

TRUTH

A REVOLUTIONARY TROTSKYIST NEWSPAPER

FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE 4th INTERNATIONAL

No. 3

November 15, 1974

10¢

STAND WITH THE MINERS

By JON MYERS

The battle in the coalfields between the 120,000 miners of the United Mine Workers and the coal operators is a test of strength for the entire working class. As a weapon in the class war between the working class and the capitalist class, a strike can be of major importance in strengthening the combativity and level of organization of the workers -- a means of giving them renewed confidence in their fight against their exploiters. The national strike of the UMW has the opportunity to do this. For this reason, it is the duty of every worker to aid in the defense of the Miners' strike and support its victory.

WORKING CLASS OFFENSIVE

As we have stated in previous issues of TRUTH, the US working class has been engaged in a wage offensive for the past nine months, resulting in the largest number of strikes since World War II. It has been this militancy which Ford has denounced as the "cynicism" of American workers -- their refusal to take his medicine.

With the eyes of the country on the UMW, the Miners can take the leadership of this offensive and directly confront Ford and his anti-working class policies. As with all the other workers who have been on strike this year, the Miners are entitled to all their demands and more. They have been the victims of inflation just like the rest of the American working class -- coal profits have risen 181% over the last year, while real wages of Miners have declined 5%. And this does not even begin to speak to the deadly working conditions that Miners face every day.

TAFT-HARTLEY

Yet the coal companies want more and Ford must keep the working class in line. The government has been preparing its strategy for an upcoming strike for months. The Federal Energy Administration has already drawn up plans to move coal to industry in the event of a long strike. Ford placed UMW President Arnold Miller on his

been invoked. Through its propaganda, the bourgeoisie is providing the backbone for the "national emergency" situation

invoked. The Miners are not the only ones who have been invoked. The Miners are not the only ones who have been invoked. The Miners are not the only ones who have been invoked. The Miners are not the only ones who have been invoked.

The bourgeoisie will try to blame the Miners for the rising unemployment, layoffs, fuel shortages and higher prices caused by ITS REFUSAL to meet the just demands of the Miners. American workers won't fall for this propaganda campaign. The over two million workers who have been on strike this year, as well as the over 6% unemployed and unemployed BEFORE the Miners'

Victory
to the
UMW!



MINERS DEFY GOVERNMENT IN 1943. THEY MUST BE READY TO DO IT AGAIN.

strike, know that the Miners have not caused this crisis. Also, more and more workers this year saw the use of federal, state and local police to break their strikes -- which no one even tried to call "emergencies." They know exactly whose "safety" troops will protect

those close to them. Every appeal, every act of fraternization must be made to turn these soldiers against the capitalist state and towards the Miners. This can be done through the UMW.

AGAINST GOVERNMENT ATTACK

A fight to protect the UMW will also require a fight against the present leadership of the union, which has done everything possible to weaken the UMW. The presence of Arnold Miller on the Labor-Management Committee gives the green light for the intervention of the government. Miller has proven that he is more interested in the "national interest" -- the greed of the capitalists -- than in the defense of his union. The fact that Miller has, throughout the negotiations, tried to guess the "non-economic" issues is another proof that he

will not fight Ford on inflation, despite his pretenses at militancy.

It has been the rank and file of the UMW that forced the battle to take place in the COALFIELDS, not in the hotel rooms in Washington, D.C. It will be the lessons of this year which will provide the Miners with the strength to throw back the bourgeoisie' attack and lead the American working class into a period of revolutionary upsurge.

VICTORY TO THE UMW STRIKE!

- Fight for a living wage -- Full cost of living
- Fight for better working conditions -- Nationalize the mines
- Fight for shorter hours -- Workers' defense guards for every mine!
- Throw out the Miller clique -- For a revolutionary leadership in the UMW!

DEFEND THE UMW!

- No Federal troops -- Against the Taft-Hartley Law -- a general strike if Federal troops are called in!
- No layoffs -- Force the coal companies to meet the Miners demands!
- For a Congress of Labor and the oppressed to launch a united working-class offensive!

Ford looks for a better Idea

By KEVIN TRACEY

Faced with the intensification of capitalist decay, now at levels imperiling the survival of the American bourgeoisie, Ford is desperately grabbing for solutions which require for their success the breaking of the will of the working class.

"SURTAX" DIVERSION

The most talked-about proposal is in fact a feint, an example of sleight-of-hand. The 5% "surtax" is a hoax that nobody expects to pass, not even Ford. Its sole purpose is to enable the liberals and the union bureaucrats to proclaim a great victory, flexing their puny muscles in demonstration of the "strength" which they showed in defeating this empty maneuver. Meanwhile, while all eyes are on the sideshow, the significant portions of Ford's proposals will slip through with the workers none the wiser.

Aside from some minor stop-gap measures, the most significant economic proposal is for an increase in the investment tax credit from 7% to 10%, through which the bourgeoisie can write off the cost of a significant portion of capital investment. This serves as a major help in their attempts to finance the recapitalization of American industry. This explains why, despite their doubts about the brilliance of Ford's ideas (let's everybody eat all their spinach, etc.) on inflation, the big capitalists ultimately, despite all their grumblings, are FOR the passage of Ford's proposals.

When the early Kennedy administration was trying "to

get America moving again" after the "Eisenhower recession" of 1958 and the difficult recession of 1960-61, the investment tax credit was a large element of its "cure," which lasted only until 1964 in real terms and then was replaced by the destructive war "boom" of 1965-69. At any rate, it is clear where Ford and his advisors are looking for some kind of successful precedent.

INTERNATIONAL OFFENSIVE

Thus, it is not surprising that another major Ford proposal is the new trade reform bill, which gives Ford great authority in handling trade policy. This is an attempt to restore the balance to world trade and to the trade of the US in particular which was wrecked by the last recession. It is an attempt to repeat the success of the 1960-61 tariff reductions and of what became known as the "Kennedy Round" (despite Kennedy's previous death) of tariff negotiations. This round served as the basis for a new expansion of world trade. The General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs, of which the "Kennedy Round" was the most recent set of negotiations, was unilaterally abrogated by Nixon in 1971 as part of his economic offensive. Since the trade area is the one in which the effects of the crisis are most manifest in crash and depression, repairs on it are essential. The US balance of trade, for the first time since America became a world power, went into the red in 1971. As a result of Nixon's actions and especially of the beneficial effects of the recovery of 1972-73, the balance of trade again showed a surplus. But in the present recession it has again showed a negative balance, indicating that in fact nothing

definitive had actually happened during the recovery, that there had been only a mild remission followed by a sharp relapse. The administration projects a \$5 billion deficit for this year and an even larger one for next year. Thus, the actions Ford must take under the new trade bill are not ones of "normal" capitalist negotiation, of rational allocation in the best interests of all. Those days are as dead as Kennedy.

"DETENTE" FRAUD

One example of the new measures and the objectives which they seek is the provisions on trade with the USSR and the Stalinist countries generally. As far as capitalism is concerned this expansion of trade has nothing to do with an era of "peace and harmony." As a short term perspective its purpose is to insure a guaranteed high profit on investment and sales made to the degenerated and deformed workers states. In itself this will contribute to the survival of capitalism.

But as a long-range perspective, it aims at the destruction of the property relations in these countries and their reconquest by capitalism. By tying the economy of the USSR, as well as the other countries, into the world market and making it increasingly subject to the law of value, by orienting production there to the needs of world capitalism, by reproducing the same tendencies in the Soviet Union as world imperialism requires and last, but by no means least, by establishing a friendly working relationship with a whole layer of the technocracy and

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EDITORIAL

The carnival that takes place every two years under the banner of bourgeois elections has just ended. The winning clowns are off to Washington, D.C., while the losers have to go back and practice their acts, or perhaps find a new manager. The "clown of the year" award has to go to Democratic Congressman Wilbur D. Mills who helped place the economic strategy of Congress in the proper perspective. The Chairman of the powerful House Ways and Means Committee, responsible for overseeing the gigantic Federal Budget, can't even hold his liquor and is a rather silly old man as well.

The "dumbbell" award goes to Gerald Ford, who either has been shot out of a cannon too many times, or as Lyndon Johnson put it, "played football too long without a helmet." Even Spiro Agnew knows that Spiro Agnew is no longer in style in 1974. The performance of Mills and Ford, as well as Rockefeller's difficulties, indicate that "Watergate" was only the beginning of the problems of bourgeois politicians. And even though attendance was way down, the union bureaucrats kept their "sellout" award. They managed to get their Democratic "friends" elected, who will, as usual, tell the bureaucrats to get lost for another two years.

The workers and the oppressed were again the losers. Capitalist exploitation and misery remain intact. The reactionary clique in Washington continues to rule over the majority of the people in the interests of a greedy and violent minority. But the capitalist clowns have less and less to celebrate. The cynicism and disgust of the working class with bourgeois politics remains at an all-time high. Workers can no longer be "trusted" to vote in the same candidates year after year. The majority registers its disgust by staying at home, and this occurs in greater and greater numbers each time (60% this year.) The workers are voting -- with their feet.

The show doesn't look very funny to workers in the midst of a recession, with unemployment rising every day. The largest strike wave in recent history has been the working class' answer to the bourgeoisie. But even the strike wave has demonstrated that real gains are no longer possible under capitalism. The recession may well dampen the eagerness of workers to strike. In a situation of rising unemployment ECONOMIC action will not be enough to protect the working class from the capitalist attack.

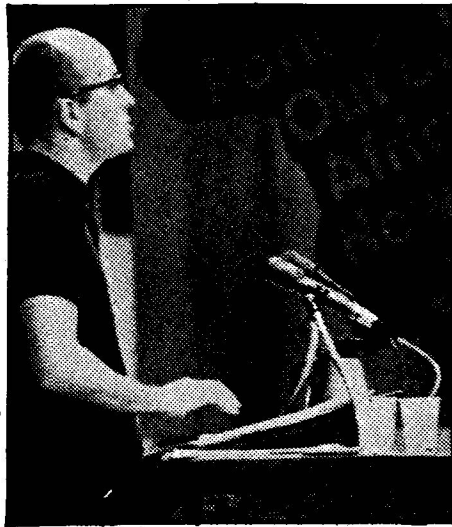
Build a Labor Party!

