

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

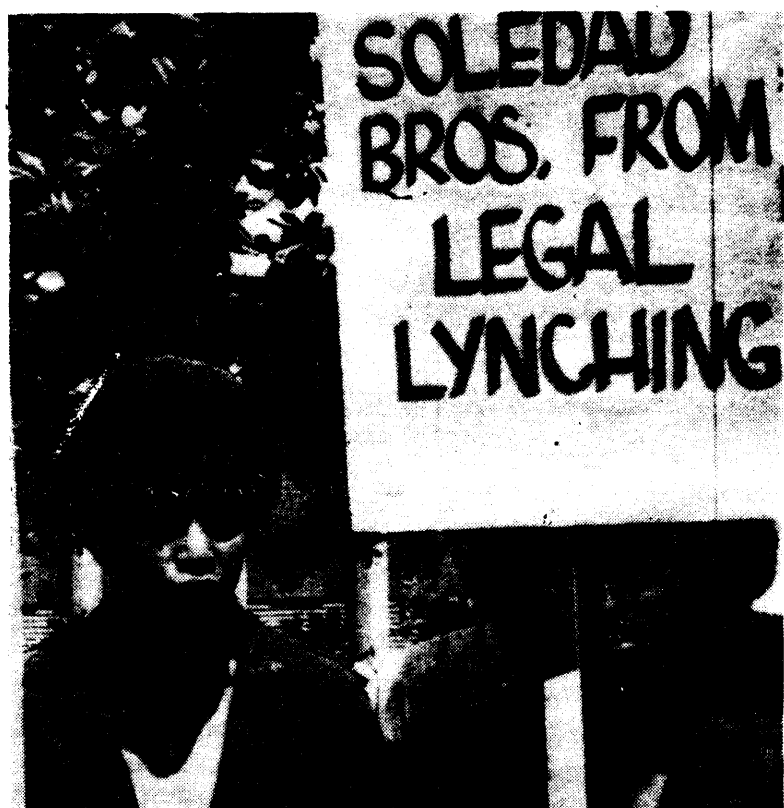
VOL. 6, NO. 44-159 AUGUST 24, 1970 103 TEN CENTS

Book Review

**Trotsky As
Revolutionary
Fighter**

Defend Angela Davis

RACIST WITCHHUNT OF BLACK MILITANTS



Angela Davis (right, above) protests Soledad Bros. trial with Jonathan Jackson who was killed trying to free brothers from Marin court (right).



AP Photo
Cradling a weapon, one of the men disarmed Sheriff Lieut. Thomas Lightfoot

International Youth News

**"Law And Order" Tories
Attack British Youth**

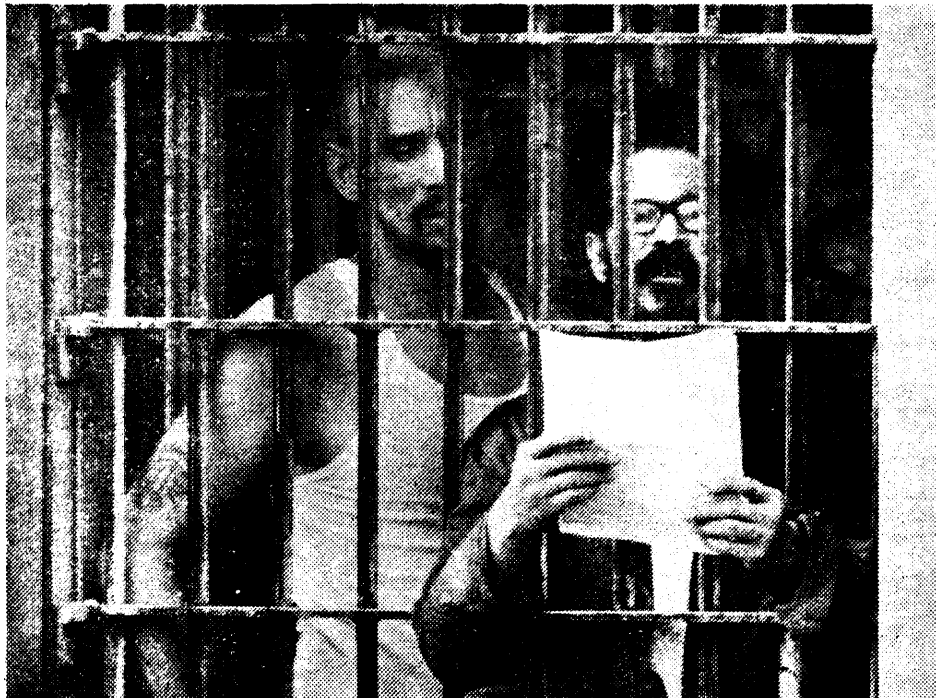
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**Trotskyist Youth Organize
Young Guard In Germany**

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**Youth Unemployment Soars
To Highest In Six Years**

**SSEU-371 CNL
Leads Fight Against
Hill And City On
Reorganization**



Prisoner reads statement from a window of the Tombs protesting the conditions.

Rebellion Sweeps Tombs Prison Against Unbearable Conditions

BY KAREN FRANKEL

NEW YORK—Last week, the Manhattan House of Detention, otherwise known as the Tombs, finally blew up. Built to house 932 men, but filled to 94.7% above capacity, the Tombs is a veritable hell-hole of rats, roaches, lice, and filth, with a shortage of everything from beds to soap.

Prison inmates, deciding that the conditions were just too unbearable, took prison guards as hostages, and for two days, threw burning mattresses and other objects from the windows. They were demanding better conditions, better food, and a fairer judicial system for the poor.

The riots only point up the complete farce of the judicial myth that "all are equal in the eyes of the law." The Tombs, only a detention prison for those who are awaiting trial, houses unconvicted prisoners for periods of up to two years. Its prisoners, mostly poor black and Puerto Rican youth, remain locked up while awaiting trial because they cannot afford to pay bail.

GUILTY

Life in the Tombs proves that particularly minority workers are guilty until proven innocent in this society. The mechanics of the judicial system are not immune from the national economic crisis. As housing, public transportation, hospitals, and public welfare institutions are deteriorating because of the general economic situation, so, too, is the judicial system. Liberal politicians use the deteriorating conditions solely to make political capital for themselves. Lindsay, at the outbreak of the riots, demagogically cried, "I order the courts to clear those calendars," knowing full well that it takes much more than a simple mandate from the mayor to alleviate the crisis in the judicial and the penal systems.

State Senator John R. Dunne, trying to bolster his liberal image, subpoenaed prisoners to testify at Senate committee hearings, and George F. McGrath, City Correction Commissioner, determined to avoid further embarrassment to the city administration, strongly objected to allowing the prisoners further publicity. Meanwhile, Lindsay was making arrangements to have a few hundred prisoners sent upstate to antiquated facilities in Sing Sing.

While the hot potato was being passed from politician to politician, the prisoners kept up their fight. On Monday, 107 prisoners around the city refused to go to court and held a sit-in to press forward their demands. At Rikers Island, fighting broke out over an extra cup of coffee for an inmate. Any small incident under present conditions will set off a major explosion in these tense, overcrowded penal institutions.

Of course, these conditions do not exist solely in New York. Stories have come from all parts of the country about the rotten conditions and gross injustice in the penal system. The Soledad incident in California is just another example. A racist guard killed three black prisoners who had a fight in the prison exercise yard, and was completely exonerated by the courts. In response, a few days later, a white guard was killed by some

prisoners. Three prisoners were charged with the murder, and of course, had no chance of being "exonerated." After a bloody courtroom escape attempt, where police opened fire on the van containing the judge, jurors and three prisoners, Angela Davis, the ex-Berkley philosophy professor and member of the Communist Party, was declared the master-mind of the abortive operation.

No longer was public attention fixed on the horrible conditions in the Soledad prison, the injustice of the American judicial system, and the rampant racism stirred up in order to keep prisoners divided among themselves, but now the issue in the limelight became the "outside agitators," "Communist plotters," and "violent revolutionaries." Miss Davis is used by the press as the symbol of the violence of the youth, radicals, blacks, and academics, all rolled into one.

The bosses' ability to divert attention away from the situation in the penal and judicial systems at present will prove very important for them in the near future. The injustices committed now, before they will institute the preventive detentions, are nothing in comparison to what will be committed.

The Heroic Attempt Of Jonathan Jackson

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

The capitalist class is looking down the barrel of the gun that blew Judge Haley's head off. This is the real meaning of the case of the Soledad Three and the bloody events of August 7 at the Marin County Courthouse.

The heroic attempt of Jonathan Jackson to save the lives of his brother and his fellow defendants by kidnapping Judge Haley and holding him for ransom was an adventure doomed to futility. But, it cannot be dismissed as an isolated incident.

The tragedy at Marin throws a searing light on the deepening crisis and growing class struggle that produced a Jonathan Jackson. Contained in Jonathan Jackson was the cry of the Kent State students for vengeance, the hundreds of Panthers shot down and jailed, the youth in revolt in Asbury Park, New Bedford and Chicago. Contained in him was the revolt in the armed forces, the frustration of the unemployed and every worker who faces the attacks and violence of the capitalist class.

Jonathan Jackson represented the strengths of the working class youth. Its determination, its heroism, its willingness to sacrifice everything in the revolutionary struggle. At the same time he expressed all of its weaknesses, its idealism, its backwardness, and above all its lack of program and revolutionary organization.

Jonathan Jackson anticipated in a frustrated act of individual terrorism the mass actions of the American working class

EDITORIAL

Racist Witchhunt Opened Against Black Militants

A vicious, racist witchhunt against black militants has been opened in full in the past two weeks by the capitalist class. This time it is the Nixon Administration, the courts, the police, and the mass media that have donned the capes of the Ku Klux Klan and are carrying out a conscious campaign that amounts to legal lynching.

What we are seeing is the flowering of the political strategy of the ruling class as it enters into major confrontations with the working class to divide the class and to find scapegoats for its crimes of oppression.

This is the meaning of the FBI's hunt for Angela Davis and the attempt to hold her responsible for the Marin County courthouse shooting in California. This is what lies behind the frameup trials of the Black Panthers in New Haven whose main purpose is to convict and execute Panther leader, Bobby Seale. Everything is being done to smash the defense of the black militants which is gaining strength among the youth and within the working class and to isolate and destroy the leadership of these struggles.

What is involved in the case of Angela Davis is a clear attempt to frame her with the local authorities claiming that she purchased the guns used in the escape from the Marin Courthouse. Miss Davis was fired from her job as assistant professor of philosophy at the University of California because she was a member of the Communist Party and the Black Panthers. She was active in the defense of the Soledad Three and worked with Jonathan Jackson. It is this that the FBI and the police are using to charge her with murder and kidnapping. With three of the men involved in the Marin incident dead, they hope to pin these charges on Davis.

In New Haven the state is attempting to use the testimony of George Sams, an ex-Panther, to implicate not only the local Panther members but Bobby Seale in the murder of Alex Rackley. The Panthers contend that Sams was a police agent who murdered Rackley. Last week Sams revealed himself when he testified that he had been ordered by the Panthers to kill Fred Hampton because Hampton wanted to form a coalition with the Chicago police. It is Hampton who was brutally murdered in cold blood last December by the Chicago police.

The frame-ups of Davis and Seale only point out the lengths to which the capitalist class is prepared to go to crush the struggles of black militants and to attack the working class movement as a whole. The racist anti-communist hysteria that is being whipped up today is the preparation for the attacks on all workers and youth and on the trade union movement.

A campaign must be launched to beat back these attacks. It is the employers and the government which are responsible for the decaying conditions of this system, for the violence from Kent State, to the streets of Asbury Park, to the Soledad Prison and the Marin County Courthouse.

The labor movement must take a clear stand by supporting these militants and by demanding an end to these attacks.

do not get in the way.

The campaign is now heating up to link the kidnappings to a conspiracy, led by Angela Davis, the Communist Party and the Black Panthers. We warn the working class, this is the time to stand firm. This is a conscious campaign to whip the middle class into racial hysteria and line up the unions for a witchhunt of the left. The noose is being prepared for the trade union movement itself.

There is no room here for shock, emotion and middle class moral preaching and hysteria. The way is being prepared on a new level now taken up by even the most "liberal" politicians to smash the unions with the poison of Wallaceism through redbaiting and racism.

Don't mourn Judge Haley. Mourn instead Jonathan Jackson, a courageous youth, whose only crime was that he lacked the consciousness to see that the salvation of his class could only come through the building of the Marxist Party.

EDITOR: Lucy St. John ART DIRECTOR: Marty Jonas

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Right Wing Group Poses Threat To Working Class

BY THE EDITORS

The New York Times, in an article by Wallace Turner in its August 17 issue, has provided important information on one of the least known but best financed and effective of the organized rightist groups—the American Security Council. This group operates on a budget in excess of \$1 million a year, is staffed by former FBI agents, is endorsed by a long list of former generals and admirals, and is financed by some of the largest corporations in the United States.

