

# VANGUARD NEWSLETTER

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## CAMBODIA, KENT AND THE PEACE MOVEMENT

With the escalation of the war into Cambodia, and the killing of four students at Kent State College, another chapter is written in the Johnson-Nixon policy of perpetual war for perpetual "peace".

To some observers, it appears that the administration has lost its sanity by the Cambodian adventure. In reality, it represents a clear and cold-blooded policy by a section of the ruling class for whom Nixon speaks.

The US intervened in Vietnam as the gendarme for the world imperialist system of which it is the keystone, to maintain its imperialist power and profits. At that time the bourgeoisie, essentially united, also believed that it would act as a stimulus to the early economic boom of 1963-64, encourage higher profits, and ease the drain on gold; that it would heighten its ability to grant concessions to the workers, and, therefore, to maintain political-social peace at home. Instead, the war now has the opposite effect. The economy has entered a "recession". Inflation, which has been intermittently present for more than 20 years, has heightened. The balance of payment and the gold drain, since the late '50's, has steadily worsened. Within the urban centers and on the campuses, unrest and riots have been the order of the day.

The ruling class has sharply divided on the Vietnam war. A section has decided that, given the growing economic and political difficulties, the political settlement offered by Hanoi and the NLF is acceptable.

Nixon and Agnew are spokesmen for that section which sees the situation for imperialism getting out of hand, demands surer guarantees, and, it would appear has decided on a show-down. The conflict has been going on for five years with no victory in sight. For two years, negotiations with the "enemy" in Paris have taken place, without gains on the political front. By increasing military pressure, enlarging the area of fighting, and, possibly, resuming the bombing of North Vietnam, they reason, that, perhaps, the drain on Hanoi and the NLF will force them to stop demanding a coalition government and capitulate.

The Kent massacre is the first warning of a crack-down on the home front, in consonance with the Cambodian escalation. If this section had its way, all protest and dissent on the part of the students and middle-class elements would be squelched. The next victim to come

under the knife would be the trade unions, prepared by the growing witch-hunt atmosphere.

The peace movement reflects this ruling class struggle, and is being co-opted by the soft-wing of imperialism. Illusions die hard, perhaps the biggest one is that "protest" against the Vietnam involvement by millions upon millions of people, marching, sending letters, petitions, and seeing Congressmen, will succeed in pressuring the government into changing its policies. For what reason? Because the government is supposed to act in the name of the people, and will see that the majority of the country is against it.

According to this theory, the administration will democratically change direction, and implement a more peaceful approach. The state, in real life, does not speak for the population, but represents the collective interests of different sections of big capital in industry and banking. The only group who can stop the slaughter is the working class, which is involved in the entire process of production and distribution. Unified into a solid mass, it can bring the entire economy to a halt, as the postal strike and its effect on every-day business bears witness.

Many students, who feel revulsion over the holocaust and the moral decay on the American scene, ask, "Where are your workers, especially the organized sector?" Middle-class elements and sections of the white collar workers, who have joined the peace movement, ask the same question. Others say, "Look what the construction workers did to the students in New York, the week of the protest!" True! The organized workers are as yet not part of the anti-war movement, and, no doubt, many are actively hostile to it. But here, a historic lesson must be drawn. The organized labor movement, for the most part, since the second World War, has been able to maintain a relatively high standard of living. It is only in the past few years that it has felt the pressures of inflation and an increasing

tax burden drive its standard of living down. The resulting discontent is manifesting itself in increased militancy in the unions. In March, postal employees who had never gone on strike, defied federal law, and brought a large part of the mail service to a halt. When the workers realize that the war is directly linked to their pay checks, they will move politically with seven league boots.

Because labor has not linked up with the peace movement, the leaders and students look for another social force. Who is the social force, whether the "protesters" like it or not? The liberal wing of the bourgeoisie, whose political representatives are Senators Eugene Mc Carthy, Goodell, and Fulbright, and such publications as the NY Times and NY Post, to name a few. This section of the ruling class is aware of the explosive situation facing the US. It desperately hopes to stabilize the system through a three-part policy:

End the war by recognizing a coalition government, with Hanoi, the NLF, The Soviet Union and, possibly, China guaranteeing a stabilization, and, thereby, "bring the troops home". In addition, a neutralized Southeast Asia through a possible detente with the Soviet Union and China.

Reforms to ease the internal chaos at home through the allocation of funds for the alleviation of the deteriorating cities, and "ease the plight of the poor", especially the Black population.

An agreement between the big capitalist powers and the Soviet Union and China--who are seen as very similar to conservative trade union bureaucrats, for all their occasional lip-service to revolutionary ideology--to keep the international social peace. The economic penetration of the Communist bloc as a means of deferring a world capitalist crisis.