Today's struggle of the class must become political. A fight must be launched in the trade unions for an independent Labor Party -- a party of workers and the oppressed that will be independent of the capitalist class and capitalist state. This party would agitate for and organize the political power of the workers in order to put forward the workers' solution to the decay of capitalism -- a workers' government.

The same bureaucrats who claimed a year ago that strikes were becoming unmoderated, will declare today that a Labor Party is impossible. American workers will again prove that the bureaucrats are liars. The fight for a Labor Party will forge a revolutionary leadership that will throw out the Meanys, Abels, and Woodcocks. The trade unions will become the instruments of the workers and the oppressed, not the campaign coffers of the Democrats. A Labor Party will tell the truth about bourgeois society to the masses of Americans for the first time and will win the support of millions in order to put an end to the swamp of capitalist politics once and for all.

Under the blows of the capitalist crisis, the culmination of seventeen years' decay has now been reached. With the consolidation of the Barnes leadership and its ability to carry out its policy unimpeded by the slightest opposition from any source, the Socialist Workers Party, once the Trotskyist movement in this country, has passed beyond even the most right-wing form of centrism into the camp of open reformism.

The Reformism of the SWP



Barnes

It is in this light that the recent overtly reformist steps of the SWP -- the request to attend Ford's "summit," the prostration before the bureaucracy in CLUW and elsewhere and the completely capitulationist call for Federal troops in Boston -- acquire coherence. These actions by themselves are not new. They represent the policy of the new leadership, a leadership which joined the SWP when it was already centrist (after 1957 and the "regroupment" campaign) which was raised up in a spirit alien to Trotskyism and alien to the working class.

What is new is the ability of the Barnes group to carry out its policies without having to trim them to deal with some tradition of revolution. The Oberlin conference of this year marked a decisive turn, the assumption to unqualified power of the Barnes leadership. All the old men had been kicked upstairs or retired. The death of Cannon itself removed even the last physical link with Trotskyism, a moral factor of no small significance.

Trotsky did not abandon the perspective of reforming the Stalinized CP's because of the role of Stalinism in the German events, but because of the complete lack of response within the party and the Comintern to this betrayal. This Oberlin Conference, this "Congress of Victors" on a small scale, also celebrated the final settling of accounts with the SWP's "left wing." With the expulsion of the Pabloite Internationalist Tendency earlier that summer the majority had removed the last of those who were capable even of vacillations in a revolutionary direction. Now the SWP was a party in which the Barnes group could proceed to do its worst without having to account for it to anyone.

A similar split is being consummated on the international scale as well, with the SWP increasingly unable to accommodate itself to the pressures of the Mandeliste centrists. It prefers the company of the incredibly opportunist PST of Nahuel Moreno in Argentina and of similar groups. And as Trotsky also said, the character of a group is given away by its international allies. This in no way means that we will now give some kind of "critical support" to the Mandel grouping. The SWP had to pass through Pabloism on its way to class betrayal, and many others are now on that road. We cannot be expected to congratulate them for taking so long to get there.

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The Bureaucrats and the ERA

By ANN RUSSELL

The Equal Rights Amendment to the United States Constitution (ERA) is a part of the general attack on the working class. In an effort to offset the economic collapse of capitalism, the ruling class must try to eliminate the hard-won but "costly" minimum of decent working conditions. The ERA is a part of the drive to cut out the "extras." The trade union bureaucrats are proving loyal accomplices, as demonstrated by their support of this bill and by their willingness to behead opposition in the trade unions. The capitalist attack and the role of the trade union misleaders must be exposed.

"EQUAL RIGHTS" FRAUD

The ERA says: "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex." It is certain that this law would be used to eliminate States' protective laws for women, just as Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act has already. Some of these protective laws provide for limits on the amount of weight a woman may lift, a minimum number of breaks, eight hours between shifts and a limit on the number of hours that may be worked (sometimes referred to as hours laws).

Supporters of the ERA claim that passage of the bill will be a major step towards ending inequality between women and men. But workers must know that the significance of a law rests in how it will be used, not in what it says. The day when capitalism was able to grant substantial rights has long since passed. A constitutional amendment will not change this fact. This proposed bill cannot obscure the true position of women workers in this society. Unemployment is higher among women workers than among men. Women's median earnings as a percent of men's has gone DOWN from 63.9% in 1955 to 59.4% in 1970, as has women's share of professional and technical work. It must be a very exciting prospect for the bourgeoisie to be able to pass off as a "democratic right" a further attack on the living conditions of women workers.

FEMINISTS AND HACKS

In their support for the ERA, feminists, business women, lawyers and women in government march arm-in-arm. The feminists are making clear their middle-class character. Their position on the ERA should be a warning to working women everywhere. These women have NO LESS interest in maintaining or advancing their positions by trading in the conditions of women workers than do their male counterparts. Not one congresswoman will be forced to lift excessive weight as a result of the passage of the ERA. These middle-class women are loyal to their class.

Initially the AFL-CIO opposed the passage of the ERA, correctly seeing it as an attack on working women. The organization has now reversed its position to become a leading advocate of the Amendment. The trade union leaders, because they are reformists, are forced to carry out the capitalists' bidding. Glen E. Watts, president of the Communications Workers of America, stated last September: "The Equal Rights Amendment remains on the CWA's highest priority list, and we are pressing harder than ever to overcome the

obstacles that have been placed in its path." The "obstacles" for the bureaucrats like Watts are the trade union members who will resist this attack on their working conditions.

CLUW

The Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) is a rapidly growing organization that is run by and speaks in the interest of the labor bureaucracy. CLUW has been founded for several reasons. The social function of CLUW is to remove working women's opposition from the trade unions and channel that opposition into a tightly controlled "progressive-sounding" organization. It is also no secret that many of the women bureaucrats in CLUW will be able to further their position in their own unions because of participation in CLUW. Another important function of CLUW is to help secure passage of the ERA. The least obvious but very important additional role for the CLUW will be the channeling of working women into the leftwing of the Democratic Party. Working women should be tipped off to the nature of the CLUW by the fact that the National "Chairperson" is Olga Madar, former International Vice-President of the UAW. A highlight of Madar's career was her participation in the goon squad that attacked the Mack Avenue sit-down strikers in August, 1973.

FOUNDING CONVENTION

CLUW held its founding convention in Chicago on March 23 of this year. About 3,200 women representing fifty-eight unions attended. Non-union women were kept out of the conference. This excluded the fighting wives of the then-striking Harlan Country miners who had asked to speak to the conference about their struggle. There was also a debate about whether AFT and AFSCME representatives should attend, since these unions do not have the right to strike in some states. Less than 20% of the women who work today are in labor unions; thus the CLUW leadership's sham of equality for all working women is exposed by this action taken against unorganized women. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) supports CLUW's exclusion of unorganized women workers, demonstrating its willingness to support the labor bureaucracy in its betrayal of the working class.

The convention exploded over several issues. One incident was ignited when it was proposed that CLUW go on record "encouraging democratic procedures in all unions." The vote was 700 for and 649 AGAINST democratic procedures in the trade unions!

The organizers of the conference failed to push through Point Fourteen of their Statement of Purpose, which stated that CLUW would not take a position in jurisdictional disputes between unions. This point was devised so CLUW would not have to go on record as supporting the United Farm Workers over the Teamsters. The UFW representative to the conference was "persuaded" to drop her proposed motion of support for her union. When the motion was reintroduced, the conference organizers responded by ignoring or "miscounting" voice and hand votes and finally by turning off the microphone. The motion was never voted on.

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"SAVE THE WORKER?"

By FRED MICHAELS
 PUSH Expo, held in Chicago this September, was an attempt by local black liberals to channel the frustrations and militancy of blacks into the reform wing of the Democratic Party and the churches. The theme of this annual Expo was "Save the Worker." The crowd, numbering almost half a million, was composed almost exclusively of black people under twenty.

The most popular exhibit was, "The Role of Blacks in Economic History is WORK (sic)." The "workers" shown were Joe Louis, Hank Aaron (both athletes) and various black business men. Inside this exhibit there was a special display of black women "workers," such as Rosa Parks, an early civil rights activist, and Yvonne Braithwaite, a Democratic Congresswoman from California.

At the opening ceremonies, a meeting for black and white businessmen, the Rev. Leon Sullivan, first black member of the Board of Directors of GM, received the Martin Luther King Jr. Award from PUSH (People United to Save Humanity). Both Sullivan and Jesse Jackson (head of Operation PUSH) called for "at least one million new jobs" to aid minorities and "militant pressure" to prevent the present recession from hitting "the poor and unemployed the hardest." Jackson "urged" Ford to declare a "national emergency" to deal with unemployment.

On the second day of the four-day Expo a meeting of black and white "labor leaders" was held. It was led by Charles Hayes, Vice-President of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters (AFL-CIO), labor director of PUSH, and Robert Johnson, head of Region 4 UAW, a long-time supporter of PUSH.

A third meeting chose the "Worker of the Year," a black woman from the Main Post Office in Chicago, PUSH's only labor stronghold. She is also a PUSH member and is head of her church organization.

Local black politicians of both bourgeois parties attended Expo's "political meeting." Jackson called for "black political unity" if blacks are to take over "decision-making functions of government."

The call for "black political unity" drew criticism from a conservative Chicago newspaper as "separatist." Jackson replied immediately that he was not a "separatist" but someone fighting for "ethnic politics." The call for "black political unity" as well as the separatist atmosphere of the Expo (billed as "the largest minority business and cultural exposition in the U.S.") are necessary if Jackson and his friends are going to maintain credibility with the black masses.