Its major activity in the recent period has been a campaign in favor of Nixon's ABM missile program. It is presently compiling a "security voting index" which will rate the members of Congress as to how they stand on positions the Council feels are vital to security.

Among the firms associated with it over the years are Marshall Field, Sears Roebuck, Stewart-Warner, Motorola, GE, Schick, U.S. Steel, and National Liberty. Contributions to the Council from such firms are written off as business expenses.

One of the most interesting operations of the group is a library and research center maintained at 123 Wacker Drive in Chicago which claims to contain "The largest private collection on revolutionary activities in America." The collection is overseen by ex-FBI agent William K. Lambie and information from the files is provided to supporting corporations upon request for a small charge. The photo of a section of these files, appearing in the August 17 New York Times, shows the BULLETIN along with other papers like the Black Panther and Challenge.

Those who think that right wing groups in the United States are small, isolated and made up of nuts had better think again.

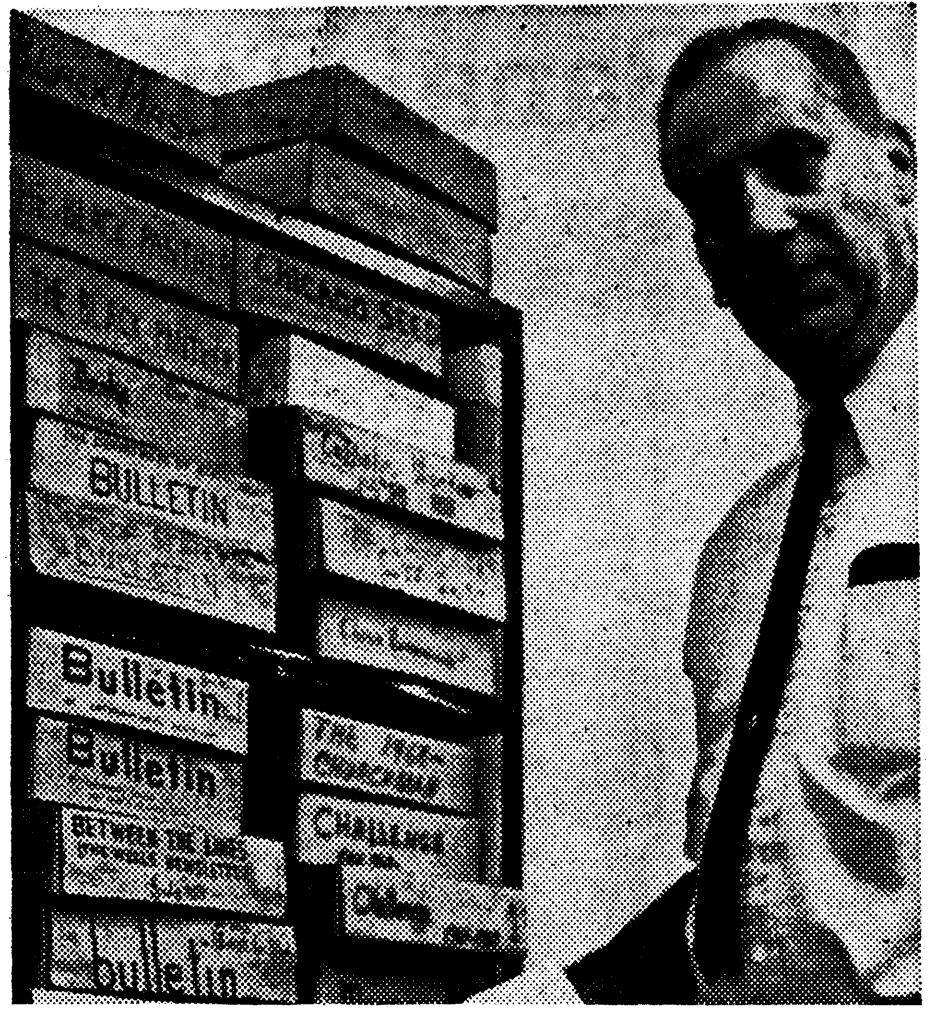
There is a whole spectrum of organizations stemming from openly fascist and anti-semitic groups to highly respectable ones like the American Security Council which openly works with the blessings of President Nixon. But each of these organizations has its connections with others.

For instance the American Security Council's files were acquired from the late Harry Jung who published a right wing anti-semitic paper. Furthermore the Council is obviously set up with the perspective of needing an apparatus independent of the government itself to promote American imperialism and militarism AND to keep an eye on revolutionary organizations.

There is no country in the world where there are more extensive or better financed right wing activities. Today these rightists have open connections with the White House itself. In the coming period we will see further growth of such groups and greater financing from big business.

As a copy of this issue of the BULLETIN is placed in its appropriate box on a shelf at 123 Wacker Drive, it would be well for William K. Lambie, Jr. to note that we are as aware of him as he is of us. The strength of our movement comes not from financial resources as is the case with his Council nor is our staff paid a fraction of the salaries of his staff. It comes from the strength of the American working class. It is this and this alone that Mr. Lambie can learn, if he wishes, from the pages of the Bulletin.

Right now the capitalist class has differences among itself. Big business interests represented by the New York Times—as hostile to labor as those who support the American Security Council—still cling to the hope of maintaining their rule through compromise and the corrup-



Former FBI agent William K. Lambie looks over his files of "revolutionary organizations." Note boxes marked "Bulletin" as well as Black Panther and Challenge.

tion of the labor bureaucracy at home and the Stalinist bureaucracy abroad. They find the hawkish and red-baiting policies of groups like the Council a hindrance to their aims. As the struggle sharpens the men of the Times will close ranks with the men of the American Security Council as similar types did in

Germany in 1933.

In the meantime we read with great care what is published so as to be better prepared to prevent another 1933 through the only way it can be prevented—the independent mobilization of the working class against the capitalist class as a whole.

UAW Must Make Wage Demands Non-Negotiable

BY DAN FRIED

The September 14 auto contract expiration date is less than one month away. Tensions in the industry are mounting as the UAW rank and file are getting set for an almost certain strike with GM as the likely target. On the other side, buyers of GM products are stockpiling and the Nixon Administration together with Congress is laying the groundwork for action against the UAW after September 14. The battle lines are being drawn.

At the center of the battle is the question of wages, as was emphasized in the Workers League Statement on auto appearing in the August 17 Bulletin. This statement raised as the absolutely non-negotiable wage demands: an across the board increase on a par with the Teamsters' settlement of \$1.65 an hour over three years in addition to the \$.26 an hour "catch-up" pay and the re-institution of the full escalator clause.

WOODCOCK

UAW President Leonard Woodcock's statement that "we are just trying to catch up with the settlements in transportation and building trades, not set patterns" reflects the growing feeling among the ranks that anything less than the \$1.65 an hour, full catch-up pay and escalator, would be a sellout. But still Woodcock refuses to name any specific money figure as a goal while workers more and more want to know what they

are going to fight for specifically.

If the UAW can win the wage demands equal or better than the Teamsters, this will indeed establish the Teamster settlement on firm ground as a "pattern" throughout US industry, whether Woodcock sees it that way or not. This is not the weakness of the UAW struggle, but on the contrary, it's great strength. By being a real "pattern" maker, the struggle in auto is every bit just as much the struggle of all trade union members and workers in the US. This is what Nixon and his Democratic cohorts who cry out for wage and price controls are so worried about—that the auto strike will become a general strike throughout the UAW and will be defended to the hilt by workers throughout the country.

POLITICAL

No, Mr. Woodcock, there is no way of getting around the fact that the auto strike will be both a pattern making and a politi-

cal strike, a pivotal struggle for the entire working class. Nixon recognizes it and so had better the UAW and the rest of the labor movement. Without this understanding, the auto workers are thrown open to the dangers of isolation and defeat.

Woodcock's "preparation" for the struggle includes both a policy of keeping the ranks in the dark on the concrete wage and other bargaining goals, and now a statement calling for "a moratorium on internal union politics." We can only conclude that Woodcock wants to outlaw

all questions from the ranks and dissent over the conduct of the negotiations and strike. It is simply another attempt to keep the ranks out of the active participation in the struggle.

He fears that the ranks will demand a real struggle for the wage package as outlined above. In our opinion that is exactly what they should demand (if this be "internal politics" so be it) without sacrificing for one moment the necessary fight for job security, pensions and benefits and against speedup.

Woodcock Prepares Compromise

BY AN INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

ST. PAUL, August 16—Auto workers face a "dull, pedestrian strike" beginning September 15, according to Leonard Woodcock, UAW President. Speaking before the 23rd National Congress of the National Student Association, Woodcock announced that the UAW plans only token picketing, with no confrontations.

He then went on to emphasize the hardships strikers would endure when the \$120 million strike fund is depleted after six weeks.

With these remarks, auto workers are clearly warned that their top leadership has no intention of waging the kind of fight needed to win in the confrontation shaping up with the Big Three auto companies.

Neither the employers nor Nixon see anything routine in the UAW contract struggle. As the Bulletin warned last week: "More and more it appears that Nixon and the employers are preparing a showdown with the UAW in September in order to break the back of the wage offensive."

On the other hand, Woodcock brings into this struggle a continuation of the policy of class compromise at a time when there can be no more compromise. His speech was permeated with preachings about working within the system for social change, how violence only causes repression. He concluded there is a need to strive for a bloc between students, labor and "other progressive sections of our society" for reforms.

The hopelessness of a struggle against capitalism was the starting point of his speech. He equates revolutionary politics with violence, and violence with automatic repression. And then he used the example of the suicidal policy of the German Stalinists in 1933 of "After Hitler, It's our turn," to discredit the working class struggle for socialism.

These remarks are aimed at rank and file militants in the UAW. In setting up the strawmen of violence and repression, Woodcock is laying the groundwork for isolating and silencing any section of the ranks that shows any independence of the bureaucracy.

The UAW was born in the great class battles of the 1930s, and Woodcock knows full well that the violence came from the employers and their goons, not the strikers. The famous Battle of the Overpass is very much in his mind as September 15 draws near.

His position of class compromise at home is consistent with his remarks on the war in Vietnam. He called for a "standstill ceasefire," as the most "realistic" way to end that war.

During the discussion period he was taken up sharply for his failure to go beyond pious statements on the war. One student proposed that the UAW take strike action against the war, and the audience came alive with five minutes of cheering and applauding. Woodcock replied that it was the government that started the war and it would have to be their decision to end it, not ours as private citizens. This was received with considerable booring.

Another student pressed on, demanding UAW action against the war. Woodcock replied that maybe the UAW will close down all the plants after the students close down all the universities. This brought enthusiastic cheers.



UAW President Woodcock as he addressed the NSA conference in Minneapolis, Minn.

Baltimore Bakery Workers Strike Schmidt For Union Recognition

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER
BALTIMORE—On Tuesday, July 21, the American Bakery and Confectionary Workers Union, Local 68, struck Schmidt's Bakery here for union recognition.

Concurrently with the Baltimore strike, the ABCWU workers at the Schmidt plant in Cumberland, Maryland—who already have union recognition—have been striking for seven weeks for better wages and working conditions.

Local 68 has made three attempts in the past decade to organize the Schmidt Baltimore plant. According to Local 68's Business Manager Henry Kollin, Jr. these attempts met with failure due to an intimidation campaign launched by Schmidt's in the interim between the election petition to the NLRB and the actual election.

FIRED

Union members were fired and supervisory personnel were shifted to specially created job classifications to enable them to vote. Realizing that management could use the long delay between NLRB election petitioning and the election to bust the union, the Schmidt workers elected not to set themselves up and took a strike vote.

A number of the Schmidt employees held down second jobs and were not able to attend the strike vote meeting. Nonetheless, when these workers arrived at work the next day they stayed out and joined the line.

Delivery trucks were honoring the lines and supervisors had to provide a scab force to keep deliveries coming. So successful was the strike that Schmidt production was reduced to about 10% of its usual 600,000 loaves per week quota.

This proved to be too great a price to pay and Schmidt's Bakery obtained an injunction to reduce the number of pickets to four at an entrance. This has resulted in a sharp upturn in Schmidt production as management found it easier to import strikebreakers.

ESCALATE

One striker when questioned as to the progress of the strike replied, "That depends on how you look at it. If you

look at it from the angle of how much bread the bosses are able to make and sell we're doing all right. Most major chains don't carry Schmidt products now that the boycott is on. But the thing is the supervisors have been able to brainwash a few of the guys and get them to go back to work. They're putting out more bread than when we first went out and they've got Rice's, Hauswald's and Koester's bakeries selling Schmidt bread under their labels. We've got to escalate if we're going to win."

The Teamsters, Amalgamated Meatcutters, Longshoremen, Machinists, Retail

Clerks and Hospital Workers locals in Baltimore have all stated their solidarity with the strike and boycott. On July 22 three hundred representatives from the aforementioned locals participated in a support demonstration at the Schmidt's Baltimore plant. Local 1199-E has caused some hospitals and nursing homes to order other baked goods than Schmidt's.

