose actual name was Ramon Mercader, and who was to be the future assassin.

Mornard promptly seduced Sylvia Ageloff, who lived with him in Paris for several

murder leon trotsky

months before returning to the US. Mornard came to the US in September 1939 and went to Mexico in January 1940, where he remained for much of the time until the assassination. It was through his relationship with Sylvia Ageloff that he was able to enter the Trotsky home. This was the decisive part of the entire conspiracy.

The role of Budenz and Ruby Weil by no means exhausts the involvement of the American Stalinists in the assassination. James Ford, several times the Vice-Presidential candidate for the CP, was a member of a Comintern commission which went to Mexico early in 1940 in order to help set the stage for the assassination. This commission engineered the removal of the Laborde leadership of the Mexican CP. Laborde sought to consistently apply the popular front policy in support of the Cardenas government. Cardenas, however, had given Trotsky asylum. While the Stalinists still sought to lean on Cardenas, they knew that new attacks on Trotsky would be embarrassing to the Mexican government and they had to prepare the ground for this. Laborde was accused of softness on Trotskyism. This development was the signal that new attacks were planned on Trotsky and Trotskyism, and the American CP was directly involved through the role of one of its leaders.

The secret police always proceeded by several alternate routes. When the armed assault on Trotsky's home in May 1940 failed to achieve its purpose, the Stalinists said that it had been staged by Trotsky! Meanwhile Mornard became key in the assassination plans.

The May 24 attack was led by David Alfaro Siqueiros, the well known Mexican painter and diehard Stalinist who was recently accorded a big welcome at the 1970 Congress of the French CP.

When Siqueiros was finally apprehended and brought to trial, he was acquitted in

to turn him over to the police as a deserter from the Belgian Army if he did not agree to commit acts of sabotage in the Soviet Union under Trotsky's leadership."

And the Daily Worker editorialized: "Leon Trotsky died at the hands of one of that small gang of dubious social elements and provocateurs who alone remained for him to lead after he had long been exposed as an enemy of the working class. Trotsky's activities attracted this kind of irresponsible, criminal element."

This was the cynical judgment of men who knew that Stalin had been engaging in the most sinister plots for years against his chief opponent, who knew they were lying.

LIES

The assassin's written confession was riddled with clumsy lies and clear signs of his NKVD-GPU role. It made absolutely no critical references to Stalin and simply piled on outrageous charges and personal invective against Trotsky in such a way that it was obvious that it was the work of the Stalinist police. According to the assassin, Trotsky was collaborating with imperialism, receiving money from a foreign power, was plotting the murder of the very Mexican leaders who had given him refuge, and hated all of his own supporters. Furthermore Mercader was supposed to have become the bitter enemy of Trotsky after having been a devoted supporter although it could be proved that he had not even spoken to Trotsky more than three times for a total of 20 minutes. Even on the basis of the lies of the Moscow Trials, we were now expected to believe that Trotsky would discuss and entrust to an individual with whom he had spoken for only five minutes the kind of terrorist acts which Stalin claimed he had assigned to leaders like Bukharin, Zinoviev, and Kamenev, and which they had failed to carry through!

Mercader's defense was as interesting

Albert Goldman, etc., many days before the events of Pearl Harbor in the US, were summoned to court to answer charges of two crimes: one of conspiracy, and the other of crimes of sabotage and treason..."

This attempt to use the new alliance between Washington and Moscow and the crackdown by the American ruling class on the Trotskyists was a real tipoff on the GPU role of Mercader.

There is one further piece of evidence. On May 7, 1960, Mercader was released from Mexican prison. Within one hour he was en route to Cuba, where he spent a week before flying to Czechoslovakia, where he remains to this day.

This itinerary sheds further light not only on the assassin but also on the nature of the Castro regime in Havana, on its rabid hostility to Trotskyism and its complete solidarity with the Kremlin when it comes to protecting the interests of the bureaucracy and its henchmen. The Socialist Workers Party, which played such a prominent role in exposing the crimes of Stalinism in the past, now supports the Castro regime and has over the past 10 years said nothing about this concrete aid rendered by Havana to the Kremlin and its assassins.

The Husak regime in Prague is attacking the Czech working class and youth; it is preparing the way for new political trials; it shows its attitude to the workers and peasants of Indochina when it cuts off electricity and supplies to supporters of the Cambodian government-in-exile who have taken over the Cambodian embassy in Prague. At the very same time it continues to shield the assassin Mercader, now living in "retirement" in that country.

CP

The American Stalinists played a key role in this whole sordid business, from the recruitment of agents to help in setting up the assassination to furnishing aid in intercepting Trotsky's mail and in working out all the details of the murder plot. The US CP became the willing tool of the counterrevolutionary conspiracy. Its leadership knew exactly what this meant, even if many members knew nothing more than that they had been asked to help defend the Soviet Union.