The experiences of blacks have been shaped by the racist oppression and super-exploitation of capitalist society. The black struggle has always produced strong nationalist currents which will attract and have attracted some of the best elements, for example, Malcolm X. Jackson's calls are not mere rhetoric -- they reflect this strong separatist current among blacks.

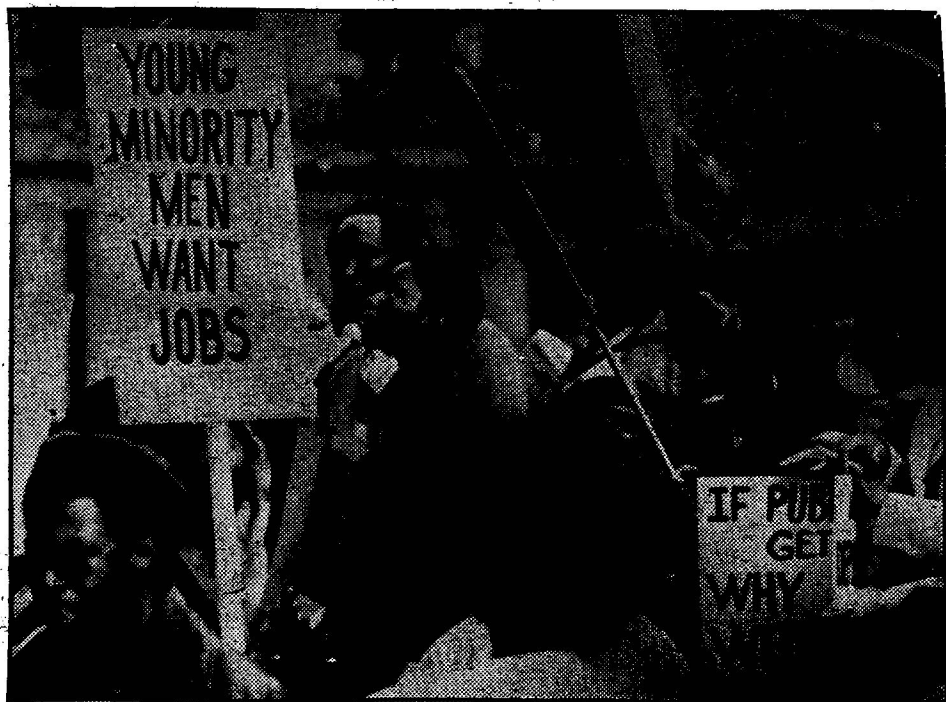
But the black population is overwhelmingly proletarian. Its militancy,

has already given it a significant place in the vanguard of the American working class. The Expo, with its "save the worker" theme, and Jackson's call for "militant pressure," etc., reflects the rising CLASS consciousness of the black workers.

The threat of this militancy has forced Jackson to move rightward. Faced with the present strike wave, he has dropped his calls for "national strikes against layoffs." He has "forgotten" his call for a "black political party" (whatever that meant), and aligns himself with the most reactionary forces. He recently appealed to the CHURCHES for a "new leadership in the struggle for black equality." He joined in this call with the head of one of the largest black churches, who as late as six months ago was still an ardent supporter of Nixon!

His ability to influence the vanguard has diminished as well. The day after the Expo ended he called a demonstration against unemployment which drew a mere 700 hard-core supporters. No major black politicians attended his political meeting, indicating that he is out of favor even among his former friends -- who can always tell a loser.

Poor Jesse; here he was offering to "save the worker," and the black proletariat was already moving to save itself. That's the way things seem to be going for all the liberals and reformists.



WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN

By JON MYERS
 In issue #1 of TRUTH we urged our readers to support the candidates of the Workers League, Helen Halvard and Thomas Delgado, in the upcoming Congressional elections.

In contrast to all other candidates, those of the Workers Party did indeed put forward "watchwords of the Proletarian Revolution:" the fight for the Labor Party, the sliding scale of wages and hours, the dictatorship of the proletariat. The candidates obtained a record 20,000 signatures to get on the ballot and were successful in bringing this campaign to sections of the working class and oppressed minorities in New York City.

PROBLEMS

However, the ability of the campaign to reach sections of the working class with revolutionary propaganda was diminished by the internal problems of the Workers League which caused a drastic reduction in activity during the last weeks of the campaign. The selection of a new National Secretary for the Workers League, Fred Mazelis, which was publicly announced at the end of October, has coincided with the near disappearance of the campaign from the pages of the BULLETIN.

The necessity for workers to support this campaign did not minimize a serious weakness of the Workers League campaign strategy which was evident before the campaign itself was deemphasized. In issue #1 we mentioned the necessity for a revolutionary approach to bourgeois elections as a condition of membership in the Bolshevik Comintern. Crucial as well was the Bolsheviks' demand for a revolutionary strategy in the trade unions -- "systematic and persistent communist work in the trade unions; in workers and industrial councils, in the cooperative societies, and other mass organizations."

The Workers Party campaign demonstrated an inability to pursue serious and systematic work in the trade unions. After over four months of open campaigning, following on an even longer period of preparation, the Workers Party did not announce any orientation towards the trade unions in New York until OCTOBER. This orientation obviously represents a turn in policy for the Workers League.

While we support the effort to bring the campaign into the taxi union, District 1199 of hospital workers, SSEU Local 371, and

the United Federation of Teachers, as well as campaign rallies in the Brooklyn Navy Yard, Williamsburg Steel and hospitals, we believe that this is not the correct revolutionary strategy.

THE WL AND THE UNIONS

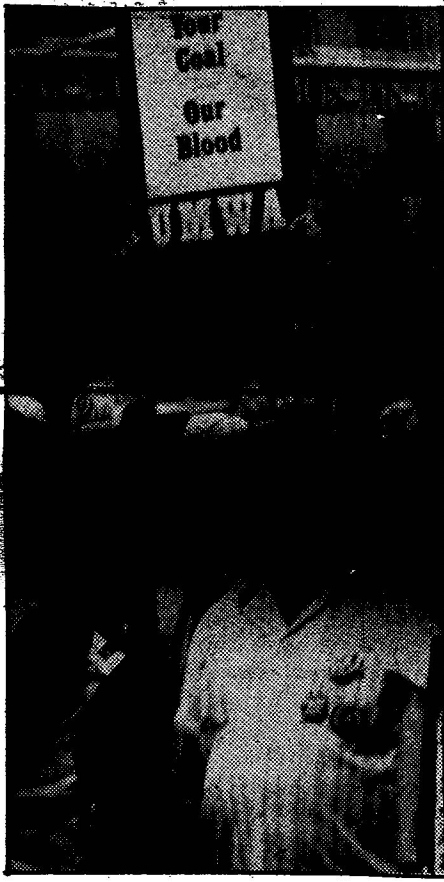
The trade union question is the most important question of proletarian policy in the advanced capitalist countries. The task of liberating the workers from the reactionary influence of the trade union bureaucrats is the most important task of the revolutionary party. This requires slow, persistent and systematic training of Bolshevik cadre in the unions and the building of communist fractions. The Workers League has yet to demonstrate the ability to pursue a systematic course in the trade unions.

And that is no idle remark. Supporters of the WL campaign should ask about the WL's prediction that Meany and Abel were going to build a Labor Party in 1972 -- because they opposed McGovern. They should ask why in the past the WL has often given uncritical support to so many "out" bureaucrats and then dropped the policy without any explanation.

Community rallies and the organization of oppressed youth are all part of the tasks of a revolutionary organization. But if they represent a substitute for the slower and less glamorous task of winning, one-by-one, cadre in the trade unions to a Bolshevik program, it can mean the abandonment of the workers to the clutches of the reactionary bureaucracy. As Trotsky stated: "It is not enough to offer the masses a new address. It is necessary to seek out the masses where they are and to lead them."

ABSTRACT PROPAGANDA

It is unfortunate that the Workers Party candidates missed much of the opportunity given by an election campaign to gain an audience in the trade unions, in particular those with large numbers of militant, black workers. Revolutionary propaganda among youth and in the communities will remain abstract unless linked to a concrete strategy for the trade unions. The call for a Labor Party will remain abstract unless cadres are trained inside the trade unions to fight for that policy. Unless a party can demonstrate to the advanced workers its seriousness and ability to wage this fight, it will REMAIN revolutionary only in words.



ERA cont.

These actions at the FOUNDING conference of CLUW indicate that it is not your ordinary women's group and it is not going to adopt a militant perspective. It is heading in one direction -- towards derailing opposition to the labor bureaucracy and the capitalist attack on workers. About this Leon Trotsky wrote: "In periods of acute class struggle, the leading bodies of the trade unions aim to become the masters of the mass movement in order to render it harmless."

FIGHT THE ERA AND THE CLUW

The Coalition of Labor Union Women and the Equal Rights Amendment have a suspiciously similar ring. Both are "progressive" sounding and both claim to be promoters of equality for women. Both are supported by the labor bureaucrats and are necessary for the capitalists to head off women workers' opposition in the future and to increase the exploitation of women workers now. The trade unions must oppose and fight the passage of the ERA. CLUW must be smashed and exposed as a deception of women workers. As capitalism slides downhill women workers are among the hardest hit. Special groups should be organized within the trade unions to fight for the specific needs of women workers.

Down with bureaucracy and careerism! Open the road to the woman worker!

STILL OUT

In the midst of a deepening recession the US working class continues its fight against the capitalist economic attack. Despite the fact that strikes were fewer in August than in July, the US Labor Department's latest statistics show that the number of strikes for the first eight months of this year continue to be higher than any period since 1970. The number of strikes for August of this year were higher than last August as well.

