

VIETNAM DIALOGUE 1: What Johnson Is Really After

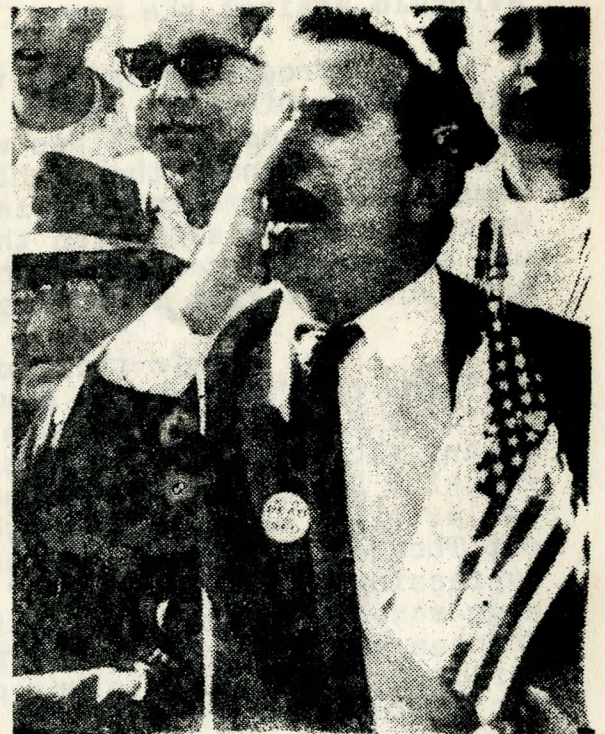
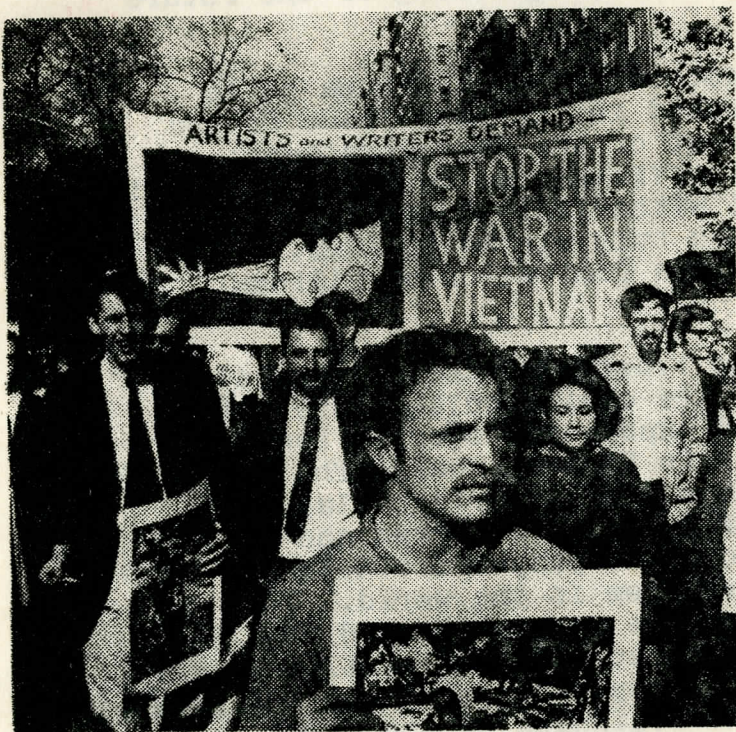
Bulletin

OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Vol., 2 No. 18

November 1, 1965

10 Cents



WHERE DO WE GO

FROM HERE?

The BULLETIN OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM is published fortnightly by the American Committee for the Fourth International. The American Committee is in political solidarity with the International Committee of the Fourth International. Subscriptions are \$2.00 per year.

VIETNAM DIALOGUE 1: What Johnson Is Really After

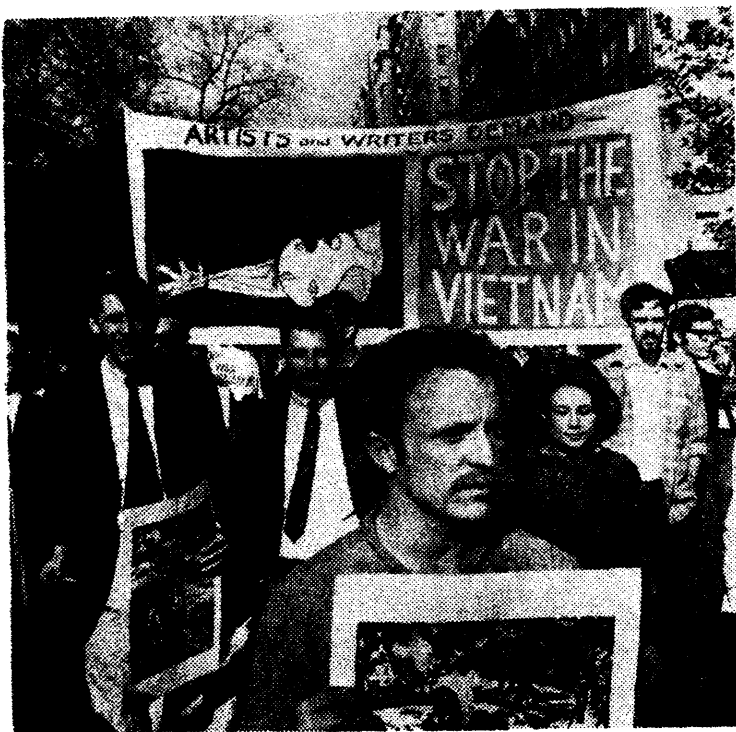
Bulletin

OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Vol., 2 No. 18

November 1, 1965

10 Cents



WHERE DO WE GO

FROM HERE?

