

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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Beginning In
This Issue--
**EUROPE AND
AMERICA**
by
Leon Trotsky



Statement Of Workers League:

AUTO WORKERS FACE SHOWDOWN ON WAGES

The bargaining now under way in Detroit between the UAW and the Big Three auto companies is far more than a question concerning that industry. It is a prelude to a mighty confrontation between the working class and the capitalist class of the United States—a fundamental clash of class forces on a far greater scale than represented by last year's General Electric strike.

While the Nixon Administration brought tremendous pressure to bear in the G.E. settlement in order to engineer a "non-inflationary" settlement, the government avoided an open intervention against the strikers. But the reliance of the bosses on the "persuasive" powers of the Federal mediator Counts, and the servility of the labor leaders in the G.E. strike to hold back the workers, couldn't quite do the job in the recent Teamsters strike.

The Teamster's rank and file, led by the Chicago truck drivers were able through a long struggle to scrap the original sellout

agreement and win a wage package of \$1.65 over three years. The Teamsters' victory likewise brought into question the wage "pattern" established by the G.E. settlement.

The question facing the auto workers when their contract expires on Sept. 14 is whether they are going to smash the G.E. "pattern" through a wage victory comparable or better than that of the Teamsters, or be forced back below the Teamsters to the level of the G.E. settlement or even further. The outcome of this struggle is of decisive importance for the wage scales and working conditions of every worker in the country.

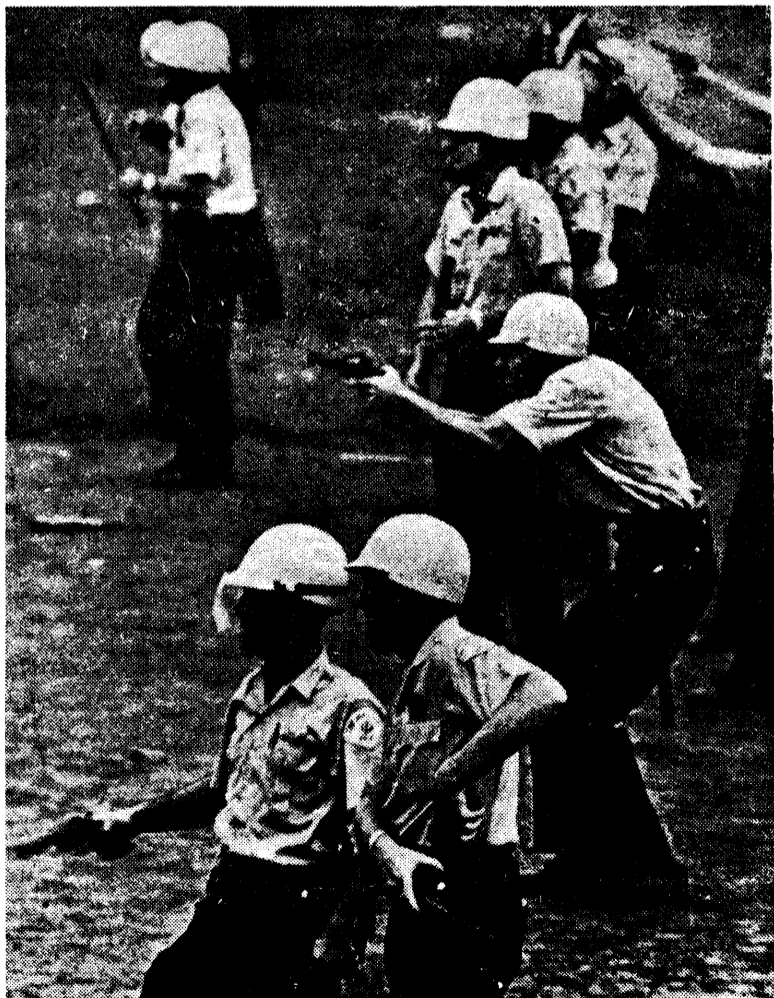
More and more it appears that Nixon and the employers are preparing a showdown with the UAW in September in order to break the back of the wage offensive. The auto barons are being pushed by the decline in the rate of profit most dramatically expressed by the near bankruptcy of Chrysler into all-out war

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WAVE OF TERROR UNLEASHED AGAINST YOUTH



Chicago police open fire on black and white youth, marking new stage in repression.



Stalinists Sell Out Arab Revolution



A young boy shot in back by Chicago police during rebellion by black and white youth.

Unleash New Wave Of Terror On Black And White Youth

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The recent clash of over 5,000 Chicago youth—black and white, working class and students—with the police marks a new stage in the growing attacks on youth and the resistance of youth to these attacks.

The rioting took place at Grant Park, scene of the Democratic convention confrontation in 1968, and followed a small incident at a rock concert. It all started when a few youths protested the failure of Sly and the Family Stone to show up at the concert. The police reacted by calling off the whole concert and seeking to disperse the youth.

It was this that led to hours of pitched battle with the police during which rocks, bottles, chunks of pavement, manhole covers and lampposts were thrown, three young boys shot by police who fired directly into the crowd, 80 others injured, 160 arrested and 120 police claiming injury.

Chicago, the city of the most extreme racial tensions, with a city administration which openly fans racism, experienced its first integrated riot. The class character of the repression of all working class youth stood out clearly for all to see.

The Chicago rock riot followed a series of pitched gun battles between police and black workers. The one which received national attention was the Chicago police's cold-blooded murder of Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. Others have centered around the Cabrini-Green housing project which contains almost 18,000 people, 99% of them black. It was these incidents which the *New York Times* sees essentially as attacks on the police, even though information contained in the *Times* article makes clear that at heart what is involved is daily attacks on blacks by racist police.

The rock riot illustrates that, as we have said all along, the attacks on blacks are a prelude for attacks on the working class as a whole. Now the police are taking on black and white youth together. Soon they will hit the unions and the older workers as well.

Mayor Daley's reaction to the clash was as could be expected. He stated that this obviously spontaneous rebellion of the youth was "organized" and hinted that radicals were behind it. So he brings in anti-communism and witchhunting to cover up the brutality of his police. Then he announces new attacks on the youth by

cancelling all further rock concerts in the city. This represents not only further repression, but Daley's fear that wherever youth gather in Chicago, for however unpolitical a purpose, there is a direct danger in such gatherings to Daley and the large corporate interests in Chicago he represents.

All over the nation this summer there has been a crackdown on youth. The pattern is now becoming clear. Woodstock in a way is the center of it.

Last year the massive rock festival was held in Woodstock. *Life* magazine devoted a whole special issue to it. A highly profitable movie was made of it. Woodstock dominated all the mass media for weeks, for months.

In this way the capitalists sought to turn youth away from politics and towards drugs, music and big happenings. At the same time millions were being made off the "youth culture." However, just as important, publicity on the excesses at these concerts in drug taking, nudity and the like, were used to turn sections of older workers and the middle classes against the youth, preparing for the kind of repression seen this summer. The capitalists played it both ways. And they made, as is their way, both ways pay off for them.

REVOLUTIONARY

This summer they come down on the festivals, breaking them up. Last year's tolerance becomes this year's repression. At the same time the rebellion of college youth against the war this spring, within the army against the war, among the black youth in Asbury Park and New Bedford against unemployment, makes youth too explosive for the capitalist to handle any more.

What is needed now is the construction of a revolutionary youth movement made up of black and white workers and students whose aim is to break down the divisions among youth, and between youth and the working class as a whole, fighting for a program which unites the interests of youth to those of the working class. This means a fighting program for full employment, better education, and housing, an end to the Vietnam war, an end to racism and repression, and the construction of a labor party to politically carry forward this program against the twin parties which repress the youth and the working class.

EDITORIAL

Auto Workers Face Major Showdown Over Wages

(Continued from Page 1)

on the workers. The Big Three sees the current contract fight as a total offensive against the UAW with the questions of wages and productivity at the center.

The only answer to the offensive of the employers backed by Nixon is for the UAW to take the initiative in a counter-offensive. This means, first of all, an end to the policy of compromise on the needs of the workers which UAW President Woodcock carries over as a continuation of what Mr. Reuther liked to call "flexibility." Not compromise of any one "section" of the union—whites, blacks, old, young, skilled, unskilled, etc.—but a fight for the real needs of the entire rank and file around a program of demands which must be considered non-negotiable. This is what is required.

Wages: Typical of the "flexibility" approach of Woodcock is his refusal to set an actual figure for wage increases. What is required is not one penny less than the \$1.65 an hour over three years won by the Teamsters. Woodcock's rumored proposal of 8% and 7% for the first and second years is a total sellout. This wage demand has to be totally separated from the \$.26 an hour owed the auto workers in catch up pay. This money is theirs and is owed them as a result of the agreement to place a "ceiling" on the cost of living escalator during the life of the last contract.

The workers cannot afford to wait three years for the cost of living adjustment, only to have the companies decide that this money is to be bargained over. There must be a return to the FULL escalator clause.

Pensions: There is no reason why the workers who have given over their minds and bodies to produce profits for the auto barons for 30 years should have to retire on anything less than what their working brothers are earning. The pension system should guarantee these workers full parity with employed workers regardless of whether they are eligible for social security. Pensions, like wages should be protected by full escalator.

Job Security: The result of the mass layoffs in the auto industry is that the July unemployment figure in the state of Michigan may reach 10%. Many laid off workers with low seniority who are still not covered by SUB (Supplemental Unemployment Benefits) and other laid off workers who end up with as little as 70% of their regular wages need to receive a guaranteed full weeks wage as long as they are laid off.

Above all, the UAW leadership has avoided any struggle for the shorter work week in order to spread the jobs. This, despite the increasing unemployment in the industry which the companies are attempting to use to weaken the union. The demand of 30 for 40 must be made the center of the fight for jobs.

Speedup: Speedup, the curse of the auto industry under capitalist ownership must be ended and replaced with workers' control of safety and production standards and a great extension of relief time.

Without a doubt, the fight to achieve these goals raises the need for nationalization and workers' control of the auto industry. When the bosses complain that for them to provide just these modest gains for the workers will "put them out of business" (while they of course have to get by on incomes of several hundred thousand a year), then we propose that they be put out of business and the industry be nationalized and operated in the public interest.

The showdown shaping up for Sept. 14 is above all political as well as economic. Nixon and Agnew can no longer afford even the pretense of hands off "neutrality" they attempted in the G.E. strike. The auto workers face not only pending Congressional legislation to institute a wage freeze, but also the threat of "emergency" government action to break the strike on the basis of some sort of binding arbitration. It is very much the same situation as the recent British dock strike in which the Tory government threatened the use of troops against the strikers. Neither the fight against this kind of attack nor the fight for nationalization can be made through pressure on liberal Republicans or Democrats as is the program of the labor bureaucracy and the Communist Party. Labor needs its own political arm, a labor party based on the power of the unions which fights to defend the interests of all workers. Above all, we want to develop the understanding that the strike facing the auto workers this fall is also the strike of the entire labor movement.

We feel that it is essential now to begin a discussion of the ideas and demands raised in this editorial among auto workers in particular. Toward this end, the BULLETIN is anxious to receive all comments and opinions of auto workers in this period of preparation for Sept. 14. Please send letters to Editor, The Bulletin, 135 West 14 Street, 6th Floor, N.Y.C., N.Y. 10011.

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Stalinists Force Deal With US In Middle East

BY FRED MUELLER

Accompanied by statements of satisfaction from both the imperialists and the Moscow bureaucracy, a cease-fire along the Israeli-Egyptian front went into effect on August 7.

