

Bulletin

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The SWP And

SEP 29 1970

Women's

Liberation

Labor Must Act to--

DEFEND PANTHERS FROM POLICE TERROR

On Monday, August 31 Black Panther Lonnie McLucas was convicted in New Haven on a frame-up charge of "conspiracy to murder." At dawn the same day police armed to the teeth invaded the headquarters of the Philadelphia Black Panthers breaking down doors with axes, tossing tear gas bombs, shooting into the building.

What lies behind the frame-up of the Panthers in New Haven and the manhunt for Angela Davis is now out in the open—the government from Nixon on down has given a green light to the police to open a reign of terror against the Black Panthers and all militants in the working class movement.

It is no accident that this racist campaign is opened up precisely on the eve of the showdown between the UAW and the auto bosses. The attacks on the Panthers are what the employers and the government have in store for the entire labor movement to stop the offensive of the trade unions which threatens to erupt with the impending auto strike.

The New York Daily News headed its Sept. 1 issue with "See Nationwide Kill - Cops Plot" and underneath was a picture of McLucas captioned "Jury Sees Conspiracy." As we have said in the Bulletin



Philadelphia cops use gestapo methods in raid on Panther headquarters as McLucas is declared guilty in New Haven.

the real conspiracy is the conspiracy of the police, the courts and the Nixon Administration to destroy all opposition to its rule.

That the New Haven court could not get a full conviction on McLucas only exposes the frame-up character of its case against the Panthers. But this conviction gotten only on the basis of testimony from a man

who was obviously in league with the cops is now serving as the pretense for Philadelphia type raids all over the country.

In Philadelphia the cops moved in against the Panthers without pretense. The raid was engineered precisely like the one in Chicago in which the police banged down the door and shot Panther leader Fred Hamp-

ton in cold blood.

In Buffalo, N.Y. the cops have dug up a 1902 state anarchy law and have declared they will arrest any Black Panthers found selling or distributing their newspaper on the streets. While police in New York City have said they do not plan to use the law, Philadelphia and Buffalo are clearly just the beginning...

(Continued on Page 2)

**EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEWS
WITH UAW MEMBERS**

**AUTO RANKS
SPEAK OUT ON
CONTRACT**



Philadelphia Cops Attack Panthers



Bullet holes ring window of Philadelphia Panther headquarters after cops attack.

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 1—Police this morning raided the premises of three locations of the Black Panthers' headquarters. This attack comes the day after the conviction in New Haven of Lonnie McClucas and is part of a nationwide series of police provocation directed against the Panthers.

The reasons given for the attack—in spite of the fact that there is no evidence to support it—is that the Panthers were instrumental in causing a series of gun shot attacks against the police officers here this past weekend.

According to this morning's Philadelphia Enquirer, police investigators asserted that "although the Panthers may not be directly connected" with the shootings and killings of police officers they were instrumental by even fighting them.

The hysteria which the police are trying to whip up in order to justify their raids and arrests of the Panthers is made clear in a statement by Police Commissioner Frank L. Rizzo:

"It's sedition. It's treason. We're confronted by a revolutionary group. This is no longer crime. This is revolution. It must be stopped, even if we have to change some of the laws to do it."

TARGET

It is clear from the remarks of Rizzo that the Panthers are not the only target. According to the Enquirer the Police Commissioner said that the publications distributed by the Black Panthers and other militant groups encourage attacks against police and entice recruits to classes in which insurrection and revolution are taught.

Rizzo said: "I have given the police instructions to go after the Black Panthers and after other unlawful elements and if necessary to conduct house to house searches."

In fact Rizzo's charges are called into question on the basis of information given to this reporter by Richard Axelrod of the National Lawyer's Guild, who is one

of the lawyers aiding the Panthers in this case. Axelrod reports that although 15 of the Panthers were picked up in the raids around 6:30 a.m. in the morning they were not charged until 8:30 that night. In the period after the Panthers had been held for six hours, their lawyers obtained writs of habeas corpus calling for the release of the Panthers and \$500 bail until today. This writ was obtained on the basis that the police until that time were unable to come up with any charges.

CHARGES

This writ was ignored by the DA and the police and at 8:30 that night the Panthers were arraigned before one of the most reactionary judges in the city and held on \$100,000 bail each. One of the 15 was released without charges, the others are being held on charges arising out of the alleged defense during the raid. They are charged with assault with intent to kill, battery and assault, and "conspiracy."

This reporter examined the building in which the raid took place and found that the only indications of gun shots were the pock marks in the face of the Panther headquarters themselves. At the site where a shot gun was allegedly fired at the police no pellets could be found in the street nor broken glass or marks on the buildings directly opposite the narrow street. The same was true at the second site where shots were allegedly fired.

It is clear that this is another raid in the fashion of the one in Chicago where Fred Hampton was killed in cold blood and without provocation.

Labor Must Defend Panthers

(Continued from Page 1)

The statement by Philadelphia's Police Commissioner Rizzo who speaks not just for himself but in the spirit of the capitalist class as a whole must serve as a severe warning to all militant blacks, trade unionists, students and youth. "It's sedition. It's treason... It must be stopped, even if we have to change some laws." Or he might have said even if we have to forget the laws.

The dawn raid in Philadelphia only recalls the days of the Palmer raids in the US in the period after World War I, a period characterized by upheavals in the working class. Palmer then the Attorney General opened up a nationwide witchhunt against militant workers, pacifists, Communists and radicals. Meetings and homes were raided. Thousands were arrested, tried and convicted for "sedition" and "criminal anarchy." Spies and secret agents infested the labor movement on behalf of the big corporations. It is this kind of campaign which is being opened up.

The meaning of Agnew's attacks as he departs for Southeast Asia and his assurances to the reactionary puppet regimes are now crystal clear. The vicious attack on the Panthers is the prelude and precedent to crush the opposition to imperialism's war and to crush the fight of the American labor movement against the attacks on its living standards.

The labor movement cannot afford to waste one minute in answering these attacks. Trade unionists must fight in their unions for resolutions to defend the Panthers and all working class victims against these attacks, demanding the release of the Panthers and an immediate end to these attacks.

Meany Collaborates With Nixon To Smash Right To Strike

BY DAN FRIED

On the eve of what may well turn out to be the most significant strike of recent years between the UAW and General Motors, AFL-CIO President George Meany has come out as an undisguised enemy of the auto workers and as a friend of all the labor hating bosses and politicians.

That is exactly what Meany was saying when, in a recent interview this man who once boasted that he had "never led a strike, never participated in a strike," spent a good portion of the interview attacking strikes. Remarking that "You are getting more and more to the point where a strike doesn't make sense," Meany went on to propose "voluntary arbitration" as an alternative.

Nixon and the auto corporations must now be saying, thank you George, because the call for "voluntary" arbitration is simply an excuse for them to insist that the settlement of the impending auto strike by "third party" arbitration is "necessary for the public interest." Clearly Nixon is prepared to make this "arbitration" compulsory and to back it and other strike-breaking activity up with every possible force of the Federal government.

Meany says that strikes do not settle anything but the truth Mr. Meany, is that in the past year or more the rank and file of the unions have forced their leaders out on strike for more days and for more strikes than any time since the post war period. And without having done that, US workers would have been 100 times worse off than before. That is exactly why there is legislation pending in Congress to completely take away from the rank and file the right to ratify contracts and put it entirely in the hands of the likes of Meany and "impartial" arbitrators.

It is because of the great value of these strikes that the government and employers are out to smash the right to strike and to use the auto conflict as a test run.

DISINTEGRATION

In his attempt to elevate all that is conservative, bureaucratic and "middle class" in the labor movement, Meany did however raise a point that cannot be denied. In order to paint the best possible picture of Nixon, Meany correctly pointed out that the Democratic Party is losing the support of workers, "has disintegrated" and is "in a shambles." Meany is attempting to strengthen the Gompersite idea of "reward your friends and punish your enemies"—in short that labor is not opposed to supporting Republicans, Nixon included.

But the one thing that Meany, despite his correct observations on the Democratic Party, refuses to raise is the only alternative to both the Democrats and Republicans: the formation of a labor party. One thing is for sure, the rank and file are not only being forced out on strike but cannot avoid the most fundamental clashes with all the union-busting forces of city, state and Federal governments. At the very center of the union-busting forces today is Nixon.

SSEU Ranks Take Action

NEW YORK, Sept. 1—SSEU Local 371 AFSCME launched a partial work stoppage (or case-dumping) against the City of New York today refusing to work on thousands of welfare cases in excess of contractual limits that have overburdened the membership for months.

This action places the union on the offensive against the City and against reorganization for the first time in months and just in time to coincide with the opening of negotiations with the City for the 1971 contract.

The launching of this fight however has only been possible as a result of the sharpest struggle by the ranks against the union leadership.

The decision to embark on the action originating in the local action of rank and file workers in dozens of centers was first officially authorized by a 53-17 vote by the union Delegates Assembly on August 19.

This vote was then followed by a membership referendum in which the action won overwhelming endorsement with a vote that ran better than 12 to 1.

In spite of this tremendous show of determination by the ranks Hill had the audacity to seek to call off the action at a special emergency Delegate Assembly the night before it was to take place. He did this on the basis of a promise from the City to hire 150 new workers.

Amid catcalls and a torrent of biting speeches against Hill, the leadership was voted down in its attempted betrayal by a vote of about 47 to 33.

A new Special Membership meeting has been called for September 3. The great danger at this meeting and the danger that hangs over the action as a whole is that the City will agree to take up the overwork slack through the reorganization of several more centers.

It is no secret that whole sections of the Delegate Assembly are prepared to unite with Hill on the basis of this formula. The SSEU-371 Committee for New Leadership alone has warned from the beginning of such a deal. Now whole centers like Fulton and Kingsbridge have come to take up the CNL's stand.

It is precisely by more centers now fighting to turn this action into an anti-reorganization fight that not only can the overwork battle be won but the stage will be set for smashing reorganization in the 1971 contract.

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BULLETIN LAUNCHES TROTSKY MEMORIAL DRIVE

BY THE EDITORS

Last fall the Workers League conducted an extended fund campaign which established the *Bulletin* on a firm foundation as a weekly paper—a real milestone in the development of American Trotskyism. That fund was so successful in fact that we were able to raise our quota several times, after beginning with a \$7,000 goal.

Now as we head toward completion of our first year of publication we are launching a Trotsky Memorial Fund with a modest but absolutely essential goal of \$10,000 by December 1. In our opinion there is no better way to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the assassination of Leon Trotsky than to reach this goal in order to consolidate and expand the *Bulletin* on a higher level as *THE Trot-*

skyist weekly in the US.

Toward the same end we are also launching a fall subscription and circulation drive with a goal of 1,100 new and renewed subs and an increase of 1,500 in street sales.

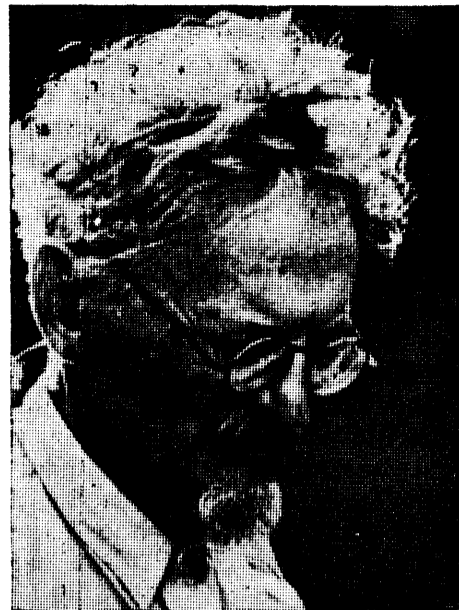
Our ability to expand the circulation, extend the influence and improve the quality of the *Bulletin* has meant a great expense in our moving to a new and much larger national office, as well as the purchasing of equipment to streamline the production and distribution of the *Bulletin*. Our next step will be the setting up of the complete apparatus and machinery for pamphlet publication work. Within a very short time we hope to publish new *Bulletin* pamphlets and essential reprints such as *The New Nationalism and the Negro Question* by Tim Wohlforth.

We plan of course to continue the four page features on theoretical and historical problems of Marxism, which will include a series by Tim Wohlforth on American pragmatism and dialectical materialism and a new series by Dennis

O'Casey on revisionism and the theories of Ernest Mandel.

In addition we will be developing regular special features on youth news, scientific, cinematic and other cultural subjects. Perhaps most important will be our stepped up first hand coverage of trade union struggles and in-depth interviews with workers in various industries. The reports and interviews with auto workers contained in the present issue are a good example of the kind of material we want to present consistently.

