

PEOPLE'S VICTORIES IN VIETNAM

Progressive Worker

OCTOBER 1967 VOL.3 NO.12 TEN CENTS.

CANADIAN UNIONS FOR CANADIAN WORKERS



Progressive Worker

Published Monthly By
PROGRESSIVE WORKERS MOVEMENT

VANCOUVER
35 East Hastings Street, Vancouver 4, B.C.

TORONTO
MAY 1st BRANCH.
P.O. Box 1151, Adelaide St. Postal Station
Toronto 26, Ontario
SUBSCRIPTION RATE
12 issues \$1.00—6 issues 50c

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Signed articles do not necessarily represent the views
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Produced entirely by Voluntary Labour

Authorized as second class mail by the Post Office Department
Ottawa, and for payment of postage in cash.

Progressive Worker

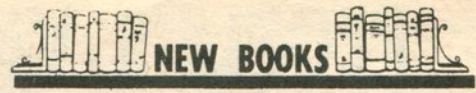
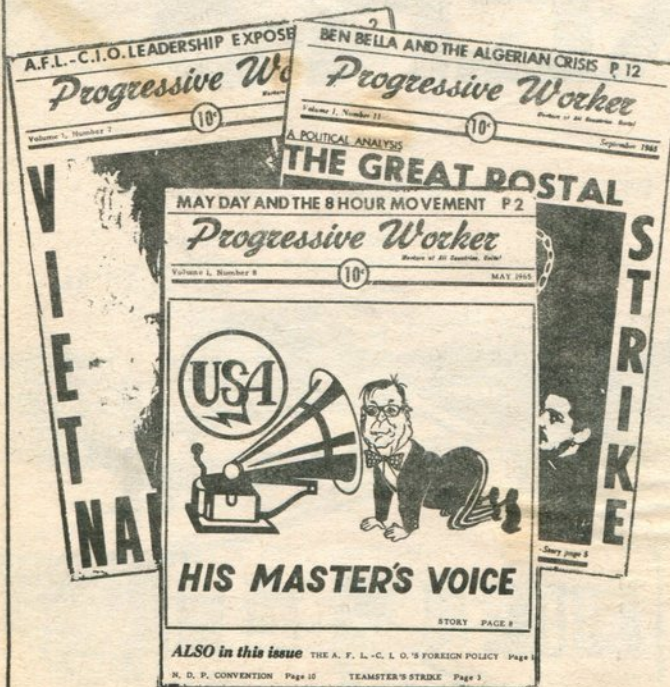
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FOREST PRODUCTS & CANADIAN UNIONISM

When the B.C. Federation of Labour suspended four locals of the I.W.A. they may, quite unintentionally, have precipitated a series of counter actions that will ultimately result in considerably augmenting the forces presently fighting for an independent Canadian union. The I.W.A., having arrived at the logical conclusion that workers in the forest products industry need one union to effectively represent them have been following a course of action calculated to reach that objective, but are seeing their every effort frustrated by the joint actions of Congress officials and appointed agents of the American craft unions. The dispute which resulted in the suspension of the four locals was directly attributable to the interference of top officers of the Congress who took action to prevent the I.W.A. from extending their jurisdiction into the pulp and paper industry. Congress support, therefore, was thrown to the support of the American pulp and paper unions that are amongst the most corrupt and bureaucrat ridden in the American labour movement.

Seeing their efforts frustrated the highly articulate spokesmen for the I.W.A. reacted with predictable hostility toward the Congress representative and refused to tender him an apology as the price of remaining in the Federation. Although an uneasy truce has been established none of the underlying problems have been solved.

Most reports carry the impression that the dispute is due mainly to a personality clash in the ranks of the leading personnell. But the reasons go much deeper than that. Involved in this dispute are basic questions of organization, including the question of an independent Canadian trade union—although the latter point is not yet clear to all concerned. However, the plain fact is that what would be relatively easy to attain in a movement free from American control, is virtually unattainable in the movement as it now stands—dominated by the American craft unions. An editorial in the "Barker", official organ of influential Vancouver local 1-217, indicates a growing awareness of the need for a new and radical solution to the problems of organization in the industry. The editorial reads, in part:

"The AFL-CIO bureaucratic leadership is stuck dead center clinging to the status quo and is more conservative than most Republican politicians. This reactionary attitude permeates large sections of the labour movement and spills over into its Canadian counter-parts. The trade union movement is supposed to be the driving force to bring about social change and help provide the leadership to bring about a better world for all mankind.

"Unfortunately this is not the role of George Meany, Jay Lovestone and those that make up the hierarchy of the AFL-CIO.

"The murderous war in Vietnam has the complete blessings of this group to their everlasting shame. On the burning issue of equality for United States Negroes, the American labour movement is probably as much to blame for the existing state of affairs as anyone else. In many of the craft unions segregation and discrimination is practiced . . . Graft and corruption and lack of democracy . . . goes completely un-noticed and . . . has the blessings of those at the top . . . In certain international unions family dynasties exist reminiscent of feudal times where the mantle of leadership is handed down from father to son . . .

"The Canadian Labour Congress is but little improvement over the situation existing south of the border. Congress leadership may pay lip service to more enlightening policies but the net result is not much different . . . They also need no lesson . . . when it comes to wielding the big stick in keeping dissident elements in line . . .

"It is, therefore, essential that those who understand the situation conduct a constant struggle against all that stand in the way of invigorating and bringing new life to a decadent labour movement. A thorough ventilation is long overdue!"

The I.W.A. in Western Canada has always enjoyed a wide degree of autonomy that amounts to virtual independ-

ence of action. This condition is largely due to the fact that the lumber workers in British Columbia played an important part in the organization of the industry and supplied a large share of the international leadership. If there were no external obstacles it is almost certain that the I.W.A. would be at liberty to bring workers in forest products under one union roof.

However, such obstacles do exist and are very much in evidence in the present situation. The American craft unions, the backbone of conservatism in the unions—a conservatism roundly condemned in the editorial quoted above—are still dominant in the AFL-CIO and will refuse to sanction any organizational changes that threaten their bureaucratic existence. It is this area that the IWA encounters road-blocks in the path toward the realization of the goal of one union in the industry. The intervention of the Congress officer, the event that ultimately led to the suspensions, was a measure devised to uphold the "jurisdictional rights" of the American pulp and paper unions, and to forestall IWA plans to move into the industry in defiance of the U.S. craft organizations. The end result of this scheme is history—the Pulp and Paper Workers of Canada (an independent Canadian union) won the vote at the Gold River plant that was the scene of the hostilities.

The main force of the IWA has remained hostile to the intervention of the Congress and the B.C. Federation of Labor on the side of the craft unions. This hostility was graphically underlined when the IWA Vancouver local wired a message of full solidarity to the workers of Gold River who were contemplating strike action to back up contract demands. The position of the 6,000 strong Vancouver local generally reflects the majority sentiment in the district.

This pledge of full support has significance that extends far beyond any support in a possible strike at a single operation. It is bound to have repercussions throughout the entire industry that will disturb the Yankee union brass to no end.

The Pulp and Paper Workers of Canada are pushing an organization campaign in this section of the forest products industry and several certifications votes are now pending. The solidarity action is bound to strengthen the position of the Canadian union and ensure that it will soon dominate



"... Another advantage we offer on this job—your evenings are free. By finding a part-time job you can earn enough to live on."

the field, ultimately wiping out the international altogether.

This brings us back to two points we have advanced in previous articles on this subject. One: the realization of the desired objective of one union in forest products will depend for its success on the united action of the IWA with the Canadian union, beginning with the joint action and terminating in a united organization. Two: In order to achieve union structure which will take an adamant stand in opposition to such a development. This opposition, and the conflict

which will arise from it, is bound to come regardless of how broad the autonomy of the IWA.

Opposition will arise from forces that are external to the IWA—forces over which they have no control. Most, if not all, the U.S.-dominated unions in Canada (the bureaucracy, that is) will unite to oppose the IWA on this question because they recognize the danger it contains for their personal interests.

The logic of this situation is that the IWA, regardless of the almost unlimited measure of independence the enjoy, must take a firm stand in favour of an independent Canadian movement. Temporising on this question will weaken the struggle and place the entire effort in jeopardy. It is of the utmost importance that the members of the IWA see beyond their own immediate ranks to the whole broad scope of the union movement and look to the interest and welfare of all labour.

We see no reason to doubt the ability of the IWA to lead the workers to victory in this struggle. The IWA is the one union above all others that could take on the American unions in Western Canada—and win. Such a development would change the face of labour in the West and, ultimately, in all of Canada; for the IWA would succeed not only in achieving a single union in forest products, but would constitute the rallying point around which would mobilize the majority of workers who desire an independent Canadian union, lacking only the leadership to attain it. In addition, it would revitalize the entire labour movement and bring into the ranks tens of thousands now standing aside.

The stakes are high, and worth fighting for. It is to be hoped that the leadership prove equal to the challenge.

UNIONS AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY (Revisionist)

Recent developments in the unions have thrown into a panic the leaders of the Communist Party, who long ago threw in their lot with the American bureaucrats in consideration of a share of available posts. Witness the recent nauseating performance of Mine Mill leaders who chose to seek personal gain and temporary security in the ranks of the American-owned United Steelworkers which they had castigated for years rather than engage in a principled fight for Canadian independence. They even put the Sudbury local under trusteeship because that organization chose to defy them and remain independent. So much for the highly-rated "autonomy" that these characters chatter about.

Seeing their "autonomous" house of cards in danger of collapsing on them the C.P. leaders have pressed the panic button and called on all loyal followers of their tattered banner to rally in opposition to the awful threat of independence. Under the collective pseudonym of "Observer" the B.C. Trade Union Committee of the party have published a clarion call to "unity"—under American leadership. The "Observer" statement—published in the "Pacific Tribune" Sept. 1st—says in part:

"The idea of a Canadian trade union movement . . . has won many new supporters . . .

"Approximately half the pulp and paper workers in B.C. are now represented by the Canadian union. In the building trades we have seen division among the iron workers . . .

"The adventurist and ultra-left line of split and secession whenever the opportunity for division presents itself must be fought and defeated.

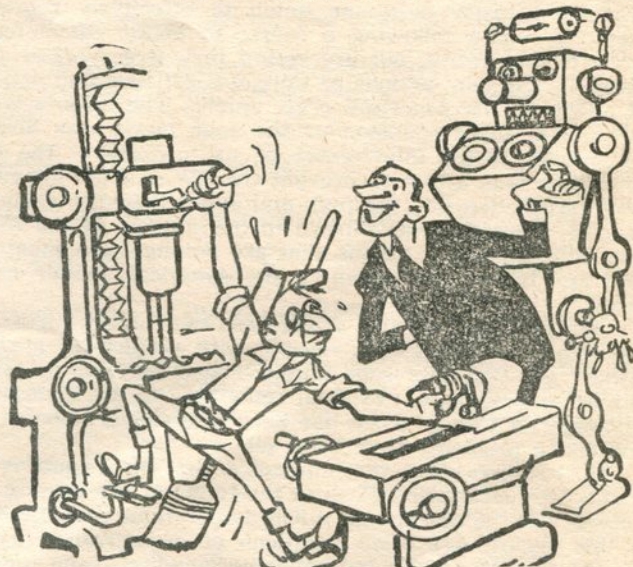
"The end product of . . . democracy and autonomy must be an independent trade union movement bound by fraternal ties with the American trade union movement."

That final "fraternal ties" bit is a real killer. Whether it is "autonomy" or "independence", Canadian workers, according to the C.P. experts, must remain "bound" to the American unions. For them only the American unions constitute a fit object of affection for Canadian labour. What ever happened to their torrid love affair with the Soviet trade unions?

"Secession whenever the opportunity for division presents itself" is not always considered "adventurist and ultra-left". Urging workers to leave one union for another is quite all right when it is engineered by the Party apparatus and just means switching from one American union to another. This is evident from a report appearing on the same page as the "Observer" statement. This report extolled the success of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine

Workers of America in winning a certification formerly held by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. The U.E. was forced to masquerade as a "Canadian" union in order to win a narrow victory. The Yankee brass will appreciate the necessity for this kind of operation which is required in order to distract the attention of the workers away from a real Canadian union which was on the scene. But pity the poor rank and file party member who must distinguish between secession that is "acceptable and respectable"

The "Free World"



"Science has learned how to eliminate the misery, monotony and drudgery of your job. . . . You're fired!"

Fred Wright

and the type of secession that is "adventurist and ultra-left". One valuable guide-line that he might use—if it is genuinely Canadian it must be "ultra-left."

The Party committee concedes the point that "the idea of Canadian . . . movement . . . has won many new supporters. One would expect a genuine fighter for Canadian independence to welcome this development and take advantage of it. However, the Party, which talks independence, but opposes it in practice, denounces practical steps in the direction of independence as "adventurist and ultra-left" and instructs the members these steps must be "fought and defeated".

In Quebec also the Party leaders talk about self-determination and oppose it in practice. It is not unexpected, therefore, to find them condemning the Quebec-based CNTU for raiding so-called "purely Canadian" unions and demanding that they become a part of the American-dominated apparatus.

The fundamental service this committee renders to American imperialism's plans to dominate the world is further revealed in their stand on America's war of aggression in Vietnam. On this question these so-called "radicals" call on the trade unions to support the Johnson "peace hoax" and negotiations in these words: "demand to end the bombing in Vietnam and to negotiate". The representatives of the people of Vietnam have categorically stated there is nothing to negotiate, the U.S. in Vietnam is an aggressor and must withdraw and leave Vietnam to settle her own problems without interference. This just stand of Vietnam is rejected and opposed by the Party committee, while they boost Johnson's "negotiations" swindle.

If the fight for an independent Canadian trade union is to advance in the way it should then these treacherous elements must be fought and defeated. Their attempts at posing as radicals and communists must be exposed and honest workers liberated from their influence. An independent Canadian trade union movement can and must be built.

"THE FISHERMAN" AND HARRY BRIDGES

"The Fisherman," organ of the United Fisherman and Allied Worker's Union, which is edited by Hal Griffin, form-

er editor of the "Pacific Tribune" published in its issue of Sept. 1st a column on the American Negro struggle that is, to say the least, grossly indecent. The column was not an original creation of "The Fisherman," it appeared first in "The Dispatcher," journal of the West Coast Longshoremen, and was written by Harry Bridges, the expatriate Australian seaman who turned a fake martyrdom into one of the best-paid jobs in America. However, "The Fisherman" in reprinting the article has accepted full political responsibility for the contents of the article.

Outstanding leaders of the American Negro movement such as Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown and Robert Williams are under fierce attack from the ruling class and facing long terms in jail unless the actions of the people prevent them from carrying out their plans.

In this critical situation, which calls for the highest possible degree of labour unity in defence of the Negro militants, the fake "martyrs and radicals," Bridges and "The Dispatcher" seconded by Griffin and "The Fisherman," choose to attack the Negro leaders and throw their support to the ruling class and anti-Negro propaganda.

