

Liberianism — The Economics of Soviet Betrayal

Bulletin

OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Vol. 2, No. 25

Feb. 14, 1966

10 Cents

**an editorial: When Did
North Vietnam
Last Bomb You?**

**Interviews
with
Striking
Grape
Pickers**



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.

Libermanism — The Economics of Soviet Betrayal

Bulletin

OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Vol. 2, No. 25

Feb. 14, 1966

10 Cents

an editorial: When Did
North Vietnam
Last Bomb You?

Interviews
with
Striking
Grape
Pickers



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.

EDITORIAL

BOMBS AND BOMBAST

On January 31, the United States resumed the bombing of Vietnam. Johnson is continuing his "peace offensive" with high explosives, while at the United Nations Arthur Goldberg will try to force "negotiations" on the Vietnamese. Despite the "good offices" of Shelepin, the United States has been unable to force the Vietnamese to accept its terms, and so the war goes on.

As the cost of the war has mounted and the implications of "escalation" become clear, Johnson has faced outspoken criticism not only from the anti-war movement but from the "ruling circles" as well. The New York Times mirrored the discontent aptly in an editorial on February 1: "What was a morass is becoming a bottomless pit."

The contradictions in the Administration policy have reflected themselves in schisms within the Democratic and Republican parties. A majority of Democrats in the House and Senate are reported to have opposed resumption of bombing. On January 29, Senator Morse epitomized the lack of confidence in Johnson. He called on the Senate to rescind Johnson's dubious authority to authorize further bombing in Vietnam. The charge has been made that Johnson has far exceeded the authority vested in him by congress in the "Tonkin Gulf" resolution of 1964.

On the other side, "tricky" Dick Nixon slithered out of his liberal image in time to call for an attack on all appeasers. In a voice familiar from days of old he labels those who oppose escalation as "very irresponsible and detrimental to the cause of peace."

The majority sentiment in both the House and Senate was for a full public debate to review government policy in Vietnam. On January 31, Johnson gave his arrogant response to his critics, making any congressional debate on the subject a farce. Predictably, senators and congressmen rapidly are lining up in support of the fait accompli.

No doubt liberal senators feel some reluctance in accepting Johnson's cynical decision to resume bombing, but they have nothing but praise for his decision to "take the case to the UN." Senator Morse expressed the truth behind this enthusiasm most blatantly. On a January 30, CBS-TV discussion program, he called upon Johnson to put the situation before the UN so that it might intervene in Vietnam as it had so successfully in the Congo! It becomes clear that what Senator Morse opposes is not United States aggression in Vietnam, but the cost of that aggression. Let the UN foot the bill and Morse is satisfied. Or as he put it--again very clearly--while the United States is an "outlaw" in Vietnam, he opposes the withdrawal of US troops at this time.

Ironically, it has not been any fear that the US would "lose its case" that has kept Johnson from coming before the world body. Rather it has been the expressed distaste of US allies to fall into the "bottomless pit."

As long as the Vietnamese people stand firm in their determination to fight United States imperialism there will be no easy solutions for Johnson or for his critics. We can expect bitter debate as.....

the pressure grows. But as Johnson has just proved, when the chips are down his liberal critics will continue to "rally round the flag."

* * *

EDITORIAL

AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL

Readers of the Bulletin are aware that we have been unremitting and often harsh in our criticism of the program and policies of other left wing and socialist tendencies. We feel that political criticism and polemic are an essential part of the process in which the working class develops theory and practice necessary to destroy capitalism, organize society in its own interests and create a socialist future for humanity. This is the tradition of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, which we take pride in trying to continue and develop.

Readers will also be aware of our unqualified opposition to government attacks on other socialist organizations and individuals even when the victims of the witch hunt represent those very same political tendencies which we unsparingly criticize.

Most recently we have defended Bill Epton, Harlem Progressive Labor Party Chairman, who has been convicted under the New York State "Criminal Anarchy" statutes and sentenced to one year in prison. (for background see BULLETIN, Vol. 2, #22, Dec. 27, 1965). Epton was victimized as part of an attempt by the government to isolate radicals and revolutionaries from the mass movement of the Negro workers following the Harlem rebellion of 1964. The Epton case represents not just an attack on civil liberties, but on the working class as well.

The Socialist Workers Party is also involved in a civil-liberties case in the person of Joseph Johnson, organizer of the Twin Cities branch of the SWP and 1962 SWP candidate for U.S. Congress. The federal government's case against Johnson is as fraudulent and lucrative as the New York state case against Epton. The U.S. Immigration Authority is seeking to deport Johnson to an "unnamed" country as a "stateless" person. Yet, Johnson was born in Chicago, and raised in Wisconsin. The government claims he automatically gave up his citizenship when he voted and ran for election in Canada where he lived for six years. With the same deadly logic, Princess Grace Kelly's U.S. citizenship should be revoked because of her political activities and "oath of allegiance" to a foreign power.

