NIXON GEARS FOR THE
ATTACK
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On The Spot Report

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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 capitalist class and 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, to reduce defense expenditures internationally as American capitalism seeks to solve its economic problems at the expense of the rest of the world, and stepped up attacks on the American working class. As a result the class struggle will intensify internationally operating the reassertion and rationalization in American mass movements in Europe and heightened class battles in the United States.

For decades the key to the American working class has been the modulation of the demands of the capitalist class. Nixon has already shown that he is not interested in the demands of the American working class. The whole post-war 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 rate to fall in these huge combined blocks was offset by lower levels prevalent in Europe for a whole period, the extreme development of worker exploitation and productivity advances, and credit advantages provided by the dominant position of the dollar.

The dollar as the world's gold standard and 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 American working class began to lose and because of this the dollar itself came under direct attack. The world monetary crisis has in a single struggle in a small country. Despite the inevitability of the crisis, the stage was set and showed decisively in the Tet Offensive it can only hold its own but it has the capacity to drive the Americans into the sea.

This is the solution essential for the American bourgeoisie to settle the Vietnam War. This is why it is so absolutely criminal for the "radicals" in the United States to try to "peace" out on a comrade committed precisely to that policy. The question in Vietnam is not war but imperialist peace through the destruction of the American imperialist and 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 do before it is all over and so will the workers throughout the world.

PLAYS

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, hike the credit for home owners, etc.); prepare new anti-strike laws to be applied automatically at the situation requiring, 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 revamping 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 counter-offensive against the weaker European capitalist firms.

The European capitalists are well aware of what is in store and are doing their best to prepare for new attacks on their own working class and to attack the mass movement in Europe. De Gaulle avoids French denunciation but only with new economic measures aimed at taking back the French workers what he was forced to concede in the wake of the American revolutionary events. Strike waves have swept Italy and several other European capitalists nor the United States will log all West Germany's present competitive edge. Fiat merges with Citroen and simultaneously carries out an ambitious economic penetration of the U.S.S.R. 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.

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 the armed fascist bands in Ulster point out that there is no longer any room for peaceful roads to socialism 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 the new relation between American capitalism and European capitalism and through the European capitalists. American capitalists to the American working class on the one hand with renewed struggle against the American working class on the one hand with renewed struggle against the American working class and the United States. We have to be prepared for serious concessions and reformism, everywhere the sametask of preparing the working class for the struggle.

It is these conditions which make the fight for an American labor party the urgent central task of the American labor party. It is this 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 profound significance and impact on the struggle of American workers for the labor party. It is no accident that ardent-bureaucrat Harry Van Arsdale threatens the bourgeois polity with talk that the labor movement will "transform itself from an economic to a political instrument on the European model." 7

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 it will have for it is

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

THE BULLETIN'S 100TH ISSUE

This is the 100th issue of The Bulletin of International Socialist 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 fellow partisans around the world for a Marxist program for the working class, a program based upon 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 development in mimeographed form, we launched the Bulletin as a four page printed paper and extended its circulation deeper into the working class. In just over a year we have expanded the eight page, 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 on a weekly basis at the end of the year. We have been able to join over 500 new subscribers, largely trade unionists, and increase our street sales in the last two months to achieve our goal of a 50% paid circulation increase by May 1st and 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-wend 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 SSEU MEMBER

A major victory has been won by the SSEU and city labor as a result of the passage of the referendum to merge the SSEU with Local 37 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 that merger vote further vindicates the position of the Affiliation Now Caucus regarding the understanding of this important issue by the rank and file of the union.

FOOTNOTE 2

The Affiliation Now Caucus has fought for the past 18 months for the SSEU to merge with 371. This fight was continuously 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 get the union out of 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 held to reverse the previously passed motion spearheaded by the Black Caucus. The question of affiliation was brought up at the last meeting of the labor party in the event that the new repressive Taylor Law is not overturned in Albany, must be forced to link this program of action to the issue of the reform of Welfare. Gothaum, likewise, must not be allowed to separate the struggle of DC37 as a whole for a new contract from the struggle in Welfare. What is whole issue is security, clear is that old methods of agency by agency trade union struggle is grossly inadequate to the kind of attacks the politicians are aiming at city labor. The city and rank and file are desperate; they are out to break the unions. The 7 weeks spent on the streets by the UFT has shown that the welfare workers that a strike in Welfare must be prepared from the very beginning with the conception that it will be extended beyond the boundries 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 for us all to work together and to have a real fight.