This is the culmination of weeks and months of secret diplomatic activity aimed from the beginning against the Arab masses and the Palestinian guerrilla fighters in particular. The imperialists, with the crucial aid of the Stalinist bureaucracy, have split the Arab governments, put the guerrilla leaderships on the defensive and strengthened the Zionists.

It was in fact during Nasser's visit to Moscow recently that he was persuaded to agree to the ceasefire and negotiations with the Zionists. So hungry is the Stalinist bureaucracy for a deal with imperialism in the Middle East that there are hints that the Soviet Union might even agree to financially support the UN's "peacekeeping" operations in the Middle East. In the past the Soviet Union has refused to finance such forces in the Congo, Middle East and Cyprus though it has voted for them in the Security Council. Until the recent discussions the Soviet Union has refused to discuss such questions. Now they have reportedly shown interest in US proposals for such arrangements.

The plan designed by US Secretary of State Rogers for a three month cease fire denies the Palestinian people the right of self-determination. All the moves toward a "political settlement" are based upon the recognition of Israel as a Zionist state, thus bargaining away the fundamental rights of the Palestinians to begin with. It is this which Nasser and the regimes of Sudan, Libya, Jordan and Saudi Arabia have completely accepted. This represents a complete capitulation to the Zionists on the question of the rights of the Palestinian refugees.

REWARD

The allegedly tough bargaining position assumed by Nasser on the question of Israeli withdrawal to the 1967 borders is in reality an acceptance of Zionism and amounts to a reward to Tel Aviv for the 1967 war.

At the same time the cease fire serves the immediate purpose of taking pressure off the Egyptians and isolating the guerrillas. The way is open for stepped up military attacks upon the guerrillas both inside the movement, from the Arab regimes and from the Israelis. This has been confirmed anew with the August 9 attacks by the Israelis upon guerrilla bases in Lebanon as well as on Syrian-based guerrillas in the Golan Heights.

Nasser has openly joined forces with the most reactionary pro-imperialist forces, with the regimes in Jordan and

Lebanon, in order to crush the guerrillas. In this he has the blessings and encouragement of both Washington and Moscow.

The maneuvers of the Arab governments reflect the enormous pressure of the masses as well as the bankruptcy of the national bourgeoisie. The Tripoli summit conference, first postponed and then boycotted by both Iraq and Algeria, reflects the tremendous crisis facing the bourgeois regimes. The Iraqis have been the most critical of Nasser and are coming under increasing pressure from Moscow. The Syrians have made verbal attacks upon the cease fire but attended the Tripoli conference. The Manchester Guardian reported that "there is now some kind of a tacit agreement between Syria and Egypt whereby the Syrians, for form's sake, are permitted to denounce the US initiative, though not as fiercely as the Iraqis, without incurring Egyptian displeasure."

GUERRILLAS

The largest guerrilla organization, Al Fatah, has combined attacks upon the Rogers Plan with an equivocal attitude toward Nasser. On August 9 Al Fatah announced once again that it was ignoring the cease fire and stepping up its attacks upon the Israelis. But it has already been suggested that this is a face-saving statement.

Representatives of ten commando groups met in the Jordan capital of Amman and issued a statement in the name of the Palestine Liberation Organization which denounced the cease fire but did not mention the splits among the guerrillas.

Mass demonstrations against the cease fire have already taken place in Baghdad, Amman, and elsewhere, as well as general strike action in Jordan. The tremendous opposition of the masses is only palely reflected in the official statements and maneuvers.

The intrigues against the guerrillas have already exploded in an armed clash in Jordan on August 5 between the pro-Nasser Action Organization for the Liberation of Palestine and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, with killed and wounded on both sides.

Three organizations under Stalinist control in Jordan, the Jordan Popular Front, the Gaza Strip United Front, and the Partisan Organization, have denounced all the critics of Nasser and wholeheartedly supported the cease fire.

Thus the stage is being set for violence inside the guerrilla movement directed



Yasir Arafat, leader of Al Fatah guerrilla group, rejects U.S.-Kremlin ceasefire.

against its left wing. This violence is inspired and organized by the Stalinists and their close allies. The counterrevolutionary role of Stalinism revealed in Spain and many other parts of the world over the past 30 years is unfolding once again, in the Middle East.

STALINISM

The role of Stalinism in this situation is absolutely critical. It can be clearly seen just how Moscow "support" for the Arab struggle against Israel has been aimed from the very beginning at betraying this struggle at the crucial moment.

This is not merely an element of the situation, but the decisive aspect of imperialist strategy in defeating the Arab workers and peasants. Without the Stalinist control the imperialists would face a far more difficult if not impossible situation.

Pravda's Cairo correspondent has spelled out the bureaucracy's attitude toward Nasser:

"In taking this peaceful initiative, extremist sentiments in the Arab world had to be overcome...Great political courage was needed to launch criticism of these sentiments as President Nasser has done."

Moscow has openly denounced the guerrillas. It has launched a campaign of slander. Nothing must stand in the way of a worldwide deal between imperialism and the bureaucracy to maintain the status quo and insure the continued domination of imperialism in the Middle East.

CROSSROADS

The future of the Palestinians and of the entire Arab struggle against imperialism and Zionism stands at the crossroads. The deepening crisis and the growing determination of the Arab guerrilla fighters has forced the imperialists and their Stalinist and bourgeois nationalist henchmen to step up their attacks.

The Stalinists openly do the bidding of the imperialists. Their role, as in the past, is to purge the workers' movement of all principled opposition to imperialism. That is why they praised the sellout of the British dock strike, sign a pact with Bonn, continue to recognize the Lon Nol puppet regime in Cambodia, prepare to recognize Fascist Spain and continue to aid the regime of the Greek colonels.

The bourgeois nationalists become the willing allies of the Stalinists and imperialists. At the same time the grave weaknesses of the guerrilla leaderships are exposed. The guerrillas are heavily dependent upon the Stalinists and Cairo for military support. Their radio stations have been moved from Egypt to Syria, where they are by no means secure. The guerrilla base of operations in Jordan is under the gravest threat. Yet the guerrilla leaderships have maintained the political conception of the liberation of Palestine through reliance upon world opinion and not the independent mobilization of the Arab masses throughout the Middle East.

REVOLUTIONARY

What is required is a revolutionary leadership built in struggle against the Stalinist and bourgeois nationalist betrayers. These political questions cannot be ignored.

There are only two roads for the Middle East. The workers and peasants face either betrayal through the United Nations and the intrigues of the Stalinists and bourgeois nationalists, or the struggle against Zionism and imperialism will be taken forward through the struggle for a socialist Middle East in which the rights of all minorities will be guaranteed.

what the editors think...

The heroic struggles of the Arab workers and peasants against Zionism and imperialism are now in the gravest danger as the Soviet Union openly collaborates with U.S. imperialism to force acceptance of the Rogers Plan and to break the back of the Arab revolution.

This deal provides the basis not only for the defeat of the Arab revolution but opens the door to a similar maneuver between Moscow and U.S. imperialism in Vietnam.

As the Soviet bureaucracy's most faithful agent, the American Communist Party is going all out in support of this counter-revolutionary deal. The August 3th issue of the Daily World prints a statement by the Political Committee of the CP hailing the cease fire plan:

"The crisis in the Middle East has in recent months become extremely grave and the danger of its explosion into all-out warfare, and with this, of a U.S.-Soviet military confrontation, has become increasingly acute. Now, however, a possible way out of this grim situation has emerged, based on the U.S. cease-fire proposals."

In other words the interests of the Arab masses are to be sacrificed in the interests of maintaining "peaceful co-existence" between the Soviet Union and U.S. imperialism. The Political Committee of the CP goes on to say that "the key to Middle East peace remains the U.N. resolution of November 1967 which provides for return to the old borders." This means the acceptance of the Zionist state of Israel and the maintenance of imperialism's domination in the Middle East. But even more, the very

acceptance of the cease fire opens the door to the acceptance of the boundaries as they now exist. Israel has made itself quite clear on this question and has the full backing of the U.S.—it will not give up its conquered territories. This is the deal that the Daily World describes as "The path leading in the direction of a peaceful settlement."

In posing it as a question of achieving "peace" the CP completely ignores the struggle of the Arab workers and peasants against Zionist occupation of Palestine as a base for imperialism. While Nasser has backed the Arab guerrillas, his purpose at all times has been to use them as a bargaining threat with imperialism. Now he is preparing to launch a full attack on the guerrillas in order to guarantee the right of the Zionists to remain in Palestine.

The Daily World has given open support to Nasser on this question, quoting in the August 1 issue from the attack by the commando groups, the Action Organization for the Liberation of Palestine and the Arab Palestine Organization on the guerrilla movements for rejecting the cease fire and 'exploiting the Palestine revolution to attack Egypt and the Soviet Union.' These organizations which the CP quotes are nothing but front groups for Nasser and have no base among the masses of workers and peasants. The World is revealingly silent about the opposition of Al Fatah and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine to the cease fire.

The World is as silent on this question as it has been on the Kremlin's support to the Lon Nol regime, its moves to recognize the fascist regime in Spain, its

aid to the Greek Colonels, and the strike-breaking activities of the Polish Stalinists in Spain and Ireland.

Moscow with the complete support of the American Communist Party has from the very beginning of the struggles in the Middle East laid the basis for the present betrayal. The setting up of Israel in 1948 was only possible because of the agreement of the Soviet Union. The Soviet bureaucracy opened the way for the Israeli victory in 1967 by refusing to supply sufficient arms and planes to Egypt. When the Zionist forces moved into the Sinai the Kremlin forced Nasser to stop all resistance.

It should be clear that the deal engineered in the Middle East between the Kremlin and U.S. imperialism is laying the basis for a similar deal in Vietnam. This is the counterrevolutionary strategy of Stalinism as it moves closer and closer to imperialism and seeks consciously to head off the revolutionary struggles of the working class internationally. This must be a clear warning to the American working class. The Communist Party's support to the betrayal of the Arab masses is a precursor to the role it will play in the labor movement and in the struggles of the youth in the U.S.A.

Only the Trotskyist movement has fought consistently for the victory of the Arab revolution against Zionism and imperialism just as it has fought for the victory of the workers and peasants in Vietnam. Now this struggle requires a deepening of the battle to destroy the beheaders of revolutions—Stalinism.

MARXISM & MILITARY AFFAIRS

By Leon Trotsky

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Aerospace Ranks Continue Strike

BY AN INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

SANTA ANA, CALIF.—For the past 8 months workers at Transport Dynamics, Inc., an aero-space bearing plant, have been out on strike. The strike demands include a pay raise and an end to male-female pay differentials. The heart of the strike, however, is the recognition of Operating Engineers 501 as the sole bargaining agent.

Local 501 won an NLRB election five months before the strike and began negotiations with the company. After this period of time the best the company had to offer was an across the board raise of 2¢ per hour. From the very beginning the company has been out to break the union. It clearly went into negotiations

with the intention of forcing a strike. The struggle since the strike began has been fierce. The full powers of the government have been employed to break the strike. Not only have the courts limited pickets to three per gate, but the police attempt from time to time to halt picketing totally. One memorable morning eight cops and two private cops were on the scene to handle a total of seven pickets. To this can be added the usual complement of tickets to strikers' cars and harrassment (including shooting) of the strikers' bus which is used as headquarters.

VIGILANTE

Even the scabs have gotten into the act. On at least one occasion, a vigilante committee of right-wing scabs visited a striker at his part time job to threaten him if he continued to picket. Neither contempt citations, arrests, nor threats and provocations have been able to break the strike.

