

THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS

Progressive Worker

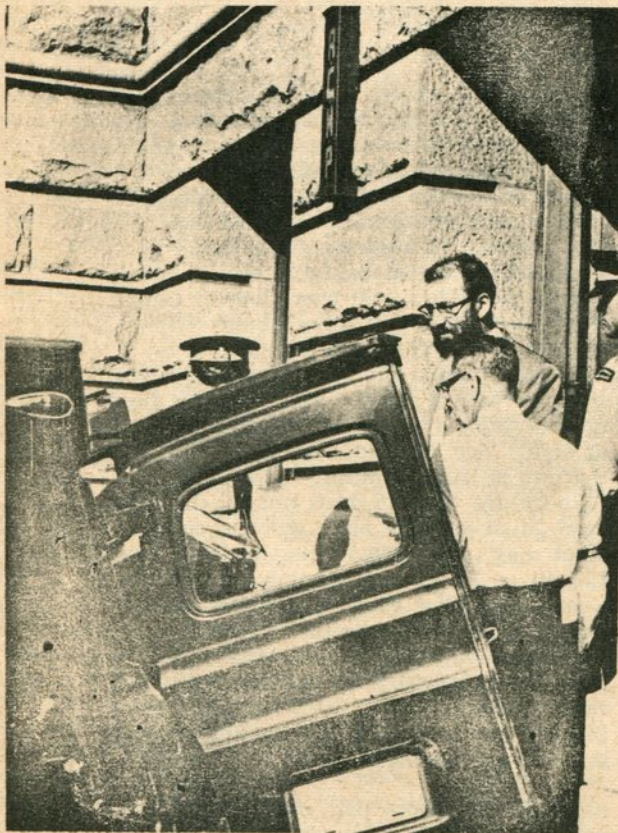
Workers of All Countries Unite!

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10¢

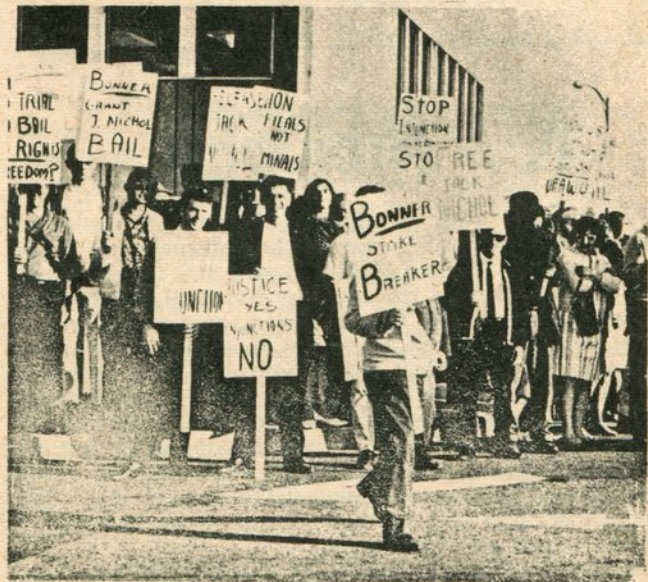
JULY 1967.

FIGHT THE INJUNCTION



LEFT: UFAWU secretary Homer Stevens on his way to Oakalla, June 19.

BELOW: Unionists protest arrest of UFAWU business agent Jack Nichol.



IT'S THE BOSSES' LAW

Progressive Worker

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NO MERGER

A referendum vote at Sudbury, Ontario, recently indicates that the proposal to merge the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers with the United Steelworkers of America may run into stormy weather. The vote showed a majority of two to one against the merger and in favour of keeping Sudbury Local 598 an independent union.

Agreement on the Steel union absorbing Mine Mill was reached by top leaders of both unions on April 29th but has yet to be voted on by members of the Mine, Mill and Smelter workers. The vote at Sudbury, mainly employees of Falconbridge Nickel Mines, is the first official membership reaction to the proposal. Leading personnel in Mine, Mill, who have been generously provided for under terms of the agreement, are working hard for acceptance.

When the merger proposal was first broached for discussion P.W.M. proposed that the mine union should reject merger with Steel which is one of the most reactionary organizations in the U.S. labour movement and suggested the establishment of an Independent Canadian Union as an alternative. That P.W.M.'s proposal had a sympathetic reception among the rank and file is indicated by the Sudbury development. There is still time and opportunity left to adopt the independent line.

ANNA LOUISE STRONG

During our recent trip abroad we had an opportunity to renew an old friendship and enjoy several conversations with Anna Louise Strong. The host of friends which Anna Louise has in this part of the world—particularly along the Pacific coast—will be happy to know that this old warrior in the Socialist cause, is still very active and alive to the world situation inspite of her advanced age of 80 plus (or is it because of it).