Certain voices have been raised in the U.S. Congress demanding the arrest and imprisonment of Stokely Carmichael on his return from abroad for certain statements he has made regarding the Negro fight for freedom. Bridges has joined in this demand for the head of Carmichael and "The Fisherman" gives its support by reprinting the article. Bridges writes, and "The Fisherman" repeats:

"Recently from Havana, Stokely Carmichael . . . was quoted as saying, 'We have no alternative but to use aggressive violence in order to own the land, houses, and stores inside our communities, and to control the politics of these communities! 'It is absolutely necessary to enter a protest against this idea that what has been called 'Black Power' must use 'aggressive armed violence' so that the Negro people in the United States can advance their cause.'"

Bridge's protest against Carmichael and the Negro militants is in sharp contrast to his attitude toward ruling class violence against the people of Vietnam. When challenged by students at Berkely to refuse to load ONE SHIP with munitions bound for Vietnam, as a measure of protest against the war, Bridges rejected the request with the statement that Longshoremen would continue to load these ships so long as support for the war continued to be the official policy of the U.S. trade union movement. In the recent warehouse strike in California Bridge's union guaranteed there would be no stoppage in loading supplies for Vietnam. Ruling class violence against the people is facilitated, violence in defense of freedom and human dignity is condemned by Bridges and his stand receives the approbation of "The Fisherman."

" . . . when Carmichael says that '50 more Vietnams' are needed, this invites a military police state at home that could make Hitler's Nazi regime look like a tea party" (Bridges)

Carmichael made his suggestion from the point of view that more armed struggles would force the U.S. imperialists to spread out their forces on a number of fronts making it impossible to concentrate in a single area, thus placing the revolutionary armed forces in a more favourable position. Bridges opposes this on the theory that it might cause the imperialists to strike back at the people at home. So far as Bridges the martyr is concerned it is quite alright for "backward nations" to take the lash of imperialism on their back but nothing must be done that might bring such a fate to God's chosen people—white America. It is the same theory that caused Bridges to reject the plea to make a demonstrative refusal to load ONE ship with arms. Bridges is quite prepared to "sympathize" with the people of Vietnam—"I agree with Carmichael that the war in Vietnam is 'an imperialist war,'" says Bridges—but not to the extent of endangering the well-paid jobs on the waterfront. If it is a question of more money for longshoremen against support for Vietnam Bridges will choose the money every time.

" . . . our union has never been namby-pamby about this question of violence, especially when it meant fighting for our lives. It's a fact of labour history that protesting against established power, defending ourselves against the use of violence has always been an important element in our growth . . . Those of us old enough to remember the National

Guard on the waterfront in 1934 may also remember that we were determined to fight if we had to. And we fought, and won, with union power, with solidarity."

Just what the hell does Bridges think the Negro is fighting for; TV sets and liquor, like the big business press tries to imply? The American Negroes have been fighting for their lives for several centuries, and it is time Bridges and his ilk woke up to that fact. Bridges reminisces about the "National Guard on the waterfront in 1934," but appears to know nothing whatever about not only the National Guard, but paratroops and commandos in Newark and Detroit in 1967.

Bridges, in his best pontifical manner, advises the Negro; ". . . it is as part of the American working class that black power will fashion the fundamental social and economic changes . . ." Underneath the fine-sounding phrases this means that the Negro must wait for the trade unions to emancipate him. Seeing "leaders" like Bridges in charge the Negro is not likely to receive such advice with enthusiasm.

The Negro will fight, and win, with black power, with solidarity.

BIRDS OF A FEATHER

In the aftermath of the series of recent uprisings in the American ghettos a prize group of Uncle Toms met to appraise the events. The group, composed of Martin Luther King, Whitney Young, A. Philip Randolph and Roy Wilkins, far from condemning the violence of the State against the Negro people, berated the victims of fascist, white supremacist, violence for daring to offer resistance.

This bunch of traitors to Black America's fight for freedom firmly voiced their support for a policy of mass arrests when they stated: "Killing, arson, looting are criminal acts and should be dealt with as such. Equally guilty are those who incite, provoke and call specifically for such action." Those words place these gentlemen squarely in the camp of the most reactionary, pro-fascist section of American politics. This constitutes a virtual endorsement of a lynching bee against Black militants.

In a fine piece of unintentional irony the Uncle Tom Committee blames the so-called "rioters" for depriving the Negro masses of the "necessities of life", of jobs, and of homes, completely ignoring the fact that an average annual income of \$1900 does a fairly effective job of deprivation without aid from "rioters".

The denunciation of Negro resistance to reactionary violence found a fitting resting place in "Free Trade Union News" official organ of the AFL-CIO Foreign Affairs Department, edited by professional anti-Communist Jay Lovestone. And the final crowning glory was the accompanying accolade from George Meany, titular head of the AFL-CIO and of the lily-white Plumbers and Steamfitters Union. In his tribute to the well-fed Uncle Toms, Meany stated: "We will continue to push, with all the vigor at our command, for the adoption of legislation to meet the problems you outlined—to eliminate . . . above all else, discrimination." This is the same Meany who rapped down Randolph (one of the Uncle Toms) with the question: "Who appointed you spokesman for the Negroes?" when Randolph requested action against AFL-CIO affiliates which practiced discrimination. If Meany had any real intention of eliminating discrimination he would start with his own union.

As the old saying has it: "Birds of a feather flock together". Members of the Uncle Tom Committee are in good company when they associate with Meany and Lovestone. These characters deserve one another.

In a joint statement at the end of July denouncing the ghetto uprisings, the Uncle Toms, A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins, Whitney M. Young and Martin Luther King, among other things complained about the Congressional defeat of "a rat-control bill which would have enabled the cities to get rid of the rats which infest the slums". A more appropriate development, in our estimation, would be a little action to eradicate the rats that OWN the slums.

QUEBECOIS FOR BLACK LIBERATION

An "Ad Hoc Committee" of Montreal workers and Independentists organized a protest rally at the U.S. consulate in that city. The Committee protested passage of the so-called "anti-Riot Act" which is aimed at breaking up the move-



THE SPEAKER FOR PW CARRYING A SIGN AT THE MONTREAL PROTEST

ment for Black Liberation in the United States and also expressed solidarity with the Negro struggle.

A Montreal Negro, who spoke at the rally on behalf of Progressive Workers Movement, had an enthusiastic reception from the audience. Text of the speech follows:

According to the U.S. press, I'm out for your blood. Well, just who is out for whose blood.

Take a look behind those scary headlines and what do you see. In Newark—28 dead—3 white cops and 25 black people. 1100 arrested—what colour do you want to bet their skin was. Then in Watts—35 dead—how many white, how many black—you can bet it wasn't equal exchange.

There have been more than 50 rebellions since 1964. My people weren't busting up white neighbourhoods. They were saying "this is mine, it ain't nothin, but we'll control it". We're through with letting racist cops beat up on us and white landlords and loan-shark store-owners living off our backs gouging us for every cent they can get. Some fat, white politician or Uncle Tom will come down and say "there are democratic ways to gain what you want—We're hip to those games.

Adam Clayton Powell, he's no gem, but even in a house full of crooks, a Black crook don't have a chance. Julian Bond had to get elected 3 times before he could sit with those cracker crooks in Georgia.

And now they've started dragging out the law books. They had to go back 60 years to find something to charge two friends of mine, Bill Epton and John Harris with. They have both faced 10 years for "Criminal Syndicalism". The last time they used that one, was for busting unions. They couldn't find anything that would cover what Stokely was doing, so they're passing a special law in Senate just for him. Interstate-agitating reminds you of the Mann Act, now if you take a young chick across a state line and she's hot on Civil Rights, you've got double trouble.

Epton's hip to the election game too—when he runs for office they don't even put a lever next to his name on the voting machine—he might win.

Then the white liberals tell us—"wait—things are slowly getting better". Try telling that to the kids who don't have enough to eat—have rat bites on their bodies—the white landlord knocking on the door for rent. Tell that to the young men standing on the corners—no job—no money—no hope. Tell that to the white cop with the big club telling them to move on (where can they go anyway?)—who'll start busting heads and sending for the wagon at the first chance. Hell, we waited 100 years. My people aren't waiting any longer. They're going to keep on, and on and keep on rebelling until they have decent living conditions and the right to decide their own affairs. And when the Johnsons and Cavenoughs send in their fascist thugs, my people will defend themselves, no matter what!

Afro-Americans are starting to figure things out, they see who's living higher on the hog and who's the underdog. The same ones who've labelled me "Nigger" have labelled the Vietnamese "Gooks" and the Quebecois "Frogs". The same ones who give the Quebecois second class citizenship are giving us second class citizenship.

We're beginning to figure things out all right. There's only one struggle, one enemy—U.S. Imperialism.

CORRUPTION IN U.S. UNIONS

Over the past year or so a revelation of corruption, scandals of all types, and several assassinations have rocked the American trade union—especially the graft and corruption-ridden craft unions. A lawyer acting for several rank and file groups has lifted a corner of the curtain to let people have a glimpse at some of the rot that pervades the unions in the "land of the free." The lawyer, Burton Hall, in an article in "The Nation," discloses some details of scandal and corruption in the Brotherhood of Painters, including the assassination of two representatives in California, which resulted in a murder indictment against Ben Rasnick head of the San Francisco Bay Area Painter's Council and a leading participant in the graft-corruption set-up in the Painters union. Rasnick was judged guilty of one of the murders and sentenced to life imprisonment. Since Hall wrote his "Nation" expose a third killing has occurred. William Harder, formerly of Saskatchewan and Vancouver, was slain with a blast from a 12-gauge shotgun. Investigators have attributed the murder to the Painters union struggle.

Martin Rarback, Secretary-treasurer of the giant New

York District Council 9, is under indictment on a charge of receiving bribes amounting to \$840,000 or more to sell-out working conditions in City Housing Authority contracts. Thirty-two employers and former city officials have been implicated in the case which is alleged to be part of a larger conspiracy to rig bids for the CHA contracts. Rarbach has also been accused of a long list of "sweetheart" deals with employers and racketeers.

The racketeers in the Painters union have long enjoyed the support of George Meany, other high-ranking officials in the AFL-CIO, and even the United States Labour Dept. Both Meany and Willard Wirtz, U.S. Secretary of Labour, have forcefully defended the corruption-ridden regime in the Painters organization and have condemned the rank-and-file movement which was organized in an effort to put an end to the rule of terror in the Brotherhood of Painters.

When the rank-and-file committee went to court in New York against the District Council and the Brotherhood, the Department of Labour entered the case on the side of the racketeering officials when it appeared the members might

win. George Meany also threw his weight behind the crooked officials declaring them exemplary by his standards—a revelation on the state of the Meany standards. The whole rotten operation is defended and draped in the robes of virtue by being designated as part of the holy war on communism and necessary to ensure the success of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam.

The Labour Department is almost completely staffed by former officials of the Building Trades Council of which the Painters Brotherhood is an affiliate, along with George Meany's Plumbers union. These unions in the building trades are numbered among the most corrupt in the AFL-CIO and it is virtually impossible for the members to rid themselves of the bureaucratic and corrupt machines that rule their destiny.

WORLD NEWS BRIEFS

LAOTIAN COMMUNIQUE

A Communique of the Laotian P.L.A. High Command discloses that 145 battles, large and small, were fought by the patriotic forces and people of Laos during the first two months of the rainy season (June and July). The Communique, issued on August 10, reports that incomplete figures show a total of 2,248 enemy troops put out of action in the two-month period. A large quantity of arms and munitions were captured in the same period.

The patriotic forces have developed great initiative and mastery of the tactics of people's war and have launched successful attacks on large urban areas held by strong forces of the puppet government aided by U.S. troops. The airfield in Luang Prabang was successfully attacked and 12 military planes destroyed. Most of the Laotian territory is now in the hands of the Liberation Army.



GUERRILLAS IN THE PHILIPPINES

Hsinhua News reports guerilla forces in the Philippines, under the leadership of the Communist Party, have scored a number of military successes when they took the initiative on launching attacks. A Philippine Army patrol was reported wiped out by a small unit of the Liberation Army on August 27, while on May 18, a number of reactionary police were killed or wounded in another area.

The Liberation Army is said to be particularly active in Central Luzon and north of Manila. In these areas, most of the land is owned by a handful of landlords and exploitation is particularly ruthless.

The people of the Philippines, after many set-backs, are mastering guerilla tactics and are dealing heavy blows to the reactionary feudal landlords and puppets of U.S. monopolies.



ROASTING JOHN BULL (from the IRISH TIMES)

A Chinese waiter in Hong Kong was sentenced to four months in jail yesterday for handing out to diners in his cafe a novel menu, headed "Official Banquet Fare Celebrating Triumph over the British Fascists of Hong Kong".

The menu offered Roasted John Bull Beef; Baked Paper Tiger from Government House; Striped Chiang Kai-Shek Spy Pigs; Boiled Bourgeois Shrimp; and Mixed Plate of Blood and Tears Sausage from Police Stations.

It is easy for us in Canada to become smug and complacent with the idea that corruption does not reach across the border and could not happen here. But so long as our unions remain tied to the so-called "internationals" we are a part of the graft and corruption. Besides, there are sufficient signs of "sweetheart" deals in Canada to warrant a few searching questions. As industry develops here, and the possible profits of corruption become more attractive—appearing, corrupt officials will come upon the scene to seize advantage of the opportunities that present themselves. The time to stop this from happening is now, before the racketeers and corrupt officials become more entrenched and make the task of breaking the bureaucratic hold infinitely more difficult. The path toward that goal lies through the struggle for an independent Canadian trade union movement.

ROBERT WILLIAMS TO RETURN?

The American Negro, Robert Williams, now in the seventh year of his exile, has announced from Peking his intention to return to the United States in the near future to answer to the frame-up charge of "kidnapping" in the lynch-laden atmosphere of North Carolina.

Williams, author of "Negroes With Guns", was one of the first Black Americans to advise U.S. Negroes to take up arms against the Kluxers and other reactionary anti-Negro and racist elements in the South. In 1957 he organized an armed defense guard against racist terrorists and ran for Mayor of Monroe the same year.

Williams fled Monroe and the United States to escape a threatened lynching. He lived in Canada for a short time but moved on to Cuba, where he lived for 5 years, to escape hounding by the R.C.M.P. He is calling for an international mobilization of 10,000 people to sit in at his "Kangaroo trial" in the Union county court-house in North Carolina.

Two other well-known Negroes, who have joined the ranks of those advocating a resort to arms by Negroes fighting for freedom, are also facing swift ruling class justice. H. Rap Brown, already in jail, and Stokely Carmichael, threatened with arrest on his return to America, are the target of attack from every racist and reactionary in the United States.

Canadian workers must render all possible aid to Negro militants and join in the world-wide protest movement that surely will develop.



PEOPLES ARMY IN RHODESIA!

A guerilla army of freedom fighters has launched an attack on the white supremacist government of Rhodesia. A fierce battle between a guerilla unit of the Zimbabwe African National Union and Southern Rhodesia colonial troops was reported on August 3rd. The colonialists arrested and tortured more than 300 Africans on charges of having aided the guerillas.