However, the strike has been, from the beginning, in real danger from the policies of the 501 bureaucrats. From the first, they have done virtually everything in their power to isolate and pacify the strikers. During the entire strike this Los Angeles based local has tried to mobilize its own membership for mass picketing only once. All attempts to spread the strike have been discouraged by the 501 leadership.

When a local Orange County Strike Support Committee approached the strikers and offered to help distribute strikers' leaflets to plants in the area, the bureaucrats complained that leaflets had not been printed by 501's regular printer. When strikers asked the committee to hold a demonstration under workers' leadership, the bureaucrats felt threatened enough to not only disavow the demonstration, but also to force the strikers, under threat of sanction, not to leave their bus to even talk with those mobilized in support of the strike.

The latest two instances of "strategy" from the leadership of 501 make several things very clear. When the Orange County Strike Support Committee leafletted a GM parts factory, UAW bureaucrats came wailing over to 501 leadership to complain that these leaflets would "demoralize" their workers who faced a strike in September. Apparently the UAW leadership thought that it was demoralizing to know that strikes often last a long time. Clearly the UAW leadership was not interested in helping the TDI workers or preparing for a showdown with GM in the fall. The 501 bureaucrats obligingly disavowed the leaflet and banned the strike support committee from the lines.

Finally, in recent weeks two events have occurred: the president of TDI was fired and the headquarters bus was burned by arsonists. The reaction of the bureaucracy was immediate: business agents and other officials have been appearing on the lines to enforce the injunction against more than three pickets on a gate. This is supposed to prove to the new president that the strikers are "reasonable." Or so the workers are told.

The ranks confront not only the bosses and their more obvious agents before

them, but also their own leadership. The TDI strikers have the determination; they have demonstrated this amply. What is required is a fight to spread the strike gaining support from the labor movement. No support committee, however dedicated, can substitute itself for the workers in this struggle. And to win, the workers will sooner or later be forced to fight their own leadership.

Support Grows For Northwest Strike

BY MICHAEL ROSS

MINNEAPOLIS, Aug. 5, 1970

—As new support comes in for the month old Northwest Orient Airlines clerical strike there is renewed danger that what is being won on the picket lines will be given away through federal mediation boards.

Joining the stewardesses and machinists in official support of the strike, the central labor bodies of Honolulu, Hawaii, including the longshoremen and building trades, have moved to shut the Honolulu airport by the 7th of August in solidarity with the striking clerks.

The actions of Nixon's federal mediators in the Twin Cities have clearly shown that the government is worried about this strike. A BRAC victory now would be the spark for millions of lower paid workers—especially those bypassed by the so-called prosperity of the 1950s—to take up the struggle for union rights and a living wage.

DANGER

In the face of the present economic crisis, this is the last thing that the employers and Nixon intend to tolerate.

This is precisely why a representative of the federal mediation board issued an order for meetings between himself, Northwest and the clerks.

The danger here is the complete willingness of BRAC international representatives to comply with such orders.

These same mediators were the ones who forced through the GE-Westinghouse settlements. With this behind them, they are laying the groundwork for an even worse settlement at Northwest.

BRAC strikers must have no illusions about the government as some sort of "neutral" party. Nixon's proposed law to outlaw all strikes in transport is a good indication of this.

BEATEN

What is being posed by this strike and by every other major strike in the country is the need for the labor movement to break with the politics of support for strikebreaking "friends." The fight for a labor party must be continued in the unions.

Northwest now stands on the verge of being beaten. The BRAC strikers can beat back Northwest by continuing to build their support in the labor movement, and by a policy of no collaboration with the federal mediators. The BRAC demand of a 42% wage hike over three years, when compared to their present wages and Northwest's "final offer," show that there is absolutely nothing to mediate.

UAW Leader Miseducates Ranks

BY ED BERGONZI

STATE COLLEGE, PA.—A U.A.W. Educational Institute, similar to the previous steelworkers institute, was held recently at Penn State University here. At a plenary session keynoted by the presence of Milton Shapp, the liberal Democratic candidate for Governor of Pennsylvania, the same popular front perspective, brought forward two weeks earlier by steelworkers' union bureaucrat Julius Uehlein, was again posed.

Before Shapp arrived, however, the floor was taken by a Region 9 union official, who proceeded to relate to the auto-workers, facts which they obviously already knew. Unemployment is rising sharply, and the unemployment benefits, a reform which the union won during the 1950s, is no longer capable of securing a suitable standard of living for an unemployed worker.

BLAMED

He continued, and talked about the rising inflation, the housing problem and the related construction cutbacks, and air and water pollution, without once getting to the actual roots of the crisis, which are inherent in the capitalist system itself. Instead, he blamed the current situation on the Nixon Administration and the Republican Party, calling their policies the "backward approach" to economics.

As the way forward for labor, this official proposed as Mr. Uehlein had done to the steelworkers, that labor support Milton Shapp for Governor. Once again the Republican Party is blamed for the crisis, while the Democratic Party is

characterized as the "friend of labor." No mention was made of the clamor in Washington, by the Democrats, for the institution of wage controls. No mention was made of the policies of the liberals in calling out troops to break the Postal and Teamsters strikes.

In counterposing the hollow reformism of Milton Shapp to the necessity for labor to develop independent political power, the labor bureaucrats serve to objectively tie the hands of labor, while giving valuable time to the Nixon Administration, which is preparing more devastating attacks on American workers.

UAW President Woodcock can give lip-service against the institution of wage controls, but when he throws his support behind the Democratic Party, the same party that is currently fighting for such measures, his role as an agent of the bosses becomes crystal clear.

PREPARE

What must urgently be understood by all rank and file workers is that the trade unionism of the Reuther period, with its close ties to the Democratic Party, cannot possibly prepare the auto-workers, or the labor movement as a whole, for the coming attacks that the Nixon Administration are preparing.

Only the building of a labor party can begin to insure the survival of the unions in the coming period. Militants within the UAW must begin immediately to fight for this perspective in preparation for the upcoming contract struggle in the fall.



Waverly Center (above) was scene of welfare workers protest against speedup and harrassment. New attacks are taking place citywide in the Department of Social Services as the economic crisis deepens. The SSEU-371 Committee for New Leadership at the last membership meeting proposed: mass demonstration to coincide with Aug. 26 work stoppage, citywide limit of 1 pending per week, ban work on all uncovered cases, no cooperation with time study, immediate hiring, return to 60 caseload, no extention of Reorganization, Scrap reorganization in '71 contract, start strike fund to prepare for 1971 contract fight.

ITU Leadership Refuses To Sanction Local Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL—Over 500 compositors, members of International Typographical Union Locals 42 and 30 began a return to work on July 28, after their international leadership ordered an end to the unofficial strike which began on July 12.

Refusal by the international to sanction the strike meant the loss of \$125 a week in strike benefits per striker.

The strike had affected a large number of area job shops, but had ended first at those shops that agreed to the union's terms.

Keeping in mind the recent wage and fringe benefit package negotiated by the ITU in Chicago (\$50 extra per week in wages and \$10 in benefits over two years), members of locals 30 and 42 voted down their negotiating committee's recommendation not to strike.

What is now essential is that printers take steps to build up a new leadership to replace those who stand in the way of their getting decent living standards.

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EUROPE and AMERICA

Two speeches by
LEON TROTSKY

1 PERSPECTIVES OF WORLD DEVELOPMENT

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

Preconditions for the proletarian revolution

Comrades, ten years have elapsed since the outbreak of the imperialist war. In that interval the world has greatly changed; but still it hasn't changed quite so much, far from it, as we had supposed and expected ten years ago.

We analyse history from the standpoint of the social revolution. This standpoint is at one and the same time both theoretical and practical, dynamically so. We analyse the conditions of development as they take shape behind our backs and independently of our will in order, after having understood them, to act upon them through our active will, i.e. the will of the organized class.

These two sides of our Marxist approach to history are linked most closely and indissolubly.

Were we to confine ourselves solely to taking into account what is happening, then such an approach would in the long run degenerate into fatalism and indifference, into social apathy, and at a certain stage it would assume the aspect of Menshevism, which contains a large dose of fatalism and worshipful acceptance of what takes place behind the backs of people.

Were we to confine ourselves, on the other hand, solely to revolutionary action, to the revolutionary will, we would then incur the risk of falling into subjectivism, which is multiform: one of its varieties is anarchism, Left SRism* is another, it is

* Left SRs: Left Social Revolutionaries, who, until June 1918, participated with the Bolsheviks in the Soviet government. After that, they staged an armed uprising and made attempts on the lives of a number of prominent Bolsheviks, among them Lenin and Trotsky. —Editor.

our native Russian variety of subjectivism, and finally included here are those manifestations in communism which Vladimir Ilyich (Lenin) called the infantile diseases of leftism.

The whole art of revolutionary politics consists in correctly combining objective analysis with subjective action. And this is the gist of the Leninist school.

I said that we approach history from the standpoint of the revolution which is bound to transfer the power into the hands of the working class for the communist reconstruction of mankind. What are the preconditions for the social revolution? Under what conditions can it arise, develop and conquer? There are a great many preconditions. But they can be grouped two main headings, and perhaps, as a beginning, under two. The objective preconditions, namely, those that take shape behind the backs of the people and the subjective.

Objective preconditions, if we are to begin with the foundation, with the fundamentals—and that is how we ought to begin—are first of all created by a certain level of the development of the productive forces. (I ask the indulgence of those to whom what I am now saying is ABC. I assume that these questions are not ABC for all who are assembled here. And besides, all of us have had occasion from time to time to return to the ABC, to the fundamentals, in order by means of the old method to arrive at new conclusions, prompted by the existing situation.)

And so, the fundamental, cardinal precondition for the social revolution is a certain level of the development of the productive forces—a level under which socialism and later communism as an economic system, as a mode of production and distribution of goods, offers material advantages. On the plough of a peasant it

is impossible to build either communism or even socialism. A certain level of technical development is presupposed. Has this level been already attained, if we take the capitalist world as a whole? Unquestionably, yes.

How is this proved? It is proved by the fact that large-scale and biggest capitalist enterprises and their combinations—trusts and syndicates—are conquering middle-sized and little enterprises all over the world. Consequently, a socio-economic organization resting solely on the technology of large-scale and biggest enterprises, an organization correctly constructed along the lines of trusts and syndicates but on principles of solidarity; an organization that embraces the whole nation, the state and then the whole world would offer colossal material advantages. This precondition exists, and, moreover, it has existed for a long time.

The second objective precondition is that society must be so divided that there exists a class interested in the socialist overturn and strong enough numerically and influential enough industrially to assume this overturn on its shoulders. But this is not enough. It is necessary for this class—and here we pass over to the subjective preconditions—to possess a clear understanding of the situation and to consciously desire the overturn.

It is necessary that there stands at its head a party able to lead the class during the overturn, and capable of assuring victory. And this, on the other hand, presupposes a corresponding condition of the ruling bourgeois class, its loss of influence over the popular masses, its own ranks in disarray, its class self-confidence gone. Such a condition of society is a revolutionary condition. Psychological, political and dynamic organizational preconditions for the accomplishment of the insurrection and its culmination in victory can arise only on the basis of certain productive social relations.

If we inquire into the second precondition, the class division, the class division of society, i.e. the role and significance of the proletariat in society, then here, too, we can say one thing and only one: it has long ago matured, decades ago. This is best proved by the role of the Russian proletariat which is very young.

What then has been lacking up to now? What has been lacking is the final subjective precondition, the awareness of the proletariat of Europe of its position in society, and its corresponding organization, its corresponding training by the party capable of leading it. This is what has been lacking!