In 1953 Johnson moved to Canada with "vague and not very well-directed feelings of rebellion against racism and militarism in the U.S." While in Canada, he came in contact with the Trotskyist movement. In 1959, he learned that the FBI was seeking his arrest for "draft evasion", although he had not known that he had been called up. Johnson then returned voluntarily to the U.S. to face trial and was convicted, sentenced and served two years in a federal penitentiary. Ironically, the government waited to claim him as a "non-citizen" until they had prosecuted him for failing to meet his responsibilities as a citizen.

The case against Johnson is vulnerable on a number of consti-

tutional grounds. The attack against him, just as with Epton, is ultimately an attack on the working class. It assumes special significance today because of Johnson's imprisonment for draft evasion.

"Civil liberties" are a great asset to the working class in the struggle to develop class consciousness and organization. The deprivation of these liberties hurts the working class more than any other section of society and throws up obstacles to the development and functioning of revolutionary parties. It was this conception of "civil liberties" which inspired the pioneers of the American Communist Party to organize the International Labor Defense in the 1920s. It was this conception which led Debs, Haywood, Reed, Tresca and James P. Cannon among other pioneers of American working class radicalism to proclaim, "An injury to one is an injury to all."

The Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson has requested help. Send all contributions to the Committee at: P.O. Box 8731, North Star Building, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

* * *

CALIFORNIA GRAPE PICKERS CONDUCT HISTORIC STRIKE

An historic struggle to organize California farm workers now centers in the Delano grape growing area where some 5000 Mexican-American and Filipino grape pickers and vine pruners have been on strike since September 8, 1965. Their demands: \$1.40 an hour, union recognition, the right to collective bargaining. They call for a boycott of all Schenley products and Delano grapes.

Lined up against the strikers are the growers and the Schenley liquor corporation, which owns vineyards in the area with an acreage of 4500, as well as their political agents, the police and courts. The clubs of "democratic" policemen descend on the heads of picketers, while "liberals" like Governor Pat Brown maintain a discreet silence. The "endorsement" of the strike by some local Democratic organizations has proved meaningless.

Despite the wealth and power arrayed against them, the spirit of the strikers is high. Manuel Rivera, one of 43 who were arrested for shouting "Huelga!" (strike), writes in a letter from the Kern County jail: "...the growers have shoved us in front of the police, they have threatened us with guns and fired over our heads... It is my understanding that all of us are supposed to have rights--including the workers, who suffer from the heat of the sun and chill of the rain, and who at times even go hungry. And why? To harvest the crops and earn the low wages that the boss condescends to pay us. The growers would like to have our whole families working for only their food. And still they would complain that they were losing money...I do not believe that saying the truth is breaking the law. As for us, the poor--assuredly we break it." (from El Malcriado, "The Voice of the Farm Worker," #24.)

The AFL-CIO has pledged support to the strike and boycott and in December Walter Reuther delivered a \$10,000 check with a promise of more to come. But "closer to home" the leaders of the Distillery Workers Union support the strike but oppose the Schenley boycott because "conditions at Schenley are good and the Company is 100% union-

ized," or in other words, because their jobs might be threatened.

The real endorsement of the strike comes from the strikers themselves; from the teamsters, railroad workers, longshoremens and many other unionists who have defied cops, injunctions and judges to respect the picket lines; from SNCC and other militants in the student and civil rights movement who have joined the fight.

In the January issue of California SNCC newspaper, The Movement, there was the following report of union support: "When the whistle blew to begin the shift, the crowd of longshoremens stayed where they were, gathered around a gang boss. He was saying, 'When you go back to the hall just tell them you say a picket line: that's enough.'

"Skip the instructions," said a longshoreman from the group 'I know a picket line when I see one. Give me my work slip, I'm going home.'"

Our San Francisco BULLETIN correspondent whose interview with a Delano striker appears below, reports in a letter of Jan. 7:

"I've been very active in several committees set up to stop the grape shipments from Delano. The ILWU(longshoremens) has been telling us when there are shipments of grapes leaving. What we've done is go down to the dock and picket in two's and three's. Since there's an injunction against picketing, the lawyer for the grape owners comes over and reads the injunction, then they leave and another group takes over and the process repeats itself. The purpose of the picketing is just to provide the longshoremens with a legal out for them not to load the grapes.

"I was involved in stopping two shipments. In the first case the workers when they saw our picket line just went home and the dock had to close down, which was more than we had hoped for. The second time six of our people were arrested. I was 'enjoined' twice but somehow my luck held out."

The morale of the strikers grows with every addition to its ranks including workers brought in by the growers to scab (and these are considerable in number) and with the increasing success of the boycott movement at retail liquor stores and taverns from as far away as Harlem

HOW YOU CAN HELP!

Readers who are able to contribute to the support of the families of strikers should send donations to: FARM WORKERS RELIEF FUND, BOX 894, DELANO, CALIF.