A national strike seems to have been averted between the IAM and the aerospace industry. But the last month has seen the continuation of the strike of 4,000 members of IBT Local 804 against UPS, and 8,000 Textile Workers in the Northeast were on strike. There was a brief strike of 3,000 Longshoremen in Puerto Rico and the ILWU, the West Coast longshore union, has demanded a reopening of the cost-of-living clause in its contract.

Canada has also been rocked with a strike wave of sizeable proportions, in response to conditions similar to those in the US. A strike of 4,200 Steelworkers against Canadian Pacific, strikes of transit workers in Montreal and Toronto, a strike against United Aircraft of Canada and a six month strike of rubber workers against Goodyear and Firestone tires have been among the most recent. These strike have been marked by militancy and violence.

The results of the strikes demonstrate that the working class is not taking the capitalist attack lying down. Average pay boosts in the third quarter rose to 11.3% from the second quarter and up 9.8% for the year. Construction workers have won average wage gains of 15.5% -- over three times the average wage gains in 1973. There has been the largest increase in the number of cost-of-living clauses in contracts since 1971.

It is obvious, however, that the working class has still not been able to keep pace with inflation. Workers are now beginning to understand that inflation will be around as long as the capitalist system is. Workers' take-home pay is still down over 5% from last year and the capitalists are talking once more of the need for wage controls.

The strikes over the cost-of-living clauses have proven the necessity of our demand for full cost-of-living protection. With unemployment rising, the capitalists are now seeking to take away from more and more workers the only meaningful right left under capitalism -- the right to a job. The working class must now demand full employment to protect the gains that it has won, putting forward the division of available work among all those needing jobs with no loss of pay -- 30 for 40. Despite the betrayals of its leaders, the American working class will continue to make life miserable for the capitalists.

By MARGARET BRECHT

The question of the genesis of the deformed workers' states necessarily figured centrally in the development after World War II of Pabloism and the struggle against it within the Fourth International. Again in the course of the struggle in the early 1960's against the Pabloite revisionism of the leadership of the SWP this same question came to the forefront. In THE THEORY OF STRUCTURAL ASSIMILATION, an analysis of the social overturns which took place in Eastern Europe and Asia, Tim Wohlforth demonstrates the falseness of assumptions made by the Pabloites, assumptions also accepted by the militants of the International Committee who in 1953 broke with Pabloism and began to fight against it. Their acceptance of these bases of Pabloism crippled them in their struggle. Wohlforth has made an important contribution to our movement by bringing this to light. But his own alternative bears the marks of its origins as a RATIONALE for the current International Committee's analysis of the Cuban state as a capitalist one, a position which, as we shall see, necessitates a departure from Marxism.

Since its publication in 1964, neither the current International Committee nor Wohlforth himself has seen fit to either publicly repudiate or develop the contents of THE THEORY OF STRUCTURAL ASSIMILATION, despite the obvious importance of a close examination of the question of the deformed workers' states. The document has simply been suppressed. Thus, we must take up a critique of this work, one step in reopening a discussion necessary for the struggle against Pabloism and for the reconstruction of the Fourth International.

To begin with, Wohlforth correctly sees the context within which the social transformations took place.

The whole shape of the postwar world was determined -- not so much by the transformations in the buffer -- but rather by the restabilization and growth of capitalism over two-thirds of the world's surface, something that could not have been achieved without the Kremlin's active cooperation. (p. 7)

Further, he recognizes that the question is not one of the "Marxist theory of the state" in the abstract, as Hansen posed it, but is one of REVOLUTION:

We are not dealing here with an abstract sociological discussion which allows us to fix labels to states. We are dealing with the very process by which the working class achieves its dominance over society and begins to reshape the history of mankind. (p. 1)

Together these points set his work apart from both the Pabloite enthusiasts and the Shachtmanite cold-warriors who see only the expansion of "Stalinism" and want to reward and punish it, respectively, by verbal means.

BEYOND 1953

Most important is his presentation of the actual events in Eastern Europe and Asia, one which destroys the myths with which they have been surrounded.

Wohlforth demonstrates that it was the Soviet Union which played the critical role in the social overturns; that the policy of the "native" Stalinists coincided at every point with the demands of the Soviet bureaucracy; that the role of the mass movement was secondary. The period between 1944 and 1947 he characterizes as one of the "reconstruction of the bourgeois state structure." The Stalinist parties and the Red Army organized, in collaboration with the remnants of the bourgeoisie, the crushing and containing of the revolutionary organizations and activity of the proletariat in these countries. Since the majority of the bourgeoisie had either fled the country or collaborated with the Nazis, the Stalinists were literally forced to send abroad for them in order to carry out their efforts to compromise with imperialism through the construction of a "buffer" of bourgeois states friendly to the USSR.

There was, however, a limit to the coexistence of the Soviet Union and these bourgeois states, Wohlforth argues. In response to the imperialist offensive, "Stalin ... made a sharp turn in the direction of the defensive consolidation of that section of the world still remaining under the direct domination of the USSR." (p. 18) This period, between 1947 and 1951, Wohlforth characterizes as one of the "drive toward structural assimilation."

A central tenet of Pabloite revisionism has long been the "revolutionary" capacities of the petty bourgeoisie, exemplified, supposedly, in the genesis of the deformed workers' states. This is why we emphasize, when speaking of the deformed workers' states, "Made in the USSR." Wohlforth provides all the material, in his discussion of Yugoslavia and China, necessary for finishing this argument with these revisionists. He shows that the process which took place there was in essence that which took place throughout Eastern Europe; that the USSR and the Yugoslav CP cooperated in the containment of the partisan movement; that it was only after this movement was suppressed that expropriation of the bourgeoisie was undertaken.

Thus there can be no talk of a mass movement pressuring the Stalinists into seizing power AGAINST the will of the Kremlin. This was the view of the Pabloites and it was accepted by the militants of the International Committee.

The view that it was possible to transform the Stalinist parties into centrist parties through mass pressure, which developed in response to the partisan movement and the YCP, was a predecessor of the glorification of the petty-bourgeois forces represented by Mao's peasant army and Castro's guerrillas. Basing himself on the work of Peng Shu-Tse, Wohlforth demonstrates that in China, too, what was decisive in the social transformations was not this army, but the Soviet Union. No action was taken against bourgeois property until years after Mao's military victory. This was the period of the "new democracy." The bourgeoisie was finally expropriated in response to the attack on Korea and under the direct influence of the Soviet Union.

In the case of China, some sections of the IC took issue with Pablo who characterized the CCP as a Stalinist Party. They wished to characterize it as a centrist one in an effort to maintain the Trotskyist analysis of Stalinism. But granting the potential for such a transformation of a Stalinist party, in itself, from the beginning, gives the Pabloites half the argument. Most important, Wohlforth demonstrates, nothing of the kind ever occurred.

THE DEFORMED A CRITIQUE OF TIM WOHLFORTH'S STRUCTURAL

THE THEORY OF STRUCTURAL ASSIMILATION

His presentation of events is, of course, shaped by his "theory of structural assimilation." He sees the process as, fundamentally, one of the "extension of the Stalinist bureaucracy," not as one of the transformation of the property relations through the intervention of the Soviet Union.

Wohlforth's "process" of "structural assimilation" is composed of three "interrelated" developments:

- 1) the completion of the destruction of the basic political, social and economic hold of the bourgeoisie; 2) the consolidation of a monolithic Stalinist party; and 3) the interpenetration of the state apparatus and the apparatus of the party. (p. 19)

But, he argues, "The completion of the destruction of the economic underpinnings of the bourgeois forces in these countries did not represent such a drastic change as the destruction of their political power ... the critical question was in whose hands the state was ..." (p. 22) And he argues directly against placing any importance, in analysis, on the nationalization of bourgeois property.

This is so because, according to Wohlforth: "The direct economic power of the bourgeois class in Eastern Europe had been basically eroded with the nationalizations which followed the war ..." Further, "... the political expression of this bourgeois social stratum was of extreme importance to the bourgeoisie precisely because of their very real social weakness." (p. 20) Thus, the social revolution in Eastern Europe, for Wohlforth, consisted essentially in the ouster of the bourgeois elements from the state apparatus in Eastern Europe and their replacement by Stalinists, that is, in PART of #1 and in ALL of #2 and #3 of his "process."

While he states repeatedly that the process must be seen in its "entirety" and no "factor" can be "singled out," there can be no doubt that HE has singled one out and there can be no doubt why.

At the time this was written, the Cuban regime had not been consolidated; the Castroites were in conflict with the Communist Party and with the Soviet Union; Castro himself had not yet assimilated Stalinist ideology. Wohlforth held and continues to hold that the Cuban state is a phantom capitalist state akin to the one in Spain which Trotsky allegedly described in this way in 1936. Thus IT WAS NECESSARY for him to "single out" something -- the consolidation of a Stalinist party -- which had occurred in the Kremlin -- which had occurred in Eastern Europe and Asia, but which had not YET occurred in Cuba. The passage of time has rendered this aspect of the effort quite fruitless. Such is the very nature of rationales.

It must be said that this is in fact not a "theory of structural assimilation," as the term has been generally understood in our movement. Wohlforth himself does not really believe that these states were assimilated into the USSR. But the term is useful to him since it was used by Trotsky and later Germain to DESCRIBE the fate of Eastern Poland, and thus has a ring of orthodoxy. And it SOUNDS like it excludes Cuba (structural assimilation across the ocean!?)

STRUCTURAL ASSIMILATION AND TROTSKY'S ANALYSIS

What Trotsky analyzed in Eastern Poland and projected for Finland was not so much the "structural assimilation" of these states, but the transformation of the property relations upon which they were based, through the intervention of the USSR, and the CONSEQUENT transformation in the superstructure. The degree of actual assimilation was secondary:

... the Moscow government will carry through the expropriation of the large landowners and statification of the means of production. This variant is most probably not because the bureaucracy remains true to the socialist program but because it is neither desirous nor capable of sharing the power, and the privileges the latter entails, with the old ruling classes in the occupied territories ...

