

Bulletin

bi-weekly organ of the workers league

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TEN CENTS

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AND THE
FRAUD
OF
NEO-CAPITALISM**

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SELLOUT OF VIETCONG BREWS

President Johnson has just announced the halt to the bombing of North Vietnam-- a step greeted by all three presidential candidates, including Wallace. The secret deal which led to the bombing halt has within it all the elements of the deal that is now shaping up for the fate of the Vietnamese revolutionary struggle.

From the very beginning the bombing issue was the public cover for the private maneuvers between the U.S., North Vietnam and to be sure the USSR as to what the future of Vietnam will be. The moment there was agreement in basics on this, at that moment the bombing would stop. That moment has now come.

First it must be noted that the bombing halt is not unconditional as the North Vietnamese and NLF had correctly insisted on for so long publically. It is understood that the bombing will be re-instituted the moment the NLF goes on an offensive as it did last January attacking the major cities. This means that what the big powers have in store for Vietnam will fall far short of the victory of the NLF. This is to be excluded.

COALITION

What is really being planned is clear from the critical decision to include in future talks both Saigon military pup-



VICTORIOUS VIETCONG ENTER SUBURB OUTSIDE SAIGON DURING TET OFFENSIVE IN JANUARY

pet government and the NLF. The fact that neither group, each claiming sovereignty over all the South, will have official status means nothing. The presence of both "governments" means that a deal is being cooked up for a coalition government in the South including representatives of the corrupt Thieu military clique as well as the NLF.

Such a coalition government means the maintenance of capitalist relations in South Vietnam and the maintenance in some form or other of continued U.S. imperialist do-

mination--if not directly then through its Saigon agents. What this means for the people of the South is a continuation of the very conditions which they rose up to fight--poverty, exploitation, corruption, foreign domination.

Of course it will not be easy to peddle such a sell-out to the Vietnamese people. There may be months and months of negotiations, new crises, secret diplomacy, etc., while thousands of Americans and Vietnamese continue to die on the battlefield.

There can be no doubt but that the Stalinist leadership of North Vietnam, the Stalinist leadership and particularly the USSR must bear major responsibility for seeking to foist this sell-out on the Vietnamese people. We cannot expect those who crushed the Czech workers to fight it out all the way with the U.S. in Vietnam.

VICTORY

For our part we will have nothing to do with this deal.

The Tet Offensive proved that the United States could be beaten through the combined efforts of the Vietnamese workers and peasants and the support of workers throughout the world.

The only just peace in Vietnam is the victory of the Vietcong. This has always been and continues to be our position.

We want no more secret deals behind the backs of the Vietnamese people and the workers of the world. If Hariman has something to propose let him propose it before the whole world. If he comes scurrying around to the back door of an embassy send him around to the front door to meet the reporters. Workers everywhere have a stake in this war. It is the workers not these capitalist politicians or Stalinist bureaucrats who should make the decisions.

WARN

We warn once again: **THEY ARE PREPARING A SELLOUT!** The whole rotten pacifist orientation of the American anti-Vietnam struggle has helped prepare this deal. We accuse the SWP of open collaboration with those who seek to steal the fruits of victory from the Vietnamese workers and peasants who have given so much and fought so hard for a better fate than what the bargainers are preparing for them.

nixon wins -- what it will mean

Nov. 6--As we go to press it has been announced that Nixon is the winner in one of the closest races in history. The inability of the Democrats to offer any clear alternative to Nixon, even demagogically had much to do with the closeness of the race. While in the last days of the election millions of workers and Negroes once again rallied to the Democratic Party seeing no other alternative to Nixon and Wallace, the old coalition was creaking--capable of a close election but not victory.

In this respect it is important to note that in Chicago Negro registration was down, undoubtedly a reflection of Negro disenchantment with Democrat Daley, and it was the state of Illinois which gave Nixon the margin of victory. The South this time went wholly against the Democrats, another sign of the crumbling coalition.

Also important was the weakness of Wallace in the North. Not only did many

traditional conservatives vote for Nixon when the chips were down, but more importantly his impact was relatively minor among white workers in the North. Obviously many workers, attracted to Wallace's demogogy on the race issue, at the last minute voted traditional Democratic--that is voted in a misguided way for where they thought their bread and butter class interests lay. This indicates that a real class political alternative, a labor party, can undercut reactionary racism in this country.

It would, however, be foolish to discount this Wallace threat. As the economic crisis deepens, as it inevitably will under Nixon, so a racist reaction will deepen unless consciously fought on a class political basis. The Workers League has campaigned for several months now against the Wallace threat and we announce our determination to deepen the struggle in the coming period.

We say that the Nixon victory will mean real blows against the organized trade union movement and the working class as a whole in the coming period. Nixon is committed to an economic policy of recession and unemployment. Supported by a conservative Congress of both Democrats and Republicans we can expect that trade union resistance to his policies will be met with new anti-

strike legislation.

TOUGH

At the same time we can expect a tougher policy towards the socialist movement in the United States. Civil liberties will be trampled upon. The socialist movement must be prepared for attacks and must therefore deepen its roots in the working class, break completely from the middle class sickness, frenzy and adventurism that has characterized recent demonstrations, and base itself on the growing fight back by the workers.

We predict that the Dem-

ocratic Party controlled Congress will go with Nixon all the way in this planned economic and political attack against the workers. We say Humphrey lost this election not because he DIDN'T put up a real alternative to Nixon reflecting the interests of the working people of this nation, but because he COULDN'T do this because he like Nixon serves big business not the people.

FORWARD

We must now carry forward the struggle to build a new mass political party of the working people of this coun-

try based on the great strength of the American trade union movement. We have four years to do this. We must not waste any of it. We cannot tolerate being confronted once again with the lack of real choice we had this year, with the image of the Democratic Party protecting itself from the people with troops and barbed wire, with the Republican Party whipping up reactionary sentiments against the working people, while Wallace pits one working man against another.

The responsibility lies with us. We have the time. Lets use it.

Radical Students Scab on Teachers

By Pat Connolly

At high schools throughout New York City, so-called radical students have organized with teachers who are scabbing on the UFT strike to hold classes in the schools. High school students are being used, and are allowing themselves to be used, by the city government, by Mayor Lindsay and the Ford Foundation, to help channel the struggles of Black people into arenas acceptable to the ruling class, into "community control".

Students who try to break the strike are being used by the ruling class to perpetuate an illusion among ghetto dwellers - the illusion that

community control will somehow solve, or even begin to solve the problems facing the educational system in the ghetto. The city has cut millions out of the school budget and has made cuts in per pupil expenditures, and is using community control to evade the real issue, which is that the city government is unwilling to spend the money necessary to build a decent school system.

At the same time the city government is trying to weaken the UFT, just as it is trying to weaken other city employees unions - welfare, sanitationmen, etc. - in order to cut back on wages paid to employees. The city is

trying to pit the community and the union against each other instead of against the real enemy, which is the city government. The high school students who go along with this attack by the city are helping neither their own education and future, nor that of the student in the ghetto.

The only radical organization, outside the Workers League, to take a forthright class line on the teachers dispute is the SDS Labor Committee. They have issued over 10,000 leaflets to students under the title "Don't be Used" exposing the real nature of the dispute and urging students not to be used as strike-breakers.

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KING ONASSIS WEDS JACKIE

It was a marriage indeed, a fitting scene for a 1968 La Dolce Vita. It was a marriage that wed for all to see those representatives of the international ruling class.

Jackie Kennedy revealing herself as nothing more than an ambitious jet setter, the widow of that great American defender of democracy, fighter for the poor and underprivileged found it quite



JACKIE-AMBITIOUS JET SETTER

easy to join hands with that defender of and financial prop and beneficiary of the right wing Greek dictatorship which has rejected even the cover of democracy, and rules through open armed repression. But they had all met before. John Kennedy and Winston Churchill had supped with Mr. Onassis many years before.