In essence, this program seeks, on the domestic scene, to re-create the Roosevelt New Deal "popular front" coalition of labor, the

minority groups, the middle-classes and the bourgeoisie's soft wing.

Internationally, it hopes for a counter-revolutionary freeze of the status quo under liberal rhetoric.

In this way, the "liberal" capitalists and Stalinists hope to save themselves from the upsurge of the workers in western Europe, from the social unrest in the US, from the colonial masses shaking imperialism, from the Soviet workers and intellectuals, who are moving toward a political revolution against their stultifying bureaucracy.

An ancient Greek aphorism fits the occasion, "Whom the Gods would destroy they first make mad." The "madness" of Stalinism and capitalism, is rooted in the inability of the productive forces, developing at an enormous and increasing tempo, to be contained any longer by the production relations of capitalism, or under bureaucratic direction. They must either break out of their capitalist integument, and throw off their parasitic encumbrances, or be consumed along with much, if not all, of humanity.

A Marxist program which can achieve a victorious socialist revolution, must be posed from an international perspective. The only guarantee of final victory is the destruction of imperialism in its heartland, in western Europe, Japan and US.

It is from the metropolitan centers that troops and military supplies are sent to put down the liberation struggles. These centers control the industrial, financial and pricing mechanism of the world market which enslave the underdeveloped areas. In Vietnam as in the rest of the world, a crisis of leadership exists, a vanguard party must be built, one which can sink its roots in the proletariat, and which, in turn, can link up with and guide the struggles of the peasants.

As part of the struggle against American imperialism, an attempt must be made to win over American troops politically, by a policy of fraternization. This the NLF has not raised. Why?

A program which can unite the workers and peasants in the socialist revolution must include the following:

- Workers and peasants councils.
- Land to the peasants, expropriate the landlords.
- State ownership of industry and a planned economy under workers control.
- A federation of workers' states in Southeast Asia.

What does Hanoi and the NLF offer? A coalition government under a capitalist set-up; the return of Prince Sihanouk to Cambodia; an agreement to halt the revolution, with Moscow and Peking's guarantees, i.e., a repetition of the betrayals of 1946 and 1954, when the workers and peasants had the power in their hands.

The US is entering a period in which the existence of a Leninist party can mean the difference between a revolutionary workers' state and a counter-revolutionary police or fascist state. The doubters can no longer say that the proletariat is conservatized. France, in 1968, demonstrated that this proletariat can fulfill its revolutionary role, can lead the masses in a socialist revolution, but that without its revolutionary vanguard party, the Stalinists and other social-reformists will be able to abort it.

The fight to protect their hard-won gains will also propel the 18 million organized workers in the labor movement in the US, not only against the capitalists, but also against their agents in the trade unions, the labor bureaucrats. It will become possible for the revolutionary Marxists to build a left-wing in the unions, and to become the best spokesmen and fighters for the immediate and fundamental interests of the working class.

The next step forward must be a labor party based on the unions.

As the world crisis of capitalism deepens, the opportunities and responsibilities of the revolutionary Marxists also increase. The historic need of the epoch, the central task, is the building of the Leninist vanguard party.

THE REALITY OF CAPITALISM - by Howard London

✓The following article has been submitted by a construction worker who, as the article demonstrates, is also a revolutionary socialist.

✓Indications are now mounting that a crisis is maturing, not only for the American economy, but for capitalism on a world scale.

✓Students and Black workers are the first to be radicalized, especially, under the impact of the American imperialist intervention in Vietnam. But as the rising level of strikes and rank and file struggles shows, the workers are determined to defend their living standards against the erosion of inflation and the attacks of the bosses and their government.

✓They must still draw the political lessons from their struggles. But to win the workers to socialist consciousness requires, as Cde. London points out, serious and careful work by the revolutionists with-

in the unions.

✓They must first recognize where and why the level of working class consciousness is presently at--and this will vary, depending on the previous lessons learnt. They must then understand that changing objective conditions will enable workers to acquire socialist consciousness, and then stubbornly and persistently work to make the connections between the daily struggles and the socialist goal.

✓Students can play a vital role in this revolutionary process--not by elitist attempts to substitute themselves for the workers or by adventures which make no sense to them, and can only serve to repel them--but as revolutionary propagandists and agitators imbued with the necessary strategic and tactical understanding of the road ahead, i.e., as the cadre of a revolutionary vanguard party, of a Leninist party.✓

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The nation is shocked; four students have been shot to death--Allison Krause, Sandra Lee Scheuer, Jeffrey Glen Miller and William E. Schroeder.

The American people were also able to witness this type of repression earlier, under the Hoover Administration. The late Gen. Douglas Mac Arthur was also instructed to fire on American veterans (bonus marchers) assembled in 1932 on the Capitol lawn, who were asking for benefits due them. The capitalist system has been killing Indians, working men, Mexicans, Blacks and any and all American people desiring freedom, both economic and political, from this outmoded and decadent system.