The BULLETIN OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM is published fortnightly by the American Committee for the Fourth International. The American Committee is in political solidarity with the International Committee of the Fourth International. Subscriptions are \$2.00 per year.

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

An Assessment of the Meaning of the Vietnam Day Demonstrations The Rightest Attacks, and the Threatened Government Witchhunt

The Vietnam Day demonstrations were clearly a great success. At least 100,000 people participated in hundreds of communities and colleges across the nation, with from twenty to thirty thousand in New York City alone. The opposition to the war came fully into the public eye. The anti-war sentiment could no longer be simply attributed to crackpots, beatniks, and individual pacifists. President Johnson was "concerned."

Now is the time to look seriously at the demonstrations, assess their strengths and their weaknesses, and also assess the nature of the opposition to the demonstrations. In this way we can contribute to the strengthening of the future struggle against the war.

Programmatically the demonstrations continue to be marked by confusion. As we commented in the last issue on the New York Parade, so it was with most of the demonstrations: those who defended the right of the Vietnamese to revolution and demanded the immediate unilateral withdrawal of American troops marched side by side with those who only wished the U.S. would use alternative means to continue its domination of Vietnam and Southeast Asia in general.

But within this confused framework, the more militant sections of the anti-war movement are coming to the fore. In New York City these elements found expression despite the ban on any slogans except "End the War in Vietnam Now". The Tompkins Square group marched with a large American flag with dollar signs and skulls instead of stars. The Bread and Puppet Theater carried an immense grotesque puppet of Uncle Sam expressing the real image of imperialism in the world. The high school and college sections of the parade chanted anti-Johnson slogans and were by far the most militant section of the parade. It was these signs of militancy which received the greatest cheers from participants at the beginning of the march.

This is not to say that programmatic clarity has been achieved by even these elements but rather that the general tenor of the movement is militant and there is now a serious basis for the development of a real anti-war program. In this and future issues, the BULLETIN plans to print its contribution to the development of such a program.

Trade Unionists Participate

The participation of trade unionists in the New York parade was also symptomatic. District 65 and Local 1199 were there formally as these unions were part of the parade committee. In addition there were sizable unofficial groups from the teachers and from the welfare workers, as well as many individual trade

Considering that minority groups represent over a quarter of the population, and are potentially the most militant section, they were conspicuously weakly represented. Clearly this is one aspect of work which has been neglected--at least in New York City.

The Face of Fascism

Another important feature of the demonstrations not only in New York but elsewhere was the character of the opposition. Extreme rightist and fascistic elements sought to disrupt the demonstrations in New York, Boston, Berkeley-Oakland, and in many smaller areas. It is important for anti-war activists to be aware of this opposition and its changing character. These rightists are no longer satisfied with more-or-less peaceful counter picketing and harassing. Increasingly they are going over to violence. As there is a polarization on the left, so, too, there is a polarization on the right with fascistic forces coming to the front.

While no one has been seriously injured so far, we can expect such violent attacks to increase. These hoodlum elements are being encouraged by the press. The New York Sunday News, the largest paper in this country, printed a picture of these fascists on the cover entitled "Voice of the People." Prominent and friendly press coverage was given to the rightists by all the papers including the New York Times, and by the radio and TV. The current government witchhunting probes will also encourage these elements to be more and more violent in the future.

It would be a tragic mistake for the anti-war forces to expect the police to offer real protection against these hoodlums. Even in New York City, where the very size of the parade and the inclusion of some "respectable" forces made the police come out in full force, the police did not seriously stop the violence. Most of the attacks were made on the marchers as they left Fifth Avenue and were forced to march down side streets to a point where a rally was to be held. Along these side streets the police were conspicuous by their absence. Where they did intervene, they did not hold the attackers, leaving them free to regroup themselves to try an onslaught on the marchers at another vulnerable point.

In Boston, BULLETIN supporters report that the marchers were forced to march almost unprotected through rightist mobs. In the Bay Area outlaw motorcyclists broke through police baracades and attacked the marchers. Attacks occurred on demonstrators in Rockland County, N.Y. as well. It is especially in these smaller, more isolated communities that demonstrators are at the mercy of rightists.

The anti-war movement must take upon itself responsibility for its own defense. They must repudiate hypocritical pacifists like A.J. Muste who commend the police for using violence to "protect" us but in "principle" oppose demonstrators defending themselves. One of these days Rev. Muste will wake up to find that he has converted the police who will "turn the other cheek" to look the other way while hoodlums attack us.

It is extremely important that the anti-war struggle be kept in the public view. Fear of fascist thugs must not prevent us from taking our message to the working people of this country. It is precisely fear on the part of the Johnson Administration and other defenders of the status quo that the mass of American people may give us a sympathetic ear that is at the root of their hysterical reaction to our demonstrations. It is clear that they intend to employ two weapons against us--a government witchhunt and a permissive attitude towards the thugs of the right--the so-called "Voice of the People."

The Meaning of the Witchhunt

Serious militants must also recognize the real meaning of this current witchhunt. The Government seeks to disrupt the anti-war movement from within by encouraging internal witchhunts and to discredit it in the eyes of the public--a public which they fear may listen to us. There can be no concessions whatsoever to this witchhunting. It is not our task to "defend" ourselves against these red-herring accusations. It is rather our task to put the government itself on trial and expose the reasons for its criminal actions in Vietnam--and yes, here at home as well.

