

# THE DESPERATE CANADIAN FARMER

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# THE REMAKING OF MAN

By ANNA LOUISE STRONG

Supplement to Letter from China No. 40, June 30, 1966

"The rapid, vigorous development of China's cultural revolution has caused a furor in the world," said the *People's Daily* June 4. Letters from my friends ask, in distress: "WHAT on earth is happening? What are all these purges?" It is too soon to answer fully for the cultural revolution covers many fields and adds new items daily. But something can already be said.

It is not a "fight for the succession" but a revolution in which Mao himself is very much in command. It is not a "purge" in any bloody sense but some persons may find themselves in other jobs for having abused their authority. Decision on this is not arbitrary but after much investigation by methods which the Chinese think are the most direct democracy yet devised in the world. But let us briefly trace the history that occurred.

For sixteen years, since the "people's democratic dictatorship" was established in 1949 in the state and the national economy, struggle has continued with a small number of "bourgeois elements" both inside and outside the Party who opposed Mao's line and tried to substitute an anti-Communist line of their own. Due to specialized abilities they gained posts of leadership in academic, cultural and educational fields and spread their views both directly and indirectly. The struggle best known abroad was that of the "bourgeois Rightists" in 1957 who hoped to dispossess the Communists by a counter-revolutionary coup like that attempted in Hungary. In the hard years of 1959-61 a few "Right opportunists" inside the Party had enough control of part of the press to publish a series of more than a hundred articles sneering at all Party policies, such as the "big leap," the communes, and the intellectuals doing manual labor. They suppressed letters of protest sent by the people; some of these are only now coming to light.

Mao, with his usual tactics, gave the enemy plenty of time either to mend his ways or to expose himself fully. From time to time he put out suggestions. In 1963 he pointed out that "the dead" still dominated many forms of art in opera, drama, cinema, etc., and asked: "Isn't it absurd that many Communists show enthusiasm for advancing feudal and capitalist art but no zeal in promoting socialist art?" In 1964, in connection with the "rectification campaign" in the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, he declared that for fifteen years most of these organizations had slighted Party policy and "acted as high and mighty bureaucrats."

Meantime a few outstanding examples of revolutionary art began to appear, such as "The Red Lantern" in opera, the "Red Detachment of Women" and the "White-Haired Girl" in ballet, the "Courtyard Where Rent Was Collected"—an amazing group sculpture by folk and professional artists combined, and a musical festival called "Shanghai Spring." Many writers identified themselves with the life of the peasants, workers and soldiers and found heroes among them as models; the *Song of Ouyang Hai*, a 500-page novel of a peasant who joined the People's Liberation Army and after many experiences gave his life to prevent a train wreck, is today the most popular novel in China.

I must leave to later Letters any review of the new art that is appearing, but the opposing forces can be briefly given here. The pundits of history, art or culture say: "Study the classics to imitate the great men of the past; you will never equal them but you will thus become a man of culture." The cultural revolution says: "Away with these pundits who dominate you by their monopoly of knowledge. Study the classics if you will but do not imitate them. From them you may learn the past from which the present grew. Your business is with the present epoch; go down to its grass roots and learn

from the peasants and workers and soldiers who create it. Find here your heroes and express them in forms of today. If Beethoven has anything to give to people today, he will survive and be welcome. But your task is not to copy Beethoven or the ballet of the tsars. Your business is to make new rhythms for the life around you." As Mao said in his poem on Snow:

"To find men truly great and noble-hearted  
We must look here in the present."

Finally the widespread study of Mao Tse-tung's thought, which I discuss at greater length below, made people everywhere conscious of China's history and the dangers its revolution faces, whether from violence without or subversion within. So when those persons that had sneered at the communes in the difficult days continued to sneer at the thought of peasants studying Mao, the people fought back and the cultural revolution began.

From last November articles appeared criticizing such writers as Wu Han and Teng To, both prominent Peking officials, and widening to include people behind them. The fact that they had been for years protected by the Peking Municipal Party Committee led to the reorganization of that committee and brought the spotlight in turn on other Party organizations, such as that of Peking University.

The immediate aim of the cultural revolution is that the people shall establish their dictatorship over ideology, culture and education as they did sixteen years ago over the state and the national economy. To do this they must overthrow the authority of bourgeois pundits who use their scholastic standing to sabotage revolution. This is a battle for the next generation, whether it shall be bourgeois or revolutionary in mind.

The long-range goal is the remaking of the mind of man, a revolution to change the motivations and habits established by feudalism and capitalism for thousands of years, and replace them by motivations and habits suitable to building socialism and later advancing to communism.

Mao is well known for his timing. It could not have been done by the illiterate peasants of sixteen years ago. It had to wait until the Chinese masses learned to read and write and conquered technology to invent machines and created examples of revolutionary art and began themselves to write philosophy.

The prelude to the upsurge of China's cultural revolution was the popular movement to study Mao Tse-tung's thinking. By winter of 1965-66 the *People's Daily* was giving pages to stories of people and organizations which changed their world outlook and became more efficient in work by "studying Chairman Mao." The Western press spoke sourly of this "cult of the individual" and "deification of Mao." The Chinese were not speaking of Mao as an individual but of the body of Marxist-Leninist thought which Mao has developed through 40 years and which will survive him in his *Selected Works*—the greatest encyclopedia of Marxist-Leninist thinking of the present epoch.

These recent accounts in the Chinese press stressed help which people received in their daily activities by studying Chairman Mao. One day it was a farm brigade whose crops used to be washed out by flood almost every autumn, but who, by studying Mao *On Contradiction* were able to analyze "the main contradiction" and adjust the time of sowing and the type of seed and cultivation to get the crop before the date of flood. Another day, a 30-year-old carpenter with only four years' schooling, organized, through studying Mao's thought, one of the best carpentry teams in Peking and also became a council member of the Civil Engineering Society, a lecturer on popular science, and the author of a 100,000-word text-book on carpentry.

When it came to a Shanghai hospital whose young surgeons got records in treating burns with a higher survival rate than the best treatment in Britain and America, the West was skeptical and when they attributed their

success to "studying Mao," the West laughed. This puzzled laughter turned to outright ridicule when a world pingpong champion wrote an article on how to win pingpong by studying Chairman Mao.

I myself began as a scoffer. I was willing to agree with the visitors who wrote in the guest-book at Mao's birthplace: "Mao's thought is the summit of Marxism-Leninism for our time," and even: "China is the light-house of the world revolution and Mao is the light." But I refused to believe that studying Mao could help bring in good crops. So when I visited that self-supporting university in the Pearl River Delta (see Letter No. 37) where the students have reclaimed barren hills to make a public park, I was hardly civil when they told me: "Of course, we began by reading Chairman Mao."

"Where were you when you read Chairman Mao about it," I asked with what I fear was discourteous irony. "Were you sitting on barren hills or had you built a mat-shed first?"

They replied with perfect courtesy: "We were in our offices in the county town. The first step was the decision of the county Party committee to reclaim the area. There was much opposition for many authorities said trees could never be grown on the soil of those hills and others said it would be far too costly. But after our study of Chairman Mao's works we saw that our duty to the Chinese people was to reclaim that area and work out in practice the way to make barren hills produce and that since this must be done, we could do it."

This decision led to three years of much volunteer labor by the county civil servants in which they proved that trees could be grown on those hills; after which they enrolled students for a Labor University. This time I saw

how Mao's principles could have practical results.

I decided that I myself would study a bit of Mao. It was when I read *On Practice* that I began to see the light. I preface this by saying that sixty years ago I spent three years taking the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Chicago University and ended by hating philosophy so that I never wanted to read a book of it again. I especially hated what they called "epistemology" or "theory of knowledge" as a dull, confused mess.

Now Mao, in a pamphlet *On Practice*, gives the entire theory of knowledge in fourteen pages in words that a peasant can understand. Even an illiterate peasant could understand it if it was read to him. Such a peasant would at once gain dignity and aspiration. He learns that **every time he puts his spade to the soil or reaps a crop, this is the beginning of human knowledge**, but it is only the beginning and not the end. A single act of perception is only "perceptual knowledge" and incomplete. When many times repeated by many people, these bits of knowledge become generalized into a rational concept or "conceptual knowledge." This knowledge must then be tested by practice for only in social practice lies the guarantee of truth. A single bit of knowledge, thus tested, leads on to other concepts, which again are tested in practice on an ever-widening and never-ending scale. Thus human knowledge grows and becomes many systems of science and such knowledge can be used to change the world.

Such is the Marxist theory of knowledge and its relation to practice. It is heady stuff for anyone to get. Even one man, getting it, will want to apply it. A group of people, getting it together, are likely to ask: "What changes do we want to make in the world?" And this is how revolutions start.

## THE PLIGHT OF THE BERRYPICKER

JACK M.

A young Vancouver welfare bureaucrat recently had a native Indian berry-picking family on trial. This judge, jury and executioner snarled his sentence: "Your welfare cheque has been cut to \$25 instead of the usual \$125." The reason for this sentence to starvation (because they had very little food on hand) we shall now unfold; but to protect the innocent we shall refer to the family heads as Mr. and Mrs. F.

Welfare Worker: "What did you do with all your money—the \$170 that you earned berry-picking?"

Mrs. F.: "I spent it all on the rent, gas, and electricity which were \$13 and on our food bill at the bosses' company store which came to \$110 and on some second-hand clothing."

Welfare Worker: "You didn't need those clothes. How come you bought clothes? I heard a rumour that you and your husband Mr. F. have been having a good time drinking. Well, what kind of clothes did you buy?"

Mrs. F.: "I bought some shoes and stockings for the kids (there are six children) and some second-hand pants which they could use in the evenings after they finished picking berries." (Strawberries are picked even when it rains, while on one's hands and knees. This labour is extremely hard on clothes.)

Welfare Worker: "What! What! You bought shoes again—and stockings! You are not supposed to buy clothing: just groceries—strictly groceries."

Mrs. F.: "But the children needed shoes. They are active and they worked hard. Shoes don't last forever. They wear out. I can't keep them in the house all day so that they won't wear out their shoes. My husband can't work at heavy labour, he's sick. He needs another operation on his ulcer. But the doctor told him three years ago that he might die if he had another operation; and he is scared to have it. Now his tonsils are really bad. A doctor has told him that he needs attention but you won't give

us a medical card. The reason we went berry-picking in the first place was to make enough money to pay off medical expenses which your welfare department will neither pay for, nor let us pay out of the welfare money which we do get from you. But we didn't make a thing berry-picking: we went in the hole for \$5.90 because we drew on the wages we were to get at the end of the season. We needed the clothes. I, myself, had to have medicine. This medicine alone costs \$1.45 a bottle, and a bottle only lasts for four days. I'm supposed to have an operation too."

Welfare Worker: "You don't need a medical card. You can just go in the hospital. They will always look after you if you are on welfare."

Mrs. F.: "Well how come we are getting a bill every time we see a doctor?"

Welfare Worker: "Don't worry about it. You won't have to pay for the bill until your husband is able to stand up."

Mrs. F.: "When is that going to be?"

Welfare Worker (growing impatient): "You are only going to get \$25 this welfare cheque."

Later Mrs. F. gave an interview to the Progressive Worker concerning the conditions at the berry-picking camp. This particular camp has houses constructed of galvanized, corrugated iron which forever drip with condensation even on the warmest days. This year was also bad for rain—it poured—but the pickers still had to work to pay their huge bills at the bosses' store. Therefore man, woman and child, they toiled out in the driving rain, getting wet, muddy and tired from this back-breaking work, only to return at the day's end to a shack dripping with condensation. Anything left out from under canvas became musty damp: the clothes, the mattresses, everything. In this one camp alone, ten people sickened, some needing immediate hospital attention. One mother saw her baby die of pneumonia and had to have it buried in

a special pauper's graveyard.

So you see in this rotten, vicious exploitation of our berry-pickers that these poor people are working like hell—for nothing—ending up owing money at the end of the season; losing their welfare benefits, and ruining their health and clothes, for an imaginary gain. Another picker told P.W.: "Once I stood up I couldn't kneel down. Once I kneeled down I couldn't stand up. I shouldn't have cut my fingernails so short before picking. Now they are so sore."