Panic stricken officials of the Rhodesian colonialist government have called on the fascist regime in South Africa to assist in putting down the guerillas. It appears, however, that this aid cannot be long depended on due to the fact that the South African regime is bracing itself for a major expansion of guerilla activities in that area.

Angola and Mozambique

Guerilla activities in the Portuguese Colonies of Angola and Mozambique were reported to be intensifying. Portuguese "pacification" units were reported to be suffering heavy casualties and making no headway in their attempt to wipe out the guerilla detachments.

SUPPORT THE S. VIETNAMESE NATIONAL FRONT FOR LIBERATION

From the N. F. L. (July 17, 1965)

From the Resolution of Extraordinary Session of Presidium of Vietnam Fatherland Front Central Committee.

1.) "The Front earnestly appeals to the governments of the brother socialist countries and all peace loving countries, the various democratic organizations, the American people, and the whole world people, for the sake of the security of all nations, of peace and justice, to give greater support and assistance to the Vietnamese people, both moral and material; to condemn severely the U. S. imperialists schemes and moves of war expansion; and to act more resolutely and effectively to check their bloody hands, and demand them to recognize the four-point stand of the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the five-point statement of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation.

The session firmly believes that without a correct revolutionary line, our tradition of indomitable struggle, the solidarity of our whole nation, the invincible strength of the people's war, and the powerful sympathy and support of the world people, our people will certainly win victory, and the U. S. imperialists will certainly be defeated.

Let the people and fighters in the whole country, in response to President Ho Chi Minh's appeal march forward bravely, step up production and fighting, and be resolved to defeat the U. S. aggressors."

SEND DONATIONS OR STATEMENTS TO: Progressive Worker—35 E. Hastings St. Van. 4, B.C.

LATEST ARRIVAL FROM VIETNAM

AMERICAN CRIMES in VIETNAM

20c

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM
COMMISSION FOR INVESTIGATION ON THE
AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS' WAR CRIMES IN VIETNAM

October 1966



Mrs Le Thi Keo and all of her four children were killed in a raid against Phuxa hamlet in Hanoi outskirts, August 3, 1966

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PEOPLE'S VICTORIES IN VIETNAM

In a recent issue (August, 1967) of *Progressive Worker*, we printed in full the communique of the Command of the South Vietnam Liberation Armed Forces entitled, "People's Victories in Vietnam." During the 1966-1967 dry season, the U.S. aggressors were dealt the most stunning blows to date.

We reprint below a speech by Nguyen Van Tien, National Front for Liberation Permanent Representative in North Vietnam, commenting on the previous aforementioned communique. Dated May 30, 1967, Hanoi, the speech gives a clear analysis into the strength of the people and the weaknesses of the invaders. We urge every reader to send for our catalogue of books and periodicals from Vietnam.

VICTORY TO THE NATIONAL FRONT FOR LIBERATION OF VIETNAM—EDITOR

At the beginning of the 1966-1967 dry season, the U.S. military made a ballyhoo about their "strategic counter offensive" to be launched all over the South Vietnam battlefield. That "counter offensive" has now ended. It was the second successive large scale dry season "counter offensive" since the U.S. expeditionary troops were massively dispatched to South Vietnam to carry out directly the aggressive war.

What hopes did the U.S. put in the second "counter offensive", how did the U.S. conduct it and what was the result? These are some problems that have to be made clear.

Dealing with the U.S. puppet and satellite armed forces in South Vietnam, Nguyen Van Tien said: "When the U.S. triggered off the second 'dry season counter offensive' in South Vietnam the U.S., puppet and satellite troops plus the Seventh Fleet forces directly involved in the operation totalled approximately one and half million men. As far as genuine forces are concerned, the U.S. poured into South Vietnam during the dry season of 1966-1967 eight divisions of G.I.s; two divisions of Pak Jung Hi mercenaries and 11 divisions of puppet troops.

Formerly, with only ten divisions, the Japanese fascists could dominate all of the vast South East Asia. Nowadays, on the small territory of South Vietnam the U.S. has 21 divisions to conduct its aggressive war. This figure does not include the separate brigades, regiments and battalions of U.S., puppet and satellite troops.

As for weapons and equipment, the U.S. has in South Vietnam over 3,000 heavy artillery pieces, several thousand military vehicles, over 4,300 modern aircraft of different types (with about 2,000 out of the total 4,500 helicopters of the United States). The U.S. infantrymen are equipped with various kinds of guns described by the U.S. as the most up to date in the world, such as M. 16, M.79 grenade throwers, which were not yet produced during World War Two.

U.S.I.S. on March 29, 1967 said that by the end of this year, the quantity of bombs poured on Vietnam would by far exceed that dropped during three years on the battlefronts of Europe and the Mediterranean sea area. Besides, tens of thousands of tons of toxic chemicals and poison gas were spread on villages, fields and orchards in S. Vietnam.

In addition to modern supersonic jet fighters, the U.S. used in South Vietnam B. 52 strategic bombers never used even during the Korean war. During the recent dry season, the whole Seventh Fleet and part of the Sixth Fleet were involved in the South Vietnam war. Almost all U.S. crack forces used in a conventional ground war were introduced into South Vietnam, such as the First Infantry Division, the armoured brigades and other units provided with great fire power and a high mobility.

Almost all talented military officers of the U.S. such as General Paul D. Harkins, Earle G. Wheeler, Maxwell D. Taylor, Grant S. Sharp, William Westmoreland, and even Lyndon Johnson, put all their mind on military activities in South Vietnam.

The U.S. decided to increase by from five to seven billion dollars the U.S. war budget in Vietnam, as compared to 25 billion in 1966.



In the dry season of 1966-1967 alone the U.S. spent over 10 billion dollars.

With an enormous quantity of bombs and bullets, the U.S. has perpetrated untold crimes against the Vietnamese people, especially in the last two years since U.S. troops were sent for direct aggressive war against South Vietnam.

Exposing the U.S. plot in the second strategic "dry season counter offensive", Nguyen Van Tien said:

"With the aforesaid military force, the U.S. launched its second 'strategic dry season counter offensive' (1966-1967) in an attempt to win a big victory on the battlefield so as to bring about a turning point and win a decisive victory in South Vietnam through coordinating military, political and deceitful diplomatic activities.

This explains why in this dry season, simultaneously with its military activities, the U.S. staged the election farce in South Vietnam and at the same time sent garrulous politicians to various parts of the world to plead for the U.S. policy in Vietnam. But the U.S. itself admitted that it could not win easily only by military means and in just one dry season.

Carrying out its strategic intention, in its 1966-1967 "dry season counter offensive", the U.S. made all out efforts to reach the five objectives—so far unattained—by Westmoreland, that is to use a large military force to create a pincer movement with two prongs: "search and destroy" the main forces of the liberation army and "pacify" the rural areas, with the aim of pushing back the South Vietnam revolutionary forces and create for the U.S. an advantageous military and political position for the U.S.

It is precisely with this strategic intention that the U.S. has at the same time widened its aggressive war in South Vietnam and intensified its war of destruction in the North. The U.S. hoped that if this strategic intention was realized, it would bring us to the conference table and compel us to accept its terms. To this end, the U.S. has launched in South Vietnam tens of thousands of big, medium sized and small operations, each bigger than the previous ones. Most of these

operations were conducted in the first army corps area and Eastern Nam Bo. (covering seven provinces North and Northeast of Saigon—ed)".

Dealing with the results of those sweeps and scouring, Nguyen Van said:

"Before launching the counter offensive, the Americans hoped that with such highly mobile forces, and such equipment and means, they could floor the L.A.F. in a few rounds. That is why they kept trumpeting about their "search and destroy" and "pacification" pincers.

Now, the U.S. second season counter offensive has come to its end, yet the U.S. aggressors dare not claim having completely wiped out even a single company of the L.A.F. That is the result of their "search and destroy" operations.

With regard to pacification to which the enemy has paid particular attention, the U.S. had to admit the result was almost nil. That is no wonder for the South Vietnamese people. Earlier, Cabot Lodge and Lansdale had once worked out the most elaborate "pacification" plans, but the result was poor. How then could the new "pacification" plan worked out on the basis of failure bring to the U.S. something other than yet more bitter failure?

In this second "dry season strategic counter offensive", the U.S. experienced setbacks in the political, strategic and tactical fields.

Since U.S. troops poured into South Vietnam, the U.S. has hoped that the "American presence" will gradually improve the South Vietnam political situation. But through the past two "dry season counter offensives", the puppet administration has become shakier and the puppet army more powerless, thus further weakening the U.S. position. The U.S. cannot lean on a broken wall to wage its war of aggression. It has to use puppet troops although it has no confidence in the latter's capability. That, too is a big headache for the U.S.

Since the massive introduction of American troops, the South Vietnam puppet army men seeing that the G.I.s. can by no means turn the tide, have been outraged by the latter's arrogant attitude.

On the economic field, it is sufficient to cite just one typical fact, South Vietnam—a granary—this year imported about one million tons of rice. This shows that no matter how rich the U.S. may be, it can in no way "improve South Vietnam's economy", while the U.S. government is carrying on its war of aggression, massacring the people and dislocating the economy of South Vietnam.

The more U.S. troops are sent to South Vietnam, the stronger the movement of protest in the world against the U.S. In the history of the United States, never before has it been so isolated as at present, so much so that Johnson had to send his agents abroad again and again to defend the U.S. policy and call back the defeated General Westmoreland to try to calm the U.S. Congress and appease public opinion at home which was protesting more and more strongly against the Administration for the war in South Vietnam.

Strategically speaking, the most bitter failure of the U.S. is that it has failed to defeat quickly an adversary having only a poor equipment and an underdeveloped economy. Two years and a half have elapsed yet the U.S. has not won and today no U.S. General dare predict when the war will end. The U.S. was landed in a defensive position all over the South Vietnam battlefield.

With regard to tactics, the "heliborne" tactic was defeated at Ap Bac (early 1963), the "armoured car" tactic was defeated in early 1964 in both Nam Bo and the 5th interzone; the tactic of big concentration of puppet troops was smashed at Binh Gia (late 1964) the tactic of combined naval, ground and air forces of the U.S. went bankrupt at Van Tuong (August 1965); the "air cavalry" tactic was foiled at the Pleime battle (November 1965). Most recently, the U.S. launched operation "Junction City"—the biggest U.S. operation so far in South Vietnam—with the combination of many tactics. However, in the end, the U.S. had to terminate the operation without much echo except the rather sensational news that Westmoreland had removed Lieutenant General Seaman, commander of the operation, on the ground that the latter had not fulfilled his mission.

Another visible failure of the U.S. is that the more U.S. troops to South Vietnam, the lower their combat efficiency. 10

According to U.S. reports which are of course far below the truth, the casualty rate of U.S. troops in South Vietnam rose from 7 per cent in 1965 to 11 per cent in 1966 and 14 per cent in 1967.

In short, in the recent Winter-Spring, with over 400,000 U.S. troops, that is double the figure in the first dry season counter offensive, the U.S. however not only failed to regain the initiative on the battlefield but also was driven into a yet more passive position. Far from being able to hit its opponent the U.S. expeditionary army was repeatedly attacked by the latter and driven into an increasingly defensive position.

That is the deepest significance of the U.S. failure in the recent second "dry season counter offensive". That also provides a scientific basis to assert that no matter how many more troops the U.S. may bring in, they can never change the political and military situation in South Vietnam in their favour.

Dealing with the significance of the victory in Winter-Spring 1966-1967 of the South Vietnam people and army,

Nguyen Van Tien said: compared with the victory recorded in the 1965-1966 Winter-Spring, the victory obtained this year is bigger in that the South Vietnam liberation forces and people have fought against more than a million enemy troops placed under the command of the strongest ring-leader of imperialism and have defeated all their military manoeuvres. This victory has eloquently demonstrated that the more perfidious the U.S. imperialists are, the closer will be the solidarity of the South Vietnamese people and between the people in both south and North Vietnam, the higher the prestige of the National Front for Liberation, and the firmer the determination of the South Vietnamese people to fight and to win.

To achieve the nation wide unity and win the support of the entire people, that is the basis for victory of the South Vietnam revolution under the leadership of the N.F.L.

For the enemy, the big victory of the South Vietnam army and people in this Winter-Spring will certainly speed up the disintegration of the puppet army and administration, worsen the the political situation in the United States, and aggravate the isolation of the U.S.

The victory of the South Vietnam armed forces and people will certainly inspire their friends in the world and enhance their confidence in the final victory of justice.

It once again demonstrates that the South Vietnam armed forces and people continue to control the battlefield and firmly holding the initiative in attacking the enemy unrelentingly. More than one million U.S. puppet and satellite troops are being engulfed in the vast sea of people's war in South Vietnam.



"Saigon Menagerie" by South Vietnam N.F.L. Journal
"Forces armées de Libération"

It is with the spirit of daring to fight and defeat the U.S. aggressors that the South Vietnamese people have created many ways of fighting suitable for their conditions in equipment and terrain. As a result, the three kinds of armed forces of the South Vietnam revolution have developed and matured rapidly and evenly. This explains why the enemy in spite of their modern means of transport and com-

munication are not so mobile as the liberation fighters and are attacked everywhere on the battlefields, at their bases, in the towns and cities and during their operations. At present, even American officers admit that there is no safe place for the U.S. in South Vietnam.

This victory demonstrates the boundless love of the 17 million compatriots in North Vietnam for their kith and kin in the South, who have spared no effort and stopped at no sacrifice for the liberation of South Vietnam. The armed forces and people of both zones are standing shoulder to shoulder in the resistance to U.S. aggression, for national salvation. To the call of the South, the North promptly replies. To the call of the North, the South springs forward. The counter blows dealt at the U.S. war of aggression by the North Vietnam army and people who have so far shot down nearly 2,000 U.S. planes have inspired and greatly contributed to the Winter-Spring victory of the South Vietnamese army and people.

The Winter-Spring victory of the South Vietnamese people are inseparable from the support of their friends throughout the world, especially the brotherly socialist coun-

tries, the Cambodian people under the clear-sighted leadership of Head of State Norodom Sihanouk and the Laotian people who are fighting under the leadership of Prince Souphanouvong against the U.S. imperialists—the common enemy of the Indo-Chinese peoples.

However, in the cause of liberating their country, the South Vietnamese people still meet with many difficulties and hardships created by U.S. imperialism which is stubborn by nature.

But this decidedly cannot shake the unswerving stand of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation expounded on March 22, 1965. This stand is the just cause of the present sacred struggle of the South Vietnamese people. It is the aspiration of the 14 million people in South Vietnam.

With the impetus of the recent Winter-Spring victory, the South Vietnam armed forces and people with high enthusiasm are proudly marching forward under the "determined to win" banner, sure of their full ability to smash all new manoeuvres and acts of the U.S. aggressors. They will certainly win still greater victories.

THE VISIT OF CONSTANTINE

Federal, Provincial and Civic officials have joined together in extending a cordial welcome to King Constantine of Greece, the royal partner of the fascist hangmen of the Greek people. The friendly welcome accorded Constantine is in marked contrast to the shabby and insulting treatment handed out to de Gaulle, who chose to voice support for "Free Quebec" rather than for fascist generals. Constantine, like Pearson, is a loyal puppet to the U.S.-British imperialist alliance, while de Gaulle has been quite a trial to that alliance in recent months. Canada's pro-U.S. officials are not noted for their partiality toward those who are even mildly opposed to U.S. imperialist domination of the world, but ARE notorious for their abject toadying to the U.S. and its satellites.