These projects require the maintenance of our expanded national office, enlarged *Bulletin* staff and the new equipment—all of which hinges on the successful completion of the fund drive. We are making a special appeal to all our readers and subscribers to help in this effort by sending in the largest possible donations or pledges and by getting new *Bulletin* subs from friends and fellow workers. Please make checks and contributions payable to Labor Publications and mail to 6th floor, 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011.



Leon Trotsky

U.S. Imperialists And Kremlin Agree To Police Middle East

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

US imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy have now sewed up their agreement to crush the Arab revolution by agreeing to separate US and Soviet forces being stationed in Israel and the Arab countries. The Kremlin and the US rulers have worked out a plan to police the Middle East.

This is the real heart of the Fulbright proposal for peace in the Middle East which has been hailed internationally by the Stalinists—to reach a settlement through the UN which would then be enforced by the US and the Soviet Union.

But the movement of the Palestinian and Arab masses threatens at every moment to completely disrupt the counter-revolutionary efforts of US imperialism, Stalinism, Nasser and Hussein.

This is precisely the meaning of the resolutions adopted by the August 28 and 29 Amman conference of the Palestine National Council which sharply condemned the Middle East peace deal now under negotiation and called for the continuation of the armed struggle against Israel.

The declaration of the Council, the political arm of the ten member umbrella guerrilla federation known as the Palestine Liberation Organization, came only two days after the opening of peace talks under the direction of Gunnar Jarring at the UN and shows how tenuous the hopes of Stalinism and world imperialism really are.

COMPLICITY

It is, of course, no secret that whole sections of the guerrilla leadership, in particular Arafat of Al Fatah who dominates the 115 man National Council, have been up to their necks in complicity with Nasser and the whole rotten peace scheme from the outset. The pressure of these elements was reflected not only in the absence in the conference resolutions of any reference to the class struggle against Nasser or Hussein but even in the change

of venue of the conference from the more militant environment of the guerrilla camp to the Jordanian Lawyers Syndicate headquarters in downtown Amman.

Last week's conference was by no means called, as the lying August 28 *Daily World*, organ of the American Communist Party, would have it, because "Palestinians feel their interests may be neglected if they do not participate in any peace settlement." On the contrary what the conference reflects is that the Palestinians feel they are about to be sold out and they are not about to give up their 20 year struggle without a bloody fight.

This is why Nasser and Hussein taking their cue from Moscow must move more directly than ever before to liquidate the guerrilla movement.

For several weeks the guerrilla movement has faced a growing refusal of co-operation from official Arab army units. The refusal of the military authorities to supply intelligence, ammunition and shelter on which the guerrillas had depended has already resulted in a number of guerrilla deaths at the hands of Israeli forces.

The convening last week of the National Council conference signalled a new turn however in this attack.

First to the attack was Breshnev himself, who speaking from central Asia cited the necessity for "realism and responsibility" in relation to the Middle East and then went on to warn that "peace forces" must not allow "the foes of peace to blow up the agreement reached or to use it as a cover for their aggressive



Al Fatah leader Arafat at meeting with Nasser goes along with sellout of refugees.

designs."

Using the words "aggression," "subterfuge" and "provocations" Breshnev tries to place in the same category as the ultra-right wing Zionists' resistance like that coming from Dayan, the just struggle of Palestinians for the homelands from which thanks to Stalinism's complicity in 1948 they have been evicted for over 20 years.

Twenty-four hours following Brezhnev's attack and simultaneous with the conclusion of the guerrilla conference, Hussein himself went on national radio to make clear that he would not tolerate any threat to Jordanian sovereignty or in other words any acts aimed at disruption of peace efforts.

Shortly thereafter the armed attack began. On August 28 Jordanian troops shot and wounded guerrillas associated with the left-wing Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine as they attempted to paste up posters attacking Jordanian reactionaries on the walls of the Amman post office. As a result general street fighting has broken out and has escalated in the last few days with guerrilla units seizing the local post office at one point and the Jordanian army resorting to the use of tanks.

The real relation between Hussein and the Arab commandoes was most clearly expressed in the virtual fortification of the Amman conference with commandoes blockading all access roads to the meeting hall and the emplacement of a huge Soviet made machine gun at the conference door.

The willingness of Stalinism to play a direct role in the shedding of guerrilla blood found its sharpest expression in the agreement of the Kremlin and the US to police the Middle East.

The reason for the Kremlin's role is clear. The whole world counterrevolutionary strategy of both the Kremlin and US imperialism has momentarily come to center on their ability to strike a bargain in the Middle East.

It is clear that Nixon in particular views a sellout by the Stalinists in the Middle East as setting the stage for a sellout in Cambodia and Vietnam.

It is in fact precisely the climate brought about by the August 7 ceasefire more than any new concrete proposals that have sent representatives from the US and the North Vietnam scrambling back to the peace table in Paris. The securing of a standstill ceasefire in the Middle East inevitably serves as a blueprint for Vietnam.

Agnew Assures Puppet Regime War Will Go On In SE Asia



Jumpy Secret Service men surround Agnew on street of Cambodian capital Phnom Penh.

BY MARK ROSENSWEIG

Agnew made it clear last week that the US would fight to the last to crush the Vietnamese revolution. US imperialism is

entirely committed to this struggle, whose outcome means its life or death.

On his trip Agnew announced his disregard for parliamentary limitations of US involvement in Southeast Asia and

reassured the puppet regimes that the US will continue the fight against the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

The crisis US imperialism faces is very clear both to Nixon and Agnew. Two-thirds of Cambodia is in the hands of the liberation forces and Phnom Penh is under attack by liberation forces only a few miles from the city limits.

So when Agnew says upon returning home from his trip that more than half of the Communist combat forces "have been eliminated" he is only trying through this distortion to hide imperialism's precarious hold on Southeast Asia. Agnew himself on his trip to Phnom Penh had to be guarded by US agents who surrounded him in the middle of the city with poised machine guns.

US imperialism is in a bind. The continuing offensive of the workers and peasants in Southeast Asia, the growing discontent of the American army, are now being joined by the offensive of the American working class. This is why Nixon talks about troop withdrawals in the US and at the same time sends his right hand man over to quell the fears and panic of his puppets assuring them that the US will not give up.

Key to Nixon's plans to crush the Vietnamese revolution is his recent collabora-

tion with the Kremlin in imposing cease fire in the Middle East. Agnew had the task while in Asia of convincing Chiang Kai-shek, Lon Nol and Chung Hee Park that their interests would be protected in any such negotiations with the Kremlin. With the North Vietnamese chief negotiator Xuan Thuy now hinting at the possibility of secret meetings with the US representative a Middle East type settlement is certainly being planned.

The American Communist Party has played an active role in the preparations for such a betrayal of the Vietnamese Revolution in rallying forces behind the very "doves" who proposed the Middle East deal. Fulbright's proposal for the Middle East which met with the approval of the Kremlin would mean the safe guarding of all imperialist interests in that area.

In an editorial in the *New York Times* of August 30, this deal is used as an example to solve the "impasse" in Vietnam. The Fulbright Plan is exactly what Nixon, the "hawk," would love to be able to impose in Vietnam.

Only the independent mobilization of the working class with its brothers in Southeast Asia can prevent the imperialists and the Stalinists from imposing this treacherous plan.

TORIES CALL OUT RAIDING SQUADS AGAINST BRITISH WORKERS

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

Last Thursday the London police organized in crime squads carried out 50 raids throughout England. Machine guns, explosives and other firearms were seized and a number of people arrested. It was immediately clear that this was only the beginning and that other raids were already being organized.

These raids are a sharp warning to the British working class. This is no sudden isolated incident but a conscious preparation by the Tory government to crush the working class. The force being used to suppress the Irish working class is being turned against the British workers.

SHOCK

The reaction of British workers was one of shock and surprise. The British Broadcasting Co. called the raids "incredible." The ruling class likes to picture England as an exception, a model of class peace, and bourgeois democracy. Such illusions and complacency about the Tory government become extremely dangerous in a period when this government is preparing for war against the working class.

The government's first official explanation of the raids was that it was aimed at Republican Army Units in Ireland. However, later a senior police official denied that the raids had any political significance. The truth which these statements attempt to hide is that the government is afraid

these arms will be used in a civil war in England itself.

The Tory government knows it must prepare for this because it fully intends to challenge the working class into a head-on confrontation. This policy was first tested out in the dock strike last month in which all the demands of the workers were rejected. The recent raids are only a preparation for the further struggles to come.

The Socialist Labour League, British section of the Fourth International, throughout its campaign for the withdrawal of all British troops from Ireland warned British workers that the brutal methods being tested out on the Irish workers would be used against them. Their fight against British imperialism is not a pacifist one but is linked to the struggle against the Tory government and for a workers' government.

Now this warning is being completely confirmed. The crisis of the capitalist system forces the bourgeoisie of every country to attack the living standards and rights of its own working class.



Ulster cop ready for battle.

The period when the British workers could have certain privileges while its ruling class plundered and oppressed other countries is over. The decline of British capitalism and its profit system, combined with the heroic fight of the Irish working class makes it impossible for the English bourgeoisie to stabilize itself. This is what makes it turn to the road of

repression and to fascism.

The British rulers are following in the footsteps of their European counterparts. Britain is no longer an exception. The violence that is being used against the French, Italian and Spanish workers is now reaching England itself.

TENSION

Tremendous tension between the government and the working class is building up in England and the Trade Union Congress (similar to the AFL-CIO) has been forced to tell all member unions to build up strike funds in preparation for major battles. Auto workers have gone out on strike and many other unions are demanding wage increases.

Yet despite these events the Stalinists continue to defend their policy of a "peaceful road to socialism" in Britain, a policy which can only disarm the working class and leave it defenseless in face of the coming attacks.

The Socialist Labour League is the only organization in England which fights to prepare the working class for a political struggle against the Tory government. The mobilization of the British workers in support of their Irish brothers will strike a tremendous blow against the Tories. It is this class solidarity and the fighting strength of the working class all over Europe which the Tories are so deathly afraid of.

Workers Go On Wage Offensive Internationally

BY MELODY FARROW

For the past year European workers have been in the forefront of a continuous strike offensive against the employers which is shaking the foundations of the capitalist system. Despite the treachery of their Stalinist leaders and the violence and repression of the ruling class this strike wave shows no signs of abating. While the trade union leaders fight to restrict these struggles to purely economic demands these massive strikes are the first stage of the European revolution.

Italy is right at the heart of this explosion where strikes have continued since the fall when a general strike on November

19 forced the government to resign. The demands have centered around improvements in wages, housing, health services,

and price curbs. Every minor gain that the workers won through the fall strikes was only taken back as prices continue to rise and the bosses continue to squeeze workers even more to pay for the crisis in the system.

MILITANT

A general strike which had been called for July 7 led to the fall of the Rumor coalition government and the trade union leaders quickly called off the strike. On the eve of this strike 20,000 workers at the Fiat auto factories in Turin were suspended in an attempted provocation by the bosses. The Turin auto workers, the most militant section of the Italian working class have continued to fight back against the cowardice of their leaders who have refused to fight against the suspensions. They have been on unofficial strike since the week before July 7. In other areas, railway men were scheduled to go on a 24 hour strike on August 12 and teachers have boycotted end of the year exams in order to win their demands. In Venice striking engineers were shot at by the police leaving ten wounded.

The new Colombo coalition will no more be able to solve the crisis than its predecessors. It has already announced that it will not devalue the lira but will rely on "fiscal measures," i.e., more exploitation and sacrifice by the working class in order to solve the economic crisis. The employers have branded the most minimal demands of the workers as "economic lunacy."

Over the past months a new labor upsurge has begun in Spain. In Granada construction workers on strike were shot at, killing two workers. Shortly following this the subway workers of Madrid went on strike. In France there have been sporadic strikes ever since the General Strike in 1968 and most recently there has been a wave of strikes in the public sector, including air traffic controllers, city transportation workers and civil servants. Even more powerful explosions are building up inside the French working class.

DOCK STRIKE

The British dock strike, the first national dock strike since 1926 must be seen as part of this wages offensive in all countries. The coming to power of the Tories means that the capitalists must now launch the most vicious attack on the working class. This is what happened in the dock strike where the Tories completely rejected the basic demands of the workers and challenged them to an all out fight.

It was only through the complete retreat of the Stalinists that the workers were stabbed in the back and told to go back without a fight. This was however only a temporary defeat. As one dock worker phrased it, this was only the beginning of the fight, the dockers would be out again. Following on the heels of this strike the British miners and railwaymen are now pressing for wage increases of 25% to 30%.

This strike wave will only continue to develop not only in scope but in character. What continually feeds it is the deepening

economic crisis of the capitalist system. Workers are spontaneously struggling to maintain their living standards against rocketing inflation and the government's drive to increase profits by more speed up and unemployment.

While these struggles begin first as a defensive economic struggle their character must and is changing in a political direction. They cannot remain on the economic level because the employers and the governments have flatly refused to give any meaningful concessions. The only concessions which have been won were through massive independent action by the working class whose revolutionary overtones clearly frightens the ruling class.

