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Bulletin

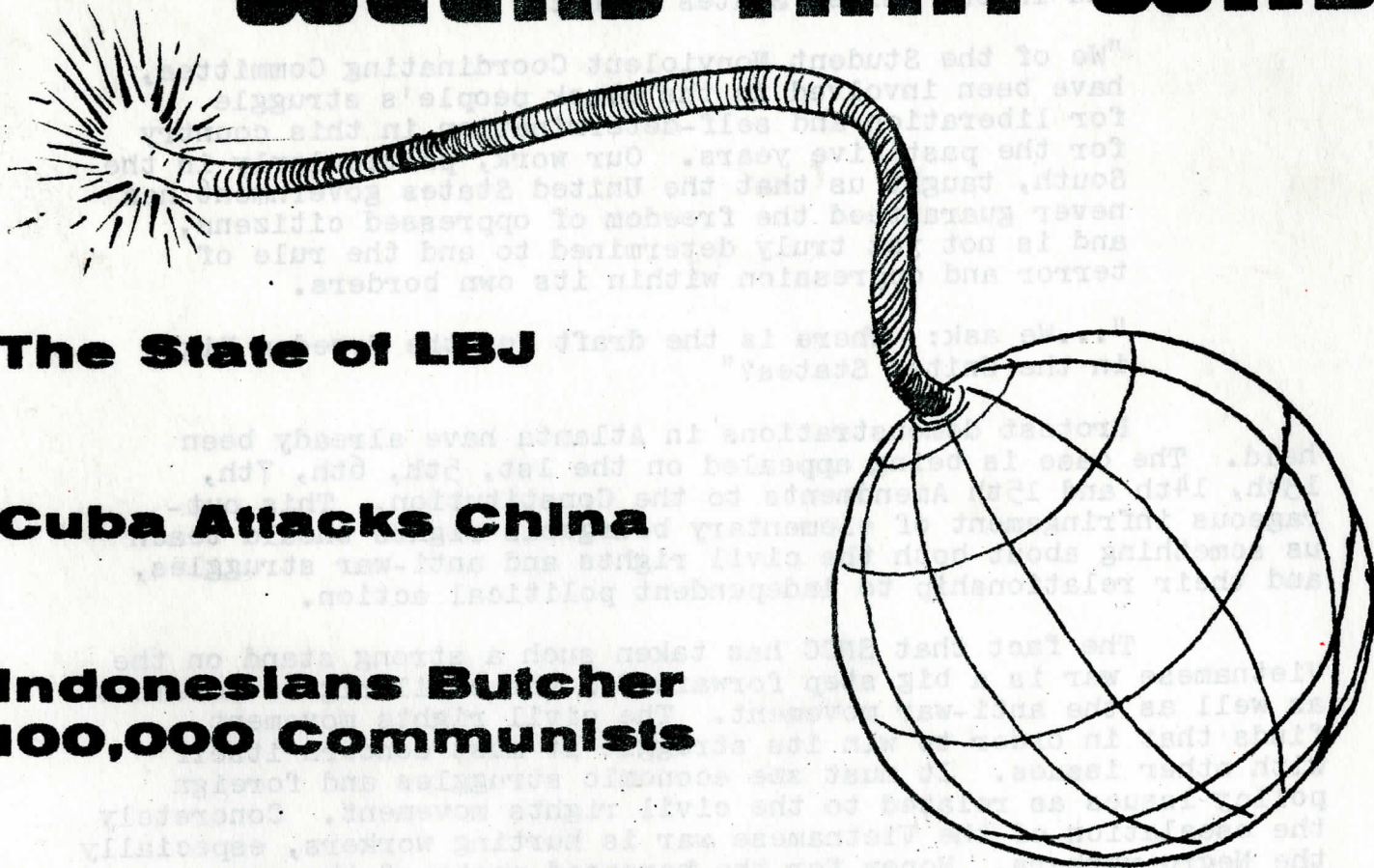
OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Vol. 2, No. 24