The warm greeting extended to Constantine is an insult to the Canadian people, many of whose sons fought, bled and died, in a war to destroy fascism. Now our politicians have the audacity to ask us to do homage to the royal representative of the direct heirs of Hitler who, in World War II, aided and abetted the Nazi occupation of Greece and supported the fascist attempt to conquer the world.

Constantine owes his position of royal privilege entirely to those he now so loyally serves. It was the fascist generals, supported by the British-U.S. imperialist alliance under the leadership of Churchill, who launched a full-scale war against the people of Greece, bombing and burning towns and villages, decimating the population, incarcerating thousands in concentration camps on islands of barren rock, and all for the purpose of forcing on Greece the royal toady of U.S.-British capitalists over the active opposition of 90 per cent of the people. The Greek royal house can only exist propped up on the bayonets of the imperialists.

U.S. and British monopolists are acting like ardent democrats when they express disapproval of the seizure of power by the military, and call for the release of Papandreas, the "democrat", as though they never had a hand in the deal. This was a predictable reaction: it has been a regular feature of political life in Greece for the last 20 years, since the defeat and dispersal of the popular armed forces.

Over these past 20 years there has been a fairly consistent pattern of state control—alternating periods of fascist dictatorship and parliamentary "democracy". When the people would become disillusioned with "democratic" policies that bred unemployment and hunger, and disenchanted with the bourgeois politicians who are responsible for them, the fascists conveniently overthrow the "democratic" regime, put the "democrats" in jail, and give the people a taste of open dictatorship. After passage of a suitable period of time the fascists make a show of yielding to popular demand for release of the imprisoned, the "democrats" emerge from prison, their tarnished crowns all nicely burnished and shining, to govern once more in the "democratic way" on behalf of the very same masters who were saved by the fascist generals.



The "democratic" regime of Papandreas and the fascist dictatorship of the generals are two sides of a single coin, they are complementary to each other, and the ruling class requires the services of both in their appropriate time for the purpose of confusing and deluding the people, thus ensuring the continuity of imperialist political and economic control over the nation.

The people of Greece have been riding on this democratic-fascist merry-go-round for long enough. It is time to put an end to the imperialist circus. Only a return to the armed resistance of the people against imperialism, and the revolutionary overthrow of the Greek puppets of the U.S.-British alliance will ensure real and lasting democracy for the common people.

We vigorously protest the welcoming to Canada of the fascist king, Constantine, and join with the Greek community and others who are protesting their opposition to the royal visitor. We also express our solidarity with those who are rising up in struggle against the imperialists and their fascist stooges. We are confident that the people of Greece, who demonstrated outstanding heroism in resistance against the Nazi army of occupation and Churchill's bandits, will emerge victorious over the forces of counter-revolution.

THOSE "DEMOCRATIC" ELECTIONS

The Geneva Agreement of 1954 provided for the holding of elections in the two zones of Vietnam within two years as a preliminary to the unification of the temporarily divided nation. The U.S. vetoed the holding of elections at the specified time because "the Communists" were sure to win. Now, 13 years later, elections have been held, courtesy of the U.S. Army, and the outcome was predictable long before the ballots were cast.

The elections were an exact replica of U.S. elections—a President, a Senate, and a House of Representatives. Only those who pledged full support to the U.S. war of aggression were allowed on the ballot and only those people who lived in occupied territory were permitted to vote, thereby effectively barring about 75 percent of the population. Ten candidates were allowed to pass through the heavy screening and get on the ballot, but only the Thieu-Ky ticket was allowed to win.

The American aggressors have gone to great lengths—including sending an "observer" team from the United States—to prove that the elections were "democratic" and free from corruption and that the outcome represented the "will of the people". This attempt has been a dismal failure and the enthusiastic testimony as to its "fairness" which was handed to the American people by the "observer" team could not rescue the operation. The observers themselves were all skilled hands at rigging elections so they come out "right". Canadian commentators were almost unanimous in the opinion that the U.S. would have been better off never to have had the elections.

The results of the balloting showed clearly the weakness of the Thieu-Ky clique. In spite of having control in their hands, and effective command over the puppet army, these bandits were able to steal only one third of the votes cast, and post election developments have shown the two chief robbers to be in serious disagreement over who is top man in the U.S.' puppet regime.

All of the remaining candidates have made charges that the election is fraudulent and are demanding that it be re-run. U.S. agents are busy trying to hush complaints and to convince everyone the affair was worthwhile.

The U.S. hoped to be able to "prove" that South Vietnam was governed democratically and to unite the various warring factions. They have failed on both counts. No one believes that anything like the most elementary rights exist in Saigon, and the election outcome has made factional rivalries and conflicts even more sharp instead of calming them down.

The U.S. imperialists will never be able to find a solution to their problems in Vietnam. They are surely doomed to defeat at the hands of the revolutionary forces of the Vietnamese people.

VIETNAM ON BLACK AMERICANS

The Gai Phong Press Agency reports from South Vietnam that racial discrimination pursues Black Americans even after death.

A news release from the Agency states that guerillas killed Americans (2 whites 3 black) in June 1967. The commander, says the report, ordered the bodies of the two whites transported back to Hue City. The bodies of the 3 Black Americans he ordered doused with gasoline and burned on the spot.

The Hanoi daily, Nhan Dan, has protested the arrest of Rap Brown, leader of SNCC. The paper said, in part: "The Vietnamese people... vehemently condemn the policy of racial oppression of the U.S. imperialists and the barbarous policy of the Johnson administration against the Black people of the U.S. They fully sympathize with and support the latter's just struggle and believe that this struggle will win greater and greater successes."

O'NEAL EXONERATED?

The report from British Columbia's one-man Royal Commission on "electronic bugging" has been made public and the contents are exactly what one should have expected in view of the way in which the so-called "investigation" was conducted. At the time the Commission was in session P.W. was one of several papers threatened with a charge of contempt.

The Commission, it will be recalled, was established as a result of operatives hired by Pat O'Neal of the International Pulp and Sulphite union being caught red-handed while taping proceedings of a rival Canadian union, Pulp and Paper Workers of Canada. In spite of the apparent cut-and-dried nature of the case the Commissioner, Judge Sargent, managed to come up with a report that "exonerates" O'Neal and his hired operatives, and even turns the victim into the aggressor. O'Neal has also been "exonerated" by the American officers of his union, among whom is Tonelli who has been under investigation for corrupt practices in the United States.

Not only did Sargent not condemn the use of electronic equipment by one organization to spy on another, he actually proposed that these practices be made legal by the passage of legislation regulating the business. The legalization proposal was quite sweeping in that it proposed that certain licensed private operatives, as well as regular police, be invested with authority to use electronic equipment.

While the failure of the Commissioner to expose and condemn O'Neal and his hirelings was a vital one, even more important was his failure to point the finger at the role of Canada's political police, the R.C.M.P., and especially at its special security anti-communist squad. Officers of this detail were implicated with O'Neal in the "bugging" incident. It

was special squad officers who discussed the operation with O'Neal and recommended the private detective agency that did the job. Thus we had a special detail of the state police working closely with an American union for the express purpose of preventing workers in Canada from joining an independent Canadian union, on the theory that Canadian unionism is subversive. We have travelled far on the road to subservience when we are prepared to place our police force at the service of American union bureaucrats to assist them in their attempts to stem the tide of sentiment for an independent union movement that is sweeping Canada.

It is high time that the Canadian people forced the government to let some light into the operation of our secret police. This force, especially in recent years, has become a law unto itself. The recent Munsinger case proves that not even government ministers are immune from surveillance by the special squad. Connection with the F.B.I. and the C.I.A. are too obvious to require comment. All of this goes on in the name of "national security". The real security of the nation and its people demand that the machinations of this Gestapo squad be revealed in all its sordidness for the people of Canada to see. What truth is there in the speculation that the R.C.M.P. "Red Squad" possess dossiers on more than one million Canadian citizens? A letter which PW received a few months ago from the responsible government department openly admits that Canadian organizations and individuals are kept under constant surveillance by the R.C.M.P., yet not a single member of parliament rises to protest this invasion of the rights of citizens. We have many "liberals" ever ready to scream and protest about the existence of police states in other lands, but apparently not one is prepared to take action where it counts most — at home.

PEOPLES WAR IN THAILAND

"Chairman Mao's concepts of encircling cities from the countryside and of political power growing out of the barrel of a gun are being carried in the struggle of the revolutionary people of Thailand" said the Representative Abroad of the Patriotic Front of Thailand.

Bhayome Chulanond made this statement at a meeting sponsored by friends from Arab countries, Africa, Latin America, Asia and other countries to celebrate the second anniversary of the first revolutionary shot fired in Thailand. Revolutionary fighters from 27 countries participated in the meeting.

In 1949, he said, the victorious guns of the Chinese revolution resounded over Thailand, bringing to that country Mao Tse-tung's thought and showing the patriotic, revolutionary people of Thailand the way to carry out a national democratic revolution in a colony or semi-colony.

Despite encirclement and suppression by U.S. imperialism and its lackey the Thanom-Praphas fascist clique, he continued, the Thai people's armed forces under the leadership of the Communist Party of Thailand applied Mao Tse-tung's thought. They displayed the strength of people's war and have been growing in the course of fighting.

In the past two years, all the encirclement plans of the enemy had completely failed. The enemy was already in a passive position, while the people's armed forces were in an active position and able to strike out at the enemy in a variety of ways.

At present, he stated, the people's armed forces were active in the Northeast, South, Central and North of Thailand in 23 of the country's 71 provinces.

Bhayome Chuand declared "the people of Thailand have understood increasingly the necessity of taking up arms to defend ourselves and win liberation. Since the enemy uses armed force to suppress us, we must take up arms in self-defence and settle the question of national independence through the form of armed struggle."

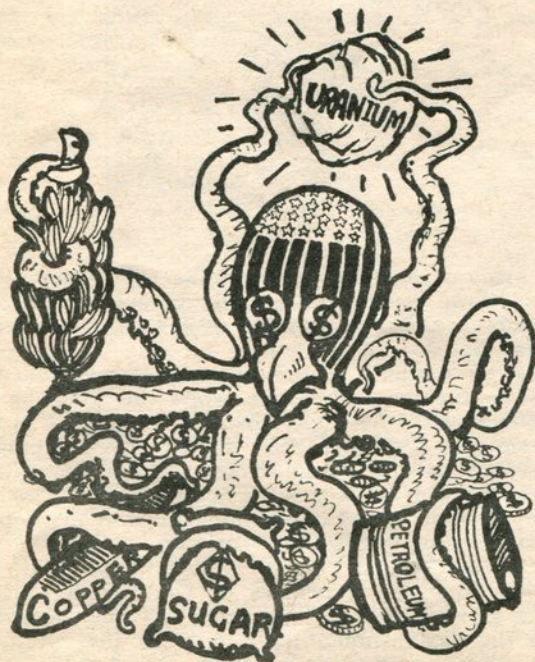
Many revolutionary organisations had been established in Thailand, he said. They had joined the Patriotic Front of Thailand and were waging the struggle to drive out the U.S.

imperialist aggressors and overthrow the traitorous government.

Bayome Chulanond sharply condemned Soviet modern revisionism for working with U.S. imperialism and in collusion with the reactionary ruling clique of Thailand in spreading the nonsense of "peaceful co-existence," "peaceful competition" and "peaceful transition", in organising renegades and the dregs of society to use all sorts of dirty tricks to sabotage the revolutionary struggle of the people of Thailand. They even supported the reactionary armed forces and opposed the people's armed forces. "In order to oppose imperialism headed by the U.S., it is imperative to oppose modern revisionism headed by the Soviet revisionist clique and to smash to smithereens modern revisionism and the line of "three peacefuls" (i. e. "peaceful co-existence", "peaceful competition" and "peaceful transition").

Revolutionary fighters from Laos, Burma, Indonesia and Malaya and representatives of the study group of revolutionary comrades from Africa and the Arab area also spoke. They hailed the vigorous armed struggles waged by the Arab area also spoke. They hailed the vigorous armed struggle waged by the people of Thailand and the rest of Asia, Africa and Latin America under the guidance of Chairman Mao's brilliant concept of people's war. They congratulated the people of Thailand on their tremendous determination to close ranks, follow Chairman Mao's teaching that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun", use armed revolution to oppose armed counter-revolution and completely strike down imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries.

At the end of the meeting, Ahmed Mohammed Kheir from the Sudan read out a message sent by the revolutionary comrades of 27 countries working in Peking to the people of Thailand in support of their armed struggle.



BANQUET

(BANQUET CELEBRATION)

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Vancouver Committee for the Celebration of the 18th Anniversary of the People's Republic of China

BLACK POWER FORUM

Several weeks ago The Progressive Workers Movement held a forum on Black Power in Vancouver.

Madelaine Scott a young Negro organizer for SNCC in Seattle gave her impressions of the recent rebellions across the United States. Dealing with many aspects of the Negro struggle her talk ranged from the first civil rights demonstrations through to the present Black Power stage.

On the question of the future struggle she agreed with Carmichael and Brown on the need and inevitability "of many Vietnams." As to whether the struggle would be peaceful or violent Madelaine expressed herself thus:

"... if we think that the present system in the U.S. which rose on violence, rules on violence, and perpetuates itself by violence is going to give up peacefully then we are dreaming. To get "the man" off your back he's going to have to be pushed by whatever force is necessary.

Madelaine also traced the growth, both politically and organizationally of the Black Movement. She pointed to the present need of tight organization in the ghettos and down South, and the arming of these people to fight U.S. ruling class oppression.

Madelaine stressed the need of "the movement" to rely

on the dispossessed and not the "fine talkers." She pointed out that only those with nothing to lose can and will lead the struggle. The fine talkers will only pass "fine resolutions" and leave the actual fighting to the "man on the street." She stressed the need for Black unity around a revolutionary program. She stated that the black people will be only too happy to unite with the white oppressed in America when they build an armed revolutionary movement, but until this task is accomplished there is no basis at the moment for unity.

She pointed out that the Trade Union Movement was one of the most reactionary bureaucratic machines of oppression in America and to date has been a hindrance to the Black Power movement.

In the final analysis the revolutionary Black people will win their complete liberation from U.S. ruling class oppression through a protracted and many sided struggle.

She stated the black people are helped by the Vietnamese people and other colonial peoples who resist U.S. imperialism with arms.

A collection was taken of \$50 and given to Madelaine to use as she saw fit in the U.S.

CLASS STRUGGLE IN INDIA

Recently in the Western press, certain facts as well as rumours have been revealed about the rising armed struggle of the people of India. Reports have been vague, but No.29 of "Peking Review" of this year gives some facts on the establishment of base areas in West Bengal and the ruling class' reaction to them.

The main area is established in the Darjeeling district of West Bengal, and is led by the revolutionaries in the Communist Party of India. The people have armed themselves and organized against the landlords and the reactionary government.