Finally we must deepen the turn the anti-war movement is making towards the masses of American people. As long as we remain primarily a student movement we are isolated from the broad masses of people. We must at every stage seek to connect up the student struggle with the struggles of the masses of people. This means we must seek to reach those in the United States who have the least to gain from the war--and the most to lose. This means first and foremost the Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican working class who are excluded from the "consensus". In particular it also means the youth--working class and students who are being called upon to go to Vietnam and fight this dirty war.

Fighting the Draft

There is growing sentiment in the anti-war movement to turn our attention to the question of the draft. This certainly must be a prime focus in future struggles. However, it is extremely important that the anti-draft movement go beyond the college campuses. Students must realize that it has been unfair for them to receive deferments while the working class youth, who cannot afford to go to college, are the bulk of the draftees. When students oppose the draft it is incumbent upon them to broaden their protests to include the working class youth.

Teenage youth represent one of the most volatile sections of the American population. Especially young minority peoples face a future of either being used as cannon fodder in Vietnam or joining the ranks of the unemployed upon leaving high school. We must realize that these youth are a double-edged sword. If we do not reach them and turn their energies to the constructive purpose of fighting against the war and the system of grinding poverty at home they can be turned against us by the reactionaries. Work among these youth must be a prime task of every Vietnam committee whether it is campus based or community based.

At every stage we must seek to connect, connect, connect with real forces in our country. We must not allow the pressures of the government and the right to make us feel frustrated, isolated. This can lead to a self-imposed isolation from the people and encourage adventurism and individualistic actions. The war will not be stopped by conscientious objecting. It can be stopped by a massive movement objecting to imperialist war. A movement which has real roots in the masses. We know it seems easier for the individual to devote his energies to convincing himself to burn his own draft card, refuse to be inducted, lie down in front of a tank or a train, etc. But it is far more meaningful for the individual to convince others and to move others into struggle against the war and the draft.

Attention must also be paid to the American conscripts who face the task of carrying out this dirty war. Clearly it is our responsibility to tell the truth about Vietnam to the American soldiers. This is both our democratic and our legal right. But we must realize that the U.S. Government will resist such attempts for they are as aware as we are that an informed army could not be used to carry out the dirty tasks Johnson has set for it in Vietnam and elsewhere. Thus we can expect that the Government will illegally and undemocratically seek to prevent us from legally and democratically informing the American troops of the true facts of the U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

Victory Is Our Goal

Finally, we must realize that this is a struggle we can win and victory is our goal. Our goal and the goal the Vietnamese people is the same victory over oppression. President Johnson is upset. He says our demonstrations may encourage the National Liberation Front to fight on harder and thus not enter into "negotiations". What a fraud, what a transparent fraud. Johnson's position on negotiations is clear enough. He would be more than happy to negotiate "peace" in Vietnam on the basis of the defeat of the Vietnamese people. All warmakers favor peace on the basis of the surrender of the other side--but they nevertheless are war-makers. The only meaningful peace for Southeast Asia is peace based on the self-determination of the Vietnamese people. Can anyone doubt that without U.S. military occupation the Vietnamese people would choose the National Liberation Front? If our efforts encourage the NLF to fight on all the harder then our efforts are worthwhile and peace will be brought closer. The NLF is not fighting the American people. It is fighting a Government which oppresses the people at home as well as millions abroad.

END THE DRAFT

WITHDRAW U.S. TROOPS FROM VIETNAM

VICTORY FOR THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT

VICTORY FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE MEANS DEFEAT FOR JOHNSON

NEW YORK NEWSPAPER STRIKE

Guild Settlement - Victory For Whom?

The recent New York City newspaper strike came to an end after 25 days when the N.Y. Times and the Newspaper Guild reached a settlement based on the recommendations of labor mediator Theodore Kh el and supported by Mayor Wagner. Only the Times was actually struck, while the other dailies in the Publishers Association (the Post was not a member) locked out all their employees in accordance with a previous agreement among themselves. It comes as no surprise that this settlement, while supposedly giving job protection to present Guild employees, as well as some small concessions on the pension plan, overtime pay and the union shop, represents a retreat by the union on their key demand, a demand which the Printers (ITU) had won last spring. This is the demand for control, or "veto power" over the introduction of new automated equipment. On this issue which is fundamental if the publishers are to achieve their aim of "modernization and improvement of operations", the Times has laid the groundwork for the eventual rationalization which will "rationalize" many potential and even current newspaper and printing workers right onto the unemployment line.

As for the job security provisions of the contract, the jobs of all employees under Guild jurisdiction at the time of the signing of this contract (rather than last March 31 as the Times originally pushed for) are guaranteed. Well, one might ask, isn't this one of the "terrific gains" which Mr. Murphy (N.Y. Guild president) claims the union won? But, there are a few hitches here: First, which we have already mentioned, is that although the Guild was largely motivated by the desire to get the same measure of control over the introduction of automated equipment which the New York printers had won. This, the Times was determined not to allow. The Publishers feel very strongly that giving in to the New York printers on this "veto power" was a big mistake on their part. This contract with the Guild represents their attempt to undo some of the "damage" that has already been done. While the present employees are "protected" against loss of jobs due to automation, the elimination of jobs can proceed right along with the "natural process of attrition" that occurs when workers die, are permanently disabled or for some other reason leave the industry. The Times will be free to not replace these departed employees and will make every effort to reassign and shift the "protected" workers in accordance with the needs of the newly introduced computers and other automated equipment. What the Publishers hope to achieve is not only extensive automation of the clerical and billing departments now under Guild jurisdiction, but the flexibility to use the same computers in the process of automatic typesetting as well. What this amounts to is job protection for present employees in the immediate period, with the longer term prospects of the industry looking more and more like the railroad industry where entire job occupations are on the way out. (see Bulletin, Vol. II, #15, Oct. 4, 1965)