Jan. 31, 1966

10 Cents

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100,000 Communists**

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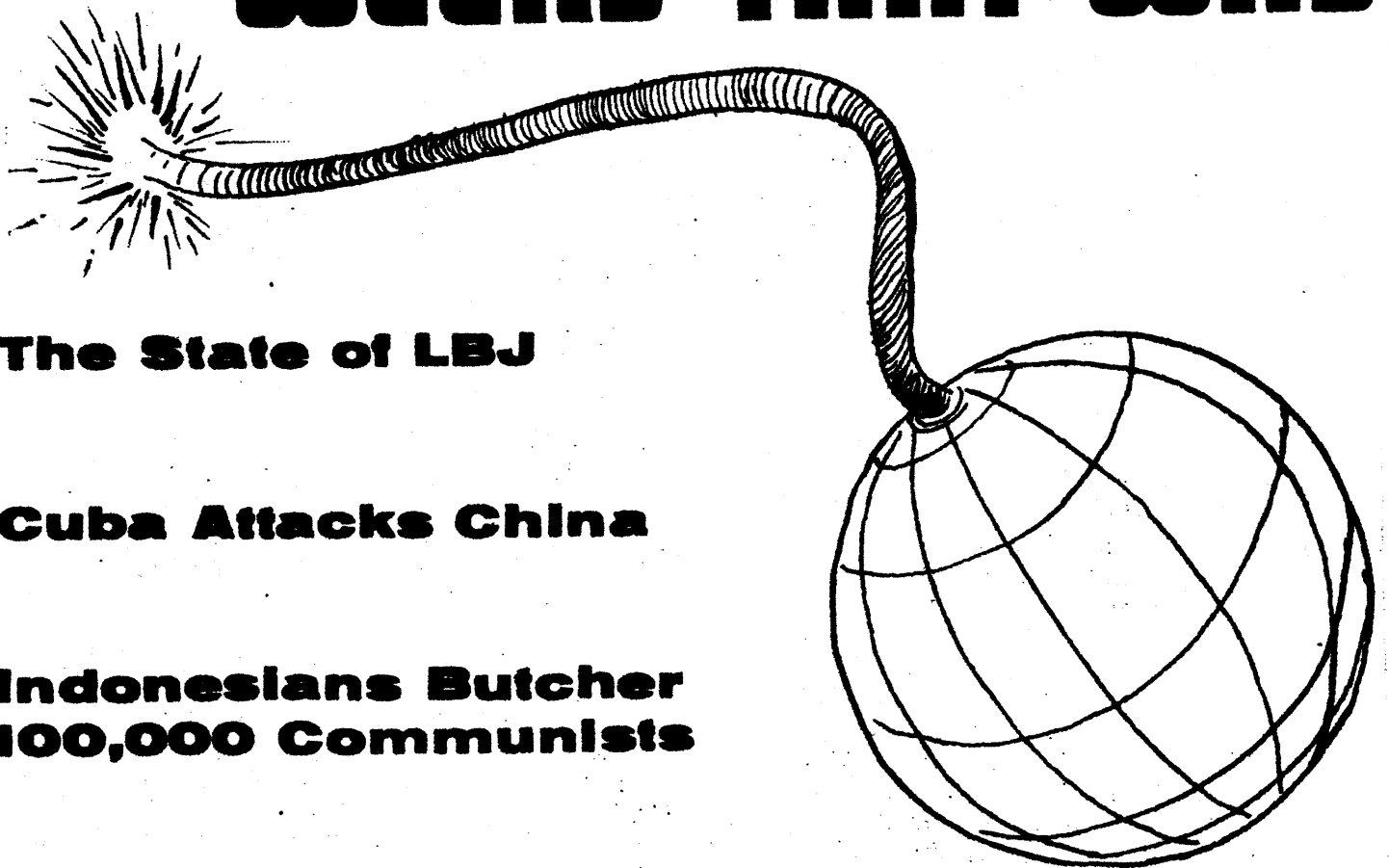
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DEMOCRACY DIES IN GEORGIA

The Georgia House of Representatives has given the world another lesson in democracy. On January 1st, they voted not to seat Julian Bond, one of eight Negroes elected last November as a result of a Federal Court ordered reapportionment. Because Bond opposes United States policy in Vietnam, and expresses sympathy with those "unwilling to respond to a military draft," the House has held him guilty of "disorderly conduct and giving aid and comfort to the enemy."

But it is really the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, of which Julian Bond is communications director, which is being barred from the House. It is the recent SNCC statement against the war in Vietnam which Bond is being condemned for supporting. It says in part:

"We believe the United States government has been deceptive in claims of concern for the freedom of the Vietnamese people, just as the government has been deceptive in claiming concern for the freedom of the colored people in such other countries as the Dominican Republic, the Congo, South Africa, Rhodesia and in the United States itself.

"We of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, have been involved in the black people's struggle for liberation and self-determination in this country for the past five years. Our work, particularly in the South, taught us that the United States government has never guaranteed the freedom of oppressed citizens, and is not yet truly determined to end the rule of terror and oppression within its own borders.

"...We ask: Where is the draft for the Freedom Fight in the United States?"

Protest demonstrations in Atlanta have already been held. The case is being appealed on the 1st, 5th, 6th, 7th, 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution. This outrageous infringement of elementary bourgeois rights should teach us something about both the civil rights and anti-war struggles, and their relationship to independent political action.

The fact that SNCC has taken such a strong stand on the Vietnamese war is a big step forward for the civil rights movement as well as the anti-war movement. The civil rights movement finds that in order to win its struggle it must concern itself with other issues. It must see economic struggles and foreign policy issues as related to the civil rights movement. Concretely the escalation of the Vietnamese war is hurting workers, especially the Negro workers. Money for the increased costs of the war comes out of their wage packets; the war also costs many their lives.

Those who advocate 'single issue movements' (as the Socialist Workers Party has done in the anti-war movement) retard the growth of consciousness of the interrelatedness of the different struggles. This linking of the civil rights and anti-war movements is the beginning of the building of a more powerful, more conscious force in the country which will get at the real roots of racial oppression and war. This increasing consciousness is the realization that both struggles are fighting the same oppressor, the capitalist class.