The socially minded people must notice the reason the American press and governmental agencies are playing up this horrendous act. There has been far less of a reaction to the murders of 2 Black Mississippi students and 6 Black men from Augusta, Georgia.

Students are potential intellectuals who will fit into the propaganda machine, e.g., teachers or

professors, didactically asserting the wishes of the ruling class, with the university as the final stage of organized education.

As students, they fulfill no social function, but are part of an inter-class milieu. Their judgement of "right" and "wrong", at this period of their lives, is not circumscribed by the narrow horizon of bourgeois interests.

In the past, as Trotsky points out, "the students of Europe have been merely the sensitive barometer of the bourgeois classes." Today, most intellectuals work for wages, and some are organized into trade unions. This intelligensia, however, also becomes America's labor mediators, economic advisors, managers, governmental "leaders", physicians, psychologists, sociologists, and endless other interesting vocational apologists for capitalism, including the politicians and journalists.

The above depiction of the students and their role in capitalist society, is perhaps the primary reason for so much publicity and apology. The most important conception one should keep in mind is that the capitalist press places no blame on the system. That is not to say it doesn't mention the fact that it may be the fault of a "misguided" Nixon or fool-hardy Agnew.

The press avoids the real issue. The capitalist system has a function: it exploits and murders at home and abroad for profit.

All the student strikes, protests and demonstrations have not ended the war in Vietnam, racism, poverty and all the other numerous ills inherent in the capitalist system. Instead, American capitalism has extended the war into Cambodia--and now Laos--in a desperate move to secure its imperialist profits.

A growing number of construction workers, especially among the younger men, are opposed to the war, and opposed to the actions of the pro-fascist and reactionary elements among the construction workers, who

have been beating up students and other opponents of the Vietnam war, with the connivance of the police and construction bosses.

As the workers fight for a living wage against the inflation, trade unions are coming under increasing attack from the capitalists and the government. They try to divide the workers, to use Black and white workers against each other. It is necessary to convince these workers that they have common economic and political needs, and that these require that they oppose, not only the war in Vietnam but also the capitalist system that produced it, and which is now producing growing unemployment for them.

Only the united working class has the potential for eliminating, not only these ills, but for building a new society by transforming private property in the means of production into public property through a social revolution. Its success internationally, will place the world's productive forces at the service of all humanity, instead of their mis-use to profit a minority.

### INFLATION AND THE ECONOMY - What Inflation is Not

For Marx, inflation is the filling of the "conduits of circulation" with "paper money", i.e., more money is in circulation than is needed to serve as a medium of exchange for commodities. Its inability to also retain its function as a stable measure of value, as a symbolic representation of the gold commodity, is manifested in a general rise in prices.

But before discussing concrete manifestations of inflation, with its implications for today's economy, and defining in this connection such terms as "money", the relation of price to value must be further considered, along with price increases which do not stem primarily from inflation.

As we indicated in our last issue, the development of modern industry results in the operation by workers of larger, more expensive and more efficient machinery and equipment, in order to produce a larger volume of commodities at a lower unit cost.

We also determined that the value of a commodity is equivalent to the necessary labor-time incorporated

in it. But this means that, given a stable measure of value, prices of manufactured commodities should have fallen with the rise of industry. Instead, from the 20th century on, they have risen!

According to the monetary economist, Milton Friedman, economically stable periods were found in the US from 1882 to 1892, from 1903 to 1913, from 1923 to 1929, and from 1948 to 1960. But, with the exception of the first period mentioned, prices did not fall, but also rose.

It should be kept in mind that "stability" for capitalism is always relative, conditional and temporary. Capitalism as the new "recession" is proving--and despite its high-

priests who, as in 1929, saw economic crises as things of the past --cannot escape from its cycles, whose phases also act on the formation of value and price.

It must also be understood that analysis necessarily involves the abstraction, the isolation of aspects of a phenomenon, but that it is necessary to understand its motion as a multi-faceted, reacting, interacting, changing entity.

In our last issue, we stated that individual commodities tended to exchange, not at their values but, at their prices of production, i.e., their costs of production plus an average profit; that industries with a higher component of living labor tended to receive less than, and those with a lower more than, the value of their product; that, therefore, prices of individual commodities tended to be higher or lower than their values, and that only the totality of prices equaled the totality of values.

Once again, a modification must be introduced. The aggregate of prices does not correspond to total value at any particular moment, but only over the period of the business cycle. In a period of "prosperity", prices tend to rise above, and, in a "depression" or "recession" fall below the values of commodities.