These reforms are illusory and only force the working class into even bigger actions. The workers enter this period of crisis with confidence and strength and with powerful trade unions. This is a new generation of fighters who have not been defeated and are determined to fight until the end. At no time since World War II has there been such great potential for the building of Marxist parties.

The capitalist class is in an impasse. Every new attack on the living standards of the working class only leads to more explosions and struggles. Every attempt to stabilize the economy end in more disequilibrium. This offensive of the European workers is the central factor in the economic and political situation in Europe. The central question facing the ruling classes in every country is how to destroy the working class. While they continue to utilize their collaboration with the reformist and Stalinist leaders to isolate and defeat strikes they must also launch a campaign of outright terror like the shootings in Venice and Granada and encourage fascist elements that they can fall back on.

STALINISTS

The Stalinists have played the key role in holding back the level of the strikes and preventing them from developing into political confrontations with the capitalist class. They have done everything in their power to hide the truly revolutionary significance of these battles. In Italy and France they have consciously isolated one industry from another and have attempted to demoralize workers by calling them out in temporary actions which gain nothing. They applaud the most blatant sell outs such as the British dock strike. History has shown time and time again that while the Stalinists cannot indefinitely hold back the working class, without an alternative leadership, they will once again play out their role and defeat the new revolutionary tide.

The question of power is on the agenda in every major capitalist country. As one Turin auto worker said:

"We don't want bosses to exploit our labor. We want a workers' government. The Communist Party is less than useless. We need a government of the working class, not of the agents of Fiat."

Black Soldier Denied Burial



Mother of dead GI weeps over slain son.

she decided to fight and took the case to court.

This one incident exposes the truth about the Vietnam war, that far from being a war for freedom and democracy, it is a war to defend exploitation and oppression against the Vietnamese as well as against black and white workers in the U.S. Specialist Williams and all the other soldiers who have been killed had no interest in this war, he was only cannon fodder to defend the bosses' corrupt and hated system everywhere in the world.

Those who are lucky enough to get home alive return home to the ghettos, to unemployment, discrimination and racism. It seems that not only is the black man unequal while alive it is no different when he is dead and certainly no different even if he died for his "country."

JUSTIFICATION

The Federal government only intervened in this case because of the publicity and because it hoped to save itself from embarrassment. The truth is that these humiliations are still a daily fact in the South as well as the North and are well known to Nixon.

When the Federal District Court ruled in favor of the G.I.'s burial they had to find legal justification for it and dug up an 1866 law pertaining to the rights of slaves. So some 100 years since the Civil War nothing can hide the fact that precious little is different. Black people are forced into tremendous court battles to win the most elementary rights.

Mrs. Campbell summed it up when she said: "All these proceedings and papers and hearings—they don't need any of this to send him over there to die." Referring to her three other children she said: "After this I don't want them to go into the service."

What Mrs. Campbell is saying is what many more working people and soldiers are beginning to grasp...that this is not their war, that there is nothing in the capitalist system worth defending.

The contradiction between what they are supposedly defending in Vietnam and what they face at home is being exposed to the bone. It is this understanding that is growing among the working class youth, which marks the beginning of the end of U.S. imperialism.

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

On August 8, Specialist 4 Pondexteur E. Williams of the First Air Cavalry was killed in Vietnam. He was only 20 years old. Yet despite the fact that he supposedly died for "freedom" and "democracy," he was refused burial in the cemetery of his family's choice because he is black.

When his body was sent home his mother Mrs. Mary Campbell made plans to bury him at Hillcrest Memorial Gardens in Fort Pierce, Florida where an elderly white woman had left Mrs. Campbell a plot. The cemetery had always been reserved for whites while black people were buried in the poor and shabby black cemetery. The director of Hillcrest refused to allow burial even though he had placed an ad in the newspaper offering a free plot for any "honorably discharged" veteran. He expressed his fear that families of whites buried there now would sue him (and that he would lose all future business) because the cemetery is advertised as only for "Caucasians."

As if the grief of the death of her son were not enough, Mrs. Campbell now had to take up a fight just to see that her son could be buried. Rather than back down



EUROPE and AMERICA

Two speeches by
LEON TROTSKY

2 WHITHER EUROPE?

We are publishing in this issue of the Bulletin the conclusion of 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)

American pacifism in practice

TIME IS the best critic in all questions. Let us see then just what the American methods of peaceful penetration looked like in action during these last years. A mere tally of the most important facts will show us that American 'pacifism' has triumphed all along the line; but it has triumphed as a noiseless (as yet) method of imperialist plunder and of half-masked preparations for the greatest of conflicts.

The most graphic expression and exposure of the essence of American 'pacifism' was supplied by the 1922 Washington Conference. In 1919-1920 many people, and I among them, asked themselves: What will happen in 1922-1923 when, through her shipbuilding programme, the US is assured of naval equality with Great Britain? England, the little island, had maintained her domination through the superiority of her fleet over the combined fleets of any other two countries. Would she abandon this superiority without a fight?

There were many who, like myself, considered that in 1922-1923 a war between England and America, with the participation of Japan, was not excluded. But what happened instead? In place of war came—purest 'pacifism'. The US invited England to Washington and said, 'Please take rations. There will be five units for me, five for you, Japan three, France three'. There is a naval programme! And England accepted.

What is this? This is 'pacifism'. But it is pacifism of a sort that imposes its will by dint of monstrous economic superiority and prepares 'peacefully' military superiority in the next historical period.

And what of the Dawes plan? While

Poincare, after seizing the Ruhr basin, bustled about in central Europe with his kindergarten plans, the Americans surveyed the scene with field glasses from their point of vantage, and waited. And when the falling franc and other unpleasant things compelled Poincare to beat a retreat, the American arrived with a plan for the pacification of Europe. He bought the right to supervise Germany for 800 million marks, half of which, furthermore, was supplied by England. And for this bargain price of a few million dollars Wall Street placed its Controller astride the neck of the German people. 'Pacifism'? You cannot wriggle out of this pacifist strangler's noose.

And what of the stabilization of currency? Fluctuation of currency in Europe discomfited the American. He is discomfited because this allows Europe to export cheaply. The American needs a stable currency both for collecting regular interest payment on his loans as well as for preserving financial order in general. How can one invest his capital in Europe otherwise?

And so the American compelled the Germans to introduce a stable currency; he forced the English, too, by granting them a loan of \$300 million for this purpose; Lloyd George recently said: 'The pound sterling now looks the dollar right in the face'. Lloyd George is a cocky old codger. If the pound can look the dollar right in the face, it is because this proud pound sterling has \$300 million propping up its spine.

And what of France? The French bourgeoisie is in dread of the transition to a stabilized currency. This is a very painful operation. Says the American: You won't get a loan on any other terms; do as you like. The American insists that France disarm in order to be able to pay her debts. Pure pacifism, disarmament,

stabilization of currency—one would hardly improve on this. America prepares 'peacefully' to bring France to her knees.

With England the question of gold parity and of debts has already been settled. The English, if I am not mistaken, are henceforth to pay the US around 330 million rubles a year. England has, in her turn, settled the question of the Italian debt, of which she will receive but an insignificant part. France is the principal debtor of England and America, but has paid nothing thus far.

However, she will have to pay unless events of an entirely different order—not financial but revolutionary—intervene to cancel all the old debts. Germany makes payments to France and England who demand payment of debts even of us. What then is the over-all picture of Europe?

The English bourgeoisie collects or is getting ready to collect her loans in dribs and drabs from the whole of Europe in order then to transmit these collected sums plus an increment added by herself across the Atlantic to Uncle Sam. What office does Mr Baldwin or King George hold today? Merely that of chief tax-collector for America in a province called Europe. The task of this agent is to squeeze out the arrears from the peoples of Europe and ship them to the US. The organization is, as you observe, perfectly pacifist, peaceful. Under the system of American loan-rationing are organized the financial interrelations of the European peoples, supervised by the most punctual of tax-payers, Great Britain, who for this receives the title of Chief Tax Collector.

The European policy of America rests wholly on this: Germany, pay France; Italy, pay England; France, pay England; Russia, Germany, Italy, France and England, pay me, America. This hierarchy of indebtedness constitutes one of the pillars of American pacifism.

The world struggle for oil between England and America has already led to revolutionary shocks and military clashes in Mexico, Turkey, Persia. But tomorrow's newspapers will perhaps inform us that England and America have arrived at a peaceful collaboration in the domain of oil. What will this mean? It will mean an oil conference in Washington. In other words, England will be invited to take a more modest ration of oil. Consequently, 14-carat pacifism, again.

In another field, that of struggle for markets, there also obtain up to a certain time and point a 'peaceful' regulation. One German writer, former minister of I forget just which government—former ministers are plentiful in Germany—Baron Reibnitz has the following to say on the struggle for markets between England and

America: England, you know, can avoid war provided she refrains, in favour of the USA, from any pretensions in Canada, in S America, in the Pacific and on the eastern coast of Asia and in Australia: 'there will then remain for her the other fields outside Europe'. I can't quite make out just what will remain for England after that. But the alternative is correctly posed: either resort to war or 'pacifistically' sink to a meagre ration.

And here is the latest chapter, a completely new one: it concerns foreign raw materials—a chapter interesting in the highest degree.

The United States, you see, lacks many things of which others have no lack. In this connection American newspapers have published a map showing the distribution of raw materials over the whole globe. They now talk and think in terms of whole continents. The European pygmies get exercised over Albania, Bulgaria, corridors of one sort or another, and wretched strips of land. Americans think in terms of continents: it simplifies the study of geography, and what is more important, provides ample room for robbery. And so, American newspapers have published a map of the world with ten blank spots on it, the ten major deficiencies of the US economy in raw materials: rubber, coffee, nitrates, tin, potash, sisal . . . and other less important raw materials.

It appears that all these raw materials are monopolized (horror of horrors!) not by the US, but by other countries. Rubber, about 70 per cent of the world output, comes from tropical islands belonging to England, while America, by the way, consumes 70 per cent of world production for automobile tyres and other requirements. Coffee comes from Brazil.

Chile, financed by the English, furnishes the nitrates. And so forth, and so on.

Mr Churchill, who does not cede to Lloyd George in cockiness, resolved to recover the sums paid out to America for the debts by raising the price of rubber. And Hoover, director of American trade, has computed with the aid of a calculating machine that in a single year, 1925, the US paid the English for rubber a sum of \$600 to \$700 million over and above an 'honest' price. That's what he said. Hoover knows very well how to distinguish between honest and dishonest prices: that's his job. As soon as the American newspapers learned about this, they raised an incredible hue and cry. I cite one quotation from 'The Evening Post':

'What good are all these Locarnos and Genevas. these leagues and protocols, these disarmament conferences and economic conferences, if a powerful group



Dawes

of nations intentionally isolates America?'

You must picture to yourself this poor America, who is being isolated and exploited on all sides. Rubber, coffee, tin, nitrates, sisal for ropes, potash—everything has been grabbed up and monopolized, so that an honourable American billionaire is no longer able to drive his automobile, nor drink enough coffee, nor get rope good enough to hang himself, nor even obtain a tin bullet with which to blow out his brains. The situation is really intolerable: exploitation on all sides! It is enough to make a man lie down alive in a standardized casket!

Mr Hoover wrote an article precisely in this connection—and what an article! It consists exclusively of questions—29 by count—each sounds better than the one before. As you might well have gathered, the barbs of all these questions are aimed at England. Is it a nice thing to soak people over and above an honest price? And if it isn't nice, isn't it bound to introduce irritation into the relations between one nation and another? And if it is bound to introduce irritation, isn't the government bound to intervene? And if a self-respecting government intervenes, mightn't grave consequences ensue?

One English newspaper, less polite but more candid than the rest, wrote on this score that one fool can ask so many questions that a hundred wise men cannot answer. With this the patriotic newspaper unburdened itself. In the first place, I do not dare admit that a fool occupies so responsible a position. And even if that were the case . . . comrades, it is not an admission on my part, but merely a logical premise. I say, even if this were so, Hoover is nonetheless at the head of the colossal apparatus of American capitalism, and consequently has no need for intelligence since the whole bourgeois 'machine' does his thinking for him. And, at all events, after Hoover's 29 questions, each of which came like a pistol shot under Mr Baldwin's very ears, rubber immediately became cheaper. And this fact illuminates the world situation far better than world scores of statistics. Such, comrades, is American pacifism in practice.

No avenue of escape for European capitalists

IT IS to this United States, who brooks no obstacle on her path, who views each rise in prices of raw materials she lacks as a malicious assault upon her inalienable right to exploit the whole world—it is to this new America, wildly on the offensive, that dismembered, divided Europe finds itself counterposed—a Europe, poorer than before the war, with the framework of its markets still more restricted, loaded with debts, torn by antagonisms and crushed by bloated militarism.