The January issue of The Movement asks you to send "chain" letters like the following: "Dear _____, I'm writing to ask you to write Schenley Liquor Co., (Schenley Industries, Inc., 1290 Ave. of the Americas, New York, N.Y.) and tell them that you aren't going to buy their liquor until they grant recognition to the striking farm workers in Delano, Calif. and to their union, the National Farm Workers Association. Schenley labels include Roma, Cresta Blanca, Dubonnet(wines); I.W. Harper, Ancient Age, JW Dan, Old Charter (bourbons); Dewar's White Label, MacNaughton(whiskies); Cariocoa Rum, Coronet VSQ Brandy, Cherry Heering, and other labels.

Would you write also to five of your friends and ask them to write the same letter..."

and Bedford-Stuyvesant. The strike shows every promise of out-lasting even the most desperate efforts of the growers and their political agents, and contributing more than any previous effort to the organization of California farm labor.

* * *

DELANO, CALIF. JAN. 1966 - Interview I.

I'm a nomad. I go from one place to another. In the city sometimes I work as a painter's helper. I prefer to work in the fields. There's elbow room. You breathe fresh air. Sometimes, though, it gets hot and you have to work in 110 degrees heat and maybe in the mornings it'll be 22 degrees.

Before the strike started I was working grapes in Lodi. They paid there \$1.25 an hour and 23¢ a box. I averaged about four boxes an hour. But it wasn't steady work -- I worked there only one month. Before that I worked in the asparagus cutting brush, I picked pears, then to Coachella Valley, and then to Delano, the last stop. In Delano the growers pay \$1.25 an hour and only 10¢ a box. I'd average \$12-13 for nine to 10 hours work. But when I wasn't working I couldn't get any unemployment insurance. Farm workers aren't eligible.

Out of the \$1.25 an hour they deduct money. Plenty of times they'll deduct 10¢ an hour from each guy to pay the foreman's wage. We'd pay the foreman, instead of the grower, and all the foreman would do all day is ride us; and we'd be getting only \$1.15 an hour. Then they deduct from \$1.30 to \$2.25 a day for eating in the cafeteria. In the morning beans and one egg for breakfast. For lunch and dinner plenty of times it's just a couple of tortillas and more beans and scrambled eggs.

Labor contractors make \$70 to \$80 a day. If I get paid \$1.25 an hour and 10¢ a box, then the grower pays the contractor \$1.30 an hour and 15¢ a box and the contractor pays us. The contractor sometimes hires two or three guys who he pays extra. They're the pushers. One time a contractor asked me how come I wasn't doing as good as his pusher. I told him: "If you paid me extra money like you pay your pusher, I'd do as good." The same thing in sugar beets. They say: Here's champion here. Let's see you beat him."

Pruning season starts around December 15th, and that'll last to the end of February or early part of March. Sometimes they pay by how many acres you prune. It may take two or three days to prune an acre of seedless Thompson. But they pay only about \$20 for pruning an acre of grapes ... for three days work. And out of the \$20 they start deducting for food and for paying the foreman, and maybe transportation. In seedless Thompsons in order to become a good pruner you have to work at least three seasons. And you have to work with someone who knows what he's doing. Good table grapes should have only four runners on the vine. Once you cut it, there's no putting back. The scabs they're bringing to break the strike are just going to ruin the vines. Zaninovitch's grapes used to be

quality. Now the grapes he's trying to sell look terrible.

People have been brought in as strikebreakers from as far away as Texas. They're told: "Oh, the strike is over." They're lied to. Then they have to sign this and they have to sign that and they don't even know what they're signing. Most of them have to work at least three weeks as strikebreakers just to get out of debt to the contractor. When they're brought over they're broke. They can't just get up and go. They have to be scabs. But most of them take off after the first pay check.

* * *

DELANO, CALIF. JAN. 1966 - Interview II

Another worker described his experiences as a scab:

In Los Angeles I went to the Pacheco Employment Service and there was this contractor outside waiting. He promised we'd make \$1.40 an hour in Delano and he wouldn't charge for transportation. But when we got to Delano he tells us it's \$1.20 an hour. He also was deducting \$8 for the trip between Los Angeles and Delano. The same trip by Greyhound only costs about \$3.60! I worked for a day and a half as a scab. When the pickets came and told us there was a strike, all 10 of us left the field. The contractor deducted \$3.35 for food, \$8 for transportation, \$5 of which is what the grower would have paid the contractor if I had stayed, and \$7 for clippers which I took with me when we went off to join the strike. Clippers never cost more than \$3. According to the contractor, I owed him money.

I'm in NFWA (National Farm Workers Association, Ind.) but AWOC (Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO) is o.k. except that I'm under the impression that it's run by someone who isn't a farm worker. AWOC has won in a couple of places, but they just get a wage increase and don't get union recognition. The growers say good farm workers can make \$20 a day. That's propaganda. Maybe one day in the whole season we'll make \$20. Sometimes you run into a good row where there's a lot of grapes. But most of the time it's 10-12 dollars. I started in the fields when I was 15 or 16. Kids that age are shamed to go to school if they haven't got money to go to the cafeteria and their clothes are second hand. They can't go to the hamburger stand with other kids and they don't have money to take a girl out. So they drop out of school.