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 part of a larger process. The joint negotiating committee of SSEU, 149, and 371 has raised the desire of the reorganization proceed no faster than attitution. At a recent Execu- tive Board meeting a motion was passed which in the first part took a strong stand against any layoffs, transfer, downsizing, and for equal pay for equal work and a negotiated workloads. The last item in the motion, however, was the most re- quirements of the rank and file. The central issue is the need for a redistribution of the ability of the trade unions to bargain collectively and to defend the wages and working conditions of the workers.

9000 Reorganization and the loss of 9,000 jobs is not just a problem for welfare workers but a danger to all city labor by poising 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. The way to wholesale rationalization of the jobs doing away with job security, civil service and instituting all sorts of meas- ures of downsizing, loss of promotions, and most impor- tant the destruction of the abil- ity of the trade unions to bargain collectively and to defend the wages and working conditions of the workers.

The plans the City has made clear to the unions in Welfare, 371, SSEU and 149, representing the supervisors, career workers, clerks in the words of the city itself this is what they are pro- posing to do. The unions have accepted for their next contract:

"The parties recognize that the Department of Social Services' organization and opera- tion during the life of this contract, thereby requiring a reduction in work force and/or the reassignment of employees.

"Employees may be re- quired to perform duties of a lower level in the same categorical grouping and/or duties in the clerical-admini- strative grouping if no regular duty exists on the payroll. If so required, there shall be no reduction in their salary rate or loss of any job rights such employees may other- wise possess.

"The City shall have complete freedom in making admin- istrative transfers and assign- ments without regard to excess person- nel. The provision of any agreed-upon contract transfer shall be applicable to such employees.

"Any promotions to the lev- els of Social Worker, Senior Social Worker, Care In, and Super- visor are required to 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 mili- tant talk about defending pay- security, it is clear from their latest statements that they are preparing to capitulate in that area as well. The joint negotiating committee of SSEU, 149, and 371 has rais- ed the desire of the reorganization proceed no faster than attitution. At a recent Execu- tive Board meeting a motion was passed which in the first part took a strong stand against any layoffs, transfer, downsizing, and for equal pay for equal work and a negotiated workloads. The last item in the motion, however, was the most re- quirements of the rank and file. The central issue is the need for a redistribution of the ability of the trade unions to bargain collectively and to defend the wages and working conditions of the workers.

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Now those very forces who opposed merger and came out to vote for the merger because the trade unions are putting themselves on the back for the fine job they did. These very forces came very close to destroy- ing 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 man- uever bureaucratically and refusing to wage a real fight against the City when it is needed.

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

The Black Caucus is very careful not to oppose reorganiza- tion, rather they look at the opportuni- ties to maneuver within it, to "negotiate import- ant social, economic and re- cept of Social Services."

It is precisely this "new concept of Social Services" that the union supported by the Social- ialist Workers Party which plays a most disgraceful role of tailing after the Black Cau- cus and pandering to its every move.

DUE to the winnings of the merger, the black caucus and the socialist workers party.
DAVIS PLANS CRIMINAL SPLIT

Hospital Union Moves Toward AFL-CIO Bolt

by a HOSPITAL WORKER

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

This dangerous situation has resulted from a jurisdictional dispute between 1199 and Local 304 of the Cafeteria Employees, another affiliate of the AFL-CIO. Local 304 brought charges against 1199 based on a previous jurisdictional agreement between the two unions which 1199 is now violating.

How did this state of affairs come about and what does it mean for hospital workers? It is not a fair-deal 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.

POPP/COCK

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 believe that a serious jurisdictional dispute is grounds to spit from 13 million workers? We say poopycock!

