

MINE MILL--THE ALTERNATIVE

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Workers of All Countries Unite!

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VIETNAM



THE PEOPLE ARE WINNING

WORTHY SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF LAO PEOPLE

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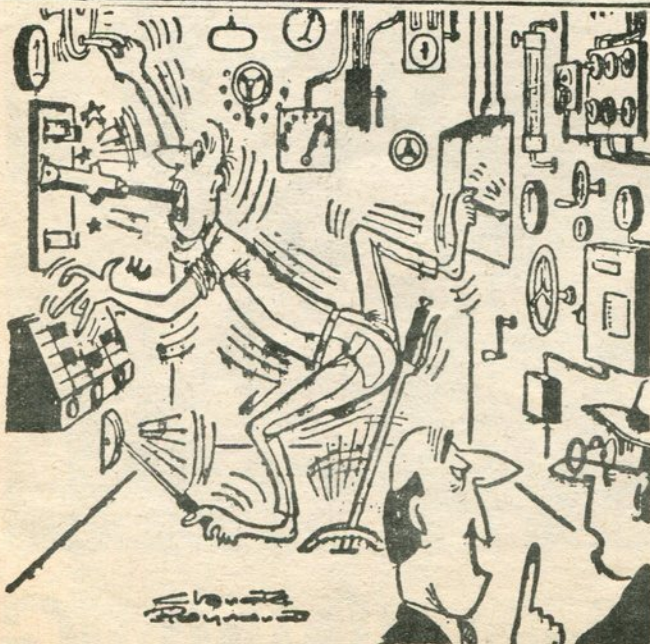
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"We used to have 12 men before this was automated." 2

Laos, a small country of 91,400 square miles and with a population of 2 million is situated just to the northwest of Vietnam. The recent history of Laos, bears a remarkable resemblance to that of other Southeast Asian countries, in that her people also are waging a life and death struggle for their freedom. As in Vietnam, Cambodia and Thailand, Laos is pitting her strength against U.S. troops representing U.S. Imperialism.

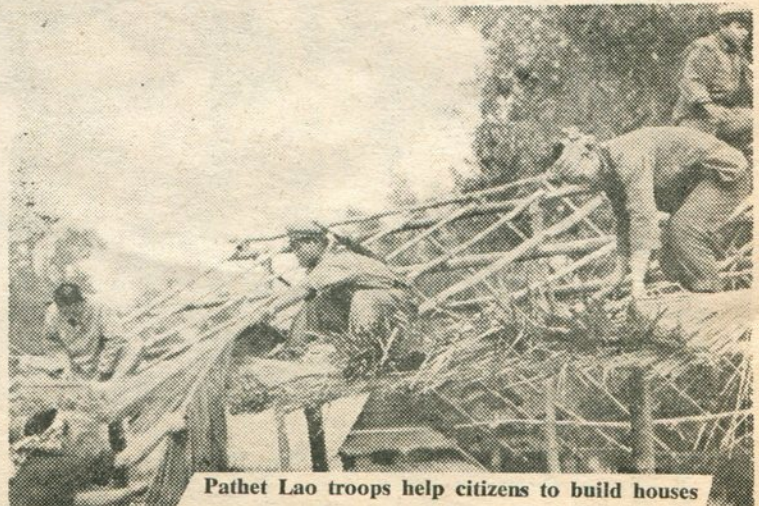
With the signing of the Geneva Agreements in 1954 and the subsequent withdrawal of the French troops, the Lao people breathed a collective sigh of relief believing peace was coming to their troubled land. But it was only May of 1964, ten years later when U.S. phantoms, Thunderchiefs and Sabres began systematic bombing of Laos in a determined effort to subdue her people to the wishes of the U.S. But the Lao people were not to be subdued. Worthy Sons and Daughters published by Leo Haksat Publications 1966, is the story of a representative few, of the Lao people fighting back.

There is the story of Vi Laun, who is asked by the resistance to leave her home, when only thirteen years old, to work in a jungle hospital. Reluctantly at first, and later with much enthusiasm she learns to care for the wounded and gradually enlists the help of the village people in washing the patients clothes and preparing their food. Later when the hospital is desperately short of drugs she leads an expeditionary force on a week long trek into the jungle to gather herbs. Despite the discouragement of some of the comrades, they manage to come back with a plentiful supply of medicinal plants which were later used in curing severe fevers.

Another story is that of the invulnerable Thoong Dam, who it was legended, could withstand bullets. Actually the people so protected him that enemy bullets never did reach him. And there is also the story of Si Thoong who died, having both legs blasted off but still throwing grenades at U.S. troops.

And there is Thoa Laun, a guerrilla cadre, who expressed the indomitable will of the Lao people. "We can defeat them. We know the terrain perfectly. We know where are the hills, the valleys, the swamps, the tracks in the jungle, the shallow places where our streams may be forded. We have but few guns but we can make cross-bows, we can dig spiked pits where the enemy will fall like the wild boars that come to ravage our crops, we can lay snares where he will be caught like hungry tigers. The people love us. They will help us and fight alongside us. We shall win."

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Pathet Lao troops help citizens to build houses

THE BUGGING ENQUIRY

Premier Bennet's Royal Commission on electronic bugging jumped the track for the second time in its brief career. So anxious was the Socred government to get their inquisition underway that they drafted legislation launching the enquiry which was ruled illegal on technical grounds when examined by the B.C. Supreme Court.

On its second attempt the Commission continued on a course of investigating the internal affairs of the unions rather than enquiring into invasion of the privacy of individuals which was what Attorney-General Bonner claimed the Commission was set up to do. The general trend apparent in the work of the Commission just prior to appearing in Supreme Court indicated the hearing was concerned in finding if O'Neal was JUSTIFIED in the use of electronic equipment as a means to defeat the establishment of an independent Canadian Union in the pulp and paper industry.

The Commission was forced into Supreme Court when Orville Braaten, representative of the aggrieved—Canadian Pulp and Paper Workers—was committed to jail on a citation for contempt while O'Neal, self-confessed associate of the R.C.M.P. Security and Intelligence Branch and employer of the detective agency that arranged the bugging, remained at liberty and basked in the concern of "respectable" people, including leading spokesmen for Canadian Labour Congress, for his welfare and reputation.

However, public expressions of opinion are now almost universal in the demand for an end to the enquiry and government legislation outlawing electronic spying. Provincial leaders of both the New Democratic and the Liberal Parties have condemned the enquiry as both biased and unnecessary. One MLA has pointed out that a glance at the yellow pages in the telephone directory, which carries numerous advertisements for electronic snooping, would obviate any necessity for a Royal Commission to prove that the practice is widespread. Members of Parliament at Ottawa have added their sweet voice to those demanding action. The Vancouver Labour Council refused to bend to pressure from the C.L.C. and reiterated their opposition to both bugging and Pat O'Neal. Vancouver Local 1-217 I.W.A., which has taken a lead in the matter from the start, wired Attorney-General Bonner in support of the N.D.P. and Liberal demand for dissolution of the Commission. The telegram read, in part: "When the victims of this original outrage are now being thrown in jail surely this was never intended when the enquiry was set up. We therefore request immediate government action to bring this enquiry to a close."

Even the Tory morning paper, "The Province" expressed editorial concern in the following words: "Mr. Justice Seaton has confirmed what many have long felt: the Royal Commission probing the invasion of privacy... has itself been guilty of invading privacy." After commenting on the possible anti-labour bias that motivated the setting up of the Commission the editorial concluded: "But if Attorney-General Bonner really wants to get rid of electronic snoopers he can do it better now than by waiting a year for the next session of the house."

In the judgement which he handed down Justice Seaton strongly hinted that had circumstances been different he might have granted the application for an injunction to halt the enquiry. The Supreme Court Justice held that Braaten was, to some extent, the author of his own misfortunes in that he took advantage of the situation in the examination of his opponents. To end the hearing at this point, he said, would be doing an injustice to the other side who had a right to be heard in their own defence. The decision, however, instructed the Commissioner to stay within the bounds of the enquiry and declared he was wrong in committing Braaten.

That some steps may be taken to control the rapidly expanding business of electronic espionage is a development to be warmly welcomed. But it would be naive in-

deed for one to believe that the partial measures talked about are going to halt, or even slightly inhibit, the most effective, most widespread and most vicious forms of electronic snooping.

It is well known that the U.S.-originated practice of the big monopoly industries installing listening devices and hidden T.V. cameras to spy on their employees has been imported into Canada, mostly through the agency of branches of the American monopolies. This is an area of electronic bugging which will not be touched by government legislation and, in any event, it is an area extremely difficult—if not impossible—to police, even if the government were desirous of doing so. Investigation into bugging as practiced by business may, in fact, have been one of the causes that sent the authorities scurrying for cover. That auto salesmen were using electronics to listen to private conversations was brought to light on the course of the enquiry. Counsel for the Commission claimed the right to enquire into the whole background and operation of any business brought under investigation for electronic bugging. This was a frightening prospect for business and it was a foregone conclusion that the rulers of the nation were not going to stand for ambitious lawyers snooping into their records. "Labour yes: Business no!" is the watchword.

Another aspect of electronic surveillance which is certain not to be touched by legislation is that which comes under direction of the state political police—the Security and Intelligence Branch of the R.C.M.P. with whom O'Neal had such friendly relations. Indeed, almost all those who otherwise decry the use of electronic devices hasten to declare themselves in favour of excluding the R.C.M.P. operations in the name of "national security". How wide an area the term "national security" can be made to cover is easily discernible when one remembers how it was used to cover police spying in the alleged peccadillos of Tory Cabinet Ministers. Mostly "national security" refers to police surveillance over the Labour Movement, and particularly over the left wing of labour.

No matter who else may be prohibited or restricted in the use of electronic devices it has already been made abundantly clear that the real rulers of the nation—the monopolists and their secret police—are not going to be in any way impeded in the use of equipment needed for gathering information about those deemed worthy of such attention. Action, if any, will do no more than bring under control the amateurs who are mucking up the premises, causing a public outcry and attracting unwanted attention to the official apparatus. The really meaningful spying will definitely continue.

Behind all the noise and furore over the electronic bugging enquiry, and in danger of being lost sight of, is the question of an Independent Canadian Labour Movement and the worker's right to belong to unions of their own choosing. Pat O'Neal who condemned electronic eavesdropping as Secretary of the B.C. Federation of Labour, seeks to justify his employment of such despicable measures as appointed representative of a U.S. union and as necessary for the defeat of those attempting to establish a Canadian Union.

It is this same desire to maintain the ascendancy of U.S. unions in Canada that causes the bureaucratic officials of the Canadian Labour Congress to chastise the Vancouver Labour Council for its criticism of O'Neal. It is also causing a widening division between the B.C. Fed. on the one side and the V.L.C. and various unions on the other. Among officers of the C.L.C. and the B.C. Fed. the impression is given—although not openly expressed—that electronic snooping is alright if it serves a good purpose, such as guarding "national security" or maintaining the stranglehold of U.S. domination over Canadian unions. There have been rather broad hints lately to the effect that the practice of one union spying upon another (and even internal spying of one faction upon another) is quite

widespread. Canadian workers dues money is being used to finance a system of espionage designed to assist in keeping Canadian Unionists in thrall to the labour lieutenants of U.S. monopoly capital.

Even those who oppose bugging do not do so only, or even mainly, on moral or ethical grounds. They are more concerned with the fact that it gives labour a black eye, damages the prestige of the "International" unions and causes support to swing toward the Canadian unions. Even Syd Thompson, President of Local 1-217 of the I.W.A. the sharpest critic of O'Neal and most outspoken in condemning his tactics, makes his plea on this count of damage to the cause of the Internationals. Here are Thompson's own words:

"We maintain that the activities of O'Neal have done untold damage to the affiliates of the Federation and have been particularly harmful to International Unions. We are of the opinion that this bugging episode, for instance, has done more harm, to International Unions than the Canadian Pulp Workers will be able to accomplish in the next twenty years."

The I.W.A., it must be noted, is also motivated by the desire to take over the jurisdiction of the pulp and paper unions in what they declare is an effort to unite the forest industry under the banner of one union—a desirable objective if it were not accompanied by an effort to keep Canadian Labour tied to the kite of U.S. labour-imperialism. Thompson's condemnation of the Canadian Union is hardly in keeping with the facts and the existence of that union does not impede progress toward realization of a single union in the forest industry. On the contrary, it immeasurably assists the realization of that very desirable goal if only Thompson and his colleagues would realize the need for a Canadian Union and reckon

with the growing demand of the rank and file for this type of organization. We commend Thompson to a reading of the editorial in "The Barker", the official journal of his own local, issue of February, 1967. Although not specifically intended as such the editorial presents a strong argument in defence of the formation of an Independent and Democratic Canadian Labour Movement. It reads, in part:

"Elections at conventions rather than by the entire membership and the placing of Local Unions under trusteeship when they kick over the traces and disagree with the top brass and appointment of officials, is common practice that is all too familiar.

"In the United States this Craft approach and outlook is headed by the A.F.L.-C.I.O. under the leadership of George Meaney. This is without question the most reactionary labour movement in the entire world today. It has the policy of maintaining the status-quo and blind support for U.S. government policies. . ."

These are excellent reasons why Canadian workers should break from U.S. domination and Thompson should study them seriously. Any idea that Canadian unionists, an almost infinitesimal minority in the "International" set-up, can change these conditions, is a pipe-dream. We can, however, make our own policies and decisions if we are independent and free to do so.

We too are for internationalism—but true internationalism. That requires of us that we first organize ourselves as CANADIANS and then affiliate internationally on a free and equal basis with ALL national labour movements. Yielding to the domination of U.S.-appointed bureaucrats is not internationalism—it is national subservience to alien domination.



U.E. VERSUS U.E.

For close to three decades now the union bureaucrats have been playing a role similar to that of a huckster in the public market place. Where once the working people were called upon to join unions to aid their fellow workers as much as to further their own interests they are now challenged to play the capitalist game of one-upmanship: "join my union and get ahead of your fellow-man" is now the clarion call to trade union action. The proud boast of the bureaucrat is "we did better than those other guys". Union raiding is conducted to the tune of "come in with us and get more money than those other fellows". Labour solidarity, which was the keystone of the unions for many years has been replaced with the competitive law of the capitalist jungle. You don't help your brother unionist any more—you use him as a stepping stone to a more lucrative position in society.

It has been left to the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America to carry this huckstering to its ridiculous climax. The U.E. is now calling on the worker to join the U.E. and win better wages than the U.E. settles for. If you think that sounds slightly insane you are right but we assure you we have NOT been indulging in L.S.D. Here is the story.

