

Bulletin

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TEN CENTS

IMPRESSIONS
OF
E. MANDEL
FOUR PAGES

NIXON GEARS FOR THE

ATTACK

•deal over
vietnam

•war on
europe

•attacks
on workers



**NO JOB
CUTS IN
WELFARE**

**PL AND
REVISIONISM
AT SF STATE**

On The Spot Report

VIOLENCE IN ULSTER



what nixon plans for working class

POLITICAL COMMITTEE STATEMENT

The ascension to power of Richard Nixon as President of the United States marks a fundamental shift in policy on the part of the American ruling class which will have an immediate impact in every corner of the globe. Under Nixon we will see a concerted effort to end the war in Vietnam, deepening economic rivalries internationally as American capitalism seeks to solve its economic problems at the expense of the European capitalists, and stepped up attacks on the American working class. As a result the class struggle will intensify internationally opening the door to renewed revolutionary struggles in Europe and heightened class battles in the United States.

It is not a matter of the man, Nixon. Johnson had already taken the first steps towards the new policies of American capitalism with his initiation of the Paris Vietnam negotiations while the economic policies outlined in his budget dovetail completely with the known plans of the new Nixon Administration. But at the same time the rise of Nixon couldn't come at a more valuable time of American capitalists. A new man, less wedded to past policies, surrounded by some of the most trusted and competent policy makers of big business is just what the economic doctor ordered.

CRISIS

Fundamentally the policies of Nixon are being shaped by the world-wide crisis of capitalism. The whole postwar period has been marked by the penetration of Western Europe by American capital and the development of huge ever more concentrated automated capital combines in the United States. The general tendency for the profit to fall in these huge combines was offset by lower levels prevalent in Europe for a whole period, the extreme development of worker exploitation and rationalization in American mass production industry, and credit advantages provided by the dominant position of the dollar.

The dollar dominance of the world monetary system on the basis of holding the price of gold at \$35 both made possible this economic development and in turn was dependent upon this development. With the inevitable development of the internal contradictions of the capitalist system the rate of expansion of capital began to slow and because of this the dollar itself came under direct attack. The world monetary crisis has at its very center the question of the credibility of the dollar. It is no mere technical matter. Even though there are four times as many dollars outstanding outside the United States than there is gold to back them up here, no one would question the dollar as long as there was no question over the viability of the American capitalist system itself.

During the period of general capitalist growth and expansion a certain degree of close collaboration between European capital and American capital was to the advantage of all the capitalists. But today it is more and more each country for itself, each corporate conglomerate within each country for itself. The anarchy of capitalism plays the dominant role. Everything else is determined by it. Conflict, chaos, crisis, leaps, revolution and counter-revolution--this is the world we now live in.

VIETNAM

The American bourgeoisie is busily preparing for the struggle and it enters the struggle with overwhelming power. But it also enters the struggle handicapped by the Vietnam War. The heroic fighters of the NLF have stopped the American capitalists in their tracks and forced American capitalism to divert fantastic resources into a single struggle in a small country. Despite the billions poured into Vietnam, and the fantastic economic and social dislocations this has created, the NLF had struck back and showed decisively in the Tet Offensive it can not only



LAST SPRING 500 DEMONSTRATORS MARCH IN LONDON IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE FRENCH WORKERS AND STUDENTS

hold its own but it has the capacity to drive the Americans into the sea.

This is why it is so essential for the American bourgeoisie to settle the Vietnam War. This is why it is so absolutely criminal for the "radicals" in the counter-inauguration tourge "peace" on a man committed precisely to that policy. The question in Vietnam is not war but imperialist peace through a coalition government dominated by American imperialism or a socialist peace through the victory of the NLF and the revolution in South Vietnam going over to the socialist revolution. This question is still to be decided. The Vietnamese workers and peasants still will have plenty to say before it is all over--and so will the workers throughout the world.

PLANS

Nixon's basic plans are clear: settle the Vietnam war on the best terms he can get; tackle inflation at home through attacks on the living standards of American workers (taxes, higher credit for home owners, etc.); prepare new anti-strike laws to be applied piecemeal as the situation requires; encourage the divisions within American working class by supporting black capitalist trends; concerted efforts to settle the international monetary crisis before it settles Nixon including if necessary devaluing the dollar through raising the price of gold, such efforts to place the burden of monetary adjustments on the European capitalists and through these capitalists on the European working class; support to a deepening competitive drive against the weaker European capitalist firms.

The European capitalists are well aware of

what is in store and are doing their best to prepare new attacks on their own working class and a counter-offensive against American capital. Wilson announces new anti-strike legislation in an attempt to destroy the British union movement. DeGaulle avoids Franc devaluation but only with new economic measures aimed at taking back from the French workers what he was forced to concede in the wake of the May-June revolutionary events. Strike waves have swept Italy and neither fellow European capitalists nor the United States will long allow West Germany its present competitive edge. Fiat merges with Citroen and simultaneously carries out an ambitious economic penetration of the USSR in an attempt to bolster itself from competition of behemoths like General Motors. The French government seeks to bolster a viable competitor to IBM as the key computer industry, is completely dominated by America.

CLASS

The stage is being set for profound class struggles in Europe which will raise as did the May-June French events the question of the revolutionary struggle for power. At the same time the rise of armed fascist bands in Ulster point out that there is no longer any room for peaceful roads to any place. Fascism or socialism is the question of the day in Europe.

Events in the United States over the next year will be shaped by a combination of this new relation between American capitalism and European capitalism and through the European capitalists of American capitalists to the European working class on the one hand with renewed struggle against the American working class on the other. Nowhere in the world will there be room for serious concessions and reformism. Everywhere the same task of preparing the workers for the political struggle for power is posed.

It is these conditions which make the fight for an American labor party the urgent central task of the revolutionary movement. This is not a period when workers in any country will be able to solve anything on the strictly trade union economic level. The very struggles breaking out between the unions and the bosses will pose more and more directly and immediately the iron necessity for the American working class to take up the struggle for its own political arm, to start the struggle for political power in its own right to impose the socialist working class alternative to capitalism.

At the same time the development of the European revolution will have the profoundest meaning, significance and impact on the struggle of American workers for the labor party. It is no accident that arch-bureaucrat Harry Van Arsdale threatens the bourgeois politicians with talk that the labor movement will "transform itself from an economic to a political instrument on the European model."

The European Revolution will not only contribute to the labor party development in the United States but it will at the same time make such a development more urgent and create a very different international situation within which such a party will evolve. Precisely by taking for the first time a political road independent of its oppressors, the American worker will be stepping upon the same political soil as his brothers in Europe. This will not only lay the basis for the growth of an international consciousness among American workers but necessitate it for it is

(Continued on Page Four)

THE BULLETIN'S 100TH ISSUE

This is the 100th issue of the Bulletin of International Socialism to appear since we began publication as a mimeographed fortnightly on Sept. 14, 1964. In that very first issue we declared our solidarity with the International Committee of the Fourth International and our determination to struggle along with our fraternal parties around the world for a Marxist program for the working class, a program based on an understanding of the deepening crisis of capitalism.

There have been many changes since that time but we have steadfastly stuck to this central task. In September, 1966, after two years of publication in mimeographed form, we launched the Bulletin as a four page printed paper and extended its circulation deeper into the working class. Just one year ago we expanded the Bulletin to eight pages, made a number of other improvements, assembled the technical equipment and trained a staff which has now made it possible for us to expand again to a 12 page paper.

Right now the Bulletin is in the midst of a stepped up campaign to prepare for the launching of the paper as a weekly by the end of the year. We have been able to gain over 500 new subscribers, largely trade unionists, and increase our street sales within the last two months to achieve our goal of a 50% paid circulation increase by May 1st and then we will be well on our way to tripling our paid circulation prior to launching the weekly.

We appeal to all our readers to help us in this work--send contributions, solicit subscriptions from your friends, take a bundle of papers on consignment to sell regularly! The weekly Bulletin will be absolutely essential in the coming period with the new attacks on the workers here and abroad that the Nixon Administration is planning. Forward to the weekly Bulletin!

FIGHT JOB CUTS IN WELFARE

by a SSEU MEMBER

A major showdown for the entire city labor movement is brewing in the upcoming struggle in the Department of Social Services. The key issue in this contract struggles which involves all the employees in the department is the question of reorganization. Reorganization is a form of rationalization designed in the words of the Commissioner to do away with 9,000 jobs in the Department under the guise of improving social service.

The reorganization scheme must be seen in the context of the announced intentions of both Nixon and Rockefeller. Nixon has revealed his plan to liquidate 780,000 jobs nationally in 1969. Rockefeller's new budget includes a 5% cut hitting both education and welfare. It is clear that the main cuts will be labor costs. The City governments are out to make the workers pay for their economic crisis.

The way for these attacks have been prepared with the Taylor Law, the Office of Collective Bargaining, school decentralization, fines, and jailings.

9000

Reorganization and the loss of 9,000 jobs is not just a problem for welfare workers but represents an attack on city labor by posing what is to come for workers in all departments in the next period.

The struggles which are waged in the Department of Social Services will set the pace for all future struggles. That is why we say that there must be absolute clarity on the questions being raised in this fight. Capitulation on reorganization can open the way to wholesale rationalization of jobs doing away with job security, civil service and instituting all sorts of measures of downgrading, loss of promotion, and most important the destruction of the ability of the trade unions to bargain collectively and to defend the wages and working conditions of the workers.

PLAN

These plans the City has made clear to the unions in welfare, 371, SSEU and 1549, representing the supervisors, caseworkers and clerks. In the words of the city itself this is what they are proposing that the welfare unions accept for their next contract:

"The parties recognize that there may be changes in the Department of Social Services' organization and operation during the life of this contract, thereby requiring a reduction in work force and/or reassignment of personnel...

"Employees may be required to perform duties of a lower level in the same categorical grouping and/or duties in the clerical-administrative grouping if no regular duties are available. If so required, there shall be no reduction in their salary rate or loss of any job rights such employees may otherwise possess.

"The City shall have complete freedom in making administrative transfers and assignments for all excess personnel. The provision of any agreed-upon contract transfer clause shall not be applicable to such employees.

"Any promotions to the level of Sup I, Sup II, Senior Hosp. Care Inv., and Super-required during the period of this contract, shall be made on a temporary basis only."

How does the leadership of the three unions propose to fight reorganization? While they are voicing a lot of militant talk about defending job security, it is clear by their latest statements that they are preparing to capitulate precisely on this issue. The joint negotiating committee of SSEU, 1549, and 371 has raised the demand that reorganization proceed no faster than attrition. At a recent Executive Board meeting a motion was passed which in the first part took a strong stand against no layoffs, lateral transfers, downgrading, and for equal pay for equal work and a negotiated workload. The last item in the motion, however, was the most revealing, providing that attrition must be negotiated.

But that is the central issue -- the cuts in jobs. Any concession on this level completely opens the way for layoffs, transfers, downgrading, loss of promotional opportunities. We ask how can there be the same promotional opportunities for example in an agency with 365 Supervisor I slots as there was in an agency with 1,534 such slots? It is impossible. Once you agree to job cutbacks everything else will follow if not in the language of the contract then in the City's implementation of this contract over the next two years.

We say that the loss of jobs is not, we repeat, not negotiable. The leadership of the unions is attempting to sell this capitulation to the members on the basis that opposing attrition and reorganization is "illogical" and that in fact there are sections of the reorganization plan which are "progressive", which will aid the workers and the clients. We say that there is absolutely nothing progressive in the loss of 9,000 jobs and no amount of social work garbage can hide that.