Usually the pickers received five or six dollars in cash on Fridays, that is IF they had picked for the whole week; if not, they; did not receive any cash whatsoever, but were paid with non-negotiable cards representing a value of \$10 each, good only at the bosses' store. If they got too much in the hole at the store, they were cut off. My own wife, who at one time was also a picker, recalls: "Some of them just go down there and work all season for their food. No money."

She recalls how some pickers would try to rest on Sunday and how the profit-mad boss would come banging on the tin walls of her family's shack, with a heavy stick, screaming: "Out! Out! Everybody out! No pick, no eat!" Meaning that he would cut off your credit at his store.

Now what about the boss? He pays the picker \$1.40 a case, and there are 24 small boxes in a case. At current

consumer prices, this case would bring in \$8 at the grocery store. But Mr. F., who considers himself to be a good picker, could pick nine cases a day—that is, nine times \$8 equals \$72 worth of berries, for which he would only receive \$12.60 in buying power. Mr. F. worked for three weeks. So, assuming that he always picked his average, he would have picked 21 times \$72, or \$1,512 worth of berries, by himself. But did he and his family get their fair share of the enormous amount of money that these berries were worth? No! Remember that it was not just Mr. F., but the whole family, who went picking; and also remember that their combined efforts netted them a loss of \$5.90 for three weeks' work.

How can a boss lose with a deal like this? Betty-pickers, action is needed! The berries will rot if you do not pick them. Why should you lose your welfare benefits for the rotten boss and then have to face a smart-alec welfare worker, who will try to starve and humiliate you and your family? Why also should you risk your health and ruin your clothes for such small money? We know that you need some extra seasonal cash to buy the few luxuries you should have. But you are being stolen from. You all know what it costs to buy a little box of berries; and you damn well know the few pennies you earn for picking it. Demand the money which should be yours. Prepare for the next season. Take up the slogan: "Better pay or rotten berries!" Write or call in to the Progressive Worker with your ideas about what can be done.

## THE DESPERATE FARMER

If there still remain any lingering notions about the purchase of a copy of **5 Acres and Independence** in order to discover how one can live a free and independent life on a small farm, forget it! Small farmers are on the road to extinction with the horse and the ox, and the most you can hope to achieve in an endless round of dawn-to-dark working days is a \$70,000-plus mortgage and a jumbo-size headache trying to figure how to make ends meet.

The increasingly difficult financial position of small and middle farmers is the reason for recent militant demonstrations in Ontario and Quebec and the reason why they will get larger and spread to other areas. Farming is now a part of big business operators and the small family farm with one hired man is being displaced by units whose capitalization usually runs to six figures. In Saskatchewan individual farm loans go as high as \$150,000.

Mechanization in the countryside is proceeding at a rapid rate, evident in doubling of farm machinery sales between 1958 and 1965, by which time they totalled \$ 24 million. In the same period, farm labour dropped from \$748,000 to \$594,000; the decline in 1965 was 5.7 per cent, largest loss for one year in a decade.

There are roughly 400,000 farms in Canada; but about one-quarter of these scarcely qualify as farms because the owners earn the major part of their income elsewhere than on the land. About 25 per cent are either large units or providing an income adequate for the minimum needs of the operators. The remaining 200,000 are in an income bracket that is below the level required for survival and are, therefore in a very precarious state. Farm economists predict that most of the latter group will cease to exist as independent units in a relatively short period of time. It is from these that most of the protest movement springs, as these traditional farm families fight desperately to maintain a precarious foothold on the land tilted by their ancestors for generations.

Some sources estimate that 10,000 farms are leaving agricultural pursuits every year, and current trends indicate an acceleration of the dropout rate. With minimum economic units costing \$60,000 or more to capitalize, the dropouts are surely not going to be replaced by poor, or

even middle farmers — big business operations will increase.

In some areas (particularly in Alberta and British Columbia) men who own or direct large industrial complexes are purchasing extensive acreages and playing the part of gentleman farmer. In the West—especially in the oil-millionaire circles of Alberta—a great many of the huge ranches are being acquired by Americans who have grown enormously wealthy through exploitation of Canadian natural resources.

We have not at hand any precise facts and figures on this trend toward ownership of extensive land holdings by wealthy industrialists, nor the extent of non-resident (U.S.?) ownership of agricultural lands. We would appreciate if any of our readers who may have such information would forward it to us.

### CLASS RELATIONS AND THE FARMER

The force of the farmers' movement is considerably diminished by reason of the fact that he fails to recognize his CLASS position in capitalist society and, consequently, fails to recognize his true class allies in the battle against exploitation.

When the factory system replaced cottage production—still more, when monopoly concentration replaced the early factory system—the independent artisan was dispossessed and alienated from his means of production, torn from the last roots that held him to the land, and herded into factories, he was no longer able to harbour any illusions as to his position in class society. The independent artisan who owned at least a minimum of property was wiped out and replaced by the property-less proletarian whose only hope lay in a struggle to dispossess his capitalist master and so regain control over his means of production.

However, farms cannot be concentrated in factories, so that agricultural production remained scattered, thus lending to farm labour an illusion of freedom that has no existence in reality. The farmer, influenced by the propaganda of the ruling class as much as he is by his own illusions, is further reinforced at times by governments, intent on maintaining a firm base among capitalist-minded farmers, granting minimum concessions at the

expense of other sections of the community—but never at the expense of the monopolists who are the real enemy and exploiters of the farmer as they are of all working people.

The land and machinery that constitute the farmers' means of production are not really owned by him—it only seems that way. The land, in actuality, is in the possession of the mortgage companies and the machinery held by the banks and finance companies that underwrite their purchase. Machinery wears out as fast as it is paid for—necessitating the purchase of new, more modern and more expensive items which must be financed by new loans and mortgages. Let the farmer lapse but for a moment in his payments and he will soon discover who really owns his means of production and who calls the turn on his standard of life.

The same is true of market relations. The day when the farmer sold his product on the open market is long dead, never to return. The instances where farmers bring their own product to market are extremely limited and confined to the periphery of large urban communities. The farmer's produce is processed, packed and marketed by the large food-packing concerns and super-markets that are almost all owned by U.S. monopoly interests. What the farmer fails to realize is that he is in the actual position of being a worker for the giant monopolies and, in many respects, under conditions less favourable than those enjoyed by industrial workers, and particularly the highly-organized section. The farmer must purchase his own tools of production and maintain them at his own expense, whereas these are supplied to the factory worker and maintained as a cost on production. Where the workers have set hours and vacations, the farmer, tied to the weather, seasons, growing crops, animal needs and the insistent demands of banks and finance companies, must work every possible hour from dawn to dusk, and beyond, in order to exist.

#### **FARMER-WORKER UNITY**

The farmer, influenced by capitalist propaganda, blames the worker for high prices of farm needs and the relatively low returns he gets for his produce. The worker, on the other hand, often blames the farmer for high food prices. The truth is that the large U.S.-owned packing companies unmercifully exploit both farmer and

packinghouse worker and reap record profits in the process. The spread between farm price and retail price is enormous and growing progressively larger. The results are measured in dividend payments. It is not without significance that both farmer and packinghouse worker are engaged in struggle against the packing monopolies at the same time—the worker directly, the farmer indirectly and with less awareness.

The imperative need of the moment is for the formation of a bond of unity between worker and farmer in common struggle against the food processing and packing monopolies, and especially against the U.S.-owned monopolies that dominate the field, as well as the finance companies that grow fat on farm mortgages. A good example of such unity in action was demonstrated in the strike of the Heinz workers at Leamington, Ontario, last year when the growers helped the strikers to win their battle for wages and conditions. A greater degree of mutual support must be explored by both sides and unity forged around a minimum program of common aims.

#### **THE FARMER AND SOCIALISM**

It is not surprising that the farmer, burdened as he is with his illusions of being an independent though hard-pressed businessman, should identify his interests with the capitalist system and oppose socialist solutions to his problems—or opposes what he mistakenly believes to be socialism. He needs to be shown that in socialism lies the only hope of remaining on the land in decent surroundings—or of remaining on the land under any conditions for that matter.

Socialism can provide the farmers with the opportunity of working co-operatively together, share modern agricultural machinery and work it more economically and give them a share in control of processing and marketing. Capitalism, in its drive to intensify monopolization and increase profits, can only offer the farmer worsening conditions and ultimate expulsion from the land.

The immediate interests of the farmer lie in the direction of worker-farmer unity in common struggle against the monopolies. His objective, long-term interests, like those of all working people is in joining the fight for a new social order—for an independent and Socialist Canada.

# **CANADIAN WORKERS DEMAND CANADIAN UNIONS**

Labour struggles erupting over far-flung areas of the nation in recent months lend weight to arguments in support of the policy advocated by Progressive Worker since its inception—Canadian workers need Canadian unions under rank-and-file control. It is an impossible situation for Canadian workers to be "represented" by overpaid and overfed bureaucrats at the head of the United States unions; particularly when those workers are employed by the U.S. monopolists who dominate Canadian industry and whose domestic and foreign policies receive the ardent support of top U.S. union officials. These Yankee unions are also available as vehicles to be used for the smuggling of CIA and FBI agents into Canadian trade unions, thus facilitating U.S. espionage against both the workers and the nation. (This would be an area for governmental investigation more fruitful than the highly overrated and over-publicized Spencer case, especially since the U.S. threat to our political and economic independence is a very real and immediate one.)

Propagandists for the American unions beat the drums loudly about the effectiveness of "big unions" at the bargaining table. But it is such organizations as the Steelworkers, Jimmy Hoffa's Teamsters, ITU, Carpenters, etc., who are amongst the biggest and wealthiest unions, yet are experiencing the greatest difficulty in contract negotiations for modest gains at a time when conditions, especially for skilled trades, are to the advantage of the workers.

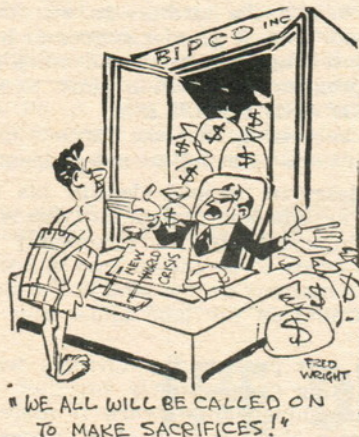
Labour struggles are not won by bigness and wealth. If that were true the monopolists, who have a corner on the money market, would win easily every time. Labour victories are obtained through the organized strength and determination of the workers, and it is precisely this element that is missing in the U.S. unions, due to the fact that the bureaucracy has torn their guts out by enforcing a heavy-handed, dictatorial suppression of the rank-and-file.

The "wildcat" strike at Hamilton was not only in defiance of the union leadership, but was actually directed AGAINST them, because of their dismal failure to make any advances and their refusal to take steps in preparation for struggle. The same was true in a similar situation affecting the same Steelworkers union at Sudbury and Port Colborne. In Sudbury, the company announced the intention of taking disciplinary action against rank-and-file leaders, but a threat to renew strike action prevented reprisals. In Hamilton, 36 rank-and-file leaders have been suspended or discharged, but up to time of writing official leaders have managed to head off any further strike threats, thus virtually abandoning these workers—another prime example of tearing the guts out of the union by co-operating with the boss in weeding out the most mili-

tant workers, so rendering the organization less capable of putting up an effective fight.

The IBEW in Vancouver showed real initiative when union officials and international reps not only officiated in the discharge of almost 300 workers at Lenkurt Electric (a division of the U.S. General Telephone), but also initiated into the "union" the 300 strikebreakers who took over the jobs, and conducted the ceremony on company premises.

Teamster officials did their damndest to break the ranks and fighting spirit of Ontario truck-drivers, and failed only because an effective rank-and-file leadership was equal to the occasion and defeated their conspiracy. At Castlegar, in the southern interior of British Columbia, Teamster officials, who seldom go near the isolated construction site, planed in to uphold the employer in the



discharge of 34 workers, did the same for 34 replacements, and remained at the scene ready to call in more replacements if it became necessary.