If you're working grapes it's all "hurry up" and "wait". Sometimes you have to work 11 hours. Other times there's nothing. You're out in the sticks and come in from work at dark. There's no show to see, no women to see, nothing to do but sit around. So they sell you wine in the commissary. Before you know it you're drunk, and you do it every night. The commissary charges \$1.25 for a fifth of wine, which is about 50¢ more than it costs in the grocery store. Cigarettes and ice cream are more expensive in the commissary, too. But there's no T.V. You have nothing to do but sit around.

It's cold in the mornings and it's cold in the evenings. The boss man cusses you out every day. If you're slow he cusses you out. And if you don't like it, you quit or you're fired. If the union wins, they're not going to be allowed to do that. For us that's more important than the wage increase we're asking for. The union will eliminate the labor contractors -- we'll have our own hiring hall. I think now we've got more than a 50% chance of winning.

TAX LANDLORDS, NOT PEOPLE!

An Alternative to Lindsay's Anti-Labor Program

New York City's Mayor Lindsay has promised to present his budget and new tax proposals some time this month. The press consensus is that City expenditures will reach the vicinity of \$4 billions, and that most of the increased costs of government will come out of the hides of the lowest-paid workers in the community. Increased subway fares are now an almost certain feature of Lindsay's proposals; a city income tax in some form is probable. The revenue source Lindsay has committed himself not to tap is the landlords.

There is no practical way to reduce City expenditures under capitalist government without injuring City employees or depriving members of the community of essential services. But, it is possible to increase City spending substantially beyond any amount Lindsay will propose without adding a penny to the subway fare or existing taxes on workers and middle-income families. Put simply this obvious solution is, Tax Landlords, Not People!

How NY Financiers Milk the City

From Wall Street's point of view, New York City is merely a money-farm, its people so much livestock, to be milked, shorn and flayed to the limits of long-suffering popular endurance.

One side of this milking is revealed in the hundreds of millions of payments on indebtedness in the City budget, tribute paid out of the City treasury to the sharks of Wall Street. This debt arises through the enormous funds financiers advance the City to maintain the vast pork barrels at which bankers' corporate holdings gorge themselves (the construction companies, materials suppliers, etc., whose stocks are bought, sold, and held by financiers). In sum, by this arrangement the financiers literally get it from the City treasury coming and going.

Another gimmick of Wall Street's is discovered in the so-called "Authorities" set up with the connivance of the State and Federal governments. By this means some of the richest sources of public revenues are taken out of the control of the City and placed either under the direct control of financiers, like the port Authority's S. Sloan Colt, or trustw'd emmissaries like Robert Moses. The Port Authority, for example, is "legally" a "chartered municipality" whose constituency is the bankers, its appointed officials.

The purpose of each such Authority is to provide a rich and secure "tax-exempt" investment for financiers and "remainder" men. The richest of these, the Port Authority, is one of the most prized portfolio holdings available. One of the poorest, the Transit Authority, is committed not to public service, but to securing the "rights" of the gang of bankers who bankrupted the transit system before unloading it, as a virtual pile of junk, onto the City and State at politically inflated prices, thus permitting the "investors" to continue to ride in limousines while the people are jammed like so much livestock into rush-hour subway cars and busses.

These "Authorities" amount to taking a source of public revenue and public service out of the direct control of the city government and making a gift of it to a semi-private corporation, run by bankers -- so that these "Authorities" have a closer resemblance to Consolidated Edison or the telephone monopoly than to an arm of government. The income of these "Authorities", instead of becoming government revenue, serves as capital funds, not available to the city, for backing new lush projects of the bankers in control.

But the most important financiers' swindle of the people of New York is the real estate "business". These bankers are behind every cockroach-and rat-ridden high-priced slum in Harlem, the Lower East Side, etc. They are also behind the sweatshop system in the City's garment and other light industries. Except for a few of the largest industrial and commercial firms in New York City, every business's annual statement shows it to be first of all a collection agency for the real estate operators and the big financiers behind every nickel of real estate in the community.

The concrete truth of real estate in New York City is seen in the ill-clothed, ill-fed, prematurely aged figure of the Negro or Puerto Rican working mother, trudging back from a day's work in the sweat shop under a load of third-rate groceries. When she reaches her home, she will begin a full day's worth of almost futile labor fighting cockroaches, rats, sewage in the walls, in a slum-hole which compares poorly with the slums of wartime Shanghai or Calcutta-- a slum-hole for which she pays a major portion of her sweat-shop wages.

Some of the profit taken from her back went to her cockroach-capitalist employer. More went to the "factor," the finance company that loans working capital to cockroaches at usurious interest. More went to the real estate operator who charges sweat-shop loft space at slum super-rent scales. Thus, from the wracked body of this Negro or Puerto Rican working mother do the best-dressed men and women of America enjoy the benefits of the capitalist system.