There is still another hitch. Even for those Times employees that are "protected", and it must be remembered that these do not include current and future part-time and temporary employees,

there is no protection against "merger or consolidation" which the union had demanded. While this may not appear to be in the cards for the New York Times in the near future, anything is possible in today's New York newspaper scene, where as a Village Voice article put it, "Who will swallow whom or merge with whom? Keep tuned to your local TV station and see." In any event, the Guild's failure to gain such protection from the Times is bound to be a factor in the negotiations with those newspapers where the merger issue is not right now. Perhaps the most well known "secret" in the industry is that the Journal American (Hearst) and the World Telegram and Sun (Scripps Howard) will shortly merge or somehow consolidate. Other rumors of mergers (which Marx described as the inevitable outcome of capitalist competition) fill the corridors and locker rooms of the Newspapers. The outcome of this long term process of concentration which is linked with the process of automation is the same here as in all other capitalist industry: ever mounting technological unemployment regardless of all the glib talk about job training and retraining as a solution to unemployment. The publishers, especially the "weaker" ones loudly bemoan the liquidations and mergers which have already or will in the future swallow up some newspapers and consolidate others. We cannot feel one iota of sympathy for these "lords of the press" who are not only plutocrats intent on maintaining this status but are also "molders" of public opinion geared to the perpetuation and guidance of the capitalist system as a whole! On the other hand we have a great deal of sympathy for those workers who face unemployment. They must learn to see their own plight, not simply as individual members of a craft union, but, as we have repeatedly emphasized, as part of an entire industry and then as an entire class.

* * *

Photo credit: Cover photo by William A. Price, National Guardian

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGNING ON THE MINNESOTA IRON RANGE

by Everett E. Luoma

(The author of this article ran on the SWP ticket in Minnesota in 1963 and 1964. He recently resigned from the party.)

The Iron Range of Northern Minnesota is booming. Construction for building taconite plants to process the low grade iron ore is in high gear.

As generally happens in such construction projects, engineers and highly skilled employees are imported into the area by the construction companies. One of these employees, a very tolerant Southerner, noticed a strange phenomenon about the Range are around Virginia, Minnesota. "Why all these jokes about the Finns?" he asked. "I've never heard anything like it anywhere else in the country." He was intelligent enough to recognize the hidden prejudice involved in these jokes.

I overheard the very unsatisfactory reply to his question and made it a point to answer his question more fully when we were alone.

The Finns are the oldest settlers of the Range area, being imported into the area to work in the rich iron fields in the latter part of the 19th Century.

The pay was only a dollar a day and the conditions were very unsafe with many miners being killed and injured on the job. A radicalization developed with probably half the Finns considering themselves Socialists in the early part of the 20th Century. All the Finns belonged to the IWW because anyone who did not was a social outcast.

The IWW led several violent strikes in efforts to organize the Range with the most famous being the 1916 strike. This strike was so vicious that the mining companies had to bring one mine guard for every three strikers in the area to defeat the workers. In addition, Slavs were imported into the area as scabs with the result that the percentage of Finns in the mines decreased from an overwhelming majority to a relatively small minority.

The Finns became an economically dispossessed group and became the small farmers in the surrounding countryside. Bitterness against the mining companies persists and now they inhabit "Finntown" in Virginia and represent the major portion of the rural poor in the countryside. This radicalism persists. The farmers in the rural community of Palo passed a resolution against the war in Vietnam last summer and the Finnish Federation of Civic Clubs is the most active and class conscious political organization in the area. Language difficulties and their age, however, decrease their effectiveness.

This radicalism which extends to the other nationality groups was what the SWP attempted to exploit by having me run for mayor of Hibbing in 1963. The ruling elements recognized the threat. I was picked up by the police once and a law partner of a Democratic legislator threatened to send some "good Finns" to see me if I did not leave town. Despite the fact that it was widely publicized that I met only the minimal residency requirements, we received 3.5% of the vote and became known throughout the Iron Range as the radical element. In addition I was given a column in a Finnish IWW newspaper, Industrialisti, published three times weekly from Duluth.

The 1964 Campaign

The SWP decided to exploit this new field by having me be the candidate for Senator in the 1964 elections. After an extensive campaign, a better picture of the Iron Range was realized. Despite the unfavorable position on the ballot, the party received an overwhelmingly larger vote than the SLP on the Range. In the remainder of the state, the SLP outdistanced the SWP because they were third on the ballot and the SWP was last. Also contrary to general expectations, the more rural the precinct, the larger the

percentage of the vote of the party for both President and Senator with some rural precincts giving 5% of their vote to the SWP. In addition, the vote of the party on the Range as compared to the remainder of the state was far out of proportion to the population of the area and it also became evident that the Hibbing episode was on the wrong end of the Range. The mayoralty campaign should have been on the eastern end in the vicinity of Virginia.

In a long article to the Party Campaigner of the SWP; I formalized my conclusions from this experience. It became obvious to me that my articles in the Industrialisti had created a personal relationship between myself and a large section of the Range residents. This relationship forced these readers to give serious consideration to the program of the SWP and thereby won their vote. This relationship is one that cannot be gotten by merely handing a leaflet to a voter on a street corner.