Budenz relates how he was told, "almost in so many words," by CP leader Charles Hathaway, that Julia Stewart Poyntz had been "liquidated" by the secret police after she had begun to differ within the underground network. Later when the New Republic denounced the Kremlin in connection with the murder of Ignace Reiss, Budenz wanted to defend Moscow. Hathaway is alleged to have told him:

"Don't you know what you're doing? You are raising a question which we will not deal with under any circumstances. This Reiss case is closed as far as we are concerned. We have received definite instructions not to mention it, no matter what happens. The facts won't stand discussion."

As Trotsky explained on more than one occasion, many members of the CP acted out of the tragically mistaken conviction that they were protecting the Russian Revolution. With the leaders it was different. They were in a position to know that the purge trials were frameups and that Stalin was engaged in wiping out his principled opposition in the workers' movement.

GUILTY

They knew they were lying and they are lying today. They have never retracted nor explained any of these lies or crimes. They are truly guilty of the crimes of which they falsely accused Trotsky.

The New York Times commented in an editorial the day after Trotsky's death: "Brutality? Of course it was, but it was no more brutal than the Stalin tyranny as a whole, no more ruthless than the Russian Revolution which the consummate firebrand in exile had himself set alight and kept aflame a generation ago."

This shows the line up of class forces quite accurately. The leading organ of the bourgeoisie agrees with ex-Stalinist Budenz and with the Stalinists themselves in equating Leninism and Stalinism, in equating the leaders of the Revolution with its gravedigger. The method here, the abstract denunciation of brutality divorced from its class context, is an expression of bourgeois morality. In fact the bourgeoisie has indicated quite clearly that in the fundamental conflict between Stalinism and Trotskyism it stands with the bureaucracy.

We have dealt with the assassination



Jacson, the GPU assassin of Trotsky.

conspiracy in great detail because it is critically important that the nature of this crime is fully understood today.

The terror of the GPU was directed against the working class and its vanguard, in Spain, France, the USSR, Mexico and elsewhere. This is what must be understood. In the 1930s Trotsky knew that this terror had to be exposed again and again, with all the means at the disposal of the revolutionary movement. He also understood that these means were very limited, that tremendous defeats had been inflicted on the working class and that revolutionists could not ignore those defeats.

Today we face a different situation. The long postwar boom has also seen the recovery and growth of the working class. The class conflict is deepening rapidly in circumstances which are extraordinarily favorable for the growth of the revolutionary party.

This does not at all mean that the development of consciousness will be automatic, that the bourgeoisie and its agents will be easily disposed of. On the contrary, the class struggle will be more explosive than ever. The employers and their agents can be expected to fight with every means at their disposal. May-June 1968 in France and the events in Czechoslovakia were just the first beginnings of the political struggle by the working class against the bourgeoisie and the bureaucracy. What can and must be said is that the conditions for an all out battle in which the working class can emerge victorious are more favorable than ever. It is this final conflict for which we must prepare.

DESTROY

The commemoration of the assassination of Trotsky helps us to prepare because it poses sharply the choice before the working class and all of humanity. We must remember this crime and all the others. We must bring the perpetrators of these crimes to justice. We must bring to account those politically responsible. We must destroy politically that tendency in the workers' movement which has consistently betrayed every struggle in the past 40 years.

Sometimes the Stalinists, or a section of them, indicate they would prefer to forget these matters. We must not allow them to forget. Without an accounting of these events there can be no development. Even now the deepening crisis of Stalinism is reflected in the tendency of some of the Maoist groups like Progressive Labor to employ physical violence against Trotskyists. The Kremlin of course is by no means finished with counterrevolutionary intrigue and is in fact moving more and more rapidly toward the rehabilitation of Stalin and the employment of the "old" methods. Thus the assassination is of burning importance today. If we continuously expose the meaning of these events as part of the political and theoretical struggle against Stalinism and imperialism we can insure that there will never be a repetition of these crimes.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Our Own People," by Elisabeth K. Poretzky, reviewed in Workers Press, November 28, 1969
2. "The Mind of An Assassin," by I. D. Levine; Farrar Straus, and Cudahy, 1959
3. "This is My Story," by Louis P. Budenz; McGraw Hill, 1947
4. American Aspects of Assassination of Leon Trotsky. Hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, July-December 1950



Today 30 years after the murder of Trotsky, the struggle for Marxism goes forward.

the face of overwhelming evidence. This was after the successful assassination attempt. The same pressures which were successful in getting Siqueiros off the hook were not sufficient in the case of Mercader-Mornard. The assassin had planned to make a quick escape but Trotsky had fought him even after the deadly ice-axe had found its mark, and the guards had subdued him before he had any chance to get away.