... In as much as Stalin's Bonapartist dictatorship bases itself not on private but on state property, the invasion of Poland by the Red Army, should, in the nature of the case, result in the abolition of private capitalist property, so as to bring the regime of the occupied territories into accord with the regime of the USSR.

... Nevertheless the military victory of Stalin over Finland would unquestionably have made fully possible an overthrow of property relations with more or less assistance from the Finnish workers and small farmers. -- IN DEFENSE OF MARXISM

So it was in Eastern Europe in 1947, in China in 1952-1953, in Cuba in 1960, and so on.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE PROPERTY RELATIONS

What Wohlforth, as a result of his position on the class nature of the Cuban state, must dismiss is precisely what Marxists begin with: the character of the relations of production. The nationalization of bourgeois property in Eastern Europe after 1947, which Wohlforth deals with as an abstraction, represents the first act of preliminary socialist accumulation. This was accompanied by an attack on petty commodity production and the introduction of an economic plan. This constituted the EXPROPRIATION OF THE BOURGEOISIE, the introduction of collectivist property forms and their reproduction in accordance with the law of preliminary socialist accumulation under the aegis of the



Cuban troops - 1961

Soviet Union. It was this which dictated the transformation in the state apparatus upon which Wohlforth places so much emphasis. But at the same time that he argues that the nationalization of industry was not fundamental to the transformations, he points out that prior to 1947 the nationalizations were directed AGAINST the proletariat. Industries which had been abandoned by the Nazis were taken over by the proletariat and then placed in private hands; industries where the proletariat was well-organized and in some places in control were "nationalized." But with 1947, he points out, came a new wave of nationalizations directed AGAINST the bourgeoisie.

Because he must dismiss the significance of any nationalizations, he can make no serious examination of the actual relations of production, the transformation of which constitutes the social revolution. Thus he has no choice but to reintroduce the revisionist conception of the "transitional state;" that is, a state without any class character. This is the way he characterizes the state during the time when Wohlforth was in the process of carrying out a revolution through "military-bureaucratic means":

Structural assimilation is the kind of process where change takes place over a relatively extended period of time ... DURING the process things are nowhere as clear ...

Thus these states are TRANSITIONAL states which maintain a capitalist character only in the historical sense -- that is, by recognizing where they come from and that they have not yet gotten to where they SEEM to be going (but may not necessarily get to). (p. 88)

The necessity to rationalize the Cuba position has left Wohlforth in quite a muddle.

WHY THE CUBA POSITION?

Wohlforth and others like him have maintained that Cuba was a capitalist state because they have thought that to argue otherwise would constitute, by admitting that Stalinists were capable of carrying out tasks of the revolution, the liquidation of the very basis of existence of the Fourth International. It was for this same reason that many of the best elements of the Fourth International after the war maintained that the states in Eastern Europe remained capitalist for some time after the transformations had actually taken place. And many of these militants looked to the work of Germain as does Wohlforth. History has already demonstrated how ill-prepared these comrades were for the struggle against Pabloism. This is, unfortunately, equally true of Wohlforth.

TROTSKY'S POSITION

Trotsky not only admitted that the SOVIET BUREAUCRACY had expropriated the capitalists in Eastern Europe but also predicted that they would be forced to do it again. This did not lead him to in any way reassess the nature of the Soviet bureaucracy OR of Stalinism in general, because he saw the overturns not as a function of a petty-bourgeois layer, but as a function of the relations of production established by the October Revolution. Without the Soviet Union there would have been no "revolution" in Eastern Europe, China, Cuba, etc. The Stalinists remain the greatest danger to the basis of the Soviet Union and the very way in which they have carried out these "revolutions" has weakened the Soviet Union and the proletariat. Many times Trotsky compared the relationship of the

WORKERS STATES WELFORTH'S THEORY OF SIMILATION

THE PURPOSE OF THEORY

The development of our positions allows us to check our initial impressions against our own theoretical tradition. In this way we can be certain of their compatibility with the Marxist principles that have been proven irrefutable and, thus, certain of their correctness as a guide to revolutionary action. That in the course of developing his "theory of structural assimilation" he was forced to characterize Stalinism as proletarian and abandon the materialist approach should have led Wohlforth to reassess his own position. But it did not. The consequences of this are not only theoretical, but also eminently practical. He has been disarmed before the Pabloites on the burning questions of our movement. Like the Pabloites, Wohlforth seems to think that it has been for reasons of taste that the Stalinists have not abolished the national boundaries which divide the USSR from the deformed workers' states and organized the economies on a joint basis.

In fact, actual incorporation of these countries into the USSR may well have benefited them by allowing the area to economically be developed on a regional pattern. (p. 27)

He seems to have forgotten that the Stalinist bureaucracy is an obstacle to the expansion of the productive forces; that such a rise in their level as would be produced through the abolition of the national boundaries and a common plan would threaten the Stalinist bureaucracy which has its roots in the relative backwardness of the Soviet Union and must seek to maintain it. This is the basis of OUR OPPOSITION to the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Just as he cannot see the material basis of the Stalinist bureaucracy, so he has not seen the material basis of the proto-capitalist layer which has arisen in opposition to it. Nationalized property and planned economy are an obstacle to the development of the layer that has arisen on the basis of the so-called economic reforms. This is the basis of the opposition by Solzhenitsyn, for example, to the Stalinist bureaucracy. But Wohlforth has published praise of him, as have the Pabloites.

Nowhere is the disarming character of Wohlforth's theory clearer than in the question of the Cuban Revolution itself. A decade ago, when the Pabloites were pointing to Castro's conflicts with Escalante as evidence of his revolutionary opposition to Stalinism, Wohlforth was pointing to the same thing as evidence of the bourgeois character of the state. Now, when Castro has become the most abject servant of the Kremlin, attempting to aid them in their "detente" with imperialism; when every opportunity to point out the treachery of the Pabloite policy is presented, Wohlforth points to THIS too as evidence of the bourgeois character of the state. This is not what we would characterize as admirable persistence. With the consolidation of the Stalinist bureaucracy in Cuba -- the structural assimilation of the Cuban state in Wohlforth's terms -- any arguments for his position in any way distinct from those of the Shachtmanites vanish. It is impossible to fight Pabloism with Shachtmanism.

In speaking of his earlier views on the question of the deformed workers' states, Wohlforth himself said:

The important thing is to develop during the course of the struggle, no matter how confused one may be in the beginning. Those who do not develop are either destroyed or worthless as far as building a revolutionary movement is concerned. (p. 1.)

Thus the suppression of this document is far more damning to the current International Committee and to Wohlforth himself than is its existence, for it indicates that not only are they incapable of ANY FURTHER development but also that even this limited development was too much for them.

Despite the years of experience represented by this International Committee, it has never given our movement any assessment of the struggle against Pabloism before 1953 or of the discussion of the deformed workers' states which took place in the late 40's and early 50's. The leadership can only think that if it pretends these questions are not there that they will just go away. Their refusal to discuss these questions; that the ideas on them contained in THE THEORY OF STRUCTURAL ASSIMILATION are taboo in that very organization, is an indication of the state of this IC -- its stagnation and consequent instability.

But these questions will not go away. They will assert themselves and the current International Committee will be shaken to its foundations.

Our analysis is based on the premises of Trotskyism and there can be no more solid foundation. The potential that was contained in Wohlforth's work and in other struggles against Pabloism, and that was never developed, we have begun to fulfill.

Cuban Revolution: 'Made in the USSR' Red Soldiers - 1919



Stalinist bureaucracy to the Soviet relations of production with the relationship of the trade union bureaucracy under capitalism to the trade unions. Each represents a FUNDAMENTALLY bourgeois tendency within a proletarian institution. There can be no better analogy.

Because Wohlforth rejects the transformation of the property relations through the intervention of the USSR as the basis upon which the deformed workers' states in Eastern Europe and China arose, he has no choice but to look elsewhere for the source of the proletarian character of these states. So he posits a fundamentally proletarian character to the Stalinist bureaucracy, as do the Pabloites, and attributes the state's class character to this allegedly proletarian character of Stalinism:

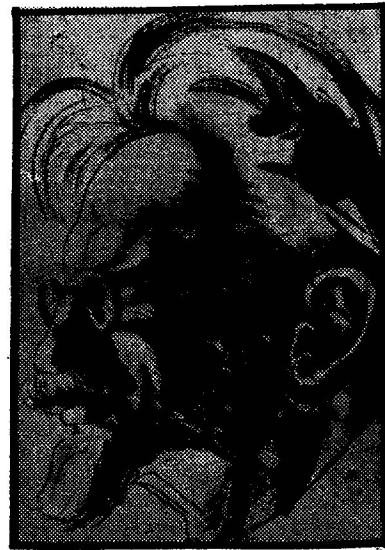
Taken together the process is essentially one of social revolution -- the destruction of the remnants of power of one ruling class and its replacement by a social stratum which at bottom represented the interests of another class -- the working class -- though to be sure in a highly distorted fashion. (p. 22)

The difference in content flowed not from the formal state structure in these countries but from the control over the state apparatus by the apparatus of the Stalinist party. (p. 25)

The working class character was given to the social overturn not by any limited role the working class may have played here or there but by the ESSENTIAL CLASS NATURE of the force which all admit played the major role in the transformation process -- the Stalinist bureaucracy and the apparatus. (p. 42)

An analysis which began as part of the struggle against Pabloism has arrived at the conclusion that the Stalinist states are all deformed workers' states because Stalinism is fundamentally PROLETARIAN!

This search for an alternative to the conception of the centrality of the property relations entails the assignment of relative importance to various other "factors," an approach denounced by Plekhanov in his polemic against "factor analysis" in favor of "monism." His arrival at the conclusion that the "political factor" is in this case more important than the "economic factor" only highlights the idealist approach. When Wohlforth argues that the question of property forms, that is, the essential element of the economic basis, is "secondary," he is relying on the Shachtmanite arguments and the entire rejection of dialectical materialism that this entails, as much as he is relying on the Pabloites when he characterizes Stalinism as proletarian.