The Need for Independent Political Action

Julian Bond was elected as a Democrat. The action of the Georgia House again shows the ineffectiveness of working within the capitalist parties. Many well-intentioned militants feel that if they work in the established capitalist parties, they can have a certain influence, and get elected to posts where they can air their views and perhaps have some effect. They feel that by working in the established parties they can achieve sorely needed reforms.

But this "practical" view of politics never works. Demands for reforms must be fought for to be taken seriously. An independent force working in the interests of the masses must raise these demands. It is like the difference in effectiveness between a few dissatisfied workers individually asking the bosses for pay increases and workers organizing into trade unions, with a battle to fight and with effective strike weapons.

Bond ran on the Democratic Party ticket, was elected, and was denied his seat because of his views. This is the real lesson for those who mean to seriously fight for civil rights and to fight against United States intervention in Vietnam.

The civil rights movement has been hesitant in taking independent political action. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party was a first experiment. Its organizers came up with a great deal of opposition within the Democratic Party. As a result of this experience, new, independent political movements are now beginning to be formed in the South. SNCC has helped organize the Lowndes County Freedom Organization in Alabama. This increasing political awareness is raising the civil rights struggle, as well as the anti-war struggle to a higher level.

Let the movement turn the Julian Bond 'defeat' into a victory for the struggles. The first step is independent political action, the building of a movement based on the masses, in the interests of the workers and minority groups, concerned with civil rights, peace, economic and political issues.

EDITORIAL

CORNELL PENALIZES DEFENDERS OF VIETNAMESE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT

On December 16 the Young Socialist League, a Cornell University organization of radical students associated with the Spartacist, was forced by the University Proctor to stop distributing literature supporting the NLF.

When four YSLers, acting for the organization, declined to obey this autocratic ukase, the threat of suspension was put over their heads. They were charged with disobeying a University official and ordered to appear before a disciplinary committee. The committee forbade the four to participate in any future extra-curricular activities. So much for academic freedom at Cornell!

The YSL program contained a full political analysis of Johnson's War Program and a call for alternative action by the anti-war movement. The following is from the YSL "Comments and Proposals" submitted to the campus Ad Hoc Committee Against the Vietnamese War:

(1) The attempt of the "Peace" corps to recruit radical people was a sham to get critics of the government war policies out of the United States and into a "properly" channellized endeavor.

(2) Red-baiting is a tool of the imperialists, used to divide the anti-war movement. It must be firmly resisted. Organizations such as SANE which participate in this right-wing diversion must be exposed and denounced.

(3) The anti-draft movement as presently conceived will serve the government's purpose by furnishing the pretext for jailing some of the anti-war movement's best leaders and supporters at a time when the movement is still relatively small and highly vulnerable.

The YSL urged the Ad Hoc Committee to make a turn to those disaffected elements (particularly ghetto Negroes) who "have the most potential in getting involved in our movement, ...to raise adequate defense funds in order to combat any persecution of the movement and to have a complete and full discussion of the war.

The YSL position in support of the NLF is, of course, the most controversial part of their program. We quote: "We support the social revolution in Vietnam, and the only hope for this is the military victory of the NLF...We would oppose this (NLF) regime politically, as we oppose the similar regime in North Vietnam today, and urge its replacement with direct rule by the working people themselves."

This is the type of principled and honest socialism that is under attack today in violation of all democratic ideals, at what is allegedly an "institution of learning" in the name of an undeclared, illegal and genocidal war against the people of Vietnam.

INDONESIANS BUTCHER 100,000 COMMUNISTS

China, the PKI and Their Supporters Share a
Responsibility for This Defeat

The Trotskyist movement is often accused by radicals of various persuasions of "sterile factionalism", of engaging in "academic" and "abstract" debate. But the recent events in Indonesia show how unacademic these debates and arguments really are.

One hundred thousand dead Communists are decidedly not an academic matter. There is nothing abstract about the bloody counterrevolutionary terror which has been unleashed in Indonesia in the last three months. But it is precisely these policies and programs which paved the way for this terror which we are debating!

As the BULLETIN has pointed out before, the Chinese Communist Party and the pro-Peking Indonesian CP (PKI) have continually lauded and tailended the classical Bonapartist regime of Sukarno. The PKI accepted Sukarnoism in toto. In an orgy of opportunism applauded by the Chinese "fighters against revisionism," the PKI proclaimed its devotion to Islam as well as sundry other "principles" of Sukarnoism.

But the old order simply couldn't and wouldn't hold up. Sukarno's impressive balancing act could not last forever. The right wing military forces who now base themselves more and more on the bourgeoisie as well as religious reactionaries, moved against the PKI and undercut Sukarno. The PKI has been slaughtered and Sukarno, of course, did nothing. The PKI had long ago shelved any idea of organizing a revolutionary party independent of Sukarno and Sukarnoism. It was both organizationally and politically helpless before the onslaught of the generals.

Trotsky explored the question of the colonial revolution in his theory of the permanent revolution. He developed the view that the colonial bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie was incapable of carrying out the tasks of the bourgeois revolution, and the proletariat had to lead the peasantry independently of the bourgeoisie in a struggle which would go over into a revolutionary socialist struggle. This is the only way in which any of the fundamental tasks of industrialization, agrarian reform and ordinary survival can be achieved.