More than once have we Marxists pointed out that contrary to all sorts of idealistic theories, the consciousness of society keeps lagging far behind the ob-

jective conditions of development and we see this on a huge historic scale in the fate of the proletariat.

The productive forces have long ago matured for socialism. The proletariat has long ago played the decisive economic role, at least in the leading capitalist countries. Upon it depends the entire mechanism of production, and consequently the mechanism of society. What is lacking is the final factor, the subjective factor. Consciousness lags behind being.

And so the imperialist war came; on the one hand, as the historical penalty for the lag of the proletariat's consciousness behind its being; and on the other hand, it came as a mighty impulsion forward. That is how we viewed the imperialist war. It unfolded because the proletariat did not prove strong enough to avert it. For the proletariat had not succeeded in orienting itself in society, in becoming conscious of its role, of its historic mission, in organizing itself, in setting itself the task of seizing power, and in solving this task. At the same time the imperialist war, which came as the penalty for that which was not the responsibility but the misfortune of the proletariat, was destined to play and did play the part of a mighty revolutionary factor.

The war laid bare the acute, profound and unpostponable necessity of effecting a change in the social structure. I said that the transition to socialist economy offered considerable social advantages long prior to the war. This means that even before the war the productive forces would have developed far more powerfully on socialist foundations than they could on capitalist foundations.

But we have seen that even with the retention of capitalist foundations, the productive forces are not growing but swiftly not only in America but in Europe. In this lay the relative 'justification' of the very existence of capitalism.

Following the imperialist war we already observe an entirely different picture: the productive forces are not growing but are being destroyed. As hitherto and even to a far greater degree than ever before, they are constricted within the framework of private ownership of the means of production and within the framework of the national states that have been created by the Versailles Peace. The events of the last decade have for the first time revealed incontrovertibly that further human progress is incompatible with capitalism. In this sense the war was a revolutionary factor. But not only in this sense. By turning with its ruthless methods the entire organization of society inside out, the war has knocked the consciousness of the toiling masses out of the grooves of conservatism and tradition. We have entered the epoch of revolution.



The war laid bare the unpostponable necessity of effecting a change in the social order.



The previous decade 1914-1924

IF WE approach the decade that has elapsed from this standpoint, it will be seen that it falls into several clearly defined periods. The first period is the period of the imperialist war which embraces more than four years—for all of us, for Russia, a little less, a little over three years.

The new period in this decade begins with February and especially October 1917. This is the period of the revolutionary payment for the war. The history of 1918-1919, and in part also of 1920—at least for certain countries, the history of these three years proceeds wholly and exclusively under the sign of the liquidation of the imperialist war and the immediate expectation of the proletarian revolution in all of Europe.

The October Revolution took place in our country, the monarchies of the central European states were overthrown, there was a mighty upsurge of the proletarian movement throughout Europe, and even in America. The final highpoints of the post-war upswing were the uprising in Italy in September 1920, and the March 1921 days in Germany. The September 1920 uprising in Italy virtually concluded with a movement of our own—the Red Army's offensive against Warsaw which was likewise an integral part of the mighty revolutionary tide, and ebbed back together with it. It is possible to say that this epoch of direct post-war revolutionary offensive culminated in the terrible flare-up in Germany in March 1921.

We conquered in Tsarist Russia, and the power of the proletariat has become entrenched in our country. The monarchies of central Europe were overthrown, swept away virtually without a battle. But if we leave out the episodic events in Hungary and Bavaria, nowhere else did the proletariat conquer power; and in the foregoing episodic instances the proletariat did not succeed in holding power. After this event it might appear, and to our enemies and opponents it actually did appear, that an era of the restoration of capitalist equilibrium was in the offing, an era of healing the wounds resulting from the imperialist war, an era of the entrenchment of bourgeois society.

From the standpoint of our revolution-

ary policy this new period begins as a period of retreat. This retreat was announced by us—not without a serious internal struggle—at the Third World Congress of the Comintern in the middle of 1921. We took note of the fact that the first mighty assault after the imperialist war did not suffice to bring victory, because there was no leading party capable of assuring victory; and the final major event of this three-year period, the March movement in Germany signaled the greatest danger: had the movement proceeded further along this road, it carried with it the threat of smashing the young parties of the Communist International to pieces.

The Third International called a halt, ordering a retreat from the direct line of battle, where our parties in Europe found themselves as a consequence of the post-war events. There then opened up the era of struggle for the influence over the masses, a period of systematic, stubborn, agitational work under the slogan of the proletarian united front and later the united front of workers and peasants. This period lasted approximately two years. And in this brief interval there took shape a psychology adapted to the moderated pace of agitational and propaganda work.

Revolutionary events, it seemed, had indefinitely been postponed to a rather distant future. Yet precisely towards the latter part of this brief period Europe was again convulsed by a mighty paroxysm, that of the Ruhr occupation.

At first sight the occupation of the Ruhr might seem a minor episode in bleeding and torn Europe that had just about seen everything. But in the nature of things the occupation of the Ruhr was akin to a brief repetition of the imperialist war. The Germans put up no resistance, for they had nothing to resist with, and the French invaded, arms in hand, the neighbouring country, seizing an industrial region which constituted the heart of German economy.

As a result, Germany, and along with her the rest of Europe, again to a certain extent lived through a war situation. The economy of Germany became disorganized, and as a result French economy proved disorganized, too. It was as if history had decided to repeat an experiment. After the imperialist war had shaken up the whole world, had raised the most backward masses of toilers to their feet,

but did not lead them to victory, after this, after five years, it is as if history tried to make a new experiment, a sort of re-examination.

I will give you a brief repetition of the imperialist war—thus spake history. I will once again shake to its foundations the already shaken economy of Europe, and give you, the proletariat, the Communist parties, an opportunity to make up for the opportunities you lost during these last five years.

We saw how in the course of 1923 the situation in Germany suddenly and drastically altered in a revolutionary direction. Bourgeois society was shaken to its foundation. Stresemann, the bourgeois prime minister, openly stated that he was heading the last bourgeois government in Germany. The fascists said: 'Let the Communists take power, our turn will come later.'

Germany's national governmental life was completely knocked from its grooves. You all recall the fate of the mark and the fate of German economy as a whole during that period. There was an elemental flood of the masses into the Communist Party. The Social Democracy, which is today the main force of stagnation in the service of old society, was split, weakened, with no faith in itself. The workers were quitting its ranks.

Today, on viewing this period in retrospect, a period embracing all of 1923 and especially the latter part of 1923, from June on, after the termination of passive resistance—when you look back and survey the entire situation then existing Germany, you say to yourself: History never created and will hardly ever again create more favourable preconditions for the proletarian revolution and for the seizure of power. If we gave our young Marxist scholars an assignment to think up a more favourable situation for the seizure of power by the proletariat, in my opinion they could not do so, provided of course, they operate with actual and not mythical or fantastic data.

But one thing was lacking. Lacking was the degree of tempering, the degree of vision, resolution and fighting ability of the Communist Party necessary to assure timely action and victory. And this example shall again and again teach all of us—all the more so, our youth—to understand the role and significance of the correct leadership in the Communist Party, which by historical count is the last factor of the proletarian revolution, but not the last in point of importance.

The collapse of the German revolution ushered in a new era in the development of Europe, and in part throughout the world. We characterized this new period as the period of the coming to power of the democratic-pacifist elements of bourgeois society. To take the place of the fascists have come pacifists, democrats, Mensheviks, radicals and other middle-class parties. Of course had the revolution conquered in Germany, the whole historical chapter through which we are now living would have been entirely different in content. In that case, even if there were the Herriot government in France, Herriot himself would have had an altogether different appearance, and the span of his political existence would have been far briefer, although I would not vouch even now for his political longevity (Applause). The same thing applies to MacDonald and all other varieties of this same basic democratic-pacifist species.

Fascism, democratism, Kerenskyism

IN ORDER to have a rudimentary under-

standing of the change that has taken place, one must ask oneself: what is fascism? and what is pacifist reformism which is sometimes, for brevity's sake, called Kerenskyism? I have already given definitions of these current concepts. But I repeat them again, for without a correct understanding of fascism and neo-reformism one will inevitably arrive at a false political perspective.

Fascism may assume different aspects in different countries; it can be diversified in point of social composition, but in its essence fascism is that combat grouping of forces which is moved to the fore by threatened bourgeois society in order to repel the proletariat in a civil war. When the democratic-parliamentarian state apparatus becomes entangled in its own internal contradictions, when bourgeois legality hampers the bourgeoisie itself, the latter sets in motion the most combative elements at its disposal, freeing them from the fetters of legality, and obliging them to employ all the methods of force and terror. This is fascism.

Therefore fascism is a condition of civil war on the part of the bourgeoisie, just as we have the grouping of forces and the organization for an armed uprising in the epoch of civil war on the part of the proletariat. We thereby say that fascism cannot represent a protracted and, so to speak, 'normal' condition of bourgeois society, just as a condition of armed uprising cannot be a constant, normal condition of the proletariat. Either the insurrection, on the one hand, or fascism, on the other, leads to the defeat of the proletariat, and in that case the bourgeoisie gradually restores its 'normal' state apparatus; or the proletariat conquers, and in that case no room remains for fascism, but for entirely different reasons. The victorious proletariat, as we know from our not inextensive experience, has at its disposal several means of preventing fascism from flourishing, and all the more so from growing (Applause).

Consequently, the replacement of the fascist chapter by the chapter of normal bourgeois order was determined by this, that the initial attacks of the proletariat, both the first (1918-1921) and the second (1923), were repelled. Bourgeois society has held its ground and it has regained a certain measure of self-confidence.

The bourgeoisie does not find itself so directly menaced in Europe today as to arm and set the fascists in motion. But it does not feel itself firm enough to rule in its own name. That is why Menshevism is necessary in the interval between the two acts of the historical drama—it is necessary to fill in the historical intermission. The bourgeoisie needs MacDonaldism in England; it needs a Left-Socialist block in France even more urgently.

But is it possible to regard the Labour Party government in England or the Left Bloc government in France as a regime of Kerenskyism? Kerenskyism is the label we conditionally gave to the rise of reformism about three years ago when we expected that the parliamentary shifts to the left in France and England would coincide with the revolutionary changes in Germany. This did not take place as a consequence of the defeat of the German revolution in the autumn of last year. When the definition of Kerenskyism is sometimes repeated even today with reference to the Left Bloc or MacDonaldism, it testifies to a lack of understanding of the situation and constitutes an abuse of accepted terminology.

What is Kerenskyism? It is a regime which arises when the bourgeoisie has already lost hope or no longer hopes to emerge as victor in an open civil war and makes the most extreme and risky concessions, handing over the power to the extreme 'left' elements among the bour-

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geois democracy. It is a regime which arises when the apparatus of repression has already dropped out of the hands of the bourgeoisie, or is in the process of dropping. It is clear that Kerenskyism cannot be a protracted condition of society. It must terminate either in the victory of Kornilovism (in European languages—fascism) or in the victory of Communists. Kerenskyism is a direct prelude to October, although, of course, October need not always and everywhere

today to 'social reforms', it is sooner from the other side: the repeal of the eight-hour day, or the introduction of such amendments as would in effect reduce it to zero, and so on.

But there is a practical question quite close to 'reforms', which is a life-and-death question for the workers of Europe, first of all the workers of Germany, parts of former Austria-Hungary, Poland and also France—it is the question of stabilizing the currency. The stabilization of

accept it!