Down with the Park Dictatorship

By KEVIN TRACEY

As part of his trip to Japan in late November, Gerald Ford will drop in on South Korea's dictator, Park Chung Hee. This visit is designed to be a symbolic gesture of the American support without which this corrupt and reactionary regime could not survive.

ROLE OF IMPERIALISM

In the last part of 1973 and the first part of 1974, S. Korea was rocked by massive demonstrations which, while they began with students (a sensitive barometer of social discontent), soon spread to the widest layers of the population. These demonstrations reflected the fundamental hatred of the Korean people for the Park regime, the servile and brutal hiring of US and Japanese imperialism.

Imperialism is responsible for the reign of terror under which the Korean people live. S. Korea was MANUFACTURED as a base for attacking China and suffered immense losses during the Korean War. In the war's aftermath, it became a location of intense imperialist investment. By investing in S. Korea, where wages and costs are low, the imperialists reap super-profits when they sell Korean-made products on the world market. Korean shirts may be "cheap," but they are produced by workers who earn the generous sum of fifty dollars a month -- maybe. Naturally, the Korean workers, the poor peasants and others want to improve their standard of living. But this can be done only at the expense of imperialism's profits. To make sure that doesn't happen, S. Korea, like many other poor countries, is placed in the hands of an imperialist goon squad. Thus the Gestapo-like Korean National Police, the Central Intelligence Agency (note that name) and the massive armed forces become one vast apparatus of repression. And they are all armed, trained, supplied and financed by the United States. In addition, the US maintains 38,000 troops there, both support and combat units, as a sign of its commitment to the maintenance of "freedom" (capitalism).

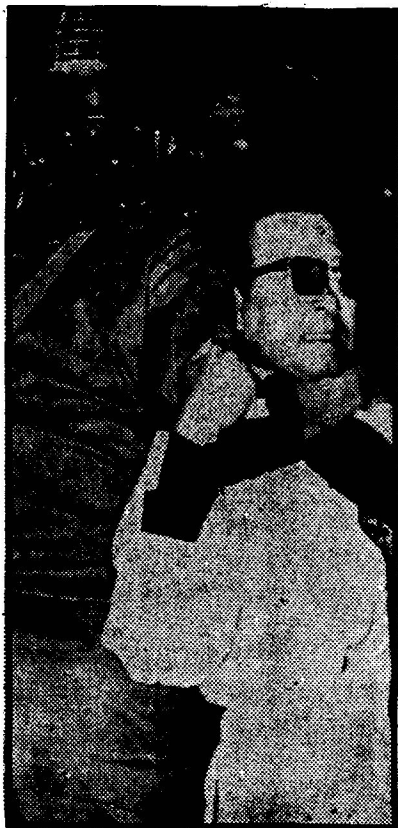
As long as imperialism maintains its grip, the Korean people have no way out. Thus, after Nixon's trade offensive in 1971, the Korean economic "boom" came to a dead end. As part of a worldwide accommodation to American capitalism's trade deficit, Korean textile exports were cut back drastically. This threw the economy into a tailspin, producing massive trade deficits. This was directly responsible for the imposition, on October 17, 1972, of an even harsher dictatorship by Park, minus even the democratic facade of yesteryear. Under the new constitution, for example, "evidence" openly obtained by torture is admissible in court. Due to the added effects of world recession, this stepped-up repression is the only possible answer for the imperialists and their Korean lackeys to the question of how to make the working class produce more for less -- thus helping out the bosses' profit margins.

EVIL JAPAN -- OR IMPERIALISM?

Protest against dictatorship was a main focus of the major demonstrations. The second focus was protest against Japanese control of the Korean economy. Short of a perspective of the expropriation of all capitalist holdings, such a campaign can only serve the interests of the most nationalist and isolationist sectors of the Korean middle classes, who feel deprived of access to great wealth by the "foreigners," and thus, ultimately of the imperialists themselves. The student movement, in particular in backward countries, expresses these desires, as for instance in Thailand and Indonesia. This was graphically demonstrated in the case of the last upsurge

of the Korean students in 1961 which toppled the reactionary government of Syngman Rhee. While it presented itself as a democratic and even "radical" movement, and was hailed as the forerunner of the student Left internationally, it was actually designed to further the interests of a pro-US capitalist layer in the population and was organized and financed by the American CIA, which saw Rhee as an obstacle. Its only practical results were the creation of a whole layer of pro-imperialist capitalists, now "leaders" of the Korean economy, and of the arrival of Park's military dictatorship.

This chauvinist anti-Japanese agitation is all the middle classes can offer as a solution to the crisis of Korea. While the ties between Japan and the ruling group must be exposed (for instance, that Park himself served as an officer in the brutal Japanese Army of Occupation -- shades of "anticommunist" Vietnamese "nationalists," who somehow had all served in the French Army!), it must also be noted that it is the United States which maintains the major role in the Korean economy, (going so far as to actually print the Korean currency unit, the won). Furthermore,



Park's police

the development of Korea cannot proceed on the basis of an "independent" capitalism, since this is precisely the phenomenon which invites imperialist investment, but only on the basis of a socialist development of the whole country and of the whole Northeast Asian Region.

THE WORKING CLASS

Through the lack of perspective on the part of the middle class and by the skillful use of terror, combined with the stupid and typically futile assassination attempt which enabled Park to turn anti-Japanese sentiment into pro-Park sentiment, the mass demonstrations have come to an end. But in their place, following the failure of the petty bourgeoisie, comes the offensive of the working class of Korea, a new and youthful, vibrant and energetic class. Large and violent strikes have broken out recently, in resisting the offensive of the capitalists and the imperialists. These strikes have actually had to be contained by the use of troops. This signals the entry of the Korean proletariat onto the stage of history. Now its leadership must be built, seizing every opportunity to destroy imperialism and its native lackeys.

Only by waging battles in the interests of itself and of the laboring population generally can the working class movement insure the downfall of Park. In the factories and in the fields and rice paddies, on the streets and in the barracks, great battles are going to be fought. The triumph of these battles can mean not just the end of the dictatorship but also the triumph of a great mass movement which will move immediately to the socialist revolution. Such a movement would provide a great impetus to the overthrow of the reactionary Kim Il Sung gang in N. Korea and the socialist reunification of the whole country. Such events would have great significance for the struggle in Japan and for the overthrow by the Chinese working class of the bureaucratic Maoist caste. And on an even larger scale such an event would have massive repercussions on the working classes of the advanced capitalist countries -- both by example and because of the reaction of the imperialist rulers. American workers especially need to oppose the role the US government wants to play in S. Korea and to support the fight of the Korean proletariat. It is not a matter of moral indignation, but of a common class interest.

Crisis in Portugal

By AN OBSERVER

Recent events in Portugal have demonstrated the desperation of the ruling class and the openings for the working class if it can shake off its betraying leaderships and move to seize these opportunities.

Driven by the continued need of Portuguese capitalism to stabilize its rule and faced with the deepening world recession which eliminated any possibility of concessions to the masses, General Spinoza, the representative of the extreme right wing in the government, attempted to stage a seizure of power on the night of September 28th. This desperate action happened even sooner than was anticipated by us in TRUTH #1, and expresses the fact that the crisis bears down even harder on the bourgeoisie than can be anticipated from afar, as well as the actual fragility of Spinoza's apparent dominance in the regime.

There can be no doubt that the coup was "premature," in the sense of its likelihood of success. But it was absolutely required by the fears and desires of the most right-wing sectors of the ruling class. The fact that the working class had not yet been completely subdued, that



the representatives of the CP and SP as a consequence had not yet been driven out of the coalition, made the attempt a grave gamble. It was a gamble that failed.

The working class responded to this attempt by mobilizing in strength, erecting barricades and preventing the assembly of a large reactionary demonstration which was to be the signal for the Spinoza coup. However, this mobilization was distorted from the start by the control exercised over it, especially by the Communist Party. Far from using the resistance of the workers to the reactionary offensive as the means to unite the workers for the overthrow of capitalism EN TOTO, the CP and SP turned the response into a defense of the Armed Forces Movement, the more technocratic and "moderate" officers, who represented a similar layer in the ruling class. It was as if the Bolsheviks had turned the resistance to the Czarist coup of Kornilov into a demonstration of support for Kerensky. Thus, shortly after the workers had consciously repelled the right-wing threat, the CP and SP had them doing "voluntary" weekend labor -- for the capitalist government.

This response by the working class opened up great possibilities for the ending of the forced retreat which the proletariat has been making since the early days of the new government. But these are opportunities and not inevitable progressive events. To announce that dual power exists in Portugal, as do the organizations of the International Committee, at least until recently, is to attempt to put across a cynical fraud which can only totally disorient those who believe it. The task in Portugal now is precisely to establish the ORGANS of dual power, some kind of instru-

ments by which the working class can counterpose its rule to that of the capitalists. These are precisely what are missing. As long as the great majority of the Portuguese working class, the trade unionists, the existing factory committees, etc., remain totally dominated by the Stalinists, then the desire of the Portuguese workers to establish their own rule will never come to fruition. Short of the overthrow of control by the SP and the CP of the working movement, the establishment of unity and coordination among working-class centers and the creation of real workers' militias from the scattered armed individuals and groups, this upsurge of the Portuguese working class will be only a detour on the road to the consolidation of the power of capitalism. To open the road to revolution new leadership and strategy are necessary.