Since the injunction was placed on the strikers there has been no real attempt to organize any mass support for this strike. There have been sparsely attended rallies at such places as the Rice's or Koester's plants to protest the disguising

of Schmidt products under other labels. But more than pressure and protest are necessary to win this strike. The bakery owners in Baltimore have pulled together to smash this strike and will do so by using injunction and scab labor unless the trade unions take action.

POWERFUL

The only way to defeat the united front of management is for labor to create a powerful front. The rank and file must form a picket line strong enough to stop all scab deliveries and demand that Local 68 call for the direct support of all the Baltimore labor movement.

What the management understands, as do their collaborators in the court system, is that if the attempt of the Schmidt workers to organize succeeds, it would spark a movement among lower paid workers for union organization and a living wage. This is why the courts have been free with injunctions. The Schmidt strikers can beat back the bakery owners if they build their support in the labor movement and stop all scab production at Schmidt's.

NMU PULLS UNION BOOKS TAKES HEAT OFF LEADERS

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK—The National Maritime Union National Office in New York City has started seizing books of numerous Group I men, claiming that the books, necessary to get first call on NMU jobs, were obtained fraudulently.

Men whose books were taken by the bureaucrats will be suspended for one year and presumably will lose their Group I status altogether. The excuse for seizing the books is that they were obtained illegally because the men claimed to have Marine Sea Transport Service sea time which they did not have.

Actually most if not all of the books obtained illegally in the NMU were bought for \$500 or more from the bureaucracy itself. The shortage of shipping berths resulting from the loss of jobs, and from the layup of almost the entire U.S. flag passenger fleet has resulted in a scramble for the union books which are needed to get jobs.

What the bureaucrats do not mention is that the union began this "reform" campaign only after the FBI was called in by the Committee for NMU Democracy to investigate NMU finances. It appears that the National Office is trying to take the heat off of itself by making the men pay for the union's refusal to defend their jobs.

BLAME

The blame in this situation lies entirely with the bureaucrats who refuse to fight the shipowners or the Nixon Administration in any way in order to defend seamen's rights. We warned earlier that the witch-hunt cooked up by Curran this spring against "communists" and militants in the union was only a prelude to his attacks on the membership as a whole. We also warned that the tactic of going to the courts and the government used by the Committee for NMU Democracy, was bound to backfire, and would only be used by the government to weaken and break the union.

The only way to defend the ranks is to mobilize them against Curran. We say that the ranks of the NMU must form their own investigating committee to defend the men whose books are being pulled, and to legitimize their Group I status.

particularly among the pro-independence forces. The two largest pro-independence organizations in the country, the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP) and the Movement For Puerto Rican Independence (MPI) have backed the Culebra Citizens Rescue Committee's call for a massive demonstration on August 22 demanding the withdrawal of the US Navy from Culebra. Both organizations have agreed not to carry any independent slogans or banners but to "march carrying only the national flag of Puerto Rico, without party banners, due to this being an action of national unity of the Puerto Rican people, above any political grouping."

This shows clearly the bankruptcy and inability of these organizations to pose the only way to put an end to US imperialism's actions in Culebra—the mobilization of the working class and trade union movement in Puerto Rico around the demand of complete and immediate withdrawal of all US troops not only from Culebra but from the whole of Puerto Rico.

Workers Solid As 2947 Strike Enters Seventh Week

BY STANLEY GARRETT

NEW YORK—Local 2947 has recently voted to reject the new offer made by Williamsburg Steel Co. and Acme Steel Co. thus extending their strike into its seventh week.

The "NO" vote was overwhelming and showed that the men were clearly determined to win their demands of \$1.50 over two years and extended fringe benefits.

The bosses' offer of 95 cents over three years was met with disgust by workers who since the last contract three years ago have been unsuccessfully trying to keep up with the skyrocketing cost of living.

Even with this \$1.50 increase 2947 members will be making less than the average for indoor construction workers.

The fault for this lies directly with the rotten leadership of the union. While refusing to fight to open the contract and never lifting a finger to protect the ranks from firings, the Claytor bureaucracy has gone miles further now in its career of betrayals. It was Claytor who fought

might and main to force this lousy contract down the men's throats. At the last union meeting Claytor actually used the GE settlement as an example of how to compromise with the employers.

PRODUCTIVITY

Even more criminal is the bureaucracy's refusal to fight the bosses' demands for more productivity. Williamsburg Steel has announced that its profits dropped last year and that it intends to make these up at the expense of the workers. This means that firings and speedup are in store for the men who are still "lucky" enough to hold on to their jobs. Already in the Door Shop new welding machines have been installed which have wiped out jobs.

The questions of inflation and unemployment are problems facing every worker. The ranks of 2947 must demand that their leadership seek the support of the city labor movement. There must be no retreat on the wage demands and no deals made on the question of productivity or jobs.



Bakery workers walk the picket line at the Schmidts baking plant in Baltimore.

Puerto Ricans Demand Navy Leave Culebra

BY MAXIMILIANO ARANJUEZ

Last week the Armed Forces Commission of the House of Representatives approved legislation to hand over the island of Culebra to the U.S. Navy and to transfer the island's population to the island of Vieques.

This has been US imperialism's "answer" to the rising wave of protest over the conditions on the island, which lies off the eastern coast of Puerto Rico. Culebra, inhabited by approximately 800 people, has repeatedly been used by the US Navy as a shooting target during their naval maneuver operations. This situation has meant not only the practical destruction of the main means of livelihood of the island's population, fishing, but is a constant source of danger to the lives of the people themselves. Two thirds of the island of Vieques is already in the hands of the Navy and this island has also been used as target practice

during naval maneuvers. Cases of residents being shot by drunk servicemen or unprovokedly attacked are not rare in these islands.

SUBJUGATION

The conditions of these two islands dramatically reflect the colonial subjugation imposed on Puerto Rico by US imperialism at the end of the last century. Puerto Rico, because of its strategic situation in the Caribbean, has been used by the US as a base for its economic, political and military operations throughout Latin America. Thirteen percent of the island's territory has been transformed into military bases equipped with the latest communications and missile systems, and from them a nuclear headed missile can be launched to any part of Latin America.

The reaction of the people of Culebra has been to demand the immediate withdrawal of the Navy from the island. In this fight they have found rapid support among growing sections of the Puerto Rican people,

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EUROPE and AMERICA

Two speeches by
LEON TROTSKY

1 PERSPECTIVES OF WORLD DEVELOPMENT

We are publishing in this and the next three issues 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.

(Continued From Last Week)

The plan—to place Europe on rations

WHAT DOES American capitalism want? What is it seeking? It is seeking, we are told, stability; it wants to restore the European market; it wants to make Europe solvent. How? By what measures? And to what extent? After all, American capitalism is compelled not to render Europe capable of competition; it cannot allow England, and all the more so Germany and France, particularly Germany, to regain the world markets inasmuch as American capitalism finds itself hemmed in, because it is now an exporting capitalism—exporting both commodities and capital.

American capitalism is seeking the position of world domination; it wants to establish an American imperialist autocracy over our planet. This is what it wants. What will it do with Europe?

It must, they say, pacify Europe. How? Under its hegemony. And what does this mean? This means that Europe will be permitted to rise again, but within limits set in advance, with certain restricted sections of the world market allotted to it. American capitalism is now issuing commands, giving instructions to its diplomats. In exactly the same way it is preparing and is ready to issue instructions to European banks and trusts, to the European bourgeoisie as a whole. . . . This is its aim. It will slice up the markets; it will regulate the activity of the European financiers and industrialists.

If we wish to give a clear and precise answer to the question of what American imperialism wants, we must say: **It wants to put capitalist Europe on rations.**

This means that it will specify just how many tons, litres and kilograms and just

what materials Europe has a right to buy and sell. In the theses of the Third World Congress of the Comintern we wrote that Europe is being Balkanized. At present this trend is being further reinforced. The states of the Balkan Peninsula have always had a protector either in the person of Tsarist Russia or Austro-Hungary. Their entire political life: the succession of ruling parties and even the replacement of dynasties (Serbia) hinged on the will of the mighty protectors.

Today Balkanized Europe finds herself in the same position with respect to the US and in part, Great Britain. To the degree that the antagonism between them develops, the European governments will scrape their feet in the waiting rooms of Washington and London; the shifts of parties and governments will be determined in the last analysis by the will of American capitalism which is issuing orders to Europe how much she is to eat and drink.

Rations, as we know from personal experience, are not always sweet, all the more so since this American and rigidly standardized ration is being offered not only to the European peoples, but also to their ruling classes who have become very accustomed to sweets.

This involves in the last analysis, not only Germany, not only France but also England. Yes, England too, has to diligently prepare herself for the same fate. To be sure, we hear it said often today that America is marching hand in hand with England, and that an Anglo-Saxon bloc has been formed. There is frequent allusion to Anglo-Saxon capital, Anglo-Saxon policy. It is said that the basic world antagonism lies in the hostility between America and Japan. But this is the language of those who do not understand the situation. The basic world antagonism runs along the line of Ameri-

can and British interests. And as time goes on, this will be laid bare more and more starkly.

US and European Social Democracy

HOWEVER, before passing on to this highly important question, I want to analyse the place that American capitalism assigns to European radicals and Mensheviks, the Social Democracy of Europe—the same Europe that is now confronted with being placed on rations. The Social Democracy has been issued an assignment—and I do not at all say this for polemical purposes—to render political aid to American capitalism in placing Europe on rations. What is the Social Democracy of Germany, of France now actually doing? What are the Socialists throughout Europe doing? Let us study this closely and ponder over it.

They are now educating themselves and they are trying to instil in the working masses the religion of Americanism. This does not mean that they have all turned Presbyterians or Quakers. But it does mean that they are making a new political religion out of Americanism and out of the role of American capitalism in Europe.

They are teaching or trying to teach the toiling masses that Europe cannot maintain herself without the pacifying role of American capitalism and its loans. They are leading the opposition to their own bourgeoisie, as, for example, do the German social patriots—an opposition not from the standpoint of the proletarian revolution, nor even from the standpoint of some sort of reforms, but from the standpoint of exposing the German bourgeoisie as intemperate, greedy, chauvinistic and incapable of reaching an agreement with the humane, democratic, pacifist capitalism of America.

This is now the central question of the political life of Europe, and especially of Germany. In other words, the European Social Democracy is becoming before our very eyes the political agency of American capitalism. Is this development expected or unexpected? If we recall—and it is hardly a case that calls for recollection—that the Social Democracy is the agency of the bourgeoisie, it will become clear that the Social Democracy, by the logic of its political degeneration is bound to become the agency of the strongest and most powerful bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie of the bourgeoisies. This is the American bourgeoisie.

To the extent that American capitalism undertakes the task of 'unifying' Europe, 'pacifying' Europe, and 'educating' Europe how to cope with the questions of repara-

tions, war indemnities, and so on, and to the extent that the purse is in the hands of the American bourgeoisie, to that extent the entire dependence of the German Social Democracy upon the German bourgeoisie, and of the French Social Democracy upon their own bourgeoisie in France is gradually transferred to the chief master. Yes, a great master has come to Europe, American capitalism.

And it is only natural that the Social Democracy should assume a position politically dependent on the master of its masters. This is the basic fact for understanding the present condition and the present policy of the Second International. Those who do not grasp this clearly will fail to understand the events of today and of tomorrow and will keep sliding on the surface, subsisting on generalities.

More than that: one service deserves another! The Social Democracy prepares the soil for American capitalism; it runs ahead of the chariot, talks of the salutary role of American capitalism, sweeps the road, cleans away the rubbish, bestows blessings. This is not unimportant work! Imperialism is used to sending missionaries ahead. The savages in the colonies usually shot the priest, and sometimes ate him. Then the warrior was sent to avenge the saintly one, and hard on the heels of the warrior came the merchant and the administrator.

In order to colonize Europe, to transform the latter into an American dominion of the new type, American capitalism has no need of sending priest-missionaries to Europe. On the spot, on the European continent, there is a political party whose entire task consists in proclaiming to the peoples the gospel according to Woodrow Wilson, the evangel according to Calvin Coolidge, the holy writings of the New York and the Chicago stock markets. This is precisely the mission of present-day Menshevism.

But I repeat, one service deserves another! The Mensheviks gain not a little thereby. As a matter of fact, the German Social Democracy not so long ago had to assume the direct armed defence of its own bourgeoisie, the same bourgeoisie that marched shoulder to shoulder with the fascists. Noske is, after all, the figure that symbolizes the post-war policy of the German Social Democracy. And today?

Today it has a different role. Today the German Social Democracy permits itself the luxury of being in an opposition. It criticizes its own bourgeoisie and thereby keeps a certain distance between itself and the parties of capitalism. How does it criticize its own bourgeoisie? It says: You are self-seeking, dull-witted, cunning, but here is a bourgeoisie on the other side of the Atlantic which is first

of all rich and powerful; secondly, it is humane, reformist and pacifist and it has again come to us, and wants to give 800 million marks cash in order to restore the currency. And this sounds very well in Germany—the gold mark! But you, the German bourgeoisie are obstreperous. After you have pulled our dear fatherland up to its ears in the swamp of poverty, how dare you be so stubborn before the American bourgeoisie? Why, we shall expose you mercilessly in the eyes of the popular masses of Germany! This is spoken almost in the tones of a revolutionary tribune . . . in defence of the American bourgeoisie. (Applause). This is the paradox of the German Social-Democratic Party.