In the days immediately following the assassination, the Daily Worker played up every word of the assassin, completely accepting of course his story that he was a disillusioned follower of Trotsky.

The Daily Worker reported on August 22, 1940 that the assassin "had known Mr. Trotsky for a long time." A "clash of opinions was believed to have precipitated the attack." And on August 23, it was reported that "Trotsky had threatened

as his original confession. The trial did not take place until 1942. By this time Kremlin foreign policy had changed, along with the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union. Whereas at the time of the assassination Mercader had implied that Trotsky was a tool of the US he now blithely reversed himself and said that he believed Trotsky was an agent of Hitler. The clumsy effort of the GPU to rewrite history in line with the current interests of the Kremlin can be recognized in this change.

In 1941 the American Trotskyist leaders were framed up on sedition charges in connection with the Minneapolis Teamsters' struggles. The CP enthusiastically supported this first prosecution under the Smith Act. Now the assassin crudely sought to use this development in his own defense:

"Several of the persons who have filed through this trial, such as Jake Cooper,



Student support rally (above) for Armstrong strikers is no substitute for program to win.

Philadelphia Teachers Prepare Fight

BY A TEACHER

PHILADELPHIA, PA— With only a little over two weeks remaining until the scheduled opening of the Philadelphia school system and the expiration of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers' contract with the school board, the question of the negotiations with the school board are critical.

It is absolutely imperative that the members of the PFT take up an immediate fight to build support for their demands against the school board. They can do this by taking the question of their fight to all of the labor movement, pointing out that an attack against the wages and standards of the teachers is really an attack against all the working class.

WAGES

While wages are one of the key and central issues, the teachers must guard against any compromise on working conditions.

Among the demands that the board is making against the teachers' standards is that the secondary teachers must work an extra 90 minutes daily to bring the students' school day up to the state mandated time.

The PFT has already stated that they are not responsible for the school day required by the state and that the Board of Education should hire more teachers in order to comply with state regulations or pay teachers double time for the extra hours.

An even better line of attack was outlined this week at the American Federation of Teachers convention in Pittsburgh, which has called for a maximum of 20 classroom periods per week with a maximum of 20 pupils per class. In Philadelphia the teachers work 25 classroom periods a week, and have classrooms of pupils well above the 20 pupil mark. It goes without saying that the fight for 20/20 is only going to be so much rhetoric unless the rank and file of the teachers' union take up the fight for this demand.

A better situation for such a fight than that in Philadelphia cannot be imagined. The Board of Education has raised the question of community control of the schools, allegedly in order to give the parents the opportunity to develop quality education. This question of community control is only a transparent attempt to pit the parents against the teachers in order to break the teachers' union. In a city like Philadelphia where the Negro population probably tops 50% this question of community control has already given rise to tendencies toward racial division in the fight over the school system.

The Jewish Defense League on the one hand has already invaded one of the schools here with a thinly disguised racist line about protecting Jewish students. They were arrested on various charges after bullying several teachers and staff. Strangely enough, although there was plenty of substance to the charges, they were dismissed.

On the other hand there have been attacks on the union seeking to use the racism of its leadership and some of its members as a grounds for destroying it.

REJECT

Both of these tendencies must be rejected and fought against both by the teachers and the union, as well as all the working class. Support for the massive pay raise the union is demanding will insure the retention and entry into the school system of the best trained teachers. The fight for 20 periods/20 pupils will insure that teachers have adequate time to prepare and do the research and experimentation that quality education demands.

Rejected and fought against by all those who are dependent on teaching for a living as well as those who are dependent on the school system for their education or that of their sons and daughters must be the demand of the school board for more police duties for teachers, longer hours, "teacher accountability" (a merit system which is a thinly disguised disciplinary system for teachers), community control, an attempt to pit black workers against the teachers' union as was done in New York's Ocean Hill-Brownsville.

Labor Support Required To Defeat Armstrong

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

WEST HAVEN, CONN.—As the Armstrong workers enter the tenth week of their strike, there are signs that the impasse in the negotiations may soon be broken. But the question is, which way will it go?

After twice breaking off negotiations, the Armstrong Rubber Co. has shown that it is going all out to win a full victory in this strike.

Yet, the union leadership has shown itself to be incapable of fighting for these demands. Why else would they support the secret negotiations by which the rank and file strikers find out only what the leaders want them to know about the contract talks? This tactic reeks with potential for an attempt by these same leaders to sell out the workers' demands. To prevent such a sell out the ranks must insist on completely open and above-board talks.

But even open negotiations are not enough. There also has to be included a strategy able to bring full victory for the strikers. This strategy must be centered around the demand to halt all production in the plant—a demand to be backed by mass picketing—and around an attempt to win the backing of the New Haven area labor movement.