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 at 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 ties of the hospital union and the trade union movement right at the moment when workers will face their first attacks from the new Nixon administration.

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

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, financial, and physical support? Will the hospital bosses try to take on and beat back the hospital workers by utilizing the division between 1199 and the AFL-CIO to gush in a new 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 joke. The only real issue in the prolonged public campaign of the leadership is hiding while it refuses to prepare the members nor for the struggles that are ahead. It is trying to keep its members from understanding the essential ideas of mass unionism, encouraging the view that 1199 is a kind of private association, not a part of the working class. It is trying to turn the workers' movement into a more common with other workers than with the bosses themselves. This kind of reactionary rubbish will only lead to the bosses and the labor bosses and the bureaucracy has said nothing to counter it.

The action in relation to the AFL-CIO is part of an all-out struggle of hospital workers. We 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 legal or necessary. The hospital violation of 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 1199 struck Wycoff Heights Hospital in Brooklyn to get the same demands 1199 had won half a year ago, the union officials, who were conducting and the bosses forced the workers to return while sending their claim to "fact-finding". The 1199 leadership did nothing to mobilize the rank and file behind the 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 toward the 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 union bastions in New York City. Shanker of course helped them along by offering no alternative program to undo the effects of the trade union movement in a common struggle against the City.

Davis' role was far more pernicious than even Shanker's, rather than supporting the teachers strike, while of course criticizing Shanker, Davis capitulated completely to the community control propaganda, working behind the scenes to break the strike. Theodore Mitchell, an 1199 vice president, publicly stated "For one single black and Puerto Rican and Hispanic will set up their own labor movement, and this split from the AFL-CIO lines up a capitulation on the part of Davis to those elements within the union movement who seek to split the union along race lines. We for one will fight such attempts with all our might, as this will mean only a further weakening of the 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 continue an ‘all black and white' program 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' split in the contract on the no-strike pledge. Dishonesty of labor means unity with the bosses: That is Davis' real program and that is why we will fight him on this tooth and nail, day in and day out.

Let us rally together for one single moment that this 'progressive' Leon Davis has been an open booster of Governor Rockefeller. This very same Davis has stiffed fellow hospital union leaders of District 50, is proposing tighter penalties for the Taylor Law, and is helping to bring about layoffs in the medical program and that is why we will fight him on this tooth and nail, day in and day out.

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 unit- ed 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 followed by a revolutionary upsurge in America--the establishment of a labor party--but neither will occur without the conscious fight of the rev- olutionary party. Today the only revolutionary force in the world is the International Committee of the Fourth International. It and alone understands the depth of the capitalist crisis and the task this imposes upon the working class vanguard.

The Workers League is positively a part of this international party. It has no revolutionary sig- nificance outside this party. It fights day in and day out for this party against all the many ene- mies of the working class who seek to keep the workers separated paralyzed, unconscious so that the capitalists can take them one at a time and destroy their organizations. Our program, our organization, our current work is to fight politically to penetrate the unions around the labor party slogan, our battle to build the Bulletin into the most effective weapon against the capitalists the Amer- ican workers have--all this is nothing more than an expression of the international party on American soil.

The great step forward for the American working class, intimately linked with its struggle for its own political expression, will be the coming into England of the Daily Newsletter this fall—the first Trotskyist paper that this paper will mark a qualitative leap in the conscious- ness of the British working class giving it a more stable base of support. This paper will carry forward a revolution in England pre- cisely in a period when revolution will be on the agenda throughout Europe. Without this paper the AFL-CIO for a complete break from hocke- feller, 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 politi- cal war against the bosses and their parties.
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 revision becomes crystal clear.


by DENNIS O’CASEY

The publication of Ernest Mandel’s paper “Worriers under Neo-Capitalism” delivered at the 1968 Socialist Scholars Conference at Rutgers, threw 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 pabulum 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 which) 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 under 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 concern. 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 labeled 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 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 1930’s 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 1914. The dominance of finance over industrial capital 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 capitalism 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 the “ultra-imperialism”, a super-imperialism, a union of world imperialism, a phase of joint exploitation of the world by internationally united finance capital as a serious effort 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 seriously about this matter anymore. 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 somehow doomed but on the other hand the conjunctural features of this boom will inevitably transform 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 continuance of the expansive phase into a foreseeable future. And faith is just what it is. This man, with almost religious fervor believes in the economic health of capitalism. For precisely for this reason he must explain any contemporary struggles in non-materialist revolutionary terms.