Hughes, the United States Minister of Foreign Affairs, is making an 'unofficial' junket of Europe. MacDonald and Herriot have organized in the meantime a super-official conference. But we are sufficiently acquainted with this routine, so habitual, so diplomatic and so sugary to the point of nausea. Behind the back of the conference, behind the scenes, and not so very far behind them, for from beneath the curtains one can readily perceive

large under the conductor's baton of England. England was the first country to make large-scale use of coal and iron, and thanks to this took into her own hands for a long time the leadership of the world. In other words, England cashed in politically—and in international relations—on her economic preponderance. She commanded Europe, pitted one country against another, issued loans, refused loans, financed the struggle against the French Revolution, etc., etc. And England ruled the world.

The United States is after all England's oldest daughter that inherited a great deal from her mother. But the preponderance which England possessed in the heyday of her prosperity over Europe and the rest of the world is nothing compared to the preponderance of the US today over the whole world, including England. And this, comrades, is the central question of European and world history.

Without understanding this, one cannot understand the destinies of modern history, its next chapter. General Dawes did not appear accidentally from across the ocean, nor is it accidental that we are obliged to know that his name is Dawes and that he has a general's rank. He is accompanied by several American bankers. They thumb through the diplomatic papers of the European governments and they say: We won't permit this; this is what we demand. Why? Because the entire reparations structure will collapse unless America provides the first instalment, all told some miserly 800 million gold marks to stabilize German currency.

Because it all depends on America whether the franc stands or falls; and it depends a little on America whether the pound sterling stands or falls—or does not fall, but just keeps fluctuating. (Laughter.) Yes, all this depends on America. And you know that the mark, the franc and the pound sterling do play some role in the lives of the peoples.

'Pacifist' imperialism of the USA

AMERICA'S full and complete entry into the path of active world imperialist policy does not date back to yesterday. If we try to fix the date, we might say that the decisive breaking point in the policy of the US coincides approximately with the turn of the century.

The Spanish American war occurred in 1898 when America seized Cuba, thereby assuring herself the key to the Panama, and consequently the entry to the Pacific Ocean, China and the continent of Asia. In 1900, the last year of the 19th century, the export of American manufactured goods for the first time in US history exceeded the import of manufactured articles. This already made America, so to speak, book-keepingly a country with an active world policy.

In 1901 or 1902 America secured herself the province of Panama in the Republic of Columbia. In these matters America has a policy of her own which was applied in the Hawaiian islands, and I think in Samoa, but in any case, it was

to say, if you resist, then we shall leave you to your own resources and Europe will perish without our aid. 'You can count . . . 'you must . . . 'you must not . . . ' That is the tone of the speech delivered before a gathering which included the heir to the British throne and His Majesty's Ministers. All of official England replied by grinding its teeth at this speech which expresses very strikingly the inter-relationships between America and Europe. But, as everybody knows, grinding one's teeth is the weakest of all resources in a struggle.—L.T.



Lenin addressing the Third World Congress of the Comintern 1921.

grow out of Kerenskyism. . . .

Is it permissible to call the MacDonald regime or that of the Left Bloc in France as Kerenskyism in this sense? The forces of the English Communist Party are such that it could not possibly speak of any close perspective of seizing power. And, if that is so, then there are no foundations for Kornilovism, either. In all probability MacDonald will this time cede place to the Tories, in accordance with all the rules of parliamentary procedure. In France, neither the condition of the state apparatus nor the forces of the Communist Party are such as would presuppose a direct and swift evolution of the Left Bloc regime into the proletarian revolution.

The concept of Kerenskyism obviously does not apply here. There must be a serious turn of events, before it is possible to speak of Kerenskyism. And here we are confronted with the question which is now the central one, namely: what is this interim period of reformism? what does it rest on? can this regime be stabilized? can it become a 'normal' condition for a number of years, which would of course signify a corresponding postponement of the proletarian revolution? This is the central question of our time.

As has already been said, such a question cannot be solved solely on the subjective plane, that is, on the plane of our desires, of our mere readiness to effect a change in the situation. And here, as always, objective analysis, an accounting of that which is, of that which is undergoing change, of that which is becoming must be the precondition for our action. Let us try to approach the question from precisely this aspect.

What determines the fate of European reformism

IN THE most important countries of Europe the reformists are now in power. Kerenskyism presupposes certain concessions on the part of the possessing classes to the dispossessed; it presupposes certain 'sacrifices', even if modest ones, by the bourgeoisie in favour of the proletariat.

Is it possible to believe and assume that in present-day Europe, which is far poorer than it was before the war, there is an economic basis for any sort of extensive or deep-going social reforms? There is little talk of this, at any rate on the continent, even by the reformists themselves. Whenever any reference is made

monetary tokens—the mark, the krone, the franc, means the stabilization of wages, insuring them against terrible downward plunges. This is the central question in the life of the entire continental European proletariat. Undoubtedly, those relative and far from reliable and unstable successes which have been reached in currency stabilization provide some of the most important foundations of the current reformist-pacifist era. Should the mark in Germany break and plunge downwards, the revolutionary situation would be restored in its full scope. And should the French franc continue skipping today rung by rung down the ladder as it did a few months ago, the fate of Herriot's cabinet would become even more problematical and more dubious than is already the case.

It is therefore necessary first of all to formulate the question of neo-reformism as follows: what are the foundations on which rest the hopes of strengthening the economic equilibrium, even if a relative and temporary one, and in particular with regard to stabilizing currency and wages? What are these foundations and how deep-seated are they?

In approaching this question we run up against the central figure in the modern history of mankind: the United States of North America. Comrades, whoever wishes or tries today to discuss the destiny of Europe or of the world proletariat without taking the power and significance of the USA into account, is in a certain sense drawing up a balance sheet without consulting the master. For the master of the capitalist world—and let us firmly understand this—is New York, with Washington as its state department.

We observe this today even if only in the plan drawn up by the experts. We observe that Europe, which only yesterday was so powerful and so proud of her culture and her historic past—we observe that in order to get out from under, in order to crawl out on all fours from those fearful contradictions and misfortunes into which Europe has driven herself, she is compelled to invite from across the Atlantic a general by the name of Dawes whose wisdom is an unknown quantity. He may be wiser than Solomon, or not so wise. Nobody knows. (Laughter.) And so, they invite him from America and he confidently sits down at a table, and some say he even puts his feet on the table. (Laughter, Applause.) And he draws up a precise prescription concerning the regulations and dates of Europe's restoration. And then this time-table designating the arrival and departure of governmental trains of all the states of Europe is proffered by him to the respective governments for fulfilment. And they will all

protruding a pair of excellent, sturdy American boots, stands Mr Hughes who presents demands and issues orders. Why orders? Because he has the power to order. Of what does this power consist? Of capital. Of wealth. Of unprecedented economic power.*

In the past, the development of Europe and of the whole world proceeded by and

* On July 22, that is, just the other day, Hughes addressed a gathering of English ministers and jurists. This speech according to Hughes, was not official. Not even a 'shadow' of that. The orator referred ironically (his irony bore a close resemblance to the sole of American boots) to Europeans who make trips to America in order to lecture, instruct and captivate the sympathies of the Yankees and especially their aid. And Mr Hughes, for his part, proceeded to 'lecture' and 'instruct' Europeans how they could gain the co-operation and assistance of the United States. 'The western hemisphere (North and South America) are, I am happy to say, a model of peace.' They, the Americans, mind you, have succeeded where Europe has failed. 'Our relations with Canada, are a model of peace. . . . We know almost as surely as that the planets move along their orbits that we shall preserve peace (with Canada).' In other words, if you Britons ever become so rash as to war against us, you should know that your colony Canada will be with us against you. 'You have the Dawes plan . . . and you must accept it. For if you fail to satisfy the American investors, nothing will come of all your discussions. My confidence that a way will be found out of all the existing difficulties is based on the fact that failure would lead to chaos.' That is



The occupation of the Ruhr (above) was akin to a brief repetition of the imperialist war.

applied in Panama and is now being applied in Mexico.

Whenever the trans-Atlantic republic finds it necessary to seize foreign territory, to subjugate it or to conclude some slave treaty, it stages a small native revolution and then appears on the scene in order to pacify and quell it—precisely in the manner in which General Dawes has now appeared to tranquillize and pacify Europe which has been ruined by a war waged with the assistance of this very same America. In this manner the US assured itself Panama in 1902 and proceeded to dig the canal. By 1914 they had it dug in the rough; while in 1920 the already fully completed Panama Canal opened up its greatest chapter, in the full sense of the word, in the history of America and the whole terrestrial globe.

The United States has introduced a drastic correction into geography in the interests and aims of American imperialism. There is no map here before us, but you can imagine one. As you know the industry of the US is concentrated in the eastern part, on the Atlantic side. The country's west is predominantly agricultural. The entire pull of the US, more correctly its main pull, is in the direction of China with the latter's population of



Woodrow Wilson

400,000,000 and the country's countless, uncharted and limitless resources.

Through the Panama Canal, American industry has opened up a waterway for itself from the east to the west, shortening the distances by several thousand miles.

These dates—1898, 1900, 1914 and 1920—are the dates marking the open entry of the US into the highroad of world brigandage, i.e. the road of imperialism.



Streseman



MacDonald

The decisive signpost along this road was the war.

As you will recall, the US intervened in the war toward the very end. For three years the US did no fighting. More than that, two months before intervening in the war, Wilson announced that there could be no talk of American participation in the bloody dogfight among the madmen of Europe.

Up to a certain moment the US remained content with rationally coining into dollars the blood of European 'madmen'. But in that hour when fear arose lest the war conclude with victory for Germany, the most dangerous future rival, the United States intervened actively. This decided the outcome of the struggle.

And the noteworthy thing is this, that while America avariciously fed the war with her industry and avariciously intervened in order to help crush a likely and dangerous competitor, she has nevertheless retained a reputation for pacifism. This is one of the most interesting paradoxes, one of the most curious jokes of history—jokes from which we did not and do not derive much merriment.

American imperialism is in essence ruthlessly rude, predatory, in the full sense of the word, and criminal. But owing to the special conditions of American development, it has the possibility of draping itself in the toga of pacifism. This is not all done in the manner of the imperialist parvenues of the old world where everything remains transparent. In the case of the US, however, its bourgeoisie and government, thanks to the special conditions of America's development, this same pacifist mask seems to have become so glued on the imperialist visage that it cannot be torn off.

whole world had already been seized and divided. The imperialist progress of the US therefore proceeds under the banner of 'the freedom of the seas', 'open doors', and so on. Thus when America is compelled to engage in acts of open military criminality, the responsibility—in the eyes of the US population and to a certain degree in the eyes of mankind as a whole—falls upon all the other citizens on the planet but not on the USA itself.

Wilson helped finish off Germany and then appeared, as you will recall, in Europe accoutred from head to toe in his Fourteen Points which promised universal well-being and the reign of peace, the right of nations to self-determination, punishment for such criminals as the Kaiser and rewards to all virtuous people, etc. The gospel according to Wilson!

We all still remember it. And the whole of middle-class Europe, and workers, too, by and large—the whole of worker-middle-class Europe, i.e. worker-Menshevik Europe subsisted for many long months on the gospel according to Wilson. This provincial professor summoned to the role of representing American capitalism and dripping from blood up to his knees and elbows—for after all he incited the European slaughter—appeared in Europe as the apostle of pacifism and pacification. And everybody said: Wilson will bring peace; Wilson will restore Europe.

However, Wilson did not succeed in accomplishing what Dawes, accompanied by a suite of bankers, now arrives to accomplish; and Wilson petulantly turned his back on Europe and returned to America. And great were the democratic-pacifist and social-democratic wailings and plaints about the insanity of the European bourgeoisie who refused to come to an agreement with Wilson and prevented him from attaining peace in European affairs.