In the Harmac mill at Nanaimo on Vancouver Island, and in several other mills, upwards of 90 per cent of the workers have joined a Canadian union, but are informed it is not a trade union under the Labour Act, so they must

continue to pay tribute to and be represented by U.S. unions.

The U.S. unions are being aided by government boards where the "labour" representative who participates in awarding certifications is invariably a member of a United States union and sworn to uphold the interests of such unions over the interests of Canadian unions.

Employers also are in the conspiracy to keep Canadian workers shackled to the "safe" foreign-controlled unions. In the case of the Canadian Ironworkers, whom the Building Trades Council are trying to destroy, the employers avoid, where possible, awarding contracts to companies having agreements with the Canadian union, and thus try to starve the workers into being loyal to the Yankee bureaucrats. A tactic which is becoming more common each year in new construction and newly-opened plants is for the employer to sign a long-term, no-strike contract with the U.S. unions before any workers are hired, and then compelling them to join the chosen union by making membership a condition of employment.

The propaganda being broadcast by certain so-called "radicals," to the effect that the employer is out to destroy the established unions, therefore we must unite to defend them and their leadership, is so much hogwash designed to confuse. The employers have the present leadership fitted snugly into their pocket, and depend on them to keep the workers in line. It would be stupid of the employers to destroy these "safe" organizations and take an unnecessary chance on what might develop out of the fluid situation that would follow.

The dismal failure of the unions as presently constituted and led in a period that is not particularly unfavourable, especially for the skilled trades, is a warning of their critical ineffectiveness for times of stress. In the event of a crisis and growing unemployment, the present unions and their leaders would be totally inadequate and would render the workers virtually unarmed at a time of fire necessity. We must take action now to change and improve the situation. Canadian unions, rank-and-file control and expansion of the organization to embrace the low-paid, unorganized millions is imperative if we are to head off disaster in a period of crisis which will surely come. The time to act is NOW!

## CANADIAN PUPPET IN INDO-CHINA

Never has Canada's position of subservience to U.S. imperialism been more clearly demonstrated than in the current situation in Southeast Asia. Since the end of World War II Canadian governments, whatever their political hue, have run interference in world affairs for U.S. monopoly interests that dominate and distort the economic life of this nation. This task has always been effected under cover of loud claims of independent Canadian action in search of peaceful solutions and, in recent times, has been aided and fortified by the phoney "peaceful co-existence" promoted by the revisionists of the Soviet Union. It is doubtful, however, if Canada will be any longer able to claim independent action or retain a shred of self-respect following the latest expedition to cover U.S. imperialist acts of flagrant aggression.

Canada is a signatory of the Geneva agreement that provided for the evacuation of the French from Indo-China, the self-determination and neutrality of the nations in the area, election and unification of Vietnam, temporarily divided to facilitate French withdrawal. A Canadian representative was named to the International Control Commission charged with the responsibility of enforcing the Geneva accord, and seeing to it that no acts of aggression were committed in the area and no build-up of foreign military forces effected.

But Canada's ruling class, in direct violation of their accepted responsibilities, has not only condoned U.S. army build-up until it now approaches the half-million mark

and includes the most modern weapons available to a powerful and wealthy industrial nation; they have actually facilitated the U.S. concentration in Vietnam and aided in the aggression by placing Canada's bountiful resources at the disposal of the aggressor. The Canadian representative on the Commission has always jumped when ordered to by U.S. imperialists and has been known to issue reports which, in effect, accused the Vietnamese of being guilty of acts of "aggression" against the "peace-loving" U.S. armed forces who only burn villages and bomb with napalm because they dearly love the people of Vietnam.

Canada's commissioners have either been unable to see the flagrant breaches of the Geneva Agreement perpetrated by the U.S., or have excused them as having been in self-defence or due to provocation from the people of Vietnam who appear to have a ridiculous idea about shaping their own national destiny. Bombing and shelling of Laos and Cambodia, as well as the Democratic Republic of Vietnam just did not happen, so far as Canadian officials are concerned, in spite of the fact that the aggressor has been forced to admit his aggressive actions. The elections scheduled for Vietnam have been blocked by the U.S., who openly admit to the fact: yet Canada has never protested this contemptuous disregard for a key provision in the Accord.

On the other hand, Canada has always been able to "discover" acts of "aggression" and violations of the Ac-

cord on the part of the Vietnamese any time the U.S. has ordered the "discovery" of such violations, to use as propaganda items. On several occasions the Canadian representative has issued so-called "reports," endorsed by the Canadian government, which have found the Vietnamese guilty of acts of aggression and violations of the Accord, while they credit the massive U.S. military build-up, which is in flagrant violation of the Accord, as really being in the interest of enforcing the Geneva Agreement and maintaining peace in Vietnam.

The latest act of aggression, perpetrated when the U.S. bombed the neutral zone, gave the Canadian representative a glorious opportunity to demonstrate to the world their disgusting and undignified role of puppet to U.S. imperialism and they took full advantage of it. Instead of a forthright condemnation of this flagrant act in violation of Geneva, Canada's representative announced an intention of going into the zone to discover evidence to justify the U.S. act because the Vietnamese, according to U.S. accusations, had entered the zone.

While in the zone pursuing their task on behalf of the aggressor the Canadian representatives, together with other members of the commission, were bombed and strafed by U.S. planes but the Canadian government far from condemning this aggressive act, as is their duty, emphasized their puppet role in the statement "while we regret this incident we have no intention of protesting." There is every indication that the Canadian government will still further lower the country's dignity in the eyes of the world by issuing a statement "justifying" U.S. actions as having been taken in the interests of "peace and democracy" in Southeast Asia.

The twisted reasoning of the Canadian ruling class

is nowhere better illustrated than in an editorial in Vancouver's Conservative newspaper the "Province," which is an official propaganda sheet for the U.S. State Department. In the issue of August 9, the Province editorialized:

"U.S. bombings cannot be said to be a breach of the Geneva accords which brought the demilitarized zone into existence, because the U.S. is not a signatory. But the presence of North Vietnamese units in the area, the cause of the bombings, clearly is."

The Province blithely ignores that the U.S. gave an undertaking to honour the Geneva Agreements and that is a matter of international record. But, in any case, an act of naked aggression can not be excused by citing the fact that no agreement had been signed, according to that reasoning, the Nazi criminals at Nuremburg would have been equipped with an unassailable defence by simply claiming they had never signed an agreement not to destroy Jews and other people. The accusation against North Vietnam is the reason given by U.S. militarists to "justify" their act, and is not substantiated. The Province, as usual, demonstrates its willingness to accept the unsupported word of the United States.

An additional point made in the editorial is that the bombings were legal because the U.S. notified the Commission before the act was carried out. It follows, therefore, that Canada was aware of preparations for the bombing and failed to carry out her international responsibility by openly condemning those preparations before the whole world.

It is time to put an end to our puppet role and the U.S. domination of our economy. Canada should resign from the Commission where she represents, not the Geneva Conference, but U.S. imperialist interests.

## IN BRIEF

The annual Hiroshima memorial rally at the U.S.-Canada border, 30 miles from Vancouver, continued a decline in attendance which began several years ago. A short stay at the meeting would soon show why. This year's theme was slated as a protest against the Vietnam war, but the affair was far from inspiring.

Although the Progressive Workers Movement was not a part of the official organizing committee, its members provided the only bright note in an otherwise dull afternoon. The PWM display showing U.S. atrocities and acts of aggression, and depicting the people's resistance, received a lot of attention, and a large quantity of literature from and about Vietnam was sold to members of the audience. More than \$40 was collected for the National Front of Liberation, and a film show on Vietnam was held in the evening.

Keynote speaker at the rally, Dr. Giovanni Costigan, of Washington University, used 10 minutes of a 30-minute speech for a eulogy to the late President Kennedy. He contended things would have been different had Kennedy lived, when everyone knows that it was the late president who formulated the policy now being applied in Vietnam. Both Costigan and Grace MacInnis, M.P. proposed measures that have already been rejected by the people of Vietnam, including United Nations intervention. Neither called outright for U.S. immediate withdrawal as the road to peace.

The strangest occurrence of the day came in the closing minutes of the rally. Costigan had spent about five minutes denouncing alleged "Soviet Aggression in Finland and Hungary, and alleged "Chinese aggression in Tibet," and several hundred members of the Communist Party of Canada in attendance rose to their feet and gave him a standing ovation.

x x x

# Progressive Worker

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# ON BLACK POWER

Simultaneously emerging with Stokely Carmichael's election as leader of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee was an outspoken, militant stance, symbolized by the slogan "Black Power." Since then a number of activists and so-called "leaders" of the Black people have jumped on the bandwagon and have seized the same slogan. The racist press gives them heavy coverage, along with what the press calls the "nationalists" in the Black community.

The slogan "Black Power" is new; but the concept is as old as the Black struggle for freedom and liberation in this country. It was first articulated in a meaningful way by the Black convention held in Cleveland, Ohio, Aug. 24-26, 1854 (see current issue of Progressive Labor: "Pre-Civil war Black Nationalism," by Bill McAdoo.)

Upon the formation of Progressive Labor, the leadership of PL again raised the theoretical concept of Black self-determination wherever Blacks constitute a majority.

In the March 1965 "Special Convention Discussion Issue" of Progressive Labor magazine, Bill Epton wrote (in an article entitled "Black Self-Determination):

"We state that the Black people, and their organizations, have the right to self-determination, i.e., the right, based upon their own experience, their struggle and their organization and program, to determine their position in this country. We firmly uphold, respect and support the right of the Negro people in the U.S. to make this choice without any coercion or intimidation from 'white America.'"

As we said in a resolution adopted at the founding convention of the Progressive Labor Party—the result of years of experience and discussion:

"We state that the Black people have embarked on the path of self-determination and will complete the process when capitalism has been destroyed. . .

## 'PRO-BLACK' NATIONALISM

"Black nationalism is the condition of being pro-Black and not necessarily anti-white. It means identifying with the Black people's heritage and culture and seeking Black Liberation by any means necessary."

"Black Power," like the discredited slogan "Freedom Now," is meaningless unless the organization is being built to achieve it and to hold it once it is won.

Without the serious building of the movement, we will find ourselves in the position of escalating slogans but not the struggle for that "power." It's easy for reformers and fakers to identify with a slogan. But they will be exposed both by action and by the short- and long-range program that has the concept of establishing deep roots among the Black people while preparing for a long protracted struggle to build a power base.

Since the late 1950s there has been developing among the Black people a growing national consciousness or "nationalism." This awareness was beginning to be articulated by Malcolm X when the U.S. ruling class ordered his assassination. Many activists in Black communities picked it up and began further to develop and articulate it. The ruling class, seeing this development and sensing its potential danger to the continued exploitation of Black masses, is attempting to co-opt it, divert it or confuse the people. If this is not suc-

cessful, they will attempt to rally the white population against the Black people and prepare the country for open fascist suppression of Black people and their growing revolutionary movement.

## LIFE-SIZE LIES

One of the clearest examples is the recent Life magazine article entitled "Plot to Get Whitey" (June 10), in which the author (and an accompanying editorial) blows the trumpet for the "leading spokesmen" for the new Black militants, Leroy Jones and Dan Watts (editor of Liberator). Of course, neither live in Harlem, have a base in Harlem or do any political work in Harlem. But the ruling class finds them useful because they make extreme statements, are in no position to carry their "threats" out, and serve the purpose of "justifying" repressive measures used against Black people.

To further "substantiate" his charges, the author of the Life article quotes extensively from unnamed members of RAM—the Revolutionary Action Movement—which disbanded at least a year ago.

Following Life's example, the N.Y. Times (July 3) ran a long article under the title "Black Nationalists Gain More Attention in Harlem." The Times writer disagreed with the Life writer, and was really going to dig down deep and get at the bottom of the story. And what did he come up with? A list of the exponents of "Black Power"—featuring some of the most reactionary nationalists to be found in Harlem (who are all, by the way, working for the government through Haryou)...Some of the other organizations mentioned, however, do play a positive role in the Harlem community.