How the Slum System Works

The slums are not a creation of that sub-human wretch, the slumlord. He is in the same relationship to the "Mafia" of Wall Street as a "Murder, Incorporated" hoodlum: the essence of all real estate, the connection between the slumlord and the financier,

is the mortgage.

When a New York apartment building, for example, begins to reach the end of its economically useful life, i.e. the point at which maintenance costs indicate time for replacement, real estate operators (of the so-called respectable kind) begin the process of turning it into a slum. After a short period of running the building into the ground, these "respectable" real estate operators unload their property onto a slum landlord at a sale price determined by the super-rents the slumlord will charge. (Thus, without this slumlord, the so-called respectable real estate interests -- and the big financiers behind them -- would have to close out their buildings at their true economic value. The slum system is in this way is a major source of profits and a prop to the whole system of real estate values in New York City.)

This first slumlord, who we may call a "wholesale dealer", in slums, then proceeds to "retail" his acquired properties, through a system of high-interest second mortgages, to the slumlord cockroach who operates a dozen or less "better-grade" slums. Eventually, as the slum becomes more and more run down, the decaying structure is taken over by the lowest form of slumlord, who operates on as little as one-quarter of his rental income-- since he must apply up to three-quarters to paying off the mortgages.

Middle-income housing is generally only a building in the process of becoming a slum, a building whose rent structure and fictitious value is based on the slum system propping up all New York real estate values. Thus, the financial trail of paper beginning with the dirty, snot-nosed rent collector leads back invariably to the most "respectable" real estate interests, to "respectable" financial institutions.

How to Make the Bankers Pay

It is no use trying to impose a city tax on bankers through corporate taxes which their lawyers and accountants can help them to avoid. It is little use trying to tax high incomes; high-income people can move to West Orange or Princeton, New Jersey, to Westchester, Nassau or Suffolk county suburbs, away from the City's taxing powers. At the extreme, corporations can move their manufacturing operations, even their offices. But consider the spectacle of a N.Y. real estate operator trying to move a skyscraper to the New Jersey flats!

In order to cut through the slick tricks of valuation adjustment for tax purposes, it is essential to enforce increased real estate taxes on a very simple basis: to value the property at the current "rule-of-thumb" market price of six times the annual rental or equivalent of rental. In order to take the financial heart out of the slum system, a general tax on rental-income properties should be supplemented by an excess-rental-income tax. This supplemental tax should be based on the difference between the depreciated book-value of rental properties and the market value (at six times the annual rent or equivalent.)

What This Proposal Means

This is not a proposal to establish "socialism in one city." This is the kind of demand a united city labor movement, with the support of students, minorities and middle-income people, can advance on the same basis as a trade-union struggle with an employer over wages and working conditions.

It is also more than a trade-union struggle. A united ad hoc organization of trade unionists, students, and middle-income people on such a vital issue is, in practice, a "shadow" city government, a potential Labor party.

It is obviously not enough to oppose a subway fare increase, to oppose a city income tax, increased sales taxes. Marching around City Hall with gripe placards won't stop friend-of-Wall-Street Mayor Lindsay. It is indispensable to have a positive program around which to mobilize a combination of political forces to do the job. Lindsay, the bankers, the real estate operators and the Democratic, Liberal, and Republican machines represent an organized force capable of running the city government. To defeat a machine with governmental power it is absolutely indispensable to organize a counter-force capable of replacing the machine in power as the city government.

We begin with only a trickle of the forces needed to do this, but we shall never succeed if we never begin. We call on every militant trade unionist, unorganized worker, conscious student and radical in the city to join with us to make that beginning, to launch and organize a struggle to Tax Landlords, Not People! We may not win now, but this is the indispensable step for winning tomorrow.

Such a step in New York City would begin a change in national politics, would be a step toward a positive change in world history.

Report from New Orleans:

THE NEW STAGE IN THE SOUTHERN MOVEMENT

The civil rights movement in the South is shifting into a new stage of militancy--militancy developing from foundations which have been laid by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, the Freedom Labor Unions, and the Deacons. Although this new stage will be of the same heterogeneous content as the movement has been in the past, it has real possibilities of developing into a tool of undiluted class struggle!

Essentially this new radicalization manifests itself in the movement of the community organizers away from the idea that the Democratic Party is the only party of social change which has any real meaning. This change in the thinking of these people is coming because of the half-hearted gestures which the federal government has made to improve the condition of black people; and because of the organizers' general disgust with the war in Vietnam.

The essential danger facing the break with the parties of the status quo is that the new party will be steered onto an all-black course. The civil rights movement in the South still contains

Below we reprint excerpts from a news release recently issued by a certain S.S. Koppe & Company, Inc., which proclaims itself "International Publishers Representatives." The relevance of this material to the article which appears on page 13 of this issue of the BULLETIN, "The Economics of Soviet Betrayal", is obvious.