The wedding got off to a fitting start when over 70 people were literally thrown off their scheduled flight so Mrs. Kennedy and her set would not have to wait. The plane of course was owned by Mr. Onassis' company. Then it was off to Mr. Onassis' island which was bought with the many millions he has accumulated off of the backs of workers all over the world and through every sort of thievery known to the international tycoons of big business. While Jackie has been swimming these days, her generous spouse has been running back and forth in negotiations with the military dictatorship of Greece.

CATACOMBS

Meanwhile back in the States Cardinal Cushing is threatening to resign his post because some dared to criticize those whom he represents. For the masses of people who live under the rule of Catholicism there is no breaking the rules but for the bourgeoisie it's different. No doubt the Pope has ordered the mobilization of thousands of Jesuits into the catacombs of the Vatican searching through the canons to get Mrs. O. off the hook.

But Mrs. Onassis assures all she is 'happy' and the Cardinal protests that above all she should be 'happy'. But the "greatest possible happiness" which the ruling class spreads is theirs and theirs alone - at the expense of the masses of working peo-

ple of the world.

ILLUSION

It has been said that as the struggle deepens between the small minority of those who rule and the masses of workers that the rulers' are stripped of their halos. That the religious and political illusions which the ruling class perpetrates in order to conceal the class divisions are laid bare for the fraud that they are. The bourgeoisie will rule as long as it can through bourgeois democracy. They prefer it that way as they are able to mobilize the oppressed as Kennedy did in support of those who oppress.

But when the struggle deepens and the working class begins to fight back, they drop this illusion and rule through the naked and direct physical rule of the military 'as in Greece. Those institutions which aid the ruling class like the church and the official morality merely serve to cover this relationship. But when the chips are down it becomes clear that their rules are only for the masses of the working class to keep them obedient and not for their masters.

ILA Wildcats Over Containers

NEW YORK--3,500 Longshoremen at Port Newark, Elizabeth and Hoboken docks have gone out, in a wildcat strike in defiance of court injunctions tying up half the shipping here. The immediate cause of the walkout was the demand of the workers that royalties from containerization be given in the form of cash to the workers rather than welfare fund payments.

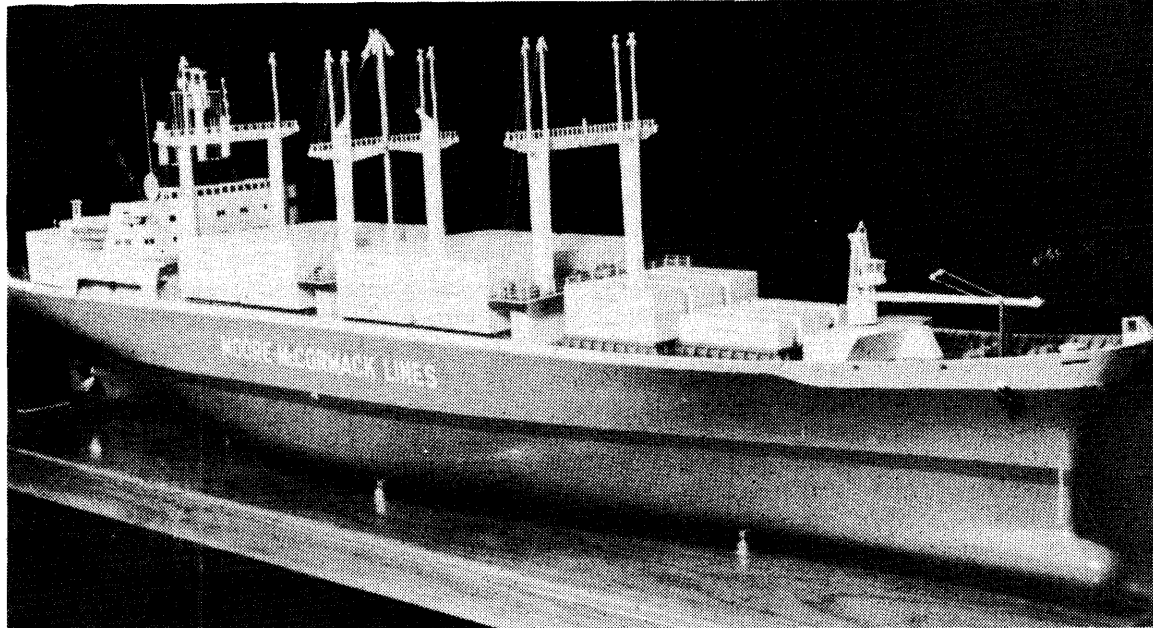
This containerization shipping question continues to plague the longshore industry and all indications are that this is only the beginning. As this kind of shipping spreads more cargo will be moved with less men creating unemployment on the docks.

Secretary of Commerce C.R. Smith has just issued a statement urging the spread of containerization not only in maritime but throughout the entire transport industry. The idea is to develop an "intermodal transport" system whereby these containers can be shipped by truck, train, air, or boat and easily switched from one form of transport to the other.

Behind this new development, which has such heavy support from the government, is the desire to cut the costs of selling U.S. manufactured goods abroad to make American industry more competitive in this period of deepening economic crisis.

All workers in transportation are facing the same threat to their jobs. There is a crying need for a common struggle of transport workers to see that the advantages of these new techniques go to the workers, not to the bosses in profits, that jobs are protected through the introduction of a shorter work week in transport. If there is not this united action, the bosses and the government will pit one section of transport workers against the other and the result will be the loss of millions of jobs.

NMU--For a Real Rank & File Caucus



LATEST MODEL OF THE NEW FULLY AUTOMATED CONTAINER SHIPS

by H. Brooks
a merchant seaman

The National Maritime Union desperately needs a real rank and file caucus to fight Curran. The Morrissey group is just that, a small group or handful, who never consult the rank and file. It is wrong in asking for Government intervention to help us. The government under the Republicans or Democrats have given us Taft-Hartley, Landrum-Griffin and other hostile acts. Down with government intervention in the

democracy, high or low pay we will soon be all out of work.

PROBLEM

We know what the problem is: American shipping is being replaced by foreign flag shipping and at the same time they are taking more jobs away through automating the ships.

The Government seeks to counter this by subsidizing the shipping industry. But this hasn't stopped the shrinking of the industry. All this government money does is to give the bosses guaranteed

which will put a stop to this business of pitting seamen of one nation against the other to bring down the wages of workers all over the world. We are now living in the space age, and must think internationally, not like we were seamen in the times of Christopher Columbus.

JOBS

At the same time as we fight for nationalizing the ships under the control of seamen and building an international maritime union, we fight for the introduction of the four watch system to help create more jobs on the existing ships. This will not only help protect the jobs we have but will open up maritime to the thousands of unemployed. This is the way to create jobs in all industry for a real war on poverty and so employed and unemployed workers can fight together.

In order to fight injunctions, T-H laws, Landrum-Griffin, etc. we need our own party, an American labor party, to fight the Nixons, the Humphries and Johnsons who are always fighting us. Wallace comes from the Democratic Party, and many workers who are disillusioned with the Democratic Party think that Wallace, a racist demagogue, will help us. A labor party based on the trade unions could effectively fight the threat of Wallace's fascism and racism, and keep down racism in the NMU which has always existed among the reactionary elements.

