

Inside: Behind Khrushchev's Ouster

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There is no one to care for these children as their parents pick prunes in California. See story on migrants inside.

China and the Bomb

On October 16th, fifteen years after the victory of the Chinese Revolution, the Chinese government set off a nuclear explosion of a fairly advanced type. This tremendous technological achievement shows how far China has advanced following the overthrow of capitalism. It is a sign of what can be achieved under a planned economy.

This nuclear explosion comes at a time when China has been isolated and surrounded by the capitalists with the aid of the USSR. It has even been reported that it has been the USSR which has kept the U.S. informed of China's nuclear progress. This is in line with Soviet policy which during the Sino-Indian border dispute led to the USSR furnishing weapons to the Indians to be used

against China.

Every revolutionist must defend the right of China to possess nuclear weapons in order to defend herself in a hostile capitalist world at a time when other workers' states are refusing to defend her. When the USSR, U.S., France, and Great Britain agreed to a partial nuclear test ban, China refused to go along and many "socialists" attacked China for this stand. But the Chinese were right. The great nuclear powers agreed to ban tests at a time when they had already learned all they could from tests anyway. This test ban was essentially aimed at excluding China and other countries from the coveted "nuclear club" and not at preserving peace in any way, shape or manner.

While we defend China's right to have nuclear weapons and to test these weapons until they are developed to a point where they are effective, we must point out certain hazards made possible by this development. It is very easy to slip into a position of using nuclear diplomacy as a substitute for genuine class struggle. The Chinese may very well hope that their possession of a nuclear arsenal will guarantee their own defense against the imperialists and that support to class struggles to overthrow the imperialists is unnecessary. This would fit in with their conception of building "socialism" independently within China--a concept which led to the "Great Leap Forward" adventure which rather than advancing the Chinese economy deeply dislocated it. China lives in a world dominated by capitalism. Every day the capitalists not only threaten China militarily but seek to undermine the planned economy in China. In time they will succeed in this unless the revolution spreads to the advanced capitalist countries and destroys the great bastions of capitalism in Western Europe, the United States and Japan.

The Burden of the Bomb

Just look at what the capitalists are doing to the Chinese economy as reflected through this nuclear explosion. Nuclear development in a still backward, impoverished country like China could only take place through tremendous strains on the Chinese economy and at a terrible expense to the living standards of the Chinese people. But China was forced into nuclear development in order to defend itself against the capitalists--forced to take a course which is seriously hampering China in supplying its people with the basic necessities, not to mention luxuries. The removal of this external military pressure which so deeply distorts the internal Chinese economy is possible only through the removal of the capitalists in the advanced countries. There is no other way.

The Chinese leaders, however, have put their main emphasis on the colonial struggle. They support multiclass "national liberation struggles" in the colonial areas and

give scant attention to the development of a working class struggle movement in the advanced countries, or for that matter a working class movement in the colonial areas. They support unconditionally the Indonesian Communist Party which in turn supports unconditionally the capitalist Sukarno and functions in his government. They support unconditionally the Japanese Communist Party which in turn supports unconditionally a "democratic" capitalist development of Japan.

Such policies can only weaken the defense of China. China can be defended only by a working class struggle line in the United States and the rest of the world, whether or not the Chinese leadership likes it. We are glad they have the bomb but it is the working class which will ultimately decide things here and everywhere.

IT'S PRUNE PICKING TIME IN SUNNY CALIFORNIA

On the Spot Report on the Conditions of Migrant Workers

The migrant workers are finishing the prune picking in Santa Clara County. Men, women, and children on their knees have been picking the small plums off the ground for the last six weeks. They are paid \$11 a ton. And because everyone in the family has worked, they have made from \$300 to \$500 during that time. But meanwhile they have had to ask for loans. The checks the rancher hands them are now more likely to be between \$75 and \$150.

While picking they live in one or two room shacks. A single light bulb lights each room. A mattress lies on the floor. There is a gas stove, but no refrigerator or radio. To listen to the radio, they turn on the car ignition and sit inside the car. Their meals consist largely of tortillas, beans, and the chopped meat that sells for 25¢ a pound.