* * *

RUSSIA ESTABLISHES NEW MAGAZINE TO SPUR AMERICAN IMPORTS

News of a new magazine whose sole aim is to help American manufacturers penetrate the Russian market for industrial and commercial products was released today... The magazine, American Firms Offer, will feature only advertisements of American companies and is ~~to be~~ published by ... the official advertising bureau of the Soviet Union.

"American Firms Offer", said Saul Raden, President of S.S. Koppe, "is part of a special effort that is being made to increase trade with the U.S. and to help American firms reach the key people in Soviet Russia with their sales message. While trade with Russia has mounted rapidly over the last few years, it still remains virgin territory as far as most American firms are concerned. American Firms Offer represents a ground-floor opportunity to cash in on this vast and growing market of more than 200 people."

* * *

many "friends" in the Negro community who would try in their own interests to keep the struggle away from an alliance with the working class. The course away from the working class means an alliance with the black bourgeoisie against the "white" political apparatus.

Right now the working class in the South is facing a new run of militancy which essentially comes in the form of organizing areas which were passed over in the "big" drives of the thirties. The key factor is that in the places where this is taking place (and they are still relatively few) black and white workers are united in a common struggle against the bosses. It is not uncommon to hear white workers (and in many cases racists) complaining about Negro working conditions. Also, when the drive for the union takes place, white workers immediately seek Negro help in the struggle on an equal basis.

What is needed in the Southern movement now is a clarification of the nature of the struggle and a movement towards a class outlook. The emancipation of the great mass of black people depends upon a break with the Democratic Party, coming on class rather than race lines. If the Southern movement comes to realize that a relationship can be established with the working class then we are well on the way to the Southern Freedom Labor Party.

THE ECONOMICS OF SOVIET BETRAYAL

Recent trends in Kremlin-Wall Street economic and political relations prove the leaders of the Chinese Peoples' Republic correct in their equation of Soviet "management reforms" with an acceleration in the rate of political betrayals by Brezhnev, Kosygin and Company. There is a direct link between these "reforms" and present Soviet services to U.S. Imperialism in Vietnam and in the matter of India-Pakistan relations. To be more exact, the Kremlin has shockingly outdistanced the gentlemen of Peking on the road to betraying the revolutionary movement.

At this moment, the Kremlin is in the process of negotiating a new "Yalta-Potsdam"-type sell-out to Wall Street. If the first steps in that direction are successful, Vietnam and India-Pakistan (which is not pre-ordained), real "peaceful coexistence" between Moscow and Washington will begin: a program of direct economic concessions to Imperialism at the expense of workers in the Soviet bloc themselves. It is that program that represents the outstanding significance of the current "reforms".

The Chinese happen to be very much to the point in citing Yugoslavia as a pilot-model of the tendencies toward capitalist restoration implicit in Soviet "reforms." Under a program of decentralized management like that proposed for the entire Soviet bloc, Yugoslav workers are reported suffering a catastrophic decline in real wages to the accompaniment of an intense program of speed-up.

This milking of added masses of profit from the backs of Yugoslav workers represents a rather direct realization of profit by imperialists abroad. The profits scraped from the backs of Yugoslav workers represent the means by which the Yugoslav economy is paying off its growing debt to U.S. and Western European financiers; the cheapened commodities made possible by lower Yugoslav wages and speed-up are the source of substantial profits to foreign capitalists who contract for the output of certain Yugoslav industries.

The same pattern is emerging in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania, where it is seen that Soviet bloc decentralization means turning over sectors of the internal economy to foreign capitalists at the expense of the workers.

Like the Chinese, writers for U.S. and European business and financial organs also regard the Soviet "management reform" as a concession to capitalism. Naive journalists, ignorant of the practical concessions involved, regard these "reforms" merely as an abstract, ideological concession to capitalist "market principles;" that is a very bad half-truth. Better informed observers understand this as the beginning of extensive economic concessions to imperialism at the expense of Soviet bloc workers. In this latter connection, one should give special attention to the suddenly heightened Imperialist interest in expanding U.S.-Soviet trade since the "reforms" were first instituted, just over a year ago.

Concessions and Concessions

Trade concessions to imperialists at the expense of Soviet workers are not in themselves pro-capitalist. The Soviet Union and

bloc are economically backward countries, despite Sputniks and other special achievements of Soviet technology. Rational Soviet economic progress demands trade with the more advanced U.S. and European economies as the means of securing certain key capital equipment and other critical commodities essential to Soviet development. The U.S.' Cold War blockade of the Soviet economy does severe damage to Soviet development in just this way.

Such desirable trade concessions to Imperialism are quite necessary when carefully controlled, when approached from the standpoint of strictly centralized national economic planning and strict state monopoly and control of foreign trade by the central planning commission.