SCAB LABOR

The Armstrong factory in West Haven has been able to produce from one to two thousand tires daily through the use of scab labor (mainly foremen and R&D personnel). While this is far below the pre-strike production level, it is nevertheless an important step in an attempt to break the strike. Besides causing a certain demoralization among the pickets, this production prepares the way for the company to go on to the next stage in its strike breaking—an attempt to defeat the strike by reaching a high enough production rate with an increased number of scabs.

The only way to prevent this is to demand an immediate end to all production during the strike and to fight for the building of a mass picket line for the purpose of enforcing this demand. All scab labor and scab transport must be kept from crossing the pickets. The rank and file must demand that the union leaders begin immediate preparations for this new and critical turnabout in the strike effort.

At the same time, the mass picketing must be bolstered by the insistence that the New Haven area labor movement give the Armstrong strikers their full support—material as well as moral.

Because the leadership of the West Haven Local 93 of the United Rubber

Workers (not to mention the national leadership) has not been able to develop and carry forward this type of strategy, it is necessary that the rank and file begin to organize itself in an effort to force these leaders into action.

SDS

The way to do this is not by holding student demonstrations the way the Stalinist Progressive Labor Party and its SDS supporters have "in support of the strike effort."

The "support demonstration" held by SDS a month ago had only one real purpose—that of raising its own stature among students (with its "pro-working class perspective") while in actuality doing nothing more than supporting the bureau-

BD. OF ED. SABOTAGES BARGAINING ELECTIONS

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

PHILADELPHIA—The Board of Education announced the delay of union representation elections for the 900 Get Start employees. It is expected that they will also delay the election for 1,500 paraprofessional workers in the school system.

These workers were expected to vote for the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers as their union representatives. The PFT was attempting to bargain for them in the present contract talks.

The bulk of these employees are black. The decision to delay the election came from the Board of Education Advisory Committee, which includes the Deputy and Associate Supervisor, Executive Director and Burton Spear, Labor Attorney for the Board.

The minutes of the June 17 meeting said Spear opposes the election for various reasons:

"We are at the moment in a better public posture if the Federation cannot claim that they have within their bargaining unit employees who are on a relatively low wage scale.

"An election and representation rights would give the Federation greater basis for support among black employees.

"Acceding to the union's demands at this point would avail us nothing in return. We are not anywhere near a settlement

crats and the existing lackadaisical strike which they have created. These kind of demonstrations cause some of the more militant workers to see the students as an alternative to the more difficult task of organizing their fellow workers, which would be necessary in order to carry the strike forward beyond the weak efforts of the union leaders. This is not to degrade the potential role students can play, but rather to put them in the correct perspective as supplementing with a deeper political understanding (and not taking the place of) the mass action of the workers.

Now is the time for the strikers to seriously consider the past history of this strike and the preparations the company is making to break it. The strike is at a crossroad. Victory in this strike can be won through a fight around these demands:

- Make the major demands on wages and productivity non-negotiable!
- End secret negotiations!
- Stop all production in the plants!
- Mass picketing at the gates!
- Fight for area labor support!

with the Federation and an early election would not move us any closer."

It is obvious that the Board of Education wants to use racism to divide the teachers' union from the black workers in the school system, as well as to use the community control issue to divide teachers and parents.

The fight for lower paid black workers to get into the PFT, as well as the fight for 20/20 for equal education, cuts across these racist plans by the Board of Education.

Science Advisor Resigns In Wake Of Cutbacks

BY JOSE REYES

On August 20, Dr. DuBridge, science advisor to President Nixon and director of the Office of Science and Technology, resigned his post effective August 31. His replacement, Dr. David, now a communications systems director for Bell Telephone Laboratories, will on September 1 represent the Nixon Administration to the scientific "community."

The significance of this move can be seen as part of the developing crisis of capitalism. During Dr. DuBridge's tenure of office increasing complaints were heard from the ranks of scientists that the quality of scientific research and development was being lowered under the Nixon Administration.

VETOED

These were being confirmed as appropriations for research and development were either cut or vetoed by the Administration. Earlier this year, for example, funds for cancer research and other biomedical research were cut by the Administration as part of the cuts in Health, Education and Welfare appropriations. Funds for the National Science Foundation were vetoed by Nixon. Cutbacks in aerospace are resulting in the loss of tens of thousands of jobs throughout the country.

The task of Dr. David is to squelch the criticisms of Nixon's policies. His response to the problems spawned by these policies is merely to say "Nobody likes to have his budget cut" and to call for a higher level of "quality" in those projects that are being cut. Those scientists and others who think that the crisis is external to them and will not affect them are going to get a cold shower in this period.

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