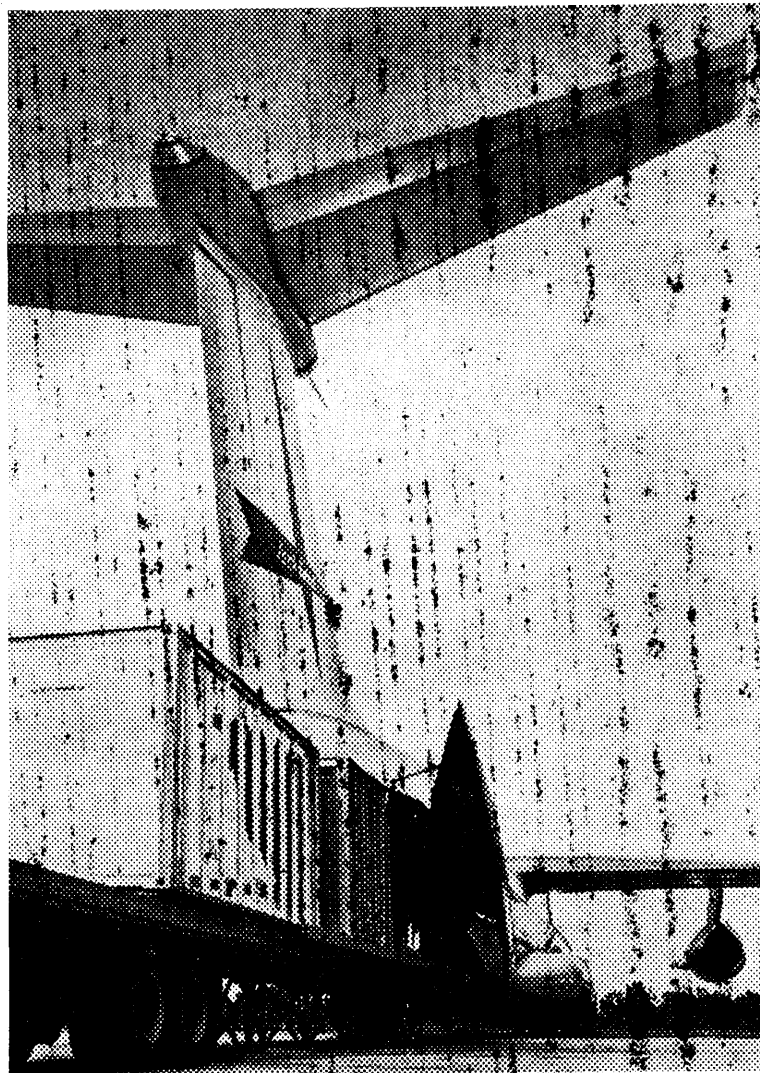
STEP

A Chinese proverb says "Long journey begins with first step." Let us begin our first steps and struggle to build a new leadership over a reasonable period of time. It won't be done overnight. Write in to this paper if you are interested, or would like your letter printed. Write in ideas, suggestions, criticisms of this article or anything you want to say.

Against Racism! For an inter-racial all inclusive caucus to build a new union leadership!

Defense guards to fight Curran's goons and fascist thugs, in order to protect seamen in their right to speak at meetings shoreside and on ships!

Organize now to wrest control from Curran's dictatorship!



ALUMINUM CONTAINER BEING LOADED ON TO JET

maritime industry. The government is not interested in our welfare, only in preserving the profits of the shipping magnates.

The American maritime industry is a sick and shrinking industry. If we do not take action soon there won't be any jobs left for us. Under Curran we have seen the industry shrink to a small fraction of what it once was. Morrissey correctly demands democracy in the NMU, and better pay and conditions but he has no program for the biggest problem of all--the danger that with or without

profits while our working conditions and pay suffer. We say instead the industry should be nationalized under the control of the seamen. That way all the money that would have gone into profits can be used to raise the seamen's living standards and expand the industry.

The question of foreign competition can only be dealt with by fighting to raise the living standards of foreign seamen to our level. This requires real cooperation between international seamen's unions leading to a real international union of seamen

.....ERNEST MANDEL AND THE

by Dennis O'Casey

The development of monopoly capitalism, beginning particularly in the 1890's posed before the Socialist movement of that period tremendous challenges to the development of Marxist theory. In 'Imperialism-the Highest Stage of Capitalism' Lenin was able to meet this challenge by showing how the new tendency towards monopolization and international rivalry was a consistent working out of the fundamental laws of motion of capitalism analyzed a half century earlier by Marx. From this theoretical vantage point in political economy Lenin was able to draw the correct revolutionary conclusions that led to October. At the same time there were those that abandoned the Marxist movement and went over to reformism seeing in the new development of capitalism indications that it had overcome its basic contradictions rendering revolutions no longer necessary or possible.

The same kind of challenge to the extension of Marxist theory has been presented by the development after 1945 of the post war boom which has led all manner of self styled Marxists once again to the conclusion that capitalism has shed its basic contradictions and from thence into the camp of reformism.

The most pernicious of such theorists are those who continue to clothe themselves in the garb of revolutionary Marxism while denying its revolutionary content. This is why the Belgian economist Ernest Mandel who follows faithfully the line of the Pabloite United Secretariat and the Socialist Workers Party in the United States who have recently sponsored him on his American tour, must be particularly singled out for exposure.

NEO-CAPITALISM

Mandel holds to the view that since WW II capitalism has entered into a new 'neo-capitalist' stage different from the monopoly capitalism described by Lenin. At the heart of the 'neo-capitalist' theory is the conception that the post war economic boom which Marxists see as only a temporary phenomenon has now become a permanent feature of capitalism. Neo-capitalism is a capitalism which is capable of resisting any tendency towards crisis of the kind that struck it in 1929. On this economic footing Mandel like the Pabloites saw a 'new reality' open up in the post war period requiring an entirely different strategy for the revolutionary movement. Other classes than the proletariat and other parties than the Leninist party would be capable of creating workers states.

Mandel himself occasionally protests that he doesn't believe that the long term expansionary cycle begun after WWII will last forever; he equivocates with pronouncements that the term neo-capitalism should be used cautiously and that although different from monopoly capitalism neo-capitalism is fundamentally the same. As we will show, however, these equivocations are nothing more than efforts to grasp at figleaves of Marxist orthodoxy to cover a theoretical outlook that is bourgeois to the core and identical in every fundamental respect with the more forthright peddlers of neo-capitalist theory from Deutscher to Debray.

PERMANENT

The very logic of Mandel's analysis of the post-war boom leads to the conclusion that it is a permanent phenomenon. He explains both the existence of the boom and its ability to sustain itself by reference to all the surface features of the post-1945 period apparent to any bourgeois economic journalist. Thus the boom is seen at once as the result of technological innovations developed in the last 20 years, pressure on the capitalists from the non-capitalist world to make their system work, above all state intervention into economic life in the particular form of Keynesian stop-go fiscal and monetary techniques combined with massive military and social insurance expenditures all of which tend to allow the capitalists to transform what would otherwise be a classical economic crisis into mere recessions.

Mandel is incapable of understanding the transitory character of the boom because he approaches it from the standpoint of formal rather than dialectical logic. Formal logic sees reality as fixed and static. Thus Mandel rather than seeing the boom as a particular moment of the whole process of development of imperialism in this century sees only the moment abstracted from the process and seeks only to make an empiri-

cal analysis of it. He refuses to dig beneath its momentary and superficial, i.e. empirical, aspects and see it in its origins and self movement through internal contradictions as dialectical logic demands.

His definition of the boom like all definitions based upon formal logic casually combine several empirical aspects, technological advances, intervention of the state, permanent war economy giving us an eclectic definition pointing at various sides of the phenomenon but ignoring the demand of dialectical logic for an all-sided definition taking in all the connections and mediations of reality particularly in their self movement. Thus he cannot really explain why the boom came into existence and what forces are transforming it

The theories of Ernest Mandel, discussed in this article, represent the basic theoretical underpinnings of the opportunist practice of the Socialist Workers Party and its international collaborators in the United Secretariat. Mandel's theories of "neo-capitalism" and "structural reforms" represent a fundamental revision of Lenin's and Trotsky's conception of monopoly capital and of the transitional program. His views represent today what Kautsky's views and those of the Austro-Marxists represented in Lenin's day.

into its opposite--a collapse on the order of 1929, i.e., how why or even if the boom is changing. Therefore his protestations to the effect that he believes that someday the boom might end are far from scientific, are nothing more than the idealist visions of a guru.