We say, now is the time to put a stop to Goldberg's job cutting reorganization. We call upon all members of SSEU, 1549, and 371 to turn out en masse at the joint membership meeting to be held Monday, January 27, to support the following resolution passed overwhelmingly at joint meetings at the East End and Kingsbridge chapters: Moved: "That the three chapters demand the joint SSEU, 371, 1549 negotiating committee adopt the position that there shall be no diminution of the work force in this agency during the term of the new contract."

DETERMINATION

The ability of the Affiliation Now Caucus representatives to achieve overwhelming yes votes on this motion in the local chapters is just a small indication of the determination of the ranks not to be sold out on this question. At the same time it indicates that the ranks are miles ahead of the bureaucrats and their hangers on among forces supported by PL and the SWP who begin always from the needs of the city and the illusion that there are progressive aspects to Goldberg reorganization rather than the fight of the membership for its livelihood against Goldberg.

At the January 27 Manhattan Center joint meeting we likewise propose that the ranks of the three unions force their readers to reaffirm their commitment to the February 3rd strike deadline.

At the same time we say steps must be taken to take this issue of job cuts directly into the city labor movement as a whole in particular the Central Labor Council. Harry Van Arsdale, who in the last week raised the question of a general strike in New York City and the construction of the labor party in the event

that the new repressive Taylor Law revisions passed in Albany, must be forced to link this program of action to the issue of job cuts in Welfare. Gotbaum, likewise, must not be allowed to separate the struggle of DC37 as a whole for a new contract from the struggle in Welfare.

What this whole issue is making crystal clear is that old methods of agency by agency trade union struggle is proving inadequate to the kind of attacks the politicians are aiming at city labor. The city and state are desperate: they are out to break the unions. The 7 weeks spent

on the streets by the UFT should be a warning to Welfare workers that a strike in Welfare must be prepared from the very beginning with the conception that it will be extended beyond the boundaries of Welfare if the city decides to try to starve us out like they did in '67.

It is this kind of preparation that is required if we are going to win a decent contract this year. It is time Gotbaum, Morgenstern, Critchlow and Rogoff got busy with this instead of figuring out how to best sell Lindsay's job cust to the ranks. We say the ranks won't swallow it.

SSEU VOTES MERGER BY 79%



SSEU MEMBERS CAST VOTES ON MERGER AT GRAMMERCY CENTER

by KAREN FUNKIEL

A major victory has been won by the SSEU and city labor as a whole with the passage of the referendum to merge the SSEU with Local 371 of District Council 37 of AFSCME by 79% of the membership of SSEU. Merger lays the foundation for any successful fight to be waged with the City in the present contract struggle.

The high percentage of pro-merger votes further vindicates the position of the Affiliation Now Caucus regarding the understanding of this important issue by the rank and file of the union.

FOUGHT

The Affiliation Now Caucus has fought for the past 18 months for the SSEU to merge with 371. This fight was continually sabotaged by the leadership of the union with the aid of the Black Caucus and those forces in the union supported by Progressive Labor and the Socialist Workers Party. It was only after the Affiliation Now Caucus fought to take this fight outside the bureaucracy and the Executive Board to the ranks by collecting over 2,000 names on petitions demanding that the union reconsider the question of merger that a membership meeting was called to reverse the previously passed motion spearheaded by the Black Caucus that the affiliation question be dropped. The bureaucracy and its faithful supporters continued to drag its feet on the question until they were faced with the immediate defeat of the SSEU in the upcoming contract struggle. Only then did they act.

Now those very forces who opposed merger and came over to it purely for opportunist reasons at the last moment are patting themselves on the back for the fine job they did. These very forces came very close to destroying the ability of the workers to defend themselves. We raise this question here despite their final going over to merger because these forces will play precisely the same role in the upcoming contract struggle, attempting to maneuver bureaucratically and refusing to wage a real fight against the City when it is needed.

This role is most clearly represented by the Black Caucus. The Black Caucus has been the most intransigent opponent of affiliation. Why is it then that in the last week they came over to affiliation? Their leaflet put out a few days before the vote on affiliation gives us a clue. They state: "The Black Caucus feels that merger will provide us with a stronger vehicle to negotiate important changes in the new concept of Social Services."

The Black Caucus is very careful not to oppose reorganization. Rather they see opportunities to maneuver within it, "to negotiate important changes in the new concept of Social Services." It is precisely this "new concept" which threatens the workers, black and white.

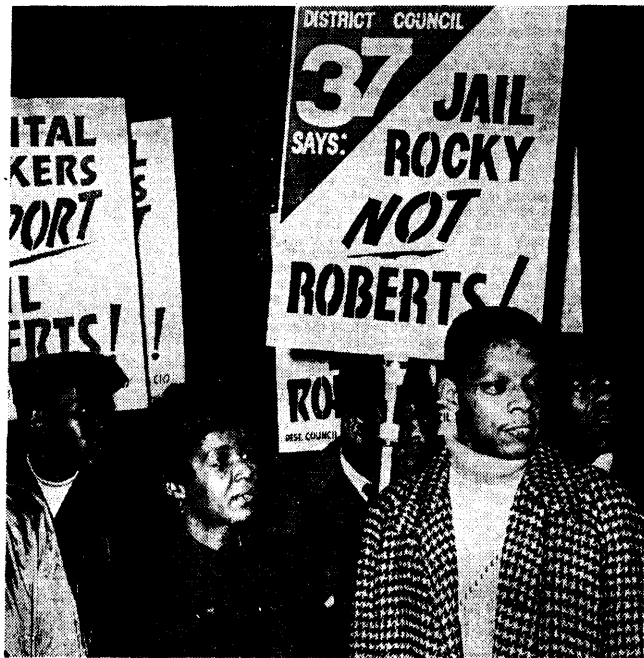
Giving the Black Caucus a left cover are forces in the union supported by the Socialist Workers Party which plays a most disgusting role of tailing after the Black Caucus and pandering to its every move.



SSEU PRES. MORGENSTERN (CENTER) AND DC 37 HEAD, GOTBAUM (AT LEFT), NEGOTIATE WITH THE CITY

DAVIS PLANS CRIMINAL SPLIT

Hospital Union Moves Toward AFL-CIO Bolt



DAVIS' FRIEND ROCKY SENT DC 50 HEAD TO JAIL

by a HOSPITAL WORKER

NEW YORK-- Drug and hospital workers union Local 1199 is threatened with expulsion from the AFL-CIO. Both 1199 and its parent union, the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers Union (RWDSU), have been placed under sanctions by the AFL-CIO. These sanctions mean that 1199 or any other local of the RWDSU is not protected by the no-raiding machinery of the AFL-CIO, and there is a definite possibility of 1199 being expelled from the RWDSU and thereby from the AFL-CIO as well.

This dangerous situation has resulted from a jurisdictional dispute between 1199 and Local 302 of the Cafeteria Employees, another affiliate of the AFL-CIO. Local 302 brought charges against 1199 based upon a previous jurisdictional agreement between the two unions which 1199 is now accused of violating.

How did this state of affairs come about and what does it mean for hospital workers? It is not a far-off dispute which can be left to the top officials to decide; it will affect the future of 1199 and of every member of the union. The important gains won by hospital workers in this city are very seriously jeopardized by the policies of the union leadership.

POPPYCOCK

The first thing that must be made crystal clear is that this jurisdictional dispute is a complete smoke screen--an excuse Davis is using to bolt the AFL-CIO. Can anyone in his right mind claim that a dispute over 200 workers is grounds to split from 13 million workers? We say poppycock!

We say a split from the AFL-CIO at this time is not only unjustified but more important it is a criminal blow against hospital workers and the American working class as a whole. We urge 1199 members to fight Davis on this all the way. It will mean the weakening of the of the hospital union and the trade union move-

ment right at the moment when workers will face their stiffest attacks from the new Nixon administration.

What will the organizing drive mean if 1199 faces competition at every turn from both the Teamsters and the AFL-CIO? A struggle to organize the unorganized must be waged within the AFL-CIO. This struggle has not been undertaken.

The citywide expiration date for 1199's contract is 18 months away. Will the hospital workers then be told that a strike or strike threat is not even possible because they will not be in a position to call upon the Central Labor Council for moral, picketline and financial support? Will the hospital bosses try to take on and beat back the hospital workers by utilizing the division between 1199 and the rest of the labor movement if such a division has taken place? These are the issues which the 1199 leadership is not raising.

FUTURE

The future of 1199 is very much at stake. The brave talk about how we don't need George Meany, the identification of the millions of workers with the bureaucratic top leadership, is a smokescreen behind which the 1199 leadership is hiding while it refuses to prepare the members now for the struggles that are ahead. It has thrown out the most fundamental ideas of trade unionism, encouraging the view that 1199 is some kind of private association, not a part of the working class at all, with no more in common with other workers than with the bosses themselves. This kind of reactionary rubbish is voiced by some in the union and the 1199 bureaucracy has said nothing to counter it!

The action in relation to the AFL-CIO is part of an ominous pattern. Hospital workers saw that the recently distributed last contract includes a much more strongly worded no-strike pledge than any previous contract. This provision commits the union officials to condemn all work stoppages or job action of any kind, no matter how flagrantly the hospital violates the contract. This of course strengthens the bosses, weakens the union and the rank and file, and makes it much harder to fight to uphold the contract and the rights of workers on the chapter level.

When DC 50 struck for union recognition for workers at the state mental hospitals the leaders were thrown into jail under the Taylor Law. When workers represented by Local 144 struck Wycoff Heights Hospital in Brooklyn to get the same demands 1199 had won half a year ago, the city issued a court injunction and the bosses forced the workers to return while sending their claim to "fact-finding". The 1199 leadership did nothing to mobilize the union rank and file behind these fellow hospital workers. It did not explain the role of Governor Rockefeller, that well known friend of 1199, in attacking the mental hospital workers. It did not explain or try to prevent the DEFEAT of the Wycoff Heights workers. The power of thousands of 1199 members behind these workers could

have had a decisive effect.

BLACK

The recent New York Teachers Strike undoubtedly has also played a role in pushing Davis towards his split with the AFL-CIO. In this strike the bosses cleverly maneuvered the black masses through community control into a struggle to break one of the most important and militant unions in New York City. Shanker of course helped them along by offering no alternative program to unite the black masses with the trade union movement in a common struggle against the City.

Davis' role was far more perfidious than even Shanker's. Rather than supporting the teachers strike, while of course criticising Shanker, Davis capitulated completely to the community control propaganda, working behind the scenes to break the strike. Theodore Mitchell, an 1199 vice president, publically stated "Those who are black and Puerto Rican and Hispanic will set up their own labor movement."

So behind this split from the AFL-CIO lies a capitulation on the part of Davis to those elements within the union movement who seek to split the unions on race lines. We for one will fight such attempts with all our might, as this will mean only a further weakening of the united strength of all workers and thus worse working conditions and pay for workers regardless of color.

BOSSES

Taking this all together we can see what is at stake in Davis' split move. Any attempt to split up the labor movement today, when faced with new attacks, will force the constituent parts of the splintered labor movement into the hands of the bosses. Each section of labor will pull further apart from other sections of labor and as a result closer to the bosses. This is the real meaning of Davis' sellout in the contract on the no strike pledge. Disunity of labor means unity with the bosses! That is Davis' real program and that is why we will fight him tooth and nail, day in and day out.

Let us never forget for one single moment that this "progressive" Leon Davis has been an open booster of Governor Rockefeller. This very same friend of Davis has jailed fellow hospital union leaders of District 50, is proposing tighter penalties for the Taylor Law, and now is fighting to increase the sales tax while he cuts state benefits to the workers by 5%.