After last years debacle in the Lenkurt Electric strike in British Columbia, workers began moving in the direction of an independent Canadian Electrical Workers Union. In the midst of this there appeared the U.E. to confuse the issue and foul up the landscape. They pretend opposition to the bureaucrat-ridden I.B.E.W. but, behind the scenes, advise the workers to maintain "unity" by remaining in the international.

Recently there emerged from the Vancouver office maintained by U.E. a leaflet which lauded the settlement which ended a strike against General Electric in Ontario. We will not, at the moment, examine the details of this settlement but cite only this passage from the leaflet:

"... the normal differential between Ontario and B.C. is about 42 cents in favour of B.C. But the U.E. has been able to reverse this by its C.G.E. settlement. If we were able to restore the differential in favour of B.C. that existed up to 1954 the base rate here would be well above C.G.E.'s rates quoted above. JOIN THE U.E. NOW. and let us win our old wage differentials back!"

So there it is all in its mad glory. Join the U.E. and get better settlements than the U.E.! The leaflet modestly refrains from telling us how this miracle is to be accomplished. Are we to believe that the U.S. monopolists who control the electrical industry west and east can be conned into treating the western workers more kindly than they do their sisters and brothers in the east? Is it that the U.E. leaders are more dynamic and militant when they get west of the Great Divide and enter the rarefied atmosphere of Bennet-land? Will the U.E. officers be able to turn on enough charm to convince the electrical workers in Ontario to forego the pleasure of wage increases against the day when rates in B.C. have reached a satisfactory point well in excess of those in the east? The problem is an enthralling one and we will await with U.E.'s explanation of just how the trick is to be turned. But if the secret does leak out what is to prevent every union from adopting the same tactics and launching out in a mad spree of out negotiating one another and themselves?

The whole proposition is, of course, ridiculous. Workers make advances not in competition with one another but as a result of united, militant action. However, thanks is due the U.E. (or whoever writes their propaganda) for demonstrating to us to what ridiculous ends bureaucratic huckstering can bring us.



P.W.M. TRADE UNION PROGRAM

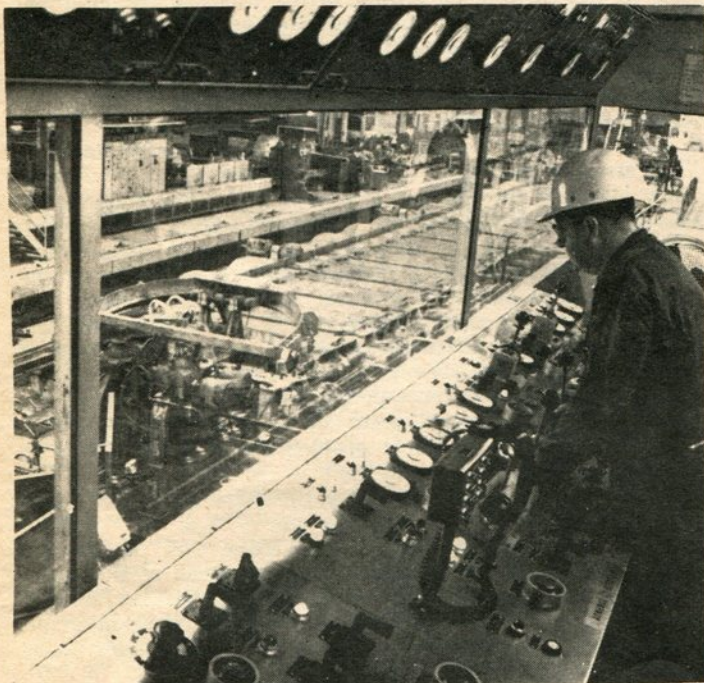
CANADIAN WORKING CLASS

Of some 20 million people scattered across our land, which is second in the world in terms of land area, over 6 million are workers and of these less than 30 percent are members of Labour Unions. The unions in Canada are, for the most part, American (so-called "Internationals"), controlled by the U.S. bureaucrats through their appointed conservative and opportunist representatives who hold all key positions.

Organized Canadian labour therefore, reflects U.S. imperialist domination of Canada. The one exception to this general condition is the Confederation of National Trade Unions in Quebec which was born out of the growth-struggle for self-determination in the country.

In a land with an abundance of resources, and the skills to take full advantage of them, the working people suffer from recurring crises of unemployment and the misery that accompanies it. One third of the Canadian workers live on annual incomes that are considered well below the poverty line and an additional one third live just on, or slightly above, that line.

Increasing monopoly concentration in an already highly monopolised economy and the rapid expansion of automation techniques in industrial production ensure



ever greater profits to the U.S. monopolists who dominate our nation's economy but brings to the Canadian working class only increased unemployment and want. There is a growing awareness that there will be no basic change in the conditions of increasing poverty, insecurity and degradation so long as the system of capitalist and imperialist exploitation lasts.

The youth especially are hit particularly hard. Young people are leaving school in search of unemployment only to find there is none to be had. They enter a world that has little need of them, except perhaps as cannon fodder in a war promoted by the same U.S. imperialists who dominate Canada and are responsible for the conditions that result in unemployment for Canadian youth. These young people are faced with a future that is bleak indeed unless the system of capitalist exploitation is replaced with a new social system based on Socialist principles.

Canadian workers do not willingly or docilely accept poverty and deteriorating living standards. In spite of the failure of the so-called "Labour Statesmen" to give lead-

ership in the struggle and in spite of revisionist betrayal, many bitter battles have been fought involving wide sections of the working people and the prospect is for more bitter and violent class warfare in the immediate future as the monopolists intensify their drive for ever greater profits and prepare for an expansion of their war against the common people.

The most advanced workers, those grounded in the science of Marxism-Leninism and possessing a revolutionary perspective of a society without exploitation of man by man are charged with the prime responsibility of reviving the Canadian Labour Movement and inspiring it with a new sense of purpose and direction. In order to rout the established leadership with their class-collaborationist policies and to defeat the anti-labour drive of big business it will be necessary to arm labour with the historic perspective of socialism.

U.S. DOMINATION OF CANADIAN UNIONS

Figures recently published in the first annual report under the "Corporations and Labour Unions Returns Act", provide valuable data on the extent of U.S. domination over the Canadian Trade Union Movement. The report shows that 79.35 percent of all organized workers in Canada (including Quebec) are under U.S. bureaucratic control, either directly as locals of American Unions or indirectly through affiliation to the Canadian Labour Congress, the policies of which are American made. Take away the purely Quebec C.N.T.U. and the percentage of those controlled from the U.S. will rise sharply.

We have therefore, a situation where U.S. economic domination is paralleled by an equally solid U.S. control of our unions—a control exercised by U.S. labour bureaucrats who overtly support American imperialist plans for world conquest. It has been clearly proven that the U.S. "labour statesmen" are no more than a front for U.S. imperialist interests. It would be sheer nonsense to expect that such a leadership could even remotely or accidentally represent the basic interests of Canadian workers. For example: when Canadian Auto Workers were on strike against U.S. owned auto corporations their "union brothers" across the border were instructed to work overtime for the same company's plants in the U.S. to produce automobiles for the Canadian market.

The U.S. union leaders have betrayed the American working class and tied them tightly to the policies of aggression and war being pursued by the U.S. imperialists. These overpaid merchants of labour act as recruiting sergeants for the militarists and spend much of their time urging the youth of America to march out and die for the "American way of life". They avoid strikes like the plague and push workers to greater efforts in the production of increasing quantities of poison gas, napalm and other weapons of death and destruction.

The corrupt A.F.L.-C.I.O. officials have defended the interests of the U.S. ruling class at every point and on all occasions. They participated in plotting the overthrow of such mildly democratic bourgeois regimes as that of Juan Bosch in Dominica and Jagan in British Guiana; they support Johnson's war of genocide in Vietnam and shore up tottering military dictatorships all over the world. They have been guilty of the most flagrant interference in the international affairs of trade unions in Britain, Japan, France, Italy, Germany, Africa, Mexico—etc. The evidence is easily obtained—they boast of their exploits.

Interference on the part of these labour bosses in the affairs of Canadian trade unions is partially obscured and given a mask of legality by the simple process of having the union constitution conform to every reactionary and anti-labour act passed by the United States Congress. In this way Canadian members of American unions are made subject to the laws of a foreign country and U.S. anti-

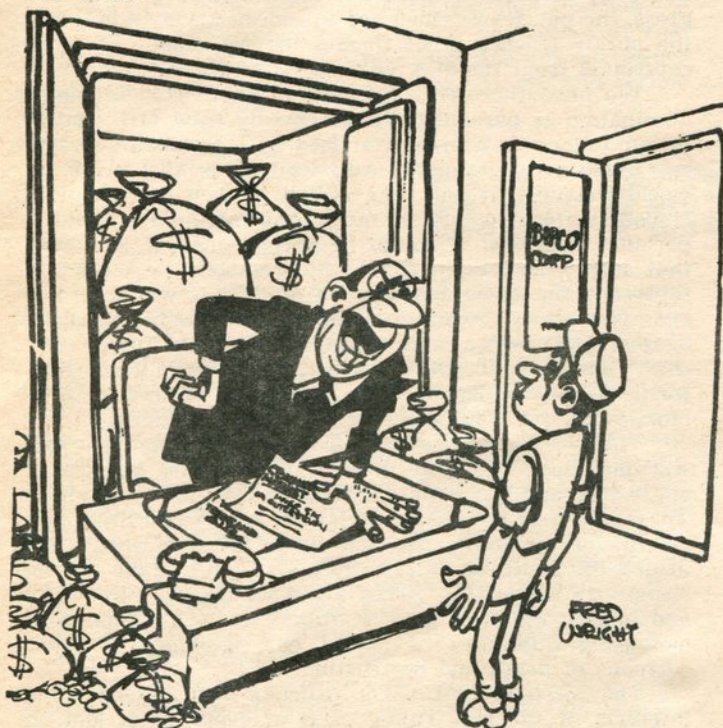
Communist regulations are applied to workers in Canada.

"Non-co-operative" locals are placed under trusteeship; phoney, discredited bureaucrats are appointed to positions of authority; strikes are forbidden and agreements signed over the heads of protesting workers who are allowed no say in the matter—conditions are accepted, or you don't work. So long as this imperialist fungus clings to the body of the Canadian labour movement there is little hope that the unions will play the vital role they should play in the fight to free the nation from economic bondage.

Canadian workers must awake to the fact that the stakes we're fighting for are of much greater significance than just freeing ourselves from a bureaucracy—bureaucracy is an ever-present factor in capitalist society. The immediate objective is to free ourselves from a foreign bureaucracy that acts as agent of an alien power the dominates the nation's economy. We need to struggle for an independent, Socialist nation, but we cannot properly pursue that struggle so long as our unions remain shackled to the authority of the agents of that same alien power we are fighting.

The primary task confronting Canadian workers at this point in history is one of building a militant, independent Canadian union movement under democratic rank and file control. Proposals for so-called "autonomy" (which is no more than a lengthening of the leash-not its removal) only confuses the issue and is tantamount to treason to the workers and the nation.

STRATEGY AND TACTICS FOR WORKING CLASS VICTORY



"Are you going to be guilty of undermining the free world or will you accept a wage cut?"

Trade unions are basic organizations of the working class which originated in the pre-monopoly era of capitalism and were formed for the specific purpose of struggling for better wages and improved living and working conditions. In Wages, Price and Profit, Marx wrote: "Trade unions work well as centers of resistance against the encroachments of capital. They fail partially from an injudicious use of their power. They fail generally from limiting themselves to a guerilla war against the effects of the existing system instead of simultaneously trying to change it instead of using their organized forces as a lever for the final emancipation of the working class that is to say, the ultimate abolition of the wage system."



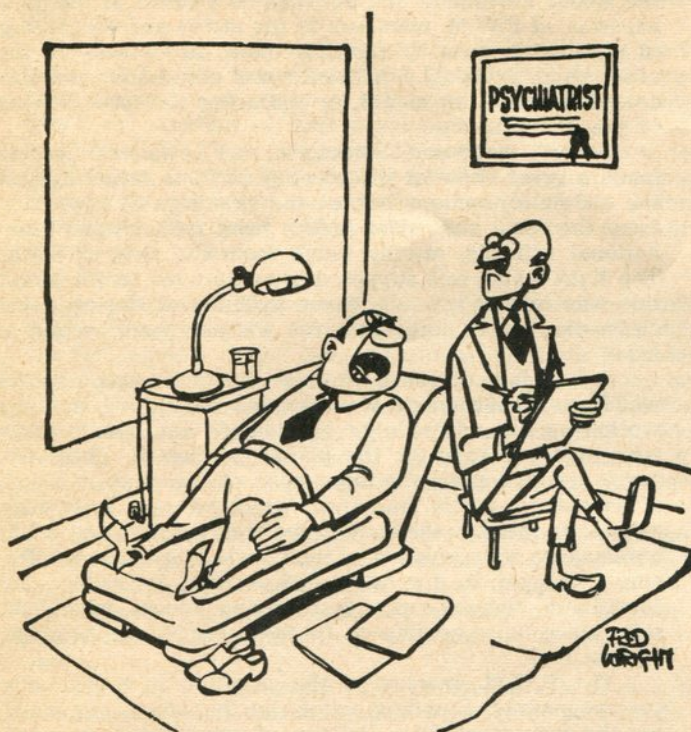
After a protracted and oft-times bloody struggle for the right to organize and to improve conditions, Canadian workers are finding out that the limited reforms won at great cost have not resulted in any real security or decent conditions. Every initial gain won by the workers is constantly being undermined by rising prices, unemployment, plants moving to low wage areas, etc. So long as land and industry remains the private property of a privileged few the economy will operate for the sole benefit of the owning class and in the interests of obtaining maximum profits and the power and authority of the state will be used to protect the capitalist system of robbery which, in the case of Canada, is imperialist robbery since the main sectors of the economy are in the hands of an alien power—the U.S. monopolists.