Anna Louise keeps busy publishing her "Letters from China" and preparing additional volumes of many articles she wrote on China over past years (the first volume, "China's Millions", is now available). Anna Louise has both written and helped to make history during more than half a century of active participation in the labour movement from Seattle to Moscow and Peking and a thousand places in between. She is still writing history and helping to make it.

We wish also to take this opportunity to publicly express our deep appreciation for a \$500.00 donation from Anna Louise to Progressive Worker. We have also been charged with the responsibility of conveying an equal amount to various worthy efforts being made to advance labour's cause. We extend to Comrade Anna Louise best wishes for continued good health and success in her efforts to advance the fight for the world-wide victory of Socialism.

Here are a few lines written for Anna Louise on her eighty-first birthday by the well-known New Zealand poet, Rewi Alley:

FOR ANNA LOUISE . . .

Rewi Alley

A name that makes many a thoughtful one pause and wonder what she is saying now; a voice that for over half a century has tried to carry understanding of man's struggle forward to the American people and to peoples around our world, her pen still the tool of a sharp, clear, mind probing into the meaning of things, pointing out to the wide world what folk in China know so well; today Anna Louise Strong is yet a name like a fine bell, sounding true; still she remains the star American news reporter with a ready quip, a love for fun, able to enjoy the surf at Peitaiho at eighty one, then turning to matters in hand, shouting to Fen Fen, "Where are those figures put by the other day? Must get this piece written, come what may . . ." Then going to some place like Lhasa or Da Ching, keeping in print as a real journalist does, typewriter tapping, right on her toes, sure that China has found the way, and in the spirit of Mao Tse-tung will keep the revolution flowing clean, so that its waves will break through the rot of the old, making people in quite a different mould.

Anna Louise whose pen, made in the U.S.A., is so much deadlier than bombs carrying the same label and exploded in Vietnam; for Anna Louise, an expression of all that is truly living in American life, a fighter for peoples everywhere, these lines are written, trying to tell some thoughts of those who know her well.

Peitaiho, August 14th, 1966.

INJUNCTIONS!—WHERE IS THE C.L.C.?

The Winnipeg Convention of the Canadian Labour Congress last year made a point of flexing its muscles in public and declared open war on injunctions. The heady atmosphere of the convention hall (or was it something in the Winnipeg water?) caused the assembled delegates to act like a pride of lions until the adjournment of the gathering. But once on the chilly, snow-clad streets of the "gateway to the west," and wending homeward their separate ways, the ardour of the representatives of the union movement cooled to a normal near-freezing. The demonstrations of fighting spirit at the convention was realistic enough to almost convince the bystander that he was in a conference made up entirely of Mohamed Alis; but once on the firing line the heroes for a day acted like a bunch of frightened rabbits.

In spite of all the fighting speeches and the defiance hurled at the heads of those in authority; in spite of lark threats of dire consequences if the use of injunctions was not forthwith abandoned, there has not been a single fight against injunctions of any consequence since the convention closed. This situation is not due at all to the fact that the authorities were scared silly at the threats emanating from the conference rooms and discarded the use of injunctions. On the contrary, injunctions have been used even more freely and those who took the fighting words from Winnipeg seriously and stood their ground against injunctions were abandoned to the 'mercy' of the courts and received more vicious sentences than had been previously levied.

INJUNCTIONS AND THE COURTS!

The tactic followed to date in the so-called "fight against injunctions" consists of beating a hasty retreat as soon as a few arrests have been made. Attempts are made to cover up the retreat with statements about "carrying the fight into the court." But how is this "fight" carried into court? A high powered battery of lawyers is hired to argue the "injustice" and immorality of using injunctions in labour cases. The promoters of the "legal way" don't seem to have learned the lesson that you don't go to court for justice—you go for law and law is what you get and the law clearly states you must obey a court order regardless of the merits and "justice" of your case. As soon as you defy an injunction you are guilty before the law, and guilty is what the court will find you. In a word: there is no "legal way" to fight injunctions.

The Winnipeg Convention had before it two very good examples of the right way and the wrong way to fight injunctions. Both examples from Ontario.

In the strike of the printing trades at the Oshawa Times, where management was using police and scabs to penetrate the picket line and smash the strike, a solidarity picket line was called for and workers in the district (mainly from auto) responded several thousand strong. Injunctions were issued and defied by up to 15,000 pickets who tore up the notices and threw snowballs at the police and court bailiffs. Result: a strike settled on reasonable terms and not a single court case, no jail sentences, not even a summons issued.

Just a few miles from Oshawa, at Peterborough, and only a few weeks later another strike, another solidarity picket line and more injunctions. This time after 25 warrants were issued Ontario Federation of Labour officials disbanded the picket line stating the fight would be carried into court. Result: an unsatisfactory strike settlement and a number of workers serving jail terms of up to 6 months.

It seems obvious that there is a choice of tactics available depending upon whether one wants to discover what the inside of a jail looks like (if you haven't already had the experience) or stay at home with the family. So far the C.L.C. bureaucracy have chosen to let those unfortunate (or fortunate?) enough to be selected as victims languish in prison as hostages for all of the labour movement in the battle against injunctions.