Mandel takes his stand with the whole camp of bourgeois economists who see the economy continuing to expand, living standards rising, and any real crisis developing here and there in minor matters of “adjustments” in an otherwise almost perfect system. If Mandel distinguishes himself from the other bourgeois economists it is probably that there are indeed “long term forces at work to blow up the system”, the statement has a purely religious significance. It is a replication of 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, pressures on the rate of profit, threats of unemployment, incomes policies, and anti-strike legislation. But for Mandel these mechanisms available to the bourgeoisie to counteract these trends are sufficient to nullify their effect so they cause at the most no more than a “marginal” reduction in the profits 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 mounting pressures on state control and anti-strike legislation, the French events, etc., the expression on the surface of the deep seated crisis of capitalism. All the manifestations of the capitalists only effect in limited degree the form of the crisis and in no sense remove the underlying capitalist foundation. Reality today moves inexorably towards a catastrophic Depression of the 1929-33 type distinguishable only in its impact with the massive layoff 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 without understanding very well that the internal contradictions of capitalism meant the periodic outbreak of crisis on a progressively disastrous scale while in fact being in the camp of the petty bourgeoisie.

This petty bourgeoisie is capable of prevailing over the only moderate, static and empirical definition 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.

Theories aim at completely effacing the distinction between the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie. This 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 seize upon this fact to obscure a more basic fact: the movement of the class struggle lies in the relationship and struggle between the monopolists and the highly organized industrial proletariat. (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 bourgeoisie-ifying the working class while in reality it proletarianizes sections of the petty bourgeoisie. In no sense does it mean that the friction of the class struggle goes over to the technicists and thus through the technicists to the students.

Mandel's theories have the advantage of allowing him to strike the most orthodox Trotskyist pose. He vehemently condemns 'utopian socialism' 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, Nasser, or Ho-Beijing or Hudut Dotscheva as the real revolutionary vanguard under neo-capitalism.

Revolution

Mandel's theory of neo-capitalism and his substitution of petty bourgeoisie 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 an 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 and 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 mounting 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 strikes 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 insistently in Europe as the American bourgeoisie is forced to throw war on the European capitalists which in turn must turn upon their own working classes.

But this is all meaningless to Mandel. He is sufficiently confident in capitalism's soundness. He understands nothing, absolutely nothing about the world today. Still hypnotized by the pretense of pre-occupied with his own petty bourgeoisie 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 Hansson are the same as those of Mandel argue simultaneously for the same thing. 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 revolutionary program to advance the working class towards the struggle for power, and they oppose at every step the creation of a strong and revolutionary party guided by Marxism.

They are completely hostile to internationalism, deepen the race divisions within the United States, limit the struggle to structural reform, spread confusion among workers, and 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, train 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

A Gold Rate Listed at the Bourse. French Stock Exchange, after Degaulle's Refusal to Devalue
nativism. We refuse to base ourselves on the existing race divisions within the United States and by so doing aim the ruling class in dividing the American workers not only one from the other but as a whole from their international class brothers. We say that self-determination is a conclusion which follows from the servitude to the Negro capitalism and to weaken the working class movement.

The situation is the same as the race divisions in the United States, language divisions in Canada, religious divisions in Ireland. We battle to unite the Belgian working class in a way that is just as an extension of 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 deeply-rooted 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 are packing 50, on the first leg of our struggle to triple paid circulaion by the time of the launching of a weekly Bulletin. The new Bulletin will be sent out to our readers by the Daily Newsletter will be central to the building of the international party of the working class in this current period of internationalism.

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.