Mandel's method is identical with that of the vulgar economists whom Marx overthrew in the writing of Capital. Like the vulgar economists who took as their starting point the apparent forms of wealth in bourgeois society, profit, wages, ground rent, Mandel begins with the apparent features of the post war boom. Marx's great achievement however was to treat the basic laws of motion of the capitalist system first independently of the forms they took on the level of appearance in the capitalist superstructure. Only then did he return to the level of appearance and show the movement of appearances in terms of these basic laws, showing thereby how the movement of profit wages and ground rent resolved themselves into the class struggle and the smash up of the system.

LAWS

What is obviously required in any Marxist analysis of the post-war boom is a definition that relates the basic laws of motion of capitalism, the labor theory of value, the tendency for the organic composition of capital to rise and the tendency of the falling rate of profit, to the surface features of the post-1945 development. It is necessary to show that the post-war boom is in fact a working out of these laws.

But Mandel, as his pamphlet 'An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory' published by the YSA in 1967 reveals, while he is capable of recapitulating in some detail these basic laws as laid down in Capital he can only present this material in an abstract fashion never concretely. This is why these laws do not in any way figure into his analysis of neo-capitalism.

Finally dialectic logic demands that the entirety of human experience be brought into any definition of the post-war boom--in particular the connection between economics and the class struggle as it has proceeded prior to and throughout the boom period.

BOOM

The analysis of the boom made by the International Committee of the Fourth International in its 1961 resolution 'World Prospects for Socialism' and thereafter has always proceeded from a dialectical standpoint. Our analysis did not begin with the boom but with the fundamental contradictions that have characterized capitalism and imperialism through this century. The tendency with the accumulation and technological advance of capital for rate of profit to fall; tendencies toward a concentration of wealth, monopoly, the necessity for the export of capital, internal rivalry, the

tendency towards anarchy and crisis and above all, tendency towards ever sharpening class struggle; these are the fundamental driving forces on the basis of which we developed our analysis of the particular phase of imperialism experienced since WWII.

In our analysis of the boom itself we showed that capitalism survived 1945 only because of the betrayal of Stalinism and reformism in the 30's and war years which alone prevented the working class from taking advantage of over-ripe revolutionary conditions. These betrayals more than any other factor laid the basis for the post-war boom. In the 30's and early 40's world imperialism was able to undertake the wholesale slaughter of capital in the form of idle and destroyed plant capacity as well as drive down drastically the subsistence level of the working class thereby relieving the pressure on the rate of profit and laying the basis for the post war expansionary phase. The length and relative strength of the boom has been then the result of the depth of the crisis in the interwar period.

No less a central factor however was the ability of U.S. capitalism, based on its relative strength after the war, to utilize the fixed relation of the U.S. dollar to gold to export dollars abroad far in excess of the monetary gold held in Fort Knox. Although this policy coincided with the need of U.S. capitalism in overcoming pressure on the rate of profit and also provided the liquidity necessary to stimulate recovery in Europe the central point of our analysis has always been that this together with tremendous military and other parasitic state expenditures has given an artificial base to the boom. The inflation of the dollar to the point where there is now \$30 billion in gold at Ft. Knox has been possible only because the law of value has been suspended in the sense that its effects have not been apparent on the surface.

CRISIS

The longer and larger the boom however, all the more devastating the great financial and liquidity crisis that would follow - that was our analysis in 61. This perspective is now being richly confirmed even on the level of appearance in the form of balance of payments crisis which has resulted already in the devaluation of two major currencies which in turn is already leading to a condition of autarchy and a complete lack of agreement by world bankers on anything other than the need to sharpen attacks on the working class in ever country. Mandel in several articles on the world monetary crisis in the last year has far more confidence than the international bourgeoisie in their ability to patch up this crisis through the use of SDR's, the two tier system and other schemes of this kind revealing a total ignorance on his part as to the real roots of the monetary crisis the basic contradictions of capitalism itself.

The slowdown of world trade and investment resulting from efforts to avoid devaluation of the dollar and the general collapse of the world economy that can be expected with certainty. Devaluation is the soil in which all the other temporarily submerged contradictions of the system in the form of the falling rate of profit sharpen and sharpen international rivalry reaching even to the workers states demanding above all efforts to restore the rate of profit through destruction of working class organizations.

Economic disequilibrium in France with the May uprising, in Britain with the crisis of the Labor Party and in the United States with the break up of the liberal-labor alliance in the Democratic party and the rise of Wallace. In order to resolve the crisis which is rapidly coming to a head the capitalists will be more and more driven in the direction of bonapartism and fascism, a tendency which is already apparent in the metropolitan countries in the form of Wallacism, Powellism, and the return of Salon and Mosley. Marxists see in this crisis the opening of fresh revolutionary opportunities.

Here is the boom in its origins and self-movement through internal contradictions, the movement of appearance in relation to the underlying dynamics of capitalism. Such an analysis stands both theoretically and in terms of its empirical vindication in recent events as an utter refutation of neo-capitalism.

UPSURGE

However Mandel's revisions of Marxist theory

FRAUD OF NEOCAPITALISM.....

go well beyond the pale of political economy. Mandel's elimination of economic crisis as a factor in the neo-capitalist era leaves him with the problem of explaining the upsurge of the working class begun as early as 1961 with the Belgian General Strike and having intensified tremendously in the last two years. The question arises if the working class under neo-capitalism no longer faces the problem of hunger and in general the kind of sharp economic attack on their material conditions experienced in the interwar period, whence the basis for the upsurge much less the basis for proletarian revolution. Mandel's answer is that the working class will now embark on a revolutionary struggle over issues of democratic rights; 'discontent with a system which forces them to produce and consume more and more commodities which give less and less satisfaction' etc.

Listen to Mandel describe the basis for proletarian revolution commenting on the French events in the June 14 Militant: 'It is now proven that a neo-capitalist regime, which eliminates starvation and the most abject poverty of the proletariat - at least in the imperialist countries - and which succeeds in avoiding the most catastrophic economic crisis ...cannot in any way eliminate the basic sources of proletariat revolution.'

'It is because neo-capitalism has made these needs for fairness, justice, equality, liberty still sharper than in the period when the workers of the West were crushed by hunger; it is because neo-capitalism is totally powerless to satisfy these elementary needs of the student-worker masses - administration of the factories and universities by those who work in them, by the abolition of all privileges of wealth and academic standing it is because these needs can be met only by the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, that the bankruptcy of neo-capitalism, which accounts for the explosions of 1960-61 in Belgium, of 1965 in Greece, and May 1968 in France, leads inexorably toward the socialist revolution.'