## PROGRESSIVE NATIONALISM

There is a legitimate, progressive nationalism developing among the Black people. SNCC and its leadership has given it a slogan—"Black Power"—and the U.S. rulers are now out to see if they can contain or control it. Two-bit, so-called "leaders" have now come out in support of the slogan, even though many of them have distorted concepts of what the words mean. Even some of the basically pacifist-reformist organizations have voiced support. The Black people must be vigilant, because the purpose of some of these organizations and individuals is to serve as a "fifth column" in the Black people's movement. We will know by their deeds how much they really believe in and are ready to support Black Power, and we will judge by their actions their claims of belief in self-defense.

If "Black Power" means building a Black united front-type organization—we support it!

If "Black Power" means that in those areas where the Black people are a majority they should control their destiny—we support it!

If "Black Power" means that when we are attacked by the racists, fascists and their organizations, we should strike back ten-fold—then we support it and will do anything in our power to make it live and grow into a reality.

SNCC has the duty and obligation, since it has advanced the slogan, to spell out in clear and unequivocal terms what it means. We have advanced past the stage of supporting slogans—we must now support programs!



# Books and Periodicals

- Let Us Hold Aloft the Banner of Independence and Peace.** By Prime Minister Pham-van-Dong. In English and French. 49 pages. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Hanoi, 1965 ..... 15
- Vietnam Today.** In English, Chinese, Esperanto and French. 182 pages. Illustrated. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Hanoi, 1965 ..... 25
- American Aircraft Systematically Attack Hospitals and Sanitary Centres of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.** In English and French. 24 pages. Published by the D.R.V. Red Cross Society, Hanoi, 1965 ..... 10
- The Fire Blazes.** This is a collection of short stories written by patriotic South Vietnam writers, reflecting the various aspects of the South Vietnam people's struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen. In English, French, Chinese, Russian and Esperanto. 181 pages. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Hanoi, 1965 ..... 20
- Second Conference of the International Trade Union Committee for Solidarity with the Workers and People of Vietnam Against the U.S. Imperialist Aggressors** (Held from the 2nd to 17th June, 1965, in Hanoi). Official documents. In English and French. 216 pages. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Hanoi, 1965 ..... 40
- Nguyen Du and the Story of Kieu.** A study on Nguyen Du, the great Vietnamese poet whose masterpiece, *The Story of Kieu*, known and loved all over Vietnam, has been translated into many languages: French, English, Russian, Chinese. This issue contains extracts of Kieu and other works by Nguyen Du, as well as articles dealing with various cultural activities in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. In English and French ... 25
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- As He Was.** This is a combat narrative of our southern young patriot Nguyen-van-Tnoi who has been executed by the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their henchmen on the charge of having attempted to kill U.S. Secretary for Defence McNamara, come to South Vietnam with a view to intensifying more murders and pillages. In English, French, Chinese, Russian and Spanish. 100 pages. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Hanoi, 1965 ..... 25

**Vietnam.** This monthly illustrated review, published in Chinese, English, French, Russian and Vietnamese will show you:  
 —Pictures of North Vietnam in process of build-socialism.  
 —Famous beauty spots of Vietnam.  
 —The patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression.  
 —Images of solidarity and friendship between the Vietnamese people and the people throughout the world.  
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- On Some Present International Problems.** By Comrade Le Duan, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers' Party. In English, French and Chinese. 182 pages. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Hanoi, 1964 ..... 25
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 Vol. 1: Some General Problems of the Vietnamese Revolution ..... 25  
 Vol. 2: Industrialization and Agricultural Co-operativisation ..... 25  
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- The South Vietnam People Will Win.** By General Vo-nguyen-Giap. Particularities of neo-colonialism and "special war," relation of forces in South Vietnam, characteristics of the South Vietnam people's resistance. In English, French, Russian, Chinese and Spanish. 128 pages. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Hanoi, 1964 ..... 15
- Ap Bac.** Major victories of the South Vietnamese patriotic forces in 1963-1964. In English, French, Russian and Chinese. 150 pages, including 10 plates and many maps. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Hanoi, 1965 ..... 30
- South Vietnam 1964:**  
 President Ho chi Minh's Statement on South Vietnam and Message to U.S. People.  
 Vietnam. Ten Years after Geneva. By Premier Pham-van-Dong.  
 Who Will Win in South Vietnam. By Nguyen ch Thnh.  
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- Contribution to the History of Dien-bien-phu.** A special issue of Vietnamese Studies, including among other articles:  
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- Impasse.** By Nguyen-cong Hoan. Impasse clearly shows that the Vietnamese peasants had no other way than to rise against the Imperialists' rule, wrest back independence and freedom, and bring the Vietnamese People's Revolution of August 19, 1945 to success. In English, French, Russian, Esperanto. 237 pages. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Hanoi, 1965 ..... 25

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# WE ARE FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM AND

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CARRYING OUT  
MILITARY DUTIES

....AGAINST  
MILITARY TARGETS"

"THE THOUGHT  
THEY ARE WA  
IS DEPLORABL



"FOR FREEDOM..."



"....AND HUMAN  
DIGNITY"



# AND HUMAN DIGNITY EVERYWHERE

... JOHNSON

DUCT THAT  
RE WAR CRIMINALS  
DR. LE..."

"THE GENEVA CONVENTIONS  
ON WAR PRISONERS CAN  
BE GIVEN FULLER..."

...MORE COMPLETE  
APPLICATION"



"WE STRIKE ONLY AT  
CONCRETE AND STEEL..."

"AND NOT AT  
HUMAN LIFE..."



A young woman and her daughters killed during the March 15 U.S. raid on the D.R.V.

# INDEPENDENCE AND NEO-COLONIALISM

By CHEDDI JAGAN

British Guiana became politically independent on May 26, 1966. With the formal political departure of the British, Guyana now becomes the economic condominium of Britain and the USA with Britain playing the role of junior partner. A new stage of neo-colonialism is thus launched.

Foreign investors dominate Guyana's economy. The most profitable sectors of production—sugar, bauxite and manganese are in foreign hands. The least profitable and most risky—rice, ground provisions, fruit cultivation, coffee and citrus—are relegated to the Guyanese people. So strong is foreign control that sugar and bauxite alone account for nearly three-quarters of export income.

In the first 17 months of its rule, the British Guiana puppet government has strengthened the hold of the imperialists. Now the coalition government has made further concessions to the foreign companies.

Oil exploration concessions have been given to three foreign oil companies, one British and two American.

Reynolds Metals Co. has been granted concessions for 75 years to nearly one-quarter million acres of high grade bauxite lands and a 25-year income tax freeze. In return for half a million dollars advance payment on income tax, the government has also contracted to dredge, at a cost of about \$8,000,000, the Berbice River, so as to facilitate the transportation of bauxite ore.

The government also plans to embark on banana cultivation on a plantation basis. Elders and Fyffes, a subsidiary of the powerful U.S. monopoly, the United Fruit Company, is to be put in charge of the scheme.

A tobacco cultivation scheme is also likely to be started. This will be put on a plantation basis under the control of the Demerara Tobacco Co., a subsidiary of the powerful British-American Tobacco Co.

The government also at one time suggested the denationalization of Electricity Corporation. The PPP government nationalized in 1960 the Canadian-owned Demerara Electric Company. The Corporation is expected to

been abolished. In its place, the coalition government has introduced a voluntary savings scheme. But instead of the original 3 3/4 per cent rate of interest, the companies will now be paid 8 per cent tax free.

Besides, various incentives such as tax holidays, duty-free concessions on the importation of machinery and raw materials are being made to foreign investors.

In 1966, the budget shifted the tax burden to the poor. Duties were increased on a wide range of mass consumed goods such as yachting shoes, cotton and rayon cloth, exercise (writing) books for children, foodstuffs.

This was a complete reversal of what L. F. S. Burnham and his People's National Congress had advocated in 1962 and 1963. Speaking on the budget in the Legislative Assembly in 1963, Mr. Burnham had then said:

"Let us say immediately that of the tax reforms passed during 1962 there were some which the People's National Congress agreed to—the capital gains tax, the net property tax and the gift tax. Those three taxes the People's National Congress agreed with and supported because, to our mind, whatever might have been the motive, ulterior or expressed, of the People's Progressive Party, those measures represent an attempt (1) at redistribution of income and wealth, and (2) an attempt to find the means whereby the Government would be able to do one of two things, both of which are necessary: to put money or investment into the public sector of the economy, or to provide social services for the community.

"May I say immediately, without apology, that the People's National Congress opposed in February, 1962, the proposed taxes on consumer goods, and no snide remarks about our holding on to the coat-tails of other parties will change us. It does not matter what the People's Progressive Party says on this question. We opposed the imposition of those import duties on what in fact were necessities, in the 1962 No. 1 Budget."

Meanwhile, the government, in its new \$300,000,000 (B.G.) seven-year plan is embarking mainly on a programme of infrastructure (roads, harbours, sea defenses, public buildings, airport) and social overheads development. Included among these projects will be another concession to big business. The government will construct a 40-mile road from the U.S. air base at Atkinson field to Mackenzie, the mining town and centre of the Demerara Bauxite Co. Ltd., a subsidiary of the Aluminum Company of Canada (ALCAN) which is associated to the Aluminum Company of America (ALCOA).

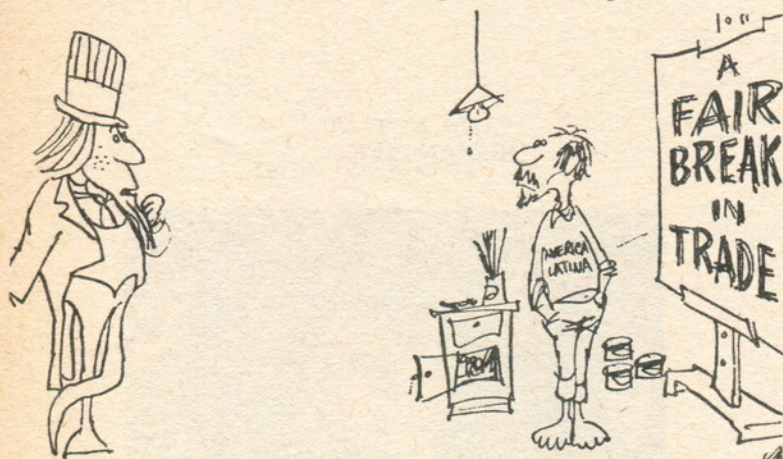
This type of economic development follows the peculiar pattern of that imposed by the USA on Puerto Rico, other Caribbean territories and Latin America which has resulted in poverty, backwardness and misery on a wide scale.

In Latin America, in the 10-year period, 1916 to 1956, foreign investors took out \$3.17 for every dollar invested. In the same period there was an outflow of three and a half billion dollars.

In Jamaica, net outgoing profits for 1964 was about \$50,000,000 (W.I.) while new investments were a mere \$22,000,000.

In Guyana, the drain of wealth by private foreign capital is assuming fantastic proportions. The annual profit rate for foreign companies is now about \$50,000,000 as compared with an effective development programme of less than half this amount. In 1965, government expenditure on development projects was only \$21,000,000 (B.G.).

Over the 17-year period 1948 to 1965, with a foreign investment of about \$290,000,000 (B.G.), a sum of nearly \$403,000,000 was extracted in profits. This estimate of profits does not include assets belonging to the companies which are worth about 200,000,000 (B.G.) dollars. Nor does it include the under-pricing of our bauxite exported by two subsidiaries to parent companies in North America.



"Why don't you paint some more of those delightful abstracts?"

make a net profit of \$60,000,000 (B.G.) in 20 years.

Meanwhile, the government has embarked on a program of aiding the foreign companies at the expense of the local population. The taxes which the PPP government introduced in 1962 against the wealthy foreign and local capitalist class have been abolished or drastically modified in 1965. These included net property, gift, turnover, capital gains and prestige advertising taxes. The capital gains tax has been reduced from 45 per cent to 10 per cent.