PRINCE RUPERT—JOINING THE ENEMY!

We have returned to this question of injunctions at this time because the experience of the United Fisherman and Allied Worker's Union has added a new dimension to the injunction picture. If one is to accept at face value the

developments at Prince Rupert then it seems we would be justified in concluding that the C.L.C. officials have decided, since they cannot beat the users of injunctions they are going to join them.



... as you can see, the PUBLIC is pressing for tougher labour legislation.

The Fisherman's Union (not a Congress affiliate) is involved in a tough strike with the Fishing Vessel Owners Association at Prince Rupert. Since the very beginning of the strike the Deep Sea Fishermen's Union, holding a direct charter from the Congress, has run interference for the Vessel Owners and provided them with the slight bit of justification they needed to decline an open invitation to open negotiations on the pretext there was a jurisdictional dispute. There appears to be a wealth of evidence to prove that the Deep Sea group were encouraged and advised in this policy by Congress representatives. There have been Congress representatives on the ground almost constantly since the start of the dispute.

However, these underhanded strike-breaking tactics and the serving of injunctions by vessel owners and fish companies were not successful in breaking the strike. The Deep Sea Union and the owners decided to carry their anti-labour co-operation a step further and made a joint application FOR AN INJUNCTION against the U.F. and A.W.U. A total of 65 members of the Deep Sea Union (more than three quarters of the total membership) signed their names to the application for the injunction. It would be very difficult for us to believe that the Congress, with its representatives on the ground and supposedly aiding in trying to get a solution to the dispute, was unaware of what was taking place. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary we consider ourselves justified in assuming that the Congress Executive is quite prepared to have one of its directly chartered locals resort to injunctions in an attempt to smash a non-affiliate.

Being a directly chartered local the Deep Sea Union

comes under the direct supervision and discipline of the Congress executive. The Congress, therefore, cannot escape responsibility for what the local does since it has the power to step in and control the situation. Even up to the final hour the Congress had the opportunity to take action that would have disassociated it from the activities of this affiliate. When the U.F. and A.W.U. officials appeared on the charge of refusing to obey a court order, which arose out of their failure to abide by the injunction the Deep Sea Union co-operated in obtaining, the Congress Executive could have suspended the local charter and appeared in court as a friend of the accused. Since there was no such action we will have to assume that Congress acquiesced in the conduct of its affiliate.

It is our firm belief that the fast action of the authorities, the summary "justice" and severity of the sentence (by far the most severe to date) is largely attributable to the fact that a so-called "union" was a party to the action and also due to the fact that there was every reason to believe that the C.L.C. supported the action—if not actively then passively.

Unless the Congress takes some strong and immediate steps to repair the situation (and we are at a loss to know what steps) then they have reached the end of the road so far as the so-called "anti injunction fight" is concerned. Any further talk about an uncompromising fight against injunctions would be strictly for laughs.

There is one point that has not previously been touched upon but which could explain the apparently strange conduct of the Congress in this case—the top Congress officials and the international union bureaucrats are not interested in the complete abolition of injunctions and are even opposed to such a sweeping solution to the problem. What they really want is controlled use of injunctions.

Considering the fact that the union bureaucrat is, if anything, even more afraid of a militant rank and filer than is the employer he has an interest in the retention of injunctions. What would make the bureaucrat deliriously happy is a situation where strikes sanctioned by the bureaucracy would be free from the threat of injunctions but "wildcats" and strikes by non-affiliates would be subject to such legal measures of prohibition. For example, the Congress brochure "Labour Unity" which was distributed to all members of parliament and the senate is a hysterical, jingoistic incitement against the C.N.T.U. and an open and direct invitation to enact legislation for the sole purpose of strangling that organization.

If it sometimes appears, therefore, that the Congress is bent on committing suicide it only means that they have a much greater fear of an independent and militant rank and file than they have of rigid control by the state. Given the necessity of choosing, the union bureaucracy would rather put their necks willingly under the heel of the boss than subject themselves to the democratic control of the union membership.

SOLIDARITY?

We must confess that there are times when letters of protest and resolutions of solidarity make us a little sick. It is not that we are against resolutions, for as a guide to action resolutions are good and a necessary thing. But when passed merely as a formality and for the record they are not only meaningless but often insulting and ridiculous.

We have in mind, for example, several years ago when the International Typographical Union was on strike against Toronto newspapers and members of other unions were working behind the picket line. A delegate from the Printing Pressmen moved in the Toronto Labour Council a resolution of solidarity with the I.T.U. and then, the next morning bright and early, the Printing Pressmen, in the name of the sanctity of their contract with the boss, trampled solidarity underfoot and crossed the picket line. They even signed a new contract while the strike was still in progress and held that to be a sacred trust. Resolutions under such circumstances seem just a little distasteful, to say the least.

We are reminded of this because of an incidence not too dissimilar in the present case involving the fishermen.