In my analysis to the Party Campaigner, an internal SWP organ, I stated that a part of this relationship could be gotten by an extensive door to door campaign. If a pleasant appearing candidate with a class program appeared at the door and handed his literature to the homeowner, the recipient would not be able to as readily reject the ideas. I had personal experience of this in 1960, when as a candidate of the SP for state legislature, I received 17% of the vote in a section of Minneapolis because of an extensive door to door campaign.

SWP Opposes Campaign

I was anxious for a new experiment on the Range with a campaign in Virginia for Mayor. My conclusions and my proposal received vigorous opposition from the SWP in Minneapolis.

The opposition to my proposal persisted throughout this year. It soon became evident that I would have to leave the party to perform my experiment. I left the party, received assurances of assistance from other ex-party members, and went to Virginia to apply for a job. This was not easy because I was promptly recognized wherever I applied; but finally found an engineering firm who needed an engineer more than it hated my politics.

Literature was printed and I began my door to door campaign. Immediately after my first evening I was known throughout the city of 15000 because the workers had shown the literature to their fellows on the job.

On the fourth day a letter appeared at the post office address on my literature from the city clerk expressing doubts about my eligibility to run for office in Virginia and a request that I go see him. I visited with him and he told me that early that year a new city charter had been adopted. Among the changes were a change in residency requirements from no residency requirements to two years for candidates for city offices. I am certain that my experience in Hibbing and my subsequent articles in the Industrialisti were a factor in this drastic change.

At the present time I am negotiating with the company for which I work for a salary that would make it worth my while to bring the family up to the Iron Range. This is an area that can be best exploited for independent farmer-labor political action. As the reader may realize, Minnesota had a class based Farmer-Labor Party that dominated politics in the state in the 1930's. The Iron Range area may very well be used in conjunction with the militant farmers of West Central Minnesota with whom I and my friends are in contact for possible political activity.

* * *

VIETNAM DIALOGUE I:

WHAT JOHNSON IS REALLY AFTER

The nationwide October 17th weekend anti-war demonstration produced an instructive variety of reactions from officials. The mccarthyite types came out of Capitol Hill woodwork howling like guisanos. TV and newspaper reports implied some strong off-the-record language by Johnson. Most public statements by Executive and Congressional representatives observed the more cautious, measured tones of Senator Dirksen.

On the eve of the demonstrations NBC's Chet Huntley encouraged TV viewers to treat the protests as an unimportant fuss made by a mere 3% minority. This was not quite the tone of official and semi-official reaction the following Monday. Official harassment of SDS seems to be in the works. A crackdown on draft-card burners is guaranteed. Some new anti-demonstrator legislation is proposed and seems probable. Like NBC News, most officials would prefer to avoid a head-on collision with the anti-war movement. The persistent numbers and hardening organization of that movement provoke them to react more sharply.

Whatever accomplishments the anti-war movement has had, it has failed to prevent U.S. occupation forces in Vietnam from reaching 150,000 now nor is it likely to deter the buildup to about 200,000 by Christmas. Whatever else the anti-war movement is accomplishing, this outstanding failure must be faced. We will not stop the slaughter in Vietnam without a massive protest movement here, of course. Yet, in the face of our failure to date, can a mere protest movement stop this monstrous butchery of a whole people. Despite the success of the October 17th demonstrations, how can we guarantee to ourselves any better result than the miserable outcome of the Popular Front peace movements of the past?

If we are going to meet that challenge we had better begin by asking what the Vietnam invasion is all about. What is Johnson fighting for in Vietnam? What vital interests of his regime are involved? What groups in the U.S. benefit from the war policy? How far are they able to go in attempting to crush opposition to the war? Where can we find potential means to beat them? What is it going to take from us to stop this war?

The Dividing Issue In The Anti-War Movement

The "Peaceniks" in the anti-war movement proceed on the assumption that the war in Vietnam is not in the "real interests" of the United States. This thesis is usually offered to the accompaniment of dark hints concerning "world public opinion." It follows from this, in their view, that the proper limited objective of the protest movement is to awaken the American people, including Johnson, to the "real self-interests" of the United States. They propose, in effect, to fight a modern war armed with cream-puffs. That is not to dispute the courage of our "Peacenik" brothers, but only to underline their folly.

Some radicals, like the former Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, approach this same question with criminal ignorance. To them, the war in Vietnam is very simple. Their litany runs: Colonial revolutions are contrary to the interests of imperialism; imperialists are against the colonial revolution. Progressive Labor's own litany differs from the SWP's only on fine points of "theology": Johnson is trying to work up his courage to take on mighty China.

Both of these groups, "Peaceniks" and radicals, find a deceptive cover for their misguided opinions in the criticisms raised by Senators Morse and Gruening on Vietnam and those of Fulbright, Bobby Kennedy and others on the Dominican filibuster. These Senators have variously charged Johnson with deviations from fundamental U.S. foreign policy for the Sixties, i.e. the policy laid down by Eisenhower and reaffirmed by John F. Kennedy and Johnson himself. In the Dominican case, the charge of stupidity is rather well-founded--looking at the matter for the moment from the imperialist point of view. Senator Morse is almost right in abstract when he addresses similar criticisms to Vietnam policy. Morse's error is that he sees Vietnam only abstractly, wishfully. He confuses the pretty words of official U.S. policy for its wretched practice. Unfortunately, neither the "Peaceniks" nor the SWP (for example) has the least conception of what policy Morse and others are talking about.