And a compulsory savings levy under which the PPP government compelled companies to buy government bonds to the equivalent of 10 per cent of their profits has

The present policies of the puppet government of making further economic concessions to foreign investors will result in an increase in the drain of wealth in the future.

The national debt will also mount. With the government concentrating mainly on unproductive projects, annual debt charges will increase from 11 1/2 million (B.G.) dollars in 1965 to \$17 million in 1968. By 1970, debt charges will be about a third of government revenues. Guyana will soon be placed in the position, like most Latin American countries, of borrowing money not for economic development but for debt repayment.

The trappings of colonialism and imperialism will also remain. The British Queen and her representative, a Governor-General, will be head of Guyana. The British army will remain, we are told, until October 1966. British officers will be in charge of the armed forces. The Governor of the Bank of Guyana and the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Guyana, two strategic posts, will be held by sponsors of governments of West Germany and Canada. And the agreement made during the Second World War by the British Government, whereby the USA has two naval and air bases in British Guiana, has been terminated only nominally, for the U.S. government reserves the right to build installations and land their military planes and personnel at will, and to use Guyana as a staging post for attacks against Latin America and Africa.

By agreeing recently at Geneva to a joint Commission to examine the claim of the Venezuelan government to nearly two-thirds of our territory, the Guyana puppet coalition government has given status and respectability to a spurious claim, which was long ago settled. It has

also given the reactionary elements in Venezuela and the U.S. imperialists a future weapon, a veritable sword of Damocles, to attack any future progressive Guyana government.

"It is not even easy," says economist James Millette "to resist the contention that the integrity of Guyanese territory in the face of Venezuela's claims will for a long time be dependent on the promotion of national policies acceptable to the Americans."

The government has shown its hand in other respects. It has fattened the already wealthy at the expense of the poor. Free secondary education up to the level of the General Certificate of Education (GCE), which we had introduced in all-age schools, has been curtailed. And anti-strike legislation to curb the growing protest of the working people is suggested. A subsidy on cooking oil has been removed. The government has withdrawn duty-free gasoline concessions to timber and rice producers. It has also threatened to cut out other subsidies paid to farmers and to increase drainage and irrigation rates. Fares and freight have been increased on government railways and steamers. And the local selling price on sugar is likely to go up by 2 1/2 cents per pound.

Under these conditions, independence for Guyana is merely a sham; it will be merely nominal. Independence will mean neither economic emancipation nor social justice for Guyana and its people. Instead, it will mean further oppression.

For these reasons, a majority of the Guyanese people do not see in the formal transfer of power on May 26, 1966, a cause for rejoicing. They see this merely as the beginning of a new stage of the struggle against United States neo-colonialism.

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## *Letters to the Editor*

Lot 3, Public Road,  
Ogle,  
East Coast Demerara,  
Guyana.

July 15, 1966.

Dear Comrades:

On the occasion of your National Conference, I have the honour to extend warm greetings to you the members of the Progressive Workers Movement.

Your party has appeared on the Canadian scene at a crucial moment of history. The struggle of your people against U.S. domination in all fields of your national life is growing. Your people, the workers particularly, tired of intolerable living and working conditions, are on the move.

At the same time there is an upsurge of the National liberation movement in Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean and Afro Americans. In addition the battle against a serious incidence of revisionism has been joined.

Your party therefore is an outgrowth of the needs of your own people. It is a necessary link in the chain against colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism. It is part of the great ideological struggle going on for the proper application of Marxism-Leninism to the problems of the peoples of the whole world.

On behalf of the Afro Asian American Association I wish the Conference every success. May it lead to solid victories for your own people, which victories will greatly contribute to the success of the struggles of all partisans of national liberation, peace and socialism.

BRINDLEY H. BENN,  
Secretary-General.

(The following letter, sent to P.W., is a copy of one sent to the Labour Statesman, published by Vancouver Labour Council and B.C. Federation of Labour, and is in reply to a request for a subscription.—Ed. P.W.)

Evansburg, July 16, 1966.

Editor, Labour Statesman,  
Vancouver, B.C.

Dear Sir:

I have received a copy of your paper, and the first thing I noticed was that filthy cartoon on China's explosion of an atomic bomb—no reference of course to the fact that the most aggressive country in the world, the U.S.A., has stockpiled enough bombs to destroy the World, and some over.

As you know, if you know anything, the U.S. wants Vietnam as a base to conquer Asia, and in particular, China, and in trying to exterminate the population of Vietnam, to do so, spy planes continue to fly over China to spot targets, and yet you shudder to think that China is doing something to defend herself!

J. W. LEE.

Editor:

Almost every paper I read I see something concerning the Chinese leader, Mao Tse-tung, the latest showing him swimming with his head only showing, accompanied by four or five other men. Nothing new for the capitalist press to pounce on anything and everything. They have been doing this to my knowledge as long as I can remember anything, long before Mao's time. Well, I am only close to 86 years. Now it has been common knowledge to those who have been interested in China, and I have been very much so since the Opium Wars. I can go back to the time when Lord Charles Beresford (Rear Admiral) was sent to China by the British government on the Open Door question. I spent two years with Lord Charles.

I also recall Sun Yat-Sen's visit to British Columbia. He was here in Kelowna. He was without doubt the father of the Chinese Revolution. Then the Great March, something that astounded the world to those who wanted to know. And with Mao Tse-tung as the leader. To me it was well known that he swam the Yangtze River every morning, no small task, but he was a powerful swimmer. I've seen everything thrown at him, including the "fact" that Mao was a woman. Well, he had the most beautiful woman in China as his wife—whom he murdered. Wasn't the same thing said about Stalin? The yellow or kept press is never tired of slandering perhaps the most able leader the World has ever known. And the purge that is taking place! I wondered it didn't appear before. Every country has its Judases. Surprising what a few pieces of silver . . . not even silver now — just paper . . . What seems to be getting under the thick hide of the Imperialists is the upsurge of the Chinese people. Sure, you would like to see them go back to the misery of Chiang Kai-shek, but you won't. China is backward yet in a lot of things, but let me quote the Dean of Canterbury, Hewlett Johnson. And he said, I have visited China now again, and they are making gains. That was five years ago. Only recently, I received a letter from a friend of mine who was visiting Peking, and he said what is taking place is fantastic. You see it but can hardly believe it. The buildings going up for the workers are palaces. The People's Communes are changing the face of China. Well, anything is possible under Socialism, and they are just begun. How stupid to think that the Chinaman is stupid! Stupidity there is, but not in China. It is uppermost with those who would trample, if they could, 700 million people underfoot. It can't be done—not even if the Capitalist World would unite—which they won't—to put China back a decade or so. She has been, through disunity, practically a slave nation. Make up your minds, you Imperialist gentlemen, that no matter what the rest of the World does, China will go forward. Now, this is the will of the people of China, their affair entirely. They are practising democracy as they see it—of which we do so much mouthing. But of course, unless we do everything on the American plan, it's democracy in reverse. I have to laugh every time I think of it. Except when I think of the 30 million people that China lost in the Revolution. Outside of Chinese publications, I get my information direct from Peking—an American correspondent, Anna Louise Strong; a Canadian, Dorise Nielsen—and they have been in Peking for quite a while. Both, I believe, now are Chinese citizens. **Letter from China**, by Anne Louise Strong is very enlightening. And these wonderful women speak the truth. I think those political hacks who write their columns to keep fooling the people here, if they take a second look, they will see more than just the head of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. Anyhow, that rubbish they published won't make one iota of difference—you are sharing your stupidity at its top level.

Yours,

JOE IVENS.

In 1946 the World Court at Nuremberg tried, convicted and sentenced to death by execution Nazi war criminals who had committed atrocities against mankind. The "defence" of "following orders" was rejected and the court took the position that "following orders" can never justify wholesale atrocities against humanity **under any pretext whatsoever!** The USA in part presided in the trial and sentencing of these criminals!

Now, 20 years later, the shoe is on the other foot and the USA is doing **EPACTLY** what they condemned the Japanese for at Pearl Harbour, and the Nazis at Auchswitz. Wholesale slaughter and crimes against humanity without the formality even of a declaration of war!

Martin Luther was right. We all remember he said that it depends upon **WHOSE** ox was gored!

If Vietnam was attacking the USA, maybe there would be justification for American bombings in self-

defence. But Vietnam is attacking **NO ONE**. Their quarrel is amongst themselves. And the USA has absolutely **NO** justification for attacking Vietnam **under any pretext!**

Another point is that American bombing crews **ARE NOT CONSCRIPTS**. They were willing **VOLUNTEERS** and as such can legally and logically be held responsible for their actions. These crews **DID** have a choice. They **DIDN'T HAVE** to fly bombers in the first place, but did it for the **MONEY** and the **GLORY!** These bombers **VOLUNTEERED TO KILL** and their punishment will probably fit the crime to a T, so who can feel sorry for them? The hundreds of thousands of dead and maimed Vietnamese certainly cannot be expected to have any sympathy for bombers who dump flaming gasoline, poison gas, and high explosive bombs on their heads! These people are demanding protection from their government, and if this means execution of bomber crews as punishment and a **deterrent to others**, then I guess that's the way it will have to be. These bombers will have to learn that they just cannot get away with wholesale slaughter scott-free, hiding behind the immunity of a uniform!

Now I want to make it absolutely clear that I don't want to see **ANYONE** get killed. I served overseas in World War II and personally I am fed up, disgusted and sick of **WAR WAR WAR**. I haven't the foggiest notion of what the Vietnamese will do to these bombers, but if they decide to execute them after the atrocities they have committed, well then, who can blame them? Maybe they will do no more than billet these bomber crews alongside the oil tanks for the guaranteed protection of Vietnamese property!

Maybe also it would be a good idea for the United Nations to reconvene the Nuremberg Court and put the politicians and other authorities who ordered these bombing atrocities on trial for crimes against humanity!

Because Humanity cannot afford the continuation of any more horrible wholesale slaughter **UNDER ANY PRETEXT!**

Sincerely,  
TREVELYN M. BROWN.

Representative  
Cuu Quoc Weekly  
Hanoi—Vietnam  
35 Netherhall Gardens,  
London N.W. 3.

London, July 23, 1966.

Gene Craven,  
Central Committee Member,  
Progressive Workers Movement,  
35 East Hastings Street,  
Vancouver 3, B.C.—Canada.  
Dear Comrade,

I am deeply moved in receiving your letter and a cheque of 40 dollars Canadian which is to be sent to the use of the NLF of South Vietnam. I have forwarded it and would like to express my gratitude as well as the Vietnamese people's for that. I cannot say the contribution is small, though it is, it also means a lot to us. It demonstrates that the just struggle of Vietnamese against American aggressors in Vietnam, for self-determination and national salvation, has enjoyed the support of progressive mankind and peace-loving peoples in the world. Of course, in the struggle we have to bear hardships and difficulties but we never fear of any hardship, any difficulty or any enemy, we shall overcome optimistically, and certainly we shall defeat the ferocious and barbarous U.S. imperialist aggressors in Vietnam. They could not conquer us, they shall not be able to do so, because the Vietnamese never could and never shall allow them to enslave us the second time; we have been enslaved for nearly a century and that was too far from enough under French colonialist imperialism! Now we can sacrifice everything but Independence and Freedom! Nothing is more precious than Independence and Freedom. Our people cherish peace more than other peoples, but a real

peace; peace without Independence and Freedom means nothing to us but slavery and that we never want. Having gone through over 20 years of war, the South Vietnamese break their hearts to think of peace, but real peace can only be achieved if the Americans withdraw from their fatherland. Vietnam is one country, the Vietnamese people are one. Over 12 years of partition on which wives from the South have been separated from their husbands in the North; children from their parents, brothers from brothers and sisters from sisters . . . that is intolerable, that is very hard to think of it and that is why the Vietnamese both North and South are dauntlessly struggling against U.S. aggressors in order to stop them from piling up their crimes in Vietnam which the torturing, killing, smashing seem almost U.S. daily meals in South Vietnam and the bombing, the destruction in the North as well. Who has given the Americans that right? We fight to reunify our country to end the broken-heart of partition and to stop the Americans from having thought that they are superior. That is the unshakable determination of the whole Vietnamese.