Two locals of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, Local 452 and Local 2802, sent messages to Attorney General Bonner and declared their solidarity

with the U.F. and A.W.U. But a third unit of the same union Local 506, Shipwrights, crossed a Fisherman's Union picket line at Vancouver Shipyard to repair a vessel belonging to one of the owners responsible for the injunction—a vessel declared "hot" by the fisherman.

ALL FOR ONE!

The old principles, "All for one, one for all", "An injury to one is an injury to all" that once bound union members together in firm bonds of brotherhood have long since been displaced by the entirely self-seeking "Every man for himself" and this is a state of affairs constantly promoted and encouraged by both employer and union bureaucrat. In consequence of this the unions have lost the sense of comradeship that was the source of the solidarity and strength that was so vitally necessary when going into battle. The lack of this solidarity in struggle has resulted in several serious set-backs and defeats in the past period even though the situation was not particularly unfavourable to labour. Because of the relatively favourable situation no real disaster has so far occurred. But, in the event of an economic crisis of even small dimensions (and there are signs of one on the horizon) a real catastrophe could overtake the labour movement. The Lenkurt debacle is a foretaste, on a small scale, of what can happen. If that catastrophe is to be avoided or, at the very least, minimized then the rank and file better start moving fast, take things out of the hands of the bureaucrats and bring them under the democratic control of the membership.

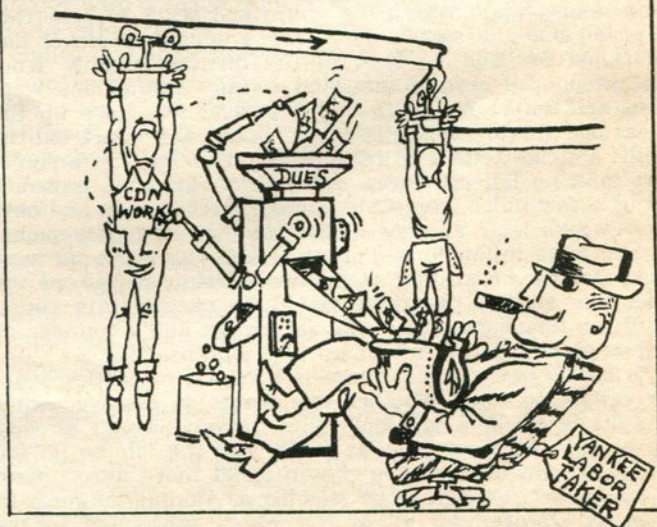
A clean-up of the international and congress bureaucracy and an independent Canadian trade union movement are immediate necessities.

Just after the above article was written reports came in on the deliberations of the Vancouver and District Labour Council (C.L.C.) and they don't make very impressive reading, nor do they enhance the dignity or public image of our so-called labour leaders. The general attitude of the Council and Federation leaders bears out what we said above—the C.L.C. is not interested in a bitter-end fight for the complete abolition of injunctions.

Talk, as they say, is cheap and the Council was long on talk but short on action. Such declamatory statements as "We are prepared to put our jobs on the line to ensure that the labour movement lives", have little, if any meaning when not backed up with concrete action.

The main trend of the discussion as represented by leading spokesmen was along the lines of protesting "the severity of the sentences" but not really getting down to the fact of injunctions as an anti-labour weapon. The casualness and almost total disinterest of the bureaucracy was clearly

YANKEE LABOUR LEADER'S PREOCCUPATION



evident in Haynes' (Federation Secretary) statement: "The complicated fishing dispute is outside the jurisdiction of the Federation because the U.F. and A.W.U. is not affiliated". Not a word about the sickening detail that an affiliate was party to the application for an injunction. Haynes, in fact,

lent aid and comfort to the anti-union authorities when he indicated he considered the U.F.A.W.U. largely responsible for the predicament it was in. He said: "it may be that the ill-advised expansionist policies of the U.F.A.W.U. contributed to the situation", which only bears out our contention that the C.L.C. officials are desirous of retaining injunctions so long as they are used only in situations which benefits their bureaucratic control.

Haynes also seized advantage of the situation to issue a ringing call for an end to the class struggle in the shops and on the picket lines and a suggestion we abandon these crude methods and concentrate on electing politicians who will be more amenable to accepting advice from Congress leaders on matters affecting labour.

One fact emerges clearly from the reaction to the vicious sentences handed out to the leaders of the U.F. and A.W.U.

Editors note: printed below are two letters drafted up by the Trade Union Committee of the Progressive Workers Movement regarding the unjust jailing of the leaders of the United Fisherman and Allied Workers Union.

June 23, 1967

United Fisherman and Allied
Worker's Union,
138 East Cordova,
Vancouver, B.C.

Brothers:

We wish to send you and all your members greetings and our heartfelt solidarity and support in your just struggle against the Vessel Owners Association, the Canadian Labour Congress sponsored Deep Sea Fishermen's Union and the unjust harassment by the Attorney General's department in the issuing of pro-boss injunctions.