This is the path of revolutionary developments in Russia in 1917. Stalin and the Stalinized Comintern followed a different policy, the policy of the bloc of four classes, of unity with the "progressive" bourgeoisie, and of revolution "by stages." It was this latter program which led to the massacre of the Chinese workers by Chiang Kai-shek in 1927, and to defeats and victorious counterrevolutions all over the world -- in Spain, Iraq, Algeria and now in Indonesia.

More people have been killed in the last three months in Indonesia than in the last five years of the Vietnam war. CP membership is reported to have dropped to no more than 150,000 from a previous three million. All who consider themselves revolutionaries must confront the issues posed by the Indonesian tragedy. This includes those who uphold Peking's line; they must explain why 100,000 Communists had to die in Indonesia.

The World Through the Eyes of Wilfred Burchett

Wilfred Burchett reports on Indonesian developments in the December 18 issue of the National Guardian. Burchett has earned a reputation for his reporting on the Vietnam war from behind NLF lines. His apology for the PKI in the Dec. 18 Guardian shows that his reporting cannot be trusted. As of Dec. 18 Burchett sees the PKI "striking back" after mass arrests. He reports:

There are many signs that the right-wing militarists in Jakarta have reached a point of no return in their campaign against Communism and progressive nationalism and are determined to reject the efforts of President Sukarno to rewind the raveled skein of national unity.

This is just one example of Burchett's absurdly muddle-headed approach. His main point, which has been so rudely exploded by the latest grim figures, is that the PKI is fighting back and is going to win or at least make it extremely difficult for the generals.

Burchett speaks of the possibility of a Vietnam-type civil war if the generals persist. But he refuses to explain to us that the PKI policy has put it on the defensive all along, and that a prolonged civil war (which will not even be possible to mount at this stage) could have been avoided altogether if the PKI had followed a revolutionary policy over the previous period. The conduct of the PKI resulting bloodbath indicates that the latest events resemble the Chinese and Iraqi counterrevolutions more than the situation in Vietnam, and that renewed struggle including some kind of guerrilla warfare will require years of recovery and rebuilding first.

Lisa Armand in Challenge has also done her best, which is not very good, to defend the policies of the PKI. She has, perhaps wisely, kept silent since mid-November. But Burchett, Armand, and the bureaucratic strata in the workers' states whose ideology they reflect, will not be able to cheat history indefinitely. In the course of the struggle, even at great and tragic cost at times, such as in Indonesia, revolutionaries all over the world will see the fraud of this class collaborationist ideology for what it is and will go beyond it.

There are also those radicals who consider the theory of the permanent revolution and these related debates irrelevant or passe. They too must explain how the Indonesian events took place and what policy could have prevented the slaughter.

What the PKI did essentially was to abstain from independent struggle. A revolutionary communist party with the kind of mass base the PKI had could have intervened and led a struggle for power under the conditions of deep and permanent crisis which are affecting Indonesia and the rest of the colonial world. Even now we see the permanent crisis expressed by astronomical runaway inflation in Indonesia. The PKI is of course incapable of taking advantage of this opportunity for the working class. Even if it had not been decimated by the counterrevolutionary terror, the PKI would not have been able to take advantage of this opportunity, as is shown by its past failures. In order to achieve a successful revolution it will be necessary for revolutionaries to see their own active intervention as a vital part of the objective process of the class struggle and the struggle for socialism itself.

CUBA ATTACKS CHINA

Turn to Right Follows Disappearance of Guevara

Though it may be difficult for many on the left to believe, truth can only help the working class. Lies, distortions, cover-ups and whitewashes only help the capitalists. Those who perpetrate half-truths and myths in defence of causes they espouse must be viewed as nothing short of criminals, no matter what their intentions.

Among the most criminal of the whole lot (and there is barely a publication on the left not implicated) are the editors of the Militant. Their coverage of Cuban developments alone suffices to justify this statement. It is about time SWP members demanded an accounting from their leadership and the Militant staff.

Early last fall, Fidel Castro delivered a speech in which he "explained" to the world that Che Guevara, long-time collaborator of Castro's and leader of the Cuban Revolution, had resigned from the Cuban party, dropped his Cuban citizenship, and taken off for parts unknown to promote revolution. The Militant reprinted Castro's explanation of Che's disappearance without comment on the underlying political differences between Castro and Che. Nor has the Militant taken up the question to this day.

Around the same time the BULLETIN reported that the Castro regime had issued an order calling in all combat arms from the people. Ours was the only publication on the left to mention this even though the regulation was published in the Cuban press and referred to here in the bourgeois press. Such a development was not considered news by the Militant staff.

Now Fidel Castro has openly attacked China in his New Year's oration for its sharp reduction in trade with Cuba. In the January 10 Militant, correspondent Harry Ring hastens to Castro's defense. Ring praises Fidel's non-factionalism in the Sino-Soviet dispute (oh, how the SWP hates factionalism) and he praises the USSR's "flexibility" in accepting Cuba's "non-alignment", but he

somehow forgets about the fate of that "factionalist" Guevara, known for his open support of China on the colonial question. So it seems that the Militant is taking its stand with the "flexible" USSR against the "inflexible" Guevara and Mao.