Police and troops have been used against these areas and have been defeated by the people. In ambushes, the people have eliminated the police in the area. The success of the people in establishing guerilla areas has had wide repercussions throughout India. A mass demonstration in Calcutta supported the revolutionary areas, and, as revealed in the Western and Indian press, peasant armed action is on the rise in many areas of West Bengal and more and more places are developing into revolutionary areas.

In view of these facts, the events of the past week (Sept.11) can be placed in perspective, and conclusions drawn. West Bengal is very close to the Chinese border, and therefore the actions of the Indian Army in provoking another border dispute in Sikkim have only one purpose, and that is to divide the Indian people along the lines of bourgeois nationalism.

The reactionary Congress Party is hoping for mass support in a war against the Chinese people, which will detract from the Indian peoples revolutionary demands, and will enable the reactionaries to re-establish their control in the country.

"Lifting a rock only to drop it on one's feet" is a Chinese folk saying to describe the behaviour of certain fools. The reactionaries in all countries are fools of this kind. In the final analysis, their persecution of the revolutionary people only serves to accelerate the revolution on a broader and more intense scale. Did not the persecution of the people by the Tsar of Russia and by Chiang Kai-Shek perform this function in the great Russian and Chinese revolutions". (Quotations: Mao Tse-tung)

Support for the reactionary Congress Party in their tactics to oppress the people on one hand and to serve their masters, U.S. imperialism, on the other, will only bring about their defeat by the Indian peoples. Oppression and

famine are not going to be accepted as the norm by the Indian people.

The role of U.S.imperialism and Soviet Revisionism is to destroy the revolutionary people of China and to end their support for the peoples of the world. The reactionary



Indian Army is supplied by both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., and these weapons are used not only for aggression against China and Pakistan but also in the oppression of the Indian people.

India, as a colony of U.S. imperialism, will be used by the U.S. to further their aims, while the collusion of the Soviet Union with the imperialists is being used to deceive the people into a passive role, but as Mao Tse-tung says:

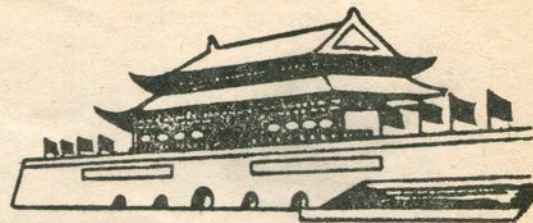
"Revolutions and revolutionary wars are inevitable in class society, and without them it is impossible to accomplish any leap in social development and to overthrow the reactionary ruling classes and therefore it is possible for the people to win Political Power". (On Contradiction)

Led by the revolutionaries of the Indian Communist Party the peoples of India will throw off their shackles and through the establishment of Red areas the revolutionary peoples will move towards an India free from exploitation and degradation.

D. Forsyth

Letter from China

by Anna Louise Strong



PORTRAIT OF A REBEL LEADER

The slender, friendly woman who came with modest dignity into a reception room of the Peking Revolutionary Committee might have passed for a teacher anywhere but showed no pretension to power. Her hair was smoothly black above thin-rimmed spectacles. She wore jacket and trousers of different but harmonizing shades of "Chinese blue". She was approachable and intelligent, the qualities of a teacher. She was Nieh Yuan-tse, philosophy teacher in Peking University who sprang suddenly into fame a year ago as the author of the famous poster that deposed the university's president.

This made Peking University the mecca for millions of pilgrims from all parts of China. Premier Chou En-lai later called her poster "the first salvo of the cultural revolution". Nieh became leader in ever-widening activities and a month ago was made a vice-chairman of Peking's Revolutionary Committee.

I asked her how she came to write that famous poster. She replied that she had been a revolutionary from the age of 14 or 15. The "comrades in Beida" (Peking University) had "struggled for a long time against Lu Ping" (the university president and Party secretary). The struggles were at first isolated in small groups.

"We fought against bourgeois ideas but did not realize that there were revisionists among the people in power. We saw that students from worker or peasant origin were often badly treated, that there seemed to be an attempt to limit the study of Mao's works, and that people who criticized actions that seemed to us contrary to Mao's teachings were persecuted.

"A sharp struggle broke out in 1957 in the Technical Physics faculty where Lu Ping appointed a man to control the teaching of atomic physics. In the anti-Rightist campaign the teachers exposed this man as a Rightist. Lu Ping denied that any "Rightists" existed in the department and branded the critics as counter-revolutionaries. Two comrades were physically persecuted. A woman, pregnant, was given heavy labor without shielding against radio-activity. Her hair and teeth fell out and her child was born with congenital heart disease. A man was falsely accused of being an atomic spy and sent for years to a reform place for criminals. Workers were injured by lack of protective shielding and Lu Ping ignored their complaints.

"Struggle in the philosophy faculty sharpened in 1958, over the general line of socialist construction, the big leap and the communes." In 1961-62 Nieh was chosen Party secretary of the department's branch against a reactionary installed by Lu Ping. Lu Ping retaliated by sending many people to the country for "labor duty" and "keeping them there a long time".

In the Socialist Education Movement of 1964 Nieh's group produced facts that showed Lu Ping to be "taking the capitalist road". This brought Peng Chen of the Municipal Party Committee into the struggle; he came to Lu Ping's aid. Nieh and members of her group were

held seven months in a down-town hotel for a "conference" which denounced them as heads of an "anti-Party clique". When they wrote a letter to Mao, it was diverted into the hands of their tormentors. They thus learned that Peng Chen had protection from even higher officials in the Party.

"We won in the seven months' struggle," Nieh told me, "but Peng Chen and Lu Ping remained in power. What we learned in those months prepared us for the next stage."

The historic May 16 circular by the Central Committee denouncing Peng Chen launched the next stage. It reached the university May 18 and at once Nieh's group began to prepare a poster exposing Lu Ping's relations with Peng Chen. "We put up our poster," Nieh told me, "on May 25 just after two o'clock on the outer wall of the university dining-hall. People gathered at once to discuss it. Lu Ping sent people against us; by 6 p.m. our poster was covered by many posters abusing us. By seven we were 'besieged' (i.e., encircled in small groups and yelled at) and physically struck.

"All through the night people argued, put up posters and engaged in fighting that broke spectacles, watches and fountain-pens. We were denounced as violators of Party discipline and state law. For seven days Lu Ping's men carried on a reign of terror. I couldn't go out of doors without being grabbed, my clothing pulled and being yelled at as 'chief Rightist'. One of our seven signers was 'besieged', pushed into a small room and held by hostile people shouting epithets. However, more students began to understand and posters appeared to support us. On June 1st the Cultural Revolution Group told us that Chairman Mao was with us."

Mao's support at once appeared by the broadcasting of Nieh's poster on Peking radio June 1 and a commentary in the People's Daily June 2 hailing the poster as having "unveiled a sinister gang". This brought a dramatic turning of the tide. Lu Ping was dropped from his posts in the university. "Struggle meetings against him," said Nieh, "were held at once.

"After that people came from all over the country to study our poster and copy our style. As many as a hundred thousand came in a day. Lu Ping was now followed by heckling groups, even by primary school children. From the end of July when we began counting till October, we estimated seven million visitors came."

This poster, which Mao called "the first Marxist-Leninist poster", declared the right of the masses to criticize Party secretaries and even Party committees. It released criticisms all over China, in schools, in factories, in communes. Nieh became a leader in forming the Red Guard Congress where she was chosen as "head of the core". When this Congress joined with other mass organizations in creating the Peking Revolutionary Committee, Nieh became a vice-chairman in the provisional municipal organ of power in Peking.

CHINA'S PROLETARIAN RED GUARDS



Young Red Guard Sung Yao-wu puts a red arm band on Chairman Mao.

by Hsien Feng
(China Features)

China's Red Guards are a new force, the "shock troops" of the great proletarian cultural revolution. In sharp and bitter class struggle, they have become tempered revolutionaries armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, worthy of the name of third generation of successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause.

Their story goes back to before June last year, when several groups of Red Guards appeared almost simultaneously in several Peking middle schools. June 1st is a particularly important date in their history. For on that day Chairman Mao Tse-tung ordered what he named "the first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster in China"—a poster that had been put up in Peking University by a group of revolutionary teachers there—to be broadcast over the radio throughout the country.

It was a clarion call, a declaration of war against the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. And the flames of the revolution have spread throughout China ever since.

The Red Guards were the first to respond. They stepped forward and exposed the anti-Party activities of the leadership in their schools and universities. As a result the handful of "capitalist roaders" dubbed many of the Red Guards organizations counter-revolutionary and forced them to disband. They persecuted many of their members and did their utmost to quell their rebel spirit and suppress the revolution.

At this critical moment, Chairman Mao wrote a letter encouraging the new-born Red Guards. He said: "I firmly support you!" Then on August 18, he reviewed a million young revolutionary students and teachers in Peking. He wore the olive green uniform of the People's Liberation Army on the occasion, and a Red Guard armband. The Red Guard



Red Guards from the Chiyuan No. 2 Middle School in Honan province work with commune members during their march.

movement rapidly became a widespread, popular movement all over China.

In Peking, the Red Guards moved beyond the confines of their schools and colleges and began a general exposure of social evils. Their motto was: "Wipe out the 'four olds' that breed capitalism—the old ideas, culture, customs and habits—and foster the 'four news'!"

They pulled down street names and shop signs that had feudal, capitalist or revisionist associations and replaced them with names carrying revolutionary significance. They put up thousands of posters demanding the abolition of old rules and regulations and practices that hampered socialist advance.

Courageously breaking down restrictions imposed by the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, they travelled across the country, exchanging revolutionary experience, spreading the flames of the cultural revolution everywhere, disseminating the teachings of Chairman Mao and exposing the activities of the "capitalist roaders".

The main target of the struggle in the cultural revolution is the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road—they and the bourgeois ideology they spread. For years these people, masquerading as Communists, actually served as representatives of the capitalist class. They had wormed their way into the Communist Party or were Party members who had degenerated in the course of time. Chairman Mao referred to them as "persons like Khrushchov who are still nestling beside us" and gave the warning that once conditions were ripe they would seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Simultaneously, Red Guards from other parts of the country poured into Peking. Travelling free of charge, by train or boat,—and often covering great distances on foot—these young people visited the universities that were pioneers

in the cultural revolution and held discussions with the revolutionaries there. And Chairman Mao relieved 11 million visiting revolutionary students and teachers on a total of eight occasions. This gave tremendous impetus to the Red Guard movement. With added enthusiasm and experience, they returned to their localities and carried forward the struggle.

Chairman Mao has said: "How should we judge whether a youth is a revolution? How can we tell? There can only be one criterion, namely whether or not he is willing to integrate himself with the broad masses of workers and peasants and does so in practice." The Red Guards who trekked from one end of the country to the other studied Chairman Mao's works together with workers and peasants and took part in manual labour. At the mines, factories and people's communes where they stayed, they had discussions with veteran soldiers, workers and peasants. They used the principles described in Chairman Mao's "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society" as their guide, talked with the local people and investigated the economic position and political attitude of the various classes in society. Wherever they went, they propagated Mao Tse-tung's thought, distributed pamphlets of his works, put out news sheets and reprinted editorials on the small duplicating machines they carried with them, and served as a powerful propaganda force, modelling themselves on the PLA on its famous Long March.

At the same time the youngsters became tempered and learned a great deal about the life of the working people and the complicated class struggles in China.

Lin Tao, a first Hindi language student of Peking University, was one of a group that travelled across the Taihang Mountains where protracted struggles had been waged against the Japanese invaders and later against the Kuomintang reactionaries. He said: "Our march deepened my understanding of the revolution. Every inch of our land has been won at the cost of blood. Our forefathers did not spare themselves in the struggles. And it was Chairman Mao who led the struggles to victory. There is no limit to my determination to defend our motherland."

There are many moving stories about how the young revolutionaries have fought back against persecution, drawing strength and wisdom from Chairman Mao's works. For the "capitalist roaders" not only branded the Red Guards as 'rightists', 'fake revolutionaries' and even 'counter-revolutionaries', but often took away their political rights and even caused physical violence to be used against them. The main purpose of the great proletarian cultural revolution is to ensure that socialist China's political power remains forever in the hands of her proletariat, that China will never change political colour or allow revisionism to come out on top.

In the last few months the main focus of the cultural revolution has shifted to the very top people who were mainly responsible for various revisionist lines of work over the past 17 years, especially China's Khrushchov, the behind-the-scenes boss of the "capitalist roaders". The Red Guards are playing their part, together with workers, peasants and revolutionary cadres, in exposing and repudiating the anti-Party activities of China's Khrushchov. It is a great test for them. They have put up thousands of big-character posters and caricatures in the streets and schools, sent teams to all parts of the country to collect material, published their findings and held huge rallies.

The papers run by the Red Guards have a wide circulation. There are scores of them in Peking alone. They carry lively articles with sharp political analysis which often draw national attention.

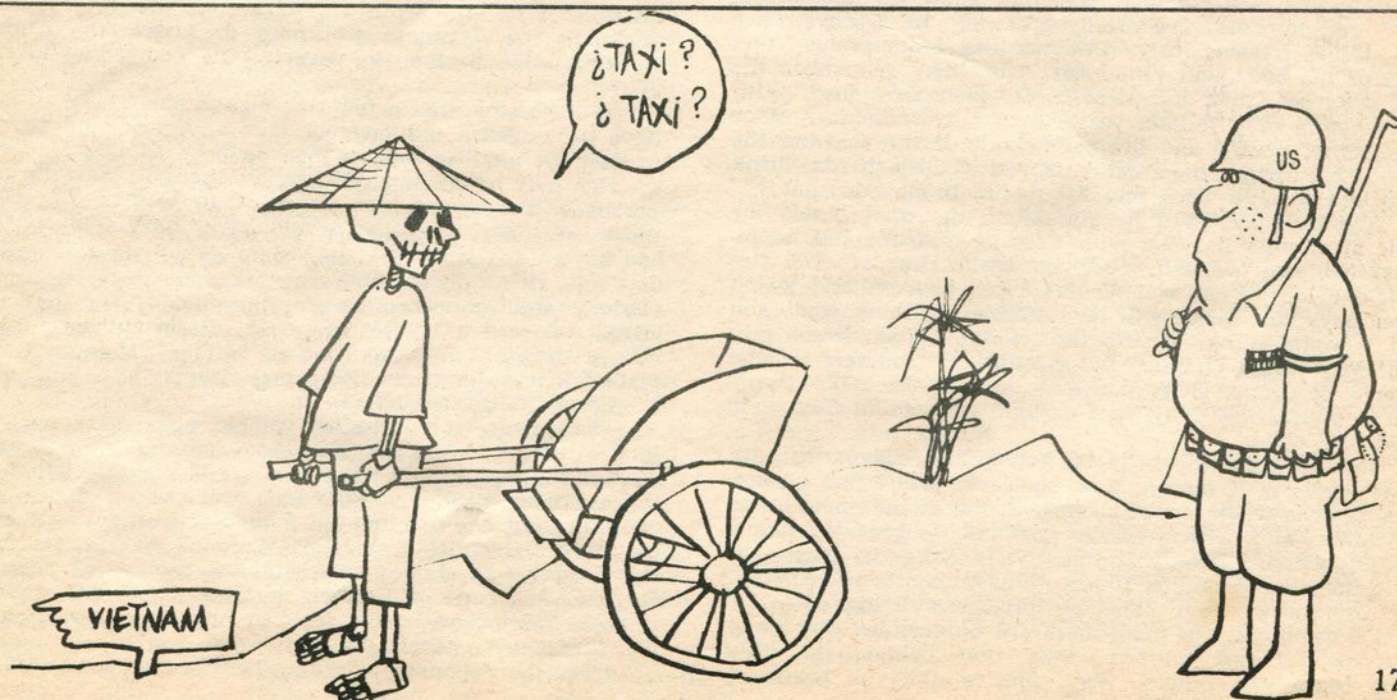
The cultural revolution has forced China's youth to think things out and handle political problems in the course of complex struggle. Of course, many of the young people have made mistakes in the course of the struggle, but they learn from their mistakes.