We are especially disgusted with the performance of the C.L.C. affiliated Deep Sea Fishermen's Union. The collusion of this scab union with the boss only points out the total bankruptcy of the leadership of the American dominated "official" labour movement. Your struggle has the support of all genuine trade unionists as it insures and promotes the basic interests of the Canadian workers.

We further vehemently protest the unjustified arrest and imprisonment of your union leaders and the totally unjustified fine imposed on your union.

The Progressive Workers Movement unconditionally supports your union in this struggle and promises to use all our forces to rally support.

Faternally,
Trade Union Committee,
Progressive Workers Movement

June 23, 1967

Attorney General, Robert Bonner,
Parliament Buildings,
Victoria, B.C.

Dear Sir:

We are writing to register our protest at your department's intervention in the current struggle between the United Fishermen and Allied Worker's Union and the Vessel Owners Association.

From the start of the Socred regime in B.C. your government and department have consistently displayed an anti-labour, pro-boss bias. We would like to point out to you that workers in B.C. constitute 90 percent, the overwhelming majority of our province's population. Your department's intervention and suppression of workers' strikes and demonstrations will, contrary to lessening working class discontent, only serve to deepen and spread working peoples' resistance to these unjust laws. The people of B.C. will not stand idly by and watch their brother unionists harassed and jailed while carrying out their delegated duties. We demand your department cease its intervention and harassment of the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union. We further demand that your department release the arrested officers

and from the attitude toward the dirty, anti-labour activities of the Congress affiliate: There will be NO fight against injunctions and from here on we can even expect LESS TALK about them.

The whole retreat from struggle, which has the appearance of a complete rout, was fittingly capped by the reception given one delegates suggestion that a 48 hour protest strike be called. The proposal was greeted with cold silence and did not even get a second.

The retreat from Winnipeg is now complete, the class struggle, so far as the Labour Statesmen are concerned, is now dead and decently buried, so let us get along with the real job of employer-labor co-operation and bind the worker a little tighter in the chains of slavery. All in the name of 'responsibility', 'national unity' and 'victory at the ballot box', of course:

of the U.F. and A.W.U. and return the unjust fine of \$25,000 levied on the union. We further demand that you publicly apologize to the union for your intervention and promise from hence forward to stay out of the disputes involving labour.

We again warn that if these demands are not heeded and acted upon you and your department must be held fully responsible for all further actions of the working class to gain their just demands.

The Trade Union Committee,
Progressive Workers Movement.

AMENDED THE 9th DAY OF JUNE, A.D. 1967, PURSUANT
TO THE ORDERS OF HIS HONOUR JUDGE KIRKE SMITH, L.J.S.C.
DATED the 16th OF MAY, 1967, and the 31st of May, 1967
IN THE SUPREME COURT OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

No. H 1702/67

BETWEEN:

FOSTER HUSOY, ALBERT PHILLIPSON, BELLE
FISHING CO. LTD., DECKER FISHING CO. LTD.,
SILVER FISHING LTD., ADVANCE FISHING LTD.,
BOUNTY FISHING CO. LTD., TAPLOW FISHING
CO. LTD., ALLAVERDY FISHING LTD., FREDELIA
FISHING CO. LTD., CHARLES HUSKINS, DONALD
SMITH, VERNE W. POSSUM, HAROLD KENNETH
HARDY, LEWIS GILBERT SMITH, GEORGE HOWE,
JULIUS M. JOHNSON, MARTIN K. ERIKSEN, MARION
CALDERONI, SIDNEY DICKENS, JR., HAROLD HELLAND,
DOUBLE R. FISHING LTD., CLYDE RAYMOND SMITH,
WILLIAM BUSSEY, RALPH DEINSTADT, RODNEY PIERCE,
HAROLD B. MENZIES, BUSH, COOK & MACADAMS FISHING
LTD., ERLING H. WICK, SINCLAIR PIERCE, OLAF
SELFJORD, WILLIAM NORMAN MACLEOD, PAUL T.
CONRAD, MILTON CLARENCE BUSH, CHARLES EDWARD
MACADAMS, EDWARD EUGENE HUSKINS, MALCOLM
LAMONT HUSKINS, CLEVELAND RALPH FRASER, WILSON
TREMONT HUSKINS, KENNETH CLARENCE DEINSTADT,
GILLES MOISAN, JOHN R. KING, DONALD HAROLD QUAST,
WALTER BRADFORD THOMPSON, WILLIAM TREVOR
ROTHWELL, EDWARD OLSEN (Sr.), HAROLD GRINDSTRAND,
ARNE KROGSTAD, EGIL SVERRE SORNES, MICHAEL
ANDREW JOHNSON, EGIL JOHANNES ELVAN, LLOYD
CHARLES PEELFOLD, GEORGE HILLS HAUGAN, MELVIN
MARTIN HOLKESTAD, ELDORADO FISHING LTD.,
HANS HAGEN, ALAN HORT, FRED D. PREYMAK,

(b) For an interim and permanent Injunction restraining
the Defendant Union and its officers and servants and the
Defendants H. Stavens, Homer Stevens, Jack Nichol, Theodore
(otherwise known as Ted) Foort and George Hewison from
naming or classifying the said fishing vessels owned by the
Plaintiffs or any of them as "unfair".