Wilson was replaced. The Republican Party came to power. There ensued in America a commercial-industrial boom based almost exclusively on the internal market, i.e. on the basis of a temporary equilibrium between industry and agriculture, between the East and the West. This boom did not last long, approximately two years. Last year the boom tapered off and an unstable condition resulted, but in the spring of this year many obvious signs became manifest of a commercial-industrial crisis, which hit the agricultural sections of the USA savagely.

And, as always, the crisis gave a new quickening impulse to imperialism. As a result, US finance capital sent its representatives to Europe to finish the business which began so solidly with the imperialist war and was continued by the Versailles Peace, i.e. the business of degrading and enslaving Europe economically.

(Laughter.)

This was not accidental. Geography helped. History helped. The US managed without a land army. Why? Because it is so hard to reach. On the right there is the Atlantic Ocean and on the left, the Pacific (even the ocean is pacifist!)—how can it be reached?

England is an island and this is one of the basic reasons for its peculiarities and at the same time it is one of England's basic advantages.

The United States likewise represents a gigantic island in relation to the old world grouping on the planet. England barricades herself with her fleet. But should the line of the English fleet be broken, the British Isles lie defenceless, they can be cut in two by a cavalry sabre, so narrow is this strip of land. But try to cut across America, across the United States! This is an island which at the same time possesses all the advantages of Russia—her vast spaces.

Thanks to its colossal distances, the United States, even without a fleet, would be almost invulnerable to Europe or Japan. Here is the basic geographical reason for the pacifist mask which has become a second face.

Actually, America unlike Europe, unlike all the others, does not create an army. . . . And if America does undertake to create an army, it is only because it is under the compulsion to do so. Who compelled it? Barbarians did, the Kaiser, the German imperialists, people who were not educated in the virtues of Presbyterian or Quaker religions.

Another reason for the pacifist virtue must be sought, as I said, in history. The US entered the World arena late, after the

TO BE CONTINUED



Writings of Leon Trotsky

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

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

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Federal Court Legalizes Mercury Poisoning To Preserve Profits

BY A SCIENCE REPORTER

Last fall Ernest Huckleby, a maintenance worker in Alamogordo, New Mexico drove 200 miles to a granary that had announced it was giving away some excess grain. He gave this seed to the hogs he raised to feed his family. A few months later after one of the hogs fed on this seed had been eaten by the family, three of the Huckleby children became critically ill.

After going to a number of doctors and hospitals, it was learned that the children had been poisoned by methyl mercury, a chemical used to treat animal food. The three Huckleby children are hospitalized and their recovery is highly questionable. As for the effects of mercury poisoning

one of the physicians treating the children has said: "We don't know a lot about mercury poisoning and what it does to the human brain. We believe it destroys brain cells and nerve tissue. Of course these cannot be regenerated."

BLIND

Dorothy Jean the oldest of the children had the highest mercury count ever measured in a human being. She has the symptoms of a severe spastic, cannot control her arms or legs, cannot walk or talk. Amos the second child who is 14 is blind now. Ernestine, age 9, has been lying in a coma since Christmas. She is blind and unable to control any of her bodily functions. Neither of the children now blind are expected to regain their eyesight.

Only after this tragedy was publicized by a Huntley-Brinkley TV news report did the Department of Agriculture act. A telegram was sent to the Nor-Am Company in Chicago which produces the chemical known as Panogen, ordering it to recall it from the market. Nor-Am together with another company went into the Federal District Court in Chicago to have the order dissolved. An injunction was issued dissolving the order and last month a Court of Appeals upheld this action. The court contended that "the Alamogordo incident was a freak occurrence." This was contended despite the fact that there have been similar occurrences in California, Oregon, and Texas.

According to the New York Times of August 10:

"The court said that because of the great economic value of the mercury seeds to farmers, and because testimony indicated that there was no available satisfactory substitute for liquid methyl mercury, the Department of Agriculture needed a better reason for suspending trading."

The judges also contended that when the Department's representative testified in February "He knew of no permanent injury resulting from the use of Panogen per se."

PROFITS

But the fate of the three Huckleby children who have been reduced to the state of human vegetables, and maybe hundreds of more children and adults is the result of the "use of Panogen per se." But for the multimillionaire agricultural monopolists there must be a "better reason" to stop production. It is the "great economic value" of profits that concerns them not human life.

The arrogance of these corporations, the complicity of the government, both the courts and the Department of Agriculture which only belatedly took up the case in virtually legalizing poisoning for profit reveals the real decadence of the capitalist system.

PRESS ON

Little or nothing has been done to end government and bureaucratic graft under Suharto—so the students press on with their campaign.

And in the countryside, there are reports that communist-led guerrilla groups are reviving.

Government statements reveal they are winning support in the poverty-stricken Java villages.

So, despite military and economic aid from both the imperialist powers—including the old Dutch colonialist exploiters of Indonesia—and the Kremlin, the Suharto regime is by no means firmly in the saddle.

ist-backed Sukarno regime.

CANNERY WORKERS STATE:

\$1 HOUR DEMAND SOLDOUT

The following is a recent interview with a member of Teamsters Local 952, employed at the United Can Company's plant in Fullerton, California. The plant produces the cans for Hunt Foods' Fullerton cannery. Both companies are part of Norton Simon Industries and labor contracts for both are negotiated by Local 952.

Q. California's canneries were facing the possibility of a general cannery strike two weeks ago over contract demands. Were the unions in a strong bargaining position?

A. Yes. At this particular time the peach and tomato crops are coming into the canneries in huge quantities and both are highly perishable. We're running four shifts at UC (United Can Co.) in order to meet production requirements of these harvests. If the unions had gone out on strike, the canneries would have lost millions of dollars every day in fruits that would rot on truck beds and railroad sidings.

Q. What were the union's demands?

A. I think they were asking for \$1 per hour on a three year contract. None of the membership really seems to know just what their union's demands were.

Q. That's rather strange, weren't the rank and file members told about the demands at the union meetings?

A. What meetings? 952 doesn't even hold meetings during the summer months of July, August and September. I haven't worked here very long, but even the older workers can't remember ever having meetings during the months when the Hunt and UC contracts have come up for negotiation. It would appear that the union leaders have no intention of considering the needs of the rank and file.

Q. What was the final agreement?

A. The union leaders really showed whose side they were on when all was said and done. They didn't even hold out for their original demand, as minimal as it was. The canneries quickly accepted a 95¢ raise over three years; 35¢ this year, and 30¢ each year for the next two years. The union should have, and could have, settled for nothing less than \$1 per hour retroactive six months on a one year contract with a strong cost of living clause. But the union leadership was unwilling to push for such realistic demands for fear of jeopardizing their own relations with the bosses.

Indonesian Students Demonstrate Opposition To The Suharto Regime

Indonesian student demonstrations against government corruption were rebuked by President Suharto in a radio broadcast early last week.

After admitting there was good cause for concern on the question, he went on: "It was to be hoped that students would express their feelings by legitimate means without hampering government action."

Following the collapse of the left-wing coup in 1965, Indonesia has been ruled by a full-blown military dictatorship, a regime which has murdered at least 500,000 members and supporters of the Indonesian Communist Party.

There is therefore no "legitimate means" for expressing opposition to the government.

Student unrest must be particularly disturbing for Suharto in that the students provided thousands of volunteers for his anti-communist pogrom in the early period of his rule.

They were mobilized partly on slogans aimed against the corruption of the Stalin-



Amos Huckleby, 14, blind, crippled by mercury in food. Poison is still on the market.

Philadelphia Teachers Vote Yes — Close Schools In September

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

PHILADELPHIA—In the face of steadily mounting pressure from the city government and so called community groups, the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers, Local 3, American Federation of Teachers, has overwhelmingly voted to close the schools in September if their demands are not met in a new contract now being negotiated.

The PFT is demanding a base pay of \$10,800, an amount absolutely necessary to defend its members' standard of living, hard hit by inflation. In addition the teachers are fighting attempts to lengthen their working day, slash preparation periods, pile on non-instructional duties and maintain present class size. The union's proposals have not received serious attention from the Board of Education headed by Richardson Dilworth and a pack of political appointees. The Board has put forward a miserable \$800 salary "increase" and is mobilizing middle class "public opinion" against the teachers' "intransigence."

ANGER

The city has demonstrated that it is unable to provide a basic education for the children of Philadelphia's working people. Anger and frustration has become widespread among the most oppressed black workers and youth. Middle class nationalists and liberals have raised the reactionary slogan of community control obscuring the real reasons for the decay of the school system. The Board has put forward a "decentralization" scheme to foster this liberal illusion and mask the real political cause of the situation, the total economic crisis of the capitalist system.

A "decentralization" committee was set up in December 1968. It included representatives of the PFT leadership. Their aim was to avoid the kind of outburst New York City had gone through in Ocean Hill-Brownsville. While PFT president Frank Sullivan rejected a proposal by the Board for quasi-autonomous local school boards he has clearly indicated that he favors some kind of "community

control." The teachers must reject any administrative reshuffling of the school system.

"DECENTRALIZATION"

The majority of Philadelphia's school population are children of working class parents. As the current economic and political crisis deepens the employers and the government are attempting to make the workers pay the price. This involves the attack on wages, growing unemployment and the elimination of public services, most importantly education.

Proposals for "decentralization" represent an attack on the teachers and all other workers. Only a labor party can raise the real question of control of the schools, which is not which race controls them but which class in society does, the working class or the capitalists?

The rank and file of the PFT must stand firm against any compromise between the union leadership and the Board on wage demands and working conditions. But in addition they must fight against this attempt labelled "community control" to confuse and divide the working class and the youth in Philadelphia and protect the system which is alone responsible for the decadent state of the schools.

Workers Return To Work—Leaders Betray Local 63

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

ST. PAUL—Several hundred members of Molders Local 63 voted by a narrow margin on July 30 to end their two week old strike against American Hoist and Derrick.

Until this contract, these men had been among the highest paid foundry workers in the area. Now they are stuck with a 9% increase this year and 7% the next—almost all of which will be eaten up by the rising cost of living.

This contract is patterned on the settlement recently accepted by the bulk of the workers in the plant, organized in Machinists Lodge #459.

At that time the Bulletin warned that this was in store for the foundry workers—and this is exactly what their leadership did.

But a switch of only five votes would have continued the strike, showing the potential for a fight against American Hoist.

Sugar Debacle: Castro Plans New

BY TIM WOHLFORTH
HARD ON THE heels of Fidel Castro's July 26 speech announcing Cuba's failure to reach the 10 million tons of sugar goal comes the three hour television address of Captain Jorge Risquet, Minister of Labor. This speech makes it absolutely clear that the Castro regime has every intention of making the Cuban workers pay for the regime's failings.

While Castro's speech laid heavy stress on the failings of the government bureaucracy, Risquet blamed the inefficiency and "passive resistance" of the working class.

Risquet's speech adds further evidence as to the disastrous impact of the whole campaign on the Cuban economy. He reports that the actual income received from the sugar sold was below the wages paid to the Cuban workers and that the production cost of the sugar was as much as three times higher than the world market price.

When we add to this the impact of the labor drainage on other Cuban industries, we can see that the entire Cuban economy is close to complete collapse. Castro reported cement production down 28 per

cent, steel down 38 per cent, tires 50 per cent below quotas, fertilizer down 32 per cent, dentifrice 11 per cent, milk 25 per cent and cigars on rations.