With their pay the men go to the supermarket and buy beer, wine, and cigarettes. Some go off to the city to look for a used pair of shoes--one pair of dress shoes would no longer have to be shared by several men. The children get ice cream. There are enchiladas for everyone. Few of them, though, know where they will be tomorrow.

Some have homes in Arizona or Texas. They can get jobs back home "chopping cotton" for \$9 working ten hours a day. But it's almost a thousand miles back to Phoenix, Arizona where the "cops get you as a vagrant and then they make you work and give you black coffee for breakfast, sandwich for dinner, and beans for supper." Back to Crystal City, Texas it will be close to 1600 miles in a 10 year old car for a man with one arm, his wife, and four children. Most of the money will be spent on the

way back for gas and food.

Some of the families have no homes to return to. They have no furniture. The men now begin to look for jobs in the canneries around San Jose. The "rancher" gives them two weeks longer to stay in the shacks. He says if they stay more than that the Board of Health will give him a summons.

These workers are called "Mexicans" by the ranchers and the newspapers. In most cases, however, these "Mexicans" have never in their lives been in Mexico. They and their parents were probably born in the United States, and the Spanish they speak is no longer Mexican Spanish. They are American citizens but they are not protected by unemployment insurance, minimum wage laws, and few will live to 65 to enjoy the benefits of Social Security which is deducted from their wages. They tell me that they have heard that the Teamsters Union is organizing farm workers but that the initiation fee is \$40. The AFL-CIO previously attempted organizing farm workers, but gave it up because it cost too much for the Meany leadership. Only a "compadre" can be depended for help when it is needed.

One of the reasons why attempts to organize farm workers have collapsed has been that when a strike was called "braceros" were brought in directly from Mexico and used as strikebreakers. This is what took place at the 1948 strike at the Di Giorgio Farms in Kern County, the 1951 cantaloupe strike in the Imperial Valley, and the 1952 tomato pickers strike near Tracy, San Joaquin County. These "braceros" are paid \$1 an hour and live in barracks, which are cheaper to build than houses to hold families. As agricultural workers earn in Mexico 80¢ to \$1.20 a day, to come to the United States as a "bracero" is the only hope a peasant has of escaping semi-starvation. Thus also the Mexican government has had a safety valve against peasant uprisings.

The bracero system (Public Law 78) is scheduled to end on December 31, 1964. But the Mexican government, the ranchers, and the "agribusinessmen," as they call themselves, are planning to bring braceros in anyway under the provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act (Public Law 414). The result is the same. As long as braceros are brought in at \$1 an hour, that is the maximum American farm workers will be able to earn.

This season's crop of prunes has been overproduced. Eight years ago the wholesale price of prunes was \$250-300 a ton. The ranchers in their rush turned pastures into prune orchards. Eight years later the new trees have begun producing. And the price of prunes has gone down to \$175-\$225 a ton.

The ranchers complain that they barely break even

on the prunes. One rancher admitted to me, however, that his land near San Jose is rising in value \$500 per acre per year. All he is doing is waiting for the real-estate developers to come. The prune trees and pear trees will be cut down. The land will be covered with identical \$15,000-\$20,000 track homes, and these homes will be bought on 30 or 40 year mortgages by workers in the new missile and jet engine factories which California depends upon for its prosperity.

REUTHER LEAVES G.M. WORKERS IN LURCH

"An injury to one is an injury to all." This simple axiom of class struggle unity which was once taken seriously by American working class leaders is just as important a concept for the American working class today as in the days of E.V. Debs and Big Bill Haywood. Today, despite occasional demagogic talk about 'solidarity,' the 'leaders' of labor like Walter Reuther of the U.A.W. are not concerned with 'un-American' ideas of class struggle, but rather with how they can best be of service to the establishment.