HERE'S THE PROOF Names underlined in amended ex-parte
injunction (top) are those of some of the 65 Deep Sea Fishermen's
Union members now officially joined with Prince Rupert Fishing
Vessel Owners Association in court action against the UFAWU.

CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

PART ONE OF TWO PARTS
by N.J. Corbett

There is much confusion in the minds of many Canadians about how to interpret the recent conflict in the Middle East. Suspicious of the American and British support for Israel, dismayed by Israel's obvious aggression against her Arab neighbours, they nonetheless find themselves strongly influenced by traditional feelings of support for Israel.

This attitude is easy enough to understand. The Jewish people were the horribly persecuted victims of German fascism; after World War II they became the symbol, in the consciences of millions of people, of the stark cruelty of fascism. Anti-fascists everywhere identified and sympathized with the Jews.

Since the foundation of Israel as a Jewish state came about to some extent as a result of the European persecution of the Jews, it is difficult to discuss Israel except in the context of this emotionally-charged historical setting. It is also difficult to discuss the recent fighting objectively. Many people, both Jewish and Gentile, consider a criticism of Israel to be an attack on all Jews, and an indication of anti-Semitism, which is now irrevocably linked with fascism.

In order to have any coherent grasp of the recent events, however, it is necessary to study the facts and not the mythology of Israel's consolidation as a state, as well as the rise of American control since 1948 and the events of the last few weeks themselves.

First, let's look at some of the prevalent areas of confusion relating to the status of Israel and its citizens. Many of the misconceptions about the Jewish "return" to Palestine are the result of Zionist propaganda. Zionist leaders, backed by immense financial support, utilized the sufferings of European Jewry toward their own ends, consistently adopting reactionary and treacherous roles toward their own people. Leo Pinsker and Theodor Herzl, the fathers of Zionism as a movement, called on the Jewish people to renounce any struggle against persecution. Both, in fact, blamed the Jews themselves for "causing" anti-Semitism by their mere existence. Herzl explicitly offered the services of Zionism to the Russian Czar, to be used as a weapon against the revolutionary parties in Russia, at a time when massive pogroms against the Jews were being carried out. Shortly after the horrible Kishinev pogrom, where thousands of Jews died, he not only declined to protest to the Czar, but offered his movement "to help combat revolutionary tendencies among the Jewish youth." (Letter of May 19, 1903.)

From the very beginning of the bourgeoisie itself. Faithful to its class origins, it identified itself everywhere with reaction and not the progressive elements in society. Working-class Jews were harangued to forget their common cause with oppressed fellow citizens and seek salvation, not in a struggle for a new society in which the root cause of persecution would be eliminated, but in a future Jewish state.

In its external policy the story was the same. Herzl and the other Zionist leaders sought to place themselves at the service of imperialism, and almost any imperialist would do. To the English he said "...if we could have Palestine, we should there form a portion of a rampart against Asia, an outpost of civilization as opposed to barbarism." (*The Jewish State*, 1896.) Hedging his bet, he wrote to Wilhelm II of Germany, "To be under the protectorate of this strong, great, moral, magnificently administered, vigorously organized Germany can only have the most beneficial effect on the character of the Jewish people." (Oct. 8, 1898.)

Years later, when Israel came into being the Zionist leaders were still selling out their people to one or another foreign power. Zionist leaders such as Chaim Weizmann and Ben Gurion supported the plan of Israel becoming a British Dominion. The decline of British influence did not alter the desire to be "protected" by an imperialist government, and today that role is played by the United States.

A certain image of Israel has been created by the western Zionist movement. The country is portrayed as a pro-labour,

basically socialist and progressive land, reclaiming the desert and making it bloom through united struggle. The picture is essentially one of a classless society. This idea that the Jews are a special homogenous people with a common interests, not divided into classes, has long been a pillar of Zionism. A.B. Magil, a Jewish American, explodes this notion in his book *Israel in Crisis* (International Publishers, New York, 1950).

"The capitalists in Israel are no different from their breed in other lands. During the war, while the best sons of Israel were shedding their blood, there were business men who sold army shoes and uniforms that fell apart, and others who profiteered on the people's food.

Poverty in Israel is as bitter as elsewhere. The recent immigrants have found new privations and deceptions in place of the old. . . One can say that with maturing of the Jewish state there are maturing within it all the evils of capitalism.