It is quite the opposite to increase Soviet-Imperialist trade concessions on the basis of decentralized economic planning. In this case specific Soviet bloc industries become increasingly direct appendages of the Imperialist world market. The need of such industries to adjust to the price and marketing schedules of Western capitalists under conditions of decentralization becomes the thin end of the wedge of capitalist restoration simultaneously penetrating the Soviet economy in thousands of its pores.

Since Soviet productivity is way below U.S. levels, Soviet workers' production can compete directly in the world market only through reduced Soviet real wages and intensive speed-up in the factories committed to production for capitalists. This is exactly the case in Yugoslavia, where a program of "market prices" and "profit-sharing", advertised as a means of increasing Yugoslav workers' material income, has had exactly the opposite effect.

Worse, as U.S.-Soviet trade increases under such arrangements, the whole production planning cycle and structure of inter-industry commodity flows of the Soviet bloc tends to be brought into line with secular and seasonal cycles prevailing in the Imperialist world market. First, the individual industry gearing its production to capitalist market needs is compelled to regulate its production and inventory cycles according to capitalist-dictated delivery schedules. Second, since the outputs of these industries require raw and semi-finished materials from non-exporting Soviet industries, the production and marketing cycles prevailing in the Imperialist world tend to penetrate more deeply into the Soviet bloc economy, undermining national economic planning.

As U.S.-Soviet trade increases in this way, quantitative dislocations in the Soviet economy go over to becoming qualitative, ultimately threatening to bring about U.S. Imperialist conquest of the Soviet Union without the firing of a single shot-- except those fired by Soviet Army and militiamen against Soviet workers protesting this hideous treachery.

An Ex-Trotskyist View

One of the more serious efforts to analyze the new Soviet economic policy has been made by ex-Trotskyist Ernest Germain, writing in the Summer, 1965 International Socialist Review. Out of respect to his political scholarship, his skills as a cook-book

"Marxist" economist, Germain concludes that there is a bad-smelling Stalinist brick somewhere in the proceedings. But he can not rid himself of his long-standing convictions of the capacities of the new Soviet bureaucracy for reform toward socialism. He concentrates much of his attention incompetently, on the progressive but absolutely misleading minor features of the present "reform", and declares to be "devoid of all foundation" any inference that these "reforms" embody "...an initial step in the USSR on the road leading back to capitalism..."

Ironically, despite this absolute assertion, Germain himself raises the key question--if only in a comment relegated to a footnote: "We must not forget that in the Revolution Betrayed Trotsky foresaw that in the event of a victory of the counterrevolution, neither planning nor nationalization of the means of production would be eliminated all at once, but that this would be accomplished in stages and essentially by way of decentralization." Yet, in the passage to which this is a mere footnote, Germain argues out of the opposite side of his mouth: "...as the economy grows, develops and becomes increasingly complex, this control may be exercised more effectively in a decentralized way than in a centralized way." Germain's conclusions are obviously determined by what his ignorance permits him to believe.

Germain, after having endorsed official Soviet opinion that "nothing has changed" at bottom, proceeds to criticize the "dangers" of the "reforms", confining himself, however, to strictly internal questions of the Soviet economy, leaving out entirely the key question of the relationship between decentralization and U.S.-Soviet bloc trade.

Finally, Germain get off a ringing concluding point. "The solution" (to Soviet economic problems) "should not be sought on the technical side of management (although the matter of technique does have its importance!) but in its social content. What the apparatus was never able to avoid ('hidden reserves', waste, unproductive immobilizations, lost time), can only be progressively solved by workers self-management, mass control, free public discussion, the competition of different Soviet tendencies and parties for the right to direct economic policy..." Germain thus warns the Soviet bureaucracy of its "mistakes", advises it to try workers' democracy instead.

Germain's concluding words are meant to sound like the very best Trotskyist May Day oratory; he is for Soviet workers' democracy as a Tammany Hall hack is for motherhood. What stern, practical, approach does he offer to a criminal gang that is now consciously engaged in attempting to betray the Vietnamese? Nothing more deadly than a Fabian pose of professorial didacticism.

It may be significant to the reader to know that Germain spent a good part of his political life urging Belgian workers to cohabit with NATO "socialist" Henri Spaak, and was still attempting to edify such gentlemen up to the point that Spaak kicked Germain's cothinkers out of the Belgian Socialist Party.

At the same time, Germain and his former collaborator, M. Pablo, have spent over a decade urging militants to think the general

best of the trends of the post-Stalin Soviet bureaucracy. Or it may be instructive to note that M. Pablo spent recent years whispering advice into the ear of Ben Bella, all the while pointing out to the Algerian leadership the virtues of new Soviet economic reforms.

It is the history of these ex-Trotskyists that their conception of the socialist struggle reduces itself in practice to the absolutely revolutionary course of recommending themselves as Olympian sages to sundry Stalinist and bourgeois regimes, just as Germain has attempted to do in the cited article.