The same thing applies to France. Of course, in consonance with the political situation in France, and in consonance with the more respectable reputation of the French franc, everything in this country takes place on the sly and in modulated tones. But essentially the same thing is being done there, too.

The Party of Léon Blum, Renaudel and Jean Longuet bears full responsibility for the Versailles Peace and for the occupation of the Ruhr territory. After all, as we all know, it is already incontestable today that the Herriot government, supported by the Socialists, stands for maintaining the occupation of the Ruhr. But now the French Socialists are enabled to say to their ally Herriot: 'The Americans are demanding that you clear the Ruhr under such and such conditions; do it. . . . We, too, demand it now.'

They are demanding this not through the will and strength of the French proletariat, but in the name of subjecting the French bourgeoisie to the will of the American bourgeoisie. It ought not to be forgotten that the French bourgeoisie owes 3,700 million dollars to the American bourgeoisie. This means something! America can topple the French franc any time it so pleases.

Of course, the American bourgeoisie will not encroach on the franc. Oh no! After all, the American bourgeoisie has come to Europe to restore order and not to bring ruin. It will not encroach . . . but it can encroach, if it so wishes. Everything is in its hands. For this reason, against the background of this debt of almost \$4 billion, the arguments of Renaudel, Blum and others have a rather convincing ring in the ears of the French bourgeoisie. At the same time the Social Democracy in Germany, France and other countries is enabled to oppose its own bourgeoisie, to carry on 'opponentist' policies on some concrete questions, and thereby regain the confidence of a certain section of the working class.

Nor is this all. Certain possibilities of joint 'actions' are opened up for the Menshevik parties of the various countries of Europe. The Social Democracy of Europe already represents a rather harmonious chorus. In some respects this is a new fact. For ten years—since the beginning of the imperialist war—it has had no opportunity for presenting a common front. Now this possibility exists and the Mensheviks have now come forward as a solid chorus, supporting America, supporting her programme, her demands, her pacifism, her great mission. And here we come to the question of the Second International in Europe.

Here is the key and the explanation for certain signs of life in this semi-corpse. The Second International, like the Amsterdam Trade Union International, is being re-established. Of course, not in the same form as before the war. The past cannot be resurrected, old strength is gone beyond return. The Communist International cannot be obliterated. Nor is it possible to obliterate the imperialist war which gravely injured the spine of the Second International, and in several places, too. This is a basic fact. This is beyond repair.

Nonetheless, with this damaged spine, they are seeking to rise on American crutches, straightening themselves up as best they can. The change that is taking place must be appraised to its fullest extent, comrades. During the imperialist war, the German Social Democracy remained most closely and quite openly tied to its own bourgeoisie, its own military machine. The French Social Democracy—to its own. What kind of International could there be so long as they savagely fought each other, accused each other, defamed each other? There was no possibility whatever for maintaining a mask of Internationalism, or even a shadow of it.

In the epoch of the drafting of the peace—the same situation existed. The Versailles Peace represented simply the seal set upon the results of the imperialist war on diplomatic paper. Where was there room for solidarity? The situation remained essentially the same in the period of the Ruhr occupation. But now the great American capitalism comes to Europe and it says: Here is a plan of reparations for you, Messrs Mensheviks!

And the Social Democracy accepts this programme as the basis for its entire activity. This new programme unites the Social Democracy of France, Germany, England, Holland, Switzerland. Every Swiss citizen, after all, hopes that Switzerland will sell more watches once the Americans restore order and tranquility in Europe. The entire middle class which expresses itself most articulately through the Social Democracy likewise finds spiritual concord on the programme of Americanism. In short, the Second Inter-



Clemenceau

national now possesses a unity programme: It was brought by General Dawes from Washington. (Applause).

Once again we see here the same paradox: When American capitalism launches into outright brigandage, it is fully enabled to step to the fore in the guise of an organizer and pacifier, as some sort of humanistic historical principle. And in passing it creates a platform for the latter's nationalistic platform of yesterday. The native bourgeoisie happens to be right on the spot; one can inspect it, as if it were on the palm of one's hand, whereas American capitalism is removed by great distances; its doings are not clearly observable, and these doings, as everybody knows, are not always impeccable; and, besides, there is the power—and this is the most important thing—colossal, unbelievable wealth, unexampled in history, which so impresses the average citizen and the Social Democrat.

Let me add parenthetically that in the course of last year, in the line of duty, I



Noske

have been obliged to engage in discussions with several American Senators, Republicans and Democrats alike. In appearance they are out-and-out provincials. I am not sure that they are well acquainted with the geography of Europe. It is hard to say. But for the sake of politeness, let us grant them such acquaintance.

Whenever they discuss politics they express themselves as follows: 'I told Poincare,' 'I said to Curzon,' 'I explained to Mussolini. . . . They feel themselves to be leaders and masters in Europe. This newly rich manufacturer of condensed milk. . . . (Laughter). Condensed milk, comrades, is not at all inferior to other products. I note considerable sympathy here for condensed milk. . . . This wealthy food packer from Chicago or elsewhere refers with outright patronizing condescension to the eminent bourgeois politicians of Europe. He expects to be the master; he already feels himself the master. And it is precisely for this reason that certain calculations of the English bourgeoisie to retain their leading role

will prove to be false. I promised to deal with this, and I shall now do so.

United States and Britain

THE BASIC world antagonism occurs along the line of the conflict of interests between the United States and England. Why? Because England is still the wealthiest and most powerful country, second only to the United States. It is America's chief rival, the main obstacle on its path. If England should be squeezed or undermined, or, all the more so, battered down, what would then remain?*

The United States will, of course, dispose easily of Japan. America holds all the trumps: finances and iron and oil, political advantages in relations with China, which is, after all, being 'liberated' from Japan. America is always liberating somebody, that's her profession. (Laughter; applause).

The main antagonism is between the US and England. It is growing and approaching ever closer. The English bourgeoisie has not been feeling so well, since the first years of Versailles. They know the value of ringing coin; they have had great experience in this connection. And they cannot have failed to notice that the dollar now outweighs the pound sterling. They know that this preponderance inescapably finds its expression in politics.

The English bourgeoisie has completely demonstrated the power of the pound sterling in international politics, and it senses that the era of the dollar is now dawning. It seeks consolation, and tries to console itself with illusions. The most serious English newspapers say: 'Yes, the Americans are very rich, but they remain, in the last analysis, provincials. They do not know the paths of world politics. We English have had far more experience. The Yankees need our advice and our leadership. And we English will guide these provincial relatives of ours, who have suddenly grown so rich, on the paths of world politics; and naturally we shall retain the corresponding position, while a collecting a fee into the bargain.'

There is, of course, a modicum of truth in this. I have already mentioned my doubts about the Senatorial knowledge of European geography. I am sincerely uncertain about it. Yet in order to do big things in Europe, it does not hurt to possess a knowledge of European geography.

But how difficult is it for a possessing class to learn the sciences? We know that it is not at all difficult for the bourgeoisie, grown quickly rich, to learn the sciences? The sons of the lapti-wearing Morozovs and Mamontovs* bear a striking resemblance to hereditary nobles. It is the oppressed class, the proletariat, that finds it difficult to rise, develop and conquer all the elements of culture. But for a possessing class, especially one so fabulously rich as the American bourgeoisie, this is not at all hard. They will find, train or buy specialists in all fields. The American is just beginning to take stock of his world importance, but is not yet fully cognizant of it. His American 'consciousness' still lags behind his American and world 'being'.

The whole question must be approached not from the standpoint of a cross-section of the present-day situation, but in its proper perspective. And this is a perspective not in terms of many long decades, but rather in terms of a few brief years.

This Babylonian tower of American economic might must find its expression in everything, and it is already expressing itself, but not yet fully by far. What capitalist Europe has now at its disposal in world politics is the heritage of its

* In the Manifesto (on the 10th anniversary of the war) which I have written on the assignment of the 5th World Congress, this idea is expressed as follows:

'The sharpest world antagonism proceeds slowly but stubbornly along the line of the clash of interests between Britain's empire and the United States. During the last two years it might have appeared that a firm agreement had been reached by these two giants. But this appearance of stability will be retained only so long as the economic rise of the North American Republic continues to develop primarily on the basis of its domestic market. Today this development is obviously drawing to its conclusion. The agrarian crisis, growing out of the ruination of Europe, has already come as the harbinger of the impending commercial-industrial crisis. The productive forces of America must seek ever broader outlets on the world market. The foreign trade of the US can develop first of all only at the expense of Britain's trade; the American merchant marine and navy can grow only at the expense of the British marine and navy. The period of Anglo-American agreements must cede place to an ever-sharpening struggle, which, in its turn, signalize the threat of war on a scale never seen before.'—L.T.

former economic power, its old international influence which no longer corresponds to today's material conditions.

America has not yet learned to realize her power in life. That is true. But she is learning quickly, on the bones and flesh of Europe. America still needs England as a guide on the paths of world politics. But not for long. We know how swiftly a possessing class, in its ascent, alters its character, its appearance and its methods of operation.

Let us take for example, the German bourgeoisie. Was it so long ago that the Germans were considered as shy, blue-eyed dreamers, a people of 'poets and thinkers'? A few decades of capitalist development transfigured the German bourgeoisie into the most aggressive, armour-clad imperialist class. True, the settlement came very quickly. And the character of the German bourgeoisie again underwent a change. Today, on the European arena, they are rapidly assimilating all the customs and usages of beaten curs.

The English bourgeoisie is more serious. Their character has been moulded in the course of centuries. Class self-esteem has entered into their blood and marrow, their nerves and bones. It will be much harder to knock the self-confidence of world rulers out of them. But the American will knock it out just the same, when he gets seriously down to business.

In vain does the British bourgeois console himself that he will serve as guide for the inexperienced American. Yes, there will be a transitional period. But the crux of the matter does not lie in the habits of diplomatic leadership, but in actual power, existing capital and industry. And the United States, if we take its economy from oats to big battleships of the latest type, occupies the first place. They produce all the living necessities to the extent of one-half to two-thirds of what is produced by all mankind.

Oil, which now plays such an exceptional military and industrial role, totals in the United States two-thirds of the world output, and in 1923 it had even reached approximately 72 per cent. To be sure, they complain a lot about the threats of the exhaustion of their oil resources. In the initial post-war years, I confess I thought that these complaints were merely a pious cover for coming encroachments on foreign oil. But geologists actually do affirm that American oil at the current rate of consumption will, according to some, last 25 years, according to others—40 years. But in 25 to 40 years America with her industry and fleet will be able to take away the oil from all the others ten times over again. (Laughter). There is hardly any need for us, comrades, to spend sleepless nights over it. (Applause).

The world position of the United States is expressed in figures which are irrefutable. Let me mention a few of the most important ones. The US produces one-fourth of the world grain crop; more than one-third of the oats; approximately three-fourths of the world corn crop; one-half of the world coal output; about one half of the world's iron ore, and about 60 per cent of the steel; 60 per cent of the copper; 47 per cent of the zinc. American railways constitute 36 per cent of the world railway network; its merchant marine, virtually non-existent before the war, now comprises more than 25 per cent of the world tonnage; and, finally, the number of automobiles operating in the trans-Atlantic Republic amounts to 84.4 per cent of the world total!

While in the production of gold the US occupies a relatively modest place (14 per cent), thanks to its favourable trade balance, 44.2 per cent of the world's gold reserve has collected in its vaults. The national income of the United States is two and half times greater than the combined national incomes of England, France, Germany and Japan. These figures decide everything. They will cut a road for themselves on land, on sea and in the air.

What do these figures presage for Great Britain? Nothing good. They signify one thing: England will not escape the common lot of capitalist countries. America will place her on rations. Whether Lord Curzon likes it or not, he will have to accept rations. This is our 'ultimatic' message to him from here. But we must also add: When England's position becomes such as to compel her openly to accept rations, this will not be performed directly by Lord Curzon—he will not be too suitable, he is too unruly. No, this will be entrusted to a MacDonald. (Applause).

The self-esteem of the politicians of the English bourgeoisie is not such as to make them amenable to the transference of the greatest empire in the world to the meagre foundations of American

* Rich merchant families in Russia whose founders were peasants

rations. Required here will be the benign eloquence of MacDonald, Henderson and the Fabians in order to exert pressure on the English bourgeoisie and to convince the English workers: 'Are we, then, actually to engage in war with America? No, we stand for peace, for agreements'.

And what does agreement with Uncle Sam mean? The foregoing figures speak eloquently on this score. Accept rations. That's the only agreement for you, there is no other. If you refuse, get ready for war.