The Israeli's faith in himself and his country reflects an achievement, a vitality, and a progressive aspiration that are real. But this faith is also based in part on illusion: the illusion that the worker and not the capitalist, is master of the country, that some kind of socialism is being built in Israel which will make it possible to escape the capitalist afflictions of other lands; the illusion that in the thirty-year partnership with Britain the Jews somehow outwitted the British; the illusion that in a similar "partnership" with the United States the Jews will again get the better of the bargain." (pp 12-13)

The capitalist class, in Israel as elsewhere, fosters divisions among the people while promoting verabally a concept of a special homogenous Jewishness. Incidents of racism against the Yemenite and North African Jews in Israel are common. Capitalists can never afford to allow a truly united working class.

Today American imperialism has a firm hold in Israel and uses it as a base against the Arab nations. How did it achieve this base? As early as 1919 an American spy, William Yale, who had formerly been a Standard Oil representative in the Middle East, recommended to President Wilson's King-Crane Commission that Palestine should be constituted as a "National Home" for the Jews under the mandate of Great Britain. He said at the time:

"Furthermore, a Jewish State will inevitably fall under the control of American Jews who will work out along Jewish lines American ideals and American civilization. A Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine will develop into an outpost in the Orient." (*Israel in Crises*, page 43)

In fact, events moved in almost precisely that way. Very soon after the establishment of the state of Israel, the U.S. began to challenge British domination of the area. In 1946 American capital represented about 30% of total private investments, and the figure is today much higher. American investment was primarily speculative; no where did they put money into the heavy industry Israel needed most.

The principal American investment firm, the Palestine Economic Corp., was organized in 1926 by a group of wealthy Jewish bankers and industrialists. After World War II, it masqueraded its investments under the front of the huge public appeals. Total net profits from Israel have run consistently higher than average American investments in foreign countries, largely due to the passage of laws by the Israeli government to protect and encourage American exploitation of both Jewish labour and resources. The Palestine Economic Corporation, the American Jewish Committee, and the United Jewish Appeal have had interlocking directorships since 1949, at which time the United Appeal was the largest non-government fund raising apparatus in the world. The investment arm and the philanthropic arm of the Jewish section of American big business are working together in behalf of a single policy.

Merging of public causes with private interests is legal but the economic and moral implications are not attractive.

And the profitable exploitation of Israel by the Jewish-

American bourgeoisie was quickly followed by non-Jewish investment. Today, the U.S. invests more money in Israel than in any other country in the world except Canada, with the same ensuing domination of Israel's politics.

It would take an entire volume, or more, to fully document the role of American imperialism in the Middle East. In an article such as this only the broadest survey can be attempted and many important areas must be ignored in order to turn to the main illustration of that policy, the recent warfare between Israel and the Arab states.

From the very beginning, the British imperialists and the Jewish bourgeoisie established Israel in opposition to the Arab people. Relations between the Palestinian Arabs and Jews from 1917 (when large-scale Jewish immigration into the area began) until the 1940's were cordial. The partition of Palestine, the driving out of the Palestinian Arabs from their homeland, the border warfare, the rise of a modern, industrialized Israel fed by Western funds in the midst of the backward and oppressed Arab nations are all causes of the present conflict. Traditionally split into feudal shiekhdoms and tribes, the Arabs today are attempting to unite against foreign exploitation and imperialism. Israel, far from supporting this struggle, has consistently allied itself only with the most backward and reactionary elements of Arab society, and served as a base for the U.S. to "protect its investments" in the Arab world.

In spite of this, even in the present war, the Arab states have made it clear (although the Western press has refused to do the same) that they are not opposed to the Jewish people living in Palestine. Nasser has called not for the extermination of the Jews, as Zionist propaganda holds, but for Palestine to become a united Arab-Jewish State; for the return of Arab refugees to their homeland, and for the end of an American spy-base in the Middle East. This Arab objective is interpreted by the Zionist fundraisers (who collected over \$100 million in North America in a little less than a week during the fighting) to be equivalent to Hitler's campaign to eliminate Jewry from the earth.

The events of the war itself are relatively clear-cut. Israel massed troops on the Syrian border and made public threats to topple Damascus and the Syrian government. Nasser asked for the withdrawal of the U.N. Peacekeeping force from Arab territory in reply, and this was immediately carried out despite a previous agreement by Dag Hammarskjöld, of which Nasser was aware, against such hasty withdrawal. Israel had never permitted the U.N. forces on her territory at all, but made pious protests against its withdrawal from Egypt. Nasser's hand, thus unexpectedly forced, closed the Gulf of Aqaba.

Despite western reports of Arab "war hysteria" it is obvious which party had in fact planned and prepared for war, manufacturing only the flimsiest excuse when it was ready to move, Israel did not wait even for the complete removal of the U.N. forces before it attacked, smashing the unprepared Egyptian Air Force on the ground. Such an attack was a complex military operation which must have been carefully planned for months in advance, long before any word of Arab "aggressiveness" was heard. Carefully mapped-out offensives into Egypt and Jordan were carried out to the last detail. The Arabs, not prepared for or expecting war, made hasty attempts to unite and mobilize against Israeli attacks, but they were no match for the heavily-subsidized, exhaustively prepared Jewish forces. Wave after wave of Israeli planes bombed and strafed Arabian cities and villages, dropping fragmentation bombs and napalm on the people.