IDEALISM

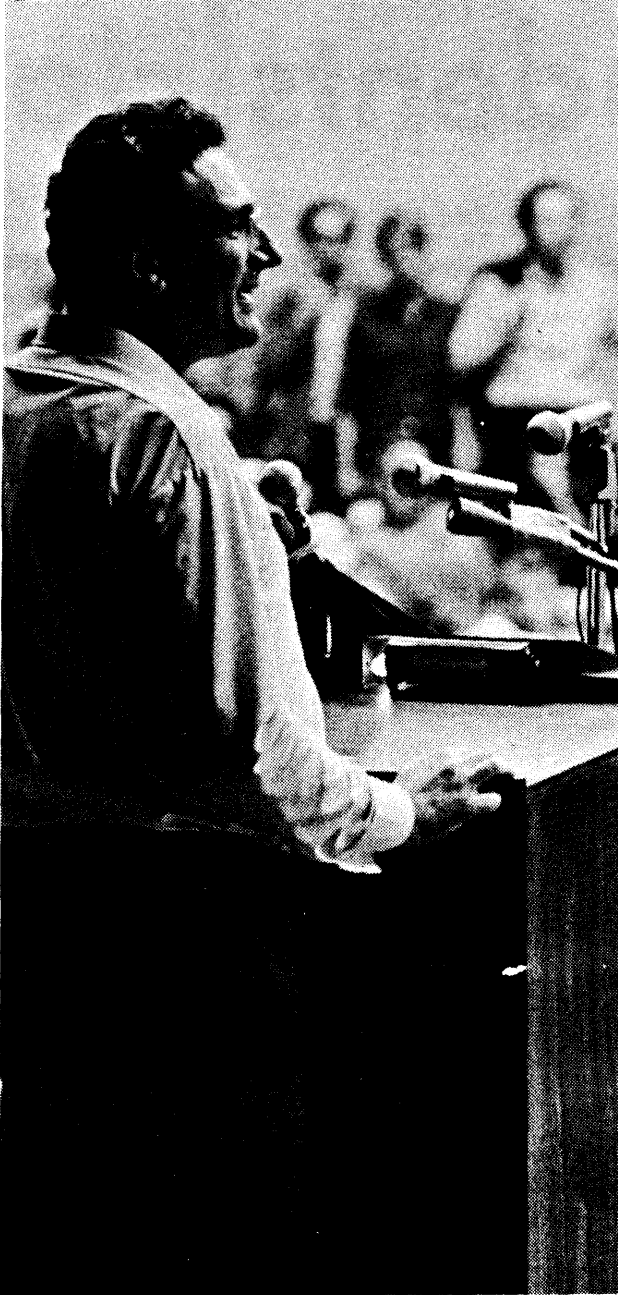
Such conceptions are completely alien to Marxism. Marx's whole life's work was devoted to a struggle against idealist conceptions of this kind. This is why Capital was written. The working class is a revolutionary class because of its social position in relation to the means of production - by virtue of the fact that capitalism makes it not only numerically strong but because capitalism extracts from it surplus value and periodically crushes it even down below the level of subsistence it achieves through years of struggle. This is precisely what was facing the French working class in the form of the Fifth Plan and the efforts of the French capitalists to increase their competitiveness through increased unemployment and higher productivity in the factories; it was these deteriorating material conditions that set the stage for the French General Strike. Likewise it is a sliding back of the standards of living of workers in all metropolitan countries that is responsible of the sharpening of class struggle in every country. All the incidental and superficial features of these struggles ultimately resolve themselves to a fight between capital and labor over the question of the extraction of surplus value.

What Mandel is attributing to the working class is precisely his own outlook that of the petty-bourgeoisie represented by such figures as Deutscher, Sweezy, Marcuse, Debray and Sartre, all of whom denying the revolutionary potential of the working class in the post war period became critical of and sought in an idealist and utopian way to reform what it considered the abuses of capitalism. Thus much was said by these figures about such problems as the concentration of power in the hands of the few, the risks of nuclear war, the plight of the colonial populations, the dominance of intellectual life by financial and military institutions and the domination of the individual by the mass media in what had become the consumer society.

Rather than being content with openly stating that the working class has taken up this petty bourgeois outlook Mandel goes a step further and suggests that the working class has all but merged and become at one with the petty bourgeoisie. Mandel uses phrases like 'proletarianization' of the students and 'homogenization of

blue collar, white collar and technical labor' to suggest the erosions of class lines between the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie forgetting altogether the reactionary side of the latter class and the absolute distinctness with which Marx, Lenin and Trotsky drew between these two classes.

What Mandel has in mind is clear and not very novel. Mandel's conception of the struggle for socialism under neo-capitalism is nothing other than the mobilization of the working class under



the leadership of the petty bourgeoisie, the very opposite of the Marxists standpoint.

REFORMS

This is why at the center of his neo-capitalist theories lies not the Transitional Program of the Fourth International but a program of 'anti-capitalist structural reforms', its very opposite. According to Mandel, 'the fundamental goal of these reforms would be to take away the levers of command in the economy from the financial groups, trusts and monopolies and place them in the hands of the nation, to create a public sector of decisive weight in credit, industry and transportation, and to base all of this on workers control. This would mark the appearance of dual power at the company level and in the whole economy and would rapidly culminate in a duality of the political power between the working class and the capitalist rulers.' This in turn, according to Mandel would somehow usher in the conquest of power by the working class. To see what this gibberish really means let us look at Mandel's views on the French General Strike. In commenting on these events Mandel begins with the fact that there is no mass revolutionary party capable of providing an alternative to the CP and then rather than viewing the events from the point of view of how that party is to be constructed Mandel devotes himself to pragmatically formulating demands which he feels could be achieved in France without the seizure of power.

Thus he urges the setting up of factory committees which in his words would assume 'de facto' control over production, regulate the type and quantity of production hiring and unemployment, look into the companies books, etc. and finally meet in national congresses to 'construct a plan of economic development for Socialist

France.' (Militant, June 14)

What is clear is that Mandel's conception of socialist revolution is anything but revolutionary; it is the evolutionary gradual take over of capitalist institutions. This is the meaning of 'anti-capitalist structural reforms.' The demand for factory Committees, workers control of production, etc., are raised in the Transitional Program as part of the program around which the revolutionary party mobilizes the working class for the



MANDEL (AT LEFT) BEGINS WITH SURFACE IMPRESSIONS AND BOURGEOIS ECONOMICS TO OVERTHROW THE BASIC CONCEPTIONS OF MARX'S CAPITAL.

smashing of the bourgeois state apparatus. Factory Committees, and workers control raised in any other context are not only reformist but just as reactionary as the Russian Soviet as long as they were dominated by forces other than the Bolshevik Party. The Transitional Program is not for the purpose of putting forth demands that can be achieved under capitalism. On the contrary its demands are for the purpose of showing the working class that even a modest demand requires a revolutionary overthrow and smashing of the bourgeois state and thereby winning them to the revolutionary party.

Mandel does not focus in his discussion of France on the problem of the construction of the Fourth International or the problem of smashing the bourgeois state precisely because these factors do not figure into his conception of socialist revolution.

OLD

There is nothing new in Mandel's theory of 'anti-capitalist structural reforms'. Mandel seeks to include his conception of a Soviet system in DeGaulle's France much in the way the Austro-Marxists whom Trotsky takes to task in his polemic against Kautsky 'Terrorism and Communism' sought 'to include the soviet system in the Ebert-Noske constitution'. Trotsky takes up in particular Max Adler who developed the conception that 'in each town, borough and ward, the Workers' Councils must 'control' the police and other officials.' 'The workers councils in the long run will receive as much constitutional power as they acquire by means of their own activity.' Trotsky showed how this theory that the 'Soviets must gradually grow up into political power of the proletariat without an armed

(Continued on page eight)

PL - WHY IT BETRAYS UNION RANKS

by Lucy St. John

The latest maneuvers of Progressive Labor within the SSEU only go to reveal the absolute dangers to the trade union movement of these would-be leaders. With all their propaganda about rank and file militancy, democracy and the fight against "misleaders" in the labor bureaucracy, when the chips are down those members in the union who are uncritically supported by PL always end up right in the same nest with the "misleaders" in an alliance against the rank and file.

Those union members supported by PL who now have named themselves "Members of the Welfare Club of the Progressive Labor Party" have opposed affiliation from the beginning. Originally members supported by the Workers League fought PL within the old Rank and File Committee precisely on this question. At that time PL favored raiding the District Council to get the clerks and supervisors in the SSEU. Members supported by the Workers League fought for over 18 months for affiliation. When this fight was taken up by the ranks and the bureaucracy, PL finally decided to support it in a clear show of opportunism.

In June the referendum for affiliation was defeated by a small minority. A 67% vote in favor of affiliation was required. The referendum received a vote of 62% in favor of affiliation indicating that the vast majority of the rank and file were in favor of it.