Wherever Guevara is today, his removal from power in Cuba was a political move closely linked to other moves on the part of the Castro regime in the direction of conciliation with imperialism. Is it not about time for the Militant to begin publicly to ask questions about the evolution of Cuba and to demand of the Castro regime that it tell the truth for a change?

CASTRO MOVING LEFT ??

"Castro's speech included a harsh denunciation of Marco Antonio Yon Sosa, a guerilla at war for years with the government in Guatemala. Castro denounced him as a 'Trotskyite' and a traitor to the revolution."

- from the New York Post,
Jan. 19, 1966

Readers who are interested in the Guatemalan guerilla movement and in first hand interviews with Yon Sosa, should refer to the articles by Adolfo Gilly in the May and June 1965 issues of Monthly Review.

The SWP at Home and Abroad

Interestingly Joseph Hansen, nominal editor of the Militant, approached the Guevara matter differently in an article he wrote for the October 15th issue of World Outlook, published in Europe. Hansen questions why Guevara, in his letter, goes so far as to state: "I free Cuba of all responsibility" for any future act he may take. "Shouldn't the Cuban government be proud of being connected with the further revolutionary activities of Che Guevara, one of its principal founders?" Hansen asks. He also notes that Guevara took a strong line in defense of the colonial revolution during his African tour last spring and did not utter a single public statement after his return from this tour. Hansen suggests that perhaps Castro and his government preferred friendship with the Kremlin clique to Guevara's more aggressive line in colonial countries. Certainly the current attack on China would help to support such an analysis.

The question remains as to where the SWP stands. Does it agree with its European spokesman or does it go along with the tacit support of Castro's rationalizations as the Militant has? Does it hold one line in the U.S. and another in Europe?

There is an even deeper question involved, a question which implicates Hansen as much as the rest of the SWP leadership. Joseph Hansen was the architect of the SWP's characterization of Cuba as a worker's state which had not yet evolved the forms of democratic workers' rule. Flowing from this analysis, the SWP has uncritically supported the Castro regime since 1961. The SWP has placed full confidence in the Castro leadership to carry the revolution forward, not in the independent struggles of the Cuban masses.

Obviously Cuba has not evolved in this fashion. Slowly the group around Castro has consolidated its control over the Cuban government excluding the working class from all meaningful decision-making. Trotskyists and other dissenters have been jailed in Cuba. The trade union movement has been transformed into nothing more than an adjunct of the bureaucratic government. The newspapers parrot Castro's line in a deadly fashion and with the destruction of the Guevara wing of the bureaucracy no public debate on policy takes place.

Today, Cuba is abandoning a revolutionary course internationally and it is doing so without allowing any debate. This is the real meaning of the Guevara affair. The man is disposed of, by what means we can only guess, and his policies are no longer discussed.

Where is Cuba Headed?

The reality of Cuba today does not jibe with the myth of SWP "theory". The minorities who opposed the SWP majority line in 1961 have been thrown out of the party, but it is their line, not the leadership's, which has been realized by events in Cuba. It is this truth that the SWP leadership fears to confront.

Even when Hansen is seeking to be critical of Cuba, his theoretical shortcomings show through. He states: "The truth is that the Cuban revolutionists have done their utmost to indicate that within the general framework of revolutionary Marxism, their policy is an independent one, bowing to neither Moscow nor Peking." But Castro's policy and methods have nothing in common, in general or specifically, with revolutionary Marxism. And, obviously, as each day passes Castro bows more and more to Moscow.

There is also the question of the validity of the line most closely associated with Guevara -- the policy of guerilla warfare. Is this the correct line for the victory of the colonial revolution, as the SWP has maintained? Hansen makes a rather damning appraisal of the results of guerilla warfare in Latin America: "And yet five years have gone by with no new victory. In fact a very grave defeat was suffered through the counter-revolutionary coup d'etat that brought Gen. Castelo Branco to power in Brazil in April, 1964."

We agree with Hansen's harsh assessment of the results of guerilla warfare. Guerilla bands cannot topple the bourgeois regimes in Latin America, for these regimes do not stand alone -- the might of the U.S. imperialists bolsters them up. What is needed is an alliance between the workers in the cities and the peasantry and the linking of this struggle with the struggle of workers in other parts of the world. Only such a combination is strong enough to defeat imperialism and its domestic allies.

What is the SWP position on Hansen's assessment of guerilla warfare? Does it now realize that its uncritical line in years past was disastrous?

We will be bold and make a prediction: in time the SWP leadership will follow Hansen's course and slip over to a more critical assessment both of the Cuban leadership and of guerilla warfare. However, they will seek to do this in such a way as to bar any real assessment by the ranks of the party of past SWP positions and the method which led to such mistaken positions. The public disarray of the SWP on this question today is a reflection that the leadership does not yet see how it can make this switch in line with nobody noticing it.