The working class is the main and leading force in the struggle for social change by means of the revolutionary struggle for the realization of a socialist society. Revolutionaries must, therefore, strive to show the working class how to use the unions as a weapon to shape their future, a revolutionary weapon for the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man. To achieve this we must have a clear understanding of economic and political conditions and arm ourselves with a knowledge of Marxism-Leninism. We must be able to advance in the simplest terms a correct programme that will arouse the workers to action and point them in the direction of a socialist solution to their problems. The main points in such a programme should be:

1. To expand and intensify the class struggle against the main enemy—U.S. imperialism.
2. To free Canadian unions from U.S. domination, deepen the national and class consciousness of the workers and develop action to defeat the U.S. bureaucrats and their Canadian stooges. Promote the organization of an independent, democratic Canadian union movement under rank and file control.
3. To participate in the struggle for immediate gains but in a manner calculated to take care of the future of the workers, above all working to develop the socialist understanding of the workers, creating a revolutionary leadership and a mass base for socialist action as the indispensable condition for the victory of the working class in the battle for state power.
4. To mobilize and unite the working people against exploitation, imperialist aggression and fascist reaction. Support the Quebec Liberation Movement in the fight for national self-determination.
5. Promote united action with, and support for the progressive demands of small farmers, agricultural workers, middle class, ethnic groups and intellectuals.
6. Special attention to the problems of women, youth students and unemployed.
7. Build a nation-wide united front against U.S. imperialism, national traitors and fascist reaction. Promote international working class solidarity.

We must guard against falling into the trap of separating the immediate struggle for reforms from the ob-

jective long-range struggle for socialism as the revisionists do in their opportunist contest for official positions and to direct the struggle away from the road to revolutionary action. Behind a fake call for "trade union unity" the revisionists obscure the important fact of U.S. dom-



"I SAID MY EMPLOYEES DON'T LIKE ME FOR SOME REASON
WASH OUT YOUR EARS, YA STUPID JERK!"

ination and oppose the development of independent Canadian unions. They fail to expose the nature of the capitalist state and the purely reformist character of simple trade union action. The revisionists and opportunists fear to engage in struggle to make the truth known and abandon Marxist-Leninist principles advocating instead policies that are in direct opposition to the basic interests of the working people.

We must also guard against the "leftist" error of failing to participate in the struggle for immediate demands usually because of a sectarian outlook that the fight for reforms is of no consequence and only creates illusions in workers minds. Such illusions about the capitalist system are soon dispelled through practical experience in the class struggle.

"If you want to know a certain thing or a certain class of things directly, you must personally participate in the practical struggle to change reality—to change that thing or class of things, for only thus can you come into contact with them as phenomena, only through personal participation in the practical struggle to change reality can you uncover that thing or class of things and comprehend them". (Mao Tse-tung, Selected Works, Vol. 1, pages 299-300).

So-called revolutionaries who refuse to lead workers in actual battle are no more than "armchair socialists" who quickly find they have no troops to lead.

Revolutionary and militant workers must master the technique of applying Marxist-Leninist principles to develop the political consciousness of the working class in the spontaneous struggles of the labour movement. In the struggles of the present they must take care of the future interests of the class.

There is no easy method or formula for applying this principle of struggle. Each industry, shop, union and sit-

uation must be studied in order to recognize the main features in order to know how best to advance a revolutionary programme.

THE PRESENT CRISIS

An explanation of the crisis in the trade union movement which is favoured by revisionists and right-wing bureaucrats alike is that it is the result of increased resistance to workers demands on the part of the employers. This explanation serves to obscure their own incompetence as leaders and their total inability to meet the conditions arising out of the sharpening crisis of the world capitalist system.

Resistance to workers demands has always been a characteristic feature of big business, changing only as to methods adopted according to needs and current conditions. The big play given by revisionist journals to the report of the organization of a representative committee of big business interests is somewhat humorous. It is as though the revisionists have suddenly made the discovery that the capitalist class stands in opposition to labour and is opposed to having profits reduced in order to meet trade union demands. The conflict between capital and labour has always been a characteristic of the capitalist system and will continue to be so as long as that system shall last. It is nonsense to speak of this continual struggle as being responsible for the crisis in the labour movement; such an explanation can neither explain nor solve the crisis.

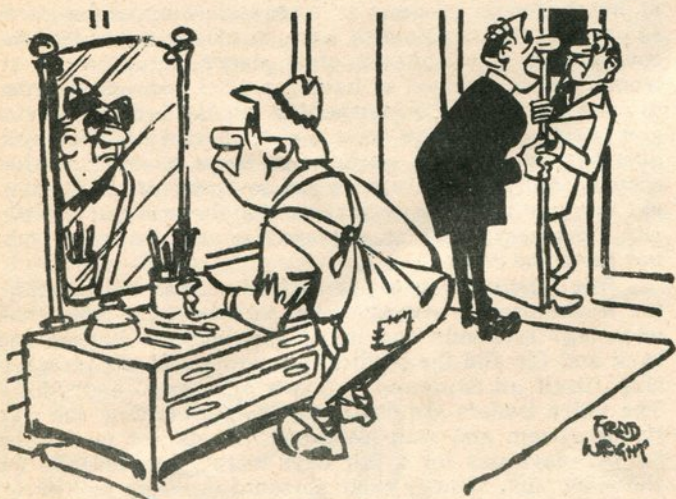
The crisis is due to the failure of labour leadership, the weaknesses in organizational structure, the wide (and widening) economic and social gap between leaders and rank and file and the political immaturity of the membership (itself an expression of lack of correct leadership). The union leaders are committed to maintaining the capitalist system and raise demands that do not go beyond "A fair days pay for a fair days work". The leaders, for the most part, identify their personal interests with those of the ruling class, consequently when capitalism goes into crisis they, too, are in crisis, find themselves alienated from the membership and are totally unable to cope with the situation.

Conditions become almost intolerable for the lower-



ranking leaders who are closest to the wrath of the rank and file and more susceptible than the upper echelons to pressure from that direction. Squeezed between the mem-

bers and the bosses the lower-ranking leaders are often pressured into actions they would prefer not to take and, when chastised by their superiors, the state and the employers, they blame the membership for having got them into the mess and become incensed with them. Under these conditions the actions of these lower ranks are mostly unpredictable, inconsistent and can lead to disastrous situations if no counter-balancing force exists to offset it. An example of what can result from this type and method of leadership is to be seen in the disastrous strike at Lenkurt Electric in British Columbia which is by no means an isolated incident. These struggles provide us with valuable lessons from which we must learn so we will be better equipped to give guidance in the development of an alternative leadership.



"HE'S PRACTICING HIS BANKRUPT EXPRESSION FOR THE CONTRACT NEGOTIATIONS TOMORROW."

LESSONS OF TEAMSTERS AND LENKURT STRIKES

The Ontario Teamster strike ended in a large measure of victory for the workers for several important reasons.

The entire membership in the area was involved in the struggle and maintained a high degree of militancy throughout. The strike situation developed over a fairly lengthy period of time which the Teamsters put to good use in developing a strong rank and file leadership with widespread influence. There was a split between revisionist C.P. leaders and their following in the Teamster Union; a following with strong economist leanings and a militant attitude toward trade union battles.

The end result was that the rank and file in Ontario were able to overcome leadership vacillation and outright betrayal. Even "radical" leaders were unequal to the task of getting men back to work before their priority demands were met.

In the Lenkurt strike only a portion of the union membership was involved. The strike began spontaneously giving no opportunity for adequate rank and file preparation. The revisionists who played an important leading role in the struggle were united on objectives and joined with the right-wing social democrats and U.S. appointed stooges in stressing that the most important aim was to "get the workers back in the plant". The strike was abandoned and betrayed by the official leadership and went down to inglorious defeat.

The important lesson to be learned from the history and outcome of these struggles is that development of a dynamic rank and file leadership is a vital necessity to the success of future labour struggles.

Progressive Workers Movement is, of course, interested in something more than partial economic gains important as those may be to a temporary alleviation of the workers economic plight. To us it is most important

that workers engaged in struggle should learn the POLITICAL lessons of that struggle and that these lessons should be drawn to the attention of the entire class. In this respect it appears to us that B.C. is far ahead of Ontario in that the lessons were widely discussed, both in the labour movement and publicly, as a result of the participation of P.W.M. members in the strike and the issuing of political leaflets by the movement. In Ontario, on the other hand, revisionist influence was paramount and succeeded, to quite an extent, in obscuring the basic lessons of the struggle.

In B.C., both social-democrat and revisionist leaders made a great show of threatening militant action against the use of injunctions but, at the first sign of opposition from the state and under orders from national and international officials, rapidly faded from the field of battle. The fight which was supposed to be pursued on the picket line was moved into the home grounds of the capitalist class—the courts, and there the workers were certain to lose.

In the face of police violence and stool pigeon tactics well-known revisionists went around declaiming that the workers must not indulge in violence and should allow strikebreakers to enter the plant unmolested. These elements try to convey the impression of standing on a sort of neutral no man's land from which vantage point they propose to mediate the conflict between workers and union bureaucrats thus enhancing their own prestige and influence. However, in a conflict such as that at Lenkurt the conciliator succeeds only in receiving knocks from both sides since he is anxious to be for neither and, therefore, against both.

The P.W.M. reacted to the situation in a generally correct manner. Standing solidly on the side of the workers the movement drew the fire of every reactionary, revisionist and bureaucrat within hailing distance. But our message was well received where it counted most—among the rank and file unionists. Nevertheless, it must be noted that the strike underlined certain shortcomings in our work and it is incumbent upon us to constantly examine our activities in order to correct our style and methods of work.

Some time ago we took a decision to make a concerted effort in raising the important question of the need for an independent Canadian union movement. But we abstracted this fight from the general struggle of the workers for improved living and working conditions. It is easy enough for us to recognize the importance of the struggle for an independent movement but the workers will see it only in relation to the general struggle. It will, therefore, be necessary for us to raise this question in conjunction with the whole broad front of struggle and do more effective work in pointing out that the defeat of the U.S. bureaucracy is essential to democratic worker control of the unions and that such control is a necessary pre-requisite for turning the unions into the effective fighting organs they can and must become in order to defend the rights and living standards of the workers and free our land from alien domination.

AN ALTERNATIVE LABOUR CENTRE

It is an undeniable fact that broad sections of Canadians workers are thoroughly disillusioned with the policies and leadership of the American-controlled unions and would welcome the opportunity to effect a change. Almost every struggle that breaks out is marked by expressions of dissatisfaction with the existing state of affairs. The only factor of importance that seems to be missing in order to cause a mass exodus from the so-called "internationals" is an alternative labour centre which would provide leadership and a rallying point.

The forces for the creation of such a centre do exist in such groups as Mine-Mill, United Electrical Workers, Fishermen, Pulp and Paper Workers, Ironworkers, etc. But the major portion of this group are under revisionist influence and leadership and the revisionists are adamant-

ly opposed to an alternate centre and for "unity" within the U.S.-dominated Internationals and a vaguely-defined "autonomy" that is dependent on the goodwill of the U.S. labour bureaucrats. The success of this revisionist policy is measured by the share of official posts the revisionists are permitted to occupy. According to this plan even the Quebec-based C.N.T.U. is to be "united" with the C.L.C.

It is obvious that the revisionists will give no support to the fight for an independent Canadian union movement. On the contrary, they will exert every effort to obstruct the creation of such a movement.

The C.N.T.U. is an example and an inspiration to workers in English Canada and provide us with lessons on how to work for the creation of a Canadian union movement free from U.S. domination whether open or in the guise of autonomy.

C.N.T.U.

The fact that Quebec and the English provinces both suffer alike from U.S. domination makes it necessary for the development of the closest fraternal relations between both groups. Such relations, however, can only develop on the basis of mutual respect and confidence and, in the first place, in English-speaking workers supporting the demand of the Quebec people for self-determination. A paternal and patronizing attitude is no substitute for correct fraternal relations.

English-speaking workers cannot liberate Quebec no more than Quebec workers can liberate English-speaking unionists from U.S. domination. Mutual support and solidarity in the struggle is essential but each must be completely free to determine their own destiny in their own way.

The C.N.T.U. proposals for expansion concedes the all-important point that Quebec is an integral part of the Canadian nation, threatens to alienate a section of the Canadian workers whose understanding of the national question in relation to Quebec is already low, thus the move puts the struggle for self-determination in jeopardy by alienating the organized Quebec workers from the national struggle.

The C.N.T.U. could quite properly offer advice and support to any move on the part of English-speaking workers to break from U.S. domination. In view of the rich experience and success of the C.N.T.U. in Quebec such advice could well prove invaluable. However, they should inform those groups that call for expansion that their hands are full in Quebec where more than 70 per cent of the workers are still unorganized and the national question remains unresolved. They cannot do for the English workers what they are not prepared to do for themselves.

To those workers in English Canada who imagine that freedom from U.S. domination lies through the back door of C.N.T.U. we would point out that there is no satisfactory substitute for struggle and no easy road to freedom. Breaking the U.S. hold on the Canadian unions requires the total mobilization of an alert rank and file to seize control from the bureaucracy and place it in the hands of the members whom it rightfully belongs.

The P.W.M., however, has no intention of engaging in open battle with the C.N.T.U. The enemy of both ourselves and the C.N.T.U. is U.S. domination and ways must be found to unite our forces in struggle against the common enemy. Such unity must, of course, be based on equality, mutual respect of each for the rights of the other, full support for Quebec's right to self-determination and for an end to U.S. domination of our unions and our economic affairs.

SUMMARY

As the waves of the world crisis of capitalism break across the shores of North America the ruling class demonstrates their determination that, as usual, profits will be maintained and even increased while the burden of the crisis is loaded on the backs of the working people. The

economy is being increasingly concentrated and monopolised and state control over democratic organizations is being tightened up. Even the most elementary demands advanced by labour are being met with stiff opposition from the employers who take advantage of the crisis in labour leadership. The employers crack the whip over their docile agents in the labour movement, demanding of the bureaucrats, revisionists and right social democrats that they exercise more control and discipline over the "trouble makers" in the unions.

These are the conditions that result in a crisis in the labour movement—in the leadership and structure of the unions. Leaders are occasionally forced into popular action by pressure of the members but are quite unable to provide the dynamic and consistent leadership and militant policies that are called for in an era of crisis. The personal interests of these so-called "leaders" are bound up with the present social system while only a policy of fundamental opposition to the system of capitalist exploitation can bring solid and permanent gains for the working people.

The end result is that these so-called "labour statesmen" are more and more leading workers into struggles that are already lost before they have scarcely begun.

Greater effort must be exerted to develop a rank and file movement and rally the workers for a sharpening of the struggle for an Independent Canadian Trade Union. The formation of an alternate Canadian union centre is a must.

There must be a complete break with the American unions that are committed to the support of U.S. imperialist objectives in Canada and the world.

Out of the struggle must emerge a class policy of opposition to the capitalist system and for a society free from all exploitation. We must not rest easy and be content with partial gains however extensive they may appear to be.