LEADERSHIP

Following this vote, the Morgenstern leadership handed over the leadership of the Staff for Merger committee, which had been formed on an ad hoc basis to unite forces in the union in favor of affiliation, to the members of Welfare Club of PL. The Morgenstern leadership which had refused to really wage a serious struggle for affiliation turned this committee over to those it knew would best carry out its interests and continue to drag its feet on this question, those great "fighters" against the bureaucracy,



SSEU BUREAUCRACY HAS FAILED TO WAGE THE NECESSARY FIGHT FOR AFFILIATION

PL.

Staff for Merger essentially became defunct for a number of months. This was done despite the fact that it was clear that the majority of the ranks in the union wanted affiliation. When the leadership of Staff for Merger finally did call a meeting, it was not to discuss affiliation. Rather this leadership supported by PL was attempting to turn Staff for Merger into a base for itself conveniently omitting the question of affiliation.

At the meeting the Affiliation Now Caucus supported by the Workers League raised the demand that the Staff for Merger begin a petition campaign to get a membership meeting called to reverse the previously passed motion not to reconsider affiliation. This fight for affiliation was raised in the context of the upcoming fight for the contract, posing that affiliation was essential in uniting all three unions in a struggle for the 1969 contract.

LIMITED

This proposal was fought by the leadership of Staff for Merger. The PL supported leadership contended that the SSEU did not need a new referendum and that such a fight would "split" the union. In opposition to affiliation these people posed "unity from below" pointing to a recent

work action at Gramercy Welfare Center which had a united staff in a single center in a limited work action.

The leaflet published by Gramercy workers indicates this lack of perspective.

"We at Gramercy do not seek a major confrontation with the City. But, if such a confrontation must come, then let it come here at Gramercy

All that we do is within our legal rights. We do not seek suspensions, and if they come, the blame lies with the City."

But the point is that a major confrontation with the city is necessary. But such a confrontation must be taken seriously, must pose demands which will solve the increasing deteriorating situation facing the workers and pose a program for victory. Such a confrontation requires a real united front which only affiliation can pose. The divisions within the department only serve to aid the leaderships which do not want to struggle and the city.

COVER

Let there be no mistake, PL's 'unity from below' is only a cover for not waging the necessary struggle. If they are for unity, then why do they oppose affiliation? If they are for unity on a rank and file basis, then why did they oppose 100% going to the ranks to conduct this struggle through the petition campaign? It appears that PL only wants unity where they can lead it and since they have no intention of struggling against the present leadership for an alternative program of the union, they seek to contain struggles on a local level where they are assured of organizational control.

The Affiliation Now Caucus stated at this meeting that they would take this fight to the ranks since Staff for Merger had absolutely no intention of doing this. At a second meeting of Staff for Merger, the Affiliation Now Caucus presented over 2,000 signatures for reconsideration of the affiliation question obtained from rank and file members throughout the city. Faced with an accomplished fact, the leadership of Staff for Merger was forced to go along with the calling of the membership meeting but refused to fight for a new referendum proposing that the affiliation question be kept out of the hands of the ranks and thrown back to the Executive Board. The Executive Board along with the current leadership has been responsible for the foot dragging on the affiliation question and in no way is representative of the interests of the rank and file members.

OPPORTUNIST

PL behind all its talk of rank and file militancy and unity completely betrays the workers by subordinating the objective needs of the workers and the union to their opportunist 'base building.'

These would be trade union bureaucrats have absolutely no program of struggle against the labor bureaucracy. The most they can ever muster is 'more militancy.' At the same time they refuse to conduct this struggle, seeking to preserve little fishing ponds for base building. They tail behind the ranks in every struggle, taking up struggles only when they see the ranks moving. They then move to contain these struggles on an isolated basis, posing absolutely no alternative.

This fight also shows that at all costs PL will fight against control of the unions by the rank and file and will oppose and seek to subvert any struggle by the ranks against the bu-

(Continued on page eight)

SSEU-Leadership & PL Conspire to Sabotage Merger

NEW YORK--As a result of the 2,000 signatures collected by the Affiliation Now Caucus, a special membership meeting of the Social Service Employees Union was held on Oct. 31 to reopen the question of merger with District Council 37, AFSCME of the AFL-CIO. The meeting followed upon the news that the City had declared that 60% of the SSEU's 1969 contract is "un-negotiable."

The meeting reflected the growing disparity between the mass of the rank and file of the union on the one hand and the leadership plus the various professional radicals in the union on the other. The ranks had earlier voted by a 62% majority for merger, just short of the two-thirds needed according to the Constitution. The Affiliation Now Caucus petition gatherers noted that many solidly anti-affiliation centers were now strongly pro-affiliation reflecting that the fact that the continuing deterioration of conditions in the department together with the closeness of the contract deadline was forcing many to understand the urgency of affiliation. They predict a new referendum would carry by 75 to 80%.

The membership meeting first voted overwhelmingly to re-open the merger question defeating the openly anti-affiliation forces led by the Spartacist-supported Militant Caucus, the Black caucus, and assorted radicals.

Then the real job of sabotage was carried out by Ray Agostini and the Progressive Labor led "Staff for Merger" group--a group devoted to preventing merger. Agostini, who

The Affiliation Now Caucus counterposed to this motion one calling for a referendum in November so that merger could take claims to favor merger in "principle" but not now, put forward a motion to refer the holding of a new referendum back to the Executive Committee of the union, the very leadership which has refused to push forward the merger fight. place in time to effect the contract negotiations.

President Martin Morgenstern was put on the spot by a motion from the floor demanding that he make clear his position on the motions. He spoke endorsing the position of Agostini and Progressive Labor which has been doing his dirty work in the union the past few months.

The motion for the November referendum lost by a vote of 130 to 86 as the openly anti-affiliation forces combined with Agostini's group. Clearly the majority of the pro-affiliation forces voted for the Affiliation Now Caucus motion and this motion could only be defeated by this unprincipled combination with the anti-affiliation people.

The future of the union lies with the rank and file workers in the department who take seriously the threat to their job conditions and living standards posed by the city and who understand elemental class solidarity in a way these so-called radicals do not. The supporters of the SWP in the union, by the way, were not even concerned enough for the interests of the union's ranks to show up at the meeting.

MEETING MARKS 30 YEARS OF FI

NEW YORK--Over 75 people attended a meeting here held by the Workers League commemorating the 30th anniversary of the Fourth International.

The meeting started with the playing of an electrical transcription of a speech by Leon Trotsky in English recorded exactly 30 years ago to the day.

TROTSKY

"Dear friends," Trotsky states, "we are not a party as other parties.

"Our party demands of each of us, totally and completely. Let the philistines hunt their own individuality in empty space. For a revolutionary to give himself entirely to the party signifies finding himself.

"Yes, our party takes each one of us wholly. But in return it gives to each one of us the highest happiness: the consciousness that one participates in the building of a better future, that one carries on his shoulders a particle of the fate of mankind, and that one's life will not have been lived in vain."

The main speech of the evening was given by Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League. He discussed the period out of which the Fourth International arose, a period of great revolutionary opportunity but marked by the paralysis of the

working class leadership under the influence of Stalinism and thus the growth of fascism throughout the world. It was the period of the revolution betrayed, he remarked.

TRANSITIONAL

Today, however, we are in the period of the Transitional Program, the period in which this program written in 1938 can take on life as the program of millions in struggle for socialism. This is the meaning of the French events.

The transitional program breaks with the old bind between a minimum program and maximum program--reforms today and socialism someday. The solution is not to reject reforms in favor of abstract propaganda about the need for socialism. It is rather to raise demands which express the needs of the workers today but which capitalism in crisis cannot fulfill. Through the struggle for these demands the masses of the workers learn the necessity to overthrow capitalism for the workers to survive and live decently.

These demands, Wohlforth pointed out, must be linked at all times to the need for political power and are aimed at building the party into the leadership of masses. This is why in discussions with the leadership of the SWP in pre-

paration for writing the Transitional Program, the question of the need to raise the labor party was brought up. This is the only way the Transitional Program can be related to the need for workers power in the United States with its powerful trade union movement but with



TIM WOHLFORTH SPEAKS AT WORKERS LEAGUE MEETING

no mass workers party.