Millions of effective proletarian public speakers, organisers, political analysts and writers have come to the fore from their ranks.

The present mass criticism and repudiation of the evil effects of the revisionist line of China's Khrushchov in which the Red Guards are participating is a very penetrating campaign, going deeply into all political, economic, cultural and educational aspects. It is requiring the young people to study still harder, and particularly to study Mao Tse-tung's teachings, which are the fundamental criterion and guide in the campaign, the basic equipment with which a proletarian revolutionary can distinguish what helps the socialist cause forward and prevents any move back towards capitalism.

To become a worthy successor to the proletarian cause is the noble goal of China's third generation today. This implies a great deal, for the standard is high. It includes whole-hearted service to the people of China and the world, the capacity to unite and work together with the majority of the people, and the qualities of modesty and prudence. It includes determination in the course of the struggle against the "capitalist roaders", to make a revolution in one's own thinking and rid oneself of egoism, individualism, "small group mentality" and other bourgeois ideas.

In fact, a new Communist generation is in the making in China, guided by Mao Tse-tung's teachings. It is composed of people who pursue neither fame nor fortune and fear neither hardship nor death. It is a generation capable of safeguarding China's socialist system and ensuring its successful advance to communism.



DR. BETHUNE IN CHINA

(This remarkable document was written by Dr. Norman Bethune for the Peoples Relations Association of the Yen'an Branch, shortly before his death in China. The world-famous fighter for democracy died on Nov. 13, 1939, after he developed blood poisoning as a result of a cut in his finger while performing an operation on a wounded Chinese soldier.)

by Dr. Norman Bethune

The kerosene lamp overhead makes a steady buzzing sound like an incandescent hive of bees. Mud walls. Mud floor. Mud bed. White paper windows. Smell of blood and chloroform. Cold. Three o'clock in the morning, Dec. 1, North China, near Lin Chu, with the 8th Route Army.

Men with wounds.

Wounds like little dried pools, caked with black-brown earth; wounds with torn edges frilled with black gangrene; neat wounds, concealing beneath the abscess in their depths, burrowing into and around the great firm muscles like a damned-back river, running around and between the muscles like a hot stream; wounds, expanding outward, decaying orchids or crushed carnations, terrible flowers of flesh; wounds from which the dark blood is spewed out in clots, mixed with the ominous gas bubbles, floating on the fresh flood of the still-continuing secondary hemorrhage.

Old filthy bandages stuck to the skin with blood-glue. Careful. Better moisten first. Through the thigh. Pick the leg up. Why it's like a bag, loose, red stocking. What kind of stocking? A Christmas stocking. Where's that fine, strong rod of bone now? In a dozen pieces. Pick them out with your fingers; white as dog's teeth, sharp and jagged. Now feel. Any more left? Yes, here. All? Yes, No, here's another piece. Is this muscle dead? Pinch it. Yes, it's dead. Cut it out. How can that heal? How can those muscles, once so strong, now so torn, so devastated, so ruined, resume their proud tension? Pull, relax. Pull, relax. What fun it was! Now that is finished. Now that's done. Now we are destroyed. Now what will we do with ourselves?

Next. What an infant! Seventeen. Shot through the belly. Chloroform. Ready? Gas rushes out of the opened peritoneal cavity. Odor of feces. Pink coils of distended intestine. Four perforations. Close them. Purse string suture. Sponge out the pelvis. Tube. Three tubes. Hard to close. Keep him warm. How? Dip those bricks into hot water.

Gangrene is a cunning, creeping fellow. Is this one alive? Yes, he lives. Technically speaking, he is alive. Give him saline intravenously. Perhaps the innumerable, tiny cells of his body will remember. They may remember the hot, salty sea, their ancestral home, their first food. With the memory of a million years, they may remember other tides, other oceans and life being born of the sea and the sun. It may make them raise their tired little heads, drink deep and struggle back into life again. It may do that.

And this one. Will he run along the road beside his mule at another harvest, with cries of pleasure and happiness? No, that one will never run again. How can you run with one leg? What will he do? Why, he'll sit and watch other boys run. What will he think? He'll think what you and I would think. What's the good of pity? Don't pity him! Pity would diminish his sacrifice. He did this for the defense of China. Help him. Lift him off the table. Carry him in your arms. Why, he's as light as a child! Yes, your child, my child.

How beautiful the body is; how perfect its parts; with what precision it moves; how obedient; proud and strong. How terrible when torn. The little flame of life sinks lower and lower, and, with a flicker goes out. It goes out like a candle goes out. Quietly and gently. It makes its protest at extinction, then submits. It has its say, then is silent.

Any more? Four Japanese prisoners. Bring them in. In this community of pain, there are no enemies. Cut away that blood-stained uniform. Stop that hemorrhage. Lay them beside the others. Why, they're alike as brothers!



Are these soldiers professional man-killers? No, these are amateurs-in-arms. Workman's hands. These are workers-in-uniform.

No more. Six o'clock in the morning. God, it's cold in this room. Open the door. Over the distant, dark-blue mountains, a pale, faint line of light appears in the East. In an hour the sun will be up. To bed and sleep.

But sleep will not come. What is the cause of this cruelty, this stupidity? A million workmen come from Japan to kill or mutilate a million Chinese workmen. Why should the Japanese worker attack his brother worker, who is forced merely to defend himself. Will the Japanese worker benefit by the death of the Chinese? No, how can he gain? Then, in God's name, who will gain? Who is responsible for sending these Japanese workmen on this murderous mission? Who will profit from it? How was it possible to persuade the Japanese workman to attack the Chinese workman—his brother in poverty; his companion in misery?

Is it possible that a few rich men, a small class of men, have persuaded a million poor men to attack, and attempt to destroy, another million men as poor as they? So that the rich may be richer still? Terrible thought! How did they persuade these poor men to come to China? By telling them the truth? No, they would never have come if they had known the truth. Did they dare to tell these workmen that the rich only wanted cheaper raw materials, more markets and more profit? No, they told them that this brutal war was "The Destiny of the Race," it was for the "Glory of the Emperor," it was for the "Honour of the State," it was for their "King and Country".

False. False as Hell!

The agents of a criminal war of aggression, such as this, must be looked for like the agents of other crimes, such as murder, among those who are likely to benefit from those crimes. Will the 80,000,000 workers of Japan, the poor farmers, the unemployed industrial workers—will they gain? In the entire history of Wars of Aggression, from the Conquest of Mexico by Spain, the capture of India by England, the rape of Ethiopia by Italy, have the workers of those "victorious" countries ever been known to benefit? No, these never benefit by such wars.

Does the Japanese workman benefit by the natural re-

sources of even his own country, by the gold, the silver, the iron, the coal, the oil? Long ago, he ceased to possess that natural wealth. It belongs to the rich, the ruling class. The millions who work those mines live in poverty. So, how is he likely to benefit by the armed robbery of the gold, silver, iron, coal and oil of China? Will not the same rich owners of the one, retain for their own profit, the wealth of the other? Have they not always done so?

It would seem inescapable that the militarists and the capitalists of Japan are the only class likely to gain by this mass murder, this authorized madness. That sanctified butcher; that ruling class, the true State stands accused.

Are wars of aggression, wars for the conquest of colonies, then just Big Business? Yes, it would seem so, however much the perpetrators of such national crimes seek to hide their true purpose under the banner of high-sounding abstractions and ideals. They make war to capture markets by murder; raw materials by rape. They find it cheaper to steal than to exchange; easier to butcher than to buy. This is the secret of all wars. Profit. Business. Profit. Blood money.

Behind all this stands that terrible, implacable God of Business and Blood, whose name is Profit. Money, like an insatiable Moloch, demands its interest, its return, and will stop at nothing, not even the murder of millions, to satisfy its greed. Behind the army, stand the militarists. Behind the militarists, stand finance capital and the capitalist. Brothers in blood; companions in crime.

What do these enemies of the human race look like? Do the wear on their foreheads a sign so that they may be told, shunned, and condemned as criminals? No. On the contrary, they are the respectable ones. They are honoured. They call, and are called, gentlemen. What a travesty on the name! Gentlemen! They are the pillars of the State, of the church, of society. They support private and public charity out of the excess of their wealth. They endow institutions. In their private lives they are kind and considerate. They obey the law, their law, the law of property. But, there is one sign by which these gentlemen can be told. Threaten a reduction on the profit of their money, and the beast in them awakes with a snarl. They become as ruthless as savages, brutal as madmen, remorseless as executioners. Such men as these must perish if the human race is to continue. There can be no permanent peace in the world while they live. Such an organization of human society as permits them to exist must be abolished.

These men make the wounds.

from "China Today"
March 1940.

(We are indebted to Rewi Alley in Peking for the article by Norman Bethune—Editor.)

ESTATE WORKERS WAGE BLOODY BATTLE

Estate workers who make up the largest group among the working class of Malaya have suffered severely from the brutal oppression and callous exploitation of the British monopoly capitalists and the Malayan bureaucrat-comprador capitalists. The latter have stopped at nothing to squeeze the last dollar of profit out of their labour. But the estate workers are not taking it lying down but have fought back heroically. The current struggle of the workers on the Triang Estate in Pahang is an illustration of the determination and militancy shown by the working class in defending their vital interests.

Estate workers on the Triang Rubber Estate, on strike for well over 3 months, have fought two bloody battles with the fascist puppet police.

At about 6 in the morning on June 4 the Rahman stooges sent hundreds of steel-helmeted police fully armed and 19 truckloads of armed thugs to encircle and attack the quarters of the Triang Rubber Estate workers. Kicking down the wooden doors of the premises with their hob-nailed boots, these fascist beasts went on a rampage through the workers quarters trying to arrest union leaders and activists. When the rudely awakened workers started to protest they were attacked with batons, tear-gas bombs and poisonous gas bombs. One worker was beaten unconscious. Their class hatred aroused, the workers, old and young, men and women fought back.

At first the armed bullies thought they could cow the defenceless workers by pointing their pistols and guns at them, but the latter united as one advanced on their retreated attackers. The cowardly bullies began firing into the air. But this failed to stem the determined advance of the workers. The fascists then began to give full play to their batons swinging at the aged and the children. Tear gas and other poisonous bombs were thrown at the workers. The workers at first stepped back but when they discovered that these sizzling missiles were non-explosive they rushed forward again and picking the bombs up began hurling them back at the police. Frightened, the police flung another 40 to 50 of these bombs. The whole place was enveloped in smoke. The old folks and women brought out gunny sacks and covered up the sizzling bombs while others poured water over them thus effectively putting out the bombs. This boosted the morale of the workers who began circling the enemy, raining sticks and stones on them and causing them to scream for god's help.

Their paper tiger features exposed, they began to panic rushing hither and thither looking for an escape. But 19

whichever way they ran they were met by volleys of stones and missiles. Only when further reinforcements of "anti-riot squads" arrived and fired more bombs at the workers did the beaten dogs manage to scamper away howling with their tails between their legs.

The workers quarters were a shambles as though a herd of wild beasts had stamped through it.

Later, on June 12, in the first hours of morning the Rahman pet authorities sent 60 trucks and 600 police and agents to secretly encircle the workers quarters. At 5 a. m. the bloodthirsty fascist police suddenly closed in from all sides. As soon as they saw the enemy closing in, the workers on patrol duty blew their whistles and at once the entire community rushed out of their homes to fight what they knew was going to be a life and death battle. The fascists immediately rained tear-gas and poisonous bombs on them. The workers counter-attacked with stones and sticks and when these were used up they used their bare fists, going for the enemy with a fury which only a brutally suppressed people possess.

Many fell. Blood flowed freely. The enemy pounced on the outnumbered and defenceless workers wave upon wave. This uneven battle went on for half an hour and the workers were forced to retreat to their quarters. The enemy pursued and displayed every bit of the beast in them.

Two to three hundred workers and their families were forced into the yard and made to squat in the scorching sun for a full three hours.

Blacklisted workers were forcibly dragged away by plainclothesmen. The other thugs pillaged the homes of the workers, plundering everything they could lay their hands on on the pretext of making a "search". Rice bags were wantonly split open and filthy water thrown on the valuable grain of the hungry workers. The tyres of the bicycles belonging to the workers were punctured and the frames smashed up.

Altogether 65 union leaders and blacklisted workers were arrested.

These bloody atrocities are typical of the so-called "democracy" much vaunted by the Rahman-Lee Kuan Yew puppets who tried to outdo their imperialist masters in their crimes against the Malayan working people.

But the blood that flowed on June 4 and June 12 will not have been spilt in vain. Blood debt must be repaid by blood!

(Malayan Bulletin)

THE FASCIST REGIME IN INDONESIA

FOREIGN INVESTMENT AND THE FASCIST REGIME IN INDONESIA

(Based on an article by T. AMIRUN in the *INDONESIAN TRIBUNE*, February, 1967)

The Indonesian fascist military regime is built upon the blood and sufferings of the Indonesian people. Hundreds of thousands of Communists, patriots, democrats have fallen as victims of a most brutal carnage, equal in terror and barbarity to the crimes of the Hitlerites and Japanese fascists. This regime of terror enjoys the political support of the most reactionary social forces in Indonesia; namely, the bureaucrat-capitalists, compradore bourgeoisie and feudal landlords. It is on these forces, who have long maintained close bonds with the colonialists and U.S. imperialists, that the fascist regime relies.

Internally the militarists follow an anti-communist, anti-democracy and racist policy. Externally, they follow a pro-imperialist and anti-China policy and enter into collusion with the modern revisionists. The termination of confrontation against British "Malaysia" and the rabid anti-China policy glaringly reveal the regime's policy of capitulation to imperialism. Their economic policy is based on total reliance on "aid" and credits from the imperialists and on investment of foreign capital in Indonesia. "Aid" and credits are hopefully looked upon by the military-fascist regime as the way to avoid collapse of the bankrupt economy and to bolster their extremely shaky position. The economic policy is completely subservient to imperialist interests.