We for one stood up within 1199 and fought Davis on this. Now it has been shown that we were completely and absolutely 100% correct. No unity with Rockefeller and his bloated boss friends. Unity of labor in one common federation of all workers. Let us fight together within the AFL-CIO for a complete break from Rockefeller, Nixon, the Democrats and for the creation of our own labor party. Only a united party of all labor can bring workers, black, white and Puerto Rican, together in a common political war against the bosses and their parties.

NIXON ASCENDS TO PRESIDENCY

(Continued from Page Two)

not the European capitalists but the American capitalists who have the real power in the world to crush the working class. Only the common united international struggle of the workers of the world can put an end to world imperialism.

PARTY

Nothing but nothing happens unconsciously and automatically in this world. The conditions are being created for revolution in Europe and that fundamental step towards revolution in America--the establishment of a labor party--but neither will occur without the conscious fight of the revolutionary party. Today the only revolutionary force in the world is the International Committee of the Fourth International. It and it alone is the World Party of Revolution. It and it alone understands the depth of the capitalist crisis and the task this imposes upon the working class vanguard.

The Workers League is politically a part of this

international party. It has no revolutionary significance outside this party. It fights day in and day out for this party against all the many enemies of the working class who seek to keep the workers separated paralyzed, unconscious so that the capitalists can take them on one at a time and destroy their organizations. Our program, our organization, our day to day fight to politically penetrate the unions around the labor party slogan, our battle to build the Bulletin into the most

effective weapon against the capitalists the American workers have--all this is nothing more than an expression of the international party on American soil.

The next great step forward for the American working class, intimately linked with its struggle for its own political expression, will be the creation in England of the Daily Newsletter this fall--the first Trotskyist daily in history. This paper will mark a qualitative leap in the consciousness of the British working class giving it a formidable weapon to build a party capable of carrying forward a revolution in England precisely in a period when revolution will be on the agenda throughout Europe. This will be a step forward for workers everywhere, particularly for the struggle of American workers. The Workers League hails the Socialist Labour League and offers it its fullest assistance in the launching of the Daily Newsletter.

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IMPRESSIONS OF E. MANDEL

In this article Dennis O'Casey makes a thorough examination of Ernest Mandel's theoretical views and his political conduct from the Belgian General Strike to the May-June Events in France. If one compares this article with earlier articles in the Bulletin on L. Marcus and revisionist tendencies in Britain the essential identity in method and political program of all revisionism becomes crystal clear.



THE STRUGGLES OF THE BELGIUM WORKERS IN 1960 MARKED THE ADVENT OF THE EUROPEAN REVOLUTION

by DENNIS O'CASEY

The publication of Ernest Mandel's paper "Workers under Neo-Capitalism", delivered at the 1968 Socialist Scholars Conference at Rutgers, throws new light on Mandel's theories and those of his revisionist co-thinkers in the Socialist Workers Party. Mandel's method is laid bare from the first word out of his mouth. Under the guise of defending Marxism before his audience of academic socialists, he in fact transforms Marxism into the very reformist pablum the socialist scholars paid their \$10 to hear.

Mandel begins with his impressions, and never strays far from these impressions. Before he finishes he will have overthrown every theoretical conquest of the Marxist movement.

STAGE

This impressionism finds its central expression in the very title of his talk, the very theme of his presentation. Mandel claims that in the 1930s (or 1940s, he is not sure when) capitalism entered into an entirely new "neo-capitalist stage" as qualitatively different from Lenin's monopoly capitalist stage as the latter was from laissez faire capitalism. But unlike Lenin's theory, which saw monopoly capitalism as a qualitative deepening of the central contradictions of capitalism, Mandel's neo-capitalist theory has been constructed precisely to deny that these contradictions are still basic to capitalism.

To be sure Mandel is a most orthodox man and repeats over and over again that the fundamental contradictions of capitalism remain. But it is the objective content of his theories and not his own appraisal of them that we as Marxists must be concerned. To get at this objective content it is necessary to strip off the facade of Trotskyism with which Mandel carefully coats each of his theories to reveal their revisionist essence.

What Mandel has actually done is taken the post-war economic boom abstracted it out of capitalist development since World War I and labelled his superficial impressions of this period "neo-capitalism". It is in the nature of impressionism that this man brings forth this theory at the very moment when the reality it is based upon, the post-war boom, is crumbling around him under the impact of renewed capitalist crisis.

STRUCTURAL

In order to make out a case for such a higher

stage of capitalism he describes various structural features of post-1929 capitalism. These include the high degree of state intervention into the private economy, the transference of the main source of super-profits from the colonial back to the imperialist countries and the tendency for corporations to free themselves from the dominance of finance capital. Finally he maintains that all fundamental contradictions of the system are preserved within this new structural environment.

First of all these observations are inaccurate. The intervention of the state into the private economy was a pronounced characteristic of the whole era from the 1890s through World War I and is taken into account in Lenin's "Imperialism". Lenin's work on imperialism makes it quite clear that the bulk of foreign investment capital was invested in other imperialist countries even in 1916. The dominance of finance over industrial

PART ONE NEO-CAPITALISM, ALIENATION AND CLASS STRUGGLE

capitalism not only has not decreased in the period since Lenin wrote "Imperialism" but in the current international monetary crisis it is proving to be the decisive factor imposing upon the manufacturing sector policies which the latter must carry out for the survival of the system.

The basic point is that even if these observations were accurate they hardly provide the basis for the contention that capitalism has gone beyond its monopoly state. For all that Mandel's "structural change" add up to is the further quantitative development of trends already dominant in Lenin's day, trends in fact which mark our era as the era of monopoly capitalism in decay.

KAUTSKY

Not for nothing did Lenin see monopoly capi-

talist imperialism as the "highest stage" of capitalist development, "in a sense the transition stage to socialism." Mandel's challenge to this conception is anything but serious. Kautsky, at least, with his one-sided schematic theory of "ultra-imperialism", a super imperialism, a union of world imperialism, a phase of joint exploitation of the world by internationally united finance capital, was seriously trying to make a case for such a new stage. The revisionist Mandel shares a common method and a common program with the revisionist Kautsky but the latter was a more serious thinker.

Mandel is not really serious about this matter anyway. His real concern is the post war expansionary boom. He is extremely impressed with, hypnotized by, his whole thinking shape by this boom. The theory of neo-capitalism allows Mandel to hold that on the one hand capitalism is someday doomed but on the other hand the conjunctural features of this boom will continue indefinitely into the future. These conjunctural features are transformed through this theory into new structural features of a new stage of capitalism.

In "An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory", Mandel says: "Let us dwell a moment upon this phenomenon of long term expansion. Without this the specific neo-capitalism we have witnessed in Western Europe for 15 years is incomprehensible." This is really the heart of his "neo-capitalist" theory. All the talk of structural changes and the like is so much cover for Mandel's assertion of faith in the continuation of the expansionary boom of the 50s into the foreseeable future. And faith is just what it is. This man, with almost religious fervor believes in the economic health of capitalism. Precisely for this reason he must explain any contemporary struggles in non-materialist religious terms.

So Mandel takes his stand with the whole camp of bourgeois economists who see the economy continuing to expand, living standards rising, and any little crisis developing here or there minor matters of "adjustments" in an otherwise almost perfect system. If Mandel distinguishes himself from the other bourgeois economists by claiming that there are indeed "long term forces at work to blow up the system", the statement has a purely religious significance no more related to his actual analysis of capitalism than whether a bourgeois economist attends a Catholic or Protestant church.

MARGINAL

Mandel devotes some space in his Socialist Scholars address to these "long term forces at work to blow up the system." He mentions tendencies towards monetary crisis, generalized economic recession, pressure on the rate of profit, threats of unemployment, incomes policies, and anti-strike legislation. But for Mandel the mechanisms available to the neo-capitalists to counteract these trends are sufficient to nullify their effect so they cause at the most no more than a "marginal" reduction in the conditions of the working class. Thus he concludes, and this is the very crux of the matter, that neo-capitalism can avoid "catastrophic depressions of the 1929-33 type."

We, on the other hand, see in the monetary crisis, the inflation, the related policies of incomes control and anti-strike legislation, the French events, etc., the expression on the surface of the deepened crisis of capitalism. All the manipulations of the capitalists only effect in a limited degree the form of the crisis and in no sense tackle its underlying causes. Thus capitalism today moves inexorably towards a catastrophic depression of the 1929-33 type distinguishable only in that its impact will be all the more deeper for the ensuing years of capital development.

Mandel's combination of an "orthodox" faith in an inevitable capitalist crisis someday with a contemporary economic analysis which denies such a crisis today, has an important political



MANDEL SUBSTITUTES REFORM FOR REVOLUTION and class function. It allows him the pretense of being in the camp of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky who understood very well that the internal contradictions of capitalism meant the periodic outbreak of crisis on a progressively disastorous scale while in fact being in the camp of the petty bourgeoisie. This petty bourgeoisie is capable like Mandel of only the most narrow, static and empirical description of capitalism at a particular moment and the projection of this empirical description into the indefinite future. It has no understanding of the internal motion of the system and thus cannot understand how capitalist prosperity can be transformed into capitalist depression. At the same time there are those among the petty bourgeoisie who wish to be thought of as Marxists and for such people Mandel's theories serve well.

CENTRISM

In getting at the essential inconsistency and ambiguity of Mandel's presentation, we get at the very essence of centrism itself. Mandel's inconsistency has very definite material and class roots. It is the oscillation of the petty bourgeoisie between the ideology of and the interests of the two main classes.

The theory of neo-capitalism leads Mandel to seek explanations for the resurgence of class struggle in France and elsewhere from the standpoint of the boom rather than from the standpoint of the erosion of the boom and the accompanying blows being leveled at the material conditions of the working class.

ALIENATION

The very title of his paper "Workers Under Neo-Capitalism", i.e. workers under conditions of eternal prosperity, betrays his whole approach. The question he seeks to answer is what in fact leads workers to struggle under conditions of prosperity. While covering himself with statements to the effect that certain marginal reductions in the material conditions of the working class is one factor to be considered, Mandel's real answer is completely idealist. The resurgence of the working class is seen as a matter of alienation. "Many passages on alienation in the Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts, the German Ideology and in the Grundrisse have only been truly realized in the last decades" says Mandel in true "new left" fashion.

Mandel portrays the mainspring of the class struggle in terms of "dissatisfaction of producers with a system which forces them" to produce "wasteful 'wealth'", that stifles "basic human needs, emotions and aspirations," that "drugs and paralyzes its victims" through mass communications, that concentrates power in the hands of bureaucracies that stifle individual freedom, that impoverishes colonial peoples, and transforms scientific advancement into the threat of nuclear holocaust.

What Mandel is presenting here as the objective factors giving rise to the sharpening class battles of this period are in reality nothing more than the refraction of that sharpening struggle within the consciousness of the middle class intelligentsia and students. Mandel seizes upon the early Marx as so many revisionists before him in order to confuse the movement of the working class with the protest movement of the petty bourgeoisie, particularly the students. What Mandel is really saying is that the protest movement of the petty bourgeoisie against the excesses of big capital has supplanted the class struggle under neo-capitalism.

NEW

Mandel reinforces this perspective by developing at length theories of the "new working class".

These theories aim at completely effacing the distinction between the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie. It is undoubtedly true, as Mandel empirically has discovered, that there is an ever-growing number of highly skilled and even university educated workers in the modern proletariat. Mandel seizes upon this fact to obscure a more basic fact - the mainspring of the class struggle lies in the relationship and struggle between the monopolists and the highly organized industrial proletariat (whatever the level of its education may be), and not in the subjective reactions to this conflict within the petty bourgeoisie. In other words for Mandel the trend towards sections of the petty bourgeoisie to be forced into the working class is seen petty bourgeoisifying the working class while in reality it proletarianizes sections of the petty bourgeoisie. In no sense does it mean that the fulcrum of the class struggle goes over to the technicians and thus through the technicians to the students.