During the period of reconstruction there was no lack of illusions among bourgeois and Social-Democratic economists and politicians concerning the possibility of Europe's regeneration. European industry, first in France and then in Germany, picked up quite rapidly at certain moments after the war. This is hardly surprising; in the first place the normal demand was regenerated, even if not to full proportions, because of the exhaustion of all previous stocks. There was nothing left. Furthermore France remained with vast devastated areas which constituted an auxiliary market. So long as the most pressing needs of these

war-stripped and devastated markets were being supplied, industry was able to operate at a healthy pace, giving rise to great hopes and great illusions. Now, so far as the essence of the matter is concerned, the balance sheet of these illusions has been drawn even by the more alert bourgeois economists. There is no avenue of escape for European capitalism.

The unexampled economic superiority of the US even independently of a conscious policy on the part of the American bourgeoisie, will no longer permit European capitalism to raise itself. American capitalism, in driving Europe more and more into a blind alley, will automatically drive her onto the road of revolution. In this is the most important key to the world situation.

This is revealed most graphically and incontestably in England's situation. England's trans-oceanic exports are cut into by America, Canada, Japan, and by the industrial development of her own colonies. Suffice it to point out that on the textile market of India, a British colony, Japan is squeezing out England. And on the European market, every increase of sales of English merchandise cuts into the sales of Germany, France and vice versa. Most often it is vice versa.

The exports of Germany and France hit those of Great Britain. The European market is not expanding. Within its narrow limits, shifts occur now to one side, now to another. To hope that the situation will change radically in favour of Europe is to hope for miracles. Just as under the conditions of the domestic market, the bigger and more advanced enterprise is assured victory over the small or backward enterprise, so, in the conditions of the world market, the victory of the US over Europe, that is, first and foremost over England, is inevitable.

In 1925 England's imports and exports reached respectively 111 per cent and 76 per cent of the pre-war levels. This implies an adverse trade balance of unprecedented proportions. The reduction in exports signifies an industrial crisis which strikes not at the secondary but at the basic branches of industry: coal, steel, shipbuilding, woollens, etc. Temporary and even considerable improvements are possible and even inevitable, but the basic line of decline is predetermined.

One becomes filled with justifiable contempt for the 'statesmen' of England who have retained all their old conformities so incompatible with the new conditions and who lack the most elementary understanding of the world situation and the inevitable consequences inherent in it. The reigning English politicians, Baldwin and Churchill, have recently favoured us again with their candour. At the end of last year Churchill announced that he had 12 reasons (yes, he said that) for being in an optimistic mood. In the first place a stabilized national currency. The English economist Keynes has called Churchill's attention to the fact that this stabilization meant a minimum reduction of 10 per cent in the prices of merchandise exported, and consequently a corresponding increase in the adverse trade balance.

The second reason for being optimistic was the excellent price of rubber. Sad to say, Mr Hoover's 29 questions have considerably reduced the rubberized optimism of Mr Churchill.

Thirdly, there was the decrease in the number of strikes. But let us wait on this score until the end of April when the collective contract of the miners comes up for consideration. Fourth reason for optimism Locarno. From one hour to the next, there is no improvement. The Anglo-French conflict far from diminishing has intensified since Locarno. As touches Locarno, let us wait; one counts one's chickens when they are hatched.

We refrain from enumerating the remaining reasons for optimism; on Wall Street the price they fetch is still dropping. It is interesting to note that 'The Times' of London published an editorial on the same subject entitled: 'Two Rays of Hope'. 'The Times' is more modest than Churchill; it has not 12 but only two rays of hope, and these two are x-rays, that is rather problematical rays.

To the professional light-mindedness of Churchill one can counterpose the more serious opinion of the Americans who make an appraisal of British economy their own standpoint, and also the opinion of British industrialists themselves. Upon returning from Europe, Klein, the director of the US Department of Commerce, made a report to industrialists which, notwithstanding its purely conventional tone of reassurance, lets the

truth break through.

'From the economic point of view,' he said, 'the only gloomy spot (abstraction evidently made from the situation of France and Italy as well as the relatively slow restoration of Germany)—the only gloomy spot, I say, is the United Kingdom. It seems to me that England is in a doubtful commercial position. I would not want to be too pessimistic because England is our best customer but a number of factors are developing in that country, which, it seems to me, must give rise to serious consideration. There exist in England formidable taxes, the reason for which, according to certain people, must be found in our thirst for money, not to say more. Still it is not entirely correct. . . . The stock of tools of the coal industry is the same as a few dozen years ago, with the result that the cost of manual labour per ton is three or four times more than in the United States.'

And so forth and so on, in the same vein.

Now, here is another comment. J. Harvey, American ex-ambassador in Europe, considered by the English as a 'friend and well-wisher', which is in a sense true for he speaks as a rule sentimentally of the need of coming to England's aid—this same J. Harvey recently



Hoover

published an article entitled: 'The End of England' (the title alone is priceless!), in which he comes to the conclusion that 'English production has had its day. Hereafter the lot of England is to be an intermediate agent'. That is to say, the sales clerk and bank teller of the United States. Such is the conclusion of a friend and well-wisher.

Let us now see what George Hunter, a great English shipbuilder, whose note to the government made a stir in the entire British press, has to say:

'Has the government' (and the government, after all, is Churchill with his 12 reasons for optimism), he says, 'a clear idea of the disastrous condition of English industry? Does it know that this condition, far from improving, is worsening progressively? The number of our unemployed and of our partial unemployed represents at the minimum 12.5 per cent of the employed workers. Our trade balance is unfavourable. Our railroads and a large part of our industrial enterprises pay dividends out of their reserves or pay

none at all. If that continues it is bankruptcy and ruin. There is no improvement in prospect.'

The coal industry is the keystone of English capitalism. At present it is completely dependent on government subsidies. 'We can', says Hunter, 'subsidize the coal industry as much as we like; that will not prevent our industry generally to wane'. But if subsidies stop, English industrialists could not continue to pay the wages they now pay; and that would provoke, beginning with the next First of May, a grandiose economic conflict.* It is not hard to imagine what would be implied by a strike embracing, not less than a million miners, backed according to all indications by approximately a million railwaymen and transport workers. England would enter into a period of greatest economic shocks. One must either continue to grant ruinous and hopeless subsidies or resign oneself to a profound social conflict.

Churchill has 12 reasons for optimism, but the social statistics of England testify that the number of employed workers is decreasing, that the number of miners is decreasing, but that there is an increase in the number of restaurant employees, cabaret personnel and elements of the lumpen-proletarian type. At the expense of producers the number of lackeys increases, and, by the way, these figures do not include the political lackeys and ministers who with servility implore the generosity of Americans.

Let us once again counterpose America and England. In America there is a growing aristocracy of labour which aids in the establishment of company unions; while in England, fallen from her supremacy of yesterday, there grow layers of lumpen-proletariat below. Revealed best of all in this juxtaposition and counterposition is the displacement of the world economic axis. And this displacement will continue to operate until the class axis of society itself is displaced, that is, until the proletarian revolution.

Mr Baldwin of course, demurs to this. Though Mr Baldwin carries more weight than Churchill, he understands as little. At a gathering of industrialists he outlined a means of getting out of the predicament—a Conservative Prime Minister always has patent remedies for all ailments. 'It sometimes seems to me,' he said, 'that some of us have slept for at least six or seven years'. Much longer! Mr Baldwin himself has been asleep for at least 50 years, while others stayed up. 'We will do well', continued the Prime Minister, 'to be guided by the progress realized during this period by the United States'. It would indeed take a bit of trying to be guided by the 'progress' of the United States. In that country they dispose of a national wealth of 320 billions, 60 billions in the banks, an annual accumulation of 7 billions, while in England there is a deficit. Let us be guided a little! Let us try!

'The two parties (capitalists and workers),' continues Baldwin, 'can learn much more at the school of the United States than in the study of the situation in Moscow'. Mr Baldwin should refrain from spitting into the Moscow well. We could teach him a few things. We know how to orient ourselves among facts, analyse world economy, forecast a thing or two, in particular the decline of capitalist England. But Mr Baldwin cannot do it.

Churchill, the Finance Minister, also referred to Moscow. Without it, you

* Trotsky made this prediction on February 15, 1926. In May, the miners' struggle led to the British General Strike.—Ed.

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can't make a good speech nowadays. Churchill, you see, had read that morning a horrible speech by Mr Tomsky, who is not a member of the House of Lords. He happens to be, as Mr Churchill truthfully asserts, a man who occupies an extremely important post in the Soviet Republic. Mr Tomsky did not spend his youth at Oxford or at Cambridge with Mr Churchill but in the Boutirky Prison, here at Moscow. Nevertheless, Mr Churchill is obliged to speak of Mr Tomsky. And, it must be admitted, he does not speak very kindly about Mr Tomsky's speech at the Conference of trade unions at Scarborough. Mr Tomsky did indeed make a speech there, and apparently not a bad one, judging from the impression it made on Mr Churchill.



Keynes

The latter cited extracts from the speech which he characterized as 'ramblings of a barbarian.'

'I estimate,' he said, 'that in this country we are capable of managing our own affairs without unwarrantable interference from outside.' Mr Churchill is a very proud man, but he is wrong. His patron Baldwin says that one must learn at the school of the United States.

'We do not want to have a freshly laid crocodile egg for breakfast,' continues Mr Churchill. It is Tomsky, it seems, who laid a crocodile egg in England. Mr Churchill does not like it; he prefers the politics of the ostrich that hides its head in the sand, and, as you know, both the ostrich and the crocodile propagate themselves in the self-same tropical colonies of England.

Then Mr Churchill gets really cocky: 'I am not afraid of the Bolshevik revolution in this country. I do not criticize personalities.' And so forth and so on. That does not prevent him from delivering a wild speech against Tomsky. So he is afraid, after all. He does not criticize the personality of Tomsky. God forbid, he merely calls him a crocodile.

'Great Britain is not Russia'. Very true. 'What use is there in introducing to the English workers the dull doctrine of Karl Marx and in making them sing out of tune the "Internationale"?' It is true that the English workers sometimes sing the 'Internationale' off key with music supplied by MacDonald, but they will learn to sing without any false notes precisely from Moscow. In our opinion, despite all the 12 reasons for optimism, the economic situation of England brings nearer that hour when the English working class will sing the 'Internationale' at the top of their voices. Prepare your ear-drums, Mr Churchill!

As touches Germany and France, I shall limit myself to brief remarks.

The day before yesterday, I received from one of our engineers who made a tour of the German factories where our orders are being filled, a letter in which he characterized the situation in these terms: 'As an engineer, I became very depressed. Industry here is declining for lack of market, and no number of American loans will provide this market'. The number unemployed in Germany has passed the two million mark. Owing to the rationalization of production skilled workers comprise about three-fourths of the total unemployed. Germany has gone through a crisis of inflation and then through a crisis of deflation; now a boom ought to start but instead there is a terrible collapse—over two million are without employment. And the most onerous consequences of the Dawes regime for Germany are still to come.

In France, industry made a significant step forward after the war. This

deceived many people and gave birth to the illusions of 'reconstruction'. As a matter of fact, France has been living beyond her means; her industry picked up on the basis of a temporary internal market (devastated regions) and, in addition, at the expense of the whole country (depreciation of the franc). Now the hour of payment has come. America says: 'Disarm, retrench, tighten your belt, go over to a stable currency'. A stable currency means the reduction of production and exports; it means unemployment, deportation of foreign-born proletarians, lowering the wages of the French workers. The period of inflation ruined the petty bourgeoisie; the period of deflation will spur the proletariat to action.

The French government dares not even approach the solution of the financial question. Finance ministers succeed one another every two months and continue to print fraudulent banknotes. This is the sole means at their disposal for the regulation of the country's economic life. In Hungary, Admiral Horthy, believing that there was nothing complicated about this art, began to counterfeit French notes, not with an eye to sustaining the Republic but rather in order to restore the monarchy. Republican France refused to tolerate this monarchist competition and proceeded to make arrests in Hungary, but, aside from this, very little has been done to restore French currency. France is heading toward an economic and political crisis.

In these conditions, i.e. against the background of a disintegrating Europe, the League of Nations wants to convene two conferences this year: one on disarmament, the other on the economic regeneration of Europe. Let us, however, not hurry to reserve our seats. The preparations for these conferences are proceeding with extreme slowness, encountering contradictions of interests at every step.

As touches the preparation of the disarmament conference, of exceptional interest is a semi-official article recently published in an English review and eloquently signed 'Augur'. Everything points to the fact that this Augur has close ties with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and is generally well acquainted with what goes on behind the scenes. Under the banner of preparing the disarmament conference the British Augur threatens us 'with measures which will not be pacific measures'.