In his latest effort Mr. Reuther and his cohorts, while talking 'victory,' have left nearly half of the G.M. production workers still out on the picket line while the leadership engineered approval of the national contract. Left in the lurch are the members of 28 locals which, while approving the contract on a national level, have voted to remain on strike pending the settlement of 'local' job condition issues. These 28 locals include: 8 of 15 Fisher Body plants; 8 of 12 Chevrolet assembly plants; 6 of 7 B-O-P (Buick-Oldsmobile-Pontiac) assembly plants; the Delco Remy Division plant in Indiana which makes electrical devices; the Hydraulic plant at Willow Run, Michigan which makes all G.M. automatic transmissions. As a result of the continuing strike at these plants, which has affected some non-struck plants also, G.M.'s present production of passenger cars is limited to 23% of normal capacity, at the very highest. Nevertheless, allowing G.M. even this limited production makes it tougher to settle the 'local' issues in favor of the workers at those plants still out. Permitting the company to increase production as each local settles makes the local managements at the remaining plants all the tougher and increases the likelihood that the workers in plants with the most grievances will get the shortest end of the stick.

Louis Seaton, G.M. Vice President, has complained that "settlement of local issues is being delayed because the union local committees persist in unreasonable demands which G.M. cannot accept without impairing its responsibilities to operate an efficient business."

In announcing the settlement, UAW V.P. Woodcock said the vote was better than 95% in favor of the agreement. However, a report that the contract was approved at the Linden, N.J. B-O-P assembly plant by the close vote of 750 to 536 leads us to question the picture presented by Mr. Woodcock and to recall that "figures don't lie, but liars sure can figure." Despite the Madison Ave. public relations job done by Reuther to the effect that the contracts signed with Chrysler, Ford and G.M. are the best in the world, we learn that as of Oct. 26th, more than a month after the Ford settlement, only 64 out of 90 Ford Co. bargaining units had reached local agreements. As of this writing, it has not been announced what, if anything, the contract at G.M. provides for the improvement of basic working conditions and the alleviation of the speedup. (see BULLETIN, Vol. I, no.3, Oct. 12, 1964). The highly touted (by Reuther) early retirement plan has little meaning for a worker who must endure a lifetime of victimization by the Company's drive for increased production via speedup. Nor does the retirement plan promise any real solution for the many workers whose jobs are wiped out along the way by automation and the employer's drive for "more efficient operation."

Long ago, Walter Reuther gave up even lip service to the demand for a shorter work week (30 for 40) designed to curtail unemployment. Instead he came up with phony profit sharing plans and various other gimmicks designed as substitutes for struggle. In his role as servant of the arch enemies of labor he has done his utmost to tie the working people of this country to the politicians of big capital, most recently, Lyndon B. Johnson. Small wonder then that Reuther maneuvered to end the G.M. strike just as it was beginning to seriously affect industrial production outside of the auto industry, thereby eliminating what would have been an embarrassment to the Johnson administration on the eve of the national elections.

FEDERAL, LOCAL COURTS TURN ON THE MISSISSIPPI NEGROES*

Judge Gives White Bombers 'Second Chance' Because
They Were 'Unduly Provoked' By Human Rights Struggle

If we were seeking to manufacture a set of events to underline the key points in the first installment of my report from Mississippi, we could never have done as good a job as two judges in Mississippi have recently. Readers of the BULLETIN will remember we stated "...that the situation

*This is the second in a series of articles by a participant in the Mississippi project. The first article appeared in the Oct. 12th, 1964 issue of the BULLETIN.

in Mississippi cannot be resolved in favor of the Negro people short of civil war."

Once again it has been clearly demonstrated, for all to see and draw the necessary conclusions therefrom, that whites guilty of the most heinous crimes, as long as they are directed against Negroes and/or especially civil rights workers, go scot free or at best in order to "preserve appearances" get light taps on the wrist. Those still suffering from illusions about this great American system of "justice" will, no doubt, dispute this. We can only refer them to the case of nine white Mississippians who pleaded guilty or no contest to charges that they bombed the homes of McComb Negroes in answer to the civil rights drive under way there since this summer.

After stating that the men involved were apparently from "good homes" and had been "unduly provoked" by civil rights workers, Circuit Judge Watkins gave six of the men suspended five year sentences and five hundred dollar fines. Three others received six month suspended sentences and five hundred dollar fines. Watkins stated that they were "...mostly young men starting out...and that they apparently deserve a second chance." Does anyone have the slightest doubt what would happen to Negroes brought before this judge on the most minor charges not involving the possibility of death sentences as did the bombing charges?