Mandel's theories have the advantage of allowing him to strike the most orthodox Trotskyist pose. He vehemently condemns as "utopian socialists" all those who relegate the task of socialist revolution to classes other than the working class. But having given the term "working class" an entirely original meaning - namely encompassing the petty bourgeoisie with the struggle on the axis of the petty bourgeoisie' subjectivity - Mandel plays the objective role of giving a left cover to those like himself who see movements headed by Castro, Cleaver and particularly Cohn-Bendit or Rudi Dutschke as the real revolutionary vanguard under neo-capitalism.

CRISIS

Mandel's theory of neo-capitalism and his substitution of petty bourgeois protest movements for the working class leads to fantastic distortions of recent events in the United States. In an article in Intercontinental Press, "Ernest Mandel Reports Impressions of the United States" (the title expresses the man's method), he states: "There is no economic crisis in the United States and there is no question of one." The decline of real income due to tax hikes and inflation, the possibility of a recession in 1969, these Mandel considers causes perhaps for "irritation." "But," he says, "it is entirely minor phenomenon. The prosperity is still such that there is no economic causes to provoke any reaction from the majority of the working class."

Proceeding from this "no crisis" perspective Mandel develops a hopelessly eclectic and thoroughly idealist rationalization for the political polarization and breakdown of reformism in the United States in the recent period. Unable to see beneath surface phenomena Mandel tries to explain the split in the Democratic Party, the election of Nixon and the rise of the Wallace movement as if they were produced by the black power movement and the anti-war movement. Even if this

were the case it would only raise another question: what produced the black power and anti-war movements?

INTERNATIONAL

What he cannot understand is that these current struggles in the United States, the accompanying political crisis and the developing confrontation between the labor movement and the government are as much a part of the international capitalist crisis as the May events in France, the attacks on the working class in England by the Wilson government, the Vietnam war, etc. The very heart of the world capitalist crisis lies in the pressure being brought to bear on the rate of profit of American capitalism which in turn is intensified by the monetary crisis. While the very heart of the crisis is here it will be expressed most intensely in Europe as the American bourgeoisie is forced to declare war on the European capitalists which in turn must turn upon their own working classes.

But this is all meaningless to Mandel. He is sublimely confident in capitalism's soundness. He understands nothing, absolutely nothing about the world today. Still hypnotized by the boom, pre-occupied with his own petty bourgeois reaction to capitalism's alienation, the very manifestations of crisis all around him are seen as isolated exceptions unrelated to each other and having no materialist base.

REVISIONISM

The fight for socialism in the United States requires a fundamental battle against revisionism in all forms. In essence the political positions of Mandel, Marcuse, Marcus, Rosen, Hall and Hansen are the same having the same class basis, the same method. All these revisionists begin pragmatically with current reality, with existing national divisions and race divisions within the working class. On this basis they seek, not to advance the working class, but to advance themselves at the expense of the working class. They have no understanding of the world crisis of capitalism, no strategy for the working class based on such an understanding, not the slightest beginning of a transitional program to advance the working class towards the struggle for power, and they oppose at every step the creation of a serious revolutionary party guided by Marxism.

They are completely hostile to internationalism, deepen the race divisions within the United States, limit the struggle to structural reforms of one sort or other, pride themselves in extreme ignorance on all questions of working class history and theory.

The Workers League intends to step up its political and theoretical struggle against all such tendencies, trains its own members in Marxism Leninism, Trotskyism, developing Marxist theory as part of an international movement. Above all we will give no quarter whatsoever to black

| MONNAIES D'OR | |
|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| COURS DE LA VEILLE | COURS DE LA BOURSE DU 25.11.68 |
| 64,30 | 20 FRANCAIS 64,20 |
| 47,90 | 10 FRANCAIS |
| 60,90 | 20 SUISSE 62,10 |
| 57,20 | 20 UNION LATINE 57,40 60 |
| 55,90 | SOVERAIN 58,40 30 |
| 295,60 | 20 DOLLARS USA |
| 156, | 10 \$ USA |
| 141,80 | 5 \$ USA |
| 296,50 | 50 PESOS MEXICA |
| 57,50 | 10 FLORINS |
| 135 | 1000 LIRA |

GOLD RATES LISTED AT THE BOURSE, FRENCH STOCK EXCHANGE, AFTER DEGAULLE'S REFUSAL TO DEVALUATE

nationalism. We refuse to base ourselves on the existing race divisions within the United States and by so doing aid the ruling class in dividing the American workers not only one from the other on race but as a whole from their international class brothers. We say that self-determination is a completely reactionary demand which only serves to tie the Negro to capitalism and to weaken the working class movement.

We battle to destroy capitalist race divisions in the United States, language divisions in Canada, religious divisions in Ireland. We battle to unite the American working class as a whole around a common program of struggle with workers of

all countries to destroy capitalism as a world system before capitalism destroys us and establishes fascism which will rest precisely upon deepened race and national divisions everywhere.

BULLETIN

To carry forward on this work the Workers League has expanded the Bulletin to 12 pages and plans a further expansion to a weekly paper by the end of this year. The expanded Bulletin will mean more coverage of international events, a deepening of the theoretical battle against revisionism, the development of our strategic line within the United States and in particular in the

course of the trade union struggles of the coming period. The paper will be expanded not only in size and frequency but will be taken deeper into the working class. We have already increased our circulation by 50% on the first leg of our struggle to triple paid circulation by the time of the launching of the weekly Bulletin. This together with the Daily Newsletter will be central to the building of the international party of the working class in this new period of revolutionary struggle.

Nixon has his program and he is dead serious about carrying it through. We have our program and we are just as serious. There is one difference. We will win.

This brings us to the most fundamental question of all, Mandel's program. Once again Mandel puts forth as he has since 1961 a program of "anti-capitalist structural reforms."

This program flows directly from his perspective that capitalism has shed its basic, crisis producing, characteristics and its corollary that the class struggle finds its source in idealist reaction of the working class to certain structural deficiencies in neo-capitalism.

In 1961 the developing world crisis of capitalism produced what was in fact the first shots fired in the European Socialist Revolution, the Belgian General Strike. Mandel saw it differently. Far from the opening of the European Socialist Revolution and thus posing the question of power directly to the Belgian and European working class Mandel saw in this strike merely a reflection of certain conjunctural difficulties in the structure of Belgian capitalism. It was to this problem that his program was addressed. Thus in the course of this strike Mandel raised the following demands: a free national health service, nationalization of the power industry, full employment and economic planning, control over the trusts, tightening up against tax evasions, halving of the military budget, and a Public Investment Board.

REFORMIST

This program was, of course, completely reformist coinciding in every fundamental with the needs of Belgian capitalism. Nationalization of a single lagging section of Belgian industry, greater state intervention in the private economy for the purpose of greater central planning combined with the development of a larger "public sector" amounts to a program to make Belgian capitalism more competitive within a declining world capitalist economy. Such a program hardly spells the doom of Belgian capitalism.

Mandel's program stands in the sharpest contrast to an approach to this strike consistent with the Transitional Program of the Fourth International.

What was required in response to Eyskens' "Loi Unique" which sought to pass onto the Belgian working class the crisis of Belgian capitalism in the form of mass unemployment and heavy taxation and which provoked the General Strike, was an alternative program of transitional demands which would pose to the working class the need to take the strike over to a struggle for state power. This would have meant demands for full employment, general wage increases, a shorter work week to be achieved through the nationalization (not of a single industry) but (as was posed by the International Committee) of "all main industrial enterprises of the country, the banks, finances, houses, and land" under a workers government.

CENTRISM

Mandel's reformism when it comes to program is intimately related to his complete capitulation to the forces of centrism, Stalinism, Social Democracy, and the trade union bureaucracy whom he not only refused to fight in 1961 but whom he saw as the real force for pressuring the Belgian capitalists to adopt his program of structural reform.

Rather than proceeding from the construction in Belgium of an independent party of the Fourth International, Mandel posed the conception during the strike that his structural reforms could be carried forward by the Belgian Socialist party in Parliament under the pressure of its left wing. The demand for a "workers' government" was meant by Mandel to imply nothing more than the transfer of power from the Eyskens' government to a government of the Belgian Socialist Party or its left wing in collaboration with sections of the trade union bureaucracy like the supporters of Andre Kenard. Such a government would have been every bit as much a bourgeois government as Eyskens' predecessor so long as the question of the fight against the existing leadership in the Belgian labor movement for an independent revo-

PART TWO

STRUCTURAL REFORM AND THE PARTY

lutionary party of the Fourth International was never posed. It was precisely this question that was and has never been posed by Mandel. Thus all his phrasemongering about a "workers' government" obviously had nothing in common with the Leninist conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat without which there is no workers' power.

SPLIT

The absence of a revolutionary leadership ready to lead the Belgian working class to power in 1961 led directly on the one hand to the development of the fragmentation of the Belgian working class infected with the poison of Walloon nationalism and on the other hand to a rightward turn on the part of the Belgian Socialist Party that led to the expulsion of Mandel and the La Gauche tendency in 1964.

Here the reaction of Mandel contrasts sharply to the struggle of the Socialist Labour League, British section of the International Committee of the Fourth International confronted with a similar situation in England. The SLL has played an extremely active role within the British Labour Party Young Socialist movement from 1961 to 1964. In the course of this struggle against the policies of the right wing of the Labour Party and all the centrist elements which bolstered this right wing the SLL won the leadership of the Young Socialists and maintained this leadership through two successive national conferences.

At no point did the SLL harbor any illusions about the BLP leadership. It saw its struggle within the BLP and particular its youth as a central part of the process of constructing an alternative revolutionary leadership—the revolutionary party. Understanding that the crisis of capitalism necessitated that the BLP leadership proceed on an ever deeper right wing course and thus must expel revolutionary elements from its midst, the SLL was fully prepared for the expulsions that came and went on to the next stage in

the struggle to build a mass revolutionary party in England.

Mandel understood none of this. In no way had he prepared for the expulsions that came nor did he have any perspective of what to do following the expulsions. And so he found himself outside the Socialist Party with a small group of centrists. From 1964 to this day Mandel has functioned as a centrist in a small centrist party instead of as a centrist in a large social democratic party. The arena of operation changed but the politics were constant. Thus the expulsion represented a serious blow to Mandel while in the case of the SLL it was a step forward in the development of the party.

PROGRAM

When we turn to the question of program we see the same desertion of a revolutionary struggle. In 1961 Mandel adapted to the surface level of what was a revolutionary struggle which raised the question of power itself. In 1964 we find him at work adapting again to surface developments in Belgium and this time with equally disastrous results. Accepting the growing division between Walloon and Flemish speaking workers as an accomplished fact he sought to put forward his structural reform gimmicks within this context. This led him to openly support the splitting up of the Belgian working class along language lines and thus aiding the Belgian bourgeoisie once again. His structural reforms were put forward as a program for the more "advanced" Walloon workers and used as an excuse to support Walloon nationalism and chauvinism against the Flemish workers.

At no time was he able to pose a fighting transitional program for the Belgian working class as a whole to pit it as a unified force against the Belgian bourgeoisie in a struggle for power. Above all he could not see in the split along language lines a reactionary reaction to the deepening capitalist crisis within world capitalism as a whole. In this way he played the same reactionary role in Belgium that his co-thinkers of the SWP play here with the black nationalism question.