Capitalist economic cycles also affect the condition of the only commodity which can create value, labor-power. In a period of expansion, when the industrial reserve army of unemployed is reduced, and labor, at the prevailing average level of skill is in short supply, those with lesser skills are hired. The worker, who cannot be replaced as easily, also cannot be driven as hard. As a result, the average socially-necessary labor-time required to produce a commodity tends to increase, and is reflected in the price. The reverse is true during a depression. Only those with the highest level of skill are hired. These workers, aware of the many eager applicants for their jobs, can be compelled to produce at a higher level of intensity. Less

labor-time, therefore, tends to be incorporated in commodities, and prices tend to fall.

The capitalists, of course, attempt to counter-act the tendency for average labor-time to increase by investing in new and more productive machinery, in order to raise the technological level and achieve a higher rate of exploitation. This question becomes more urgent in the face of growing international competition for a shrinking market. Thus, US capitalism still has plans to increase its capital spending by 9 to 10% this year, in spite of the fact that only a little more than 70% of industrial capacity is presently being utilized--proving Marx's point once again, that technological progress since 1825 has been the fruit of the class struggle.

Still, according to the labor-theory of value, fluctuations of the capitalist economic cycle to the contrary notwithstanding, the historic tendency of commodity prices, on the basis of a fixed measure of value, should have been downward. And, in fact, according to the indices of industrial production, output per man-hour for individual industries and for industry as a whole has sharply increased over time. Why then have prices not reflected this decreased value of commodities?

Throughout the 19th century, until 1897, both the mass of profits and workers' wages rose, while prices declined. With the 20th century, and the domination of finance capital, monopoly prices come into being. Because it controls essential branches of production, e.g., steel, utilities, transportation, etc., it can and does set prices for its commodities above their values.

These commodities, in turn, enter into non-monopoly production as raw materials, and monopoly prices are, thereby, distributed throughout the economy as a general rise of consumer prices. The tendency then is for monopoly to receive an above-average rate of profit, a super-profit, while non-monopolies tend to receive less than the average rate. And, according to Varga, the

Soviet economist, who for many years prostituted his talents in behalf of Stalinism, this form of super-profit is today its largest component.

The increased prices of commodities is an indirect wage-cut for workers, and generates, in turn, a struggle by those who are organized in trade unions for higher wages. But monopoly prices fall with greatest impact on the unorganized and unemployed workers, and, especially upon those sections of the population who constitute a disproportionate part of these categories, the Black and Spanish-speaking workers.

Monopoly prices also play a similar role in the extraction of super-

profits from the under-developed sectors of the world. Imperialism "normally" milks the colonial and semi-colonial countries, by "equal" exchange of commodities with a low labor content for those with a higher. But in addition, the prices of the products of agricultural and extractive industries in the under-developed sectors have shown a long-term tendency to fall, whereas the prices of industrial products imported from the advanced countries, with the advent of monopoly capitalism, have tended to remain high in the relatively stable periods and to increase further with inflation.

(to be continued)

### PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM AND ISSUES IN THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

A difference with the views of the editor found in another article on this subject in this issue. - by Harold Robins

∟We publish below the criticisms of a supporter of VANGUARD NEWSLETTER, who takes issue with the series on the Arab-Israeli question--in particular, the section in this issue, "Israel and the 'Arab Revolution'" --which represents the views of the editorial board, views agreed upon after extended discussion.

∟We have often repeated our conviction that a Leninist vanguard party is required to lead the working class in a victorious socialist revolution. Such a party has to be democratic-centralist, providing for full democratic internal discussion prior to decision, and then one public policy and program for the organization. However, when the occasion demands, public airing of its internal differences are in order.

∟VANGUARD NEWSLETTER does not pretend to be the Leninist party. We are dedicated to its construction, and that means, in the first place, and especially at this time, clear and revolutionary politics.

∟As we see it, those who elevate

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At issue in this dispute is the treatment of selected events such as the note taken of the pogrom by Jewish fascists which destroyed the

the organizational side of politics at the expense of the essentially political, who attempt to disconnect the form from the content, who evade the struggle for ideas, who respond to our invitation of "discussion, debate and unity in action" by silence and evasion, have by that response proven their incapacity to build a revolutionary vanguard party.

∟At this stage in its development, airing of political differences can only have a salutary effect.

∟We intend, in our next issue, to answer the criticisms raised by Cde. Robins, in the process of presenting a program for the Middle East, focusing on the internal situation there at that time. We believe this program to be a dialectical synthesis of Marxist theory and practice, of the Marxist understanding of nationalism and internationalism, of a drawing upon the lessons of the past in order to concretely relate to the present.

∟We invite our readers to participate in this discussion.∟

total population of an Arab village in the period before the emergence of Israel as a state. Ignored is the fact that pogroms against the

Jews in the Arab speaking countries played a major role in the emigration of the Jews of those countries to Israel. Also ignored, but not related to the slanted treatment of such matters is the inhuman, anti-Semitic role of "progressive capitalists" such as FDR in the USA who did nothing to open the doors of the country to refugees from Hitler's extermination program.