England has up to now retreated step by step before America. Before our very eyes, it is still fresh in our memory, President Harding invited England, France and Japan to Washington and in the calmest way offered England—what? That England limit her fleet. No more, no less.

Yet before the war it was England's doctrine that her navy must be more powerful than the combined fleets of the next two strongest naval powers. The US has put an end to this, once and for all. In Washington, Harding began, as is customary, by invoking the 'awakened consciousness of civilization', and he ended by telling England that she must accept rations. You will take meanwhile 5 units; France—3 units; Japan—3 units. Whence these proportions? Before the war the American fleet was much weaker than England's. In the course of the war it grew enormously. And therewith, whenever the English write with alarm concerning the American navy, the American naval writers reply by demanding: 'What did we build our navy for? Why, it was to defend your British Isles from the German submarines'.

That is why, mind you, they built their fleet. But it is useful for other purposes, too. But why did the United States resort to this naval limitation programme at Washington? Not because they are unable to build warships fast enough, and the biggest battleships, at that. No, in this respect no one can match them. But it is not possible to create, train and educate the necessary cadres of sailors in a brief period. For this time is required. Here is the source of the ten-year breathing space projected in Washington.

In defending the programme limiting the construction of battleships, the American naval journals wrote: 'If you so much as dare to balk an agreement, we shall turn out warships like so many pancakes'. The reply of the leading English naval periodical was approximately as follows: 'We are ourselves in favour of pacifist agreements. Why do you keep threatening us?'

This already expresses the new psychology of ruling England. It is growing accustomed to the fact that it is necessary to submit to America, and that the most important thing is to demand . . . polite treatment. This is the most that the European bourgeoisie can expect from America on the morrow.

In the competition between England and the United States, only retreats are possible for England. At the price of these retreats English capitalism buys the right to participate in the deals of American capitalism. Thus a coalition Anglo-American capitalism seemingly arises. England saves face, and does so not unprofitably, for England derives substantial profits from it. But it receives them at the price of retreating and clearing the way for America. The US is strengthening her world positions; England's are growing weaker.

Only the other day, Britain renounced the previously adopted plan of reinforcing Singapore. It is too bad we have no

map here. Singapore and Hong Kong mark the most important highways of imperialism. Singapore is the key between the Indian Ocean and the Pacific. It represents one of the most important bases of English policy in the Far East. But in the Pacific, England can conduct her policy either with Japan against America, or with America against Japan.

Huge sums were appropriated for the fortification of Singapore. And MacDonald had to decide: with America against Japan? Or with Japan against America? And so, he renounced the fortification of Singapore. This is not, of course, the last word of English imperialist policy. The question can come again for a new decision. But at the given moment it is the beginning of England's renunciation of an independent policy—or an alliance with Japan—in the Pacific.

And who ordered England (yes, ordered!) to break the alliance with Japan? America.

A formal ultimatum was issued: break the alliance with Japan. And England broke. Meanwhile, England is conceding and retreating. But does this mean that this is how matters will proceed to the very end, and that war between them is excluded? In no case. On the contrary, at the cost of concessions today England is buying only redoubled difficulties on the morrow. Under the cover of collaboration, contradictions of unprecedented explosive power are accumulating. Things not only can but must come to war, because it will be extremely difficult for England to move to a secondary position



Blum

and to roll up her empire. At a certain point, she will be compelled to mobilize all her forces, in order to resist with arms in hand. But in an open struggle, too, so far as it is possible to foresee, all the odds are on America's side.

England is an island and America is likewise an island of a sort, but much larger. England is completely dependent in her day-to-day existence on countries beyond the ocean. But the American 'insular' continent contains everything that is necessary for existence and for the conduct of war. England has colonial possessions on many seas and America will 'liberate' them. Having begun the war with England, America will summon hundreds of millions of Indians to rise in defence of their inalienable national

rights. The same summons will be issued to Egypt and Ireland—there is no lack of those who can be called upon to free themselves from the yoke of English capitalism.

Just as today America in order to drain the living juices from Europe comes to the fore draped in the toga of pacifism, so in the war with England she will step out as the great emancipator of the colonial peoples.

Beldam history has made things easy for American capitalism; for every act of rapine there is a liberating slogan ready at hand. With regard to China, it is—the 'open door' policy! Japan seeks to dismember China and to subjugate certain provinces by military force because there is no iron in Japan, no coal, no oil. These constitute three colossal minuses in Japan's struggle with the United States. For this reason Japan seeks through seizure to assure herself of the riches of China. But the United States? It says: 'Open door in China'.

With regard to oceans what does America have to say? 'The freedom of the Seas!'. This rings superbly. But what does it mean in action? It means: Get over to one side England's navy, make room for me; 'Open door in China' means: Stand aside Japan and let me pass! It is essentially a question of economic seizures, of robberies. But because of the specific conditions of US development, this travail appears at one time under the guise of pacifism, and at another, it almost assumes a liberating aspect.

Naturally, England, too, possesses great advantages which derive from her entire past history. First and foremost, she disposes of powerful bases of support and the strongest naval bases in the world. America doesn't have that. But, in the first place, it is possible to create all this; secondly, it is possible to take all this away; piecemeal and by force; thirdly, and lastly, England's bases are bound up with her colonial rule and are vulnerable for just this reason. America will find allies and helpers all over the world—the strongest power always finds them—and together with those allies, America will find the necessary bases.

If at the present time, the United States binds Canada and Australia to herself through the slogan of defending the white race against the yellow—and in this way justifies her right to naval supremacy—then, on the next stage, which may come very soon, these virtuous Presbyterians may announce that in the last analysis the yellow-skinned peoples are likewise created in God's image and are consequently entitled to replace the colonial rule of England by the economic domination of America. In a war against England, the United States would be in a highly favourable position, since it could from the very first day issue a summons to the Indians, the Egyptians and other colonial peoples to rise up, and could assist them with arms and supplies.

England will have to think ten times before deciding on war. But, in avoiding war, she will be compelled to retreat step by step under the pressure of American capitalism. The conduct of war requires the Lloyd Georges and the Churchills; the MacDonalds are required for the conduct of retreats without a battle.

What has been said about the inter-relations of US and England also applies, with corresponding changes and, so to speak, in miniature, to Japan, and on a very truly minute scale to France and other second-rate European powers. What is at stake in Europe? Alsace-Lorraine, the Ruhr, the Saar territory, Silesia, that is, some tiny area of land, some petty strips. In the meantime, America is drafting a plan to place everybody on rations.

In contrast to England, America is not preparing to create an American army, an American administration, for the colonies including Europe. It will 'allow' them to preserve at home a reformist, pacifist, toothless order, with the assistance of the Social Democracy with the help of the (French) Radicals and other middle-class parties and at the expense of their respective peoples. And it will extort from them blessings (up to a certain time) for not having violated their 'independence'. This is the plan of American capitalism and this is the programme on the basis of which the Second International is being resuscitated.

Perspective of wars and revolutions

THIS AMERICAN 'pacifist' programme of universal bondage is by no means a peaceful one. On the contrary, it is pregnant with wars and the greatest revolutionary paroxysms. Not for nothing does America continue to expand her fleet. She is busily engaged in building light and fast cruisers. And when England protests

in a whisper, America replies: You must bear in mind that I not only have a 5 to 5 relationship with you but also a 5 to 3 relationship with Japan; and the latter possesses an inordinate number of light cruisers which makes it necessary for me to restore a balance.

America chooses the largest multiplier and then multiplies it by her Washington co-efficient. And the others cannot vie with her, because, as the Americans themselves say, they can turn out warships like so many pancakes.

The perspective this offers is one of preparation for the greatest international dog-fight, with both the Atlantic and the Pacific as the arena, provided of course the bourgeoisie is able to retain its world rule for any considerable length of time. For it is hard to conceive that the bourgeoisie of all countries will docilely withdraw to the backyard, and become converted into America's vassals without putting up a fight; no, this is hardly likely.

The contradictions are far too great; the appetites are far too insatiable; the urge to perpetuate ancient rulership is far too potent; England's habits of world rule are far too ingrained. There will be military collisions. The indicated era of pacifist Americanism is laying the groundwork for new wars on an unprecedented scale and of unimaginable monstrosity.

If we return now to the question—which I have made central in my exposition—namely the question of what the chances are for European reformism as it exists today, then our answer would read: Up to a certain point, the chances



Curzon

of European reformism are directly proportional to the chances of America's imperialist 'pacifism'. Should the operations directed toward the transformation of Europe into an American dominion of a new type meet with a certain measure of success, that is, unless they run up in the next few years against the resistance of the peoples or unless they are interrupted by war or revolution; then, in consonance with this, the European Social Democracy will, as the shadow of American imperialism, retain a certain measure of its influence.

In Europe a rotten equilibrium will be established, resting on the remnants of ancient power and on the elements of a new and lean existence upon standardized American rations. All this will be overlaid with an ideological hash consisting of the warmed-over truisms of the European Social Democracy, with an American dressing of Quaker-pacifism. It is hard to imagine anything more repulsive and obscene than this perspective. The question therefore ought not to be posed as follows: What are the forces of the European Social Democracy? But rather: What are the chances that American capitalism will succeed, through a parsimonious financing of Europe, in propping up a new regime in Europe?

It is impossible here to make any exact predictions. All the less so is it possible to fix any dates. Suffice it for us to understand the new mechanics of world relations: to clearly grasp the basic factors which will determine the situation in Europe; and to be able, in this perspective, to follow the march of events, taking stock of the successes and failures of the master-in-chief of the current epoch, the United States of North America.

Suffice it for us to understand the political zigzags of the European Social Democracy, and thereby to increase the assets on the proletariat's side. Therewith it is quite incontestable that from the very outset those contradictions which prepared the imperialist war and doused it over Europe's head ten years ago; those contradictions which have been

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MacDonald

aggravated by the war, and sealed diplomatically by the Versailles Peace, and which then were deepened by the further development of the class war in Europe—it is quite incontestable that all these contradictions still exist today like gaping wounds and the United States will collide with these contradictions in all their acuteness.

It is a difficult job to place a hungry country on rations. We know it from our own experience. True enough, we passed through this experience under different conditions and proceeding from different principles, obeying the iron necessity of the struggle for the salvation of a revolutionary country.

But through this experience we have been able to convince ourselves that a regime of hunger-rations is bound up with shocks and upheavals, which upon intensifying resulted in the sombre Kronstadt uprising. Today, out of her own capitalist considerations and driven by the logic of imperialist rapacity, America is making the experiment with rations on a gigantic scale and in relation to many peoples. This plan will not go through without meeting with resistance, without arousing a cruel struggle along class lines and along national lines.

The more the might of American capitalism tends to become transformed into political self-assurance—and this process is picking up in tempo; the more American capitalism expands internationally; the more commands the American bankers issue to the government of Europe, all the greater, all the more centralized, all the more resolute will be the resistance of the broadest masses of Europe, not only among the proletariat but also among the petty-bourgeoisie and the peasantry. Because, Messrs Americans,

it is not so simple a task, as you deem, to transfer Europe to a colonial position! (Stormy applause).

We stand before this process: we stand at its very beginning. Today, for the first time in a number of years the German proletariat experiences a slight and pitiful alleviation. As you all know, when a worker becomes terribly exhausted, after he has gone hungry for a long time, he becomes very sensitive even to the slightest alleviation.

The German worker has now been given this, by the stabilization of the mark and the stabilization of wages. For this very reason a certain political stability has been regained by the German Social Democracy, that is to say, a temporary stability. But this will not suffice for long. America is not at all preparing to increase German rations, least of all the share earmarked for the German worker. The same thing will apply to the French and English worker—who stand second and third in line respectively.

For what does America need? She needs to secure her profits at the expense of the European toiling masses, and thus render stable the privileged position of the upper crust of the American working class. Without the American labour aristocracy, American capitalism cannot maintain itself. Failing Gompers and his trade unions, failing the skilled well-paid workers, the political regime of American capitalism will plunge into the abyss. But it is possible to keep the American labour aristocracy in its privileged position, only by placing the 'plebeians', the proletariat 'rabble' of Europe on rations of cold and hunger, rations rigidly fixed and stingily weighed.

The further this development unfolds along this road, all the more difficult will it be for the European Social Democracy to uphold the evangel of Americanism in the eyes of the European working masses. All the more centralized will become the resistance of European labour against the master of masters, against American capitalism. All the more urgent—all the more practical and warlike will the slogan of the All-European revolution and its state form—**The Soviet United States of Europe**—become for the European workers.

What is the Social Democracy using to benumb and poison the consciousness of the European workers? It tells them that we—the whole of Europe, dismembered and sliced up by the Versailles Peace—cannot get along without America. But the European Communist Party will say: You lie, we could if we wanted to. Nothing compels us to remain in an atomized Europe. It is precisely the revolutionary proletariat that can unify Europe, by transforming it into the proletariat United States of Europe. (Applause). America is mighty. As against the little English Isle, which rests on colonies all over the world, America is

mighty. But we say: As against the united proletarian-peasant Europe, bound together with us into a single Soviet Federation, America will prove impotent. (Applause).