An attitude of satisfaction with partial and temporary gains means that labour must fight the same battle numerous times just to win territory already taken many times before. No matter what the result the position of labour in relation to capital is not substantially changed or improved—worsened in periods of crisis.

Our unions must make the revolutionary change from a fight for temporary gains to a challenge of the fundamental basis of the capitalist system itself.



WALL STREET JOURNAL

Weber in the Wall Street Journal
 "Our electronic brain is on the blink. Hire 16,000 office workers for the next two days."

CAPITALISM AND ART

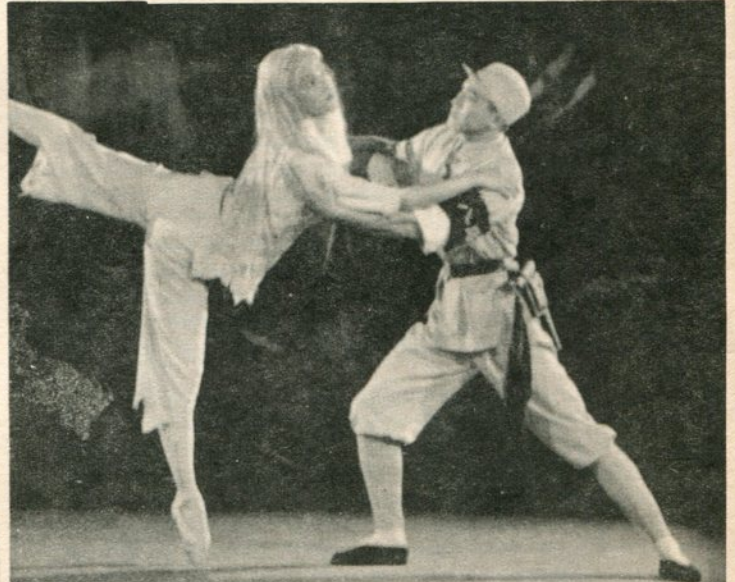
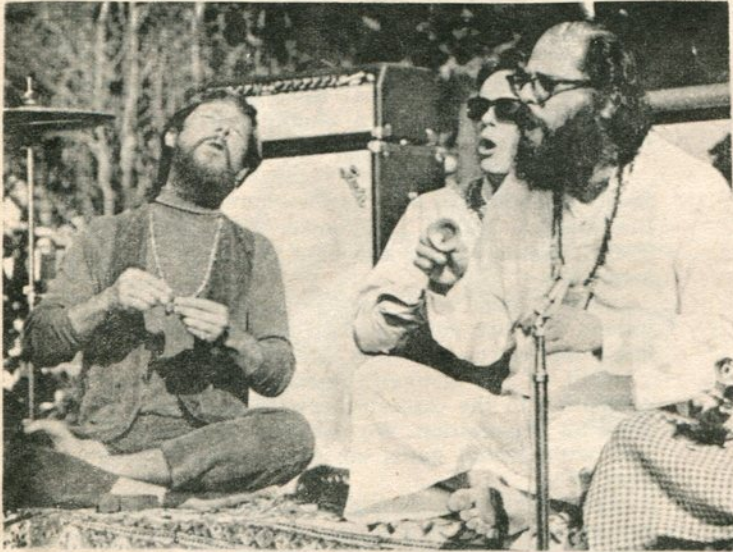
by L. LAINE

In all capitalist countries, officially sanctioned art has been effectively separated from the interests of the people. Like education and all other means of controlling people's thought, it serves the interests of the small group of capitalists who run things.

Realizing the great power that art has to arouse emotions, to teach, and to serve the people's interests, the leaders of the capitalist countries have separated the artist from the people. The artist is taught to have nothing but contempt for the working people. He is told that the masses are insensitive, stupid brutes who are incapable

he clings pathetically to the illusion that he is "free". He mouths their anti-communist slogans because they tell him that, under communism, he would have to serve the interests of the people, and would not be free, as he is now. He does not realize that he is not even serving his own interests, but instead is performing for his masters.

A stranger to our society, after watching television for awhile, would conclude that everybody in North America is white, middle-class, and has only trivial problems which can be resolved in a half-hour program. The only show which would give him a hint that there existed such a thing as the working class is the Flintstones, which is



CAPITALIST CULTURE— "Brainwashed elitism"

of appreciating art. He is told that artists are very special people whose personal insights into life are somehow truer and more valid than other people's. He is taught that he has a special kind of freedom because of his own virtues, and that he must never give up this freedom by associating with the people or serving their interests.

But look at the artist. When the art is "pop", he creates pop art. When it is camp, he is camp. As he dances to the tune of those who control the educational and academic establishment, obeying all the dictums of the rulers,

SOCIALIST CULTURE—Serving the people

not only a cartoon but takes place in a period several thousand years in the past. He would probably conclude that the working class disappeared with the dinosaurs and is just a quaint cultural figment of the past.

In viewing "serious" art, he'd be treated to examples of bronze beer cans, Brillo boxes, distorted female forms, and blank canvases. This is "artistic honesty" and "reality"

V 'th the younger artists, the new talent, he could attend a "happening" where "art" is created on-the-spot. These artists are described as "cultural revolutionaries"

in Life magazine, Feb. 17, 1967. A description of some of their art includes the "blutorgies" of Herman Nitsch, in which he publicly "eviscerated lambs, tacked to white canvases, sloshing and splattering everyone's clothes with blood." He would like to do the same thing with people, and angrily complains: "Any stupid medical student can get all the cadavers he wants, but I—an artist! I can get none."

Not quite so bloody but no less sickening is the "Salad Happening" staged by Otto Muhl. "The girl's body is smeared with flour, tomatoes, beer raw eggs. Melons are mashed inside a gunnysack and Muhl pours the runny results artfully down on the twisting figure. Then comes dry cereal, wheat paste, milk, half-chewed carrots. Volunteers rise from their seats to come forward and chew carrots. Muhl chants and pours in bright powders and paints as he stamps and dances in the spreading salad. Finally he flings himself into the animal-vegetable marriage, lapping up the milk and beer. An appealing mood of harvest-time merrymaking descends upon the room."

Such a spectacle might be funny if it were not taken so seriously by the artists themselves. Western art can scarcely become more decadent or more removed from reality than it now is. The saddist fact is that these artists searching for new "freedoms", are trapped in the contradictions of their own brainwashed elitism. They cannot see that true artistic freedom lies in a direction they scorn to take—the direction of the people.

Artists in our culture have always been spokesmen and apologists, with few exceptions, for the ruling class. Even in appearing to rebel against social norms, their protests take forms which reinforce the dictums of that class. Unaware of the controls over them which prevent them from effective protest or any effective new role in society, they make a pathetic spectacle as they run in circles demanding "Freedom. Freedom!"

The recent Simon Fraser production of "The Centralia Incident" is one of the few examples of a modern artistic work which tried to deal with a real question of our times. It told the story of the mutilation and hanging of Wesley Everest, the I.W.W. representative from Seattle who was attempting to build up the Wobbly movement in the lum-

ber camps near Centralia, Washington. The Citizen's Protection League, a "patriotic" group of the established business interests of the community, let it be known that they were going to attack the Wobbly Hall during a victory parade, and the workers armed themselves in self-defense. Four people were killed and Wesley Everest was jailed. The same night, a group of citizens broke into the jail, seized Everest, and lynched him.

The play was well-performed and both actors and audience were deeply involved in the struggle being presented. Except for an impression that the labour struggle is a thing of the past, it attempted an honest interpretation of the events and the basic conflict between the interests of the owners and the workers.

Predictably, the reaction of the academic critics and "artists" was that the play failed, because it was "political". The audience didn't seem to feel that way at all.

All art is political in that every book, play or painting makes some kind of statement about the status-quo. If the establishment doesn't agree with the political position of a piece of art, they call it "propaganda". If they do agree with it, they say it is not political at all, and is therefore true art. "Art is above politics" is one of their favorite mottoes, and this very attitude is a definitely political position. By attempting to alienate the artists from the rest of the people, and demanding that "real art" must never be concerned with the basic issues facing us, they effectively remove what could be a strong force from the people's side to perform in a vacuum where their only audience is other artists who have been misled like themselves.

In seeing a magnificent piece of art like "The East Is Red", with its beautiful dancing and singing, its moving portrayal of how the Chinese people fought against their enemies, underwent untold hardship, united together and finally "stood up" to build a new China, we can see, in contrast, how our artists have been intellectually castrated, removed from their true purpose, and dance like puppets to the empty slogans of the capitalist's brainwashing.



MARXIST-LENINIST GLOSSARY

METAPHYSICS . . .

In the history of philosophy the term metaphysics has had a number of different meanings, so much so that no one can tell what a particular bourgeois philosopher means by it except through studying his writings. Three principal meanings, however, can be distinguished:

(1) The study and investigation of the most widespread or pervasive characteristics of things and processes, as contrasted with the particular sciences which study limited aspects of the world. In this sense metaphysics is almost identical with philosophy, and any generalizations from many sciences concerning the world and its processes could be included under it. It is mainly in this sense that one of Aristotle's works is named Metaphysics.

(2) Speculation and doctrines concerned with matters beyond possible human experience, God, the absolute, "things in themselves," the soul, etc. In ages dominated by religion any philosophical pursuit described under the first definition would inevitably lead to metaphysics in this sense. Such "metaphysics" is mystical and reactionary and seeks to deny, belittle, and prevent scientific knowledge of the world and man.

(3) A method of approach to the phenomena of nature which is directly opposed to dialectics. This is the sense

in which Marxists use the term. In this sense "metaphysical" includes "mechanical," and isolated from one another, without universal and basic relationships. Marx and Engels recognized that this metaphysical method was historically conditioned by the level of knowledge of its day. The analytic break down of nature into its several parts, the distribution of the variegated natural phenomena into definite categories, were a fundamental precondition of the great successes of natural science in the period from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. But this method of study grew into the fixed tendency to consider phenomena separate from their connections, evolution, and changes.

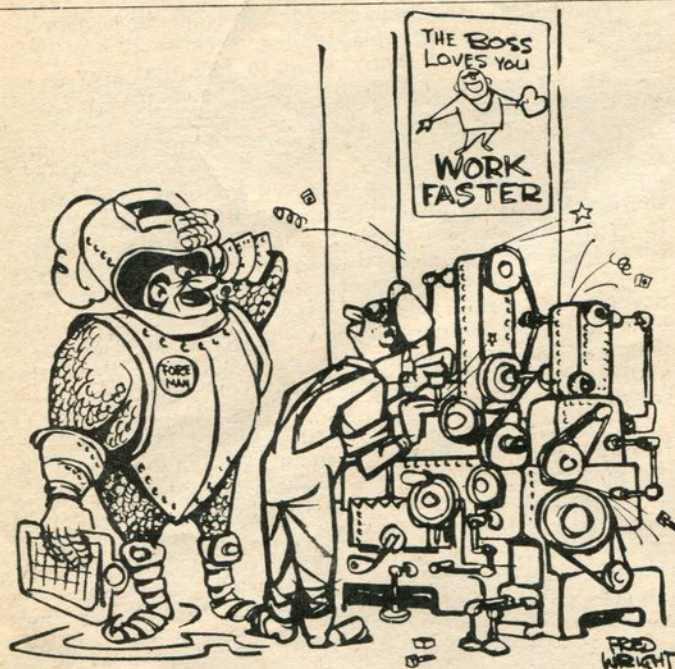
"To the metaphysician, things and their mental images, ideas, are isolated, to be considered one after the other apart from each other, rigid, fixed objects of investigation given once for all."

In this Marxist sense, both materialists and idealists of the early modern period were metaphysical. Even Hegel who was the first to use "metaphysics" in this sense, could not cease being a metaphysician. Since the creation of the dialectical materialism of Marx and Engels, metaphysical materialism is no longer a forward but rather a backward tendency, and inevitably comprises with idealism.

Bourgeois theoreticians who try to "prove" the eternity of capitalism, who see it as the absolutely final form of social production, who deny the existence of class contradictions, are metaphysicians. In the same category are the opportunists and revisionists who hold for the "peaceful growth of capitalism into socialism," and that the transition must take place without "leaps," without the proletarian revolution.

MINE MILL—THE ALTERNATIVE

The die is cast. We can begin preparations for a Requiem over the body of a once proud union. The Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers which in days long gone (as the Western Federation of Miners) declared before the world, and in the teeth of extreme reaction, that they would never make peace with the capitalist system, is about to be indecently interred in the graveyard of giant international unionism. The union for which Ginger Goodwin died with a police bullet in his back is being murdered by a knife in the back.



"Okay, Cogburn, let's see what she'll do wide open . . ."

It is not as though there were not an alternative, for there is. Mine-Mill is being sacrificed on the altar of political expediency as practiced by the revisionist C.P. leadership that has directed the union's destiny for a quarter of a century.

For the 18 years that the Miners Union has been outside the "international" fold the leaders have had a glorious opportunity to become the rallying point for an independent Canadian Union movement. But the policy of the revisionists has been for "unity" within the American unions and a share of the spoils of office for their people. Mine-Mill has been reduced to pretending Canadianism while begging for acceptance in the U.S. dominated Canadian Labour Congress. The contradictions inherent in their position was bound, from the beginning, to end as it did—in unconditional and inglorious surrender to their mortal foe of almost two decades, the United Steelworkers of America, a union that Mine-Mill helped to create in the halcyon days of the C.I.O.

The face-saving attempt of the Mine-Mill leaders when they resolved to discuss unity with Steel and other unions will fool no one. Everyone is well aware that Steel bought the jurisdiction from the Congress for \$50,000 cash almost two decades ago and no other union will dare to approach Mine-Mill.

But Mine-Mill members could change the direction of affairs by seizing the initiative and taking control of things. The union membership still remaining in Mine-Mill is almost entirely in British Columbia where there is a healthy movement afoot for the creation of an independent Canadian union movement. By throwing in their lot with this new development these members could contribute a great deal to changing the course of history for Canadian labour.

"PROGRESSIVE" UNIONISTS?

There are many strange characters now beating the propaganda drums as "progressive" opponents of the cold war. Among them are leaders of the Steelworkers Union who once, not so long ago, were to be found among the most ardent and hysterical red-baiters in North America and who now send "friendship" delegations to the Soviet Union, propose "holy wedlock" with the revisionist-led Mine-Mill and condemn Meany and Lovestone as arch-reactionary foes of progress and international goodwill. Even the Canadian journal of the Steelworkers, "Miner's Voice", is being reviled now for being red-tinged and pro-Soviet and is vigorously defending itself against the charge. An editorial in the March issue declaims on the theme "Cold War Thaw is Long Overdue" in the following terms:

"There are many in the North American labour movement who would quarantine the Communist and Socialist countries. Instead they are isolating their own labour movement.