SPLIT

The split in the Trotskyist movement between the forces represented by the International Committee and the Workers League and the United Secretariat and the Socialist Workers Party is directly related to the Transitional Program. The SWP has completely abandoned the struggle for the Transitional

Program. They propose instead that if we add up student power, black power, pacifist peace protest, and, yes even a little workers power--we will end up with socialism.

We say in reality these will add up to--FASCISM. For each struggle is kept separ-

ated from the other and are aimed only at structural reform within capitalism. Such struggle divides the working class and pits it against each other rather than the capitalists creating a political vacuum into which a proto-fascist like Wallace moves. What is needed is to fuse the class together in a common political struggle through the fight for a labor party.

The cause for the desertion

of the fight for the Transitional Program by the SWP was its failure to develop theoretically. As long as one remains within the empirical method one remains walled in by current capitalist reality. The best one can do is support this or that seemingly "progressive" trend within capitalism. The socialist future can be posed within the present only by a break with empiricism--an understanding of dialectics. This is what the Transitional Program is all about.

FILM

The meeting concluded with the showing of the French film of the workers occupation of the Sud-Aviation plant in Nantes during the May revolutionary events. The film showed Trotskyist workers fighting concretely for the transitional program in the midst of these events, exposing the rotten role of the Stalinists and seeing the general strike as a struggle for political power for the working class. It gave a graphic picture of the kind of struggles which are forthcoming in America and the kind of role American Trotskyists can play if they fight today to develop theoretically, to build the party at every moment, to penetrate deep into the trade unions around the fight for a labor party.

stalinists suppress intellectuals

by Fred Mueller

Pavel Litvinov, Larisa Daniel, and three others have joined the frameup victims of the Soviet bureaucracy in exile or labor camps. Litvinov, grandson of a former Soviet Foreign Minister, Mrs. Daniel, wife of imprisoned writer Yuli Daniel, and Konstantin Babitsky, Vadim Delone, and Vladimir Dremlyuga were arrested on August 25 following a public demonstration in Moscow against the Soviet led invasion of Czechoslovakia. They were tried, found guilty and recently sentenced to exile or labor camps for periods ranging from three to five years.

During the trial scores of sympathizers of the defendants gathered outside the courtroom, protesting the refusal of the authorities to allow them into the trial. The dissidents challenged and berated the secret police and the hooligans around them more openly and confidently than has ever been done since the rise of Stalinism and the expulsion of Trotsky 40 years ago. In spite of the harsh sentences meted out to the defendants, they and many supporters are speaking out more and more boldly in opposition to the counterrevolutionary policies of the bureaucracy.

TRIALS

The latest Moscow trials were in turn followed by trials in East Germany of a group of youthful opponents of the August invasion. These included teenage sons and

daughters of present and former leading party officials. These youth had courageously led street demonstrations in opposition to the Soviet action, and the Ulbricht regime moved quickly to punish them before the virus of political action against the bureaucracy spread any further.

On October 28th it was disclosed that Soviet writer Aleksei Kosterin, who had been a member of the Communist Party for over 50 years, since before the October Revolution, had resigned from

the party and sent a letter to the Soviet Politburo denouncing Stalinism. Kosterin, whose daughter had become famous after being killed by the Nazis in 1941 while carrying out a partisan mission behind enemy lines, has persistently fought the bureaucracy. He was sent to Stalinist labor camps in 1937. Recently he spoke out against the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

DEEPENS

The bureaucracy's mortal crisis continues to deepen.

Tanks in Czechoslovakia and jails in the Soviet Union and East Germany will only delay the coming confrontation. Thousands have taken up the struggle in the last year alone, in Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, East Germany, and the Soviet Union. Nowhere is the bureaucracy safe from attack. The economic and political crisis continues to deepen, the bankruptcy of the Stalinist theories of socialism in one country and of peaceful coexistence with imperialism are being exposed more and

more with each passing day.

The increasingly outspoken Soviet dissidents are performing a heroic service for the world working class in their defiance of the bureaucracy. They are showing that the bureaucracy is the antithesis of socialism, they are helping to re-establish the continuity between the October Revolution of 1917 and the struggles of the workers and youth today. We must fight for the release of these latest political prisoners as well as all victims of the bureaucracy.



STUDENTS DEMONSTRATE RECENTLY AGAINST SOVIET INTERVENTION

by Sylvia Robbins

The continued presence of Soviet occupation troops more than two months after the August invasion of Czechoslovakia does not mean that the struggle is over, that the Czechs have been defeated. On October 28th tens of thousands of Czechs protested the Soviet occupation, on the 50th anniversary of the Czechoslovak Republic. These workers and students marched

-Svoboda regime that they refrain from protest, lest they provoke the Soviet government leading to more repressive measures.

Dubcek is having difficulty controlling the struggle. He has already been compromised by his maneuvers with the Moscow bureaucrats. The original democratization measures taken in the struggle against the Novotny group were designed to

Czechoslovakian Masses Continue Struggle Against Stalinist Occupiers

talist tendencies in the church peasantry and sections of the old middle classes. Revolutionary-minded workers and students, eager to defend and extend the socialist gains, also took advantage of the so-called liberal reforms, however. The Soviet bureaucrats seized on the right wing trends as an excuse to attack the left and bring the unstable political situation under control. It is these forces which Dubcek continues to try to maneuver between. The Soviet tanks have not settled anything definitively.

POLITICAL

It is primarily a political and not simply a military question. The presence of Soviet troops cannot stop the questioning of ideas in the workers' and

students. There is a bitter and undying hatred of the Soviet intervention, but also a willingness to struggle for socialism. Soviet plans will require the crushing and demoralization of the Czech workers and students. This has not yet been accomplished.

A revolutionary party must be built to lead the struggle against the bureaucracy. Only the Fourth International on Czech soil can explain the events of the past 20 years, the crimes of Stalinism. Only a new revolutionary leadership can put the Czech struggle into the overall international struggle for socialism and thus combat and defeat petty bourgeois nationalist trends which are continuing to confuse and mislead the population.

Militant British Unionists Meet

Some 630 delegates and 125 visitors attended the first National Conference of the All Trades Unions Alliance in Birmingham, England on October 26th. The conference represented a critically important stage in the struggle of British workers against the Wilson Government and the capitalist system this government is committed to.

The Conference has been campaigned for by the British Trotskyists, the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists, against the opposition of the Communist Party, the state capitalist group and the Pabloite collaborators of the SWP. It is a sign of the growing strength of Trotskyism in Britain and an indication of the kind of support

the proposed daily Newsletter can get among trade unionists.

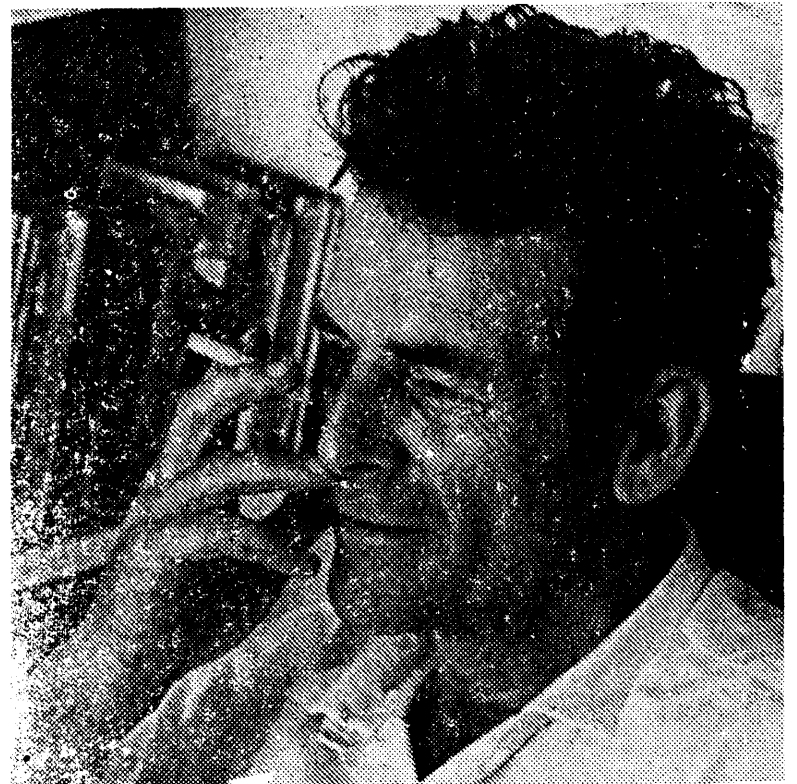
REPRESENTATIVE

The conference was one of the most representative trade union meetings held in Britain since the war. Represented were shop stewards committees, miners, building workers, clerical workers, engineers (like our machinists), railway workers, electricians and apprentices.