Is more evidence required to prove, as we stated previously, "...that within the orderly processes of society there is no way that Negroes in Mississippi can obtain a redress of their grievances?" Here it is.

Kennedy Judge Indicts Negroes

Everyone seems to know who the killers of Cheney, Goodman and Schwerner are. At least two well known citizens have made statements asserting that they have statements by witnesses to the crime identifying the killers. The FBI has presented evidence to both a local grand jury and a federal grand jury in Mississippi. Both juries have failed to bring indictments in the case. Indeed, the federal grand jury under the supervision and direction of the racist Federal Judge Cox, who by the by is an appointee of John F. Kennedy, have instead returned indictments against a number of Negroes who testified earlier in a voter registration case that they had been denied the right to register. The indictments are for perjury. Previously Cox has asserted from the bench that these Negroes were liars. It is no wonder that lawyers working with the summer project and seeking to transfer cases growing out of local police harrassment to federal court did all in their power to avoid going before Cox.

Obviously then, intervention by the federal government through the local courts, state or federal, is to no

avail. Anyone who tells the civil rights movement that they should bank on this kind of intervention is in effect giving false advice and selling out the rights struggle.

Still there are those in the civil rights movement who advocate still another form of government intervention. These people call upon the federal government to send troops into the south to enforce Negro rights. What these people don't understand about the federal government is that rather than representing the interests of all the people it only serves and represents the interests of those in the country who are wealthy and in control of the means of producing that wealth.

The Traitorous Role of the SWP

While it is understandable that people new to socialist ideas have to learn the above lesson through bitter concrete experience it is simply appalling when socialists of long standing encourage illusions about the role of the federal government. The most downright disgusting example of this is the stickers put up by the Socialist Workers Party in the current election campaign which proclaim: "WITHDRAW THE TROOPS FROM VIETNAM AND SEND THEM TO MISSISSIPPI." Progressive Labor, in the October 27th issue of Challenge says about all that needs to be said about such a slogan. It notes that the SWP "evidently believes that the Negro people in the South will benefit from having more bayonets in their backs. Or do they really expect us to believe that the same troops now slaughtering the freedom fighters of southeast Asia would turn around and fight on the other side in Mississippi?"

How effective has the Freedom Democratic Party been in achieving its goal of pressuring the government into forcing reforms in Mississippi? Firstly it must be understood that the summer project was able to "freedom register" a very small part of the Negroes in the state. This of course was not only due to the limitations imposed on them by the size of their forces and resources. As a matter of fact the hundreds of young people that spent the summer in Mississippi took risks to carry out that registration that are unheard of in this country for many decades. But even in the areas where they had sizable forces and resources, areas where they were loved and housed and cared for by the local community, they had difficulty signing up these very same people. I know that one of the things that became evident at mass meetings in Greenwood, SNCC's National Headquarters for the summer and secondary headquarters for COFO in the state, was that many community people attended meetings but a very large percentage of those failed to "freedom register."

This had its effect on many of the summer project workers I met in driving thousands of miles over half the state. Many I spoke to admitted to being disillusioned as

to what the FDP could accomplish inasmuch as they were learning through bitter experience that the Democratic Administration didn't give a damn about them as evidenced by the operation of the FBI and the Justice Department. The second factor that disheartened them was the obvious reluctance of the Negro population to stick their necks out.

The Freedom Democratic Party in presenting its case before the Credentials Committee at the Democratic National Convention based its case on three main points. (1) The regular party has consistently and systematically disenfranchised and denied the right to vote to a large portion of the population. (2) The regular party has been disloyal to the national party. (3) The FDP is loyal to the principles and platform of the national party and will support the candidate of the national party.

It is no wonder that on the basis of support to the principles and candidates of the Democratic Party Negroes in the South and the North as well will have nothing to do with the election process in view of the fact that they have been the victims of the Democratic Party's failure to intercede against the racists while they have been beaten, raped, and brutalized. These people know full well out of practical experience that voting for either party will get them nothing. This was the mood that they began to transmit to many of the summer project workers as the summer wore on. Many of those I spoke to had at first believed that the Democratic convention would seat the FDP delegates but had begun to understand how impossible this was.