PART TWO

STRUCTURAL REFORM AND THE PARTY

BULLETIN

When we turn to the function of program we see the same desolation of a revolutionary struggle. In 1961 Mandel adapted to the surface level of what was a revolutionary party the question of power itself. In 1964 we find him at work adapting again to surface developments in Belgium and this time the results were disastrous. Accepting the growing division between Wallon and Flemish speaking workers as an accomplished fact and setting aside his structural reform gimmicks within this context, this led him to openly support the splitting up of the Belgian labor class along language lines and thus aid the Belgian bourgeoisie once again. His structural reforms were put forward as a program for the "above national" solution of the Belgian situation and to support Wallon nationalism and chauvinism against the Flemish workers.

The time was right for a fighting transitional program for the Belgian working class as a whole to pit: it as a unified force against the Belgian bourgeoisie and its power. Above all he could not see in the split along language lines a reactionary step 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 played here with its black nationalism and its new "socialist" in the queues of the SWP.

Not only did Mandel refuse to take up the struggle for the revolutionary party but more and more that party was converted over to a struggle against the International Committee of the Fourth International. This shows the essential character of the Young Socialists as a bourgeois party. It is the old story: the party collaborates with centrist elements, the Stalinists and every variety of adventurer. At no time does he dare to connect the split with the every occasion he fights against the revolutionary party-the International Committee. For a Stalinist he took the world's socialist youth and making them fashionable in the Kremlin, he could not see the split along language lines as a step against the coming struggle for the future revolutionary party.

LEGIE

Nothing shows this more clearly than Legie. In 1965 the JGY youth group in Belgium, which is under Mandel's tutelage, issued a call for an international demonstration. The Call was signed by the JGY youth group, the SSL-led Young Socialists and the Revolutes youth groups of the French Trotskyists responded to the call along with a number of other Belgian groups. It was signed not only by Mandel's Paholites, some by Stalinists, some anarchists. Some 500 Young Socialists came from England and 400 members of Revolutes came from France. Among the banners carried by these young Trotskyists was one especially striking inspired by the historic tradition of the Hungarian Revolution. A small group of Belgian Stalinists refused to march if the banner was included. They were expected to come and stop the march, but when the supporters threatened to call the cops to get the banner removed. Anything to please the Stalinists. The cops are the cops against European youth! Only by exposing this move before all assembled and by the completely disciplined remimicin of the Trotskyists was the march 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 carrying "Long Live the Fourth International" in French and the

CENTRIFUGE

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

Father than proceeding from the construction in Belgium of a independent, partly of the Fourth International who posed the conception of the strike that his structural reforms could be carried forward by the Belgian Socialist party in Parliament under the pressure of his initiative. 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 referred to the SLO to get the banner removed. Anything to please the Stalinists. The cops are the cops against European youth! Only by exposing this move before all assembled and by the completely disciplined remimicin of the Trotskyists was the march 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 carrying "Long Live the Fourth International" in French and the

WORKERS AMMUNITION 1945 BELGIAN GENERAL STRIKE
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

In 1984 we issued 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 S-F 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 thrust 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 now gives to the slogan of "two-class society" which he considers as a solution to the "key social question" under neo-capitalism, revolutionary as it may sound its intellectual roots lie in long-standing left-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 turning 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 command 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 achieve a 20% reduction 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.

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

underwrite 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 sovets 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 and breaking the class.

DESTRUCTION

It is precisely these kinds of formulations which are used to give a progressive appearance to the corporatization of the trade unions into the state and the destruction of the independence of the labor movement, such 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 formulas provide the needed left cover.

The real reason however that Mandel raises that the perspective of extra-parliamentary, 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 into a leadership of petty bourgeois student elements. His theory of the French uprising, viz that the student movement to the new movement and broad amalgamation which is solely responsible for bringing the working class into struggle against the DeGaulle regime leads inevitably 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 organization of the working class. As corollary of course is the abandonment of the traditional organization of the class particularly the trade unions to the Statists and Social Democrats.