This failure to discuss and probe each turn in line is something the SWP shares in common with Castro. Neither are they originators of this "method": Stalin deserves proper credit for it.

We cannot conclude without some mention of Progressive Labor. These people have been stumbling around the international landscape the last few months in a most miserable way. The military right wing seizes power in Algeria: Challenge lauds it as a move to the left. No sooner does Progressive Labor magazine come out with a major article written by Sukarno than Sukarno fronts for the military right wing in Indonesia while the latter systematically destroys the PKI.

What will they do now that there is a public rift between China and Cuba? PL happens to adulate both groups as examples par excellence of revolutionary Marxist leadership. We are breathlessly awaiting our next copy of Challenge to see how the PL editorial writers explain this event as a move to the left by both parties. If anyone can accomplish this feat, we have full confidence that PL will do it.

It is about time PL members also asked for a political accounting from their leadership. Is it just a matter of bad luck that with each sharp turn in international events PL is caught with its pants down? Or perhaps there is something basically wrong with PL's (and China's) international line. May we suggest to PL that it can get mighty cold these days with your pants down all the time. PL may find it harder and harder to meet people willing to take its ignominious pose.

THE STATE OF LBJ

On Wednesday, Jan. 12, at 9 P.M. EST, U.S. TV networks combined resources to produce the most degraded spectacle of the current season. There, before the cameras, stood the President of the United States, his face void of human expression, whining with the rich sentiment of a paid pallbearer as he spoke of such things as "young men dying in the fullness of their promise." Thus, in these days, U.S. Imperialism has chosen its spokesman and manner of publicising its schemes for another bloody year of human misery.

The guns-and-butter theme typifies the contradiction permeating the entire State-of-the-Union program. Johnson proposes to improve the U.S. balance of payments while undermining

liquidity. He proposes to prosecute a war on communism in the world while introducing a full turn in economic conciliation with the Soviet Union. He proposes to increase the domestic "war on poverty" program while actually curtailing many domestic spending programs. He proposes to repeal "right to work" laws while recommending laws against the right to strike.

Johnson proposed to increase equal economic opportunity just a few hours before lambasting N.Y. Mayor Lindsay for the latter's most reluctant concessions to transit workers' rights to equal pay for equal work. Nor could anything be more contradictory than Johnson's energetic preparations to escalate the Vietnam war at the very instant he is mobilizing most of the governments of the world -- including the Soviet regime and the Pope -- to negotiate a peace settlement in Vietnam.

This contradiction is no reason to regard the State of the Union program as hopeless doubletalk. That inconsistency among proposals accurately reflects the contradictory nature of the acute problems which the Johnson regime must attempt to solve at one and the same instant. Just as that regime, in the case of the N.Y. Transit strike, demanded an immediate settlement with the TWU and in the next instant condemned the only terms on which that strike could be settled. What is true in New York is true for the Johnson regime throughout the world. Contradictory as its program may be, that is the program Wall Street intends to carry out, because it must.

Soviet Relations

For many laymen, the least noticed and yet the most striking feature of the State of the Union address was the proposed roundabout turn in U.S.-Soviet economic relations.

For twenty years, since Winston Churchill declared the Cold War at Fulton, Mo., the cornerstone of U.S. Soviet policy has been one of attempted economic strangulation of the World War II-wracked Soviet internal economy. Not only has the U.S. regime gone to great lengths to prevent market-hungry British, French, German, Italian and Japanese capitalists from selling critical materials to the Soviet Union, but the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe have been surrounded with an Iron Curtain of tariffs and red tape aimed at creating the greatest internal suffering inside the Soviet bloc.

Now, Johnson proposes a roundabout: "I recommend that you make it possible to expand trade between the United States and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union." Adding, later on in his address: "I will ask Congress for authority to remove the special tariff restrictions which are a barrier to increasing trade between the East and the West."

In part, these Johnson proposals recognize the substantial concessions the Kremlin is prepared to make to foreign capitalists at the expense of Soviet bloc workers. Yet, at the same time, Johnson is preparing to deliver on his side of the deal with the Soviet bureaucracy, in return for possibly very valuable Kremlin services to

Imperialism in such matters as India-Pakistan problems and Vietnam. Kremlin success in negotiating temporary peace between India and Pakistan at Tashkent represents the Soviet bureaucracy's single greatest assistance to Imperialism since Yalta.

But Johnson is not proposing to merely pay a debt of dubious honor to Brezhnev, Kosygin, Shelepin & Company. It is the future services of the Kremlin to U.S. Imperialist interests that Johnson has in view--just as corporate bosses in the U.S. have come to understand the cash value of an understanding with rotten trade union bureaucrats. (The Soviet bureaucracy is for the colonial revolution, as a trade union faker is for increasing his union's gate receipts and sometimes leads a militant struggle, but, in the very same terms, the Soviet bureaucracy has a taste for an occasional "sweetheart contract"--if the proper amount of payola is forthcoming.)

Vietnam

The first key to Johnson's stated Vietnam policy, his attempts to simultaneously escalate war and peace negotiations is found in the high-sounding phraseology: "The fifth and most important principle of our foreign policy is support of national independence--the right of each people to govern themselves and shape their own institutions."