It is just this ignorance of the SWP that leads it and its collaborators toward alliance with the right wing elements on the issue of community versus campus orientation. The SWP seems to be pitting an orientation toward the campus against proposals to seek to link the anti-war struggle with the Civil Rights, trade union, and "community" movements. Although at the September Convention the SWP resolved that the party would adhere to a "United Front" policy, it is tending to adapt to a right wing line, thus violating the United Front principle at the first testing. Of course, the SWP's left-wing opponents in the anti-war movement have no clearer understanding of the real issues in the war than the SWP itself. But, the left-wing elements are groping in the direction of the positive, programmatic approach the real issues demand. These left-wing elements are moving toward a United Front of students and radicals with the most militant sections of the American working-class. Unlike these healthier elements, SWPers are condemned by their sectarian

attitude toward other left-wing groups to follow their centrist political instincts toward organizational blocs with right-wing "Peaceniks."

The left-wingers are not without fault. Their own ignorance of the fundamental issues will tend to lead them into serious blunders and defeats. In a "combat" engagement, proper political instincts are not enough to make up for a lack of elementary "military" intelligence. In any struggle, the first and most essential armament of any commander is his competent knowledge of the enemy's self-interests, resources and capacities. If we are to win, the dead hand of "Peaceniks" and SWP-type radicals must be replaced by a left-wing leadership oriented to the alliance of student youth and working-class on the basis of positive programs and positive knowledge of the enemy's policy and situation.

U.S. Foreign Policy Today

From 1946-59 U.S. foreign policy was based on the so-called advanced countries of the capitalist world. The economic basis for U.S. post-war recovery and prosperity during that period was the division of the more advanced capitalist countries into two groups. The first group, including the U.S., Britain, were capital-exporting countries. The second, including a hard-core of countries such as Australia, Austria, Canada, Italy, New Zealand, Norway, were capital-importing countries. Toward the end of this period the mass and pattern of capital exports seeking investment markets changed qualitatively, with the emergence of West Germany, Japan, etc., as significant capital-exporting economies.

The 1957-58 recession in the U.S. marked a point of change in the international financial situation. Stagnation in the rate of industrial expansion in the U.S. (i.e. "blue-collar" employment rates) was accompanied by the transformation of U.S. capital exports and Government donations to foreigners into a permanent balance of payments crisis for the imperialist reserve currencies, the Dollar and Pound Sterling. Under these circumstances the U.S. and British monetary predicament could be solved only by removing the tendency of Eurodollar holders to turn their Dollar and Pound reserves into gold.

If this pressure were not removed, diminishing gold stocks held by the two reserve currency countries would compel those countries to buy gold on the world market at its real price of production, e.g. \$75 an ounce, tending to set off a devaluation crisis like that of 1929-31.

The purely technical sources of danger from this source could be and might still be minimized by establishment of an international reserve banking system, substituting an International Monetary Fund Central Reserve Unit (Cru) for the dollar and pound as the basis for world money. However, such administrative rationalizations would not and cannot solve the underlying problem--

the Cru and its alternatives are merely technical devices for postponing the explosion, not a cure.

The only real solution is to create a new market for capital funds. If there were a larger effective demand for capital goods, Eurodollars and overseas Sterling holdings would "seek" capital commodities in place of gold. Under those circumstances the U.S. long-term capital export for investment would not continue to be the basis for a permanent balance of payments crisis.

This solution was recognized by John F. Kennedy as early as the Summer of 1958, when he delivered a Senate address in which he proposed to solve the U.S.' national economic and production problems through a new approach to imperialist investment in Latin America, Africa and Southern Asia. Kennedy was by no means alone in these views. In the early weeks of 1960 the Kennedy line became official U.S. foreign policy, in Eisenhower's last State of the Union Address. Kennedy continued Eisenhower's policy in his "Alliance for Progress." Johnson has reiterated that policy, "managed social revolution," a number of times, both during the 1964 Election campaign period and as recently as a few weeks past.

This policy is no idle collection of phrases, nor is it by any means as ill-conceived as the "Alliance for Progress" experience might suggest. The best example is found in India, in the results of the treaty Dillon was negotiating with Nehru at the very instant Eisenhower was giving that policy its public debut. This treaty gave the U.S. and its West European and Japanese capitalist allies Puerto Rico "Fomento"-model concessions at the expense of the Indian people. Since that treaty, West German and Japanese investments in India have been growing by gallops.

As a "blueprint" the policy is absolutely sound from the imperialist point of view. These ABCs of capitalist economics explain its basic principles. The sine qua non of capitalist investment is, of course, profit. Profit, in turn, is gained by the employment of sufficiently cheap labor. The most important conditions for cheap labor are a growing labor supply and cheap food. Cheap food to sustain cheap labor, in turn, depends upon a productive peasantry which is able to supply the market with a substantial excess of crops, meat, etc. above the family consumption needs of the farmer himself. At the same time, the productive farmer creates an important part of the internal market for capitalist commodities, a valuable source of tax-revenues for the state, etc.

Johnson emphasizes just that point in his most recent address on this subject. The key to the success of the "managed social revolution" in Latin America, he insists, is the development of a productive class of small farmers. In that connection Johnson spelled out rather plainly the exact relationship of this class of farmers to the requirements of U.S. imperialist investors, the conditions favoring runaway shops seeking cheap Latin American labor.