Johnson and Humphrey Are Guilty

The FDP is supporting Lyndon Johnson and Humphrey in the November 3rd elections. They are doing this despite the fact that they know full well it was precisely Johnson and Humphrey who prevented the FDP from being seated. A recent circular from the Mississippi headquarters of FDP states: ". . .the FDP had the support it needed to win the fight at Atlantic City....What prevented this was the most massive pressure from the White House, through the mediation of Hubert Humphrey. The FDP delegation was aware of all of this, and it therefore knew that the leadership of the party and the Convention was denying it what in fact it had the popular support to win..."

There is therefore no way out for the Negro in the South or the North as long as the Negro continues to look to the Federal Government and the two major parties. The beginning of the development of a serious program for the Negro people which can win must be a total rejection of seeking to reform the establishment from within. Only a revolutionary program of struggle to overturn the establishment can succeed. We will deal further with the basic elements of such a program in future issues of the BULLETIN.

BEHIND THE OUSTER OF NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV

Bureaucracy Seeks to Solve Deepening Crisis

By Changing the Man But Not the Policy He Stood For*

The poster men and sign painters are busy in Moscow these days. Down come the great portraits of Khrushchev, the enemy of the "cult of the individual", and up go the great portraits of Brezhnev the new enemy of the "cult of the individual." Perhaps soon some more boulevards, factories and even towns will be re-named. Ah yes, much is changing in the USSR -- but is it really?

Despite the ludicrous surface appearance of these events it would be a great mistake to shrug them off as of no importance. True, there are few signs that the new ruling group in the USSR will make many policy changes. It is doubtful any dramatic shifts will take place. But the events are of great importance nonetheless. They represent a futile effort on the part of the ruling bureaucracy in the USSR to deal with a crisis so deep in Soviet society that the very social foundations thrown up by the October Revolution are at stake.

Ever since the rise of Stalin in the late 1920s, the ruling bureaucracy has sought to develop inside the USSR a socialist society without first struggling to overthrow capitalism in the advanced countries. Not only have the Stalinist leaders not relied on working class struggle elsewhere, but on many occasions they have actively opposed it, seeking instead to come to terms with the bourgeoisie.

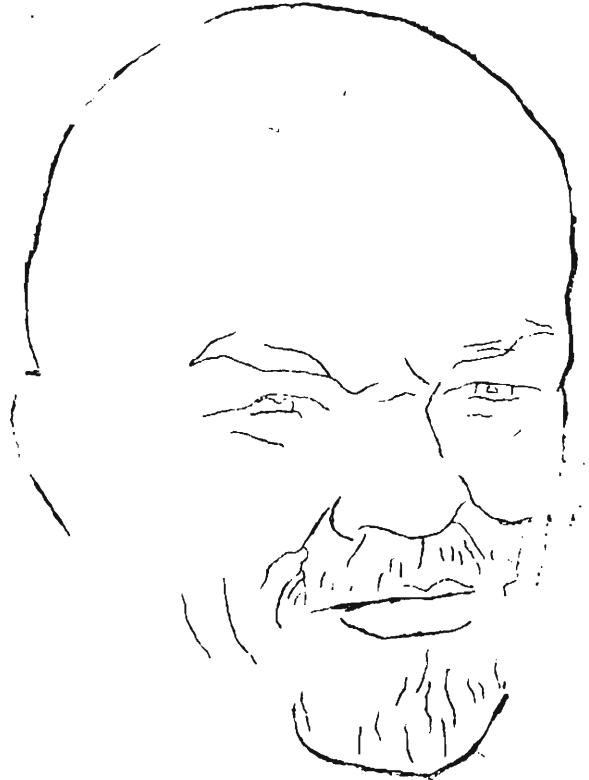
In the immediate postwar world, facing a weakened capitalist system, the USSR was able to extend itself into Eastern Europe and secure this region as a buffer against the West. In Asia they were forced to assist the Chinese Communists in the Civil War which in the end wrested the immense subcontinent of China out of capitalist hands. Despite these formidable buffers to the East and West, the crisis of Stalinism did not subside. The bureaucrats in the USSR gained perhaps a bit of time but that is all. Today the Stalinist movement is in great disarray and the USSR appears more threatened than ever by imperialism.