"... The arch priests of anti-Sovietism are President George Meany . . . and his foreign affairs advisor Jay Lovestone.

"Their hard-nosed attitudes have created a schism in the A.F.L.-C.I.O. executive board. Their outmoded international and domestic programs have compelled President Walter Reuther of the United Auto Workers and his union associates to resign their posts on the A.F.L.-C.I.O. council. "We all live in one world. We must get to know the other fellow and how he lives. . . . The cold war thaw is long overdue."

All very "progressive" and an astounding declaration from a union that a few short weeks ago was marching in the front ranks of the professional anti-Communists—a union that still has in its constitution a clause restricting the rights of members of the Communist Party.

"The Barker", organ of Vancouver Local 1-217, International Woodworkers of America (which also has an anti Communist clause in its constitution) also expatiates on the same subject and publishes Reuther's declaration of independence from Meany, in the February issue. Reuther is made to look like quite a radical when compared to Meany but then just about anyone, even General Franco or Vorster of South Africa, could be made to look progressive alongside Meany. However, the plain fact is that it is Reuther and not Meany who represents the present policy of the United States ruling class in the labour movement.

The U.S. imperialists are delighted with the co-operation and service they are getting from the Soviet revisionists; they want to consolidate their positions vis a vis revisionism and concentrate on plans for war against China, and Reuther agrees with them. Meany, on the other hand, clings to the outmoded policy of fighting "Communism" simultaneously everywhere. He wants to do battle with the Soviet Union as well as with China. This does not suit the present plans of the ruling class so Meany is doomed to defeat and Reuther's star is in the ascendance.

Reuther's position also coincides with that of the Soviet revisionists who are in collusion with U.S. imperialism against China and the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. This means that the leaders of both the Steel and Auto unions have their feet planted firmly in the camp of the revisionist Communist Parties of Canada and the United States—or vice versa. It is impossible to distinguish between the propaganda organs of right-wing unions and revisionist C.P.'s, unless one scans the titles before reading, and all of them alike extol Reuther as the great progressive, the knight in shining armour, the Moses who will lead the labour movement out of the wilderness of cold war.

Unions led by C.P. members and hitherto excluded from the "family of labour" are now merging with "respectable" organizations and revisionists are being per-

mitted to take office in spite of the existence of anti-Communist clauses in constitutions. This burgeoning love affair is, naturally, being extended into the international arena and it is confidently expected that a merger will be effected between the anti-Communist International Confederation of Trade Unions and the revisionist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions. There is only one obstacle to hurdle—securing the exclusion of China from the W.F.T.U. so as to make that body acceptable to the labour agents of Imperialism who control the destiny of the I.C.F.T.U. The Soviet delegates in the W.F.T.U. have already started on the task of excluding China from the World Trade Union Movement and the wild tale about the dissolving of the Chinese Trade Union Federation is undoubtedly part of the campaign.

If there should happen to be any of our readers labouring under the delusion that Reuther is indeed a "progressive" or perhaps misled by calls of C.P. leaders for unity behind the Auto Workers official let us quote you the central theme of Reuther's policy as called from his

declaration on resigning from the A.F.L.-C.I.O. executive Council:

"... the A.F.L.-C.I.O. on most foreign policy questions has been narrow and negative and has not strengthened but rather weakened the free world's efforts to resist communism..."

So there it is in all its stark madness. The revisionists are uniting with the Reuther forces to strengthen "the free world's efforts to resist communism" and this is what we are asked to accept as a mighty progressive force, worthy of uniting with, in the American labour movement. There could be no clearer presentation than this of U.S. imperialist policy and it includes turning Vietnam into a vast cemetery (Reuther gives full support to Johnson on Vietnam). Is it not obvious that revisionist policy and that of the U.S. imperialists is identical?

Not unity with Reuther for giant American unions spanning the globe but an independent Canadian labour movement and solidarity with the oppressed peoples of the world struggling against imperialism.

WHO CHOKES THE GOOSE By J.M.

There is a story about a certain goose which laid a golden egg every day of its life; and of the thanks it received from the master who harvested its eggs. Now this master was very fond of spending the gold which he received so regularly from his faithful goose; but, the master was angered that he had to wait a whole day until another golden egg could be laid. So, thinking to get all the golden eggs at once; the master killed the goose and cut it open. But Alas! the goose was only flesh and bone, and now that it was dead, its muscles would never again contract to lay a golden egg. And so the foolish master made of himself—a penniless bum.

Now in Canada, believe it or not, this kind of slaughter is going on every day in real life. Right now, there are some seven million of "Canadian Geese" for want of a better word, who, day after day, toil to keep a rich pack of mangy capitalist exploiters, vicious landlords, loan sharks, imperialist wolves and their running dogs; in a state of luxury. Day after day, more noticeably now, are the geese becoming less fat, and more likely to sicken and die off from a score of complaints, ranging from automation, malnutrition, medical-murder, and even suicide.

Our Canadian farmers are now only getting 40 cents out of each dollar spent for food whereas in 1950 they took in 60 cents of each dollar so spent. In other words, the people who don't do any farming at all have grabbed out of every food dollar, an additional 20 cent tip. If this 20 cents from his dollar were all that the farmer were losing, he would not be such a worried man today. "Where is all the gold from China and Russia that I'm supposed to have", he wails.

How is the farmer being used, abused, tricked and choked off? The answer to this question is not so mysterious as our bourgeois market analysts and economists, apologizing for the big thieves, would have us believe. All you have to do to wring a farmer's neck, is to take away his natural right to sell his own product directly to his customers; force him to sell to you at your price, and then take back most of the money which you paid to him by increasing the prices on his machinery, his fertilizer; by raising his interest debt-rates and finally, take over his mortgaged land. The Dec. 14th, 1966 issue of the Financial Post gleefully predicts that, "the farmers will get a big surprise when they approach the banks next year to finance the debts remaining on their (no-money-down) combines. Since the combines have been used for a year and have a first year depreciation of about 40 percent, the banks will not want to lend as much as they would on a new combine."

Now 40 percent of a \$15,000 dollar combine is \$5,250 and on a \$20,000 combine, it is \$8,000. How then, is a farmer, without cash on hand, going to finance a debt for which he can't get credit from a bank? Isn't the answer

obvious? Those who have baited the hook will demand their payment in land: the farm machinery companies have beggared so many farmers (252,000 since 1941) with their high-priced farm machinery that they now have huge stocks of unsold equipment on hand. Combine sales alone are down 17 percent since last year. Since the farm-machinery companies can't get any money for their unsold equipment; they are scheming to grab the land. During the last ten years roughly one and a half million Canadian farming people were forced to move off their farms and were thrown, untrained, at the feet of the industrialists and the welfare agencies.

The huge tractors and combines of the new owners now churn over the old fence lines, over the old homesites—over the old dreams and hopes of a vanishing breed. Some of these massive machines are even operated by remote control. The exception is fast becoming the rule—big business farming holds nothing for our farming people.

SPEAKING CANADIAN

One centennial project that has hitherto passed with little notice is to be unveiled this June. The project is the compiling and publication of a dictionary—but not just any dictionary.

This dictionary, being published by W.J. Gage Ltd. of Toronto, will contain only words, phrases and expressions common to Canadian English. The entries will number in excess of 12,000.

Noteworthy as this project seems to be, the compilers and publisher have seen fit to give it only the rather apologetic title of "A Dictionary of Canadianisms". It seems to announce itself as more than a quaint collection of "Canadianisms" however.

The distinct dialect or language of a nation is merely one aspect of that nation's culture. Owing to Canada's enslavement first under British, and now American imperialism, her culture has been largely suppressed.

Even if this 1967 centennial does nothing more than inspire a few such activities as the one described above it will be justified. If a sufficient number of Canadians can be made aware of their identity as Canadians perhaps one year soon we may be celebrating our first anniversary of true independence and freedom.

Robert O'Brien

CANADA:EARLY DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT

Although credit for the discovery of Canada was given to John Cabot in 1497, inhabitants came from neighbouring Asia to the eastern reaches of our pacific shores as early as 20,000 B.C. Those inhabitants were driven from the steppes of Siberia and northern China in search of new hunting grounds, or perhaps in flight before enemies too mighty for their resistance. Though descendants of peoples of different origins and tongues, all of these settlers were of the mongoloid racial type and belonged to either one of two distinct ethnic families, the Indian and the Eskimo. Until the discovery of Canada by the Europeans these inhabitants lived in a classless society, a form of tribal communism.

Along with the European explorers came the exploiting ideas of the slave and feudal societies. It was only at the close of the 15th century that Europe rediscovered the New World as a result of two developments: the growth of the Oriental trade and the expansion of Maritime communications. It was from the Orient that Europe got her rich supplies of silks, precious stones, dyes and most important of all, spices. In those days, spices were an important item in diet: all dishes were seasoned with them, all wines and liqueurs flavoured with them and they were also made into candy and jams. Pepper came at the head of the list, then nutmeg, cinnamon, cloves and ginger—the medical profession imported camphor, alum, and opium. Virtually all spices came from southeast Asia, China and India. These spices brought astronomical profits and were, therefore, most important to the European economy. Since spice raising regions were so valuable to early European society the whole European continent sought routes to them and it was through this search that Europe accidentally rediscovered America.

At the same time maritime navigation was developing very rapidly thus allowing the possibility of a wider scale search for these trade routes. With the discovery of America by Columbus in 1492, Spain glowed with enthusiasm, dreaming of conquests and markets that would load her with gold and slaves. Her first step was to gain from Pope Alexander VI, a spaniard, in 1493, the rights for exclusive possession of all islands and all continents "found or to be found, discovered or to be discovered" west of a line drawn from north to south 100 leagues from the islands of Azores and Cape Verde. A dispute arose between Portugal and Spain over this decision and it was finally agreed to divide the unknown world at the meridian of 62 degrees longitude, everything found east of the new boundary would belong to Spain, and all found west of the new boundary would belong to Portugal.

The Spanish discovery of distant isles which grew no spices scarcely caused a stir in maritime circles except in Bristol, where a sailor named John Cabot was busy attracting attention. He had learned on a visit to Mecca that spices came to that market by means of a chain of caravans, each of which travelled from countries which lay farther and farther to the east. He had reached the conclusion that since the world is round and distances decrease polarwards, the shortest way to Asia would be by a northwest passage. He set sail in May 1497 under authority of Henry VII granting him full powers to sail at his own expense for "the regions and shores of the eastern western, and northern seas" with exclusive right of trading there.

Despite this monopoly, Cabot was only to equip a small fifty-ton ship, the *Mathew*, with an 18 man crew. After 52 days at sea Cabot discovered Newfoundland. Crossing the Newfoundland Banks, the *Mathew* ran into the famous swarms of cod: the sea was so alive with fish that the men needed only to drop a basket weighted with a stone into the sea, and when they drew it aboard again, it was overflowing with cod. Cabot had accomplished more than Columbus (who had discovered only islands), for he had become the first European of his time to set

foot on the mainland of North America; he had discovered Canada and determined the position of Newfoundland.

It was not the search for spices but for cod-fish which finally beckoned the French to America. Learning quickly of the fine catches being made by the Portuguese off Newfoundland, Britain fishermen made their way there from 1504 onwards.

Cartier was sent to Canada in 1534 in search of gold and silver. In exploring the Laurentian Valley which he took as a possession for France he discovered deposits of gold, silver and red copper. In Cartier's second visit in 1540 he brought with him miners and goldsmiths as well as men of all trades from carpenters and masons to clothiers. He recognized the importance of trade, especially in furs and accordingly had a barter list ready which included cloth and wool.

Under the guise of spreading the gospel he hoped to secure the good opinion of the Pope and the Catholics in his search for precious metals. An attempt at colonization of Canada started in 1541 when France appointed a Lieutenant-General to become director of enterprise and head of all ships, fighting men, seamen and others.

The system of feudalism was introduced at this time with the Lieutenant General distributing land to so called gentlemen and persons of excellent virtue. This first attempt at colonization failed as it was impossible at this time in history to discover and mine the precious metals that were sought. Because the voyage was dangerous and the prospects few it was very difficult to recruit people to settle in the new colony.

The news of the great abundance of furs and cod-fish reached many European ports attracting fisherman from Portugal and Britain. By the mid sixteenth century fishing boats running from 40 to 150 tons were setting sail in great numbers from the Atlantic ports of Europe to the shores of Newfoundland. The coast of Newfoundland is cut into many deep and landlocked harbours which have been important resorts of Fishermen since the voyages of Cabot. The grand island, extended toward Europe, it is the highest of a series of plateaus, the rest of which submerged only a few fathoms, are called the Banks. The shallowness of the water over them allows sunlight to penetrate it and develop an extensive marine life which attracts fish and makes the area one of the world's greatest fishing grounds.

Success in the early fishery was largely a matter of salt. It was because they lacked cheap salt that the English could not compete with the French. Solar salt—that produced by the evaporation of sea-water—was more uniform in quality than mineral salt and was used exclusively for curing fish. On the coasts of England it was impossible to make solar salt, but France, Spain and Portugal produced it in great quantities. Green fishing—the storing of fish freshly taken and not dried—required large amounts of salt and it was green fishing which was probably first pursued in the coastal waters of the New World. Since their lack of a supply of cheap solar salt prevented the English from entering the green fishery, they developed dry fishing, a method which required no more salt than they could conveniently secure in trade from Portugal and Spain. These fish were dried in the sun on the shores and would pack more closely and keep better than green cod. This method of dry fishing required more elaborate equipment on the shore plus lodgings for the crews and storage areas for the cod. This, it would seem was the first real settlement of any sort on the mainland of Canada.

The fur trade followed the penetration of the dry fishery to the interior. The French desiring to enter the dry fishery to supply the Spanish market, and finding the English entrenched in the best areas of Newfoundland, were driven, at the end of the century, to establish themselves on the mainland, at Gaspe and Canso. Here they

came into contact with the Indians, and laid the foundation of a trade that was to extend for three thousand miles by unimagined rivers to undiscovered seas and to sustain the life of half a continent for two hundred years. As the fur trade industry developed so did the settlements from

the various colonial countries. The territorial disputes that arose between the main colonists (France and Britain) and the struggle of the Indians to resist the exploitation of them both, accounts for the early history of Canada.