American capitalism senses this. There is no enemy of Bolshevism more principled and more savage than American capitalism. Hughes and his policy are not accidental whims. This is not a caprice: this is an expression of the will of the most highly concentrated capitalism in the world, which is now entering the epoch of open struggle for its autocratic rule over the planet. It comes into collision with us, if only because the paths through the Pacific lead to China and Siberia. The thought of colonizing Siberia is one of the most alluring thoughts of American imperialism. But a guard stands there. We hold the monopoly of foreign trade. We possess the socialist beginnings of economic policy. This is the first obstacle in the way of the autocracy and undivided rule of American capitalism.

And even where American capitalism penetrates into China with its slogan of 'The open door'—and it does penetrate into China—it finds there among the popular masses not the religion of Americanism, but the political programme of Bolshevism translated into the Chinese language. (Applause.)

Not Wilson, Harding nor Coolidge nor Morgan nor Rockefeller, not these names are on the lips of the Chinese coolies and Chinese peasants. The name of Lenin (applause) is spoken with ecstasy not only in China, but throughout the Orient.

The United States can undermine Great Britain only by means of slogans calling for the emancipation of the peoples. On its lips this is the policy of hypocrisy, just as is its policy of pacifism in Europe. But in the Orient alongside the American consul and the American merchant and the American professor, alongside the American newspaperman there stand fighters, revolutionists who have proved capable of translating the liberationist programme of Bolshevism into their own language. Everywhere, in Europe as well as Asia, imperialist Americanism is colliding with revolutionary Bolshevism. This, comrades, are the two principles of modern history.

I recollect that in a conversation in 1919 with Vladimir Ilyich (Lenin) with regard to Wilson's arrival in Europe and in reference to the fact that the entire bourgeois press was filled on one side with Wilson's name and on the other with the name of Lenin I said in jest: 'Lenin, and Wilson—these are the two apocalyptic principles of modern history'.

Vladimir Ilyich laughed. Naturally at that time I did not realize with what a vast content history would fill this jest. Leninism and American imperialism—these two principles alone are now fighting in Europe; these two principles alone cut across both the Atlantic and the

Pacific. The fate of mankind hinges on the outcome of the struggle between these two principles.

The American enemy is far more centralized and powerful than the divided European foes. But our own strength, too, lies in concentration and our enemy is concentrating the workers of Europe. The resuscitation of the Second International is only a temporary and surface symptom of the fact that the proletariat of Europe finds itself compelled to feel and fight not within national frameworks, but on a continental scale.

And the broader the labour masses seized by the need to resist, the broader the base of resistance, all the more revolutionary the ideas which must unfailingly gain preponderance.

And the more revolutionary the ideas, all the more favourable the soil for Bolshevism. Every success of Americanism, insofar as Americanism does score successes, will thereby signify the centralization of the soil for the growth of Bolshevism—in a more concentrated and more revolutionary form, and on a more gigantic scale. The future works for us!

Since I am addressing a gathering called by the friends of the physico-mathematical faculty, you will permit me, comrades, after I have given you a revolutionary Marxist critique of Americanism to point out that we do not at all mean thereby to condemn Americanism lock, stock and barrel. We do not mean that we abjure to learn from Americans and Americanism whatever one can and should learn from them. We lack the technique of the Americans and their labour proficiency. Science is the premise of technology: natural sciences, physics, mathematics.

Now along this line we are reduced to the last extremity in our need to catch up with the Americans. To have Bolshevism shod in the American way—there is our task! We must get shod technologically with American nails. Today while we are still so poorly shod, we have nevertheless managed to hold our own. In the future, however, the struggle can assume far more terrible proportions. But it is easier for us to get shod in the American way than it is for American capitalism to place Europe and the whole world on rations.

If we get shod with mathematics, technology; if we Americanize our still frail socialist industry, then we can with tenfold confidence say that the future is completely and decisively working in our favour. Americanized Bolshevism will crush and conquer imperialist Americanism.

TO BE CONTINUED



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!

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Social Workers Protest Further Reorganization

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK—Militant staff work actions at Bergen, Melrose, Waverly, Dyckman, Williamsburg, Gramercy, Brooklyn B.C.W. and more work locations are erupting almost daily over local conditions which have resulted from the City's reorganization scheme in the Department of Social Services and its attendant overwork and speedup.

For a short period while these actions were isolated the city administration and the union leadership attempted to work out piecemeal patchwork deals, easing the situation at one center while aggravating the problems of other work locations. This perspective of the Hill leadership seen most glaringly in the gerrymandering of Waverly's territory into Lower Manhattan Center, is the very opposite of what is required in the present situation.

The failure of the Hill bureaucracy to acknowledge reorganization as the greatest and most central threat to staff, and indeed to the very existence of the union, has led to open betrayal in both local and citywide issues.

SPEEDUP

As the city uses the legitimate demands of the rank and file for an end to the job freeze in order to speed up its own reorganization plan and extend it to three new centers (Bay Ridge, Hamilton and Kingsbridge in September), the Hill leadership gives lip service to rehiring but at the same time pushes reorganization as the only "realistic" solution. All problems of speedup and overwork are attributed by the Unionist (once bi-weekly and now monthly organ of the Hill leadership) to the failure of reorganization to be imposed on all centers!

It does not take a mathematician to realize that if 50% of staff is "released" by reorganization in one center to be used in another, what the outcome of full reorganization will mean. The same leadership which has cut the production of the union's newspaper in half as a measure of false economy, is at the same time engaged in the suppression of local leaflets authored by the delegates of at least three centers engaged in their own work actions.

ACTION

As the Department of Social Services increases its daily harassment and open reprisals against staff the Hill bureaucracy is forced to bend over backwards in its efforts to head off militant and united struggles. At the August 11 membership meeting it was revealed to Social Service employees that eight of their newly organized brothers and sisters in the city run Addiction Services Agency had been fired in an obvious attempt to bust the union. The membership voted overwhelmingly to support a "work action" set for two weeks hence to force the rehiring of the fired workers.

However this motion opened the door to other sections of staff who tended, in opposition to the bureaucrats on the stage, to link the firings at ASA to the disciplinary action taken against staff at Bergen Center for refusing work on uncovered caseloads and the loss of 1/2 days pay at Waverly following a demonstration against similar attempts of the city to discipline supervisory staff.

The delegates from Bergen Center moved that unionwide action against the city begin on the following Monday, August 17, and not in two weeks as suggested by Hill and passed in the ASA resolution. In addition the Bergen motion demanded an immediate citywide limit of one new case per worker per week and no work (including emergencies) on uncovered caseloads or cases over 75 per worker.

PROPOSALS

The Committee for New Leadership, opposition caucus within SSEU-371, moved to amend the Bergen motion by underlining its proposed limit on workload and demanding in addition that the union build a mass demonstration at City Hall to protest the new wave of firings, intimidations and harassment; mass rehiring including all those who pass the upcoming

civil service examination and a return to the 60 caseload; to oppose further extension of reorganization under the present contract; resolve to scrap reorganization in the 1971 contract; and to institute immediately a strike fund either from the dues increase, special assessments or a combination of both to prepare for the 1971 contract fight.

The reaction of the union leadership can only be described as panic. Bureaucrat after bureaucrat mounted the podium to decry the motion as hasty and ill-timed, revealing their complete unwillingness to fight the city on this most basic issue. Apparently two full weeks were required by Hill to settle the firings in ASA and isolate these problems from similar experiences of staff in other sections. Bergen's motion threatened united action against the city and the CNL amendment gave sharp focus to that threat.

In the voting that followed President Hill was forced to take the most desperate measures to insure the defeat of the Bergen motion, including two separate votes by a show of hands (both revealing a Bergen victory) and finally a division of the house whereby indecisive elements were driven into the opposition camp, the final outcome being a no quorum decision by Hill and the adjournment of the meeting.

BATTLE

For staff however, this battle is only beginning. In spite of Hill's most recent announcement that two of the ASA workers have been rehired and the other six who were fired do not wish to return, staff at various localities have voted in chapter meetings to recommend to the union leadership in full (as at Fulton Center), or in part (as at Waverly), the six point program of the Committee for New Leadership, incorporating Bergen's demands with the fight against reorganization itself, as the only way forward against the city now, and in the fight to come.

What is becoming clearer to staff every minute, as in the July 22 and again in the August 11 membership meetings, is that Hill has not formulated demands for the 1971 contract while the Goldberg-Lindsay administration has revealed, in its latest attacks, its readiness to resort to the most extreme measures to discipline the union in preparation for layoffs in the coming period.



Workers and their families picket Northwest in Minneapolis as airline used scabs.

Nixon's Federal Mediators Plan To Break Northwest Strike

BY MICHAEL ROSS

MINNEAPOLIS, August 15—

"If we get beat on this one, you might as well forget about unions on airlines," said BRAC Lodge 3015 President Warren Winterfeldt,—"they'll take them one by one."

This estimation by one of the leaders of the striking Northwest Airlines clerks shows just how critical the entire situation is becoming.

Northwest is still hustling scabs, including the use of stewardess trainees as office help. And the pilot's union (ALPA), with between one half to three fourths of their members laid off, are still crossing the picket lines.

SABOTAGE

Now there have been moves by the Teamsters leadership to sabotage the strike. The strike by the AFL-CIO unions at the Honolulu airport, meant to close all operations in solidarity with the Northwest strikers, was broken within four hours on August 7 when Teamsters began making deliveries.

This must be seen as part of the campaign by the Teamsters leadership to break off sections of the workers from BRAC. The Teamsters were defeated in

a representation election of Railway Express Agency employees.

New moves to settle the strike through Nixon's federal mediators have now been made, with a meeting set up between the mediators, Northwest and BRAC on August 17.

NIXON

Nixon and his mediators intend to do everything in their power to break this strike, which, if successful, will give renewed hope to millions of lower paid workers fighting for union organization and a living wage. The first test of this will be on September 10, when BRAC has announced a national strike by over 225,000 of its members against the railroads.

Several things remain to be done. The AFL-CIO's President George Meany has pledged his full support of this strike. Now the clerks must insist that he back up this pledge by taking action against the scabbing actions of ALPA, also an AFL-CIO affiliate.

No trust can be placed in Nixon's mediators. The General Electric and Westinghouse contracts show where that road leads.

The clerks' leadership must now fight for full support from the labor movement, including mass picketing at every Northwest station to put an end to the scabbing and an end to Northwest's plantation system.

Israelis Bomb Jordan, Violating Ceasefire Pact

BY MARTY JONAS

The Arab-Israeli ceasefire was violated on Friday, August 14. The Israeli army staged a major bombing raid on Jordan. Units of the Jordanian army were hit, and many soldiers were killed or wounded.

The reason offered by the Israeli government was reprisal for guerrilla attacks from Jordan. Israel stated that the Jordan government was violating the ceasefire by allowing the guerrillas to operate from Jordanian territory.

What is now happening is phase two of the ceasefire agreement engineered by the U.S. and the Kremlin Stalinists. The first phase is accomplished—the division of the Arab bourgeoisie over the issue of the ceasefire itself.

Now the next phase is underway—the isolation of the guerrilla forces and their extermination by the Arab bourgeoisie.

The real target of the ceasefire is the Arab masses. That is why, aside from the Stalinist controlled and Nasserite guerrilla organizations, every guerrilla organization has refused to go along with the ceasefire and has proceeded to violate it.

Hussein of Jordan is being told by Israel—and in effect by the U.S. and the Soviet Union—to wipe out the Arab revolution or be wiped out himself. Hussein is being pressured to resume his civil war of several months ago against the guerrillas. This pressure is directed toward the entire Arab ruling class.

The violation of the ceasefire indicates a turn by the Israeli government toward the extreme right. Mrs. Meir has been going to great pains to keep peace with the extreme right Nahal Party of Menahem Begin.

BEGIN

It was Begin, who as head of Irgun during the pre-1948 war, boasted of leading the massacre of an entire Arab town, of hundreds of men, women and children. This act was calculated to drive deeper the divisions between the Arab and Israeli masses in preparation for the founding of the Zionist state. It was widely publicized by Begin for that purpose.

This is the man whom the Israeli cabinet has been moving toward and who has become a growing force in Israeli politics as the Israeli ruling class prepares to deal with the Arab masses.

With the sellout on the ceasefire, international Stalinism stands shoulder to shoulder with Begin in its fight against the Arab guerrillas, just as they stand together with Franco against the Asturian miners, and with the Tories against the British dock strikers.

The Struggle for Marxism in the United States

by Tim Wohlforth

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The only existing history of American Trotskyism from its origins to today. Wohlforth traces the roots of the contemporary revisionism of the SWP to its failure to master Marxist method. Hedetails the real relations between Trotsky and the American party.

Trotskyist Youth Organization Formed In Germany

The following is an interview with a young apprentice who is a leading member of the Young Guard, the German Trotskyist youth movement and of the German section of the Fourth International which is organized around the newspaper *International Workers Correspondence*.