*This article appears in place of the second article on Progressive Labor's international statement, "Washington's Grand Design For World Domination." The questions raised by the ouster of Khrushchev are closely related to those raised by Progressive Labor's international position. The final article, which will deal with China and its real international position, will appear in the next issue of the BULLETIN. If you missed the first article, "What Lies Behind Khrushchevite Revisionism?" send ten cents to: P.O. Box 721, Ansonia Station, New York, N.Y. 10023, and we will be happy to send you a copy postpaid.

Contrary to the wishful thinking of many socialists, these postwar developments have not altered the world balance of power substantially in favor of the workers states. The capitalists and their exponents of course fully recognize this, even if some socialists don't. Progressive Labor quotes Walter Lippman paying tribute to Kennedy in the following terms:

He achieved one thing brilliantly, which is changing the course of events, and that has been to convince the Soviet Union that it must perforce, and that it can comfortably and honorably, live within a balance of power which is decided in our favor. For that John F. Kennedy will long be remembered.

The present crisis in the USSR is directly and closely related to precisely this attempt of the bureaucracy of the USSR to live "comfortably and honorably" (or more accurately, comfortably and dishonorably) within a world still dominated by capitalism. On the one hand the USSR is under tremendous pressure direct and indirect to come to terms with capitalism in such a way that can ultimately lead to capitalist restoration in the whole Soviet bloc. On the other hand the restoration of capitalism would mean not only the destruction of the social achievements of the October Revolution and a great strengthening of world capitalism, it would also mean the end of the Soviet bureaucracy itself. So just as trade union bureaucrats seek to come to terms with the bosses but at the same time must on occasion fight the bosses when their union's very existence is at stake, so the Soviet bureaucrats seek to come to terms with the capitalists but pull back partially from the logical conclusion of the course they are headed on.



Military Pressure and the Soviet Economy

Let us look a bit more deeply into the various ways in which the capitalists exert their influence within the USSR itself and all the workers states. First and foremost, of course, is the constant threat of military intervention. Perhaps the greatest gain for the capitalists from its arms buildup is that this buildup forces the USSR

and other Soviet bloc countries to put an immense portion of their economic resources into a comparable arms build-up. The USSR, for all its tremendous economic gains, still remains way behind the capitalist countries in economic development. But it cannot afford to remain far behind in armaments development and thus the costs of armaments production is a far greater burden on it than it is for the capitalists. Knowing this, the capitalists can not for one moment seriously consider any real disarmament deal with the Soviet bloc. They are too well aware of the tremendous burden they are placing upon their enemy.

Other capitalist influences are perhaps more subtle but nonetheless effective. First of all is the increasing trade relations between the capitalist countries and the Soviet bloc countries. Such trade is essential to the Soviet countries because their economic development is such that it is cheaper for them to purchase many goods from the West rather than manufacture them themselves. However such trade relations cannot fail to involve the planned economies more and more deeply in the machinations of the world market and thus deepen restorationist trends in these countries.

We are not saying it is wrong for these countries to carry on extensive trade with the West. Rather we are stating that such trade is essential precisely because of the weaknesses of these countries in a dominant capitalist world and that such trade carries with it an inherent tendency to undermine the planned economy. Lenin in his day fully realized this but nonetheless strongly favored Soviet trade with the West. He did so because his perspective was a short-range one. He struggled for the survival of the workers state in order to further the world revolution. Not for one moment did he entertain any illusions about the ability of a workers state to survive indefinitely in a capitalist world, not to mention actually evolve into a truly socialist society.

Trade with the West has another effect on the Soviet bloc as a whole. It loosens the ties of the Soviet bloc countries to each other and strengthens the ties of the individual Soviet bloc countries with the West. There can be no doubt that trade with the West has been an important factor in the evolution not only of Yugoslavia but also of Poland, Rumania, and in fact all the East European countries. Understanding this helps one understand both why the East European countries have reacted with such independence to the ouster of Khrushchev and what enables them to so react. When Progressive Labor speaks of the opening of the "sluice gates" in Eastern Europe they are on to a very important facet of the present world scene. But it is one thing to recognize this reality and it is quite another thing to work out an alternative policy to the Khrushchevist policy which has led to this situation.