Right now, just because of the crisis of food production, no Latin American countries except Uruguay, Argentina and Chile are capable of adequately feeding a cheap labor force. In Africa and India, the situation is much worse. For this reason the so-called "developing" countries are incapable of absorbing the amounts of capital investment the advanced imperialist countries must desperately export. (This problem may be contemplated by referring to the "Capacity to Import" statistics supplied by the UNO and other data-collecting organizations dealing with this subject.) Worse, as investment markets, the "developing" countries are generally operating at a loss; the flood of capital leaving these countries exceeds the capital coming in. The crisis is so acute that the British Government is considering no-interest loans by Governments to the "developing" countries, on the basis of evidence that even 1% long-term loans milk those nations of the pitiful funds available in their internal markets.

The need of the imperialists for a social revolution in these countries is plain enough. The problem of feeding the native population, of developing a productive class of small farmers, is exacerbated by the latifundista, speculators and other parasites who dominate the local ruling class, who control the army, the police and the state administrative bureaucracies in those countries. The situation in Latin America generally parallels the problems of the U.S. economy on the eve of the U.S. Civil War. Only by destroying the slave-system could the U.S. develop as a powerful capitalist nation. Only by destroying the semi-feudal latifundista system can Latin America, for example, be opened for necessary imperialist investment.

If the U.S. could somehow rid itself of the old latifundistas, the Jiminezs, the Batistas, the Trujillos, and their ilk, and replace them with a strong class of liberal capitalists allied with Washington, the "blueprint" would offer a clear solution to U.S. economic woes for the immediate period of history ahead. But to make a "social revolution" is far different than making a United Fruit-type or CIA coup d'etat. In 1860, U.S. capitalism had a powerful industrial-banking class, well-established, with the popular support of the farmers of the great grain belt of the Northwest. It had a strong, productive, established small farmer class which had learned in Bloody Kansas and Missouri what the expansion of the slave-system meant to their land-hungry sons. The task of making a "managed social revolution" in Latin America, Africa, Asia is far more complex.

In order to make the social revolution it is urgent to destroy the latifundista class in as thorough a manner as Thaddeus Stevens proposed to eliminate the 300,000 slaveholders and their regimes from the conquered South. But the rightwing allies which the U.S. can find among potential revolutionaries are weak. They have no army, no state apparatus, no consolidated wealth, poor experience in state power. The mass of professionals and students who form the natural leadership of the peasantry in these countries are steeped in hatred of the Yankee oppressor. So, if the U.S. confidentially supported the overthrow of Jiminez

in Venezuela, if it checked aid to Batista during the rise of the Cuban Revolution, it learned a sad lesson in the experience of the Cuban Revolution itself. Since then, at every threat that "managed social revolution" will produce a Castro variant, the U.S. throws the right-wing of the revolution and its own support back into alliance with the very latifundista-junta gangs it was a moment before bent on overthrowing. It threw its protege, Juan Bosch, out of power in Dominica because Bosch was unable to govern--as the U.S. understood the tasks of his government. It played a quiet game in the overthrow of public liability number one, Diem, in Vietnam, and then reverted back to the Diemists at the first quiver of doubt.

Johnson, like Eisenhower and Kennedy before him, is for colonial revolutions. It must not be forgotten that Kennedy urged DeGaulle to negotiate with Ben Bella and furtively ran up the flagpole (in the Kennedy-Nixon debates) a proposal to change the U.S.' China Policy. The wisdom of Kennedy's Algerian proposal is seen in its outcome: the victory of counterrevolutionary Boumedienne over centrist Ben Bella--or the recent victory of the counter-revolution in Indonesia which has reduced Sukarno to a merely tolerated house-pet of a CIA-allied gang of right-wing generals. If they connive to overthrow Castro today, they also (in 1957-59) removed some important obstacles on his road to power. If they connived at overthrowing Bosch, they previously dabbled with the idea that he might be their man in the Dominican Republic. If Bobby Kennedy today resurrects echoes of JFK's 1960 China-Policy feeler, "peaceful coexistence" with Peking would be a useful aid to U.S. Imperialism in negotiating the tortuous, hazardous pathways of "managed social revolution."

The Case of Vietnam

The issue in Vietnam is not Vietnam itself, but India. The establishment of a productive class of small farmers in India itself involves special problems unlike those prevailing in Latin America or Africa. Decades of painstaking and costly development are required before the Indian peasant as a class can really even feed himself. The imperialist exploitation of India on a modern scale requires an outside source of cheap food.

What do we mean by "cheap"? The means of subsistence of one worker measured in terms of the labor by which he produces this means of subsistence. When we compare a highly developed economy, like the U.S., where an average year of labor produces a Gross Product in excess of \$10,000, with an economy like India's, where a year of average labor may produce hardly more than a hundredth as much, surplus food from the U.S. is not the "cheap" food the U.S. requires for the Indian population. An Indian worker, on the average, could work all year and not produce enough to pay for a month's rations produced at the U.S. labor-cost involved in U.S. agriculture.

The solution to U.S. imperialism's predicament in India lies in the Southeast Asian "rice bowl," including Vietnam, Cambodia, Burma, parts of Malaysia, Indonesia, and of the Philippines.

Here it is possible for very cheap farm labor, e.g. Vietnamese peasants, to produce an abundant surplus of rice at rock-bottom market prices.

But the U.S. policy of "managed social revolution" is no longer possible for the present period in Vietnam. If the U.S. military occupation ceased, the country would go under the rule of the National Liberation Front, which would then attempt to rebuild its shattered country by trading rice surpluses from the Mekong delta with North Vietnam and China for a few industrial commodities. The independence of Vietnam would signal encouragement to the revolutionary movements seething throughout the entire rice bowl. Under those circumstances, India, which is almost half the potential for imperialist expansion in this period, would be lost without firing a shot on Indian soil itself.