Q. When was the Young Guard formed?

A. The decision to form the Young Guard was made at the mass rally held in Le Bourget, France in February of 1970 by the AJS (French Trotskyist Youth movement), attended by 10,000 young workers in France and representatives of the Trotskyist youth movements in many countries. The formation of the Young Guard involved the unity of two groups in Germany, the Young Revolutionaries and the Group of Young Socialists which had been active in Germany in different cities since May, 1969.

The Young Guard held its first organizing meeting in Frankfurt in February of 1970 and its first conference on April 4th and 5th in Bochum. On July 25 we held a successful national meeting of all the supporters of the Young Guard to discuss and map out our strategy. This meeting was attended by students, young workers, apprentices and high school students.

The Young Guard grew out of a struggle by the German Trotskyists among the youth, particularly in SDS, for the perspective of building a revolutionary working class youth movement. The formation of the Young Guard represents a big step forward for the Trotskyist movement in Germany and is part of its growth internationally. It means a new generation is coming forward to take up the struggle against capitalism.

In the 1930s the Stalinists did everything to destroy the Trotskyist movement. They turned over the names of the Trotskyists to the fascists. Only one or two people survived.

Q. In the last few years there have been a number of struggles in Germany by the students. What has been at the heart of these struggles?

A. These struggles have reflected the growing crisis of capitalism in Germany

and in particular the attacks on the youth, cutbacks in education on all levels and the training of apprentices. Since 1964 and 1965 attacks have been mounted on the school system. While the Social Democrats promised extension of facilities in the universities through a plan to make education more uniform, instead all expansion has stopped. Lecture rooms are terribly overcrowded, facilities are inadequate.

Educational opportunities have been limited through a restriction on the universities called the *numerus clausus*, limiting higher education to the "more gifted." This is a clear attack on working class as well as middle class youth. At the same time the government has shortened the university program from eight semesters to six semesters. Scholarships have been cut back so they do not cover the full period required for a degree. They are accessible to fewer and fewer students.

In addition liberal arts courses are virtually being eliminated and all emphasis is being placed on research and management training. This reflects the needs of capitalism, not of the youth.

Q. What is the situation facing the young workers and apprentices?

A. After the Berlin Wall was built and skilled workers were prevented from entering West Germany from the East, there was some improvement in the training of apprentices. But with the deepening crisis of German capitalism in 1964 these improvements were cut back. Even schools for extra training for young workers were shut down.

In 1962 the big industrialist Krupp, who was one of the mainstays of the Nazis, began to cut back the training period for apprentices in his factories from three years to one year. This was in line with plans for the introduction of new automated equipment.

Krupp also set up a grading system for apprentices, dividing them up according

to the number of years, one, two or three, of training they would receive, with the majority being trained for only one year.

Now the Krupp Plan, as it is called, has become law and virtually allows the employers to do whatever they want with the apprentices. Two days before the law was passed, in June 1969, 10,000 apprentices went on strike and held a massive demonstration against this law in Cologne.

sity and the student "elite" who would bring revolution to the workers. Even on universities they refused to take up the fight against the attacks on education, limiting their activities to confrontations with the police. They had no strategy for the unity of the students and young workers, no program for struggle against the government.

Q. What are the main tasks facing the Young Guard today?



Now the Social Democrats are demanding a 10% increase in income taxes. The Social Democratic Economics Minister claims the workers will get the increase back in 1973, but no one, of course, believes it.

There have been wildcat strikes against this increase throughout the Ruhr. Two weeks ago the workers shut down the Ford plant in Cologne protesting these moves.

Q. What has happened to SDS in Germany?

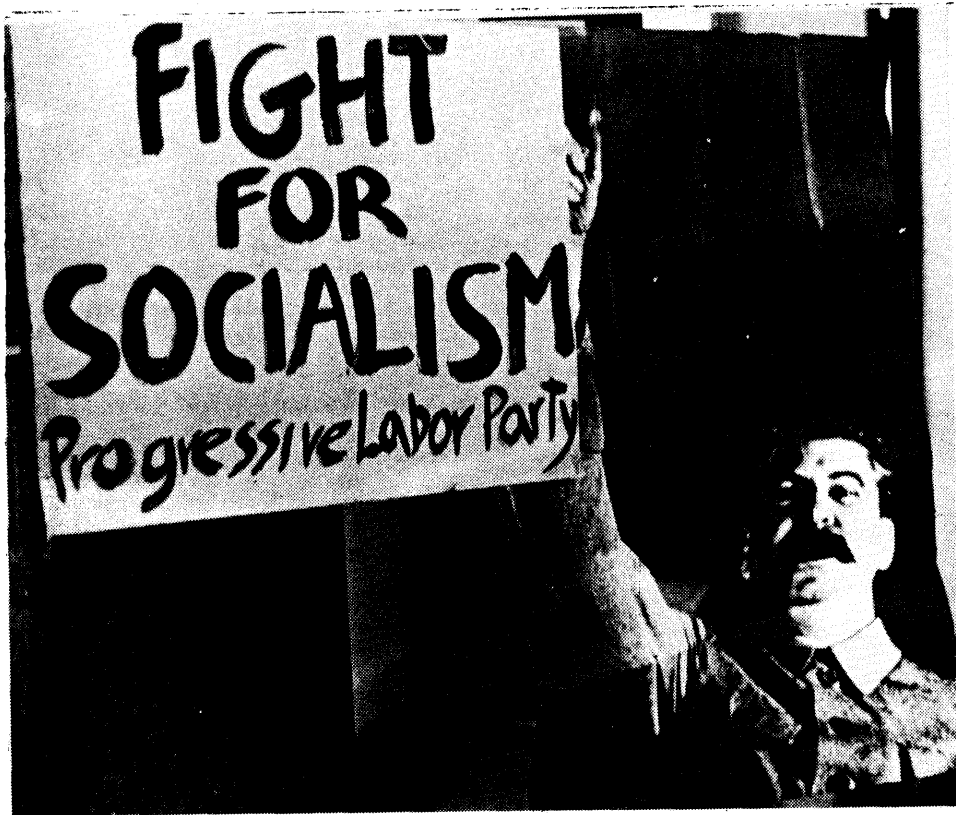
A. As in the U.S., SDS has disintegrated and dissolved. The leaders of SDS attempted to keep the struggle on the level of student power. They based their perspective on the conception of the Red Univer-

A. Today we are centering our fight on calling a general assembly of all youth against the government-sponsored attacks on the youth in the schools, universities and factories.

Our fight to build a movement in Germany requires a struggle against the Social Democracy and the Stalinists who pose as "the best defenders of the constitution."

Our goal is to build a revolutionary organization of youth, made up of students, young workers, and apprentices, as part of the international youth movement. We are preparing now for the International Conference of Youth to be held later this year.

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY-SDS ANTIWAR



Progressive Labor literature table at SDS antiwar conference prominently featured a photo of Stalin. Conference went into uproar when Workers League took on Stalinism.

BY PAT CONNOLLY

NEW YORK, August 15—The antiwar conference sponsored by Progressive Labor Party, SDS, and the Iranian Students Association, at Columbia University last Saturday was distinguished by only two things—its consciously Stalinist character, and a sharp move to the right by PL.

Originally scheduled for two days, the conference of around 100 persons, voted to have only a one day session. The meeting opened Saturday morning with general presentations by speakers from the Iranian Students Association, a representative from the Palestinian Liberation Organization, a speaker from PL

and others.

Although there was a great deal of talk about anti-imperialism, the question of the class struggle, the working class, and a Marxist program were completely missing from it all. It was asserted by an Iranian student that the main contradiction in society was the contradiction between

American imperialism and the oppressed peoples. This was used as a cover to avoid completely the struggle in the U.S. to mobilize the working class against the war, and to capitulate completely to the petty bourgeois nationalist leadership of the "anti-imperialism" struggle.

The Iranian Students Association put forward a proposal which said: "Serve the workers, serve the people. Support the fight against imperialism. Support people's war and its leaders unconditionally."

POLITICS

The SDS proposal, which was supported by PLP, was for a demonstration at the Riverside Research Institute against the war. No mention was made of the program of politics of such a demonstration. The PLP speaker spoke against allying with liberals in the antiwar movement. She went on to criticize the NLF as revisionist because it accepted aid from "capitalist" USSR, and had "severe ideological weaknesses," such as "all class unity in national liberation struggles," and refused to raise the call for the victory of the NLF against American imperialism.

A Workers League spokesman made the proposal for a demonstration against the war around the demands: Immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from SE Asia; End the Repression of the Panthers, ghetto youth and students; Stop Nixon's anti-labor offensive; Break with the capitalist parties and form a labor party based on the strength of the trade unions.

When the Workers League raised the question of Stalinism, all hell broke loose with shouts of "Down with Trotskyism," "Smash the Trots." The Workers League spokesman pointed out that "allying with liberals" was the perspective of Stalinism, and of PL itself. In Spain, France, the United States, the Stalinists pushed the policy of the popular front and tied the working class to the liberal section of the capitalist class, leading it in to fascism and defeat.

COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY

Although PL speaks very strongly against "allying with liberals" in the antiwar movement, they are absolutely

incapable of taking up the question of Stalinism. PL's is a Stalinist organization and defends the policies of class collaboration. Mao's policy of the bloc of four classes, and of peoples' war found its full expression in Indonesia with the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of communists. This PL itself has to take responsibility for, these are the counter-revolutionary policies of Stalinism.

In the afternoon workshops, PL attempted to keep the discussion on the "practical questions" of building a "fighting antiwar movement," stating that they did not want to discuss "Stalinism and Trotskyism." Nevertheless, these questions were the center of the discussions in many workshops, as the Workers League insisted that without discussion of program and politics the fight against the war could not go forward.

Representatives from the Iranian Students Association again put forward the conception that the main contradiction in the world is between imperialism and the oppressed nations, and called for support for peoples' war. The Marxist conception that the central contradiction in society is between capital and labor internationally, expressed in the colonial as well as the advanced capitalist countries and requiring the construction of an independent party of the working class, was completely abandoned.

From this premise, the I.S.A. went on to advocate unity between the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie, and the national bourgeoisie in the fight against imperialism in the colonial countries.

STALINISM

Progressive Labor refused to speak on this question. It is this perspective of class collaboration, of the unity of the working class with its own bourgeoisie, which is being carried out in the Middle East today, under the pressure of the Stalinists who seek to force a deal with Zionism and imperialism. The Kremlin's support for the Rogers Plan, for the crushing of the Arab guerrillas, and for the maintenance of the Arab nationalist regimes, lays the basis for a similar kind of sellout in Vietnam, for a deal between imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Unemployment Rate Soars —New Attacks On Youth

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

What has been obvious to thousands of young people looking for jobs is confirmed by the latest report from the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Unemployment among youth is rising sharply, and this summer it has hit particularly hard.

The unemployment rate for June and July rose to 15.7% among teenagers as a whole, the highest it has been since 1964. Among black youth, unemployment nationally was up to 30.2%, a 6% increase in one year. Almost a third of black youth cannot find jobs.

The job situation is even bleaker than the statistics show, because tens of thousands of youth, knowing the job picture, have given up looking for work this summer.

Although the number of young workers in the job market has increased by thousands this year, the number of those holding jobs has decreased for the first time in 9 years.

TRUTH

Although the capitalist press talks about groups like the National Alliance of Businessmen "trying" to find jobs for youth from hard core unemployment areas, the truth is that young workers hired in these programs at Ford auto plants in the Detroit area were among the first to go in the big layoffs in the auto industry, layoffs that so far have thrown over 60,000 workers out of a job.

The recent rebellions in Asbury Park, New Bedford, and in the Detroit area are another part of this unemployment picture. Literally hundreds of thousands of youth who have been laid off or who cannot find a job as the capitalist crisis deepens, become the victims of racism and police brutality.

The capitalist system makes use of teenagers as cheap labor in deadend jobs, and as their crisis deepens, the bosses throw them onto the street to become cannon fodder for Vietnam or for the local police, and National Guard. The police, the courts, the jails and outright murder are used to intimidate and vic-

timize young workers who are denied even the right to make a decent living.

The recent riot in Chicago was one of the first times that police have shot at black and white youth together. More and more they are showing that they are afraid of the militancy of the youth whom they exploit. The capitalist class really fears the unity of all youth—black and white, students and workers, employed and unemployed—around a program to fight back against them.

FIGHT

The fight against unemployment, like the fight against racism, war, police victimization and murder, deadend jobs and wretched living conditions, is the task of a socialist youth movement, a revolutionary movement that will fight to unite youth against the capitalist system which refuses them a future.



Cop beats Asbury Park young worker.



Gerry Healy addresses audience of young workers at summer camp on Tory danger.

Tories Hit Young Workers

BY A FOREIGN REPORTER

As part of its "law and order" campaign aimed at disciplining the British working class, the new Tory government is stepping up its attacks on working class youth.

The latest and most vicious attacks are being launched against youth who, unemployed or working at low paying apprenticeships, are rowdy after weekend soccer games.