Not only did Mandel refuse to take up the struggle for the revolutionary party but more and more he was compelled to devote his energies to a struggle against the International Committee of the Fourth International. This shows the essential character of the man. At every opportunity he collaborates with centrist elements, the Stalinists and every variety of adventurer. At no time does he fight to construct a revolutionary party. On every occasion he fights against the revolutionary party—the International Committee. For a Stalinist or a Dutschke or a Kenard he willingly adapts but for the Fourth International he has nothing but bitter hatred.

LIEGE

Nothing shows this more clearly than Liege. In 1966 the JGS youth group in Belgium, which is under Mandel's tutelage, issued a call for an international demonstration against NATO. The SLL-led Young Socialists and the Revoltes youth groups of the French Trotskyists responded to the call along with a number of other groups, some dominated by Mandel's Pabloites, some by Stalinists, some anarchist. Some 500 Young Socialists came from England and 400 members of Revoltes came from France.

Among the banners carried by these young Trotskyists was one marking the Tenth Anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution. A small group of Belgian Stalinists refused to march if the banner was included. Mandel then intervened and his supporters threatened to call the cops to get the banner removed. Anything to please the Stalinists; the cops are good enough for Trotskyist youth! Only by exposing this move before all assembled and by the completely disciplined determination of the Trotskyist youth was this action stopped and the march proceeded WITH the revolutionary banner of solidarity with the Hungarian workers. The 1,000 Trotskyist youth marched through the streets of Liege changing "Long Live the Fourth International" in French and the chant



WORKERS AMASS DURING 1960 BELGIUM GENERAL STRIKE

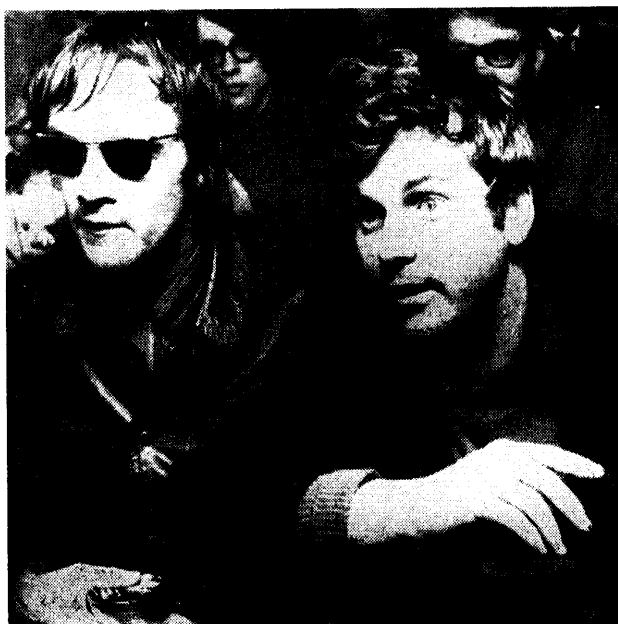
was taken up by many workers watching the march to the dismay of Mandel—a man who toured the length and breadth of this country without once mentioning the Fourth International!

SOVIET

Since 1964 we see a shift on Mandel's part as far as the arena of his adaptation is concerned while his essential method and policies remain. More and more Mandel, like his SWP co-thinkers, has shifted his attention away from the labor movement and the traditional working class parties to the student protest movement. This trend was particularly accelerated by the May-June events in France. Rather than seeing these events as the first wave of renewed working class-revolutionary struggle, Mandel is hypnotized by the student aspect of the struggle. It is primarily to this petty bourgeois milieu that he addresses his theories and his activities.

It is within this context that we must evaluate the prominence he nows gives to the slogan of "workers' control of industry" which he elevates as a solution to the "key social question" under neo-capitalism. Revolutionary as it may sound its actual content in Mandel's hands is completely reformist and rotten. When used by Lenin and Trotsky this slogan played a central role in the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. When used by Mandel it is transformed into a structural reform. Mandel uses it as a cover for adaptation to the frenzied activities of the students, a way of evading the struggle against Stalinism and the labor bureaucracy, and in fact as a method of tying the working class to the bourgeoisie rather than breaking the working class from the bourgeoisie.

In the first place the content of Mandel's factory committees, as he conceives them is clear by his reference to a situation in the Italian Fiat plant where the workers were able to force the employers to halt the production of an increasing number of higher priced cars in favor of cheaper models. From this it is clear that "workers' control" is conceived by Mandel as at best a way in which the working class can pressure the bosses to



COHN-BENDIT (AT RIGHT), ONE OF MANDEL'S HEROES

undertake certain reforms that will supposedly lessen the workers' feeling of alienation.

This is utter reformism and has absolutely nothing to do with the purpose for which the slogan soviets and workers control is raised in the Transitional Program. These forms of organization become appropriate, as Trotsky himself points out, only in openly revolutionary situations; that is they are appropriate for the stage of the class struggle characterized by the transference of power from the hands of the bourgeoisie to the proletariat. Under any other circumstances and in the sense that Mandel raises it they become synonymous with co-management, the cooperation of the working class leadership into the role of labor lieutenants for the bourgeoisie for the purpose of disciplining the working class.

DESTRUCTION

It is precisely these kinds of formulations which are used to give a progressive appearance to the incorporation of the trade unions into the state and the destruction of the independence of the labor movement. Much as Mandel tries to dissociate himself from the schemes for workers' management and workers' control put forth by the bourgeoisie in this period the real identity between Mandel and the bourgeoisie is excellently revealed in the practice of the Socialist Workers Party in supporting community control of the schools for which Mandel's formulations provide the needed left cover.

The real reason however that Mandel raises this whole perspective of extra parliamentary,



FRENCH TROTSKYISTS MARCH AT LIEGE UNDER THE BANNER SUPPORTING THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION

extra trade union forms of organization at this time is to provide a cover for his latest scheme to paste together a broad amalgam of disparate petty bourgeois tendencies particularly under the leadership of petty bourgeois student elements. His theory of the French uprising, viz that the student movement is the new revolutionary vanguard which is solely responsible for bringing the working class into struggle against the deGualle regime leads inexorably in the field of organization to the need to somehow organize the working class around this nucleus of revolutionary students. Thus we shall have factory committees, student committees and higher bodies thereof locally and nationally and completely by-pass the traditional organizations of the working class. Its corollary of course is the abandonment of the traditional organizations of the class particularly the trade unions to the Stalinists and Social Democrats.

VANGUARD

Mandel's recent contribution to Intercontinental Press "Towards a New Revolutionary Upsurge in Europe" reveals why he is so enthusiastic about a new youth vanguard formation outside of the unions. In this article Mandel talks about "the development of a new youth vanguard independent of reformism and Stalinism". According to Mandel the identification of these youth with the struggles of the past decade in Algeria, Cuba and Vietnam makes possible the development of a youth organization untainted by revisionism, as Mandel understands it. With this kind of leadership for the working class, the Fourth International can play a role as midwife to regroupment and broad amalgam of such ready made Marxists as Cohn-Bendit, Rudi Dutechke and their followers in the German SDS, etc.

Mandel's view on the Fourth International are most clearly revealed when it is considered that in his entire tour of the United States he did not make a single mention of the Fourth International except when directly pressed on this question by a member of the Workers League during a questioning period at Columbia University. It is not the Fourth International Mandel wants to build but a new centrist swamp to replace the old social democracy which so unceremoniously booted him out in 1964.

DISMISSES

Mandel's Rutgers address offers us further evidence of this whole orientation. He completely dismissed what he likes to term the "classical socialist labor movement" because it, judging from "the figures of subscribers to the theoretical magazines or students at study camps or worker's universities of those organizations," reached only a tiny minority of the working class. Nothing is

said about the tremendous contributions of the Bolshevik party to the development of the world movement; not a word about the Communist International. This is followed by the remark that since the degeneration of the movement, "the dikes have collapsed, and aided by modern mass media the poison of bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideology have penetrated deeply into the broad layers of the working class". Nothing is said about the role of Stalinism much less the role of Trotskyism in combating these influences in the working class. It was as if the 100 year struggle for the Marxist movement did not even exist.

But worst and most revealing of all, Mandel counsels that we should not lose a sense of proportion about this problem. After all the working class does not really need conscious revolutionary leadership.

"In the last analysis the question boils down to this: Which force will turn out to be stronger in determining the workers' attitude to the society he lives in, the mystifying ideas he received yesterday in the church and today through TV, or the social reality he confronts and assimilates day after day through practical experience? For historical materialists, to pose the question this way is to answer it, although the struggle itself will say the last word."

FATALISM

What more complete capitulation to spontaneity could one ask for? Worse than this capitulation to spontaneity is Mandel's completely pragmatic approach to the revolutionary character of the working class. On the one hand this question is decided on the basis of a religious fatalism: "What the socialist revolution is all about, in the last analysis, is faith in the unconquerable spirit of revolt against injustice and oppression." On the other hand the proof is in the pudding: "The struggle itself will say the last word." What has this to do with scientific understanding of the nothing; it is a throw back to fideism and had nothing in common with Marxism.

Precisely because Mandel abandons a scientific Marxist analysis of world capitalism in favor of his impressionistically based theory of neo-capitalism he can only assert his orthodoxy on the socialist revolution as a matter of religious faith. Beginning with pragmatism he inevitably ends up with idealism. With such an outlook he is forced to abandon the struggle for the Fourth International in favor of the building of centrist swamps. With the method of the petty bourgeoisie you can only build organizations of the petty bourgeoisie. For the revolutionary party you need the scientific Marxist method. This lies today nowhere but in the ranks of the International Committee of the Fourth International!

TROTSKYISM BETRAYED

Three Pamphlets on Pabloism's Betrayals

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| A NEW PARTY? SOME LESSONS FOR BELGIAN LABOUR BY PETER ARNOLD | .25 |

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ranks fight back in nmu election

by DAN FRIED

The contest of the Morrissey slate for the leadership of the National Maritime Union has the reigning Curran leadership running scared. With the resignation of Curran's appointed assistant William Perry, Curran hopes to take some of the steam out of the revolt against his tyranny.

For ten years Perry has loyally and faithfully served as Curran's hatchet man, in 1967 drawing a salary of almost \$31,000 a year. Peanuts compared with Curran's \$82,000, but not bad for a non-elected union official! Perry was probably ever more hated by many rank and file NMU members than Curran himself, but was only Curran's front man. The bureaucracy of the NMU shows its gratitude to its servants in true bureaucratic fashion. Perry is gone, but Curran and the bureaucracy are still the same. This maneuver engineered by Curran won't fool anyone.

SUPPORT

The growing support for the Morrissey slate, combined as it is with more and more NMU men saying right out in the open what they think of the "Curran team" is one of the healthiest developments in the labor movement in years. Despite our stated criticism of the program and functioning of the Morrissey group (see Bulletin, Dec. 16, 1968) we stand four square for the election of Morrissey Haake, and the other national candidates. At the same time, we have no doubt that there are a number of independent candidates both for national

office and patrolman who are honest anti-Curran militants, not on the Morrissey slate who are deserving of support. Some of these candidates have worked with the Committee for NMU Democracy in the past.

But we take exception to those candidates on the Morrissey slate who stand on their past participation in the anti-communist witchhunts which pervaded the NMU and other unions in the late '40s and past participation in the anti-communist witchhunts which pervaded the NMU and other unions in the late '40s and '50s. Let us not forget that Curran himself rode to power on the crest of this anti-communist hysteria which he led in the NMU. In future articles we will deal with the impact of this witchhunt in the labor movement as well as with our criticism of the Communist Party policy in the NMU.

We believe that the same tendency towards opportunism is shown in the attempt by the Morrissey group to include on their slate a number of candidates for patrolmen who are on the Curran slate.