THAILAND PATRIOTIC FRONT

Since Thailand has become a new-type colony, the political, economic, military and cultural affairs of our country have been further controlled during the last few years by the U.S. imperialists. In the past year especially our national economy was so seriously ruined that it was unprecedented in our history. In Thailand, U.S. dollars freely circulate side by side with Thai currency. This has resulted in inflation of the worst type and devaluation of the Thai currency. Maritime transportation and all port authorities were put under control to meet U.S. military needs. In consequence, shipping business has landed itself in great difficulties: shipping freight costs rose sharply and the prices of both imports and exports soared. But the prices of home produced goods were kept very low and both producers and consumers were heavily exploited. Large quantities of rice, indispensable to our people's daily life, were overtly and covertly collected and exported by the bureaucrat compradors, to imperialist markets at low prices. In addition, several hundred thousands of tons of rice were forcibly sent by the U.S. imperialists to their puppet cliques in Saigon and Vientiane and the fascist military clique in Indonesia. As a result, there was a shortage of rice. In the past year alone, the price of rice which was already high was again raised by 100-150%. Numberless people are suffering from hunger and many are dying from starvation. They are in an abyss of suffering. But abusing their diplomatic privileges and on the pretext of sending supplies to their aggressive troops in Thailand, free of customs duties, the U.S. imperialists dump their goods, especially American-made luxury items on the Thai market. The Japanese monopoly capitalists, with the backing of the United States, are also engaged in this dumping. This resulted in a serious economic recession in Thailand. On the other hand, the traitorous puppet government received large sums in loans from U.S. monopoly capital, the published figure of Thailand's national debt reached 20,000 million baht. In order to pay interest on the debts, the puppet Thanom-Praphas government intensified their measures of cruel exploitation against the people through taxation. Graft and corruption are rampant from the Prime Minister at the top and his relatives down to their henchmen at the lowest level.

In order to instil slavish, capitulationist and anarchist ideas to serve its colonial system, U.S. imperialism with the support and collusion of the Thai traitors is exercising a firm hold over the press, radio, and television as well as the educational and religious circles, propagating the "American way of life", various forms of degenerate culture and art and turning people in every strata of society into becoming their willing tools. Criminals and especially juvenile delinquents are multiplying at a shocking rate. Brothels under various guises are cropping up everywhere. This is one of the vilest forms of oppression of Thai women who are being induced, raped and who are even sold as commodities to satisfy the "recreative needs" of the Yankee soldiers. These practices are rampant both in the capital and in the provinces and wherever U.S. troops are stationed.

As Thailand has become a new-type of colony of U.S. imperialism, its armed forces of the three services as well as the police are tightly and completely controlled by its U.S. masters. The U.S. imperialists drive the people away from millions of acres of land for the construction of barracks, airfields, ports, arsenals and strategic highways and then they use these military bases to launch a piratical war and commit aggression against the people of

Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. They are also in league with the Thanom traitorous clique to suppress the Thai people by the use of force. In the past year, U.S. imperialism despatched its own troops to take a direct part in suppressing the people of our country. At present, there are over 60,000 U.S. troops in Thailand. All these are facts which the U.S. imperialists no longer bother to conceal. At the beginning of December, Admiral Ulyses Sharp, commander-in-chief of the U.S. armed forces in the Pacific said arrogantly in Bangkok that the United States is now taking a direct part in the second guerilla war in Southeast Asia—Thailand.

The members of the ruling clique in Thailand scramble to serve U.S. imperialism, attempting to "cover up a dead elephant with a piece of lotus leaf". In reality, the fact that U.S. imperialism has occupied Thailand as its colony is no longer anything new. This notorious fact well known throughout the world stinks like a dead elephant. At the end of last October, the members of the ruling clique of Thailand each and all invited Lyndon Johnson, the chief culprit, to make speeches in Bangkok in order to whitewash the U.S. colonialists in Thailand. However, the more fashionable ways they adopted in the banquets they offered to this ringleader of bandits, the clearer it proved that Johnson's Thailand tour only makes it more apparent that he is the boss of the Thai ruling clique and that the latter have held themselves out to U.S. imperialism and betrayed their motherland.

Seeing that their motherland has been reduced to such a colony, the Thai people can no longer suppress the hatred in their hearts. The patriotic people are rising up and waging struggles in various forms. For instance, in the cities, during the past year the working class defying the martial law enforced by the tyrannical authorities valiantly went on strikes in which over 20,000 workers participated. These struggles were mainly waged by building workers at the U.S. military bases. The workers have scored great successes in the struggles.

In the rural areas, the peasants have been waging struggles against the requisition of labour force under the pretext of "development", against the increase of land taxes, against the expropriation of their land for building military bases, against the forced reduction of prices of agricultural products and the drastic shrinkage of its marketing, against the heavy exploitation in the form of high interest on loans and exorbitant rent as well as oppression by brute force. As a result, armed struggles in August 1965 in the rural areas in the North and South of the country have started and spread to the other parts of the country. Large numbers of women, children and the aged too, have actively joined the struggle for national salvation.

It is now the dry season in Thailand. The Thanom-Praphas clique has launched a large-scale "mopping up" campaign which was plotted at the recent Manila Conference and was under the direct command of Lyndon Johnson who had personally come to Thailand. But this large-scale dry season "mopping up" campaign failed from the very outset. Large numbers of troops, police and para-military forces were killed or wounded. Praphas, chieftain of the suppression against the people, admitted that the situation remained as it had been before the "mopping up", because all the people's armed forces had dispersed and mingled with the villagers and become like one of them. This is a public admission that he cannot cope with the people's guerilla war.

The movement of the Thai people to win and safe-

guard their independence is a completely righteous cause and therefore enjoys the support of the patriotic forces throughout the country as well as the support of the patriotic forces and the people of the whole world who uphold justice. Meanwhile the people's armed forces, being a revolutionary force which has conscientiously mastered the strategy and tactics of people's war and continuously gained experience in guerilla warfare, cannot be suppressed by U.S. imperialism and the Thanom-Prapphas traitorous clique either with troops, aircraft, cannons, tanks, armoured cars and whatever special weapons, or by their atrocities such as burning all, killing all and carpet bombing. Although the military force used for "mop-

ping up" the people during the present dry season was increased to one division, raising the ratio to 5:1, yet they still feel that this is insufficient. All they achieve, as the results in every operation show, is their own destruction, the hatred and curses of the people and the continuous growth of the people's strength. The lackeys of U.S. imperialism in Bangkok revealed at a press conference that the people's armed forces in the northeast region were about 1,000 strong in 1965 and 5,000 in 1966. This is another public admission by the reactionaries that their mopping up campaign has come to nought. This shows that the U.S. and its Thanom puppet are being defeated both politically and militarily.

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A HISTORY OF VIETNAM

The history of Vietnam is a history of struggle. It is a history that began when Rome was but a swamp and Greece a peninsula of sparsely inhabited hills.

Vietnam had a history of nearly two thousand years by the time of Christ. A tradition, a language and a culture, now nearly four thousand years old.

About two thousand ago, a struggle began—this struggle was against foreign domination as the struggle of the Vietnamese people is today. The foreign oppressors which threatened Vietnam two thousand years ago was the expanding feudal empire of China. For roughly two thousand years in China succeeding feudal dynasties rose and fell. As these imperial dynasties reached their apex, their greatest power, they often over-ran neighbouring states. These outlying areas (such as Vietnam) would then rise up to gain their independence as the various dynasties went into decline.

The Vietnamese, their origins and early history obscure, began to figure in ancient Chinese annals during the third century B.C. The first verified date of importance in Vietnamese history is 208 B.C.—the founding of the kingdom of Nam Viet which covered the province of Kwangsi and Kwang tung. In 111 B.C. it was annexed by China and was governed as a Chinese province.

The era before 939 was marked by the gradual imposition of Chinese economic, social and political institutions. Chinese governors brought in their political and economic organizations, instituted a mandarin-type bureaucracy and introduced Confucian ethics and the Chinese writing system.

Frequent attempts to overthrow Chinese rule culminated in victory in 939, when the Vietnamese were able to capitalize on the anarchy prevalent in China to throw off direct Chinese domination. For the next 500 years, although nominally united under a centralized Kingship, the country was in fact almost constantly rent by dynastic struggles and the wars of rival princely families.

By 1858, however, it was no longer China that was the threat to Vietnam's existence. French imperialism, with a view to competing with their British fellow-bandits in the exploitation of Asia, penetrated Laos and Cambodia by force of arms. By 1885, French imperialist dreams of securing a large share in the exploitation of China had largely evaporated. Faced once again with the second best the French resolved to ruthlessly exploit Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam. To this end they completed their conquest and amalgamated the whole area under the name of French Indo-China.

At this point it may be pertinent to ask: what attraction was there, in Vietnam for the French imperialists?

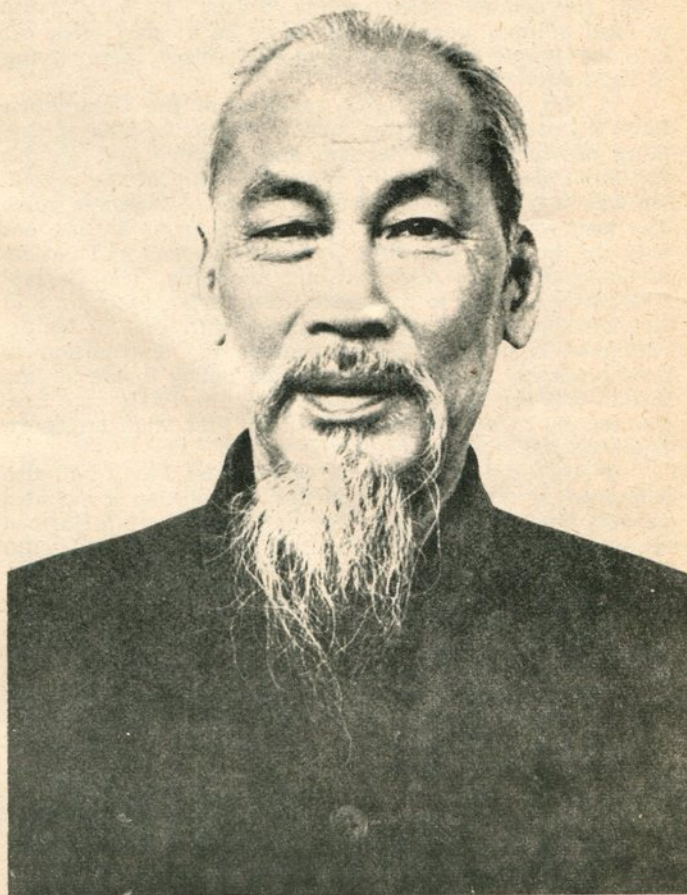
With the Chinese previously it had been the annual crop taxes they had taken from the subjugated Vietnamese feudalists. With the French it was the natural resources and the hideously underpaid workers and peasants they exploited. Among these resources were the crops—rice and corn as well as rubber, coal, tin, zinc and wolfram (a rich ore containing tungsten, iron and magnesium). The availability of coal also made Vietnam's ports valuable as refueling stations for the French navy and merchant ships which were on their way to and from the exploitation of China.

Revolt and protest against the French on the part of the Vietnamese people began almost from the date of conquest and it would never fully subside until the French left.

During the first World War French imperialism was of course engaged in a bitter struggle in Europe. Vague promises of "national self-determination" were made by imperialism at this time to help lessen the contradictions in the exploited colonies.

In 1919 at the Versailles Peace Conference a young Vietnamese liberal and intellectual, Ho Chi Minh, put

forward his nation's claim to independence. If the imperialists took much notice of the proposal at all, it is nowhere recorded. After this experience Ho put less faith



President Ho Chi Minh

in bourgeois promises and gave more thought to Marx and Lenin.

Rebellion and sporadic guerrilla warfare increased in the 1920's and 1930's. By the start of World War Two French control was greatly weakened by the growth of peoples armed national liberation movements. After the fall of France to the Nazis in the early summer of 1940, the new French government at Vichy, south France, adopted a policy of cooperation with both the Nazis and the Japanese fascists.

An agreement was signed by the Japanese with the French imperialists of Indo-China recognizing the occupation rights of the Imperial armies.

In no mind to take over directly the running of the colony while the French were prepared to do it for them, the Japanese settled down to enjoy the fruits of what was the easiest conquest of all in their wartime thrust into South-east Asia.

For the Indo-Chinese masses, life under the double yoke of French and Japanese imperialism was bitter in the extreme: The Vietnamese to this day describe this period as the most sombre in their nation's history. The country was literally plundered—production declined, unemployment spread, living standards and wages fell; the seizure of rice stocks to feed the occupation army and Japanese forces elsewhere in South-east Asia seriously aggravated the chronic famine conditions.

It was precisely this hour of greatest challenge which

called forth the greatest response. The Communist Party, underground since September 1939, was far from idle. Repeated statements, circulated throughout Indo-China in leaflet form in the first months of the war, had called for the formation of a broad anti-imperialist and anti-fascist front directed against the war.

In September 1940 a revolt in protest against the French sell-out of Indo-China occurred at Bac Son in Lang Son province, north Vietnam. The French colonialists, so accommodating to the Japanese, turned furiously against the local revolutionaries. The revolt was quelled—but the armies seized by the “rebels” in the capture of local military posts did not come back: they went off into the jungle with those who had seized them, living to fight another day.

In May 1941, the eighth meeting of the Communist Party's Central Committee held in the mountains of Cao Bang province, north Vietnam and presided over by Ho Chi Minh, declared that the immediate aim of the revolution was to free the nation from the Franco-Japanese yoke. The task was to form a broad national front uniting not only the workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie but also patriotic landlords. The Central Committee decided to moderate its agrarian program still further, replacing previous demands with that of confiscation of land belonging to traitors for distribution to poor peasants. In application of this policy a new organization was set up on the initiative of the Party: the League for the Independence of Vietnam, Viet Minh for short, made its appearance before the world.

It embraced not only the Communist Party but also a number of other political parties. In addition it included various mass organizations for national salvation formed among the workers, peasants, intellectuals, women, youth Buddhists, Catholics capitalists and so on.

Ho Chi Minh was elected President of the Viet Minh. In the north Vietnam hinterland revolutionary basis began to be established. The influence of the Party and the Viet Minh spread throughout the country.

The Vietnamese especially, who had been engaged for two thousand years in something very like the kind of fight that was now being called a fight for self-determination, began to take a lively interest in the progress of the world war.

By the second half of 1944 there were six provinces of north Vietnam in which the Franco-Japanese power had been destroyed and a revolutionary power set up.