Capitalist Influences Within the Soviet Bloc

Now let us look at a third way the capitalist world makes its impact within the workers states. Contrary to all the bravado of the Stalinists, these states are a far cry from being self-contained socialist countries. Their economies are of a highly contradictory nature, containing side by side socialist forms and capitalist forms. While socialist forms predominate in that basic industry is nationalized and a plan, rather than the profit motive, directs the economy, capitalist forms are to be found everywhere. It could not be otherwise in a world dominated by capitalism.

This is particularly clear in agriculture. Here the dominant form is the collective farm. However, side by side with the collective is the private plot of the individual member of the collective farm. In many cases more economically valuable crops are produced by the peasant on these plots than on the collective farm. In many East European countries, especially Yugoslavia and Poland, a very substantial section of the peasantry continues to operate small farms rather than collective farms. Again we are not suggesting that these petty holdings be taken away from the peasantry. We are only pointing out that such holdings do exist and are a significant factor in the economies of all these countries, especially in Eastern Europe. As long as such plots and small farms exist a peasantry as a petty bourgeois class exists -- a class with an inborn tendency to generate capitalists and capitalist influence.

But the collective farm itself is not a socialist property form. It is rather a transitional form. The individual collective functions very much as an entity producing a product for a market. True, the bureaucracy constantly interferes with the regular functioning of a market in its dealings with collectives, but the formal structure still exists and it has an impact on the structure of the whole country's economy.

This can be seen clearly in the move of Khrushchev to sell the state-owned tractor stations to the collectives. The collectives had no difficulty in raising the necessary cash to buy this state property for themselves. This move of Khrushchev's was undoubtedly a necessary concession to the peasantry considering the extent of the agricultural crisis in the USSR which has plagued the country for decades. Necessary or not, it was a concession which has contributed to the undermining of the socialist property forms in the country.

What is true of agriculture is now becoming true of industry as well. Soon after the announcement of the ouster of Khrushchev came the announcement that capitalist market methods were to be introduced in important sections of the consumer industry of the country. This way individual plants would base their production on their ability to place orders with state-run retail establishments rather than

on the basis of the general plan. Such capitalist methods have been used for some time in Yugoslavia and have undoubtedly contributed to the efficiency of economic operations. How could it be otherwise, considering the complete lack of democratic controls on planning in these countries and thus the bureaucracy's need to resort to fiat and police methods to fulfill arbitrarily set quotas. Still, such a development cannot help but lead to a certain undermining of the planned economy especially when viewed within the framework of these other developments we have been discussing.

The Ouster and the Sino-Soviet Dispute

What has all this to do with the fall of Mr. K.? It has everything to do with it. Khrushchev was ousted not so much because the present leadership has an alternative to Khrushchev's policies -- policies which have led to the increasing penetration by capitalism of the workers states. Rather, Khrushchev was ousted because his policies were failing, even though Brezhnev and Co. have no idea of what to replace them with and thus their policies, too, will fail. Both external and internal questions were involved. The external position of the USSR in the world has progressively deteriorated as the Soviet bloc has begun to break apart at the seams. The sharp conflict with China is but a part of this process. The penetration of the East European countries by the capitalists and the tendency of the Communist Parties in the West to turn more towards collaboration with their own capitalists rather than reliance on the Soviet bureaucracy is the other part of the process.

Internally the Soviet economy continues to operate on a crisis level. It stumbles from one crisis to the next as the imperialists happily seize every opportunity to trade with the USSR and make it more dependent on the West but refuse in turn to let up on the military pressure which so burdens the economy. Khrushchev will now be made the "fall guy" for these policies, but there is every indication that Brezhnev and Co. will continue the same policies.

Relations with China are also closely related to this process. In fact the first strains between the USSR and China were related to the USSR's unwillingness to extend serious economic aid to China during the critical period when China was seeking to develop itself into an industrial power. Also China's world position is different from that of the USSR. She was far more directly threatened by the imperialists, first in Korea and now in Vietnam, than the USSR has been. China could not help putting greater emphasis on the need for a firm defense against the West while the USSR began to gamble everything on coming to terms with the West.