PROGRAM

Regardless of the outcome of the election, the NMU must develop a program of struggle against the maritime bosses and the government which more and more intervenes on the side of the bosses as we can see in the present longshore strike. We urge that Morrissey and all independent anti-Curran forces in the union devote themselves to this task and steer clear of electoral blocs and organizational maneuvers which

compromise the principles of such a program.

Some of the elements of such a fighting program should be:

1. Full support for all the democratic reforms, and the wage demands put forward by Morrissey and "The Call"; eradication of bureaucratic privilege.
2. No loss of jobs through automation, containerization, or other forms of rationalization. Prepare to fight for the 4 watch system (shorter work week) in the June contract negotiations.
3. Fight for wage parity for all seamen working on foreign flagships. This is the only way to halt the flow of shipping to foreign flagships.

4. An all out fight against government intervention in union affairs whether through the courts or new legislation. Collective bargaining and the right to strike are facing the most severe attacks by the government since the passage of the Taft Hartley Act. Repeal the Taft-Hartley Act and Landrum-Griffin Act.

5. Build a party of our own—a labor party—that will fight to implement our program and in defense of the interests of all workers against the bosses and the Democratic-Republican coalition.

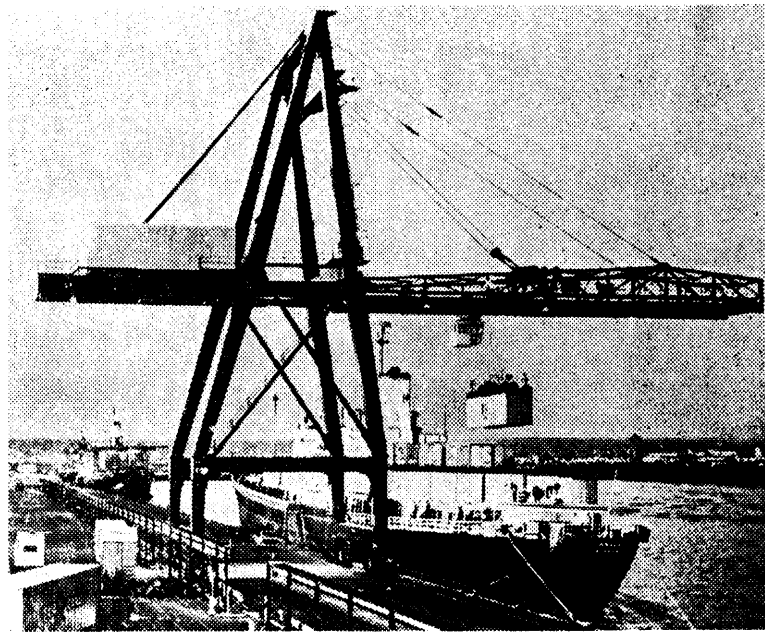
This is just the beginning—the skeleton of a program, but we feel that it must be considered now. We urge our



JAMES MORRISSEY

readers, particularly seamen, to send in their comments on any of the questions raised in this article. Address letters, which we will be glad to print, to: Bulletin, 243 East 10th Street, New York, N.Y. 10003.

OUTPORTS ISSUE IN ILA CONTRACT



TRUCK TRAILERS BEING LOADED ONTO CONTAINER SHIP IN NEW JERSEY

NEW YORK--Despite the negotiation of an agreement between the leadership of the

ILA and the New York Shipping Association, the longshoremen's strike of all East and Gulf Coast ports rolls into its second month, soon to exceed the record 33 day longshore strike of four years ago. What the shipping bosses conceded in New York-- the union's right to reload certain consolidated containers and the 40 hour a week work guarantee-- they and their brother bosses adamantly refuse to give up in the other ports from Maine to Texas.

So far, Gleason and the ILA leadership has stood firm on the union rule not to put the agreement up for ratification in New York until ALL ports have settled. Gleason is under tremendous pressure from local "outport" longshoremen to get the same terms as New York. So nothing is moving from Maine to Texas, and the union's ranks are prepared to stay out indefinitely.

Meanwhile, a furious clamor for government intervention is being mounted, from Wall Street to the giant shipping combines, to the foreign flagships to the small and not so small businessmen of New York. They are demanding that the government break the strike in New York. If they succeed in this the hand of the shipping association bosses in the other ports will be strengthened, working conditions could remain, as in the past, highly uneven from

port to port with the result that rationalization and containerization will accelerate at the expense of all the dockworkers, including New York longshoremen.

THREAT

The Federal Government and Congress have already indicated the most likely course of intervention which the bosses would like to see, when the threat of special legislation imposing compulsory arbitration was raised in Congress. There is no doubt that Johnson held off pressing decisively for such legislation both because a settlement ending the strike seemed near, and also because he felt he might as well pass the hot potato of the "national emergency" to his successor. There is also no doubt that Nixon will bring all the pressure he can on Gleason to back down or get the men in the "outports" to back down. But the longshoremen are united and militant as never before.

The danger of strikebreaking legislation by Nixon and the Republican-Democratic coalition in Congress is enormous. The strike has not only hurt the shipowners, but has hindered trade and weakened the already shaky balance of payments position.

FIRM

The ILA must stand absolutely firm in opposing all threats or government actions of any sort. Everything they have fought for is at stake. Legislation can't unload ships. Only workers can do that. It is the most elementary duty in defense of collective bargaining itself, for all unions to fight government intervention. This is especially true for Teamsters, merchant seamen and West coast longshoremen. Demand that despite his allowing scab cargo to go in and out of West coast ports during the East coast strike, Harry Bridges of the ILWU stand by his earlier warning to Congress that his union "reserves the right" to take action in defense of the ILA and the "collective bargaining process" in the event of Congressional intervention.

PICKETS DEFEND SHERWOOD

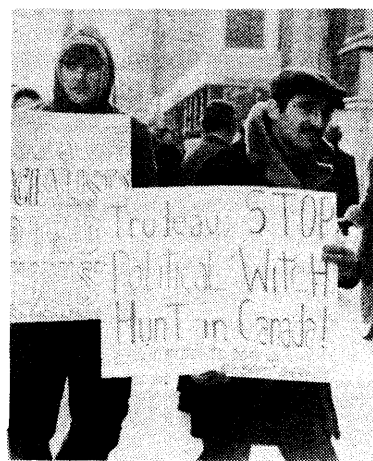
emergency campaign launched

The trial of Robert Sherwood, member of the Toronto Branch of the Workers League, on a charge of violating the Canadian Immigration Act, has been postponed to February 13th. The postponement was made at the request of the prosecutor which is a sign that the Canadian government is well aware of the importance of the case and the campaign that has been waged, particularly in the United States, in defense of Sherwood.

On Saturday, January 11th the Committee to Defend Robert Sherwood held a picket line in front of the Canadian Consulate in New York City. It was a very successful picket line with a number of passerby signing petitions in defense of Sherwood and some joining the picket line. At the conclusion of the demonstration a delegate read a statement with all the names of the sponsors of the committee into the Consulate for presentation to Prime Minister Trudeau.

Fred Mueller, Executive Secretary of the Defense Committee, has announced a special emergency campaign to build as much support as possible for Sherwood before

the new trial date. This case is of the greatest importance for if Trudeau, with Washington's connivance can prosecute and then deport Sherwood he can move at will against any of the hundreds of thousands of immigrant workers in Canada who resist government attacks. We must mobilize support now for any further legal proceedings will be based on this first trial.



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The Committee is organizing special petition campaigns in unions and on campuses, new fund raising efforts, and the soliciting of additional sponsors. Mueller stressed that there is great need for funds to prepare a special "Friend of the Court" brief

on the American end of the case and for other legal expenses. It is extremely urgent that contributions are sent in immediately so that no legal steps are dispensed with because of lack of funds. "For Trudeau finances are no problem as he flits around London with his models and visits the Queen," Mueller stated, "but Robert Sherwood has no resources at all for legal defense as he has a family to support." Send contributions to: Committee to Defend Robert Sherwood, Rm. 7, 243 East 10th St., New York N.Y. 10003.

Several new sponsors have joined the Committee bringing the total to 53, 19 of whom are active trade unionists. These include: Sandra Klein, Delegate, Local 1199; Adrian Luoma, Teamsters Local 359 Minneapolis; Noam Chomsky, Professor, MIT; Michael Brunson, Secretary, Greater Seattle Fellowship of Reconciliation; Peer Nyberg, Chairman, University of Minnesota SDS; and the following professors from Carleton College: Seymour Schuster, A.D. Mendel, P. Thomas Rosin, Joe W. Shepard, Byron Fox, and Arthur Gropen.

PL AND REVISIONISM AT

by JEFF SEBASTIAN AND DEBORAH O'CONNELL

The crisis at S.F. State raises the student struggle to a new level. For the first time the organized labor movement has been forced to enter the struggle as an independent force fighting in its own interest. This marks a qualitative change.

It is precisely this change that exposes the utter bankruptcy of the revisionist tendencies in the leadership of the student struggle. Just at a time when the working class is moving toward an open and clear confrontation with the state these tendencies step forward to confuse and disrupt the struggle so as to prevent the

Two recent events have given further evidence of the reactionary character of black nationalism. In Los Angeles two members of the Black Panthers were assassinated, it now appears, by two members of the rival US organization of Karenga. This follows by a few months the abortive unity negotiations between SNCC and the Black Panthers which almost ended in bloodshed. In New York City two Ocean-Hill Brownsville teachers have made blatantly anti-semitic public statements while the Metropolitan Museum has published a guide book for its Harlem exhibit with somewhat more covert anti-semitism in it. It is incorrect to view this tendency toward violence to settle political differences and these anti-semitic statements as aberrations. They flow logically from the very bourgeois character of the black nationalist ideology.

working class from drawing the essential lessons. The central task of revisionism is to destroy every possibility of uniting the class into a struggle for state power.

The major responsibility for this must be placed with the PL-SDS forces. It is PL's concept of the worker-student alliance which has been the driving force of the student struggle. This concept must be examined because it is now being revealed to have a thoroughly reactionary content.

CRUDE

The worker-student alliance is an attempt to connect the student movement, the black movement, community struggles and labor struggles into an alliance based on the most crude sort of pragmatism. Everywhere PLP sees struggles and explosions. If only thousands of students can be organized to join picket lines, fight racism, and support black rebellions then someday all of this activity will merge into an alliance and all acting together will sweep imperialism off the face of the earth.

An article on SDS in the OCT/68 Progressive

Labor is very revealing. In a paper presented to SDS calling for the formation of a Student Labor Action Project (SLAP) PL says the following: "SLAP explicitly speaks to the need to support black rebellions, fight racism on campus and among white workers and ally the student movement with the Black working class. This must be a key aspect of the worker-student alliance. You cannot build an anti-ruling class worker-student alliance without fighting racism and supporting black rebellions. White radicals must build a base among white workers and students so that they can deliver a real alliance."

How is all this to be achieved? By fighting with campus workers and people in university owned houses and nearby neighborhoods and schools. Marching on picket lines and getting real live workers to speak on campus. By working in factories for the summer so as to get a feel for the exploitation of workers. Supporting black rebellions with campus demonstrations. Organizing classroom caucuses to expose ruling class propaganda taught in the classroom and doing research work. The sum of all this activity is seriously put forth as a perspective for defeating imperialism.

Everything is wrong here. PL starts with all sorts of immediate struggles and seeks to work out a position for dealing with them as they come up. Everything is based on a general abstraction that all struggles face the same enemy therefore they can be united as a fusion of immediate struggles.

STRATEGIC

It is not that immediate struggles are unimportant or that alliances are wrong but, rather that the revolutionary party participates in these struggles as part of a central strategic perspective of mobilizing the working class in a struggle for power. Always we start from the international crisis of capitalism and the needs of the working class in order to determine policy towards any given struggle.