In October 1944, Ho Chi Minh, appealed for the formation of armed propaganda groups. Their aim... to prepare the armed overthrow of the Vichy-Japanese power. On December 22, 1944, the first members of the army that less than ten years later was to humble the military power of France backed by the United States, took the oath of allegiance in the Viet Bac jungle.

On March 9, 1945, in a lightning coup, the Japanese seized power from the French throughout Indo-China.

In north central and north Vietnam, the socially critical areas of the whole peninsula, famine was raging, brought on by a combination of French refusal to release rice stocks from the granaries of Cochinchina and Japanese military requisitioning.

The defeat of fascism in Europe was imminent. In the far eastern war, the Japanese were suffering defeat after defeat.

On June 4, the six provinces of north Vietnam were formally constituted a “Liberated Zone”.

In the first days of August the Soviet Union entered the war against Japan. The Japanese sued for peace. The United States dropped its atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

On August 17, 60-odd representatives of all sections of the people and of various nationalities met at Tan Trao Tuyen Quang province, north Vietnam and decided to mobilize the people throughout the country to seize power and establish the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

On September 2nd, 1945, at a meeting of half a million citizens in Hanoi, President Ho Chi Minh of the provisional government of the Democratic Republic formally pro-

claimed the country's independence. In statements made in December 1943 and March 1945 the Gaullist Provisional Government of the French Republic had declared itself determined that Indo-China would again come under French control after the war. True there was acknowledgement in the March 1945 statement that the Vietnamese “have acquired a new qualification for their rightful place”, because of their brave struggle against the Japanese. But “new qualification” or not, French control there would be.

The plain fact was that nothing had changed in the French government's attitude to Indo-China. It believed incredible as it may seem from this distance, that France would simply come back after its colonial exploitation of Indo-China as before. So the French were determined to come back. But how were they going to? Branded with the shame of collaboration with fascism in Europe and Asia, the French political position was of course weak in the extreme. But it was not that which upset the thick skinned French colonialists. What drove them nearly demented was that they didn't have the physical means—the ships, tanks and guns—required for the return to Indo-China on which their mind was already made up. They had to have help and have it quickly. The British were of course quick to see their interest in helping the French reimplantation in Indo-China.

It was from British warships that a French force, convinced of the truth of the maxim, ‘better late than never,’ plunged into Saigon on September 21st, 1945. It was with British ammunition that two days later this force opened in Saigon, forcibly occupied offices of the government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and this touched off the nine year Indo-China war.

The Vietnamese people struggled against French imperialism for nine years. The French were finally defeated at Dien Bien Phu. The troops fought for 55 days and nights until the complete destruction of the entrenched camp on May 7th, 1954.

A conference to settle the Indo-China war was set up in Spring 1954 in Geneva, Switzerland. Those nations taking part in the conference were: Kingdom of Cambodia, Democratic Republic of Vietnam, France, Kingdom of Laos, Peoples' Republic of China, State of Vietnam, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom, and the United States of America.

The Geneva Agreements signalled the victory of the years-long struggle of the peoples of Indo-China for national independence: the Agreements embodied the recognition by the great powers of the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia.

As far as Vietnam was concerned, the Agreements provided that for immediate purposes of military regroupment, Vietnam should be divided into two approximately equal Zones at the point where the 17th parallel of north latitude runs through the country.

The area to the north of this parallel was to pass under the control of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and that to the south under the control of the ‘state of Vietnam.’

French forces to the north of this provisional military demarcation line, and forces of the Democratic Republic to the south of it were, within 300 days, to move to the southern and northern Zones, respectively.

No military reinforcement, no military alliance, and no establishment of foreign military bases on its soil was permitted to either side.

Elections were to be held on July 20th, 1956 in both parts of Vietnam leading to the formation of a unified Vietnamese government.

Political reprisals against former supporters of the opposing side were forbidden in both Zones.

An International Commission of Supervision and Control consisting of representatives from India, Canada, and Poland would be set up to ensure the execution of the Agreements.

The Geneva Agreements thus constituted a whole—their military and political provisions taken together

provided a solution in complete harmony with the national interests of the countries concerned.

The Geneva Agreements were not signed by the United States. Dulles quit the Geneva conference on May 3rd, and left behind him in Geneva as the U.S. representative, General W. Bedell Smith, whose brief from the State Department permitted him only to sign the "Final Declaration" of the conference, and to make a separate statement, undertaking on behalf of the U.S. to "refrain from the threat or the use of force to disturb" the Geneva Agreements.

That this statement was of dubious worth at least, was made clear on the same day, July 21st, when in Washington, President Eisenhower went out of his way to make a special statement disassociating the United States completely from the Geneva Agreements.

On September 8th, 1954, the South-east Asia Treaty Organisation was set up in Manila by representatives from the U.S., Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan the Philippines and Thailand. Under a Protocol to this military alliance, spearheaded against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Chinese Peoples' Republic, the 'State of Vietnam,' Laos and Cambodia were placed under the 'protection' of the Organisation.

The signing of the Geneva Agreements thus gave rise to their direct opposite: the South-east Asia Treaty Organisation.

The foundation of S.E.A.T.O. was not the full extent of the price exacted by the United States from its allies for the Geneva Agreements. This was a rather small but significant down payment.

The down payment was the elevation on June 15th, 1954 of Diem to the position of Prime Minister of the 'State of Vietnam'.

"Trained" by Spellman, Mansfield and Donovan, Diem was already the picked man of the United States government for the tasks they had in mind in Vietnam.

Diem's rise to power meant the new 'era' of American domination of Vietnam had begun.

Diem proceeded to outlaw and disband all Democratic organisations that called for implementation of the Geneva Agreements. Under the guise of a Communist extermination law Diem carried out murder on a large scale against all opposition, including religious persecution.

Disguised as military advisors the United States Imperialists moved in thousands of troops to bolster the Diem regime. The history of U.S. Imperialism in Vietnam is one of escalation. Today there are more than 400,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam with a war budget of 3 million dollars a day being spent.

Since the founding of the National Front for Liberation in 1961, the U.S. Imperialist policies have met with consistent defeat.

The policy of attempting to blackmail the people by bombing the north has also failed. The deceitful tactics used by Soviet revisionists to help the U.S. out of its dilemma are being exposed daily and will inevitably meet the same fate.

Lessons of the Vietnam war:

1. That imperialism because of its aggressive nature will not, "come to its senses", negotiate an honourable peace, or voluntarily withdraw, but will use every weapon at their command, employ all their stooges and carry the escalation to the point of its maximum degree. The degree of escalation and final victory will depend on the resistance of the revolutionary people.

The thesis that all reactionaries are paper tigers certainly bears out in Vietnam. Because of the great determination of the Vietnamese people, the U.S. imperialists armed with the most powerful and up to date weapons and well trained troops are unable to suppress the 30 million inhabitants of Vietnam.

The Vietnamese people armed with the strategy of "fight to the end" and the tactics of a peoples war will surely defeat the U.S. aggressors.

By K.C. ●●●●

MATERIAL INCENTIVES

A report published by a delegation of members of United Steelworkers of America, recently returned from a visit to the U.S.S.R., presents us with some insight into the wage differential that exists in the Soviet Steel industry. According to this report (which has not been challenged by the Soviet Trade Unions) the lowest wage ascertained ran about \$55 to \$66 per month and the highest \$385 to \$440 per month, inclusive of bonuses.

A statement attributed to the head of the Economics Department of the Central Scientific Research Institute for the Iron and Steel Industry places the average wage for the entire steel industry at \$165 per month of which 20 percent is base pay and 20 percent various bonuses. Bonuses range from a low of ten per cent to a high of 50 percent of monthly salary. Bonus payments for highly skilled workers average 45 percent and are higher both in absolute and percentage terms than those paid on the unskilled jobs.

It appears then, that top salaries for steelworkers are about 7 times those paid to the categories. No such differential exists in the capitalist industry of North America, nor would any union stand for such a salary gap. Quite obviously the top-salaried employee would have little, if anything, in common with those on the bottom of the ladder and we have not yet got around to seeing how high supervisory and management salaries go.

The wide gap that exists between these wage levels is bound to create a privileged strata at the top with group interests to defend and an under-privileged mass at the bottom of the heap. That, in anybody's language, is a

capitalist form of economy; and the gap is widening between upper and lower. We have no definite information on it but, in view of the direction of Soviet economic and political development, we would hazard a guess that the top, privileged strata find it much easier to get into the ruling Communist Party than do low-paid workers.

Another interesting point in the report was a reference to rents. At one time Soviet rents were based on a percentage of income (about 10 percent). But according to this report rents are now charged according to space occupied and range from \$7.70 to \$16.50 per month. The man with a family and heavy expenses who is in need of maximum available space will be penalized because of his greater need.

If class differences are not already a fact in the Soviet Union they are rapidly becoming so.





Fighters of the South Vietnam Liberation Army.



Women guerrilla fighters.

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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."

MORE ANTI-CHINA PROPAGANDA

The C.P.S.U. revisionists are once again flooding Canada with anti-China propaganda through the facilities of the Soviet embassy in Ottawa. This time the Canadian mails are carrying translations of the 4,000 word diatribe that was published recently in Pravda. As usual, the epistle is a collection of lies, distortions and slanders. A perusal of the latest effort serves to strengthen our conviction that the Soviet embassy staff consider Canada's working people to be a collection of unthinking clods and political illiterates.

At one point we are informed that "the Chinese leadership had to isolate their country, to erect a 'Chinese Wall,'" and then, later, in trying to make the point that China abandoned trade with the U.S.S.R. in favour of trade with the capitalist world, they say "a re-orientation of China's economic ties has been going on for several years, switching from the Socialist world to the capitalist one." World trade negates isolation. Either China is isolated and not trading or is not isolated and is engaging in world trade—make up your minds gentlemen! In any event, how does one-quarter of the human race become isolated?

Some of the arguments presented to "prove" China and not the Soviet ruling clique are the ones in collusion with imperialism have every appearance of being intended as humour. For example this item: "... it is not fortuitous that interest in China has grown so much among imperialist reactionary quarters where the prospects and possibilities of reapproachment with that country are being discussed with growing persistence," or again, "Peking's political contracts with imperialist powers, including the U.S.A., too, are becoming increasingly more frequent and regular." Why on earth the gentlemen in the Kremlin did not leave this subject decently interred is difficult to understand unless it is—as is likely—that they are desperately hard-pressed for calumny to heap on China. One would have thought that the whole world knows that it is the Soviet leading clique that is widening and consolidating contacts with the capitalist world and, in the first place with U.S. imperialism, even to the point of issuing invitations to imperialist concerns to come in and participate in the exploitation of the Soviet people. Reapproachment, also, is not just being discussed in relation to the Soviet Union—it is already a fact and the imperialists are joyous with the results. The "evidence" that the Soviet revisionists cite here as proof of "Chinese perfidy" is abundant proof, and a virtual confession of, Soviet revisionist treachery. If there is any sizeable group of working people who put credence in such journalistic trash it could only be because they are being kept completely ignorant on what the ruling clique is up to on the international scene. This is no doubt why the Soviet authorities act so hysterically and so violently when Chinese or other Marxist-Leninists happen to put foot on their territory—they might bring the truth to the Soviet people.

In the final paragraphs of this declaration the revisionists declare themselves willing to help raise the living standards of the Chinese people provided China agrees to accept the political and economic program laid down for her benefit by the C.P.S.U. Canadians will readily recognize this argument. Our own collection of pro-American stooges never tire of telling us we must accept the fact of U.S. economic domination if we expect to "enjoy all the good things of life". One day Canadians will reject this argument as firmly as the Chinese people have rejected the Soviet ultimatum.

CANADA'S REVISIONISTS PARROT KREMLIN

As soon as the line of attack was laid down by the C.P.S.U. Canadian revisionists jumped into the fray and demonstrated their loyalty to their Soviet masters. A spate of anti-China articles appeared in the revisionist press and in other publications over which they have control. Bert Whyte, Moscow correspondent for the "Tribune"

managed a few columns of semi-literate copy between exhilarating troika rides in the snows of Moscow. We have yet to see an informative article from Bert on how the ordinary Moscow worker lives but we despair of ever seeing one. We can learn, for example, that Liebermanism is not a return to capitalism, because Lieberman himself says so, but we cannot find what the application of Lieberman's methods means to the average Russian worker. Plenty of time to calumniate China but no time, or desire, to write of the widening gap in incomes that results from Liebermanism.

Ben Swankey, member of the B.C. Provincial Executive of the C.P., took up the refrain in a series of columns in "The Fisherman", the journal of the United Fisherman and Allied Workers Union. There are scores of points on which we could tackle Ben, we will limit ourselves to but one.

In the course of trying to whip up anti-China sentiment Ben gave his readers to understand that Chairman Mao Tse-tung was opposed to the "Welfare State". Now we are not in possession of Chairman Mao's thinking on this point at the moment but we can well imagine what it would be. However, there was really no need to wander so far afield to find opposition to the "Welfare State". Swankey should have checked with Progressive Workers Movement and he would have discovered lots of opposition to "Welfare Stateism" right in his own front yard.

Swankey, who parades around masquerading as an instructor in Labour politics and economics, has obviously not grasped a very simple and elementary fact—the "Welfare State" is a capitalist state therefore Chairman Mao, or anyone else who fights for Socialism, would be opposed to it as a form of capitalist rule.

The "Welfare State", Ben, is peculiar to that special development of capitalist society where you have mass hunger and degradation in the midst of plenty. It is state promotion of a charitable project to aid the "underprivileged" and founded on the principle of the poor helping the poor. It is the working people who are taxed to pay for the "Welfare State" and it is specifically designed to shore up the tottering capitalist system. Anyone who defends the "Welfare State" is defending capitalism. Now, Ben, tell your next union class you are still enamoured of the "Welfare State".

Oh yes! We will join with the workers in the fight for reforms—for better pensions, medical care, increased unemployment benefits, etc.—but we will not join with Swankey and his colleagues in telling the workers that this is some form of social perfection and that the fight for Socialism is no longer necessary. Our participation in the fight for immediate needs will be for the purpose of exposing the rottenness of the capitalist system and pointing to the need for workers to put an end to exploitation and undertake the building of a Socialist society.