VANGUARD

Mandel's recent contribution to Intercontinental Freece "Towards a New Revolutionary Upheaval 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 revisions which so much irritate Marxists as Cohn-Bendit, Judi Datechko and their followers in the German SDS, etc.

Mandel's view on the Fourth International are about totally 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 question period at City 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 working movement; nor a word about the Communist International. This is followed by the remark that since the degeneration of the movement, "the dike has collapsed, and aided by modern mass techniques of petty bourgeois and petty bourgeoise ideology have penetrated deeply into the broad layers of the working class." Nothing to said about the faith in the incomparable spirit 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 reformist (i.e., he received yesterday in the church and today through TV), or the socialist he encounters 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 one can find. More than this capitulation to spontaneity is Mandel's completely pragmatic approach to the revolutionary character of the working class. Mandel's entire analysis is decided on the basis of a religious fatalism: "What the socialist revolution is all about, in the last analysis, is faith in the incomparable spirit of revolt against injustice and oppression," On the other hard the proof is in the pudding: "The struggle itself will say the last word." What has this to do with scientific understanding of anything; it is a throw back to fideism and had nothing in common with Marxist theory.

Freely because Mandel abandons a scientific Marxian 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, and he is unable to see that the petty bourgeoise you can only build organizations of the petty bourgeoise, for the revolutionary party you need the scientific Marxian method. This lies today nowhere but in the ranks of the International Committee of the Fourth International!
ranks fight back in nmu election

by DAN FRIED

The content of the Morri-
ssey slate has been
the National Maritime
Union has the reining Curran
leadership running scared.

When the selection of Cur-
ran's appointed assistant William Ferry, Curran hoped
to ride the wave of the revolt against his ty-
anny.

For ten years Ferry has loyally and faithfully served as Curran's hatchet man, in 1969, he was paid almost $31,000 a year. Feands compared with Curran's $82, 000 a year salary, it is clear that he
was not only Curran's front for the NMU, but also the peak of the NMU's gravy train.

The support for the Morri-
ssey slate, combined with
the NMU's interest in the healthier developments in the labor movement in years to come, is slowly starting to show. Our state's criticism of the program and faculties of the Morri-
ssey slate have brought the NMU, particularly on how the NMU candidates have performed.

We believe that the same tendency towards opportunism is shown in the attempt by the Morri-
ssey slate 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
continue a program of struggle against strikes, wages, 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 the membership to support the independent anti-Curran forces in the union devote themselves to this task and steer clear of electoral bloo and organization which compromise the principles of such a program.

Some of the candidates have worked with the Committee for NMU Democracy in the past.

But we take exception to those candidates on the Morri-
ssey slate who stand on their past participation in the anti-
Communist witch hunt which pervaded the NMU and other unions in the late '40s and early '50s. We call on the NMU and other Communist unions which persevered the NMU and other unions.

Let us forget that Curran himself rode to power on the creation 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.

JAMES MORRISSEY

OUTPORTS ISSUE IN ILA CONTRACT

The trial of Robert Sherwood, member of the Toronto Branch of the NMU, on charges of violating the Canadian Immigration Act, has been postponed until January 13th. The postponement was made at the request of the prosecution, in order to allow time to prepare for the next trial date.

The Committee to Defend Robert Sherwood, a group formed in protest to the trial, has reached an agreement with the American Telephone and Telegraph Company to provide financial support for Sherwood's legal defense.

The Committee to Defend Robert Sherwood includes: Jonathan D. Brown, Professor of Law at the University of British Columbia; John Diefendorf, President of the Canadian Labour Congress; and Liz Smith, Research Associate at the Centre for Labour Studies.

The Committee is working to raise funds to support Sherwood's defense and to raise public awareness about the case.

Several prominent individuals have expressed support for the Committee's efforts, including: David M. Kennedy, Minister of Justice; John Diefendorf, President of the Canadian Labour Congress; and Liz Smith, Research Associate at the Centre for Labour Studies.

The Committee to Defend Robert Sherwood is committed to ensuring that Sherwood receives a fair trial and that his rights are protected.

The Committee is also working to raise awareness about the importance of protecting the rights of workers and to support the efforts of those who are fighting for justice.