This amounts to a direct threat of war. Who is threatening? England, who is losing her foreign markets; England, where unemployment prevails; England, where the lumpen-proletariat is growing; England, who has only a single optimist left, threatening us with war in the present situation. Why? Under what pretext? Is it not because she wants to take it out on somebody else because of the affronts dealt her by America? As for us, we do not want war. But if the British ruling classes wish to accelerate the birth pangs, if history wishes to deprive them of their reason before depriving them of power, it must, precisely now, push them over the steep slope of war. There will be incalculable suffering. But should the criminal madmen let loose a new war on Europe, those who will emerge victorious will not be Baldwin, nor Churchill, nor their American masters, but the revolutionary proletariat of Europe.

Has capitalism outlived itself

IN CONCLUSION, let me pose a question which, it seems to me, flows from the very essence of my report. This question is: Has capitalism outlived itself? Or to put it differently: Is capitalism still capable of developing the productive forces on a world scale and of heading mankind forward?

This is a fundamental question. It is of decisive significance for the proletariat of Europe, for the oppressed peoples of the Orient, for the entire world, and first and foremost, for the destiny of the Soviet Union. If it turned out that capitalism is still capable of fulfilling a progressive historical mission, of increasing the wealth of the peoples, of making their labour more productive, that would signify that we, the Communist Party of the USSR, were premature in singing its 'de profundis'; in other words, it would signify that we took power too soon to try to build socialism.

Because, as Marx explained, no social system disappears before exhausting all the possibilities latent in it. Confronted with the new economic situation unfolding before us at present, with the ascendancy of America over all capitalist mankind and the radical shift in the

correlation of economic forces, we must pose anew this question: Has capitalism outlived itself? Or has it still before it a perspective of progressive work?

For Europe, as I have tried to show, the question is definitively decided in the negative. Europe after the war, fell into a far worse situation than before the war. But the war itself was not an accidental phenomenon. It was the blind revolt of the productive forces against capitalist forms, including those of the national state. The productive forces created by capitalism could no longer be contained within the framework of social forms of capitalism, including the framework of national states. Hence the war.

What has the war brought Europe? A situation ten times worse than before, the same capitalist social forms, but more reactionary; the same tariff walls, but more rigid; the same frontiers, but narrower; the same armies, but more numerous; an increased indebtedness; a more restricted market. Such is the general situation in Europe. If today England rises a little, it is at the expense of Germany; tomorrow it will be Germany's turn to rise at the expense of England. If you find a surplus in the trade balance of one country, you must seek for a corresponding deficit in the trade balance of another country. World development—principally the development of the US—has driven Europe into this blind alley. America is today the basic force of the capitalist world, and the character of that force automatically predetermines the inextricable position of Europe within the framework of the capitalist regime.

European capitalism has become reactionary in the absolute sense of the term; that is, not only is it unable to lead the nations forward, but it is even incapable of maintaining for them living standards long ago attained. Precisely this constitutes the economic basis of the present revolutionary epoch. Political ebbs and flows unfold on this basis without in any way altering it.

But what about America? So far as America is concerned the picture seems to be quite different. And Asia? After all, it is impossible to leave Asia out of the calculation. Asia and Africa represent 55 per cent of the earth's surface and 60 per cent of the world's population. They certainly merit a special and extended examination; but this lies outside the scope of the present report.

From everything that has been said, however, it is clear that the struggle between America and Europe is above all a struggle for Asia. How then do matters stand? Is capitalism still capable of fulfilling a progressive mission in America? Has it such a mission to perform in Asia and Africa? In Asia, capitalist development has taken only its first major steps; while in Africa, the new relations penetrate the body of the continent itself only from the periphery.

Just what are the perspectives here?

The conclusion seems to be the following: capitalism has outlived itself in Europe; in America it still advances the productive forces, while in Asia and Africa it has before it a vast virgin field of activity for many decades if not centuries. Is that really the case? Were it so, comrades, it would mean that capitalism has not yet exhausted its mission on a world scale. But we live under the conditions of world economy. And it is just this that determines the fate of capitalism—for all the continents.

Capitalism cannot have an isolated development in Asia, independent of what takes place in Europe or in America. The time of provincial economic processes has passed beyond recall. American capitalism is far stronger and stabler than European capitalism; it can look to the future with far greater assurance. But American capitalism is no longer self-sufficient. It cannot maintain itself on an internal equilibrium. It needs a world equilibrium. Europe depends more and more on America, but this also means that America is becoming increasingly dependent upon Europe. Seven billions are accumulated annually in America. What to do with them? If simply put in a vault, they, as dead capital, would drag down the profit level in the country. All capital demands interest. Where could the available funds be placed? Within the country itself? But there is no need of them, they are superfluous, the internal market is supersaturated. An outlet must be found abroad. One begins to lend to other countries, to invest in foreign industries. But what to do with the interest, which returns, after all, to America? It must either again be placed abroad, if it happens to be gold, or else European commodities must be imported. But these



Baldwin



Churchill

commodities will tend to undermine American industry whose enormous production already requires outlets abroad. Such is the contradiction: they must either import gold of which there is already a surplus, or import commodities to the detriment of the entire national industry.

Gold 'inflation' (permit me to call it that) is just as dangerous for economy in its own way as currency inflation. One can die not only of anaemia but also of plethora. If there is too great a quantity of gold, no new revenues can be derived from it, the interest on capital is lowered and thereby the further expansion of production made inexpedient and even irrational. To produce and to export for the sake of locking up one's gold in cellars is equivalent to throwing one's goods into the sea. Consequently, as time goes on, America's need to expand grows greater and greater; that is, she must invest her surplus resources in Latin America, Europe, Asia, Australia, Africa. The more this happens, all the more does the economy of Europe and other parts of the world become integrated with that of the United States.

In military art there is a saying that whoever moves into the enemy's rear in order to cut off, is often cut off himself. In economy something analogous takes place: the more the United States puts the whole world under its dependence, all the more does it become dependent upon the whole world, with all its contradictions and threatening upheavals. Already today, revolution in Europe means convulsions in Wall Street; tomorrow, when the investments of American capital in European economy have increased, it will mean a profound upheaval.

And what of the national-revolutionary movement in Asia? Here the same mutual dependence exists. The development of capitalism in Asia inevitably implies the growth of the national-revolutionary movement, which comes into an ever more hostile clash with foreign capital, the bearer of imperialism. We observe how the development of capitalism in China, which takes place with the assistance and under the pressure of imperialist colonizers, leads to revolutionary struggle and upheavals.

I spoke previously of the power of the US viz, to weakened Europe and the economically backward colonial peoples. But precisely in this power of the United States is its Achilles' heel; in this power lies its growing dependence upon countries and continents economically and politically unstable. The US is compelled to base its power on an unstable Europe, that is, on tomorrow's revolutions of Europe and on the national-revolutionary movement of Asia and Africa.

It is impermissible to look upon



Lloyd George

Europe as an independent entity. But America, too, is no longer a self-sufficing whole. In order to maintain its internal equilibrium the United States requires a larger and larger outlet abroad; but its outlet abroad introduces into its economic order more and more elements of European and Asiatic disorder. Under these conditions a victorious revolution in Europe and in Asia would inevitably inaugurate a revolutionary epoch in the United States. And we need not doubt that once the revolution in the US has begun, it will develop with a truly American speed. That is what follows from an evaluation of the world situation as a whole.

From what has been said it also follows that America stands second in the line of revolutionary development. First in line are Europe and the Orient. Europe's transition to socialism must be conceived precisely with the following as a prospect: against capitalist America and against its powerful opposition. It certainly would be more advantageous to begin the socialization of the means of production with the richest country, the United States, and then extend this process to the rest of the world.

But our own experience has shown us that it is impossible arbitrarily to fix the order in which revolutions will occur. We in an economically weaker

and backward country turned out to be the first called upon to make the proletarian revolution. It is now the turn of the other European countries. America will not permit capitalist Europe to rise again. Therein is the revolutionary meaning of American capitalist power. Whatever political fluctuations Europe may undergo, her economic impasse remains throughout the fundamental factor. And this factor, a year sooner or later, will impel the proletariat onto the revolutionary road.

Will the European working class be able to hold power and build a socialist economy without America and against America? This question is closely bound up with the question of colonies. The capitalist economy of Europe and especially that of England is intimately linked with colonial possessions, which supply foodstuffs as well as the indispensable raw materials for industry. Left by itself, that is, cut off from the external world, the population of England would be condemned to economic and physical death within a very brief period. The industry of all Europe depends, in a large measure, on its ties with America and the colonies. But the European proletariat, after wresting power from the bourgeoisie, will make it its first business to help the oppressed colonial peoples break their colonial chains. In these conditions will the European proletariat be able to hold out and build a socialist economy?

We, the peoples of Tsarist Russia, were able to hold out during the years of the blockade and Civil War. We endured poverty, famine, epidemics—but we held out. Our backwardness proved temporarily to be also our advantage. The revolution held out by relying primarily on its rear, the gigantic peasantry. Starved and ravaged by epidemics the revolution held out. Industrialized Europe, and particularly England—that is something else again. There cannot even be talk of a partitioned Europe being able, even under the dictatorship of the proletariat, to hold out economically so long as it remains dismembered. The proletarian revolution signifies the unification of Europe.

Bourgeois economists, pacifists, business sharpers, day-dreamers and mere bourgeois babblers are not averse nowadays to talk about a United States of Europe. But that task is beyond the strength of the European bourgeoisie which is utterly corroded by contradictions. Europe can be unified only by the victorious European proletariat. No matter where the revolution may first break out, and no matter what the tempo of its development may be, the economic unification of Europe is the first indispensable condition for its socialist reconstruction.

Back in 1923 the Communist International proclaimed that it is necessary to drive out those who have partitioned Europe, take power in partitioned Europe in order to unify it, in order to create the Socialist United States of Europe.

Revolutionary Europe will clear a road for herself to raw materials, to food products; she will know how to get help from the peasantry. We ourselves have grown sufficiently strong to be able to extend some help to revolutionary Europe during the most difficult months. Over and above this, we will provide for Europe an excellent bridge to Asia. Proletarian England, shoulder to shoulder with the peoples of India, will insure the independence of that country. But this does not mean that England will lose the possibility of a close economic collaboration with India.

Free India will have need of European technology and culture; Europe will have need of the products of India. The Soviet United States of Europe, together with our Soviet Union, will serve as the mightiest of magnets for the peoples of Asia, who will gravitate towards the establishment of the closest economic and political ties with proletarian Europe.

If proletarian England loses India as a colony, then she will gain in her a companion in the European-Asiatic Federation of peoples. The mighty bloc of peoples of Europe and Asia will be impregnable and, above all, invulnerable against the power of the United States. We do not for one moment minimize this power. In our revolutionary perspectives we proceed with a clear understanding of facts as they are. Much more, we consider that the power of the United States—such is the dialectic—is now the greatest lever of the European revolution. We do not close our eyes to the fact that, politically and militarily, this lever will be turned against the European revolution when it breaks out. We know that when its own skin is at stake, American capitalism will unleash the fiercest energy in the struggle. It is quite possible that all that books and our own experience have taught us about the fight of the privileged classes for their domination will pale before the violence that American capital will try to inflict upon revolutionary Europe.

But unified Europe, in revolutionary collaboration with the peoples of Asia will prove infinitely more powerful than the United States. Through the Soviet Union, the toilers of Europe and Asia will be indissolubly linked. In alliance with the insurgent Orient, the European revolutionary proletariat will wrest from American capital the control of world economy and will lay the foundations for the Federation of Socialist Peoples of the whole earth.



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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SWP Distorts Lenin to Back Women's Lib

BY KAREN FRANKEL

"THE THESIS MUST clearly point out that real freedom for women is possible only through communism. The inseparable connection between the social and human position, and private property in the means of production, must be strongly brought out. That will draw a clear and ineradicable line of distinction between our policy and feminism." So stated Clara Zetkin in her discussions with Lenin in 1920 on the woman question.

Both Lenin and Clara Zetkin made it perfectly clear that there is a very sharp line dividing the conceptions of a communist women's movement and feminism. It is the distinction between these two conceptions which the Socialist Workers Party and the Stalinists seek to blur today in order to justify their unprincipled bloc with the liberal bourgeoisie.

In an article in the July 27 Intercontinental Press entitled "Where the SLL Goes Wrong on Women's Liberation," Caroline Lund of the Young Socialist Alliance defends middle class feminism with a crude patching together of quotes taken out of context, and with the most superficial kind of impressionism.

Miss Lund clearly discloses her conception of a communist women's movement in the following statement:

"A strong, independent women's liberation movement, just like the Black nationalist and antiwar movements, has to be seen as an ally of the working-class struggle, because it is fighting against the capitalist system."