The party of Trotskyism must be built in Portugal by carrying out an intensive agitation among the most advanced workers, those who have already denounced the Stalinists and those, even in the CP, who are capable of seeing what is going around them. In particular, the greatest attention must be paid to dispelling illusions in the Armed Forces Movement which the CP presents as the guardian of democracy. It is precisely from the AFM that the next assaults on the workers will come. Because of the centrality of the AFM, need to expose the AFM and because of its strength and power, agitation in the armed forces takes on a critically important character. Only by winning over significant portions of the army, neutralizing others and obtaining sources of arms and skills can the working class expect to beat the capitalists and maintain control once it has won.

This agitation must be carried out around the central slogans appropriate to Portugal. A Constituent Assembly must be demanded in order to break the grip of "benevolent dictatorship" by the AFM, at the same time that the working class is building soviets, or action committees, etc., as organs of its own power. The nationalization of the biggest companies under workers control, the opening of the books to workers' commissions, etc., are the answers to the economic crisis. All the old reactionaries must be handed over to popular tribunals. The CP and SP must be forced to break with the coalition government. Slogans must be put forward for peasants and for the immediate independence of the colonies and for the immediate withdrawal of troops from these countries. The greatest attention must be paid to defending, expanding and generalizing the economic and political demands of the workers and soldiers.

Only along this road can the traitors be driven out of the workers' movement, the power and confidence of the working class be strengthened, and the possibility of socialist revolution be made real. Given the events in Spain in recent weeks and the continued resistance of the Portuguese proletariat, the possibilities are great for a social upheaval on the whole Iberian peninsula that would throw world capitalism for a dizzying loss.



BRITISH ELECTIONS OVER

By A REPORTER
The British working class has given the Labor Party a parliamentary majority. There should be now -- according to the pronouncements of the Labor Party -- no obstacle to the execution of its program. No obstacle that is but the British bourgeoisie.

And one of the first acts of the majority Labor government has been to sit down with some of these gentlemen -- the leaders of the Confederation of British Industry -- listen to their ultimatum -- abolition of price controls, reduction in corporation tax, abandonment of nationalization plans -- and try to win their cooperation.

Despite Labor Secretary Anthony Wedgwood-Benn's claim following the elections that nationalizations of private industry would proceed as planned, they have not. Instead, the Labor government is making plans to pour one million pounds of PUBLIC funds into PRIVATE industry.

While the Labor Party is demonstrating its gratitude to the British working class for placing it in power by going back on its promises in order to win the favor of the bourgeoisie, the British working class is demonstrating that it is quite capable of taking care of itself. Election returns were greeted with a strike wave in Scotland and England which included workers at Ford and Chrysler, aircraft workers, lorry drivers, bus crews, shipyard men, and even employees at the Playboy club. Higher wages has been at the top of the list. Workers in some industries have struck against layoffs and for nationalizations. It has become quite clear what the workers think of the Labor Party leadership's call for national unity and its social contract.

British society will continue to be polarized. The divergence of classes will ultimately lead to a split of the Labor Party itself. In the election workers voted out labor traitors who had gone over to the liberals and gave increased support to the Workers Revolutionary Party which was able to field ten candidates. Already right-wingers in the Labor Party are threatening to split and leave the government. The working class must prepare itself to take these matters in its own hands.



BRITISH AUTOWORKERS ON STRIKE

"YOU OUGHTA BE IN PICTURES"

James R. Hoffa, well-known union leader and friend of the workingman, is running for President of the Teamsters Union, even though sometimes it's hard to tell. His opponent will be Frank Fitzsimmons, arch-reactionary, friend of Nixon and general scab, who only consented to springing Jimmy from the prison in which he had unjustly been incarcerated by the Kennedy-Johnson administrations when his Republican buddies promised to restrict Hoffa's parole so that he could never run against Fitz.

And of course Jimmy has other problems besides these ones. Mostly he seems unable to distinguish himself from Fitz. He's for raiding the Farm Workers, he feels sorry for Nixon, he hates the Democrats but likes the Republicans. Sometimes it's hard to tell who taught what to whom about being a labor faker. This is very discouraging to Jimmy, so he's looking into new ways of bringing his name before the world. Movies are the answer, Jimmy thinks. How great it would be to have your story told on the silver screen to the adoring masses -- just like Babe Ruth and Sergeant York.

So the actor, Robert Conrad, late of THE WILD WILD WEST, has suddenly "acquired" the rights to Hoffa's life story, in preparation for a three-hour (no less) flick. While we can hardly contain our excitement, we should point out a few things. Conrad does look a little like Hoffa, short and muscular, but there are problems. Jimmy is one of the great performers of our time -- acting the militant unionist, the aggrieved prisoner, loving family man, etc. But Conrad can't act his way out of a wet paper bag and, besides, he's not good-looking.

No, there's no way out of it. Jimmy's just got to play himself. That would add some real authenticity to the role and also keep the money in the right hands -- always one of Hoffa's strong points. And it's the only job Jimmy is going to get if he keeps handling himself like he has recently.

Ah, well, the workers should take it in good spirits. They're not losing a hack; they're gaining a superstar.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE: The SWP's "Left Wing"

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Capitalism May Be Hazardous To Your Health

By DAVID MARKOS

The tragedy of vinylchloride, an industrial chemical which has been found to be a cancer-causing agent, points out once again the extreme decay into which capitalism has plunged society, as well as the impossibility of solving the problem of industrial health hazards under the rule of the bourgeoisie. The controversy over vinylchloride and polyvinylchloride (PVC) has been raging since the discovery last January of the deaths of several PVC workers.

WHO IS AFFECTED ?

About 6,500 workers are employed in plants that actually produce vinyl chloride or polyvinyl chloride, a related chemical. But as many as 350,000 others are exposed to the chemical in the plastics industry -- the main user of vinyl chloride and PVC. Until recently industry set its own standard of five hundred parts per million for the "safe" concentrations of these chemicals which workers could be exposed to. These standards proved to be a farce when researchers in the field of job-safety showed that cancer could develop from concentrations as small as fifty parts per million. Since then the Labor Department's Occupational Safety and Health Administration has ordered an emergency standard of fifty parts per million, and has set as a "final" target a standard that would allow concentrations of up to only five parts per million. Industry has taken OSHA's ruling to court to obtain an injunction.

SOME PROTECTION

What really sheds light on the power of government agencies to deal with workers' safety is the stunning fact that, LONG BEFORE last January's revelations about vinyl chloride, research had already shown that the substance caused cancer. Research done by Dow Chemical in the LATE '50's had shown that cancerous tumors developed in animals from concentrations as low as one hundred parts per million. And, by 1972, a research project sponsored by the gigantic Italian chemicals company, Montedison S.p.A., had concluded that vinyl chloride was a "carcinogenic" (cancer-causing) substance. Was this information then passed on to the "appropriate authorities?" Hardly.

Instead the information was given to the US's Manufacturing Chemists Association only under the condition that the MCA would agree to keep these findings SECRET! It was not until the spring of 1973, almost fifteen years after Dow's initial research, that the data on vinyl chloride was finally released to the OSHA. Still, no action was taken.

Only in January of 1974, when the first human cases of vinyl chloride-related cancers turned up, did the Federal government curb the quantities of vinyl chloride allowed in plants which use the chemical. Since then, twenty-six deaths of former PVC workers, caused by the rare liver cancer attributable to PVC, have been discovered. This cancer NORMALLY strikes at the rate of one to 900,000 in the general population. Other evidence has shown that increases in the rate of other types of cancer among vinyl chloride workers can also be traced to the substance.

INDUSTRY RESPONSE

Though the Federal government ordered reductions of vinyl chloride to levels far below those of industry, the standards have several loopholes. OSHA itself admitted that technological renovations required by the new standards could take "several years" and, in reality, NO DATES for the proposed reductions have been set. Even so, industry is screaming for the Federal agency to reduce the proposed standards, claiming that they are technologically impossible and that the plastics industry would be driven out of business. It's easy to understand (if not to sympathize with) the point-of-view of industry and of its lackeys in government. They take as their starting point the notion that workers are, after all, expendable. The working class, for its part, should offer to expropriate these poor starving capitalists and manage industry itself.

AND ANOTHER BENEFIT

As if to confirm this viewpoint, the Congress passed last month a bill which supposedly reforms pension coverage for workers. The bill does nothing for at least two-thirds of the workforce, which is not covered by ANY KIND of pension provisions at all. In addition, in order for workers to be eligible for pensions they must remain on the job for ten to fifteen years, depending on which of the law's formulas they fall under. Those who finally receive a pension may rest easy in the knowledge that the government will insure that their "lunch money" (nationally, pensions average one hundred dollars a month,) after being slashed by at least ten years of inflation, will be paid. As for the millions of workers who are exposed to vinyl chloride, asbestos poisoning, arsenic or any of the hundreds of discovered or yet-to-be discovered industrial health hazards, the government might have at least made their pensions transferable to cover their funeral expenses.

THE REAL DISEASE

The capitalists inability to solve such problems, however, is not a technological one, as the bosses would have us believe, but a social disease -- capitalism's very own cancer. The symptoms are the increasing misery and oppression of the proletariat, the inability of technology and scientific achievement to expand beyond the point of their own destruction; in a word, the debasement of human culture. And at the source of all this is the continued reign of private property. Thus, the five billion pounds of PVC produced annually in this country (a third of world production) is not enough to meet even domestic demand. The magnates of the chemical industry which produces vinyl chloride and PVC, and of the plastics industry which is dependent on this production, are all unable to generate the required amounts of capital in order to expand their own production -- much less revamp industry to make it safe for the producers themselves, the working class.

The steadfast refusal of the bourgeoisie to make work safe, the prostration of the servants of the bourgeoisie in government before their masters, foretells for the working class the nature of the battles it will have to wage in defense of social progress.

Dutch Soldiers-Their Union and Its Limits

By ROBIN EVERETT

As capitalism heads for economic collapse and rising class struggles, the ruling class of each country prepares its military machine for action. Britain and the United States have ended the draft and now rely on "all-volunteer" forces. Although the capitalists try to pass this off as a concession to the demands of the people, the volunteer army is really a great danger. The successes of the Soldiers' Union in the Dutch army show why the capitalists are afraid of the conscript (draft) army, and what the attitude of the working class must be towards the armed forces.