Finally we will comment on the February issue of "The Canadian Far Eastern Newsletter" co-authored by the Reverend James G. Endicott and his wife, Mary. Having spent some years in China as a Christian Missionary Mr. Endicott is fond of posing as a "China expert" and an unprejudiced observer. Considering that the Reverend gentleman was the recipient of some tens of thousands of dollars from the Krushovites in the guise of "peace prizes" he will no doubt be appreciative of the fact that we are trifle dubious of his "neutrality". And, in fact, his comment on China is far from unbiased and, on occasion, not quite honest.

Endicott's so-called "analysis" of events in China is so confused and so full of internal contradictions one could fill several volumes in replying to it. After having condemned the Cultural Revolution for "some horrible brutalities," "knocking the minority on the head" etc., Endicott then comes out with the surprising and incomprehensible statement: "Mao is determined to eliminate as much of

'power corruption' as he can by the new revolutionary councils. He wants to do away with the too large gap in pay scales between ordinary worker and management... Only history can show if a whole nation will work so selflessly and without incentives or bonuses of a material nature. I hope they succeed. It will indeed be a miraculous great leap forward for human nature as well as for the 'thought of Mao Tse-tung.' Obviously Endicott is hopelessly confused and he is no Marxist—Leninist as his all too clear doubts and pessimism about man's ability to change himself clearly indicates.

The bulk of the Newsletter is taken up with an abridgement of a report of Kim Il Sung to the Congress of the Party in Korea in which, according to Endicott, Korea "declared itself for independence" which Endicott takes for granted is "independence" from China. The P.W.M. is of the opinion that Korea, in fact, declared its independence from Marxism-Leninism and its subservience to the Moscow line of "peaceful co-existence" and collaboration

Editor, Progressive Worker,

I thought the enclosed extract from a letter of a friend in Shanghai might enlighten your readers who may be puzzled by radio and press reports.

"We are living thro' history making developments here in China, and Shanghai has been one of the focal points. After that early phase of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution in which the Red Guards were intent on rooting out the former '4 Olds' (old feudal and Capitalist ideas, culture, habits, and customs) and implanting the '4 new proletarian ideas, culture, habits, and customs, the movement began to focus on its main objective at this stage, namely exposing the Party leaders in positions of authority who were plotting to take the people and country down the revisionist—capitalist road after undermining the socialist system.

Though I am not as deeply involved as the Chinese people themselves I am learning a lot. One of the sharpest lessons I have learned is that the reactionary bourgeois elements will not give up of their own accord; in fact they struggle desperately, using all manner of means to hold onto their power and achieve their ends. But equally clearly I have seen that working class is 'on the ball' keenly alert in attacking their class enemies. Just before New Year we in Shanghai were aware that a lot of money was being put into circulation, and the people going all out on a mad spending spree. Shops were cleared in no time at all of their luxury food items, watches, bicycles, sewing machines, furniture, etc. Workers, teachers, service personnel, office workers, were being paid bonuses or given wage increases to which they were not entitled. Obviously the economy was being undermined, production disrupted, for some factories closed and the working class found that plans were afoot to block public transportation, train service and public utilities. The Shanghai area was headed for utter confusion! Led by the revolutionary rebel groups (they go by various names in the cultural revolutionary activity) eleven such groups issued a letter to all the people of Shanghai (see Peking Review 4, 5, and 6) exposing what was happening; that a vicious plot was underway and a few days later, 32 revolutionary groups issued a 10 point 'Urgent Notice' which spelled out what must be done to check the wave of economism. Thus we now speak of the 'January Revolution' which reached another important stage with the inauguration of the "Shanghai Peoples Commune" in early February.

Though in general the life of the city goes on smoothly, there are intense struggles (verbal struggles on the whole) in practically every organization, school, institution and factory. The struggle is gaining in depth and breadth and intensity to smoke out all renegades. And of course they will not give up without a struggle. But the masses are aroused. The Shanghai commune has already seized political power in all major aspects of life and community organization. The focus of struggle has

with imperialism. The Soviet revisionists have, accordingly rushed in to offer "aid" to Korea and show their appreciation of a new convert in the camp. This is "aid" for which Korea will pay dearly.

We would remind Endicott that a great deal of Chinese blood was spilled on the soil of Korea in defence of that country's independence while not one drop of Soviet blood was shed there and all equipment supplied by the U.S.S.R. was paid for at full market price. It is not our intention to eulogise China for coming to the aid of Korea. In doing that the Chinese people were simply carrying out their proletarian internationalist duty. But we would remind Endicott and Korea that it is their duty to remember China's great sacrifices in discharging her internationalist obligations. It COST China to aid in defending Korean independence—the Soviet Union made money from it by selling arms at world prices. Let Endicott remember that fact before he undertakes to flaunt Soviet living standards in our face.

now spread to the countryside and to other cities. Actually it is the people who are running things and they are doing it very well.

Another impressive aspect of the Cultural Revolution is the widespread practice of democracy—extensive democracy is the term used. How do these struggles take place? By discussion, arguments, debate; more discussion, more arguments, more debates! Half a block down the street where I live is a district Public Security Bureau. One afternoon both sides were arguing thro' loud speakers, sometimes at the same moment, sometimes one after the other. A huge crowd collected to listen, blocking all traffic for a time. At the end of the afternoon it was announced that the next round of discussion would take place in a certain theatre where it was hoped a solution could be reached; failing this the opposite factions would have to present their cases to a kind of arbitration group. This takes place all over the city and people are learning a lot, by joining in, or just listening. In addition there are countless wall bulletins. Anyone is free to post these and in this way much information and differing points of view are aired. Sometimes rumors are circulated but soon another will appear, refuting the rumor and telling the truth.

In a live T.V. transmission we saw a Rally in which the top cadre of the City Party Committee responsible for industry issued directives. Revisionists practices were over from Soviet directives. Revisionists practices were being rammed down the throat of Shanghai industries. Naturally now this has been exposed the workers are furious! The evidence is damning for it clearly shows that the revisionists were hell bent on taking China down the road to Capitalism. Though there is still severe struggle in some places; e.g. Sinkiang, the pro-Mao forces are seizing power in city after city—Shanghai, Tsingtao and Harbin. The proletarian dictatorship is being more firmly grounded than ever before. Truly the picture is BRIGHT!

Food shortage? NO! China had good harvests last year, but in some localities frequented by thousands of Red Guards weeks on end, the feeding of them every day, sufficient bedding in freezing weather (some came empty handed) did strain the grain and cotton backlogs. This coincided with the snarling up of the transportation system due to the extensive facilities available to the Red Guards. To this add that bad elements bent on causing trouble held up the transportation of people and supplies in certain areas. But now that all these have been called back home to get ahead with 'pushing production' while they grasp revolutionary work at home the established supply systems are slipping back into good running order. True a national call has gone out urging people to be frugal and not waste grain. Here there were a few days of skimpy vegetable supplies but nothing serious and all the while fruit and meat shops were well supplied.

Truly, no one has been suffering from food shortages.

by B.W.

INDIA--AN EXAMPLE OF NEO-COLONIALISM

The Indian bourgeoisie accepted the "gift" of independence from the British imperialists in 1947—just two years before the People's Liberation Army swept the last of the imperialists and compradore bourgeoisie from the mainland of China. In the two decades that have elapsed since that event Britain, the Soviet Union and the U.S. have poured billions of dollars in "aid" into India, but untold numbers have died of hunger and the land is presently on the verge of a catastrophe greater than any hitherto experienced in her disaster-ridden history.

In the same period the People's Republic of China which has not only not received aid from anyone in many years but has actually, from her own resources, given aid to revolutionary peoples in many places, has suffered no hunger crisis and appears to be in no immediate danger of experiencing such a crisis.

The Indian crisis reached something of a climax during the recent election campaign when Congress Party candidates took a beating—physically as well as at the ballot box. Even the daughter of the late Pandit Nehru was not immune; she sustained a broken nose and numerous bruises when stoned by starving voters at an election rally.

As long ago as last October Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was telling the world that there was no hunger in India but by the February elections rolled around and the mass protest movement of the people had reached gigantic proportions the Prime Minister was pleading desperately with her imperialist masters for emergency supplies of grain and other staples.

By mid February 500,000 government employees were on strike in Uttar Pradesh and 130,000 electrical workers were out in the states of Andhra and Maharashtra. Strikes demonstrations and violence was spreading throughout all 16 of the Indian states. State violence was everywhere being resisted by the people who were demonstrating their opposition to the hunger policy of the reactionary Congress government.

Adding to the miseries and problems of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and her government were armed counter-attacks of national minorities against the reactionary regime at Delhi. Naga tribesmen who live near the India-Burma border and Mizo tribesmen in Assam were in arms against the central government and had administered

stinging defeats to the Congress forces in the local districts.

Beset by these problems the election farce of the Congress Party ended in a complete shambles. Corruption and bribery were widespread and open. Some candidates, trading on the mass hunger, had hoarded grain for some time and then distributed it during the campaign in an effort to catch votes. The U.S. imperialists openly intervened in the election supplying money to pro-American candidates. The U.S. second secretary went to occupied Kashmir to lend a hand to Congress candidates there.

On the eve of the elections, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, disregarding their own difficult food situation, supplied the Indian government with 200,000 tons of wheat in an effort to win votes for the politicians who toe the revisionists line and so influence the election outcome.

In spite of all the cajolery and corruption the Congress Party lost ground. They now hold control in only 8 states where before they were a majority in all 16. Though they secured a majority at the centre their authority will be on insecure foundations.

The Indian masses who are thoroughly fed up with the reactionary ruling group demonstrated their anger in strikes, demonstrations, dispersing meetings of reactionary candidates, storming party offices and boycotting the elections.

The Indian ruling class in the Congress Party are unhappy with the outcome and are wrangling amongst themselves over who is to blame for the debacle. There were reports that Indira Gandhi was going to be removed as head of the Party and the State but she was reaffirmed in that position possibly because no one else was anxious to accept the post at this particular time.

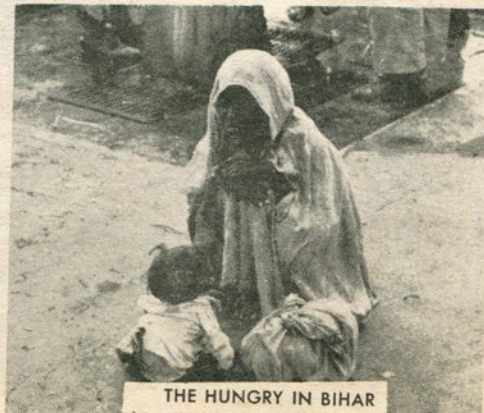
India needs capital to invest in a large-scale development of agriculture and industry. But instead of investment in these necessary objectives capital is being drained from the land. U.S. and British imperialist investors are drawing off large amounts on payments of interest on loans and dividends on investments. In addition the huge Indian monopoly of Birla Brothers is making large-scale investments abroad. The latest of these Birla investments is in Scotland where the monopoly is building a plant for the manufacture of asbestos cement sheets for roofing and lining. The plant and machinery, which will cost about one million dollars, is to be shipped from India. Birla Brothers have also announced that they are going into the chemical and fibre business with various American and German monopolies. With tens of millions unemployed, hunger rampant and India in desperate need of building up an industrial base and modernising agricultural production the Birla Brothers, like monopoly capitalists everywhere, prefer to invest where the profits are.

India is a prime example of a neo-colonial nation and what happens to the working masses under reactionary neo-colonial rule.



U.S. "aid"

by M.A. Aziz



THE HUNGRY IN BIHAR

poems-poems-poems-poems-poems-poems

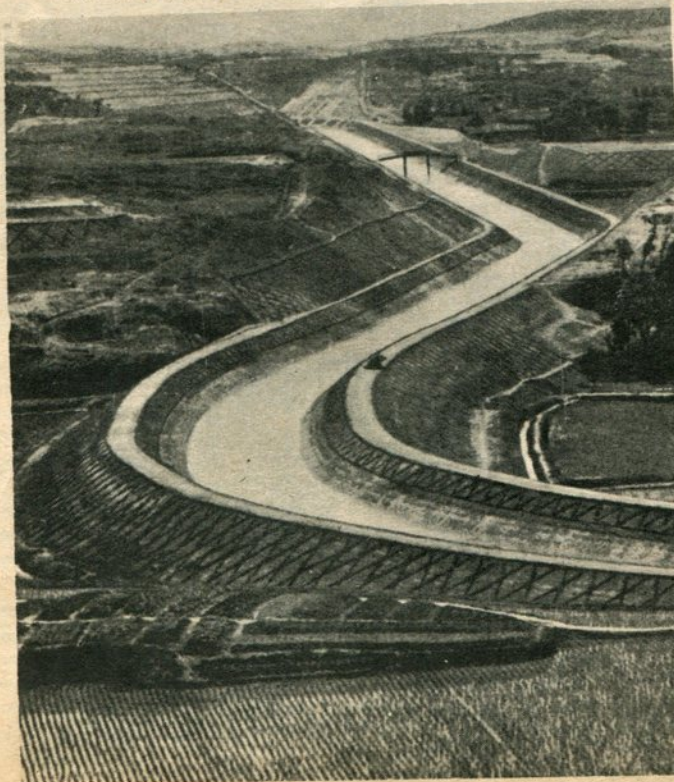
DEVILS BROTH . . . Rewi Alley

With hysterical sadism
the devil power, devil led
of Johnson's rotten to the core
U.S.A., creates a devils broth
in Vietnam with oceans
of napalm, roasting old
and young; occasionally
permitting some baby to limp
into life, a grotesque mass
of suffering, so making even more
disgusting their pretence
of being the world's most
ardent do-gooders; they arrange
hunt and kill expeditions out
into jungle villages, and mindful
of the necessary Vietcong death
reports lusted for at home
count everything. Shouts one gaily
"Hey you there, kiss my ass,
I got three in one; a bitch
with twins in her guts! Come
right over and see." And there
spread out on the green grass
dead and a mass of blood, lay
proof of the world's mightiest
degeneracy.

Changsha, Hunan. Dec. 2nd, 1966.

BY THE TZEYA RIVER . . . Rewi Alley

Banners reaching away into
horizon haze, miles of them
streaming above the tens
of thousands whose shovels
flash in the winter light; up,
up the steep incline are pushed
loads of earth to be tossed



almost casually on dyke tops;
now comes rebellion against
mad rivers which too long have
lorded it; now men's hands
guide waters into new channels,
raise one canal to flow over
the top of another; build
seven hundred new bridges
and then prepare for still
greater tasks tomorrow; the hands
of collective man that halt
destruction, making pitiful
fields, alkali waste and fen
change into now smiling
crop land a garden in which
youngsters of a new generation
will grow up strongly, able
to create more change, rebels
of a world to be.