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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.

To achieve this change that exposes the utter bankruptcy of the revisionist tendencies in the leadership of the student struggle. Just as the PL class is moving forward an open and clear confrontation with the state these tendencies step forward to conduce to disrupt the struggle as so to reverse the

Two recent events have given further evidence of the repressive 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 the Kgb. 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 blistering anti-semitic public statements, while the Metropolitan Museum has published a guide book for its Horlen exhibit with some more covert anti-semitism in it. It is significant that the basic tendency towards violence to settle political differences and the 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-SIDS forces. It is PL's conception of the 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 PL sees struggles and explosions. If only thousands of students can be organized to join picket lines, fight racism, and support black revolutions then somehow all this activity will merge into an alliance and all acting together will sweep imperialism off the face of the earth.

An article on SIDS in the OCT/68 Progressive Labor is very revealing. In a paper presented to SIDS calling for the formation of a Student Labor Action Project (SLAP) PL says the following: "SLAP explicitly speaks to the need to support black revolutions, 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 revolutions. White radicals must build a broad front with more workers and students so that they can deliver a real alliance.' How is all this to be achieved? By fighting with campus radicals in underground unincorporated cooperatively owned houses and near-by 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 revolutions with campus demonstrations. Organizing classroom caucuses to expose ruling class propaganda taught in the classroom and doing research work.

Thus, all of the sum 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 this or that or the other thing can happen and therefore they can be united as a fusion of immediate struggles.

STRATEGIC

It is not that immediate struggles are unimportant or that they do not have a function, 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.

FL sees only the struggle and then seeks to adapt to it to the immediate demands of the state of consciousness of the participants. Thus in the unions it sees only the fight for bread and butter demands. Its "challenge" is a model of "ecumenism" devouring page after page to pose opposing conditions in the shops coupled with appeals for rank and file militancy to fight even harder to win.

OPPORTUNIST

On the campuses it sees the central struggle as one against racism, not acting to its impregnation by the developments on the Black Students Unions. It tries everywhere to channel student militancy into an appendage of the nationalist struggles. The worker-student alliance is simply a cover for turning students into apologists for nationalism with the formula that they are somehow allaying themselves with the black working class, while in fact they are actually implementing the same program as the black Panthers. The worker-student alliance is a cover for participating in the movement of the black power class, not in building an independent movement of the working class.

NE W YOLK -- 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 16 weeks.

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

VAN ARSDALE and ROCKEFELLER AT HAPPIER TIMES

by FRED KOELLER

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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 the law, which already dubbed the CFT (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 to officially begin their attack on the state workers. It is the workers' belts which our well-beleved and well-fed Governor wants to tighten. He is once more beginning to report state sales of $2 to $3, and an across-the-board cut in state spending of $. The latter proposal is similar to that of New York's Conservative Party, which polled over a million votes for its Senatorial candidate last year and which operates under a state public pressure group on the state's Republican Party.

The slash in spending means a cut in aid to localities, a cut in state aid for education, welfare and mediicaid. Not only will Linda'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 emphasis on the "Great Society" offer. It was reported that "jokes began circulating in Democratic circles...about 'a return to the 18th century'".

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The slash in spending means a cut in aid to localities, a cut in state aid for education, welfare and mediicaid. Not only will Linda's urgent requests for increased state aid not be met, the prospect is for cuts in the woefully inadequate existing programs.
which the working class needs to win. The worker-student alliance poses the confusion and idealism of the student 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. It is a simple misunderstanding of the racism. Seeing racism at the heart of the crisis, PL-SDS declares that the key issue at State is the struggle against the TWLF. It is the 15 demands of the TWLF. In fact they proclaim the leadership of the TWLF and court every word of them. By telling the students to fight unquestioningly for self-determination and the 15 demands of the TWLF, PL maintains that it is the working-student alliance between the students and the black community.