PL sees only the struggle and then seeks to adapt itself to its impression of the immediate state of consciousness of the participants. Thus in the unions it sees only the fight for bread and butter demands. Its paper, Challenge, is a model of "economism" devoting page after page to exposing conditions in the shops coupled with appeals for rank and file militancy to fight even harder to win.

OPPORTUNISM

On the campuses it sees the central struggle as one against racism. Reacting to its impression of the militancy of the Black Students Unions it tries everywhere to channel student militancy into an appendage of the nationalist struggles. The worker-student alliance simply becomes a cover for turning students into apologists for

nationalism with the formula that they are somehow allying themselves with the black working class.

The worker-student alliance has become in practice a lift cover for the most blatant form of opportunism. By claiming that their goal is to direct students and middle class elements towards the working class PL is able to enter the most anti-working class tendencies such as F&F or SDS and to rationalize its activities with the idea that it will turn these tendencies into working class forces. In practice this means nothing more than helping to build middle class swamps in order to pick off cadre for PL through extremely disciplined work within these swamps.

It is no accident that PL has never put forth an analysis of the international crisis of capitalism. This leaves it completely incapable of understanding the real meaning of the struggles it seeks to lead. It deals with every struggle separately precisely because it is unable to grasp the essential crisis that really connects these struggles. While paying lip service to the dictatorship of the working class, PLP cannot see the real forces driving the working class into a confrontation for power. Thus it has no perspective for really waging a struggle for power.

In every major capitalist country the economic crisis is driving the ruling classes towards an all out confrontation with the workers. Central to this crisis is the drive to destroy the unions the most powerful weapon of the working class. All other struggles in the communities and on the campuses must be seen as the reflection of this preparation to take on the organized working class. This is preparing the fight for power the first expression of which we saw in France. Because PL cannot understand this it cannot connect the campus struggle to the workers. It becomes lost in the very struggle it seeks to lead.

PARTY

The most criminal aspect of the worker-student alliance is that it destroys the conception of the need for a revolutionary party. The sum total of these alliances into some sort of anti-imperialist front is posed as a substitute for a conscious party. PL may protest that it is building a revolutionary party but, in practice the worker-student alliance means precisely the opposite.

There can be no artificial connection between students and the working class. Participating in picket lines and holding demonstrations against racism is not the same thing as providing leadership. All the alliances in the world cannot replace the need for a conscious force within the unions and on the campuses fighting to unite a real struggle for power. Students can only connect to the working class through the fight to build a revolutionary party which is engaged in a struggle to penetrate the class with a program for power. By building such a party students participate in the struggle to provide the theory



VAN ARSDALE AND ROCKEFELLER AT HAPPIER TIMES

by FRED MUELLER

NEW YORK-- The mask is off. New York's billionaire Governor Rockefeller has shed his liberal image as though it were last year's overcoat. He has unmistakably laid it on the line to every worker in the state, in the actions he has taken in the last several weeks.

In the recent strike of state mental hospital workers led by District Council 50 of the State, County and Municipal Employees (SCME), Rockefeller was instrumental in sending strike leaders Lillian Roberts and Robert Fuller to jail with the longest sentences yet meted out under the Taylor Law. Now he has decided

ROCKEFELLER

this kind of punishment isn't enough, since it isn't stopping the workers. So he has called for changes in the state's anti-strike Taylor Law. Rockefeller wants to strengthen the penalty provisions of this law, originally dubbed the RAT (Rockefeller and Travia) bill when it was passed almost two years ago.

BUDGET

The New York Governor has followed up this strikebreaking activity with a proposed budget which is officially labeled a belt-tightening move. It is the workers' belts which our well-heeled and well-fed Governor wants to tighten. He is proposing an increase in the state sales tax from 2 to 3%, and an across-the-board cut in state spending of 5%. The latter proposal is lifted straight out of the platform of New York's Conservative Party, which polled over a million votes for its Senatorial candidate last year and which operates as an ultra-right pressure group on the state's Republican Party.

The slash in spending means a cut in all aid to localities, a cut in state aid for education, welfare and Medicaid. Not only will Lindsay's urgent requests for increased state aid not be met, the prospect is for cuts in the woefully

inadequate existing programs.

CRISIS

The Democrats make noises about the Republican proposals but they have no alternative to offer. It was reported that "jokes began circulating in Democratic circles...about 'a return to the 18th century.'" The capitalist politicians may find this amusing but the workers do not. Whatever minor changes the Democrats may propose and whatever demagogic criticisms they offer, it is clear that the Republicans and Democrats stand together in defense of the bosses and the bosses' system.

It is the deepening crisis which is forcing Rockefeller to take these measures. The fiscal crisis of the cities and states is becoming intolerable, as Rockefeller is being forced to admit. Costs of education, welfare and other services, and public employees wages as well, are rising much faster than state and local tax revenues or federal aid. The answer of the government is increased taxation and attacks against public employees.

The deteriorating bond market also works to intensify this crisis, as state and city administrations find that interest rates are at record

SF STATE

which the working class needs to win. The worker-student alliance poses taking the confusion and idealism of the student t workers. It is the very opposite of leadership. It can become dangerous and reactionary.

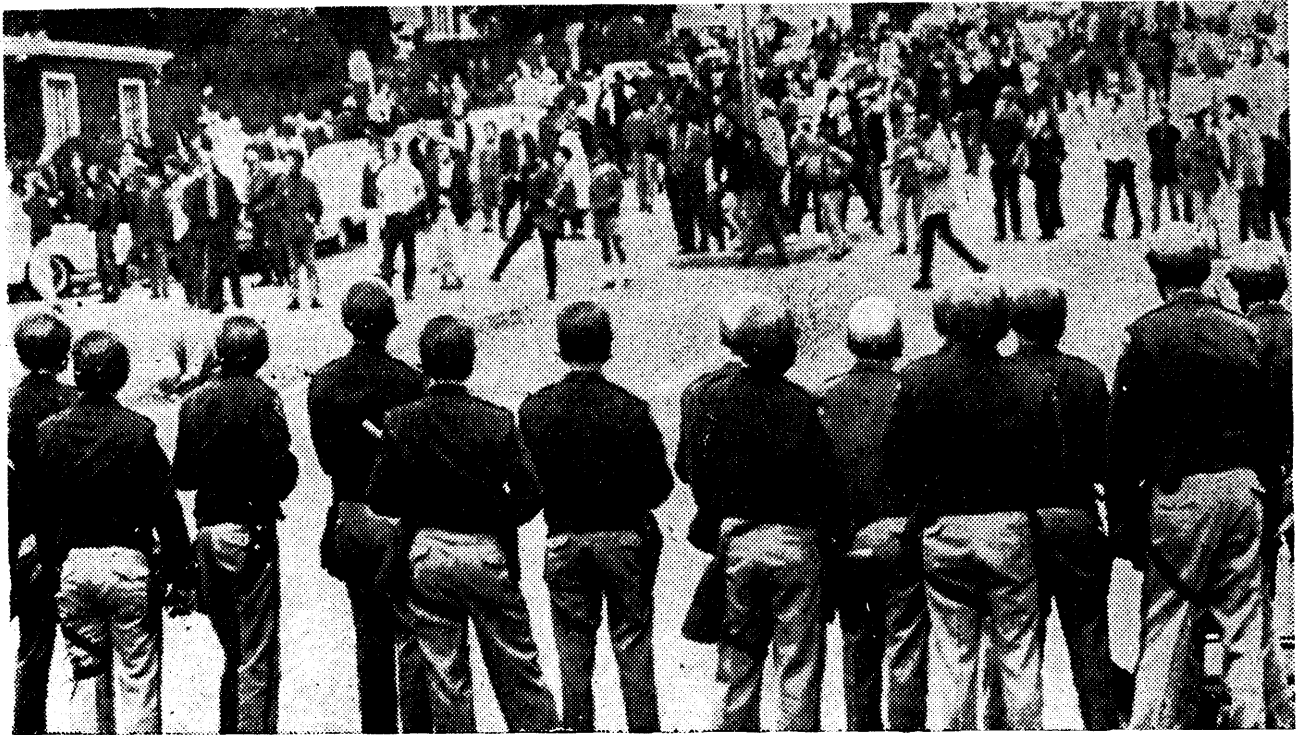
IDEALISTIC

The student-worker alliance is a total adaptation to the idealist illusions students have about the working class and how it can be mobilized in struggle. Workers will not be moved by abstract calls for unity or by committees of white radical student civilizing teams sent out to combat racism in the white working class. The working class can only be alienated by the indiscipline and adventurism of the student movement. Workers will fight through their organizations to defend their material interests. Workers will fight to the death to defend the unions. It is precisely these real material struggles that pose the confrontation with the state and the need for a political program for power. Racism can only be eliminated through united fights for these material interests going over into the political struggle against the state.

The counter-revolutionary nature of the worker-student alliance is now being exposed at S.F. State. PL-SDS has been the major force fighting to make the struggle into a simple matter of racism. Seeing racism at the heart of the crisis PL-SDS declares that the key issue at State is support for the 15 demands of the BSU and the TWLF. In fact they proclaim the leadership of the TWLF and clear everything with them. By convincing students to fight unquestioningly for self-determination and the 15 demands of the TWLF, PL maintains that it is forging the worker-student alliance between the students and the black community.

The fight at State goes far beyond the 15 demands of the TWLF. The nationalist demands for separatism and community control were used

The recent settlement of the struggle at Brandeis together with the new Harvard proposals, made without any struggle, show clearly that the black nationalist demands for Departments of Afro-American Studies will be readily granted by the bourgeoisie. Such demands far from being revolutionary aid the ruling class by separating out black students from the student population as a whole, filling them full of bourgeois nationalist propaganda about "Black is Beautiful" and then turning them lose as indoctrinated opponents of the unity of the working class, convinced not only to accept race divisions in America but to eulogize these divisions as positively good. We for one give no support whatsoever to these reactionary demands.



CALIFORNIA COPS MOVE IN TO ATTACK STRIKING STUDENTS AT SAN FRANCISCO STATE

by the Lindsay administration in NY to smash the teachers union. The same separatist rubbish is now being employed to split workers in all the major unions. The ruling class employs nationalism to split the workers in order to weaken them for the coming attacks. The 15 demands of the TWLF play into their hands by strengthening the forces for separatism, all black schools and eventual Apartheid. These demands are wrong and dangerous and must be opposed.

SPLIT

The UFT fight in NY is now being prepared for the entire state of California and threatens to sweep the country. The crisis at State is the beginning of an all out confrontation that can split and destroy the teachers union and spill over into the rest of the labor movement. PL is oblivious to all of this with its insane demands to ignore the teachers struggle and carry on the fight for racial separation.

PL is so far removed from the real interests of the working class that when the AFT came out on strike with labor council support PL-SDS saw this as a threat to its own position of leadership in the strike. Instead of fighting for this and welcoming the action of the teachers and struggling to forge a real student teacher alliance for a fight against the state it reacted with hostility and denounced the teachers for coming out for their own selfish reasons and not supporting the TWLF demands.

The Workers League welcomes the action of the AFT. In coming out and defying Reagan's injunctions they are taking up the battle for the entire labor movement. The fight of the teachers is in the near future of every worker. The teachers at State must win a union contract and union recognition. A victory on this against the state will give a major impulse to union organization throughout the State. Already it is encouraging municipal workers in SF who are threatening a strike against the city if their demands are not met.