The finding by the editor that the Israeli state is a stooge of the US imperialists is partly correct, but it ignores the fact that the so-called "revolutionary Arab" states in this period collaborate with American imperialist oil investors. This is true for the Nasser regime, and the Syrian regime (which is interested in increasing its cut). It is a fact that the Algerians and the "socialist" militarists of Libya also welcome American imperialist investments.

In general, the fascist-like activities of the Arab militarist rulers is played down, while the imperialist connections of the Israeli state is played up. Ignored is the threat to the lives of the millions of Jews who found Israel their only place of refuge. We agree that Marxists must find their way to the working masses, advancing a humanistic perspective to counter national pogromists of all sorts. The European Jews were forced to turn to Israel --at the expense of the Arabs of Palestine--because the flight of the refugees was forced by the closed doors of the capitalist states which preach about their devotion to the cause of "freedom" and man's betterment under capitalism. As is the case with the subways which foster animal-like personal behavior of those forced to ride in ever more overcrowded subways, so the Israelites of modern times were forced by capitalist liberalism to push out the weak Arab inhabitants. Failure by the editors of VANGUARD NEWSLETTER to recognize this general process can be noted in this matter.

It is clear to every revolutionary socialist that confusion exists among revolutionaries on the social-

political aspects of the Arab-Israeli struggles. This confusion reflects the complexities of many problems intertwined--many real life or death matters for masses of Arabs and Israelis, most of whom are working people.

Obviously, a solution to these varied problems has not yet been easily arrived at. They remain unresolved not only in life, but theoretically as well. All of us profess adherence to Marx's materialistic conception of history. This may help us resolve our differences on these matters. But differences persist. We are faced with the testing of our understanding of Marxist methodology for dealing with these problems. Let us begin here to examine the problems and issues in dispute, and see if we correctly employ Marxist method, or if some other methods are employed which we seem to think are "just as good".

The spiraling Arab-Israeli conflict presents itself as a fantastic and motley conjuncture of modern-day and pre-historic issues and ideologies reflecting conflicting national-cultural, social programs and interests. The discussion raging among serious working people is filled with passionate legal and messianic argumentations, under conditions completely differing today from the conditions of pre-history which produced these legalisms in the first place. How is one to understand such a historic mélange, such "peculiarities"?

In his materialistic conception of history, Marx told us that "being" determines "consciousness". Elaborating and developing this aspect of his theory on the laws of historical development, Marx employed as a major premise in the Eighteenth Brumaire, the viewpoint that, "The traditions of the past weigh like an Alp on the brain of the living".

None of us have ever questioned this constantly recurring factor in historical developments, and not only in France! What about the traditions which reappear in the Arab-Israeli conflict?

Their appearance is remarkable and testifies to the cultural backwardness of multimillions under completely new historical conditions. Yet this "peculiarity" of the conflict is not an integral part of the article by the editor, a comrade sincerely striving to explain the complex issues involved. This lack of consideration of historical "peculiarities" is found everywhere throughout the radical movement and is an expression itself of "law", and cultural immaturity.

Applying the Marxist historical method to the history of the current epoch, Leon Trotsky challenged the shallow pragmatism of J. Stalin who wrote that for revolutionaries, the so-called "general law of capitalist development" is basic, the fundamental fact for the basis of tactics and strategy in the fight to overthrow capitalism.

Stalin was saying, in effect, that the capitalists and the workers make up the basic, polar classes of society. In attacking Trotsky's theory of the "Permanent Revolution", he oversimplified the "general laws" to explain the victory of the Russian Revolution. Yet, history tells us that it was not the "general laws", but rather the "peculiarity" of the proletarian revolutionary Bolsheviks, that during the revolution of February through October 1917, they oriented their strategic role upon an alliance between the proletariat and the poor peasants. In this, the party was led forward to victory by Lenin and Trotsky.

The historical experience of the Paris Communards of 1871 ignored the peasantry and oriented upon the "general laws", despite the criticism of this course by Karl Marx.

This does not mean that the "general laws" do not apply, but it does mean, in Marx's words, that, "Man makes history...out of the conditions he finds at hand".

It happens that history denied Stalin's contention throughout the Russian civil war period of 1918-21, when there was no functioning industry, no capitalists and no proletarians, but generally speaking,

pre-capitalist, war-communist conditions prevailed. Where then were the Stalinist "general laws" upon which Bolshevism supposedly oriented itself? History is not the abstraction that some sometimes try to make it appear.

Has the Arab-Israeli conflict been examined seriously from the viewpoint of the historical "peculiarities" which reveal a great deal about the cultural levels of the masses who must be won from programs of national backwardness and chauvinism to the viewpoint of revolutionary Marxism? Here VANGUARD NEWSLETTER too, must examine once again the materialistic conception of history, not according to the shallow traditions of so-called revolutionary Marxists, but according to the writings of the great Marxist thinkers on this matter.