WHAT THE UNION DOES

The VVDM (Dutch initials of the conscripts' union) was formed in 1966. Its first victory, also won by draftees in Denmark, West Germany, and other European countries, was the right to keep long hair. Says one recently retired general: "The discipline has gone out of our army. It started with the long hair business; from that moment they began to push, push, push... Now the soldiers do just what they want." The VVDM has won major concessions from the brass. Representing almost 30,000 out of the 54,000 conscripts in the 110,000 man force (army, navy and air force), the Soldiers Union has regular negotiations on grievances, wages and working conditions. Pay is up from \$18.50 a month ten years ago to between \$151 and \$230 a month now, depending on age and marital status. This is TEN TIMES as much as the French conscript makes, and twice as much as West German conscript pay, the next highest in Europe. The Soldiers' Union has also won the promise of overtime pay, time off, or both, to make up for weekend duty.

The VVDM has "official status" with the Ministry of Defense, which provides it with office space and frees the seven conscripts who run its work from all other duties. General van Lent, State Secretary for Personnel in the Ministry of Defense, says, "We try to avoid polarization" and adds that the VVDM is useful as "a way for the soldiers to let off steam."

More satisfying than "letting off steam," the VVDM has also won an end to late evening personnel checks in the barracks, and to reveille in the morning. The soldiers get up when they please as long as they get to work on time. They have also won improved food, the right to wear civilian clothes at meals, and improved sanitary facilities. Saluting officers has also been done away with, except in formal appointments or ceremonies.

BOURGEOIS MILITARY'S RESPONSE

All this raises the question: "How far will it go?" For the Dutch capitalists and their officers, it's already "too far." "The nation has lost confidence in its military establishment," says one Dutch career officer. He says the VVDM is guided by "leftist elements who want to bring disorder." The leadership of the Soldiers' Union says it has no such plans. "We believe that soldiers who think about freedom will be good soldiers when it comes to fighting for freedom," says the VVDM secretary.

Sad to say, the officer is closer to understanding the situation. Whatever the VVDM leadership's intentions, the bourgeois officer instinctively feels that the power of the Soldiers' Union weakens the capitalists' ability to use their military machine. The president of the VVDM, Sgt. Hans Wilmink, says: "We need a conscript army that looks more like the rest of our society, with more democracy and really freethinking soldiers." But Sgt. Wilmink ought to ask himself where the rest of "our society" is going. The officers don't suspect the Soldiers' Union of trying to "bring disorder" just because it will take away some of their privileges. They understand that the whole social system is headed for "disorder," for bitter battles between the classes. The officers know that an army of conscripts with a tradition of standing up for their rights will stand with the workers against the officers who represent the ruling class.

Trying to convince himself that the Soldiers' Union is really "OK," Wilmink turns reality around. It is "the rest of society" that looks more like the army every day. Especially for workers and young people, life has become more and more regimented. This is as much a part of capitalism's decay as the fact that free enterprise has grown into ruthless monopoly control. Capitalism has nothing to do with freedom. The only freedom that capitalism respects is freedom that defends itself with force. This is exactly why the conscript army and the Soldiers' Union are not "OK" with the capitalists.

Wilmink, who is a Social Democrat "in private life," thinks he can wish away reality by playing with words. "Free enterprise... free elections... freethinking soldiers... See? They all go together." This is OK for Radio Free Europe, but will hardly convince the ruling class. The class instinct of the capitalists tells them loud and clear that the Soldiers' Union has more real political importance than all the free speech and free elections in the world. The Dutch capitalists must control the army for their own "freethinking." In the economic-political struggle between the classes, the army will have the last word on who triumphs. This is why the Dutch ruling class is now trying to change to an "all-volunteer" force.

LESSONS TO BE LEARNED

There are important lessons to be learned from the struggle of the Dutch soldiers. The greatest weakness of the VVDM is that it bases all its activity on the situation as it is now. All its demands are geared to peacetime conditions. But of course the greatest abuse of the soldiers occurs under conditions of war. In addition, the ruling class will raise enormous pressure against the demands of the soldiers during wartime as "undermining the war effort," etc. They will shout this all the louder, the worse they are abusing the soldiers and the more they are profiteering. The Soldiers' Union and the trade unions must take steps now to deal with this. The only way for the soldiers to safeguard themselves is for the working

class to control the military training and to select its own officers, men it trusts from its own ranks. Military training and the training and selection of officers must be under the control of the trade unions.

There is also a great danger that the ruling class will use the struggle of the Soldiers' Union to push for an "all-volunteer" army. The agitation and demands of the VVDM are based mainly in the hardships and "irrationalities" that service forces on conscripts. This is

WILKINZ THE BUREAUCRACY'S ROLE ON THE CONSCRIPTS



"Great speech, Jerry... especially the part about tightening our belts... Dynamite!"

FORD'S IDEA

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bureaucracy, the US imperialists hope to be able to strengthen their position within the Stalinist states to such a degree that they will be able to take advantage of internal tensions and reestablish the rule of capitalism, thereby giving a new lease on life to this dying social system. "Detente" is nothing more than a new name for sellout, the sellout of the actual conquests of the working class by the bureaucracy in return for the, very temporary, maintenance of its privileges.

THE "OIL CARTEL" SHAM

The recent open threats of war against the oil-producing countries by Ford and Kissinger are part of the same general offensive. There is no doubt that in the long run the imperialists, in order to protect their profits and their access to raw materials, are fully prepared to go to war against the backward countries which produce oil, bauxite and so on. But in the meanwhile, they are prepared to use all sorts of non-military measures to attain their ends, even including threats of actual military measures.

Thus the furor over the "immense wealth" that has been concentrated in the hands of the Arab ruling classes, the remarks about the menace this poses to the international monetary system and so on (to which the economist, Ernest Mandel, a leader of the Pabloite "United Secretariat," has completely fallen prey with his theories of an "Arab and Iranian Finance Capital"). These attacks have as their purpose the preparation of the minds of the masses for future drastic measures against these countries as well as the extortion of significant concessions now. This policy has borne fruit in the recent tendency of "petrodollars," the oil earnings of the producing countries, to be placed in productive capital investment in the imperialist centers. This was the objective of the bourgeoisie's attack on currency speculation -- first the stick of military menace to discourage "speculation" and then the carrot of capital investment at a profitable return. If the scale of investment is large enough, this may also, just like the investment tax credit, be a source for the recapitalization of American industry. In recent days this has been made clear by the fact that Japanese capitalism's balance of payments, in deficit for nineteen months, showed a surplus in September and in the rumored investment in IBM by Arab oil money. Such news will become more common in the future.

BASIC PROBLEMS

The adventurist character of these actions indicates that something is fundamentally wrong. One of the reasons given for the US trade deficit in 1971 was that US goods cost too much, due to low productivity and high wages relative to foreign competition. This was also the basis for the theories of Mandel and others that US capitalism was going to be replaced by Japan and/or a "unified" Europe. But the facts argue against both the bourgeoisie's and the petty bourgeoisie's theories. Relative to foreign competition, over the last three years, the differential in US wages and unit labor costs rapidly shrunk. This was due to the success of the wage freeze and meant that US productivity was boosted through the extra profit available. All this should have resulted in a

definitive breakthrough for American imperialism on the world market. Only nothing of the kind happened; the US is worse off in terms of trade balance than in 1971. And the mighty "successors," too, have fallen on hard times in the present world recession. The fantasy of "interimperialist competition" A LA Mandel has dissolved like the fantasy of the US economists who thought only a little gimmick was needed. World capitalism as a whole faces a shrinking market, due to its inability to produce cheaply enough to expand consumption and in turn production.

Capitalism's solution to this problem is not to acknowledge its decay and irrationality, but to move ever more fiercely against the working class. If the workers didn't sacrifice enough in 1971 and after to permit US capitalism a breakthrough, then they will have to be made to sacrifice still more. In the face of resistance to their already lowered standard of living by the workers in the form of the present strike wave, the US ruling class finds its situation even more precarious than otherwise. Its preferred solution, a wage freeze exceeding the worst of Nixon's ideas, coupled with other attacks on safety, union protection, etc., is at present impossible. The aim of the bourgeoisie is to break the strike wave, disarm the workers, extract significant concessions and then, when the proletariat is on the defensive, move to the imposition of massive state controls and restrictions.

BUREAUCRACY'S ROLE

The capitalists will never be able to do this by themselves. They must have the assistance of the Labor bureaucracy in blunting the working-class offensive and in turning the situation around. At the present time the plans are only being initiated, but the outline is clear. The establishment of the White House Labor-Management Committee, which contains many of the same bureaucrats who served on Nixon's committees in the period of massive losses, plus Arnold Miller, serves notice that new ways are being worked on to soften the wage offensive of the American workers. At the present time this will consist of trying to settle strikes before they happen, "talking it over" with the bosses on their joint committee, trying to turn strikes into losing propositions, as Miller undoubtedly has in mind, and so on. The next step, however, as can be seen from the howling about productivity lately, is to attempt to tie wage increases to increases in productivity. Besides increasing profits, this means an automatic decline in the proletariat's share of the national income. This also was borrowed from the Kennedy years, although it now has to be more tightly organized. Such proposals in Britain preceded the imposition of the wage freeze and the present bitter situation which resulted from it.

The American working class is not going to lie down just because the bosses and their agents want it to. Its hostility and anger will have to be broken, not deflected. Great class battles lie ahead here, just as are now occurring in all other countries. The working class must, in its own defense, force the bureaucrats to break with the capitalists' plans. This victory must be only part of the fight to replace the hacks with a new revolutionary leadership and to build organs and institutions which can lead the fight against this rotten system.