The conference declared its all-out support to the lobby of parliament called by the AEF, one of the engineering trade unions, for November 22nd. Delegate after delegate stressed the feeling in the factories which is now overwhelmingly for strike action

if the demands are not granted by the employers. Resolutions were unanimously passed dealing with the speed-up plans of the bosses, rent increases and the fight of the apprentices. The conference also demanded the lifting of the bans on left organizations in France.

Meanwhile the Socialist Labour League is in the midst of a difficult campaign to raise the money to make it possible for the Newsletter, published twice-weekly since early this year, to go daily in late 1969. We urge our readers to make contributions to carry forward this fight vital to workers in all countries: send contributions to: Daily Newsletter Fund, 186a Clapham High St., London S.W. 4, England.



REG PARSONS, ENGINEERING SHOP STEWARD, PLANS CONFERENCE

WHY PL BETRAYS UNION RANKS

(Continued from page six)

reocracy.

DEMOGOGY

PL seeks to cover its disdain for the ranks and its support for the union bureaucracy with the demagoguery of unity, saying that any struggle within the union will split the union. This is the old line of the Communist Party and the labor bureaucracy. Any struggle against the rotten leadership of the unions is seen as splitting.

Read PL's own analysis of the role of the Communist Party. 'Seeing the immediate struggle as everything, they (the CP) failed to raise the political, class, and socialist understanding of the workers in those struggles, failed to expose the relation of the trade union misleaders to the bosses and ending up tailing after the misleaders for fear of 'splitting' the workers. This is rank opportunism: allowing all sorts of abuse of the workers to take place without pointing out the real enemy and how he must eventually be destroyed. Fearing to fight for the truth, they abandon all their fundamental principles of class struggle.'

STALINISM

Yes, PL, this is rank opportunism and is the history of the Communist Party which is PL's history and which they have never broken from. We say that PL within the unions as in every other arena of work will seek to divert the struggles of the workers to avoid the real confrontation with the bosses and the labor bureau-

cracy just as they refuse to fight for a political alternative for the working class. We say that PL will follow every step the role of the Communist party in the unions and will repeat the whole history of betrayals of the Stalinist movement all over the world. These people are enemies of the workers.

We have only to look at the recent betrayals of the French Communist Party to get a glimpse of what PL has in store for the workers. Just as the CP has not uttered one word of protest against the banning of the left organizations in France, allying themselves with the repressive measures of the Gaullist state. So PL in all its work, unable to fight politically against its opponents sides with the labor bureaucracy and the capitalists against the ranks of the workers and the left. PL has a whole history of bureaucratic maneuvers and purges.

Its maneuvers on the SSEU referendum are

only a small example. Last year they expelled from the original Rank and File Committee members supported by the Workers League. A few months later they essentially liquidated this committee by expelling over half of its members because they supported affiliation. While PL has been under heavy attack by sections of SDS which have tried to expel PL, PL has united with these same forces in an attempt to expel a section in SDS, the SDS Labor Committee. The reason is that they are 'splitters', 'disrupters.' This is the only way PL can deal with its political opponents.

Just as Stalin betrayed the world working class, seeking to preserve the privileges of the bureaucracy through collaboration with imperialism, and through the actual physical liquidation of the Bolshevik party, so PL operates in the same way.

NYC WELFARE COSTS GO SKY HIGH

NEW YORK--It was announced last week by the City Controller that the welfare costs have now climbed to 26.6 per cent, above the 21.4 per cent spent on education. Welfare costs have doubled in the last 5 years; the rolls are now rising at the rate of 20,000 per month and by January one million people in this city will be on welfare.

Demagogues like Wallace and far more subtle ones in both major parties try to place the blame for welfare on the recipients themselves. Workers who correctly resent this burden falling on themselves through increased taxes many times agree with these demagogues. But the blame lies with the decaying social and economic system in this country--not with the victims of this decay.

Can anyone really claim that we have twice as many people on welfare now than five years ago because people are twice as lazy? There are just as many lazy and just as many hardworking people today as in 1963. The cause lies elsewhere.

The overwhelming majority of people on welfare are mothers with children. Most of these women would go to work if there were facilities to care for their children and there were jobs available for them. But the fact is that the facilities do not exist and job training is not provided to these mothers, and jobs are available.

Many recipients are old having worked all their lives for the profit of others only to receive little or no pension and social security payments insufficient to live on

with today's high prices.

A growing number of people on welfare are workers who have been laid off from their jobs or whose wages are not enough to support their families with prices spiralling.

There is, contrary to claims, very little fraud on welfare. In fact when compared to the legalized fraud of income tax evasion of the bosses and the many crooks in government, it is miniscule.

We say place the blame where it really belongs. We demand a real program of jobs, job training, child care centers, real steps to tackle inflation, make the bosses pay for decent social security benefits, plug up the tax loopholes and increase the taxes on the rich to pay for maintaining their own creation--the growing poor of our cities.

ERNEST MANDEL AND THE FRAUD OF NEO-CAPITALISM

(Continued from page five)

insurrection and seizure of power was nothing but an ultra-left expression of Kautsky's parliamentary reformism.

The experience of the 30's shows moreover that such conceptions are even more dangerous than this. Structural reforms are used by the capitalists to bring independent working class organizations into the state apparatus. It is precisely a program of structural reforms that leads to the

incorporation of the trade unions into the state apparatus; already DeGaulle is answering the demands of French students for control of the universities by inviting the students to sit with university officials, to participate in the administration of their own oppression. Likewise in the U.S. the demand for black power and community control is a structural demand being utilized not only to head off any real fight over the question, e.g. of the deteriorating New York city school system but to divide the class along racial lines and break the trade unions.

Thus, more and more the theories Mandel and the Pabloites take on a reactionary character. Today Mandel and the United Secretariat still manage to clothe the timeworn theories of Kautsky and all those that have abandoned Marxism in revolutionary Trotskyist phrases. With the deeper development of the crisis and further sharpening of the international class struggle these latter

day Social Democrats will more and more be exposed for what they are, renegades from Marxism, by the test of concrete events.

WORKERS LEAGUE BRANCHES

CINCINNATI: P.O. BOX 12061
MINNEAPOLIS: P.O. BOX 14002 UNIV. STA.
NEW YORK: RM. 7 243 E. 10 ST.
SAN FRANCISCO: 644 OAK ST.
TORONTO: RM. 27 165 SPADINA

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COMMEMORATION MEETING

30th anniversary of the fourth international

FILM--Exclusive showing of film of actual workers' occupation of Aviation plant in Nantes, France during May, 1968 General Strike
RECORDING--Rare recording in english of Leon Trotsky speaking on the Tenth Anniversary of the founding of the Left Opposition in U.S.
SPEECH--Forty years of Trotskyism in the United States--Tingle for the Transitional Program.

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