We hope to conclude this discussion of matters in dispute in the next issue, and deal "in concreto" with an analysis of "peculiarities" of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and perhaps, put an end once and for all to playing around with life and death questions affecting many millions of working people. We shall criticise the program with which the editors expect to conclude the series on the Arab-Israeli question, pointing out the road to resolution of the historical "peculiarities" so numerous, so complex and so tangled in this historical conjuncture.

(to be continued)

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## NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

### The Arab-Israeli Question --Israel and the "Arab Revolution"

It is in the period of capitalism's general crisis, the epoch of monopoly capitalism, with the discovery of oil--that raw material without whose products modern industry comes to a halt--that the "Arab World" takes on its present material and strategic importance.

The oil of the Middle and Near East is estimated at approximately 70% of known world reserves, and 30% of the total world output of crude. The vital industrial raw material of this area is of prime necessity to western Europe, and of increasing importance to the Soviet Union, as its oil reserves in Baku diminish. It is, moreover, a source of fantastic profits, especially to the US and British oil companies who control 65% and 27%, respectively, of all its oil production.

Aramco, for example, showed a pre-tax profit in 1965 of 85% on sales, as against 10% for all US manufacturing. The average cost of production per barrel of crude oil from 1951-60, according to the UN, was \$1.73 in the US, 82¢ in the Far East, 51¢ in Venezuela--and 16¢ in the Middle East. The extremely high profits in this area are derived from extremely low wages, exceptionally high levels of productivity of the wells, and low sulfur content of the oil.

It is, therefore, entirely comprehensible why US capitalism should invest more than \$22 billion in production and "downstream" facilities there (Wall St. Journal, 6/12/67) and why the exploration for and exploitation of the oil resources of the Middle East proceeds at a feverish pace.

The Soviet bureaucracy, in this area, elsewhere and always, has been concerned for the security of the Soviet Union, viewed from its narrow caste interests, from the interests of "socialism in one country". Rather than a predatory Soviet "imperialism" in behalf of a "state capitalist" or "bureaucratic collectivist" ruling "class", the parasitic outgrowth of the degenerated

workers' state fears social revolution like a plague, and maneuvers defensively to try to achieve a state of rest, a modus vivendi with the imperialist powers and with the bourgeois elements in the under-developed countries against the social revolution.

The "Cold War" between world imperialism headed by the US and the USSR, set the stage for the emergence of both Israel and the post-World War II military Bonapartist regimes, in the Middle East and in other under-developed countries.

[In Palestine, however, the Jews were able to win support from both the US and USSR in the UN in Nov. 1947, for the partition of Palestine and the creation of a Jewish state.] A contradiction? Not really, as an examination of the circumstances at that time discloses. The Jews of Palestine were engaging the British occupying force in armed guerrilla struggle. Great Britain, attempting to maintain its imperialist holdings in the Middle East by traditional divide and rule tactics, was limiting Jewish immigration into Palestine. It was, at the same time, arming its Arab satraps, e.g., the Trans-Jordanian Foreign Legion under Glubb "Pasha".

[It would seem that the Kremlin was simply attempting to defend the Soviet state in its usual bureaucratic manner, through cynical deals and manipulations, and without the slightest concern for the interests of the masses--the essential meaning of "socialism in one country".] But the near-sighted Soviet Bonapartist caste was shortly thereafter to realize that it had miscalculated.

The Israeli state became, and could not help becoming, under the circumstances--not just an outpost

of imperialism, as those who adapt to Arab nationalism wish to see it, but--a client state of the US in exchange for financial and military support against the surrounding Arab states]

Israel could not have developed a European capitalist economy or maintained it for long as a "home-land" for 2½ million Jews, without large financial support from Jews in the advanced capitalist countries and financial aid from the US.

[In becoming a state, Israel obtained the de facto expulsion of more than 580,000 Arabs, over 40% of the total population on its territory, confiscated their lands and a large portion of the lands even of those Arabs who had not fled.] [This act continues to bear the poisoned fruit of an abiding hatred by the Arab masses for the state of Israel, especially, when at the same time, the "Law of the Return" permits Jews, whatever their origin, to enter and settle in Israel freely.]

Zionism earlier, had disclosed itself as the open enemy of the Arab masses, in opposing their demands for agrarian reform, and in boycotting Arab labor and products.

[At Deir Yassin, shortly before Israel declared its independence, 250 Arab men, women and children were slaughtered by the Irgun Zvai Leumi, with the tacit support of the Palmach, the Haganah commandos, preparing the "voluntary" flight of the Arabs.]