Although quoting Lenin quite freely in her article, Miss Lund missed the following, which is really the kernel of what Lenin and Zetkin were discussing in 1920:

"Our ideological conceptions give rise to principles of organization. No special organizations for women. Nevertheless, we must not close our eyes to the fact that the party must have bodies, working groups, commissions, committees, bureaux or whatever you like, whose particular duty it is to arouse the masses of women workers, to bring them into contact with the party, and to keep them under its influence." (Our emphasis)

Lenin was not talking about communist women fighting to build "potentially anti-capitalist" (Lund's term) movements outside the party, but that the party had to pay special attention to the problems of women in order to bring them into the communist movement.

Lenin and Zetkin were quite concerned about bringing women into the revolutionary movement, as their position in society made it that much more difficult for women to become political than for men. At no point did they ever conceive of fighting to build a "potentially anti-capitalist" movement. Such a movement is obviously a bourgeois movement.

PARTY

Nor at any point did they see the woman question as a matter of finding "allies" of the working class struggle. Their goal was to bring women into the revolutionary party, to build that party so that it was capable of leading the masses to the conquest of power. The role of a communist party is not to build its "allies," but to build itself in the course of fighting for the leadership of the working class.

Miss Lund makes it quite clear in the closing statement of her article that what she is defending is not simply an intervention into the middle class women's liberation movement, in order to win women to the revolutionary party, but the actual building of a liberal movement. She states:

"It must be exposed by revolutionists if women's liberation activists are to be won to the realization that building a revolutionary party to lead a socialist revolution, in addition to building an independent, mass women's liberation movement, is the road to the liberation of women." (Our emphasis)

Let us now examine concretely what this becomes in practice. On Wednesday,

August 26, the SWP participated in a Women's Liberation strike and demonstration led by novelist Betty Friedan. The strike was sponsored by, among others, Representatives Shirley Chisholm, Bella Abzug, Gloria Vanderbilt Cooper and Ethel Scull, an East Hampton socialite at whose cocktail party, according to the New York Times, "—an unexpected partly nude swimmer—helped finance the strike."

According to the Times, there was some bickering between the socialites and the SWP's representative, Ruthann Miller, leader of the so-called "radical" wing of the movement. However, according to the Times, "the schism was mended in early August, with most strike leaders willing to concede that Miss Friedan, since she and her friends controlled the purse strings, could have things pretty much her own way." Furthermore, they were all able to agree on a program not too distasteful to the socialites. The major demands were: free abortion on demand; free 24 hour child care centers—community controlled; equal opportunity in jobs and education.

REFORMIST

None of these demands really challenge the capitalist system. They are completely reformist demands, which can be met by the system and in no way pose things on a class basis or raise the question of power. These are all democratic demands which we support, but in and of themselves, do not constitute anything revolutionary.

The City of New York has already legalized free abortions, and the only squabble is over how fast they can be done. The New York Times wholeheartedly endorses their being done quickly. This was the main demand raised in the demonstration Wednesday by the SWP.

Caroline Lund furthermore states in her article that "Marxists must demand preferential hiring of women in all fields of employment where they have hitherto been discriminated against." This demand is completely reactionary in this period. Rather than raising transitional demands for the shorter work week and jobs for all, the SWP accepts the limitations that the bosses put on hiring, and asks meekly that women be allowed in the door first.

This demand becomes doubly ridiculous when one asks: "Who should be treated more preferentially, a white woman or a black man?" It obviously conflicts with the SWP's equally reactionary demand of preferential hiring for blacks. In any case, the class divisions are consistently ignored, and every other division takes precedence in their programmatic formulations—racial, sexual, national.

Just as in the peace movement, Lenin's

and Trotsky's positions are distorted in order to justify an alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie. This alliance is the real heart and basis of the women's liberation movement. To build a movement, separate from the party, which is based on sexual divisions rather than class divisions, is completely hostile to Marxism. To build such a movement is to build a liberal reformist swamp, which completely cuts across class lines. The revolutionary party must seek to destroy such movements, not to build them.

The role of the SWP in the Women's Liberation Movement is completely consistent with its liquidationist role in the peace movement and the black nationalist movement. At all costs the SWP seeks to justify alliances with the liberal bourgeoisie in its various arenas of work by twisting the meaning of what Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky said and did.

DENOUNCED

Marx, himself, rejected the Victoria Woodhull group as representatives to the First International. He denounced their feminism, and characterized the group as petty bourgeois. Trotsky fought against the change in the abortion laws under Stalin, because it reflected the whole resurgence of backwardness and Stalin's refusal to complete the bourgeois democratic tasks posed before the revolution. The attacks on women were but one aspect of the reaction in the Soviet Union when Stalin was consolidating his power. To cite, as the SWP does, the fight Trotsky carried out in that period, under those conditions, as a model for struggle in this period in the US, is to deliberately turn Trotsky into a reformist for one's own pragmatic purposes.

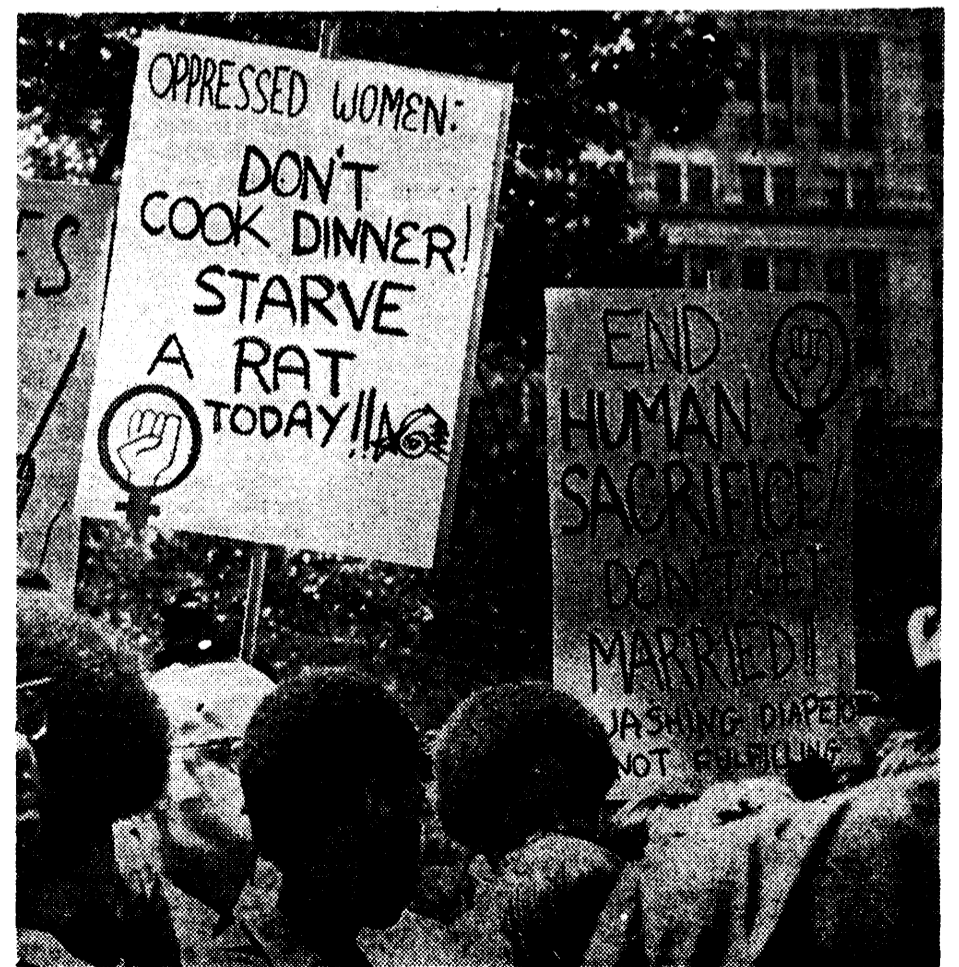
DIVIDE

The feminism which the SWP engages in is reformism of the most blatant sort. This kind of activity serves only to divide the working class along sexual lines. The only answer to the woman question will come through the building of the revolutionary party, and the party's concerted effort to bring women into the struggle for socialism.

In the course of the struggle for socialism, discrimination against women, just as racial discrimination, must be fought. However, this does not mean that the revolutionary party should build organizations outside of itself to carry out this fight. To do so is to build bourgeois liberal movements. It is to say, in effect, that the working class will never carry out these tasks—or, if it will, that that time is so distant, that we must in the meantime, rely on the bourgeoisie to do it.



At left: Betty Friedan (on left) and socialite Ethel Scull at Easthampton fund-raising cocktail party for Women's Lib. Below: Women's Liberation supporters march in middle class protest demonstration in New York City on Women's Strike Day.



BY A BULLETIN REPORTER
DETROIT—As the UAW-Big Three auto contract deadline approaches, workers at auto plants across the country are preparing for a strike. A team of Bulletin reporters interviewed auto workers last week at the Chevrolet Gear and Axle plants in the Detroit area.

The overwhelming concern of workers we spoke with was the question of wages. As we asked about the UAW demands, one worker said: "Well, I'm not sure what all of them are, but I know we want a wage increase."

Another worker was very firm on this question: "The wage demand isn't big enough. We should be getting more money."

When asked what he thought about the Teamsters' settlement after a nationwide wildcat that forced a \$1.65 an hour increase, one worker replied: "We need just about that. We can get it too, but not without a strike."

The question of restoring the full escalator clause which Reuther bargained away, was equally important, so that as prices go up, wages will go up as well.

ESCALATOR

When asked about the 8¢ ceiling on the escalator clause that was written into the contract three years ago, there was a lot of discussion:

"I'm not sure if it was a 'sellout' but it wasn't too hot."

"I don't know how they work that out, but 8¢ a year doesn't sound right."

"The cost of living is going up so high a man with a family can't make ends meet."

The wife of a worker in the plant remarked: "Food prices are skyhigh. Milk seems to go up every day. My husband still makes the same money he used to, and he still gives me the same, but the prices aren't the same. They're going up."

Asked about unemployment, she said, "Well you don't think about it that much, but you worry about him getting laid off. It makes a big difference."

The union bureaucracy is trying to count makeup pay owed to the workers as an issue to be bargained over and added into the package. When asked what he thought of this, whether the makeup pay should be a bargaining issue, a worker answered: "No, I think they owe it to us and they should pay it. We shouldn't have to ask for it."

On the issue of demands in the strike, one worker pointed out that safety conditions in his plant were bad, but said that there was less absenteeism "because the guys need the money so they're out less."

WAR

Working conditions are also a big concern. As one young worker put it: "We need a ventilation system in the shop. They send grievances to the international union, but we don't get any action." This same worker, who has been in the plant two years, also said that as far as demands go, "We should get a four day week and get paid for five and stop all this overtime." When discussing the question of the war and inflation, he asked, "You mean the unions should be against the war. I agree with that, the union should get more involved in politics around the war question."

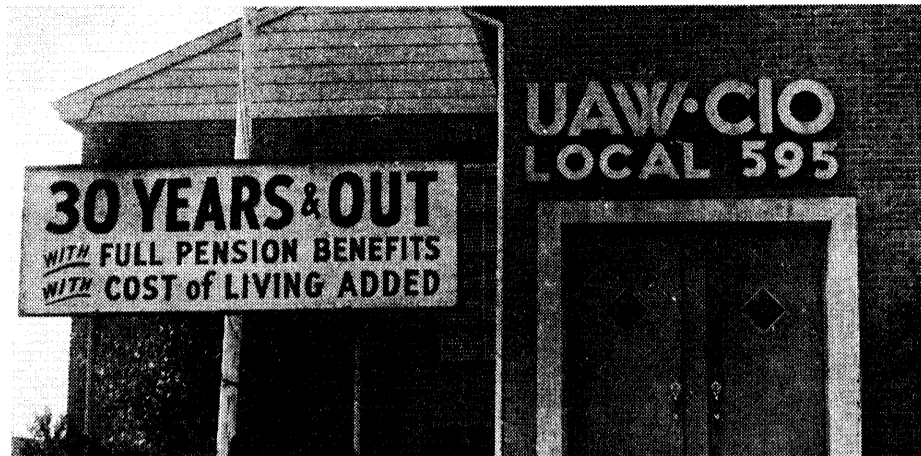
An older worker when asked about fringe benefits, and if Woodcock is trying to bring in a few fringe benefits to avoid the basic issue of wages and escalator clause said:

"I think there have to be some benefits. But the younger fellows need the money now, they don't need it later on. Of course I'm getting a little older now, and I'd like to get some benefits."

Several workers, spoke about overtime, saying that in some plants there was a lot of overtime work as the bosses got ready stockpiles to be able to hold out in the strike, but in the other plants there has been very little overtime after the changeover.