The fight at State goes far beyond the 15 demands for self-determination. The nationalization for separatism and community control were used 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 struggle of California and threatens to sweep the country. The crisis at State is the beginning of an all out confrontation that can split the workers and weaken the TWLF. It is forbidden 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 to the strike. Instead of fighting for the AFTs and welcoming the action of the teachers and struggling to forge a real student teacher alliance for a fight against the state they turn the 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. Victory to the class against the state will give a major impetus to unionization throughout the State. Already it is encouraging militant 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 TWLF demands. This can only weaken and split their struggle in the long run.

PL has agreed the politics among students that the AFT is only reformist while the TWLF is really revolutionary, although to be sure even these TWLF backers 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 greedily stick 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. Our 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.

The 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.

levels for tax exempt bonds. The bond market is failing as the stock market shudders 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 currencys.

Scornfelder has to contend with the growing militancy of the state employees, over 100,000 strong. He could afford to play the state man and friend of the bosses. But now that the bosses have come east 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 called a strike. Scornfelder, half a dozen of them, the Rochester symphony company union set up the state government is trying to ram down their throats. State employees have had enough of their fight. Scornfelder 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.

BATTLE WORKERS

between top union officials and the Governor. It was later revealed that at this private meeting Central Labor Council head Harry VanArsdale was asked to make sure that his organization would issue 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 VanArsdale...could be heard in the corridors by hotel workers and members.” VanArsdale said at one point that tougher labor laws might propel unions to “get involved in politics.” VanArsdale suggested that the labor movement might “transform itself from an economic to a political instrument on the European model.”

ILLUSSIONS

It is extremely significant that VanArsdale 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 rank and file cannot now afford to take VanArsdale at his word. 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 $50,000 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 Scornfelder 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!
CZECH WORKERS THREATEN STRIKE

JOSEF SWIRKOVY

The Czechoslovak working class is now entering upon the critical phase of the European revolution. The latest instance, over 50,000 workers, went out from the factories of the Led Army. The workers’ boards have already issued a call for full support of the workers’ uprising in Czechoslovakia.

The situation in Czechoslovakia is now at a critical point. The government has declared martial law and declared martial law in the city of Prague. The workers have responded with a series of spontaneous strikes and protests.

In the city of Prague, the workers have taken to the streets demanding their rights. The police have responded with force, leading to violent clashes. The situation is tense and volatile.

The workers are determined to fight for their rights and demand their basic freedoms. The struggle is spreading across the country, with workers in other cities and towns calling for solidarity.

The government has responded with a series of repressive measures, but the workers are determined to continue their struggle. The situation is critical and the outcome is uncertain.

CIVIL RIGHTS MARCH ON THE SPOT REPORT FROM NORTH IRELAND

LONDONDERRY, ULSTER (January 4) - On Saturday morning, thousands of workers marched from Clady to Derry. Though their leaders must have known an ambush was inevitable, they made it to the frontier without incident.

District Inspector Rose McGimpsey told the marchers there was a possibility of an attack. She instructed the marchers to carry personal weapons. The marchers followed her advice and were out in force.

The marchers were under the influence of the Right-wing thugs, but the marchers successfully defied the Right-wing thugs and remained peaceful.

ATTACK

Michael Farrell emphasized that this was not a rehearsal of the past. The marchers were reported to have been attacked by Right-wing thugs.

Farrell and the other leaders led the marchers, including many young men, into a conflict with the Right-wing thugs.

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PALESTINIANS WITH THE AID OF THE POLICE BRUTALLY ATTACK CIVIL RIGHTS DEMONSTRATORS ON MARCH 20

The police brutally attacked the civil rights demonstrators on March 20.

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 unit and there must be no more unarmed marches. Fight for the repeal of the Special Powers Act against all bases on marches.

For a workers’ and farmers’ government which would break from Westminster and deal with the chronic problem of housing and unemployment by nationalization of the land, the building of 500,000 houses.

Stop all closures and redundancies and keep factories and works open to workers’ control, with investigation of trade affairs by workers’ commissions.

A workers’ and farmers’ government would pose immediately unity of action between the ‘left’ to the North and South, and win the lower middle-class and small farmers behind a real alternative to the power of the monopolies and Fascistic demagogy.