Unlike PL we recognized from the beginning the potential of the AFT and pointed out that they were the key to victory even before they came out. Our perspective has been completely vindicated with the announcement that AFT members in State colleges across California are preparing to strike to defend the jobs of their fellow workers. The implication of this struggle will not be lost on the secondary school teachers either. Teachers must not be fooled into adapting to the anti-working class 'WLF' demands. This can only weaken and split their struggle in the long run.

PL has spread the poison among students that the AFT is only reformist while the TWLF is really revolutionary, although to be sure even these TWLF bootlickers are forced to admit that the content of a Black Studies Program would be completely bourgeois. Again PL understands nothing. The teachers are being forced into struggle against the state. They have no choice if they wish to survive. It is not the task of revolutionaries to simply predict like PL that they will sell out this struggle. The task of a revolutionary party is to point out the implications of this struggle against the state so as to move forward the consciousness of the working class. We must fight for a program that can really unite the AFT with the needs of black workers and the labor movement.

The Workers League fights to gain union recognition and a contract for the AFT. The labor movement will support this struggle. The fight is against anti-labor legislation which Reagan wishes to employ against the teachers. The fight is to smash state injunctions. This is the only basis on which to appeal to the working class. Its future is at stake. At the same time we must fight to get the teachers to take up the struggle for state funds for the deteriorating school system and state scholarships for all working class youth who wish to attend college. This is the way for the AFT to unite with the black workers in a struggle to overcome racism.

BATTLES WORKERS

levels for tax exempt bonds. The bond market is falling as the stock market shoots up on the basis of the speculative buying wave, which is itself a reflection of waning confidence in the international monetary system and all paper currencies.

Now Rockefeller has to contend with the growing militancy of the state employees, over 100,000 strong. He could afford to play the statesman and friend of labor to some extent when New York City sanitation workers struck last winter and Mayor Lindsay threatened to call out the National Guard. Now the shoe is on the other foot, as state mental hospital workers challenged the phony company union set-up the state government is trying to ram down their throats. State employees have just begun their fight. Rockefeller knows this and is preparing to return blow for blow.

This is an all-sided attack on the working class and the trade unions. Now is not the time to fight with weapons which were used with some short-term success during the boom period. An all-out political struggle against the bosses is required.

VAN ARSDALE

Sparks flew at a recent private meeting be-

tween top union officials and the Governor. It was later revealed that at this private meeting Central Labor Council head Harry Van Arsdale warned his erstwhile friend Rockefeller that any effort to apply penalties such as fines, jail, or dismissals to individual strikers in the future would lead to a general strike. The press also reported that "the high-pitched voice of Harry Van Arsdale...could be heard in the corridors by hotel workers and newsmen. Mr. Van Arsdale said at one point that tougher labor laws might propel unions to 'get involved in politics.'" Van Arsdale suggested that the labor movement might "transform itself from an economic to a political instrument on the European model."

ILLUSIONS

It is extremely significant that Van Arsdale feels forced to make such threats. This doesn't mean that a correct policy can be expected from these bureaucrats. Far from it. For years and years these officials fostered the illusion that the union movement should work to achieve its aims through the Democratic and Republican Parties. The ranks cannot now afford to take Van Arsdale at his word when he threatens

independent political action. They must take him up and insist on a fight for a genuine Labor party which breaks for once and for all with the capitalist parties.

PROGRAM

We propose a program for such a party which includes a fight against all anti-labor legislation and government interference in the unions; the fight against inflation; against racism and all other means of dividing the working class; for nationalization of basic industry, a 100% tax on incomes over \$25,000 and no taxes on incomes below \$5,000, jobs for all and vastly increased spending for adequate housing and schools. Let the money for these programs come from the expropriation of the bloated bosses who sit back and try to make the workers pay for the crisis of the system.

The labor party is not a distant goal. It is the only answer to the more and more open attacks we face. It is the only answer to Rockefeller and his vicious anti-union program. The time to fightback, to raise the fight for the labor party and a working class program in every union is now!



JOSEF SMRKOVSKY

by MARTY JONAS

The Czechoslovak working class is now entering upon the stage of the European revolution.

The latest instance, over Josef Smrkovsky, has brought the workers into sharp confrontation with the Stalinist bureaucracy. This is the very thing the Stalinists fear--the power of the workers--and the very reason for the intervention by the Red Army

CZECH WORKERS THREATEN STRIKE

this summer.

Smrkovsky, a so-called "liberal", was demoted from his position as Chairman of the National Assembly. This was done by the Czechoslovak CP under the excuse of consolidation of the Czechs and Slovaks in the new federation; it was really done under orders of the Soviet CP to consolidate their strength in Czechoslovakia.

Smrkovsky had been one of the last remaining of the "liberals" who had not yet gone over completely to the occupation. As such, he was too convenient a rallying point for the working class. So, to continue the summer intervention against the working class, Smrkovsky had to go. He was replaced with Peter Colotka, Chairman of the Press and Information Committee set up by the government after the occupation.

WORKERS

However, the bureaucracy

had to reckon with the massed force of the working class before they were able to do this.

The 900,000 strong Metalworkers Union and the Trade Union Council took up campaigns for Smrkovsky, threatening major strikes. The Building workers and the Miner's unions adopted resolutions supporting them. Several columns in the Jan. 6 issue of the trade union newspaper PRACE were taken up with appeals from workers in support of Smrkovsky.

Reports started growing of Red Army tanks surrounding factories and of the orders of General Dzur, Minister of Defense, for the army to be ready to support any action by Soviet forces.

Against all this, the workers were ready to conduct an all out fight for Smrkovsky and against the bureaucracy. Over a million workers threatened to go out on strike. The working class in Czechoslo-

vakia had had enough!

In the process of this fight Smrkovsky and many others revealed themselves no different than the rest of the bureaucracy. One by one they fell into line. Heeding the threat of a repeat of the Soviet intervention and the warning by the Presidium of the Czechoslovak CP against the "operation of extremist forces", they all went running. Above all, they heard the stirrings in the factories and they saw the workers entering into class battle.

Like Dubcek after the Red Army came in, they urged the workers to be "calm".

The leader of the Metalworkers beat a fast retreat from his militant stand. Smrkovsky himself appealed to the workers to "not do anything that would constitute a threat. I think especially of a work strike."

The one thing that characterizes all of these "leaders" is their deep fear of the working class.

They have all shown where their real loyalties lie. When the confrontations come, all Stalinists--whether they call themselves "liberal", "moderate", or "conservative"--choose the bureaucracy against the workers. And they will fight to their last dying breath to defend that bureaucracy and its privileges.

As the events since January in Czechoslovakia and France show, the working class can expect no leadership from these people. The socialist revolution in Western Europe and the political revolution in Eastern Europe must be made without them--indeed against them.

In Czechoslovakia and the rest of Eastern Europe, the working class must wage an independent struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy. The class must build its own organs of power, as in Hungary in the workers' councils, with a political leadership truly dedicated to the overthrow of the bureaucracy.

Civil Rights March On The Spot Report From North Ireland

LONDONDERRY, ULSTER (January 4)--On Saturday morning 70 marchers set out from Claudy to Derry. Though their leaders must have known that an ambush was inevitable, they had decided in advance not to retaliate against any attack.

Two busloads of Derry workers joined their ranks shortly after their departure, bringing their strength about 250.

After marching for about three miles, police halted them for about 20 minutes while they investigated the possibility of an attack from a group of loyalists stationed around the Burntollet bridge.

District Inspector Ross Mc Gimpsey told the marchers there was a possibility of them being stoned by loyalists on the bridge, in the fields and on high ground. If the marchers kept in close formation near the righthand hedge, he said, they might be all right.

ATTACK

Michael Farrell emphasized that there should be no retaliation and went on to ask whether the marchers were prepared to 'accept the possibility of being hurt.'

Farrell and the other leaders thus led their marchers, including many young girls into a conflict with Bunting's thugs bereft of any weapons save their undeniable courage.

They were totally unprepared for what followed.

The narrow road now wound downhill to the right between high hedges, with high ground on the right and land sloping away on the left. It was a perfect ambush point.

A group of about 50 men waited on the bridge armed "These people", he said, "were all wearing helmets--some police helmets, some

with sticks and iron bars Police with tenders stood on the bridge alongside them.

As the marchers came down the hill about a dozen armed men began to beat the front ranks of the marchers with sticks. Near the bridge a shower of rocks and sticks descended on the marchers.

The bridge was sealed off and the severity of the first attack drove about 100 of the marchers over the hedge on the left down a steep 10-foot drop through barbed wire to the field. The majority of these appeared to be young girls, but this did not save them from being chased and brutally beaten.

Among the injured was Anne Devlin, the 17-year-old daughter of the chairman of the Northern Ireland Labour Party, who received a broken arm and was concussed. Earlier in the march she had suffered a fractured ankle.

In Derry later the marchers gave their own accounts of what happened.

Sean Read said he had seen loyalists with sacks of stones and bottles in the fields above the road. The police in these fields had spoken to the armed men, and he alleged that one police officer said: 'Get them near the crossroads.'

PROTECT

No police attempt, he said, was made to protect the marchers who were beaten into the fields on the left.

The loyalists had followed them and a barrage of missiles forced the group to flee across a river. With about 14 others he was cut off by an armed crowd waiting on the far bank.

'These people', he said, "were all wearing helmets--some police helmets, some motorcycle. They all wore



PAISLEYITES WITH THE AID OF THE POLICE BRUTALLY ATTACK CIVIL RIGHTS DEMONSTRATORS ON MARCH

white armbands, I think with red on the bottom and blue on the top. They all had police batons.

"We were herded together each of us getting at least one blow in the process. When grouped we were beaten further.

'I saw a woman on the ground, blood on her neck and face. People who attempted to carry this woman to first-aid officers were attacked and beaten.

'I and two girls were taken to a field. We received more blows here. A loyalist leader came into the field. Pointing at me he said: 'He is one of their leaders''. He then left, and the helmeted men sat on me and beat me unconscious.

'I want to make it clear,' Head went on, 'I was not taken captive by Protestant extremists but by a military body, a private army with helmets, armbands and batons. The vast bulk of the men who beat me were dressed this way.

'At one point a group of loyalists with ordinary clubs tried to beat me, but were prevented from doing so by these men.

'At all times I was in sight

of the police. I was actually led past the police, who made no attempt to rescue me.'

Belfast artist Sorley Mc Neils described what he saw:

'I managed to get across a stream, but when I looked back I saw a young woman of about 20 lying face down in the stream. She must have been unconscious, the water covering her nose and mouth. She was drowning.

'I went back to pull her out, but before I got there some men with clubs started hitting at her legs. There were long spikes through the clubs and I could see the blood spurt out of holes in her legs. 'I managed to grab her arms and pull her out, and then I dragged her about half a mile before some other men helped her on to a stretcher.'

Mr. J. Cahill said:

'One cudgelled me with a thick white stick while another spoke to a policeman nearby. I appealed to the policeman. He pushed me back. The man who had been unarmed and speaking to the policeman now started to beat me with a police baton.'

The next attack came about three miles from Derry.

About 50 loyalists gathered on the left side of the road

and hurled rocks at the marchers.

Supporters of the Socialist Labour League in Northern Ireland are fighting on a programme for the mobilization of the whole of the organized strength of the working class:

'Workers' defense guards should be formed in every area, and there must be no more unarmed marches. Fight for the repeal of the Special Powers Act and against all bans on marches.

For a workers' and farmers' government which would break from Westminster and deal with the chronic problems of housing and unemployment by nationalization of the land, the building industry and engineering.

'Stop all closures and redundancies and keep factories open under workers' control, with investigation of their affairs by workers' commissions.

A workers' and farmers' government would pose immediately unity of action between the workers of North and South, and win the lower middle classes and small farmers behind a real alternative to the power of the monopolies and Paisleyite demagogues.