As the situation begins to shape up before the contract itself expires, it is clear that the question of wages are on the minds of UAW members. This question of a big wage increase, at least what the Teamsters won earlier in the year, the escalator clause to secure wage gains against inflation, and the question of safety and speed up were the central issues emphasized by rank and file workers.

UAW RANKS SPEAK



Union office at Linden, N.J. where Bulletin reporter talked to workers from GM plant.

In recent weeks, Bulletin reporters have talked to rank and filers at auto plants around the country including GM plants in the Detroit and Pontiac, Michigan areas, Ford in Metuchen and GM in Linden, N.J., and Chevrolet in Tarrytown, New York. Everywhere the workers have responded with great interest in the Bulletin and willingness to talk to our reporting teams. However, at many plants the bureaucrats that run the UAW have reacted with extreme fear and hostility to the Bulletin, attempting at all costs to keep our reporters from talking to the workers and keep the workers from reading the Bulletin.

On this page are some of the reports and interviews gathered in conversations with the workers. Clearly, the main reason the bureaucrats are afraid is that their man Woodcock is doing his best to avoid a real fight and lay the groundwork for a sell-out. A warning alarm has to be sounded against any attempt by Woodcock to postpone the strike deadline beyond September 15 and therefore to go into this struggle with one arm tied behind the union's back. We also have to warn against the rumored possibility that Woodcock may try to limit a strike against GM to shutting down only the mini-car production. This would be equally disastrous for the auto workers.

The overwhelming concern of the ranks with the question of wages is reflected not only in these interviews and reports but also in the Detroit Free Press which reports on a "rump meeting" of "rank and filers and secondary leaders from 11 Detroit area locals" and on a group of Chrysler white collar workers, who petitioned the union to avoid "frivolous" questions like pollution and get down to the real needs of the workers for wages.

At the Detroit meeting, Gerald Brady of Local 160 complained that the leadership has been vague about what they mean by a "substantial" wage increase. "We think it should be spelled out and we should know what it is. The government says a family of four needs \$10,700 a year to get by and that's what we want." The purpose of the meeting as announced by Brady is to raise the demand for an immediate wage increase of \$1.25 an hour (the first year of the contract) with full cost of living protection.

The ranks must above all be on guard against any attempt by the leadership to capitulate to almost certain government intervention. This capitulation may take the form of using government intervention as an excuse to bargain away the demands favoring one section of the union at the expense of another. The workers have the power to win this battle without any compromise on the absolutely minimum demands of 30 and out, full c.o.l., a wage increase equal or better than the Teamsters' settlement of \$1.65 an hour—in addition to the entire 25¢ an hour catch-up pay owed the workers.

The following is an interview with the young wife of an auto worker who has worked at the GM plant in Linden, N.J. for three years.

Q. What do you think about the possibility of a strike in auto?

A. Well, the thought of a strike is bad but they had better do something. Everything is going up today but wages. It is bad enough for us and we do not have children. But there are men working here with seven children. I don't know how they manage.

For the foremen it is not bad. They take home over \$200 a week but my husband only makes about \$100 to \$120 a week. I really have to budget. Food especially meat has gone up tremendously. Last month our rent went up \$20.

Q. Has there been much of a problem with unemployment?

A. My husband was laid off for five weeks. He just went back to work. Last year it was only 2 or 3 weeks. They lay off men just before the strike deadline. They have been doing a lot of hiring and firing lately, hiring some men just for a week and then laying them off. We got unemployment and union benefits which added up almost to his salary. But you only get the union benefits if you have worked for 1 year and 2 months.

Q. What about the conditions in the plants, have they gotten worse?

A. The speed-up is terrible. Men have heart attacks because of the speed of the line. They don't even stop the line when this happens. They just leave the man there, dead or alive, until an ambulance comes. If you get hurt you can't leave the line even if you are bleeding. You just have to stand there until someone can replace you. You only have five minutes to have a cigarette and you have to get permission to go to the bathroom.

The following is an interview with a Detroit Diesel worker. He is 31 years old and is now working at the Chevrolet Gear and Axle plant in Detroit. He has worked since he was 18 years old in the auto industry.

Q. What do you think are the basic problems the workers face?

A. Most don't like this compulsory overtime. The black Southern worker does not mind the overtime. He had to work long hours all his life in the South for less pay and no benefits.

Q. Reuther claimed that the absenteeism is due to affluence.

A. What good does this extra money do if a man can't spend time with his family? The guys are also plain tired from overwork.

Q. Is there much strike sentiment?
A. The feeling is almost 100% that there will be a strike.

Q. What kind of settlement do you think you will get?

A. We'll get about a 10% raise. About working conditions, there will not be much change.

Q. Will the Teamsters' settlement of \$1.65 an hour raise have any effect on workers' thinking?

A. The rank-and-filers don't think along these terms. They think in terms of what they need.

Q. What do the workers think about Woodcock?

A. They think he is more militant than Reuther. They have the impression he will do something. This is based primarily on the doubling of dues, which is seen as a way to increase the strike fund.

Q. What did the workers think about Reuther?

A. Some of the older workers idolized him. Most of the workers thought he was nothing more than a gangster.

Q. Is there much sentiment against the war?

A. Yes. Even the vets from Vietnam are against the war.

Q. Do you think you, as a worker, can do anything about the war?

A. No. It seems such a vast problem. The government isn't going to pull out because they've got too much invested there. There are also too many jobs tied up in the war. For example, we build thousands of diesels for Vietnam.

Q. Do the men get much action out of the UAW?



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

My husband is exhausted when he gets home.

Q. What do you think of the union leadership?

A. Here they don't do anything for the men.

Q. What do you think of Agnew's statement that there is no recession?

A. It sure is a recession. Maybe they have the money but we don't. That is why there is going to be a strike.

A. The union is so weak and watery that it is no use. At our plant racism was very bad, but there wasn't much we could do about it. About 3 years ago, before the riot, we organized a committee to do something about it, but nothing came of it.

The following is an interview with a young black worker who has worked at the General Motors Assembly plant in Linden, N.J. for seven years.

Q. What do you think are the central issues in the contract fight?

A. Well, there is a lot of talk about 30 and out. That is all right for the older workers but for me the central issue is wages. We need a big increase. There's going to be a strike for this and it will be a long one.

Q. Do you think the wage demands the leadership is raising are enough? What do you think about the \$1.65 an hour increase won by the Chicago Teamsters?

A. The demands the union are raising

ST. PAUL, August 27—Members of UAW Local 879 (Ford) showed their determination to take on the auto barons tonight by overwhelmingly voting to approve strike action when the contract expires September 15.

With three void ballots, the vote was 1,023 for and 70 against strike action.

OUT ON CONTRACT

are not enough. I don't know about the Teamsters but we need at least \$2.00 or \$2.50 more an hour. Right now the workers in the refinery here are making more money than we are.

Something else about this strike. They have to do something about the heat in the plant. We're supposed to get out when it reaches 95 degrees but it goes way over that and we still have to work.

Q. Are preparations being made for a strike?

A. Every year it's the same baloney. We are supposed to go out on the 15th but they put it off, get an extension. We've got to go out right away. That is the way to really hurt them. When you're working in the plant, it takes away the power of the people. The power we have is outside, that's what we have to use.

Q. What about the UAW's strategy of striking one company at a time?

A. The best thing would be to close everything but I don't know if that could be done. Also, it would effect the strike benefits.

Q. What do you think about the new Woodcock leadership?

A. He can't be worse than Reuther. Reuther gave up the cost of living clause. We'll never forgive him for that.

Q. What do you think about the Nixon Administration?

A. We need a new President. One thing about Agnew you know where he stands—against you. He tells it like it is. But Nixon, he promised he was going to end the war and he hasn't.

Q. What do you think is the possibility of Nixon intervening in the auto strike?

A. If they were out for GE they're going to be out for us. A few weeks after the strike starts, Nixon will be in



Bulletin reporter interviewed workers leaving Chevrolet Gear and Axle plant in Detroit.

there.

Q. How should the union deal with the question of government intervention?

A. I don't know. The men in the plant don't think much about politics.

Q. Are there divisions among the workers, problems with racism in the plant?

A. Well, the only thing is that the men on this shift (afternoon) are mostly family men. The guys on the night shift seem to stick together more and are more militant, but there is no big problem here.

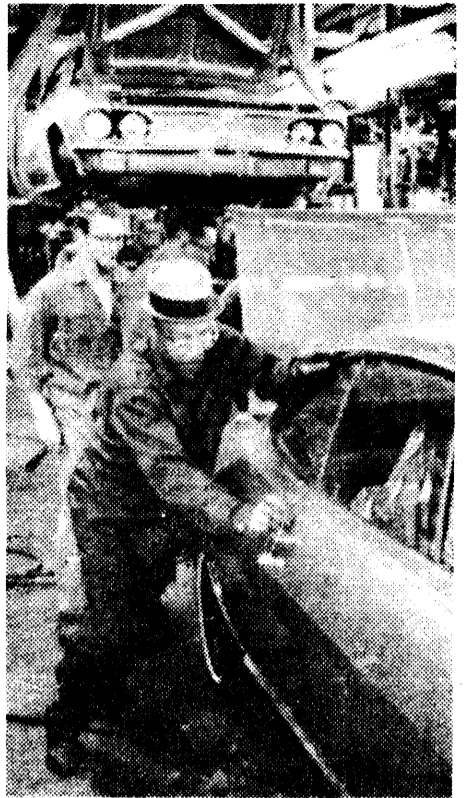
I know I should go to more meetings. Out of 4,000 union members here only a few go to the meetings. The union is there, that is the way it is. You need it. You can't do anything without it.

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

At the General Motors plant in Linden, N.J., a member of the UAW who has worked for 25 years in auto told us that for him the central issue in the UAW negotiations was the fight for 30 and out. "This is important for me because I am almost ready for retirement."

In relation to the fight on wages he said: "Wages are the first step for everything we get. You have to be able to tie the young and older workers together. Wages are especially important for the younger workers but we all need more money. Right now you have to work overtime to make ends meet."

When asked what he thought about Agnew's statement that the recession is



Workers sometimes have heart attacks from backbreaking speedup of the line.

a myth, he vehemently told reporters: "If it isn't a recession, I don't know what it is. This is the closest thing to relief I have ever known."

This worker said that the unemployment situation which has thrown thousands of auto workers out of the plants in Detroit had not been felt as seriously at Linden and that most of the workers were unaware of the unemployment in Detroit.

He said he felt there had been no change in the union leadership since Woodcock took over: "I think they are both good men, they are both polished."

CP's Support To Woodcock Exposed At Conference

BY FRED MUELLER

NEW YORK—On August 27, a report back meeting took place at the Hotel Diplomat on the Chicago National Rank and File Conference held last June. The meeting was addressed by a number of trade unionists and union officials, including Sidney Von Luther of Local 1199 and Stanley Hill of SSEU-Local 371, welfare workers.

The meeting was chaired by Al Evanoff of District 65. Evanoff, who also played a big part in the Chicago conference, tried to sandwich in resolutions between the speeches, and made his standard plea for a bare minimum of discussion considering the lateness of the hour, the amount of business which must be transacted, and so on.

Obviously the organizers of the meeting would have preferred that the resolutions be acted upon with no discussion at all. When disagreements were raised from the floor, they were not quite certain how to proceed. As at Chicago, they wanted at all costs to avoid discussion.

The resolution against discrimination consisted of a statement denouncing discrimination on the job and in the unions, the call for the opening of the doors of the unions to all, and the endorsement of the United Black Coalition for Jobs in the Construction Industry.

A countermotion from the floor pointed out that this meant in fact the acceptance of preferential hiring schemes which took the heat off the employers where it belonged and could only mean the acceptance of racism and of competition between black and white workers for jobs. The countermotion proposed a vigorous fight against racism and discrimination centering on the fight for jobs for all through the shorter work week with no loss in pay.

Rather than proceed with a discussion of these proposals, Louis Weinstock of the Painters Union immediately proposed that the meeting proceed without a vote on these motions. He explained that there would be a conference in October and this was not the place for this discussion.

AUTO

Several minutes later, however, when Evanoff was faced with a discussion on the upcoming auto strike, he was forced to allow a vote on a motion presented by Dennis Cribben of the Committee for New Leadership in the SSEU-371. Cribben presented a countermotion to the resolution presented by Ricki Eisenberg of the United Rank and File Committee of Local 906 of the UAW. Eisenberg's resolution

simply noted that an auto strike was very probable, that it would be a test for the entire labor movement against the attacks of Nixon and the employers and that we must mobilize the greatest support possible behind the auto workers.