In a meeting last week between British Home Secretary Reginald Maudling and soccer managers, it was suggested that detention centers be set up right at the soccer arenas to cage youth suspected of ripping seats or fighting.

The police have started a big campaign using "snatch squads" or special plain-clothes police to rush into crowds and pick up "troublemakers."

TECHNIQUES

This police technique was first used in North Ireland against workers and youth who fought back against the occupation by British troops.

It is no accident that techniques used by British imperialism to keep the Irish working class in line are today being used against working class youth in England. Just as troops are used against the workers

in North Ireland, the Tory government threatened to use troops against the dock workers' strike in London last month.

The capitalist class in England, as well as internationally, is in a big crisis. In order to maintain their profits, they are forced to attack the living and working standards of the working class. A large part of this attack is aimed at the youth who bear the brunt of unemployment and low wages and poor living conditions.

YOUTH

Just as with the rebellions in the US this summer, the ruling class and their police have everything to fear from the youth who are fed up with the conditions under which they live: low wages or no job at all, bad housing, no recreational facilities, no future.

And just as in the US, these sharp new attacks on youth are a prelude to further and worse attacks on the working class, when the government, the courts, the police and the army will be used to try to enforce the will of the capitalist class.

The British Young Socialists, youth organization of the Socialist Labour League, leads the fight against these attacks. With a program to unite all youth—young workers, employed and unemployed, students, immigrant youth—in a fight against the Tory government, and the capitalist class, the YS fights for a society governed by the working class in its own interests.

CONFERENCE SERVES THE WORKERS STALINISM

These sellouts flow from the policy of tying the working class to the capitalist class, from the policy of "peaceful co-existence." So for all their talk of "no deals" in Vietnam and "no liberals" in the antiwar movement, PL stands on these policies of Stalinism which will try to sell out the Vietnamese workers and peasants again as it did in 1954.

This is what the huge portrait of Stalin over the PL literature table stands for: betrayal, class collaboration, and counter-revolution. This is where PL stands.

SPARTACIST

The role of the Spartacist League at this conference was very revealing. The class line has been drawn, they say, and they stand with PL and SDS. In the face of vicious attacks on Trotskyism, Spartacist does not have a word to say about Stalinism. They spent most of their time attacking the conception of a labor party put forward by the Workers League.

The Spartacist spokesman stated that they wanted "the kind of social democratic party led by comrade Lenin," and

then went on to say that the Workers League advocates forming "a reformist labor party like that in Britain."

The point is that the nature and program of a labor party will be determined in the course of the struggle for it by revolutionaries against the policies of the labor bureaucracy and the liberals.

TROTSKY

In a discussion with the SWP on the question of the labor party in 1938, Shachtman asked if Trotsky was advocating a reformist labor party, Trotsky answered that this was not the case, that we would fight to make it revolutionary. Cannon interrupted to ask "How can you explain a revolutionary labor party?" if the SWP was the only revolutionary party. Trotsky's answer to this question is our answer to the Spartacists: "I will not say that the labor party is a revolutionary party, but that we will do everything to make it possible."

It is the conception of struggle that Spartacist ignores, the fight against the existing leadership of the working class,

to break workers away from capitalist politics and to build a Marxist leadership in the trade unions.

NEED

The questions of imperialism and war are class questions. The fight against the war can only go forward in the USA and internationally on the basis of the independent mobilization of the working class against the capitalist class and its government, and its agents in the working class movement, international Stalinism.

This political independence of the working class is what the capitalists fear above all else. It is for this reason that they need Stalinism—in order to paralyze the working class, and to betray it.

Trotskyism, the continuation of Leninism fights against this counterrevolutionary betrayal of the working class. Today more than in the period of the defeats of the thirties, the Trotskyist movement is in a position to fight to lead the working class to power. This is why the Stalinists from the CP to PL have such fear and hatred of Trotskyism.



Workers League spokesman at outdoor workshop fights for labor party against ultralefts.

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REVIEWED BY
TIM WOHLFORTH

Writings of Leon Trotsky 1939-40, 1938-9, 1937-38 (3 vols), Merit and Pathfinder Press, New York, 1969-70 \$2.95 each.

The publication of this new series of large format reprints of articles by Leon Trotsky is without a doubt the most important recent publishing project in the United States. The series will contain all the articles written by Trotsky in the 1930s published in English and not available in some readily accessible form elsewhere. It is thus made up primarily of reprints from the publications of the Socialist Workers Party—The New International, The Fourth International, Socialist Appeal and the Militant. Each volume covers approximately a year.

While the selection of material for the series is thus primarily determined by what is readily accessible and easily reproducible by photo offset, this almost random selection process gives the series a specific character of its own. Trotsky's writings fall into pretty clearly definable categories which reflect not only Trotsky's ideas but his great literary capabilities. We have his major books like *The History of the Russian Revolution*, *The Revolution Betrayed*, *The Third International After Lenin*, and *Permanent Revolution*. We have his more literary and personal but still highly political accounts—*My Life and Diary in Exile*. There are famous pamphlets like the *Transitional Program and Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay*. Then there are anthologies, such as *The Age of Permanent Revolution* edited by George Novack and Isaac Deutscher which contain short selections of Trotsky's writings brought together under topical headings.

The *Writings* is different from all these in that they bring together Trotsky's articles from a particular year. Thus we get a reflection of the central concerns of Trotsky in that period and the immediate battles he engaged in on a number of fronts. Precisely because of the random and journalistic character of the articles, an understanding of Trotsky as a dedicated revolutionary FIGHTER absolutely committed to the building of the Fourth International comes through more sharply in the *Writings* than in any of the other forms of his writings.

THEMES

Two main themes dominate the three volumes as they dominated Trotsky in that period—the construction of the Fourth International and the struggle against Stalinism. This is what makes these volumes so pertinent to today when, in a new relationship, these two questions are posed even more sharply before advanced workers in all countries.

Much of the material in these volumes is devoted to the Moscow Trials and their repercussions included the first assassination attempt on Trotsky himself. The articles illustrate the painstaking and detailed way Trotsky went about rebutting these Trials and uncovering the entire frame-up system on a week by week basis as it actually developed predicting how the purges would proceed. Particularly interesting are the selections in 1937-38 which are translated from Trotsky's *Les Crimes de Staline* which was never before published in English.

To this day neither the Communist Party USA nor the Progressive Labor Party has openly repudiated these Trials. PLP still displays Stalin's portrait, the man who instigated this judicial murder of a whole generation of Bolshevik leaders. To look seriously at the Trials is to be forced to confront not only the crimes of Stalin but why those crimes were committed and thus the political program of those Stalin sought above all to defame—the Trotskyists.

The material on the Fourth International is particularly important at this time. While Trotsky's writings on the Moscow Trials are available in other forms (see *Moscow Trials Anthology* and *The Case of Leon Trotsky*) precious little is available on the Fourth International and most of that references in Deutscher's *Prophet Outcast* (and Deutscher is particularly

Book Review

Leon Trotsky As Revolutionary Fighter



Leon Trotsky in Mexico during period when he wrote articles in these volumes.

hostile precisely on this question).

While the question of Stalinism and the building of the Fourth International are as relevant today as in the 1930s both questions are posed today in vastly different objective circumstances. The 1930s saw the development of Stalinism, its ability to commit the most heinous of crimes and be supported by wide layers of the working class and intelligentsia, while the Trotskyist movement remained on the fringes of the working class hounded by Stalinist and capitalist alike. All the time fascism and World War II threatened to cut off revolutionary development for a whole period. Today all the conditions are ripe for the destruction of Stalinism and the development of Trotskyism into a mass movement in many countries—and thus for the triumph of the socialist revolution on a worldwide basis. As these writings reveal, Trotsky was acutely aware of the objective limits of his period and the conditions which would make possible the rapid growth and eventual triumph of the proletarian cause.

PRINCIPLED

Trotsky began first of all with an understanding that principled program was fundamental and the momentary difficulties secondary. In a period when skepticism was taking a deep toll in the Fourth International and its periphery Trotsky waged a relentless struggle, rooted in his whole experience as a revolutionist since the turn of the century, against this middle class tendency. For instance the article "For the Fourth International? No! The Fourth International" hits at critics within the Fourth International who felt its formal founding in 1938 would be "premature." Trotsky writes:

"To you the little word 'for' seems an expression of political 'modesty.' To me it seems an expression of indecision and lack of self-confidence. A revolutionary party that is not sure of its own significance cannot gain the confidence of the masses....

"The relation between theory and practice bears not a one-sided but a two-sided, that is, dialectical character. We are sufficiently equipped theoretically for

action; at any rate much better than any other organization. Our action will push our theoretical work forward, will arouse and attract new theoreticians, etc. The Fourth International will never spring from our hands ready made like Minerva from the head of Jupiter. It will grow and develop in theory as well as in action."

Writing to the French Trotskyist youth in the same vein Trotsky states:

"The idea, if it corresponds to the exigencies of historical development, is more powerful than the most powerful organization. These gentlemen—the pseudo-socialists like the pseudo-communists—have great organizations inherited from the past, but they have no ideas. Their program is a fiction; they live through diplomacy and equivocation; they sow lies and illusions.

"Your organization is weak, but you have an idea. Your program corresponds to the character of the present epoch. It expresses correctly the fundamental historical interests of the proletariat. Every great event will confirm your program. With the help of pitiless criticism, of constant propaganda, of bold agitation you will destroy the old organizations, internally rotten, which have become the principal obstacles on the road of the revolutionary movement."

DEVELOPMENT

Trotsky thus based himself on an understanding that correctness in program which corresponded to the epoch and the needs of the working class will in time with the proper struggle overcome the weakness in organization and massive size of the traditional workers' organization. But he was well aware that the Fourth International in the late 1930s suffered greatly from the defeats of the working class and its isolation from the working class and for these reasons its development was essentially stunted for a whole historic period. Development could thus only proceed within the framework of objective conditions and not outside of it. There were definite limits to development at that time, limits which in the present period are rapidly evaporating.

He made this all particularly clear in his article "Fighting Against the Stream."

"We are not progressing politically. Yes, it is a fact which is an expression of a general decay of the workers' movements in the last fifteen years. It is the most general cause....

"We are a small boat in a tremendous current. There are five or ten boats and one goes down and we say it was due to bad helmsmanship. But that was not the reason—it was because the current was too strong. It is the most general explanation and we should never forget this explanation in order not to become pessimistic—we, the vanguard of the vanguard. There are courageous elements who do not like to swim with the current—it is their character. Then there are intelligent elements of bad character who were never disciplined, who always looked for a more radical or more independent tendency and found our tendency, but all of them are more or less outsiders from the general current of the workers' movement. Their value inevitably has its negative side. He who swims against the current is not connected with the masses....

"In this situation the defeat of the Peoples' Front was the proof of the correctness of our conceptions just as was the extermination of the Chinese workers. But the defeat was a defeat and it is directed against revolutionary tendencies until a new tide on a higher level will appear in the new time. We must wait and prepare—a new element, a new factor, in this constellation."

THEORETICAL

The period our movement is now passing through is very much one of emerging from the struggle against the stream into one in which our movement can once again find strength from within the mass workers' movement. But we must have no illusions; even our relatively young organization—not to mention the SWP which has succumbed to revisionism—is very much a product of a period of swimming against the stream. We have in our ranks courageous elements who have withstood much pressure to maintain Trotskyism at a time when the leading section of the Fourth International was abandoning it. But as a general trend our movement remains outside the working class as does the socialist movement as a whole. But at the same time a new objective situation is swiftly developing and only our movement is prepared for it. For us it is no longer a matter of waiting to prepare a "new element" but fighting right now to bring it about. And the bringing forth of that new element is essentially a theoretical task of the first order.

Trotsky held for very solid objective reasons to a certain optimism about the development of Marxism in the United States. He was the sharpest critic of American pragmatism and carried out his struggle on this score right within the Socialist Workers Party particularly in the 1940 fight with Shachtman and Burnham. But he emphasized on a number of occasions that the technical development of the American working class, its great cultural and numerical strength, as well as the profound contradictions developing within the citadel of imperialism itself would create the objective conditions for a theoretical development in the United States. As he states in an article "For a Revolutionary Publishing House:"

"There is weight in the idea that the center of social-revolutionary and revolutionary philosophical thought will shift in the next period to America. Under the blows of the crisis and social shake-ups there will here arise a generation of revolutionary theoreticians capable of saying a new word."

CONTRADICTION

This, of course, will not take place in an automatic fashion but only through the sharpest battle with American pragmatism and all those conservative forces within the revolutionary movement objectively conditioned by a period of necessary swimming against the stream and isolation from the working class. Theoretical development will come through the struggle to penetrate the American working class under conditions of sharp class battles and at the same time the penetration of the working class requires theoretical development. This contradiction is in a formal sense absolute and the situation impossible in the sense that there can be no penetration without theory and no theory without penetration. But from the outlook of dialectics it is another way of saying that the challenge posed can only be resolved consciously through the actual practice of the revolutionary party. A study of these three volumes and the new ones which come out will be indispensable preparation for the new element, the new factor.