In coming into existence, Israel seized an area larger than that originally authorized by the UN, dividing with Abdullah of Trans-Jordan, that part set aside for an independent Arab Palestine.

Israeli chauvinism toward its Arab minority is coupled with discrimination by the European for the Oriental Jews. Only in the late '50's, did Histadruth, the Jewish labor federation, also the largest exploiter and strike-breaker in Israel, allow Arabs to join it.

If any single act could convince the Arab masses that Israel is the direct ally of imperialism against

their every interest, it was its invasion of Egypt in 1956 in concert with Britain and France, after the nationalization of the Suez Canal.

Israel's continued use of terror against the Arab masses in the territories occupied in the 1967 war, in the tradition of every foreign oppressor, and in retaliation against neighboring Arab states for guerrilla raids, its commitment to a military solution for which it depends heavily upon continued support from the US, has not brought it security, but has only escalated the struggle.

The military-bureaucratic Arab rulers are, in their turn, increasingly seeking and receiving military support from the Soviet Union.

That Israel has built on sand, is shown not only by the increased military and financial assistance given the Arab states by the USSR, but also by the recent call by such finance capitalists as David Rockefeller of the Chase Manhattan Bank, concerned for their oil profits, for a more "neutral" policy in the Middle East.

At the same time, Israel serves the Arab rulers as a lightning-rod and as an alibi for the military-bureaucratic "socialists" for the inadequate achievements of the "Arab Revolution", diverting the dissatisfaction and anger of the masses from them to Israel, away from social revolution in Arab "socialist" and remaining absolutist states alike. The Israeli and Arab rulers complement each other, help unite workers with their "own" rulers, the "nation" against the "enemy".

The emergence of the Bonapartist formations in the Middle East and other under-developed areas, expresses in a distorted way the law of uneven and combined development. Disarmed by Stalinists, without a revolutionary socialist leadership, the workers were unable to lead the masses to the solution of democratic and national tasks. In the post-war period, neither the bourgeoisie or the petty-bourgeoisie of the backward nations showed themselves capable of such leadership. Instead,

surrogates for the bourgeoisie in the shape of Bonapartists originating from the petty-bourgeoisie, were thrust forward in an attempt at over-coming the backwardness, to achieve modern industrial societies by bureaucratic means, and to ensure that these tasks were not solved by the masses in a social revolution.

Nasser became the prototype for other Bonapartists trying to use the state to accumulate the necessary capital for this purpose. Figures such as Nasser, Boumedienne of Algeria, al-Bakr of Iraq, al-Attasi of Syria, al Qaddafi of Libya, were able to achieve the leverage needed to pry concessions, aid and loans from both power blocs, in the post-war period of capitalist economic growth, as the Middle and Near East took on increasing importance.

Coming to power in 1952, Col. Nasser with Gen. Naguib in tow, was first concerned to keep the masses from a revolution which might not only have destroyed all colonial and feudal privilege, but might also not have stopped at the bourgeois-democratic stage. One of the first acts of the new military dictatorship was to suppress the rising tide of strikes and demonstrations. In Alexandria, over 200 of the textile workers who had seized one of the largest spinning mills in Egypt, were arrested and two of their leaders hanged.

It also became necessary for these military-bureaucratic formations to strike out against sections of their own bourgeoisies, in order to accomplish this task. This is the objective basis for Arab "socialism" as a peculiar and eclectic mixture of national-Islamic demagogy and reformism, which entered the stage in the mid-'50's with the Arab Socialist Resurrection (Baath) Party. As Cuba illustrates, it is also the basis upon which Bonapartists balancing on capitalist relations, can be transformed into Bonapartists on collectivized property.

Although Nasser began to use "socialist" verbiage after the Suez invasion, it was the withdrawal of Baathist-led Syria from the UAR in

1961, that caused him to adopt its slogans and mystique as an indispensable means to rally the Arab masses behind his regime.

To keep the support of the masses, not only ideology but improvements in their living conditions had to be afforded them. Thus, nationalization of foreign property, banks, insurance companies, and the dominant sector of domestic industry (with compensation) was accompanied by the limited expropriation of some of the wealthiest families; land holdings were limited to 100 feddans; rural health centers, expanded educational and cultural facilities were created; and plant profit-sharing and workers' representation (a minority) were instituted in the nationalized plants and businesses.

And yet, no more than 8% of the peasants benefited by the expropriated land; the large estates are gone, but the bourgeoisie as a class remains and prospers; trade unions are headed by government representatives, with workers denied the right to strike; agricultural laborers, who suffer a high unemployment rate, have achieved the least benefits; Egypt has a worsening balance of payments problem, with exports little more than half of imports, and a rate of economic growth, just prior to the 1967 war, of no more than 2.5%.