Cribben pointed out that a program had to be fought for as part of the auto workers' fight and our support to them. Without a program which got to the fundamental issues the Woodcock leadership would just sell out as the Reuther leadership had before. Cribben proposed that the meeting adopt the perspective of mobilizing support for the auto workers by raising the demands of no retreat on wages from the \$1.65 an hour won by the rank and file Teamsters, the 4 day week at 5 days' pay, the call for the nationalization of the auto industry under workers' control in answer to the bosses' pleas of poverty, and the fight for a labor party now in answer to the attacks of Nixon and the employers on the labor movement.

CP

The meeting organizers did not like this motion one bit. Evanoff denounced it as an effort to dictate to the auto workers! Nonetheless there was interest and significant support from many of the rank and file unionists present at this meeting. The countermotion received over 30 votes.

This was a concrete example of the political significance of the Chicago conference. This is the role of the Communist Party and its supporters, who played a dominant role in the Chicago conference and are now trying to organize around support to the liberal section of the trade union officialdom all over the country.

All agreed that a decisive struggle was impending, that the fight of the auto workers was the fight of the entire working class. Yet the resolution they presented did not go one inch further than the UAW bureaucracy in its understanding of the situation and in its program.

The Local 1199 and SSEU-371 leaderships are as close to models of progressivism as you can get, according to the Communist Party and the Daily World. Von Luther, a Vice-President of 1199,



SSEU Pres., Stan Hill speaks at conference.

denounced the bureaucrats who will be dining with Nixon on Labor Day. But he then proceeded to say that we would not support a wage freeze until the government demonstrated its fairness by putting a freeze on profits! Of course wage-price freezes can be imposed and have been imposed and have always resulted in the lowering of the real wages of the working class. Von Luther's remarks leave the way open for the acceptance of this kind of freeze.

TALK

Hill followed Von Luther with militant talk about last spring's tremendous postal strike. He denounced most of the union leaders, wanting to know where they were when the National Guard and the army were called in to break the strike. But where was Hill? Where were the 1199 and District 65 and District Council 37 and UAW and Teamsters leaderships? After the fact talk is very cheap. The SSEU and 1199 leaderships themselves could have provided a tremendous lead for all workers if they had called for general strike action then, not simply using the inaction of the top bureaucrats to get off the hook. Their own inaction is one more indication of the need for a new leadership throughout the labor movement.

The so-called progressives in the union bureaucracy are completely bankrupt in the face of the government-employer attack. Yet the Chicago conference was originally called, a few weeks after Reuther's death, in the "spirit" of his leadership. The national group set up by the Chicago Conference is seeking to

foster reliance upon bureaucrats who have consistently betrayed and can be expected to continue on the same course.

COLLABORATION

The Communist Party's all out support to these leaders against the rank and file was made clear in the GE strike. The CP supported the settlement even though there was tremendous opposition to it in both the UE and the IUE. This summer the Daily World praised the 1199 leadership to the skies when it called off strike action at the last minute and refused to lead a fight for the hospital workers' major demands. Now the Stalinists of the Communist Party are providing a cover for Woodcock and the rest of the UAW officials behind which they can prepare a sellout.

This is the Stalinist policy of the popular front, of peaceful coexistence, of alliance with liberalism, in action. This is the same policy represented by the cease fire agreement directed against the Palestinian people and the entire Arab Revolution, by the reformist class collaboration policies of the Communist Parties throughout Western Europe, and by Moscow's diplomatic and trade policies which help to prop up fascist and military regimes such as the ones in Spain and Greece precisely at the time when the working class is on the offensive against them.

The working class is on the offensive internationally. The auto workers will not be sold out without a terrific fight. The bureaucracy must be fought, along with its helpers in the Communist Party.

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ST. LOUIS DAIRY SHUTDOWN ELIMINATES 300 TEAMSTER JOBS

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

ST. LOUIS—Over three hundred members of Teamster Local 603 have lost their jobs as a result of the sudden closing of Quality Dairy here. Workers with over twenty-five years seniority were rudely thrown into the growing army of unemployed without severance pay or pension benefits.

Quality Dairy was owned and operated by three generations of the Steinlage family for over 114 years in St. Louis. Although the company had apparently been planning to go out of business for over six months, workers only learned of this through the public press after Quality refused to sign the contract agreed to by other St. Louis dairies to end the August milk strike.

Workers had to picket "Boss Steinlage's" plush residence in St. Louis County before he even agreed to send them "Dear John" severance letters. Union representatives were never allowed to see the company's books in order to expose the myth that workers' higher wage demands were causing Quality to go out of business.

Many drivers were deeply bitter at the company's behavior. They charged that the Quality management for years had failed to spend the necessary funds to keep their milk trucks in safe and comfortable running order. Many workers were owed hundreds of dollars in back pay which they had not yet received days after the company doors closed. Only 18 of 288 drivers were able to find jobs with other dairies.

Another reason given for Quality Dairy's going out of business is competition from "East Side" Illinois dairies. For years

it has been known that dairies like Prairie Farm have wage scales and work rules in violation of the Teamsters' multi-state master contract. Thus they can truck milk in at cheaper prices to cut into the St. Louis dairy market. Despite numerous complaints from the rank and file members, high Teamster officials have been unwilling to enforce fully the union contract on the East Side. Instead they were willing to bargain away work rules on starting time and Sunday work in the contract which settled the St. Louis milk strike.

Some of these work rules have been in effect for over thirty years, but Teamster officials were willing to give them up for wage increases which the workers had to strike several days to get anyway. Now faced with a desperate situation, Teamster officials have suddenly discovered that Prairie Farm milk is "unsanitary." Local 603 members must force their union leaders to strike the East Side dairies if they are unwilling to live up to the multi-state contract of wages and work rules.

The recent strike was the first strike of the St. Louis dairy industry in over twenty years. The bankruptcy of Quality Dairy, like that of the Penn-Central railroad, are only manifestations of a growing economic crisis.

Teamsters' Vice-President Harold Gibbons has refused to wage the necessary fight to defend the rights of the ranks in both the recent truckers' and milk drivers' strike.

The ranks of the Teamsters must fight their leadership's betrayal and must demand that all jobs be guaranteed through a fight for the thirty hour week at forty hours pay. Companies like Quality Dairy which close because they claim they cannot meet the workers' demands should be taken over without compensation and run by the workers and in the interests of the working people.



ILWU President Harry Bridges speaks at west coast longshoremen's convention.

Containerization Fund Bankruptcy Hits ILWU

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

SAN FRANCISCO—"Epochal" and "revolutionary" were the terms used by the ILWU leadership to describe the first Mechanization and Modernization Agreement of 1960. Today these words ring hollow indeed with the announcement by the union that the funds provided by the PMA as a bribe for the right to unrestricted automation are not even sufficient to pay all expected claims in full.

Basically the M&M Agreement renegotiated in 1966 provided for lump sum payments of \$13,000 or early pensions to longshoremen with 25 years service who agreed to retire at 62 to 65 years of age. A similar settlement is made with all men with 25 years service who are disabled and there are pro rata settlements for men with 15-25 years in the industry. There are also death benefits up to \$5,000 depending on years of service.

In exchange for this sweetener designed to encourage older workers to get out of the industry, it is estimated that the PMA reaped several hundred million dollars through its right to automate at will. Longshoremen gave up every right to control automated change, signed away a guarantee on hours and agreed to eliminate a no lay-off clause for this single benefit. Now even this is in danger.

STOPPED

The union now declares that anyone who refuses to leave his job by July 1, 1971 is no longer eligible for M&M payment. In addition payment of death benefits and disability are stopped for at least eight months and will be paid in reduced amounts after it is determined what funds are left when the rush for early retirement is over.

The union leadership promises to negotiate with the PMA to see about more funds and in the meanwhile extends its sympathies to the disabled commenting in the *Dispatcher* that it is rough. Yes, rough. The dead are more fortunate as at least they will not know how "rough" the wait will be for their widows.

Thus closes ten years of M&M which was to inaugurate "a new era on the

waterfront." Now begins the drive to force the older men out as quickly as possible, while introducing speed-up and rationalization through the new methods of containerization.

Riding the wave of the boom of the early sixties the ILWU leadership introduced M&M as something guaranteed forever. It is now all too clear that even the existence of the bribe itself is in question as the PMA pushes forward to the total reorganization of the waterfront.

PREPARE

Longshoremen must prepare for a big fight back at the October 5 precontract caucus. It is time to have done with the M&M policies of class compromise. The acceptance of the right of the employers to bring in containerization as they please can only mean the progressive weakening of the union through attrition and the opening of the way for mass layoffs.

This caucus must demand the restoration of the wage guarantees with the right to 40 hours work or 40 hours pay to every longshoreman "A" or "B." The fighting strength of the union must be maintained with the guarantee of no elimination of jobs. Every longshoreman who retires or leaves the industry must be replaced with a new man. Pensions must be tied to tonnage rather than to hours worked.

This caucus must take immediate steps to force the PMA to bring the M&M fund up to full strength guaranteeing the continuation of all payments at full rates. The employers "bought" their right to containerize with this fund! The caucus must declare a total boycott on containers until it is restored.

SAN FRANCISCO CITY WORKERS UNDER ATTACK FOLLOWING BETRAYAL OF STRIKE LAST MARCH

BY DENISE ALEXANDER

SAN FRANCISCO—The real meaning of the betrayal of the city workers' strike here last March is now being driven home to every worker in the form of lay-offs, speedup, hiring freezes and budget cuts.

In the Department of Social Services some supervisors have only empty desks to supervise and a number of units have only one worker. Thousands of teachers are now unemployed and the city is not even taking applications for substitutes. A huge force of potential scabs is being prepared for the possibility of a teachers' strike this fall. The number of cases probation officers are now expected to handle has risen so rapidly that last week they were forced to demonstrate.

The city moved very rapidly in the wake of the strike. Their conversion plan for welfare divided up the functions of income maintenance and service work attempting to replace social workers with lower paid clerks. City budgets were cut with the exception of police, of course, and requests for new employees denied. There have been massive lay-offs of qualified temporary employees.

In addition, the mayor has been holding up job requisitions for the positions actu-

ally budgeted. There are 75 such vacancies at the Department of Social Services and several hundred more in other city departments.

The latest tactic has been introduced by Governor Reagan. In the welfare department maximums on caseloads and on the number of workers per supervisor have been eliminated. Increasing numbers of cases are thrown at workers.

What is the response of Local 400 to this situation? They have filed suit against the mayor for not filling the jobs. They have also written him a letter asking him to consider null and void the power that the Salary Ordinance gives him to hold up these requisitions. And further they have written an editorial claiming they will "actively resist" this speedup "with all possible energy" and call upon the mayor to "cease and desist this type of action." To this date they have not attempted to organize any "active resistance" by the union.

The Rank and File Committee of Local 400 is fighting to rally city workers by launching a campaign for the unions to build a massive demonstration at City Hall to beat back this attack and demanding that all positions be filled immediately.

Canadian Unemployment Rate Soars to 6.7 per cent

BY JUDITH LEE

TORONTO—The government's latest unemployment figures for July show unemployment jumped from 5.9% to 6.7%. 518,000 workers are without jobs. The most significant aspect of this is that the largest job loss is in basic industry and agriculture, which are the backbone of the Canadian economy.

A good percentage of these jobs were in organized shops. It is very clear now that Trudeau's "war against inflation" is a war against the working class. Trudeau is using this unemployment along with anti-union laws to club the unions into submission in order to keep wages below 6%. This is the meaning behind the postal strike and this is why that strike is political.

The trade unions founded the New Democratic Party in an effort to protect their organizations against the blows of the government. Then why have the NDP and the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) been so quiet about the rising unemployment and about the anti-union laws. The only way the NDP and CLC can fight this is by a direct confrontation with the government by mobilizing the unions to strike if necessary for the demands of jobs for all and against the anti-union laws.

CAPITULATION

Only by nationalization of basic industry and under workers' control can capitalist crisis and wars be prevented. Of course nationalization is in the platform of the NDP. But not once has it been fought for to prevent plant closures and job losses. Instead the NDP has capitulated to the middle class "militants" who are very much concerned about the loss of "their Canadian identity."

The NDP has adopted a reformist scheme called the Canadian Development Fund. The liberal party has taken up some of it. It is a scheme to take the American owned industry and put it into the hands of Canadian capitalists, especially the hands of the Canadian banks. This is one of the campaign issues in the contest for NDP party leadership. Stephen Lewis, in attempting to win over the Canadian



Trudeau

nationalists' votes, has called for 51% Canadian ownership of all industry.

"LEFTS"

For some mystical reason Canadian capitalists will be much more understanding of the working class and will give the workers a greater share of the profits.

These phony "lefts" are actually calling this scheme a step towards "socialism." In no way does this lead to socialism. Quite the opposite. It is an attempt by the Social Democrats to attempt to blind the workers so that they will not be able to see who their real enemy is—their class enemy. That enemy is the capitalist class, nationally and internationally.

It is against this class and its agents within the working class that the ranks of the trade unions must take up an uncompromising struggle.