Well, dear Comrade, I hope you would understand more than I express here. Under a separate cover, I have sent to you our President's appeal which will help you a great deal about the current situation in Vietnam.

I would like, once again, to thank you and the Committee for the worthy contribution both money and politically. We need money, of course, but we do need more political support. I hope the movement of support for Vietnam led by your Committee is developed day by day in Canada.

I am very pleased to forward any donations that come from you and the Canadian people to the NLF of South Vietnam. The money has arrived here O.K. and this is the correct method.

Last but not the least, I would like to wish you all the best as well as the Committee and the Canadian people.

Long live the Friendship and Solidarity between the American and Vietnamese People!

U.S. Get Out of Vietnam!

Yours fraternally,

NGUYEN VAN SAO.

## UNIONS AND B.C. LABOUR LAWS

British Columbia's Labour Act specifically states that every worker has a right to belong to the union of his CHOICE and participate in all its activities. On the face of it this clause would appear to guarantee workers in the province the right to belong to ANY union—including those that are wholly Canadian and free from the "blessings" of U.S. officials. Since the legislation is the legal offspring of the Social Credit government, one would expect that it would be enforced by the government's minister of labour and upheld by its attorney-general. However, events of the past few years show that official government bodies and ministries have no intention of being party to putting an end to U.S. domination of Canadian labour—in fact, the government, as employer, is one of the leading breakers of its own laws.

When the government-controlled Peace River Power Project was started and no great number of men were yet on the job, the officers of the Crown, in contempt of their own legislation, signed a 10-year, no-strike agreement with a consortium of United States unions which, in total disregard of the Labour Act, included a provision that the Canadian workers must belong to U.S.-controlled unions (after paying up to \$300 for the "privilege," or forfeit any opportunity to work on the project. This agreement, which forced workers to belong to unions chosen for them by government, contractors and U.S. union officials, was in direct contravention of the clause which provides that the worker can join a union of HIS choice.

The Canadian Ironworkers Union, which had the audacity to dump the U.S. bureaucrats off their back, have been continuously harassed by the International Ironworkers and unions of the Building Trades Council, and are presently being picketed on some jobs by local pickarders, without either the minister of labour or the attorney-general acting to uphold the law. The Canadian Ironworkers are forced to go to court in an attempt to defend themselves while government agencies sit back and watch their labour act being trampled underfoot.

The Canadian Pulp and Paper Workers in British Columbia have been rapidly replacing the U.S. unions as bargaining agent for the workers in the industry. A recent decision of the Labour Board facilitated the efforts of the United States unions to deny Canadian workers the right to have their own unions and, incidentally, join the union of their choice. One glaring example of partisan decisions was at Harmac mill on Vancouver Island where not more than 20 of the more than 1,000 workers in the mill belonged to the U.S. union while the rest had joined the Canadian union. Yet, they were ordered to remain in the

American union. This feat was accomplished through the simple expedient of the Labour Board declaring that Canadian Pulp and Paper Workers Union was not a trade union under the act, as the charter had not been properly installed. This ruling also covered other mills.

Constitutional questions and the installation of charters are internal matters of concern to the members alone and this is a point made by the Labour Board when it suits its purpose. The sole concern of the Board should be to see that workers enjoy their rights under the act and are represented by the union of their choice. There is no doubt whatever that a decision made on this principle would have meant a Canadian Union victory in the industry. What constitutes a trade union under the act is a matter for the workers themselves to decide; otherwise, the right to choose their own union is meaningless, as it becomes subject to the whims and fancies of every petty bureaucrat.

The ministers of the government of British Columbia owe the labour movement and the electorate a public explanation on where they stand on the question of the enforcement of the Act. Does the Act really mean what it says? If it does, then the labour minister should see to its enforcement. The right to belong to a union which at the same time denies a worker the right to work and condemns him to starvation if he exercises it, is no right at all. If the Act really means, as it appears to mean in practice and in the employment policies of the government, that workers belong to U.S. unions or go without employment, then the Act should state that clearly, and the workers of B.C. will know where they stand. We demand that the government make a public statement on this issue.

The apparent strange rulings of the Labour Board is not unrelated to the fact that the so-called "labour" representative is Pen Baskin, an official of the Steelworkers Union, and committed to upholding United States unions and defending their interests against inroads by Canadian unions. Baskin is not a fit person to sit on decisions affecting certification of Canadian unions.

The plot to force Canadian workers to remain members of American unions will not succeed, no matter how powerful the interests ranged on the side of Meany, Jodoin and company. The fighting stand of the Canadian Ironworkers and Pulp and Paper Workers gives ample proof of that fact. Every Canadian worker should extend the utmost in moral and financial support to these two unions and take steps to strengthen the fight for Canadian unionism by dumping the U.S. bureaucrats off their backs.

# IRISH POLITICS AND THE BRITISH CRISIS

The article *Irish Politics and the British Crisis* by Aobh McElroy is appearing in a current issue of *An Phoblacht*. A copy was forwarded to us with a request for simultaneous publication in *Progressive Worker*.

*An Phoblacht* is a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist journal published in Ireland.—Ed.

## IRISH POLITICS AND THE BRITISH CRISIS

By Aobh McElroy

When the Paisleyite Orange rabble in Belfast insisted on parading their shame and stupidity before the whole world, they looked on themselves as being cast in the mold of Carson and the Ulster Volunteers of whom Lenin once said:

"These aristocrats behaved like revolutionaries from the right, and by that tore up all conventions, tore down all the veils that prevented the people from seeing the unpleasant, but undoubtedly real, class struggle."

However, 1966 is not 1914, and yesterday's world cannot be recalled to life. Paisley may make pretense at donning the mantle of Carson, but he can be no more successful at recreating Carson's 1914 role than Napoleon the Little proved to be at trying to fill the shoes of Buonaparte. Paisley may be unaware of Hegel's claim that all facts and personages of great importance in world history was corrected by Karl Marx when he wrote: "He (Hegel) forgot to add: the first time as tragedy, the second as farce." The oft-times farcical antics of Paisley would appear to provide ample evidence of the truth of that statement: for example, his jet plane to Rome to yell obscenities at the Pope and his unceremonious ejection from the Eternal City. Nevertheless, there are definite historical reasons for the appearance of such a grotesque mediocrity on the stage at this point in history.

The Orange order and the Volunteers belong to a period in Irish history when the Anglo-Saxon imperialists sought to rule Ireland by means of open armed terror and over the opposition of the vast majority of the people who were, for the most part, Republican and Catholic. Composed of national traitors and specially selected immigrants from England, Scotland and Wales, Orangemen represented the imperialists' attempts at the construction of a mass base in Ireland that might be passed off as indigenous support for English rule in Ireland. Recruits were obtained from the ranks of middle class "loyalists" and Protestant workers corrupted with special favours at the expense of the Republican and Catholic majority. Unemployment, low living standards and the mass misery that are the natural consequence of a society based on exploitation of man by man were blamed on "Papist plots" fiendishly hatched by Catholic Republicans to rob Protestant workers of their heritage and destroy them. The anger of workers, which should have properly been directed at the ruling class was turned toward Republican workers and anti-Catholic pogroms, in no way different from the anti-Semitic pogroms in Nazi Germany, were fostered and encouraged by the imperialists and their dependents in Ireland. A movement with the superficial appearance of religious bigotry was, in reality, political tyranny designed to smash the struggle for national independence and maintain the rule of an alien power in Ireland. Protestant worker was used against Catholic worker to assure the continued enslavement of both.

### THE MOUNTING CRISIS

The devastating crisis that is rapidly overtaking Britain is already having widespread effect on the Irish economy, but particularly in the directly English-ruled six counties area. The linen industry is almost completely wiped out by competition from synthetic fibers, ship-building has been in rapid decline since the close of World War II and aeroplane production appears headed for obliteration due to the Wilson government's policy of

handing control of the aviation industry over to the U.S. monopolies. Declining opportunities for employment in Britain and elsewhere means that the safety-valve of emigration will soon be no longer available.

The imperialists are no longer in a position to be able to extend favours to a corrupted Protestant working class. They are now busy hatching a scheme whereby they will be able to rob and exploit Ireland in co-operation with the national bourgeoisie instead of against them and the ruling class in the 26 counties have already signified their agreement with the plan, Lemass, the Irish premier, having already held talks with the English parliamentary representatives at Westminster. The value of the plan to the imperialists has been evident for some time and in one area alone—the fight for national liberation—is paying substantial dividends to the English ruling class. If there is any justification whatever for the existence of the 26 counties as a separate entity, it could only be in the territory serving as a firm revolutionary base from which to carry forward to completion the struggle for the independence of the nation. But the Lemass government is aiding the imperialists to hold on in the six counties by preventing Republicans from using the 26 counties for such purposes. The Free State territory is also being thrown open to English investment at the expense of Irish industry and Irish freedom.

The Saxons are happy with the partnership they have set up with Irish capitalists for the joint exploitation of Ireland and they want to do nothing that might retard the development of their plot against the people. Having these things in mind, it is clear that propaganda about "Papist plots" no longer has any place in the imperialist scheme of things. The problem is that thousands of Protestant workers in Belfast, brainwashed for a century or more, really believe the fantastic tales of "Papist plots" and are laying blame for the devastating effects of the current crisis at the door of such non-existent plotters. The Paisleyite rowdies are so confused and distraught at their abandonment by their erstwhile imperialist protectors that they are even accusing solid pillars of the Orange ascendancy of being in league with the "Papists" against loyal Protestants.

The events at Belfast are evidence of the fact that the imperialist-created Frankenstein is slipping out of the master's control so that, instead of being a source of strength in time of stress, it turns on its creator, even taking up arms against the Stormont government. The deep split in the ranks of the ruling faction in Belfast means not only that the government has to fight an extremist group of its own creation, but that their mass base is rapidly eroding and leaving them without a semblance of support in the land. The ruling clique is forced to take action against the faction that had hitherto been their strongest and most loyal support, and that precisely at a time when they are in most dire need of that support.

The Paisley riots are "coming events casting their shadow before them." In them we can discern the stark outlines of the oncoming crisis. But while O'Neill makes some effort to halt the pogroms and the Paisleyites carry slogans calling down the curse of Heaven on the heads of his government, there is always the possibility that the warring factions will compose their differences and the Paisleyites be held in reserve as a fascist detachment against the time when the ruling class has need of them. Republican workers should exert every effort to prevent such an outcome.

It is high time Republican workers in Ireland took a close look at the situation and conditions arising out of the deepening crisis of the English ruling class and decided on what steps they must take in order to bring to a victorious conclusion the long-dormant war for national independence and proceed to a fundamental trans-

formation of the existing social order, thus ensuring that Ireland will not again suffer a new famine resulting from the application in Ireland of policies designed to solve England's crisis at the expense of the working people.

#### NEW TIMES—NEW CRISIS

The crisis of the early part of the century that erupted into world war in 1914 was a crisis that involved mainly conflict between contending imperialist circles. The working class did not appear on the scene as a fully independent force until 1917. Ireland's Easter week only foreshadowed that appearance. It was not until 1921 that the English working class really began to show signs of willingness to take action when the London dockers refused to load the Jolly George with arms and munitions for use against Soviet Russia. In 1916 the English ruling class had found English workers still dependable when they put down the Easter rising in Ireland.

By the time the revolution had matured in Europe the Irish working class had lost its best and most experienced leaders and were unable to take advantage of the situation. The civil war that started with the end of the world war was led by the national bourgeoisie and petty bourgeois elements of whom Peadar O'Donnell once remarked, they have no demands that cannot be met within the limits of the existing social system. The treacherous bourgeoisie not only excluded the working class from any participation in the leadership but also foully murdered the few worker's leaders who had survived the Easter rising. Ireland not only suffered the catastrophe of defeat but lost her best sons in the process.