Bobby Kennedy's Differences with Johnson

Bobby Kennedy has criticized Johnson's current foreign practice on two counts. First, in the case of Dominica, Bobby charged that the U.S. ought to defer to its stooges in the OAS. Ignorant radicals think that Bobby is merely asserting that Johnson ought to have "covered up" better. That is not the case; the issue raised by Bobby Kennedy is that the success of the managed social revolution policy depends upon the way in which the U.S. builds up the authority of its compradores. To by-pass the OAS is, Kennedy correctly points out, to undermine the authority of Imperialism's allies in their own countries. Second, Kennedy has emphasized that the "biscuit" ought to be advanced into a country ahead of the "bayonet."

Such differences do not imply any principled differences between Johnson and Kennedy. Whether these implications of Kennedy's and Fullbright's criticisms have any importance is another question. The point for the moment is that these differences are tactical in nature and by no means principled.

Behind the U.S. Occupation of Vietnam

It becomes clear in this way that what is immediately at stake in Vietnam has almost nothing to do with U.S. China policy or alleged hatred of the colonial revolution in general by imperialists. Even the issue of Vietnam itself is only a tenth-rate feature of the present slaughter. What is at issue, in principle, is U.S. imperialism's policy for its own economic survival in this decade. What is immediately at issue in practice, is the relationship between the Southeast Asian "rice bowl" as a whole and U.S. imperialism's major stake in India.

If the U.S. were to be kicked out of Vietnam, the fruits of that defeat would soon be felt in Cambodia, Thailand, Burma and the Philippines. If the U.S. were to lose this indispensable key to India, the present balance of payments crisis of the U.S. and Britain would be rapidly transformed into the potential circumstances for a new 1929-31. Johnson is not lying when he asserts that vital U.S. interests are at stake in Vietnam.

What This Means for the Anti-War Movement

The Vietnam war is therefore part of Johnson's positive program for economic prosperity in the U.S. in this decade. Of course, in the short-term, this war has proved most handy in turning the recession threat of last spring into a temporary new spurt of the 1961-65 boom. That is not the real issue. The real issue is the long-term prospect for U.S. overseas investment, on which the prosperity and continued expansion of the U.S. economy at home entirely depends.

To merely be against the Vietnam slaughter is to condemn one's self to failure in advance. To defeat Johnson on that particular issue is to destroy the whole basis on which the ruling class in this country proposes to continue U.S. prosperity. It is impossible, therefore, to marshal the support of the mass of workers, students and others to defeat Johnson's policy unless one proposes an effective alternative positive program to Johnson's. We cannot stop the war in Vietnam unless we have a practical, positive alternative to the economic collapse of U.S. capitalism.

If it sounds hackneyed among radicals, the facts compel us to say that it is impossible to stop the war in Vietnam without a socialist program and a socialist organization of the majority of workers and students. To propose any other route is like proposing to meet a modern army in the open field with machetes.

Right at this moment, the mass of the organized trade union movement seems inclined to support this war. But the Negro militant in the union, the civil rights struggle, in MFLU, in the Deacons, etc., represents the most oppressed section of the American working-class which is "left out of" Johnson's "Great Society" delusion. Lagging behind the militant Negro worker, to-morrow and the day after tomorrow, today's less radical trade unionist faced with war-economy inflation is going to find himself fighting Johnson across the bargaining table and on the picket line. If students and radicals really want to stop this war, they better get themselves into the Negro and other workers' struggles right now. The day on which we see a better representation of revolutionary working-class Negroes in the leadership of the anti-war movement (perhaps giving orders rather than taking advice) the anti-war movement will show itself to be on the road to victory. When that occurs the U.S. working class as a whole will begin to move toward socialism. Then we shall put a stop to all such monstrous butcheries as Vietnam. With such a socialist movement we can stop Johnson.

* * * * *

NEXT ISSUE:

VIETNAM DIALOGUE II · THE ROLE OF THE USSR AND CHINA

JUST ARRIVED FROM ENGLAND

TWO SPECIAL ISSUES OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

--- Vol. 2, No. 1 includes:

- Statements of the International Committee of the Fourth International on Vietnam and Algeria
- Documents on the Fourth International and the Socialist Workers Party, from the "Open Letter" of 1953 to correspondence and statements in the SWP-SLL discussion, 1961-1963

Vol. 2, No. 2 includes:

- The Struggle for Marxism in the United States: American Trotskyism with Trotsky, By Tim Wohlforth
 - A Discussion with Trotsky (stenographic report, June 12-15, 1940)
 - Cuba: Marxism and the Revolution
 - Rebuilding the Fourth International: Resolution of IC
- Price: 60¢ each; both issues for \$1.00

ALSO AVAILABLE:

- FI, Vol. 1 No. 3, containing part 1 of "The Struggle for Marxism in the U.S.", by Tim Wohlforth (double issue) Price: 75¢
- The Theory of Structural Assimilation: A Marxist analysis of the social overturns in Eastern Europe, Yugoslavia and China. By Tim Wohlforth. 75¢

Enclosed is:

- _____ for the items checked above
- _____ One year subscription to the Bulletin @ \$2.00
- _____ Ten issue Introductory sub. @\$.50
- _____ Total money enclosed (make checks payable to: Wohlforth)

SEND TO: BULLETIN, 339 Lafayette St. New York, N.Y. 10012

.....

NAME.....

STREET..... CITY.....

STATE..... ZIP.....