Does this mean that the Brezhnev group will now seek to come to terms with China at the expense of its relations with the West? This is highly unlikely. There is every indication the Brezhnev group will make greater efforts

to maintain some form of relations with China while it continues to pursue its search for an accomodation with the West. Should Brezhnev go all the way in accomodating China there can be no doubt but that some if not all East European countries would break from the USSR and move

closer and closer to the West on their own as Yugoslavia has done.



The Chinese, of course, have warmly, and so far uncritically, welcomed the ouster of Khrushchev. In fact the October 29th issue of the New York Times quotes Chou-en-Lai as commenting as follows on the K downfall: "In one word, it is a good thing." The Albanians have been more critical suggesting that the present successors of Khrushchev were implicated in

Khrushchev's policies.

It would, however, be a mistake to view Albanian statements as statements of the Chinese position. Albania is struggling with the Kremlin leadership for its own narrow nationalistic reasons and its alliance with China is a purely practical empirical affair. As long as its arch-enemy Yugoslavia was on the outs with Moscow Hoxha and Co. were the world's most faithful supporters of Moscow. As Yugoslavia moved towards closer relations with the Kremlin, Albania took up the struggle against "revisionism." There is little in these current developments to make Albania think that the USSR will cool in its attitude towards Yugoslavia and thus Albania greets the changes sceptically.

While, as we have noted, a real rapprochement between the USSR and China is unlikely it is possible that relations will improve to the point where China will quietly drop its thoroughgoing critique of the revisionism which Brezhnev and Co. will be continuing in Khrushchev's footsteps. Such a development would pose some very serious problems for a group like Progressive Labor which has supported China primarily because of its critique of Khrushchevism.

Within this framework we are happy to see the stand Milton Rosen has taken on the Khrushchev ouster in the October 27th issue of Challenge. He states:

The manner of Khrushchev's downfall recalls the sordid nature of his own 'revelations' about Stalin. He blamed Stalin for every conceivable error ever committed. No criticism or self-criticism was forthcoming from all those (including

Khrushchev) who had worked with Stalin. No Soviet leader had the courage to give a self-accounting for errors; they were all placed at Stalin's doorstep. Once his image was destroyed 'all would be well.' Stalin was pictured as a cultist, whose main interest was personal acclaim.

Now Brezhnev, who six months ago addressed a glowing tribute to Khrushchev saying 'your remarkable deeds have won you the respect and love of all our party, of all Soviet peoples...' today finds him guilty of 'drifting...hairbrain scheming,...divorced from reality, bragging and phrase-mongering' etc.etc. And--wonder of wonders--Khrushchev, the arch 'enemy' of the 'cult of personality' is suddenly discovered by those who shared--and share--his policies, as the 'successor' to Stalin's cultist mantle.

Is there a real alternative to Stalinism-Khrushchevism-Brezhnevism? There had better be or the great step forward that mankind took in October, 1917 will be undone. This much should be clear from the above analysis--there is no way out to the present crisis of Stalinism within the framework of the theory of socialism in one country. As long as policies are determined on a national basis and nothing is really done about the continued world dominance of capitalism there is no way out.

But there are other forces in the world. The particularly acute crisis of Stalinism at this time is related closely to the growing class struggle of the world working class and the connected continuing decay of the capitalist system. The capitalists cannot give Khrushchev and his heirs any real room to maneuver precisely because they are having less and less room to maneuver in themselves. The capitalist system for all its great resources, remains in a deep state of stagnation and the working class in the advanced countries is beginning to struggle against the tremendous burdens of unemployment and a deterioration of working conditions which are the direct result of this stagnation. All this forces the capitalists to increase all the more the pressures on the workers states and thus deepen the internal crisis there.

Within the workers states is an immense industrial working class which is demanding a fair share in the products produced in these countries and is getting more and more tired of rule by bureaucrats. The bureaucrats seek to buy off these workers with the production of more and better consumer goods but their ability to do so is limited by the vis e their international policies have placed them in.

It is this world working class which is the key to the future of the workers' states and mankind. The defense of these states depends now on the ability of the working class in the advanced countries to topple capitalism. There is no other way out.