The crisis now developing comes at a different time and under vastly different conditions than those prevailing in 1914 and ensuing years, and presents the Irish working class with much greater opportunities to assert their leadership over the fight for the independence of Ireland and press on to a Socialist solution for the nation's problems. To achieve that the workers must advance a correct program and dare to take the kind of action necessary to enforce it—revolutionary armed action of the popular masses to sweep the imperialists and the reactionary bourgeois from the stage.

What makes the impending crisis different from that of 1914, more critical for the imperialists, hence more critical for their Irish dependents, and more promising for a victory of the Republican working class? Let us glance at a few of the most important differences.

One factor which makes for considerable difference is the fact that England is no longer the dominant power in world politics that she was during the first quarter of the century. On the contrary, England herself is now dominated by, and dependent on, the U.S. ruling class who have now donned the mantle of world domination.

This new development has its own cumulative effect on the English upper class, the middle class and, ultimately, the working class. In 1914 the English bourgeoisie were solidly united, had the loyal support of the middle class, while the working class either supported their objectives or remained docile and obedient. This situation, so favourable for the ruling class, has changed radically.

The bourgeoisie are split into conflicting groups with the dominant faction being more or less content to serve as page boy to U.S. imperialism, while others resist this menial position, want to assert a greater degree of independence and even suggest an attempted return to England's long-dead days of glory. The split in bourgeois ranks leaves the vacillating middle class without a leadership they can cling to and have confidence in. Determined and positive action on the part of the working class could win or neutralize many of these elements.

In the past English workers have had militant traditions and have conducted many magnificent struggles, but the adroitness of the English ruling class and their ability to corrupt a section of the workers or otherwise siphon off worker discontent during the time of England's empire-building, kept working class battles well within bounds and, although they often became very militant struggles for reform of the capitalist system, they never

developed into revolutionary struggles for the eradication of the system.

However, with England's days of power and glory gone, the ruling class will no longer be able to operate in the old way and will attempt to unload, as they are now attempting to unload the burden of the crisis on the backs of the English working class. Militant action for reform will no longer suffice to mitigate the effects of capitalist crisis nor will it put an end to the devastating effect of U.S. monopoly domination of England's economy and the harnessing of England to the American war chariot. England's working class has only one chance of two alternatives: to submit to abject slavery, dominated by an alien power, or to arouse themselves to action in defence of the integrity and independence of the nation. If they would take the latter course, they will have to assert their authority over all classes and factions in the only possible way in which they can assert it—through revolutionary organs of authority; in which case they will become allies of the revolutionary Irish instead of an army of conquest serving the imperialists.

#### IMPERIALISM'S WEAKEST LINK

Ireland has a centuries-long tradition and rich experience in the art of revolutionary warfare. There are few illusions among the Irish people as to the source of political power—they have long since learned that such power depends on the might of an armed and determined people.

The crisis of the world system of capitalism has already struck some devastating blows at the Irish economy, resulting in increased unemployment and misery. The dominant section of Irish capitalists have long since abandoned any pretense of seeking independence and are openly conniving with the Anglo-Saxon rulers. This leaves the working people in sole command of the fight for completion of the war for liberation that has been held in check by the imperialists for more than 40 years with the aid of the Free State bourgeoisie. At the same time the working class, in order to solve the problems brought on by the capitalist crisis, will have to raise the question of a fight for a new social order to replace decaying capitalism.

The merging of the fight for the independence of the nation with the fight for Socialism, the deepening crisis of the capitalist system, together with the splits in ruling class ranks and among their bourgeois dependents in Ireland, the loss of allies amongst professionals and the middle class, has weakened the position of the imperialists and resulted in a corresponding strengthening of the working people and their allies, who are reaching political maturity.

These factors, taken in conjunction with one another, place Ireland in the position of being the weakest link in the chain of imperialist rule in Western Europe and the place where the first open armed clashes with imperialism are likely to occur. In spite of the fact that they are an extreme right-wing manifestation (perhaps because of it?), the Paisleyite mobs roaming the streets of Belfast are an indication that a contest of arms with the imperialists cannot be long postponed.

While we can readily expect that anti-imperialist struggle in Western Europe will be started by the Irish people, it could never again be confined to Ireland, isolated and defeated as it was in 1916. A rising of the Irish working people would be an example and a stimulus to similar action by English workers harassed by the effects of the capitalist crisis and rapidly losing their Social-Democratic illusions as the Wilson government exerts ever greater efforts to save the English ruling class at the expense of the workers and by betraying the nation to U.S. imperialism.

The U.S. ruling class would be bound to intervene on the side of English capitalism and in defence of their own interests and investments in the same manner as they intervened in Vietnam, Latin America and a score of other areas. An intervention which would take place on invitation of the government of the day (whether Social-Democrat or Tory) and, therefore, sufficiently constitutional

and legal to satisfy all those who worship at the shrine of "constitutional action." This, of course, would be an open invitation to the workers of Western Europe to join in a front of anti-imperialist struggle and spell the beginning of the end for capitalism in that part of the world.

#### TOWARD A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

The crisis that is now having its effect on England and will soon lay siege to all Europe, places a particular burden of responsibility on Irish revolutionaries—who have such a fertile field in which to work—whose activities, if properly directed, could well be of vital importance to Europe and, consequently to the world. Revolutionary action by the Irish people could contribute much toward tipping the scales in the direction, at an early date, of Socialist solutions to the crisis of capitalism and a guarantee of a world of peace and plenty—a Socialist world.

Revolutions, however, do not happen by chance—they are made by revolutionaries. What Ireland needs above all else in this time of crisis is a revolutionary party of the working people able and willing to lead the nation in the fight for national independence and the transformation of society from the capitalist system of exploitation of man by man to one based on Socialist principles where exploitation shall be no more. In order to accomplish this, we must carry on a sharp struggle to clear the path to our goal of all obstructions and impediments—and there are many such. The Social-Democrats are being exposed and losing their hold over the working people, but others, pseudo-revolutionaries, are coming forward in the service of troubled imperialism.

There are some who parade about the world masquerading as revolutionaries. The untimely destruction of nearly all the outstanding leaders of the Irish working class at Easter Week and in the Civil War—James Connolly, Liam Mellows, Cathal Brugha, etc.—cleared the way for pygmies to strut the land in Ireland as though they were giants. After a time, even they themselves began to believe in the legends of their great stature and fancied themselves Gullivers cast adrift in an Island of Lilliputians.

Such, for example, are the gross mediocrities like O'Riordan of the Irish Workers Party who heads the only political movement in Ireland that has never risen arms in hands to secure at least a measure of independence for the nation, and who damns to eternal hell-fire all who refuse to be confined by the rules set out in bourgeois constitutions and propose other than "constitutional" methods.

Such are the leaders of the Connolly Association who

just recently chided Seamus Costello for his speech at Bodinstown when he declared:

"... to imagine that we can establish a Republic solely by constitutional means is utter folly. The lesson of history shows that in the final analysis the Robber Baron must be disestablished by the same methods that he used to enrich himself and retain his ill-gotten gains, namely force of arms. To this end we must organize, train, and maintain a disciplined armed force which will always be available to strike at the opportune moment."

The editors of the Irish Democrat who double as leaders of the Connolly Association had this to say of Costello's "unconstitutional" proposals:

"For years now the Connolly Association has been preaching what might be termed a 'Parnellian' solution ... in which the common people learn a loyalty that transcends the border, and an enlightened democracy in Britain making it impossible for British imperialism to prevent the resultant territorial unity."

"According to this view, not the power of the gun, but the political strength of the working class movement, would hold reaction at bay while the Irish people established their Republic."

(Note: Parnell was a loyal and solid representative of the Irish capitalist class and there is evidence in his correspondence that he held the workers in contempt, referring to them as "Irish rabble.")

Constituting no more than minor sections of the English Communist Party (themselves dependent on Moscow for guidance), these pseudo Irish radicals are completely detached from events in Ireland and instruct the Irish people to suffer the indignity of being aliens in their own land, abide by the constitution and exercise patience until Englishmen are moved to win Ireland's freedom. No one could tender more loyal service to the English ruling class and the U.S. imperialists who keep them than do these renegades who pretend to be revolutionaries. After Social-Democracy, these "constitutionalists" are the last-ditch defence of the capitalist system.

Ireland's most pressing need now is for the building of a party of Revolutionary Socialists that will sweep aside the traitors and renegades and raise on high the banner of anti-imperialist struggle, national independence and Socialism—for a re-birth of the spirit of Easter Week on a new and higher plane in this revolutionary age. Let us proceed with the building of a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist organization dedicated to the construction of a new society in Ireland and for the true independence of the nation.

#### THE TITLE'S A PRIVATE JOKE ABOUT STEALING A BANANA

My little brother's stolen an orange. Glow ball  
Ripening the growing hand ... eyes take the taste of  
the deed  
' the color of the hand in the place of triumphant  
refuge ...

The color of his eye will be this den of noble outlaws  
, sharp as the face belonging to this finger pointing a  
spot on a map;

And all the colors of the map spin into the eye  
When the spiral of chained will breaks ... plink  
! its riot of dull decisions ended ...

drumdrumdrum drumdrumdrum the foot steps out  
and all the will to want, the will to want absolutely steps  
with it;  
there is a poise, a way of going, a swing from the hips  
with the head tall above tall shoulders swung straight  
from the sky ...

The orange is the sun! Sun fed bright as all thought

By the little thief's eye! And the bright clouds of dawn  
lean all over themselves  
Into the mouths of strong rooster men crying that maps  
shall be the colors of joy!

My little brother's taken a leach for his heart  
... he's given back the orange, only started his teeth  
to peeling

When a column of men with drums headed by the grocer  
Twirling for a baton the rod of punishment  
in the ceremony of punishment

and return ... now fly the wormwood worms of return  
to worm thru the air like worms from my little brother's  
worm of a tongue!

And his eye is death and its worms rot the view ...  
And I

must sing a song of serpent death here  
on the peak above the apple world,  
On the peak where winds begin the wrecking song of  
my will ...

MILTON ACORN  
8/9-8-66

# LE SYSTEME CAPITALISTE TREMBLE SUR SES BASES : LE DOLLAR ET LA LIVRE EN DIFFICULTE.

*La Voix du Peuple*

« Nous continuons à négocier à un pas de fourmi sur un volcan qui peut éclater soudain, qui a éclaté sous nos pas en septembre 1931. Je veux bien que depuis lors, la coopération entre banques centrales se soit développée. Mais tous les palliatifs qui ont été adoptés depuis lors nous ont simplement aidés à vivre... dangereusement. S'il n'avait pas été le cas, la crise de septembre 1931 se serait déjà répétée en octobre 1960.

Les événements de 1965 montrent que nous sommes très proches de la fin du rouleau ».

Ces considérations pessimistes sur les finances du monde capitaliste et des Etats-Unis en particulier ont été émises tout récemment par un célèbre économiste américain, le professeur Triffin, de l'Université de Yale.

C'est lui qui parle de « palliatifs », qui compare la situation actuelle à celle qui précéda la grande crise du début des années trente, c'est lui enfin qui voit sous des couleurs très sombres les lendemains immédiats.

Il est un fait que l'inflation se répand rapidement dans tous les pays capitalistes et leur pose des problèmes de plus en plus aigus. Ces problèmes sont liés à tous les autres phénomènes précurseurs de la crise, que nous avons déjà analysés souvent dans ce journal.

D'où vient la situation actuelle ?

Où l'on tente de faire prendre le dollar et la livre pour de l'or;

Traditionnellement, les échanges commerciaux internationaux se règlent

en or, la seule monnaie internationale. C'est pourquoi tous les pays s'efforcent d'emmagasiner dans les coffres de leurs banques centrales des réserves d'or qui leur permettront, le cas échéant, de faire face à un déficit de leur balance des paiements.

Mais juste après la guerre, les Etats-Unis, dont la balance des paiements était largement créditrice (leur industrie avait été épargnée par la guerre, s'était fortement développée et cherchait partout des débouchés), les Etats-Unis, donc, imposèrent le dollar comme monnaie internationale au même titre que l'or.