Since Hays' proclamation of the "Open Door Policy" for China over a half century ago, U.S. Imperialist policy has been against flag colonies. It was not coincidental that this "Open Door Policy" should emerge in the same period as the U.S.'s deliberately provoked war with Spain over Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, etc. The U.S., even then emerging as the most productive and powerful capitalist nation, believed that it could ultimately rule the entire world through investment and trade if only it could remove British, French, Spanish, German and Italian customs officers from Latin America, Africa and Asia.

Furthermore, U.S. Imperialism discovered that flag-colonies and occupation by foreign troops provoke national wars of liberation in which foreign investments may be destroyed or seized, in which the orderly business of taking profits from the backs of workers and peasants in these countries may be interrupted. Consequently the U.S. was and is, as Johnson whined on January 12: "encouraging the end of colonial rule."

Much better, Johnson proposes, to have a stable nationalistic government, which maintains law, order and the value of government bonds, than the constant turmoil and revolution which foreign-flag domination provokes. Clap-trapping Johnson is for an "Open Door Policy" toward every nation in the world as long as that means an "Open Door" for U.S. investments or at least economic concessions, and law, order and the protection of U.S. capitalists' property rights.

Jigging Johnson makes it plain that Wall Street is prepared to accept the existence of states with "different social systems" as long as these conditions are met. He particularly endorses the "Liber-manist" turn in the Soviet Union, seeing in developing Soviet concessions to U.S. Imperialism's economic interests a pattern which the U.S.

is prepared to accept in respect to the Soviet bloc, China, Cuba and Vietnam.

The sentimental Mr. Johnson is absolutely committed to preventing South Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand and the Philippines from being assimilated into the Chinese supra-national trading bloc, in which case Southeast Asia's rice bowl would be turned into an extension of Chinese industrial development, thus denying this same rice bowl to U.S. Imperialism's uses in respect to U.S., Japanese, West German and British investments and investment opportunities in India. He has made it plain, as he did again on January 12, that he is prepared to go to almost all lengths to prevent that from occurring.

However he would, he also makes plain, accept any Soviet sponsored deal which settles the Vietnam situation in a manner which secures U.S. interests in that region. The practical question is the possibility of effecting such a "peace."

Other Aspects of the Vietnam Policy

Domestic pressures behind Johnson's peace offensive are revealed not so much "single-issue" in the movements to End the War in Vietnam as in the statement typified by an entirely different source, Senator Everett M. Dirksen.

In an exclusive interview with the US NEWS & WORLD REPORT, Dirksen has this to say. "Let me make it as clear as crystal that I've said over and over again that the colossal sin is not that we're in Vietnam...I have said that the real sin is that we've been there too long. It's become a war of attrition.

"...I've said to the President that I'm in his corner where our national security and interests are at stake. Let's get the war over and done with and do what is necessary to bring peace over there."

Dirksen is conscious of popular uneasiness about the slaughter--of GIs. "...Here's a lad who lands in a casket in a little town. Right away the weekly papers have a headline: 'Joe is home.'...There are the fathers and mothers. 'That could have been my youngster.' And the further this goes, the more diffused that sentiment becomes. You can't escape it." The issue, however, for Dirksen, is not to get out of Vietnam, but "...they want this thing to proceed, and with vigor, to bring it to a successful conclusion with a minimum loss of life." (emphasis added) Dirksen reflects the concern about blood--draining involvement in an indecisive war. Johnson is under real pressure to bring the war to an early successful conclusion not so much by the SANE Anti-War movement as by ponderable factors, to settle this Vietnam business successfully before something else blows up.

Right on the heels of a successful CIA-supported right-wing blood bath in Indonesia, a "genocide" of a reported 100,000 lives, the inflationary crisis in that country has suddenly loomed so large that Sukarno has offered a ministry to anyone who will stop the economic explosion (with the proviso that such a minister will be summarily shot the moment he fails). Now, the masses in Indonesia are surging

in an angry outburst that threatens to undo the schemes of the CIA and the treachery of Chinese diplomacy. Not only in Indonesia, but in Thailand, Malaysia, the Philippines and who knows where else, the tide of revolution threatens to spread. U.S. Imperialism desperately needs any kind of a successful settlement in Vietnam to free its hands for the new explosions threatening to burst loose elsewhere.

At home, as Kirksen points, the issue among the capitalists is not the bloody war, but the failure of that bloodbath to produce the tangible political and economic results the Johnson regime requires. Either Soviet-engineered peace sell-out or a massive military effort, Johnson now puts everything behind both policies at the same time.

Johnson's Anti-Labor Promises

Friend-of-Labor Johnson has promised to present measures to Congress "which...will enable us to effectively deal with strikes which threaten irreparable damage to the national interest." Subsequent remarks by Johnson show that he means not only effective means to break strikes like the recent NY transit strike or the Olin Mathiessen strike, but he has made it plain that a strike not in the national interest is one in which workers strike for more than the 3.2% increase which he, Johnson, has set as a maximum.