DIRECTION

The question that now must be answered is that faced with this deep crisis in what direction will Castro turn? The one consistent element in Castro's history has been his pragmatism. He makes each



Captain Risquet, Cuban Minister of Labor.

move depending upon the pressures brought upon him by internal and external forces. Today those forces are reaching a new pitch and a sharp turn in Cuba is in the making.

Harry Ring in the July 31 issue of the *Militant* makes much of Castro's criti-

cism of the administrative apparatus. He quotes Castro:

"We—we alone—are the ones who lost the battle. The administrative apparatus and the leaders of the Revolution are the ones who lost the battle....And I think we must say this as a matter of elementary justice, because it is the plain truth."

Ring contrasts this as what he calls "a false report" in the *New York Times* to the effect that Castro blamed the workers. But now a leading government official not only blames the workers but fails to even mention the weaknesses in the administrative apparatus.

It would be a great mistake to read into Castro's criticisms of the administrative apparatus anything progressive or anything in any way contradictory to the attacks of Risquet on the working class. Let us remember that Castro twice launched purges of the administrative apparatus using Escalante as the scapegoat. The result of these purges was to tighten Castro's personal control over the administrative apparatus. As far as these purges having any "progressive" impact, we can take Castro's own judgment of the purged administrators who carried through the 10 million ton fiasco.

BONAPARTIST

Castro's tactics are now quite clear. First, in typical bonapartist fashion, he offers to resign as Nassar did after his failure in the Arab-Israel war. Having by this demagogic trick—with a highly developed secret police force to see that nobody takes him up on the offer—dis-

pensed with his own responsibilities in the matter, Castro then gets down to the nitty gritty of preparing further purges of the administrative apparatus, a new turn to conservative and perhaps even hostile technicians, and a new drive to exploit even further the Cuban working class.

Castro sets the stage by calling for renewed sacrifices by the Cuban people and then comes Risquet who makes it clear that it will be the workers who will be asked to make these sacrifices. Complaints about the lack of technicians and administrators could well lead to actually greater economic concessions to this strata precisely at the time that the workers will be milked all the more.

This internal anti-working class campaign will be combined with a further turn towards close economic and political relations with bourgeois governments in Latin America and Europe. The way has been paved for this with Castro's warm embracing of the military dictatorship in Peru which still holds Hugo Blanco in prison.

SWP

The Socialist Workers Party hailed Castro as opening a new road to "socialism" in the colonial countries drawing the conclusion that in these areas anyway only a "blunted instrument" was needed to come to power. Now the Castroite myth is quickly evaporating revealing the harsh anti-working class character of the regime. Castro no more than Ben Bella offered a short cut to socialism. Now not only millions of Cuban workers but hundreds of millions of workers and peasants



REVIEWED BY
 LOU BELKIN

'Kes' Portrays

In England the school system is characterized by an almost formal adherence to class structure. While all children are required to attend school, at age 11 they must take an examination which determines whether or not they are to go on to university or into the labor market at age 15 or 16.

In point of fact, however, very few children are eligible for higher education and the process of selection takes into account background, attitude, previous educational background. Precisely because of the requirements of British capital for labor and management and because educational budgets are becoming more and more stringent, for most children, chances of higher formal education are very slim.

The town of Barnsley is situated in the region of Yorkshire, England. This region is famous for its enormous (though steadily decreasing) number of coal mines (or "pits" as they are commonly called). Although there is some other industry and

numerous small shops and manufacturing firms, coal dominates the thinking of most of the men, women and children in the area. The work in the pits is gruelling and without much compensation. Most miners earn between \$50 and \$72 per week and therefore must work enormous hours of overtime to keep pace with England's inflationary woes.

At this very moment, the miners in Yorkshire and all over Great Britain are preparing strike action unless they are granted basic wage increases to \$70 to \$84 per week and guarantees of job security. In Britain, many pits have been shut down because of the ever increasing

use of natural and liquid gas which is more easily extracted through the use of highly automated equipment. More than half of the pits have been shut down since 1956 and thousands of workers put on the unemployment lines.

STRAIGHTFORWARD

The film *Kes*, which this reviewer previewed in Britain, is due to be released in the United States by United Artists. It was directed by Ken Loach (*Poor Cow*, *Cathy Come Home*) and photographed in color by Chris Menges. The film was shot in the coal mine town of Barnsley, using only four professional actors and local townspeople. The star of the film is David Bradley, who plays Billy Casper. The character Billy Casper was created by author Barry Hines himself a former schoolteacher in Barnsley, in his book *A Kestrel For a Knave*.

The film, like the book is deceptively straightforward and simple. What both the author and director seek to do is portray a real life situation in a working

class area, seen to a great degree through the eyes of its protagonist, 15 year old Billy. All technical requirements of sound (both interior and exterior) integrated music, color photography and composition and cutting are subordinated to this central focus.

Billy is about to leave secondary modern (equivalent to high school) school. He fails to pass his exam which would entitle him to enter university after grammar school. For him, as for the countless others in working class areas like Barnsley, the time has arrived for him to start thinking about working. Billy is a dreamer and has spent much of his life trying to avoid the thought of going down into the mines, as did his father, and his big brother. His mother is duly employed as well. The relationships among the family, as well as between Billy and his friends are relationships of forced intercourse.

Billy prefers to be a loner, by himself, and for himself. His world revolves around himself. Absolutely convinced that he will not work in the pits, he spends his time going to school like a robot. He is himself only when roaming the countryside. It is on one of his meanderings that he spots a nest of kestrels or falcons. He is dead set on getting one of the young. After consulting with the farmer who owns the property, he climbs the abandoned fortress ruin and captures one of the fledglings. Billy knows that only at twilight does the mother falcon hunt for food for her young. He proceeds to absorb himself in learning as much as possible about kestrels and their habits. When fully convinced that he can do so, he sets about to train "Kes" his new found friend.

STATION

Much of the film is devoted to the relationship between the two but not the Roy Rogers-Trigger or Lassie brand of Hollywood sop that at once may come to the reader's mind. Billy's relationship with the bird is one which, as he relates to a sympathetic teacher: "Can never be like pals. It just gives you the privilege of being with it and looking at it." For Billy, the bird is something he cannot be and wants to be. He dreams about freedom and getting away, flying away. But each time he is pulled back into the real world by school, his family and his friends. That is his lot. As his mother, well played by Dora Howard, explains during a poignant moment: "For us, there's nothing else but work. That's our station in life, that's how the Lord wants it."

Billy trains the kestrel and we go through his anxiety as he finally lets the bird off the leash and it flies off, hovers



Ken Loach (left) directed *Kes*, a compassionate film study of a working class youth.

Attacks On Labor

throughout Latin America are having to pay a bitter price for learning this. Perhaps Castro's greatest crime was the destruction of a large part of a whole revolutionary generation in Latin America through adventurist guerrilla warfare. The SWP must now be held accountable for this along with Castro.

Harry Ring has learned nothing from this entire experience. He is still in the business of apologizing for Castro. This comes out particularly sharply precisely at those points in his article that Ring appears to be most critical of Castro. Noting that several writers had raised doubts about Castro's ability to raise the 10 million tons—Ring was not among them of course—he concludes:

"The point is this: If the Cuban Revolution has developed a structured form of socialist democracy with established procedures for full open debate on significant policy questions, it is possible that the views of those who apparently did see more clearly the enormous obstacles might have had greater influence."

What Ring is saying is that Cuba has a form of socialist democracy which suffers the defect of not being "structured." No doubt the establishment of this structure is something to be achieved through the kind of friendly advice the SWP leadership gives to the Cuban leadership from time to time. For some reason which Ring does not explain Castro did not take this advice.

ACUTE

Thus Ring still refuses to confront the fact that Cuba has no democracy whatso-

ever, structured or unstructured, and no socialism for that matter either. It was and is a petty bourgeois bonapartist nationalist regime which has not broken decisively with capitalism. As such the dangers posed now before the Cuban working class are extremely acute.

For a number of years we have made this point and fought for this understanding only to be attacked over and over again by the SWP, Hansen and Ring in particular. We not only made this general point, we specifically pointed to the turn of Castro to further dependence on sugar as a dangerous indication that Cuba, far from moving away from its colonialist economy, was moving in the opposite direction. Thus the Cuban working class was being made more and more dependent on the capitalist world market. This in the end would undo all of Castro's reforms and hold the Cuban worker in the grips of world imperialist domination through the medium of the bonapartist state apparatus. It is precisely this prediction which is now becoming sharply vindicated.

We must draw the conclusion from this experience that there is no substitute anywhere on earth for the construction of revolutionary parties as part of the Fourth International. This road, declared in the founding resolution of the Fourth International in 1938, must now be taken up in all underdeveloped countries as well as in the advanced capitalist nations.

The anti-working class character of Castro regime is exposed by new revelations.



Strivings Of A Yorkshire Youth

and returns to the boy's arm to nibble at some food. At school the undersized Billy is constantly taunted by his friends for his being a loner, and for being incompetent at sports. His teachers, most of whom have gone to grammar school, are from the middle class. They teach much the way they were taught. From the principal on down, they display nothing but contempt for the working class youth whom they must "try" to teach. The curriculum is lifeless and mechanical. They teach only what is necessary to get these youth jobs.

DECADENCE

These teachers think this is what they are supposed to do. The ideological pro-

cess filters through them down to the youth who are taught, in an almost biblical way, to accept their lot and role in capitalism. The decadence in education, the lifelessness, the deadend future which youth like Billy face is nothing but the reflection of a petrified social system. Like the others in secondary modern schools, he accepts the fact that he is a reject, and that there is nothing for him but manual work. Even those teachers who are compassionate, the ones who make an attempt to educate the children, feel their mission in life. Because they are part of another class, they can never reach these children.

Ken Loach has directed this film with great compassion for these working class

youth. His direction of Billy, played by a non-professional Yorkshire lad, is superb. He has used the relationship with Billy and the kestrel only to point out the contrasts and the conflicts, very smoothly and objectively. His dreaming Billy at last has to come to grips with life at the film's end, when Billy's older brother kills the bird in revenge. It is only when the boy buries his friend that the frame is frozen and for Billy there is just the labor pool.

REALITY

Photographically, the film is utterly devoid of gimmicks. Very much in semi-documentary fiction style, the focus is soft, the exterior shots of fields and skies are

subdued, slightly filtered green to bring out some of the contrasts. The opening shot of Billy daydreaming on a hill overlooking the mines and processing plant sets the tone for much of the film. For the film is there to depict the illusions of the working class, the tragicomic illusions of high-school football coaches who relieve their pasts by taking it out on their students and by bullying them, the illusions which capitalism instills in the minds and actions of the middle class and the working class.

This reviewer highly recommends Kes for those who wish to see not a slice of reality abstracted from the whole, but a study of life as it is—held up to a mirror image that resounds subtly and scavenge upon our senses. Well done, Mr. Loach!

'Revolutionary'—Mother Goose SDS

One really does not know where to begin when coming to grips with Paul Williams', *The Revolutionary*, which recently premiered in New York City. There is so much romantic drivel, so much Mother Goose SDS heroism, so much Jean Luc Godard political-audio-visual effrontery, that this reviewer at first held serious thoughts about making his way out of the theater. Nevertheless, I decided to sit it out. Jon Voight, the lead player, was worth the view.

The film continues, and hopefully will terminate, a tradition of socio-political documents highlighted by "Z," "IF" and "MASH." It attempts to abstract a significant event or events and tell the rest of the story around the abstraction. It need not matter whether or not the situation took place. The director and scenarist go to such great lengths, the music is so insinuating, the Eastmancolor so sombre and heavily filtered, the cutting so deliberate, that one must take notice.