La même faculté fut attribuée à la livre sterling. Ces deux monnaies étaient donc assimilées à l'or pour les règlements internationaux, et par conséquent, comme monnaies de réserve pour les banques centrales des différents pays du monde capitaliste.

Depuis lors, on trouve donc, dans les réserves de tous les pays, à quelques rares exceptions près :

- des devises des pays avec lesquels ils sont en relations commerciales régulières (par exemple, la Belgique possède des réserves de francs français, de marks allemands, de florins des Pays-Bas, pour faire face à son commerce régulier avec ces différents pays).
- de l'or, des dollars et des livres sterling pour leurs relations avec d'autres pays et avec des organismes financiers internationaux.

Le système du dollar « bien comme l'or » a fonctionné aussi longtemps que la balance des paiements des Etats-Unis est restée créditrice. Les accrocs ont commencé lorsque le solde est devenu né-

gatif, lorsque les Etats-Unis ont dû payer à l'étranger plus d'argent qu'ils n'en recevaient eux-mêmes.

Aujourd'hui, ce ne sont plus seulement des accrocs, c'est tout le système qui est à la dérive, « proche de la fin du rouleau », comme le dit le professeur de Yale.

Les difficultés du dollar.

a) D'où viennent ces difficultés ?

Elles viennent principalement du fait que la balance des paiements des Etats-Unis est débitrice.

Les Etats-Unis continuent à exporter plus de marchandises qu'ils n'en achètent à l'étranger. Leur balance commerciale est donc positive, bien que le solde créditeur ait tendance à diminuer.

Mais les capitaux américains vont de plus en plus nombreux s'investir à l'étranger, notamment dans les pays du Marché Commun. Cela représente chaque année des sorties importantes de dollars.

Ces sorties, toutefois, sont loin d'égaliser celles qu'entraînent l'entretien de bases militaires un peu partout dans le monde et la guerre au Vietnam.

Les agressions de l'impérialisme yankee, les dépenses d'armements, l'escalade au Vietnam produisent certainement des profits élevés au capital financier américain, mais sur le plan des finances nationales et internationales, ces dépenses de guerre s'ajoutant aux exportations des capitaux conduisent à une inflation galopante.

b) Inflation généralisée et transfert des stocks d'or.

Les dollars étant considérés comme des moyens de paiement internationaux au même titre que l'or, les Etats-Unis font marcher la planche à billets pour régler leurs dettes à l'étranger. Le volume des dollars entreposés dans la plupart des coffres des banques centrales des pays capitalistes augmente régulièrement.

Les réserves de dollars détenues dans le monde, (non compris les stocks des institutions financières internationales), sont passées de 6 milliards 16 millions de dollars en 1953 à 12 milliards 176 millions en 1962, soit une augmentation de 100% en dix ans.

Le dollar, « en principe » est remboursable en or. C'est à ce titre qu'il a été imposé comme monnaie internationale.

Or, si la planche à dollars marche à vive allure, les réserves de la Banque Fédérale des Etats-Unis, elles, décroissent, ce qui fait que les dollars répandus dans le monde ont de moins en moins de valeur.

Pour faire face à l'inflation qui les envahit de plus en plus, les pays capitalistes, saturés de dollars, ont commencé à en réclamer le remboursement en or.

Tout le monde se souvient des remboursements exigés par la France, parce qu'ils ont été spectaculaires, de Gaulle réclamant d'un seul coup le remboursement de sommes énormes. Mais tous les pays capitalistes, et même le gouvernement belge, pourtant si servile à l'égard de Washington, ont également transformé une partie de leurs dollars en or.

Voici comment ont évolué les stocks d'or pour la même période de dix ans

envisagée ci-dessus (en millions de dollars US) :

|            | 1953   | 1962   |           |
|------------|--------|--------|-----------|
| Etats-Unis | 22.091 | 16.057 | (- 27%)   |
| All. Féd.  | 325    | 3.679  | (+1.032%) |
| Suisse     | 1.458  | 2.667  | (+ 83%)   |
| France     | 617    | 2.587  | (+ 319%)  |
| Italie     | 346    | 2.243  | (+ 548%)  |
| Pays-Bas   | 737    | 1.581  | (+ 115%)  |
| Belgique   | 776    | 1.365  | (+ 76%)   |

Inutile de dire que les sorties d'or préoccupent le gouvernement des Etats-Unis, d'autant plus que si elles devaient se multiplier, il ne serait plus en mesure d'y faire face.

c) Des «remèdes» plus empiriques les uns que les autres.

Devant cette situation qui s'aggrave sans cesse, le gouvernement de Johnson est de plus en plus aux abois. Incapable de remédier fondamentalement à la fuite de l'or, il imagine des subterfuges qui n'arrangent rien mais qui aident, comme l'avoue le professeur Triffin, à vivre... dangereusement.

Passons sans nous y arrêter sur des mesures aussi dérisoires que les restrictions aux dépenses des touristes américains à l'étranger ou la limitation «volontaire» des investissements de capitaux américains dans d'autres pays.

Les mesures prises au niveau du Fonds Monétaire International ont une autre envergure quoique n'étant que du «bois de rallonge».

Fondé après la guerre, le F.M.I. avait pour objet d'aider les pays par des prêts à court terme.

Le Fonds Monétaire ne pouvant détenir dans ses caisses qu'une certaine quantité (ou quota) de chaque monnaie, les pays étaient obligés, lorsque le quota de leur propre monnaie était atteint, de rembourser le Fonds, soit avec une monnaie forte (dollar, livre sterling, mark, etc...), soit avec de l'or.

Lorsque certains pays commencèrent à avoir tant de dollars qu'ils ne savaient plus qu'en faire, ils remboursèrent leurs dettes à l'égard du Fonds Monétaire International avec cette monnaie. Et la quantité de dollars détenue dans les caisses du F.M.I. se mit à monter, monter, jusqu'à atteindre, ou presque, le quota permis.

A partir de ce moment, les pays détenteurs de dollars se tournèrent vers les Etats-Unis pour leur demander de l'or en échange de leurs dollars et rembourser en métal jaune leurs dettes vis-à-vis du Fonds.

Les Etats-Unis trouvèrent alors une véritable entourloupette. Ils achetèrent des monnaies fortes au Fonds (francs français, marks, etc...) et les revendi-

rent au lieu d'or aux pays qui sollicitaient l'échange de leurs dollars.

Comme le F.M.I. n'a rien à refuser à l'impérialisme américain, il fut convenu que les dollars fournis par les Etats-Unis pour racheter d'autres monnaies ne seraient pas compris dans le quota !

Pour le moment, c'est ainsi que le système fonctionne. On attend avec curiosité ce que les experts de Washington inventeront le jour où, grâce à leurs soins, les autres monnaies fortes auront également atteint leur quota !!

Un autre «remède» envisagé serait de supprimer la couverture-or des dollars circulant à l'intérieur des Etats-Unis. Il faut savoir, en effet que la plus grande partie du stock d'or qui se trouve encore aux Etats-Unis est réservée à la couverture de la circulation monétaire à l'intérieur du pays. Si cette couverture était supprimée, les Etats-Unis seraient en mesure de faire face, pour quelques temps encore, aux demandes de remboursements venant de l'étranger.

Mais encore une fois, il s'agit d'une «solution» qui ne fait que reculer quelque peu l'échéance inéluctable, tout en accumulant les éléments qui rendront celle-ci plus explosive encore. C'est en fait le procédé de financiers véreux conduisant à la faillite frauduleuse.

#### Les difficultés de la livre sterling.

La livre sterling, comme le dollar, est une monnaie utilisée pour les règlements internationaux, et par conséquent, comme monnaie de réserve par les banques centrales des pays capitalistes.

Bien que les réserves d'or de la Grande Bretagne aient été en légère hausse pour la période de dix ans envisagée ci-dessus (1953 à 1962), la livre sterling rencontre aujourd'hui, de la part des financiers étrangers unanimes, une méfiance accentuée, qui frappera demain le dollar également.

Voici comment ont évolué les réserves d'or britanniques pour la période considérée (en millions de dollars US) :

|          | 1953  | 1962  |         |
|----------|-------|-------|---------|
| Gr. Bet. | 2.263 | 2.581 | (+ 14%) |

Au cours de la même période, les réserves de sterling contenues dans les coffres des banques centrales de tous les pays (non compris les réserves des institutions financières internationales) sont passées de 8 milliards 148 millions à 6 milliards 583 millions (ces deux sommes sont exprimées en dollars US).

Il y a donc un mouvement de baisse qui se poursuit d'une façon régulière. Aujourd'hui, il s'accroît. On ne veut plus de la livre. Ceux qui en possèdent les vendent, même à perte, et le cours des changes baisserait de façon catastrophique, si la Banque d'Angleterre ne faisait pas elle-même des achats importants, afin de maintenir les cours.

Il faut d'ailleurs constater que la Banque d'Angleterre n'est pas la seule à s'intéresser au sort de la livre sterling. Les autres pays capitalistes lui ont déjà, à plusieurs reprises, manifesté leur «solidarité». (Il s'agit bien entendu d'une solidarité intéressée, car si la livre devait être dévaluée, c'est tout le système monétaire international capitaliste qui risquerait de s'effondrer).

Le F.M.I. et plus particulièrement le «Club des Dix» qui groupe ses membres les plus riches, a déjà consenti à trois reprises des avances importantes à la Grande Bretagne pour renflouer ses finances.

Mais le gouvernement social-démocrate britannique, fidèle servant, comme toujours, des intérêts capitalistes, ne se contente pas de ces mesures venues de l'extérieur. Pour renflouer la livre sterling, il a prévu également une politique d'austérité aux dépens des masses laborieuses de Grande Bretagne.

Dans son discours à la Chambre des Communes, le Chancelier de l'Echiquier a donné le détail de ces mesures. La plus spectaculaire d'entre elles est un impôt nouveau «sur la main d'œuvre», qui aura pour résultat immédiat... et escompté (!) d'augmenter considérablement le chômage.

La situation que nous venons de voir tant celle du dollar et de la livre que celle du système monétaire international dans son ensemble, est une situation pourrie. Tout le monde est d'accord sur ce point, y compris les économistes bourgeois les plus écoutés.

Et devant cette situation pourrie, il n'y a que des mesures dérisoires, des palliatifs à la petite semaine, ce que le professeur de Yale appelle «négocier à un pas de fourmi».

Ce ne sont pas les tours de passe-passe comptables du F.M.I. ni les restrictions des dépenses touristiques, ni les prêts de plus en plus nombreux consentis à la Grande Bretagne (dont certains sont à peine assez importants pour rembourser d'autres dettes ouvertes), qui empêcheront le volcan d'éclater, comme dans les années 30.

Ce signe, et bien d'autres, annoncent une crise économique d'une ampleur sans précédent, dans laquelle sombreront les capitalistes aux abois.

## CHILI Fondation du Parti Communiste Révolutionnaire du Chili

Selon une information en provenance de Santiago, le «Parti Communiste révolutionnaire du Chili» a été fondé en mai dernier au premier congrès marxiste-léniniste des communistes chiliens.

Le congrès a été organisé par l'organisation révolutionnaire «Espartaco», l'«Union des rebelles communistes», un nombre de communistes qui avaient rompu avec la direction révisionniste du

Parti communiste du Chili, et d'autres révolutionnaires. Environ 80 délégués ont assisté au congrès.

Un communiqué publié par le congrès dit qu'avant le congrès, ont eu lieu de nombreux congrès régionaux et de nombreuses réunions des branches du Parti, au cours desquels un projet de document pour le congrès a été discuté. Au cours du congrès, les projets des statuts

du Parti et du programme du Parti, et les rapports sur la politique intérieure et étrangère du Parti ont été discutés. La discussion a montré que les délégués au Congrès étaient unanimes dans leurs opinions sur les principes contenus dans ces documents.

Selon le communiqué, le congrès a élu le comité national de direction du Parti communiste révolutionnaire du Chili.