As N.Y. Mayor Lindsay pointed out, in his recent rebuttal to Johnson, most recent labor settlements have been substantially in excess of the Johnson guidelines standards. This means that every recent strike and every recent settlement is one which threatens "irreparable damage to the national interest" in Johnson's terms.

How does this reconcile with wheeler-dealer Johnson's promise to demand the repeal of "right to work" Section 14B of the Taft-Hartley Law?

That proposed concession to the labor bureaucracy is just that: a proposal to give Reuther-Meany and ilk something in return for legislation against the interests of the trade union rank and file. This apparently contradictory course is understood if we recognize that the trade union bureaucracy is a part of the Johnson political machine, is a valued tool of the Johnson regime.

Mrs. Michael Quill aptly explained Meany's character during the recent transit strike in New York: "Mr. Meany has boasted that he's never called a strike or been on a picket line." Meany's swinish public attacks on the striking transit workers--which provoked Mrs. Quill's remarks--are ineradicable clues to the real character and role of Meany's kind in the labor movement. These labor bureaucrats have a certain resemblance to the "Jewish Police" of the wartime Warsaw Ghetto: the scum of the Jewish community in Poland, who obtained a few miserable temporary privileges for themselves by collecting their neighbors for the Nazi death-camps.

Butter-and-Guns

The wriggling Mr. Johnson's efforts to combine "butter" with "guns"--although damn little "butter" is actually offered--do not arise out of any uneconomical largeness of heart, but from the desperate national and international economic situation of U.S. Imperialism.

Despite the current Vietnam war boom, present trends in the U.S. economy show a probable sharp decline in sales of consumer goods this coming spring. Inflationary and related effects of the war economy are already combining with the factors that threatened to set off a deep recession last summer. Johnson's need to contract the economy--as by restoring previously cut taxes--is just one more factor in this pattern. Under such circumstances, Johnson must establish the machinery for massive "WPA" "War on Poverty" public spending measures to intervene if a sharp economic downturn develops in the year ahead.

Abroad, despite a short-term improvement in the current British balance of trade, despite a Vietnam war provoked upturn in the recession-laden Japanese economy, Western Capitalism is weakening in some of its strongest sectors. A December 27th Geneva dispatch reports the emergence of economic crises in Switzerland. In West Germany, Chancellor Erhard warns of a slackening of the economy and insists that only anti-labor measures like those now advanced in Britain will prevent loss of the economic gains of the past period. From Brussels, a January 1 New York dispatch warns that the Common Market is stumbling precariously at the doorway to much heralded "phase three." Current IMF dispatches show that U.S. efforts to improve the U.S. balance of payments position have reduced international liquidity in 1965 to a level below that of year ending 1964. Johnson must maintain and even increase U.S. foreign aid spending and U.S. underwriting of world credit lest the whole world slide into a deep recession.

Johnson's need to deliver both butter and guns is more than economic. Also involved are the economics of politics. What this means in the U.S. is illustrated by the Julian Bond case (see article in this issue) in which right-wing civil rights leader Martin Luther King is seen moving in under a full head of oratorical steam to support Negro Congressman Bond's right to oppose the draft. There is a bit of Watts in every Negro soldier in Vietnam. The anti-draft upsurge among militant Negroes from bloody battlefields in Mississippi could grow to sweep the softheaded Emspaks, Barneses and Halsteads out of the way, and produce a "multi-issue" Anti-War movement that would be a real threat to Johnson's war.

The interrelationship between economics and politics exists in Foreign Aid programs. This is illustrated by the role of Soviet development aid offers to India and Pakistan in negotiating the settlement at Tashkent. An economically and politically stable U.S. hegemony takes shekels.

The Challenge to Us

Johnson has declared that the U.S. capitalist system is in

such weakened condition that it can no longer afford to pay workers the kind of wage-increases unionists have gained in the past decade. He has also underlined his intent to bring the full power of the Federal Government to enforce this policy. This may lead to a direct collision between the Johnson regime and working-class militants. In between the militants and the regime stands the trade union bureaucracy, a bureaucracy which is part of the Johnson political machine.

Under present conditions even a modest working-class upsurge on bread-and-butter issues means two things. In the first instance, it means that the existing trade union leadership must tend to split, with one section, like John L. Lewis in the Thirties tending to ally itself with the rank-and-file militants against the "Greens" of today. If militancy goes deeper, such an upsurge on bread-and-butter issues means: behind any new "John L. Lewises" of the coming period, a new, younger militant working-class leadership must emerge to replace the old AFL-CIO fakers.

In the second instance, given Johnson's announced anti-labor program, any militant union struggle on bread-and-butter issues must become political. At the instant the government steps in on the other side of the bargaining table, workers' struggles for wages and working conditions become a struggle against the government. Under those conditions the workers must either give up their demands or continue their strike as a political movement of the organized working class and its actual and potential allies.

It is our practical tasks flowing from Johnson's State of the Union address that represent the essence and the concrete truth of that address. The concrete truth of that address is the need for us to prepare for a possible upsurge of trade union struggles and the going-over of trade union to working-class political struggles.

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