Indonesia has joined the Asian Development Bank and returned to membership of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, all of which are tools in the hands of U.S. imperialism. Indonesia is dragged into the clutches of dollar imperialism. Frans Seda, the regime's Finance Minister, stated that Indonesia would provide attractive guarantees for foreign investors. This statement was made on December 24, 1966, when the bill on foreign capital investment was passed, a bill under which foreign investors can acquire concessions for 30-year periods giving them the right to export Indonesia's mineral resources and operate factories. The investors get special legal protection for their capital investment, a 3 to 5-year exemption from taxes and the right of transfer of capital and profit. Both state and foreign enterprises are to be provided "equal business opportunities", which means that all facilities granted state enterprises will be available also to foreign enterprises operating in Indonesia. This information was conveyed to the international consortium of Indonesia's creditors at a meeting in Tokyo last September.

The door is thrown open wide for the investment of international capital in Indonesia through the provision of facilities and opportunities to international monopolies to exploit the natural resources and squeeze the people dry. This "open door policy" is the same as that practiced by the Dutch imperialists which led to the serious impoverishment of the people of Indonesia. The military regime claims this policy serves "political and economic stabilization". Obviously, the militarists are turning Indonesia into an extremely profitable milch cow for monopoly capital with the fascist generals as the watch-dogs guarding monopoly interests.

In addition to the bill on foreign capital investment the fascist regime concluded on January 7 a separate agreement with the United States for the promotion of U.S. private investment in Indonesia. In effect, U.S. monopoly is invited to plunder the mineral and other economic resources, exploit the people and transform Indonesia into a new type colony of U.S. imperialism.

TO BENEFIT BUREAUCRAT CAPITALISTS

International monopoly investment is beneficial only to the bureaucrat-capitalists and compradore bourgeoisie and will never bring about so-called "economic and political stabilization". On the contrary, it will only lead to greater impoverishment. Exploitation of the natural resources, in particular oil, will be intensified by the oil monopolies of the

U.S., Britain, the Netherlands and Japan, with the approval and co-operation of the militarists and under the protection of their bayonets.

The international oil monopolies have reaped fantastic profits in Indonesia. For example, from 1954 to 1961 Stanvac, Caltex and Shell jointly invested 222 million U.S. dollars but in the 8-year period the same three companies reaped foreign exchange earnings of not less than 2,285 million U.S. dollars—more than 10 times the invested capital, an average annual profit of more than \$285 million in oil alone. Besides these three another U.S. oil company controlled by the fascist generals, to do off-shore drilling in North Sumatra, where Pan-American is also drilling. A total of no less than 9 American oil companies representing the most aggressive international finance capital are making preparations to invest or increase investment in Indonesia.

U.S. companies have been granted the right to exploit other minerals in addition to oil. The Freeport Ship Company of New York has concluded an agreement to explore and exploit copper deposits in West Irian, entailing an investment of \$75 million. The Van Sincle Association of Denver is prepared to invest \$12 million dollars to exploit the forests of Celebes on a production-sharing basis with Indonesian Sampaga Mamudju Company. Forest Development Co-operation Company of Japan is already exploiting the forests of Borneo on a share basis with a state-owned forest development company. Japan also obtained a 30-year lease to explore and exploit off-shore oil fields near East Borneo. The contract provides for Japan to supply necessary materials and experts while the state-owned company, Permina, covers taxes and supplies needed facilities and labour power. The Japanese company will receive 40 per cent of the crude oil produced to cover outlays plus an additional 35 per cent. Permina will get 25 per cent. Another Japanese Company will explore the coastal sea of South Kalimantan and two French oil companies have held talks with the militarists with a view to getting in on the profit. Japan was the first country to extend credit (\$30 million) to the regime to aid the bankrupt economy. According to the "Far Eastern Economic Review" of October 6, 1966, Indonesia owes Japan a total of 260 million U.S. dollars and the total foreign debt is estimated to amount to 2,680 million U.S. dollars.

Nickel, tin, gold, copper are being exploited by companies from Japan, West Germany, the Netherlands and Yugoslavia. We can be sure that the military-fascist regime, which relies for its survival on foreign investment and aid from the U.S. and other imperialist countries, has complied with the demands advanced by international capital. The fact that even now 9 U.S. oil companies are preparing to invest capital in Indonesia proves beyond doubt that the fascist regime has created the most favourable conditions for international monopoly capital.

Abolishing Results of Revolutionary Struggle

To gain the confidence of international capital the fascist regime has trampled on and abolished all the gains achieved by the people through heroic and bitter struggles. The militarists capitulationist policy is not only a betrayal of the Indonesian people's struggle, but also of the struggle in Asia, Africa and Latin America against colonialism and Yankee imperialism.

Agreement has been reached with the Netherlands providing for the return to former Dutch owners all the enterprises and plantations that had been confiscated and nationalized since the August Revolution of 1945. This included not less than 227 Dutch-owned plantations which were taken over in 1957 when the struggle of the Indonesian people for the liberation of West Irian was at its height. These Dutch plantation owners are the most conservative and reactionary colonialists who committed the worst crimes against the people. The history of the Dutch plantations in Indonesia is the history of the most ferocious and voracious colonialism maintained by fire and sword. Not only have the plantations been returned to these criminals, the militarists have also agreed to compensate them to the tune of 200 million U.S.

dollars for the period during which the plantations were nationalized. This amount is to be repaid (with interest) over a 30-year period.

According to Radio Australia in a broadcast of November 2, 1966, compensation to the Netherlands imperialists includes expenditures by the Dutch Government for services before and after the Pacific war. This means that the Indonesian people are to be compelled to pay for the colonial war waged on the Indonesian people by the Dutch between 1915 and 1949. British-owned plantations are also to be returned with compensation for loss of revenue during the confiscation period. This policy, naturally, applies also to U.S.-owned property in Indonesia.

The return of foreign-owned enterprises and plantations, which is being accomplished as neatly and carefully as possible in order to hide the militarists' betrayal and their plots with the imperialists, has wiped out one of the important gains of the Indonesian people in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism. The treacherous act of the regime has fully restored imperialist domination, although in a new form, in economic and financial fields. The return of enterprises and plantations has made clear the semi-colonial and semi-feudal condition of Indonesia.

Indonesia no longer controls foreign exchange earnings of the plantations, one of the most important sectors of export trade which accounts for approximately 25 per cent of the foreign exchange earnings—excluding oil. Now, after the return of 327 plantations to foreign monopolies, all, or almost all, the foreign exchange earnings from this sector will flow into the money bags of foreign capitalists and the government's foreign exchange income will drop sharply.

EXPORT TARGET

The regime's export target for 1966 was fixed at \$360 million. This amount, even if achieved, would fall short of what is needed to pay foreign debt installments in the fiscal year April 1966—March 1967, which total \$530 million. As a result, imports for 1966 are held down to a minimum \$400 million by cancelling all orders for capital goods needed for construction projects which cannot be completed without the aid of new foreign credits, thus adding to Indonesia's fast mounting debts to the imperialists.

In previous years Indonesia's annual export—excluding oil—averaged \$650 million. Two or three times prior to 1961 export trade realized well over \$700 million—excluding oil.

1965 export trade realized only \$450 million. The cause is easy to find. Following the events of September 30, 1965, the militarists launched a barbarous campaign of massacre against the people. They ruthlessly terrorized and persecuted the workers and peasants, the principal productive force in society. Logically, these fascist practices have resulted in a sharp drop in production in all sectors.

The 1966 export target is the lowest ever in the history of the Republic. This low target clearly reflects the extraordinarily huge decrease in production in the foreign exchange producing sectors since the fascists seized power. The Djakarta press reported declining production in Central Java, one of the regions most affected by the slaughter campaign. In 1965, rubber output in Central Java reached 14,463 tons, in 1966 it dropped to 6,681 tons. Tea production in 1965 was 2760 tons—in 1966 only 1240 tons. In 1965 coffee production was 1098 tons, in 1966 it was a mere 19 tons.

The director of a sugar mill in Central Java after a tour of inspection of several sugar factories in October, 1966, reported that, in the 1966 milling season, production in mills under management of the State Sugar enterprise of the Fourth Region Inspectorate will drop an average of 12 and one-half per cent as against the 1965 season. He further reported that the Region, which administers six sugar mills and has a combined plantation area of 7,389 hectares, this year will produce 737,490 quintals—117,890 less than last year's output. Explaining the reason for the drastic decrease in sugar production the State Sugar Enterprise announced that no more than one-third of Indonesia's sugar mills are presently in operation. New projects (launched with Japanese assistance) were a failure. Even intensive rehabilitation requiring large sums of money is not expected to remedy the situation.

The army-controlled news agency published reports that coffee and rubber production on East Java plantations was continuing to decline to disastrously low levels. It also re-

ported a steady drop in production of export goods in regions outside Java. Lampung, the traditional pepper growing district, will turn out only 60 per cent of the 1965 harvest. The export of rubber to Japan, usually 5000 tons per month was only 1000 tons in October, 1966. This decrease in production in areas outside Java deals heavy blows at inter-insular shipping which suffered a decline to 40 per cent of 1965 capacity. The press tries to explain that the reason for decline is a "wait and see" attitude adopted by businessmen awaiting a calmer situation. But the real reason is the absence of cargo ships to be transported.

PERSECUTION CAUSE OF DECLINING PRODUCTION

Decrease in plantation production is not caused merely by the long drought or other climactic disturbances as the fascist press claims. The sharp drop is caused, first and foremost, because of the anti-people policy being pursued by the military-fascist regime. 800,000 plantation workers are either murdered or terrorized, persecuted or imprisoned, or at best temporarily dismissed. These fascist practices have resulted in unprecedented unemployment. In Indonesia today there are, according to official reports, 3 million unemployed and 10 million semi-unemployed. But this official figure is much too low in view of the mass dismissals of workers and state employees. In addition there are 1.3 million entering the labour market annually.

Persecution and mass dismissals have brought about stagnation and decrease of production in all sectors of the economy. Commodity prices rise steadily and, as a result, the value of the currency continues to fall and galloping inflation cannot be checked. A civil servant's monthly salary is enough to carry him and his family for several days only. For the rest of the month he does odd jobs if he is not engaged in corruption.

Persecution of the peasants affects agricultural production and the military regime has consolidated the feudal system in the countryside and robbed the peasants of their land, thus seriously damaging the agricultural productive force.

Famine is on a scale unprecedented in the 21-year history of the Republic, affecting traditional rice growing districts with surplus product. According to official figures 50,000 people died of hunger on the Island of Lombok, although this island has always been known as a rice bowl. In South Samatra 120 died of starvation. Even in Bali, where the method of rice cultivation and irrigation is well known for its efficiency, and whose lands are most fertile, famine occurs in some districts.

The anti-Chinese racist campaign whipped up by the regime has disrupted the business life of the cities and blocked distribution channels operated by Chinese nationals and their descendants for scores of years, thus adding to the difficulties. The destruction of this distribution system is another cause of the famine in many districts.

Persecution of workers and peasants only serves to demonstrate the weakness of the regime. Without the active participation of workers and peasants no economic development and stabilization can be successfully carried out.

The military regime tries desperately to destroy the Indonesian Communist Party, but it is indestructible. Persecution of workers and peasants, who make up the overwhelming majority of the people, will inevitably meet with stubborn resistance. The policy of capitulation and "open door" to foreign investments that will lead to more ruthless exploitation will also meet with bitter resistance. In all parts of Indonesia the people's struggle against the military-fascist regime is rapidly developing and becoming stronger. The Communist Party stands in the forefront of this struggle and is leading the Indonesian people to victory. In its statement issued in Central Java on August 17, 1966, the Political Bureau of the C.P. outlined the only correct path—protracted armed struggle integrated with the peasant's agrarian revolution in the countryside.

In the face of growing resistance, the chief form of which is armed struggle to overthrow the fascist regime, the fascists will never be able to create what they call "economic and political stabilization"—not even with the help of the imperialists headed by the United States and the leading revisionist clique of the Soviet Union. The flame of People's

War will burn this despicable fascist military regime and its accomplices to ashes.

CANADA AND INDONESIA

So far as economic domination by foreign imperialist investors is concerned Canada's situation is not unlike that of Indonesia. The imperialists—headed by the United States—have a financial stake in Canada which far exceeds that of Indonesia. Total foreign investment in Canada is in excess of \$30 billion. This is an investment which the imperialists will go to any lengths to defend.

The only reason we have not, so far, experienced violent reaction from the imperialist investors is because we have not yet attempted to strip them of their power. Our government is a pliant and subservient tool in the hands of foreign monopoly capitalists and administers the country on their behalf. Once the Canadian people decide to take action designed to expel the imperialist monopolists they should expect violent reaction from both the imperialists and their puppet government.

Canada has much to learn from the events in Indonesia.

A 'LITTLE YELLOW BOOK'

A "LITTLE YELLOW BOOK" OF REVISIONIST THOUGHT
by Fernand LeFebvre

translated from the August 11 edition of *La Voix du Peuple*, paper of the Communist Party of Belgium (M. L.).

Proofs of the degeneracy of the Kruschovite Party of Belgium are no longer lacking. One of the surest proofs is the fact that they have chosen Jean Blume for their theoretician. This man, the national secretary of the Party, has written and published a pamphlet entitled "The Belgian Communist Party. What It is. What It Wants." The pamphlet is principally aimed at new members and is consequently full of sound and fury. Unfortunately, in spite of this, the copies of the book are stagnating in basements or lost in the cluttered offices of the revisionist party's front organizations. This is a shame, because the work deals explicitly with all the lies and distortions of the revisionists.

Let us look at the principal characteristics of this piece of trash.

1. Revisionist Candidates for the Bourgeois, Monarchial and Clerical Belgian Government.

In his preface, Jean Blume addresses an imaginary new member of the party.

"This force (of communism) is not, as you might think, a simple force of opposition. It is a force of direction, or, if you prefer a more familiar image, a force of government.

This is particularly true of communist parties such as ours, who are striving to lead their respective countries out of the impasses that the reactionaries have led them into."

What a confession! But also, what presumption! On the one hand, Blume says that his aim and that of his accomplices is to obtain a ministerial position in the bosom of Her Majesty's government but at the same time, he forgets to examine the real nature of his party, which is to play the role of a useless and ridiculous appendage of that regime.

We will see subsequently that this is the key to the worthless little book of the Kruschovite national secretary—this is the theme which is seriously developed all throughout its pages.

The preface ends with a warning. The author assures us that his book is intended only to facilitate the study of the new member, who ought also to devote himself to private reading. What reading? One looks for Blume's references for the new member. One looks in vain. There is no mention of any of the outstanding works of Stalin. Jean Blume has the same opinion of him that Trotsky, Hitler and Kruschov had. But it is not only Stalin's writings that Blume fears. You will find no citation of any of the works of Marx, Engels or Lenin. Jean Blume, like all good Kruschovites, pretends to be faithful to these great Communists only so he can betray them more effectively. Of course it would be stupid of Blume to refer his scanty readers to sources which would expose his miserable "arguments". So he ends up by recommending no readings at all, not even (and with cause) the celebrated report of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U.