This film puts great stress on the student militant, presented as being the vanguard of the struggle, so much more politically "developed" than the working class or all other strata of society. Films such as *The Revolutionary* are

predicated upon reformism and idealism. In this sense *The Revolutionary* is downright routine. While it does not express the corny escapism of "Easy Rider" nevertheless it sees reality through the eyes of the protagonist, as something fixed and unchanging. The best one can do, in the case of the character "A," meticulously played by Voight, is cope with it, face up to it and hope for the best.

IDEALIST

The character "A" (a name clearly out of Kafka) lives in a society resembling England on its face yet in which all the speaking characters are American. The state is somewhat more authoritarian and reactionary than those at present in England and America. "A" is an idealist, a student. On the one hand he reads Pascal, Robespierre and LaRouche-foucauld and on the other decries the Radical Committee, to which he first belongs, for practicing pacifism and supplicating the government which has just tossed it in jail for exercising its democratic rights.

The Radical Committee consists entirely of university militants led by faculty members who have no contact with the working class. They work towards "revolutionary reforms" through individual confrontations with members of the establishment and through persuasive argument. It aims to expose these well-fed politicians before the "people."

"A" leaves these reformists to join "The League," obviously the director's not so oblique reference to the Communist Party. The real interesting part lies in

"A"'s relationships to the "League's" worker cadres. These forces are headed by Despard played in low key fashion by Robert Duvall. At all times following the party line, "A" becomes involved in the routine work of leafletting around peace issues and the immorality of the "Establishment." A strike breaks out in an armaments plant and the cadre try to organize a sympathy "peace" strike in support of these workers. But the strike is crushed by the police.

STEREOTYPE

In the meanwhile, not wishing to leave anything out, director Williams installs "A" in the army. He enlists obligingly and then deserts when he finds out his platoon is to be armed to kill a section of the sympathy strikers. Despard along with other party members and strikers are to be tried. Despard seeks to organize a mass demonstration in support of the men, correctly assessing the class defense needed to win over whole sections of workers and other layers around class questions. But the Central Committee of the Party will not have it and Despard is reduced to waiting for "an opportune moment." At this point, "A" and his middle class girl friend, having nothing better to do, encounter the film's most engaging if not stereotype character, Leonard II. Leonard is foxily played by Seymour Cassel (an Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin rolled into one bombshell of activity). For this rebel, like his counterparts in the Yippies and SDS, theory is a lot of baloney and what counts is plenty of action.

His plan is to blow up the judge if the

strikers are convicted. "A" arms himself with Molotov cocktails and waits. A signal is flashed that the workers have been indicted, the judge leaves the court house. At this point he encounters "A" who begins to move towards him as the action is suddenly frozen. The audience at this point went wild as they awaited an explosion.

FOCUS

The whole point with *The Revolutionary*, is, that in spite of the avoidance of gimmicky photographic effects and the abundance of professional camera work, the film fails to focus either on all or even a stratum of society. Rather, we are caught up with "A"'s individual, highly personal relationships with this student militant, that worker, this party member, that Yippie, this parent and on ad infinitum. With few exceptions the characters are dull and lifeless mannequins, stereotypes and rehashes of all the Hollywood conventions of the past thirty years all dressed up for 1970.

Williams uses the reformism and routinism of the "League" in order to attack the revolutionary party. He is anti-Communist to the core and tries to mask this with inferences about the "Party." Williams' frame of reference is the history of the Stalinist movement with its monstrous betrayals of the working class and its current line of peaceful coexistence line. Stalinism is used to discredit Marxism, theory and the revolutionary party.

If you like Jon Voight, watch him in action. If you have already seen "IF," forget *The Revolutionary*.

INTERNATIONAL youth NEWS

AJS Fight Unemployment Repression, Conscription



The following is an interview by Melody Farrow with a member of the Alliance of Youth for Socialism (AJS), the Trotskyist youth movement in France.

Q. The State Council just lifted the bans on the OCI, FER and Revoltes but not on the other organizations that were banned in 1968? What does this mean?

A. The decree under which the organizations were banned after the General Strike in 1968 was a decree written in



French Premier Georges Pompidou

1936 to use against the fascists. They were never able to prove that we represented "armed militias" or "private groups." The lifting of the ban on us was made possible by the struggle waged by the AJS against it and shows that the government recognizes us as a force to contend with. This does not mean of course that we are a mass party but we do have a growing base in the working class. Since 1968 we never dropped the struggle against the bans. We were able to fight it because we did not see it as just a struggle of the left but the struggle of the whole working class against the government's attacks. It exposes the fact that the Pompidou regime violated its own legality.

The lifting of the ban on us must also be seen as a sign of the split in the bourgeoisie. When they discussed the "anti-wrecker law" in the Senate there were a whole series of amendments added that the original author of the law opposed. Now the split is evident again in this recent decision. In a recent speech at Strasbourg, Pompidou called for all sections of the bourgeoisie to join together.

Our work will only be different now in the sense that we now have a legal existence while before we could be arrested at any time for violating the ban. We will be able to expand our fight for demo-

cratic rights and to lift the bans on all the other organizations.

Q. What is the general strategy of the Pompidou regime?

A. It must be understood that the fall of DeGaulle and the Pompidou government is not just a French question but must be seen in the context of the changing relationship of forces internationally with the upsurge in Czechoslovakia, the strike wave in Italy, etc. DeGaulle came to power in a period of defeat and division for the working class made possible by the betrayals of Stalinism (Yalta and Potsdam decisions). DeGaulle's mission was to restore a class equilibrium which was broken by the French General Strike in 1968.

The general strike put a stop to DeGaulle's V plan which meant unemployment and the destruction of the unions, although this was only a temporary stop. Pompidou represents the capitalist class as much as DeGaulle did but he rules in a different period when the relationship of forces has changed, in a period when the working class has taken the initiative. Pompidou must now go further than DeGaulle. He can no longer simply count on the Stalinists who cannot be relied on to control the working class and thus Pompidou must bring in a whole series of vicious laws such as the "anti-wrecker law."

Q. The Feb. 1 rally of 10,000 youth at LeBourget was a tremendous step forward for the international Trotskyist movement. How was this built and what were the lessons?

A. The Feb. 1 rally was a break with our traditional forms of organization. For us it meant a necessary break with propaganda methods in which we simply put forward our slogans. For the first time we took up a campaign around all the attacks on the

AJS rally of 10,000 at LeBourget was big step forward for Trotskyist movement.

youth and all the particular forms of exploitation of youth. We made a real turn to the working class youth and fought to unite all their struggles together and reached whole new layers of youth that we had no contact with before. The youth that we signed up for the rally went out to hold their own meetings to recruit other youth. The youth had felt isolated and for the first time they felt that a fight together was possible.

Q. What are the consequences of Pompidou's VI Plan on students and working class youth?

A. First of all it means the elimination of 2/3 of the university students. To carry this out the government instituted "committees of participation" composed of students, teachers and administration to give an illusion of control but which really meant student participation in their own destruction. The Stalinists called for a Yes vote on these committees on the grounds that it had a "positive aspect," i.e., the aspect of control, while we called on students to boycott it. Thirty percent of the students voted yes.

The other aspect of the VI plan means mass unemployment. One out of every four youth is unemployed and only one out of ten is skilled. Last year 600,000 youth were turned away from the technical schools. Those who do get in work under horrible conditions, leaky roofs, outdated equipment and are not even assured of jobs when they finish. The boss at the local factory chooses what apprentices he needs and the rest are thrown out.

Q. What is the reaction of the youth to these attacks?

A. At the last UNEF Congress (student

union) we made a motion for a mass demonstration of students and working class youth and it was passed by a majority. However, the leadership of UNEF which is centrist and linked to the Socialist Party refused to do anything to see that this resolution was carried out.

There have been many spontaneous rebellions in the technical schools. At one, 800 youth wanted to go on strike but the Stalinists, who were the teachers at the school, prevented it. Before the February 1st rally we received a letter from a group of these youth in which in explaining why they wanted to come to the rally said: "We are not dogs. We want our rights and we will get them."

Q. What are the main tasks facing the AJS in the coming period?

A. We are now aiming for a central demonstration for defense of youth. Starting with the February rally we issued an open letter to the Stalinist youth calling on them to join us in fighting for such a demonstration, although we made it clear that we would not compromise on our program. We are also fighting to build joint meetings with them to build this rally.

This letter took the form of a petition which many youth in the JC (Communist Youth) have signed and sent to us. It is essential that the AJS make a turn to the Stalinist youth.

We are building for the International Youth Conference and this summer we sent 400 youth to all the countries in Europe and Eastern Europe, Italy, Germany, Spain, Denmark, Sweden, Hungary, to make contact with these youth and bring them to the Conference.

The AJS fights in UNEF, the student union, against repression of youth and workers.



Brandt And Kosygin Initial Non-Aggression Pact In Moscow

BY ROBERT BLACK

After two weeks of bargaining, the Soviet and West German Foreign Ministers on August 7 initialled a non-aggression pact in Moscow.

The full text of the pact will not be made public until after the agreement has been formally approved and signed by the governments of the two countries—expected within the next few weeks at the most.

Its full text is thought to include a preamble, five articles and two separate appended clauses.

Brandt's Foreign Minister Walter Scheel was reported by one of his aides to be satisfied with the pact.

It "completely fulfilled" the directives issued to the negotiating team by the Bonn Cabinet prior to Scheel's arrival in Moscow on July 26.

The Kremlin has reportedly finally agreed to the insertion in the pact's preamble of a clause allowing for the reunification of Germany "by peaceful means," which was pressed for by the Bonn delegation and opposed at first by Gromyko.

The Soviet government will not endorse this part of the treaty, but simply note that German re-unification by peaceful means is the aim of the Brandt administration.

In return, Brandt has agreed to accept the "inviolability" of all Europe's present frontiers, which includes a recognition that the Polish and Soviet annexations of East Prussia and Silesia are final; something which previous West German governments have not been prepared to do.

BERLIN

While the Soviet team refused to discuss the Berlin question, they have made it known to Scheel that once the pact

is finalized, talks on this thorny problem could begin.

Already confident the pact would be signed, Moscow Radio began its expected offensive on the "collective security" theme several days ago:

"In France, as in other European countries, the conviction is growing that the forces of war and aggression can be curbed...The French government reacted favorably in principle to the proposal of the Warsaw Treaty nations. It spoke up, specifically, in favor of calling an all-European conference..."

The same broadcast—a dispatch from Paris published in *Isvestia* of August 5—emphasized that "those taking part would be able to settle more easily and quickly problems that constitute a potential danger for the European continent, on a new basis, in conditions of mutual trust. This is logical and realistic. To regard such a conference only as a showy ceremony would, in fact, signify the complete distortion of its meaning."

Even the stubborn Ulbricht regime, which has more to lose by such a deal than any other Stalinist government, has been forced to adopt a more optimistic tone in its coverage of the pact talks and the prospects of a European Security Conference.

It is not accidental that Brandt and Kosygin come to terms at precisely the time when Nasser accepts the Rogers Middle East plan, talks with Franco begin on Soviet diplomatic recognition of Spain and the new and allegedly "dovish" Nixon diplomat Bruce takes up his post at the Paris peace talks on Vietnam.

The Kremlin pact with Brandt is therefore part of a larger strategy to arrive at a lasting settlement with imperialism, so that the bureaucracy can free its hands for a fight against the working class and oppositionist intellectuals at home.

This, and not the preservation of "peace," is the goal of the Stalinist bureaucracy.