The Bonapartist surrogates, in their turn, are proving that the concept of the "Permanent Revolution" retains its validity in the new conditions, that nothing short of a social revolution led by the proletariat with the support of the peasantry, and linked to the revolution in the advanced, can solve the tasks in the backward countries.

Neither peasant-guerrilla movements, nor even their pseudo-Marxist imitators, under the banner of the "Arab Revolution" can substitute for the proletariat.

Furthermore, the maturing world crisis is removing the economic props which have until now been able to support the Bonapartist formations and the Israeli Zionist state.

(to be continued)

# THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION AND THE VIETNAM MORATORIUM COMMITTEE

The outpouring of dignitaries from both the Democratic and Republican parties, in support of the Vietnam Moratorium Committee, e.g., Senators, Congressmen, Mayors, etc.--even the chairman of the Republican National Committee has said, "I'm for the moratorium"--testifies to the sharp division within the American ruling class over the Vietnamese War.

A part of the "soft" wing even calls for a "firm commitment to an immediate withdrawal of American troops." Alarmed by the impact of the war on the economy and in radicalizing youth, "liberal" spokesmen such as Kennedy, Fullbright and McCarthy have concluded that the war must be ended quickly, in the interests of American imperialism.

The "hard" sector of the ruling class continues to demand, in effect, the complete capitulation of the NLF and North Vietnamese to the Thieu-Ky military clique. The "soft" wing is willing to settle for a lesser victory for American imperialism.

It finds the program of the Provisional Government of South Vietnam, which pledges to retain capitalist relations in agriculture and industry, under a guarantee from the Soviet Union, an adequate foundation for a peace settlement. This program is the program of the NLF.

Moreover, the might of American imperialism can be readily mobilized from nearby military bases against a social revolution led by the working class. The "soft" wing does not, of course pose the elimination of these bases, which, not only are intended to preserve the status quo, but also directly menace China and the Soviet Union.

The victory of the Vietnamese revolution requires, not Stalin's neo-Menshevik conception of the revolution in stages, but Trotsky's outlook of the Permanent Revolution, in which the working class of a backward country, supported by the peasantry, solves the national and democratic tasks through a proletarian revolution. This was the kind of revolution which took place in Russia, in October 1917.

The acquiescence of Ho Chi Minh and the Vietnamese Communists in the division of Vietnam, initially by Stalin and his war-time allies in 1945, and then again, at Geneva in 1954, produced enormous suffering and destruction for the Vietnamese masses. The retention of capitalism in South Vietnam can only result in more and greater agony for them in the future.

For the Vietnamese revolution to succeed, the peasants throughout the whole of South East Asia must be mobilized to the side of the proletarian revolution through the expropriation without compensation of landlords' estates, and the revolutionary Marxists must acquire roots in the developing and militant South East Asian working class.

The success of the Vietnamese revolution also requires that American revolutionists demand, not only the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of American troops, and the victory of the Vietnamese revolution, but also that they build a Leninist vanguard party capable of leading the American workers to a socialist victory over American capitalism, the enemy of all mankind.

As American workers compare their real wages, shrinking under an inflation fed by massive arms expenditures, with the continuing high profits of the giant corporations, and as the ruling class split helps expose the cynical maneuvers of the Johnson and Nixon regimes and the character of the Thieu-Ky military clique in Vietnam, they begin to understand that the US is involved in an imperialist intervention designed to protect and promote the power and profit of US capital; that the enemy of the Vietnamese workers and peasants is their own class enemy, that American troops are in Vietnam to suppress those who want a society without bosses and landlords.

The task of revolutionists is to bring this lesson home to workers with greater force and clarity. The working class can force the ruling class to end its intervention by its own class action. A one-day general strike by organized workers in the mass industries would do more to end US intervention in Vietnam than several dozen "moratoriums", demonstrations, student radical "confrontations", and marches on Washington.

Patented "Trotskyists", such as the Socialist Workers Party, ignore the fundamental task of building a working class movement--in which students and other intermediate social strata would play a role--which would fight against this war as part of the struggle for socialism. It and other social opportunists have instead joined with the Communist Party in building a class collaborationist "people's front" coalition which is designed to limit the consciousness of the anti-war movement to what is acceptable to the liberal bourgeoisie.

The working class can be won to the recognition that the struggle against the Vietnam war is part of the fight for its own immediate and fundamental class interests, through the following demands:

- \*End unemployment! A thirty hour week now at forty hours pay! Unite black and white workers in struggle against the special oppression of black workers within the context of struggle for the interests of all workers against ruling class division and attacks.
- \*Use the \$80-odd billion yearly arms budget and big business profits to build hospitals, schools and homes through a system of public works.
- \*No war profits! Expropriate war industries under workers' control.
- \*Independent labor candidates and a labor party based on the unions to fight in legislative arenas for working class interests--including the immediate unconditional withdrawal of all US troops from Vietnam.

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