2. The Revisionists Distort the Meaning of Class Struggle, Aid Social Democracy, and Slander the Founders of the Party.

In his pamphlet, and especially in the first two chapters, Blume recognizes the existence of class struggle. This is not a very big thing. Even reactionaries, who savagely repress

the Communists, recognize class struggle. Lenin was very precise on this point in his master work, "The State and Revolution". (p. 39)

"It is often said and written that the main point in Marx's teachings is the class struggle; but this is not true. And from this untruth often springs the opportunistic distortion of Marxism, its falsification in such a way as to make it acceptable to the bourgeoisie. For the doctrine of the class was created not by Marx, but by the bourgeoisie before Marx, and generally speaking it is acceptable to the bourgeoisie. Those who recognize only the class struggle are not yet Marxists; they may be found to still be within the bounds of bourgeois thinking and bourgeois politics. To confine Marxism to the doctrine of the class struggle means curtailing Marxism, distorting it, reducing it to something that is acceptable to the bourgeoisie. Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is what constitutes the most profound difference between the Marxist and the ordinary petty (as well as big) bourgeoisie."

What does Blume say? This high-up revisionist, throughout two chapters, talks about Marxism, Revolution, the working class movement, worker unity, the revolutionary party and the class struggle without one reference to the key of Marxist-Leninist doctrine: the dictatorship of the proletariat. After reading his whole book, it is easy to see why.

He begins by fearing that his reader thinks that communism has "mysterious origins and is foreign to our country". There follows a long dissertation on the rigorously European nature of Communism. The dissertation is not just chauvinistic, but racist in tone.

It is true that Marx and Engels, as Lenin himself pointed out, were brought up in bourgeois German philosophy, classical British economic theory, and the ideas of the bourgeois French revolution. They went far beyond these teachings. And no-one, least of all Jean Blume, can deny that the October Revolution, under the direction of Lenin, was at the same time both specifically Russian and also universal. No-one can deny that the victories of the U.S.S.R. in the area of the collectivization of agriculture and socialist reconstruction of industry, according to the teaching of Lenin and under the direction of Stalin, had at the same time a profoundly Soviet character and a universal significance. No-one can deny that the Chinese Revolution, under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, with all that it brings to the enrichment of the theory of revolutionary war, the seizing of power, and the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is a universal event but at the same time, specifically Chinese. I could give many other examples as well, especially of course in the events of the current revolutionary struggles around the world.

Jean Blume, a petty bourgeois with petty bourgeois ideas, fastens onto the "western" origin of communism. Who is he worried of frightening? Himself, no doubt, irrevocably fixed in the contemplation of his "western" navel. The Revolution, today, is world-wide.

TO THE GLORY OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

The thinking of Jean Blume in other areas is equally bankrupt. Speaking of the holdings of the monopolies, he assures us boldly:

"One cannot imagine without trembling what they would have done to our country if they had not had to contend with since 1800's, an organized workers' movement."

He goes on to glorify the Belgian Worker's Party.

"They opened the first breaches in the apparatus of the reactionary dictatorship and its arbitrary patronage. By giving the working class the legal means to express itself and defend itself, they transformed Belgium into a relatively developed country, not only in its economic policies, but also in its social and political policies. The democracy which the right wing is trying so hard to destroy (the "western style democracy" of which Belgium is a model) was won by the struggles of this heroic class."

Let us examine this more closely. Who is naive enough to believe that Belgian capitalism did not have the scope it could have had, or that it submitted to any weakening of itself due to the struggles of social democracy before 1914? Why did Marx and Engels call Belgium "the capitalist paradise"? Who was right, Marx and Engels or Jean Blume?

Belgium became, at the end of the 19th Century and the beginning of the 20th, the prototype of the advanced capitalist countries, with a per capita production that was often higher than that of England, the United States, Germany, or France. This was not due to the working class, but to a dynamic bourgeoisie, freed from all restrictions, benefiting from exceptional natural conditions and from the colonial exploitation of the people and the riches of the Congo. However, in creating this prodigious industry which gave it unequalled power, the bourgeoisie dug its own grave. It created a great mass of workers who, little by little, became conscious of the force of the exploitation of the bourgeoisie. The great class became enriched and the scientific ideological contribution of the great intellectuals — with Marx and Engels in the first ranks. That is the truth.

But since the appearance of the working-class movement, the struggle has been internal, between the revolutionaries and those who tended toward social democracy. Certain workers came to support the bankrupt petty bourgeoisie; some socialist leaders became members of the petty bourgeoisie and even the big bourgeoisie. Again, as Marx and Engels pointed out, social democracy tends to quickly become the mouthpiece of worker's aristocracy, well paid and with petty bourgeois aspirations.

In Belgium, social democracy has never been revolutionary. Marxists or even pseudo-marxists have been only a minority in that movement. More or less sincerely, the leaders of the Belgian Worker's Party adopted the theory that the realization of universal suffrage would be sufficient to permit the triumph of socialism (because, they said, the working-class voters would constitute a majority.) They spread the illusion that successive reforms would permit the complete defeat of capitalism.

The most dynamic section of the bourgeoisie knew quite well that the Belgian Worker's Party could be useful to it. It knew well that it was to the advantage of the bourgeoisie to give the workers the illusion that they participated in state power. It knew well that there were advantages in paying the workers a little more, in cutting down a little their working day; the workers would become less troublesome, their productivity would increase, and perhaps even their vengeful spirits could be soothed. It knew well that in order to operate increasingly complex machines, it was advantageous to allow the workers a little more education.

Of course, this is what happened. All the struggles of the Belgian Worker's Party, from universal suffrage to compulsory education, served the interests of the most conscious and clever section of the bourgeoisie. This group found its political expression through the Progressive Liberals, the leader of which was the member of the big bourgeoisie, Janson, who was uncle and brother to the social-democratic representatives of parliament.

We are not attempting to minimize the bravery of the great proletarian struggles before 1914. The reforms that the working class battled to secure were not negligible, and they cost much repression and many brave deaths. The bourgeoisie ever yields easily or generously. It acts like a master trying to calm a barking dog: It gives only a morsel of sugar at a time and never all the sugar. When he feels it necessary, he beats the dog. And even when all the sugar has been given, nothing has changed; the dog remains a dog and before him is always the master with different sugar and the same blows.

One thing is certain, however; the social-democratic

leaders always trembled when the working class went onto the offensive. They always acted to scuttle the worker's attacks. The collusion between Janson and Vandervelde was total.

Finally, almost all the great reforms which Blume writes of with such fervor remained to be won in 1914, and if they were rapidly won after the first world war, it was because the Belgian bourgeoisie was panic-stricken by the October Revolution and its example. The social democrats served their purpose by sowing illusions of democracy, discrediting the socialist Revolution, the Bolsheviks, and their leader, Lenin.

Blume, of course, slobbers with admiration for these operations. He speaks of democracy. He assures us that Belgium is Progressive, both socially and politically.

Lenin, in his work **The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kutsky**, castigates a revisionist who resembles Blume as closely as a twin brother.

"Kautsky has said that this occurs where democracy is most powerfully developed, and where the financiers and the Stock Exchange submit to bourgeois parliaments. In the most democratic bourgeois state, the oppressed masses are constantly brought up against the contradiction between the nominal equality proclaimed by the capitalist democracy, and the thousands of real restrictions and subterfuges which keep the proletarians in the position of wage slavery."

Jean Blume knows all this, but he has taken on himself the task of creating an artificial storm. In his pamphlet, he does not hesitate to distort and slander our greatest and most revolutionary leaders.

"The formation of the Belgian Communist Party was not inevitable. There was a basis, within the structures of the Belgian Worker's Party, for a new organization."

This is obviously completely untrue. The break with social democracy, which had become purely and simply an organization of the bourgeoisie working in the proletarian sector, was a necessary condition for the birth of a communist party. It is equally true that the repudiation and the denunciation of social democracy, the implacable struggle against it, and the break with its different variants were among the 21 Conditions for inclusion in the Communist International. The 21 Conditions were outlined by Lenin himself. The militants who founded the Belgian Communist Party, led by Joseph Jacquemotte and Henri Glineur, obviously subscribed to the 21 Conditions of the International. Now, at the same time, according to Blume, the Communist Party could have been integrated into the Belgian Worker's Party. Isn't that accusing the founders of the Communist Party of duplicity? Of course, they were not guilty of duplicity. Blume is lying, pure and simple. The revisionist bishop likes to aim his blows against true socialists. Thus he launches attacks against those who, because they denounced the Belgian Worker's Party as a Trojan Horse of the bourgeoisie, he says were guilty of sectarianism.

"They forget that the working-class movement, its organizations and its leaders, even when they were mistaken or committed serious errors, are never compared to a class enemy."

However, as Lenin wrote:

"Down with "socialist" traitors, down with reformism and opportunism! One can and should adopt this line against all traitors of the struggle, without exception. It is only in this way that we will win the support of the masses of workers."

(Salute to the Italian, French and German Communists.)

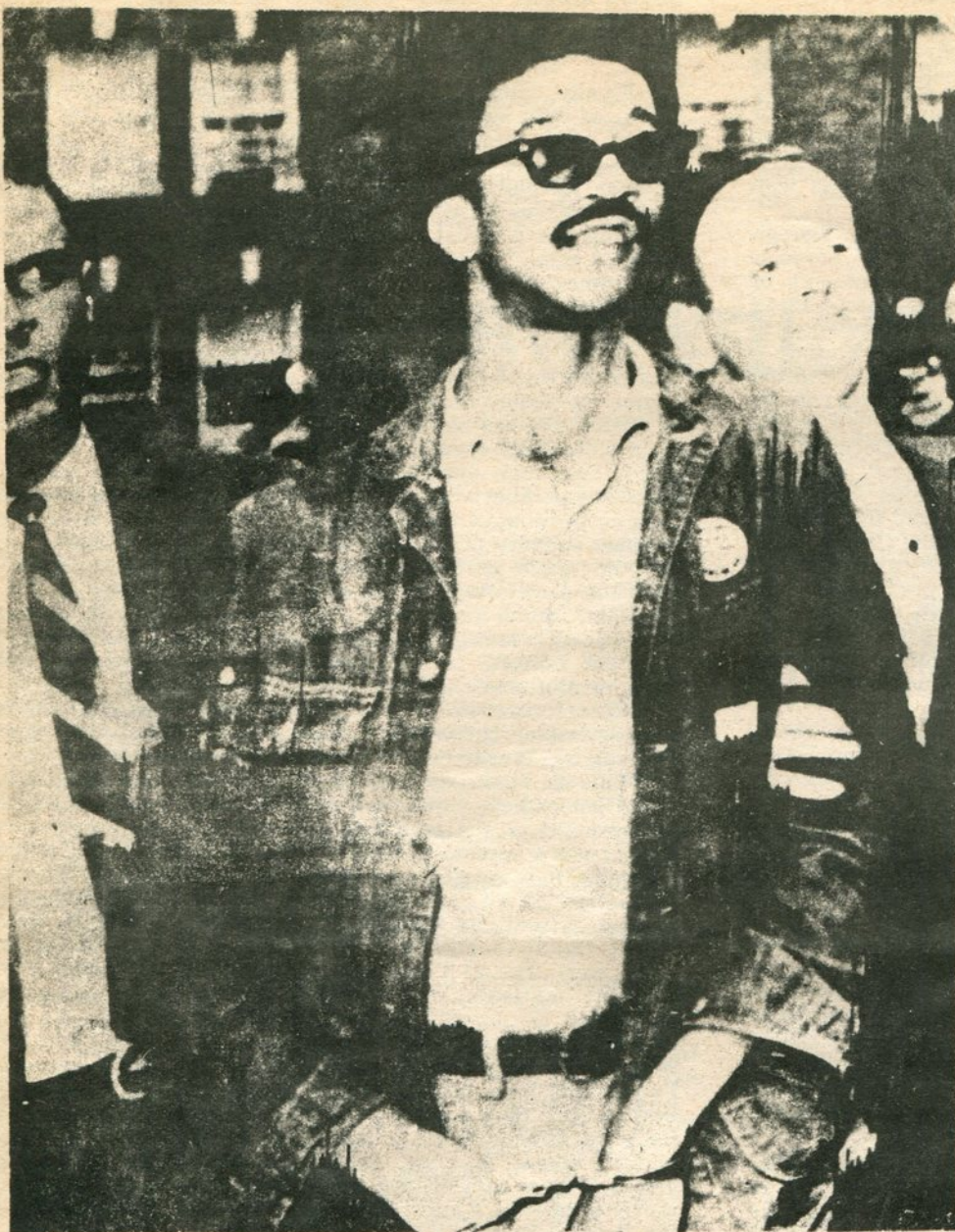
"With the reformists and Mensheviks in the ranks, the victory of the proletarian Revolution is impossible, and it is impossible to defend it. This is indisputable in principle."

(On the Struggle of the Italian Socialist Party.)

"To recognize what the dictatorship of the proletariat means; the complete break, conscious and without pity, with opportunism, reformism, the evasive and compromising character of the Second International; the break with leaders who cannot follow the militant tradition, with those who are old (not in age, but in methods), with the parliamentarians and the bureaucracy of syndicates and cooperatives.

We must break with all these. To pity them is criminal; it means to betray, in the unimportant interest of a hundred or a thousand, the basic interests of millions of workers and small peasants."

(Notes of a Publicist.)



Rap Brown's Prison Statement

Statement by Rap Brown in response to his continued imprisonment:

August 20, 1967 — In the course of any movement that seeks to promote change be it religious, social or revolutionary, individuals because of their beliefs are unjustly made to suffer. For blacks, the historical alternatives for political dissent in America have been death, exile or imprisonment. I am no exception.

I am being held as a political prisoner. However, my confinement will not rebuild Detroit nor will it save America from its due fate. For as America has bestowed upon me in my 23 years her extreme disfavor, she has also through her inhumanity, racism, oppression and exploitation of both black and white, domestic and foreign, made herself an enemy of mankind. I am told that people across the country have recognized my imprisonment to be a sounding board which may in some way reveal their own fate. If it takes imprisonment or even death to expose America for what it is, then this is my destiny.

To all those who favor freedom I say thank you for your convictions and your contributions toward that end.

To all the Black brothers and sisters across America who are caught behind enemy lines, I say the fight has not yet matured. Arm yourselves, for our freedom is yet to come.

Yours in Rebellion,

Rap Brown

BLACK POWER!

WHEN PEOPLE FIGHT BACK By REWI ALLEY

In the ghettos of proud U.S. cities, at times rats chew bits from the faces of sleeping babies; in Vietnam U.S. youth are ordered to fragment old and young mercilessly.

Vietnam and the struggle of Negro Americans; two problems intertwined.

In the U.S. Congress fails to pass a bill for rat control, making mockery of sugary speeches boasting that the basics of unrest are being properly met.

Minute men yell, "We are out to solve our problems in Vietnam by killing! Why not solve them in the same way in our little old U.S.A."

But as a matter of fact, the bombers of Vietnam, with all their cohorts fail each day more miserably than the one before it; fail at great expense, while in U.S. cities the new guerillas see that police without popular backing are impotent and that when a people fight back the whole world moves.

Peitaiho—August 11th, 1967.