A Trotskyist View of the Reforms

Trotskyists have long been troubled by the very difficult question of making a necessary political revolution in the Soviet Union. In general, the consensus tendency among these revolutionaries has been that an upturn of the struggle in Western Europe would create the conditions under which the Soviet workers would be encouraged to overthrow the bureaucracy.

The implications of the Soviet management reform now provide us with the basis for foreseeing a very probable variant, for exposing a definite connection between the revolutionary struggle in Western Europe, for example, and the political revolution in the Soviet bloc.

The central feature of the Soviet bloc workers' ideology, binding him to the regime, is his belief in nationalized property relations. As long as the bureaucracy defended nationalized property forms against Imperialism and made a certain domestic economic progress from year to year, Soviet workers with few exceptions have drawn back from the task of "rocking the boat" under conditions of Imperialist encirclement.

Now as the Soviet bureaucracy prepares to betray nationalized property, at the same time exacerbating speed-up, attacking material standards of living, sharpening the discrepancy in material conditions of life between workers and bureaucrats, all in a rather abrupt turn, the political and social stability of the entire Soviet bloc is threatened in a new way.

Furthermore, as a deepening of Imperialist world market penetration of the Soviet economy occurs, the Soviet workers will be impelled onto the political scene by the same general cyclical movements which spur the workingclass in Western countries. Under these circumstances, it is now possible for the first time in decades to discover a more explicit connection between the socialist revolution in capitalist countries and the task of the political revolution in the Soviet bloc.

But we do not mean to say that the Kremlin is thus betraying itself into our hands. If Brezhnev, Kosygin and Company are successful in advancing U.S. Imperialist interests in Vietnam and India-Pakistan, there is little doubt that a great increase in U.S.-Soviet trade will ensue. Altogether, these developments will be hailed in their effects by every "peacenik", centrist and pro-Mos-

cow Stalinist in the Northern Hemisphere.

Under that possible variant these petty-bourgeois elements in our society may be in the business of conciliating Johnson & Company just at the time that Johnson and his ilk are preparing to take on the U.S., European and Japanese working class with a massive program of speed-up, wage freezes and anti-strike measures. In any variant this new Kremlin political betrayal is, in several ways, assistance to Imperialism in the latter's anti-labor campaigns at home.

Therefore, Trotskyists do not approach the Soviet "management reform" as commentators or would-be advisors to the Kremlin. Whatever the actual variant this development confronts us with a practical, revolutionary task, that of deepening the alliance of students, minorities and workers at this instant, of attacking with all the force at our command the treacherous "single-issue" anti-war tactic proposed by SANE, the SWP-YSA and others of that stripe whose present program is to deepen the separation of radical student ferment from workers' struggles.

The Kremlin betrays the working-class in the Soviet bloc; we reply in a practical way by leading radical students in this country, by way of the Anti-War movement--where radical students are to be found today, into alliance with the working-class wherever that class is in struggle. In this way, by defending the standard of living and working conditions of U.S. workers, by aiding the organization of the unorganized, we are lessening the conditions creating oppression of workers in the Soviet bloc. By forging an alliance between the vanguards of students and workers today we organize the combination of social forces necessary to the victory of socialism in this country, creating the allies and conditions for the revolt of the Soviet bloc workers against the traitorous bureaucracy in their own country.

That is the practical, Trotskyist interpretation of the Soviet "management reforms."

* * *

featured in the next issue of the BULLETIN OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Excerpts and an analysis of Fidel Castro's recent speech attacking Trotskyism; an analysis of the deepening Havana-Peking split. DON'T MISS IT. IF YOU DON'T YET SUBSCRIBE TO THE BULLETIN, DO IT TODAY-- TODAY-- TODAY. AND IF YOUR SUBSCRIPTION HAS EXPIRED---THEN ITS TIME to renew-- renew-- renew.

JUST ARRIVED FROM ENGLAND

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL -A Journal of International Marxism
Vol. 3 number 1

Contents Include

Trade Unions at the Crossroads- EDITORIAL

Imperialism and the Liquidity Crisis by Peter Jeffries

Marxist Political Economy and the 'Socialist World'
by Michel Varga

The Fight for Marxism-- Two speeches and an article
by Leon Trotsky

DOCUMENTS

Trotskyism in the United States
Statement on Vietnam

BOOKS

'The New Economics'
by Eugene Preobrazhensky

48 pages, illus., price 50¢

Still Available:-- FOURTH INTERNATIONAL Vol 2 #1 Summer 1965
featuring articles and documents on Algeria and Vietnam;
the Fourth International in the Socialist Workers Party

52 pages, illus., price 50¢

ORDER FROM

Bulletin of International Socialism, 339 Lafayette St.
New York, N.Y. 10012 make checks payable to Bulletin

_____ copies FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, Vol. 3 #1 (current issue)

_____ copies FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, Vol. 2 #1

_____ BLACK NATIONAL ISM and MARXIST THEORY @ 20¢

_____ 1 year sub to the BULLETIN @ \$2.00 _____ 10 issue sub @ 50¢

Name (please print)

Street and Number

City State Zip