After six days of fighting, the Arab countries accepted the U.N. ceasefire resolution. Israel, however, had not been able to carry out the main American objective, the smashing of Syria. Syria in fact, was the only Arab country which had successfully withstood Israel's attacks. However, after both Israel and Syria had publicly accepted the U.N. ceasefire, Israel attacked Syria and seized territory to within 15 miles of Damascus before it ceased fighting.

And there the situation stands today. Israel has stated that it plans to retain all of Jerusalem, the Gaza Strip, the western bank of the Jordan River, Sharm el Sheikh (which controls the Strait of Tiran) the heights of Galilee in Syria, and the western bank of the Suez Canal. Thousands of Arab

refugees are fleeing from their homes in these areas, and no Arabs are being allowed to return to their homes there.



REFUGEE CAMP IN JORDAN



ISRAELI AGGRESSIVE TROOPS MANHANDLE PRISONER

Armed Israeli soldiers guard the new borders while millions of dollars pour in for "beleaguered Israel" from the West. The capture of so much strategically vital territory is a powerful weapon indeed for the imperialist interests against the Arab Nations.

Many important lessons have been learned from the Middle Eastern war. The Arab people have discovered through the spilling of their blood what kind of an ally the Soviet Union is to oppressed peoples. They will no longer trust to the promises of that nation masquerading under the banner of socialism. Other people, both Jewish and non-Jewish, have learned that Israel, like all capitalist countries, must maintain itself through internal oppression and external aggression.

Today the major contradiction in the Middle East is between U.S. imperialism and their puppet Israel on the one hand and the Arab people on the other.

There are many important points which it is impossible to deal with in a limited article. One of the most important, however, and the basis of the support of all progressive thinkers for the beginning struggles of the Arab people to unite their area and throw off foreign domination is well expressed by Magil in his book.

"Whatever combats and weakens imperialism is on the side of progress even if princes and sheikhs are its leaders. Whatever supports and strengthens imperialism is reactionary even if alleged socialists are its leaders."

Editors note: The foregoing article is offered for background information. A following article will appear in the next issue.

A NEW ADVANCE IN CHINA

Crossing the border from one country to another; one's initial reaction is to notice the apparent differences but then, on closer study, it can readily be discerned that they are all very much the same fundamentally. But crossing into China is like entering a new world with an entirely new set of values. Comparisons with other places and other experiences when applied to China today is very likely to prove more confusing than helpful.

It is this approach of relating the Cultural Revolution to some familiar experience that is one of the most commonly used incorrect methods in reporting on its development. This is sure to prove both inadequate and misleading, for the Cultural Revolution is an event quite new and without precedent in history, and interpreting it in the light of some experience from the past can only result in hopeless confusion and a completely erroneous idea of what the struggles all about.

The worst offenders in this respect are the so-called 'revolutionaries' who keep their eyes fixed on Moscow as though it were the holy shrine of the revolution - not revolutionaries at all, but revisionists whose minds became ossified with the completion of the October Revolution. For them, in spite of all their declarations about "creative Marxism," Soviet experience is the last word and permanent model in revolutionary development.

According to these "theoreticians" with the petrified minds, the Soviet Union and its Communist Party is the custodian of all Marxist-Leninist knowledge as well as of revolutionary wisdom and virtue. In their opinion there can be no progress except along the explored and trusted paths of Soviet experience and each revolutionary movement in its turn must slavishly follow the appointed leader through the path of "peaceful transition" to the "state of the whole people". According to this line of thought the development and enrichment of Marxism come to an abrupt end with the death of Lenin. The Proletarian Cultural Revolution does not fit in to the revisionist design for a polite, peaceful "revolution" so it must be condemned as a "disastrous attack on the very essence of socialism."

The trouble with these people is they either never really understood the fundamental concepts of Marxism-Leninism, or else they have forgotten or abandoned them. They have failed to grow ideologically and to learn the lessons of history and so have degenerated into social-democrats, opportunists, revisionists and, ultimately, into outright counter-revolutionary elements in the service of imperialism. They deny the existence of classes and class struggle in socialist society, and proceeding from that erroneous position they deny the role and function of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the transition period from capitalism to communism and substitute for it the so-called "state of the whole people" which is nothing more than the Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie. On the basis of this false, anti-Marxist, counter-revolutionary policy they condemn and viciously attack the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and its outstanding Marxist-Leninist leader and architect, Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

Classes and Class Struggle in Socialist Society!

"Classes struggle, some classes triumph, others are eliminated. Such is history, such is the history of civilization for thousands of years. To interpret from this point of view is historical materialism; standing in opposition to this viewpoint is historical idealism."

"In class society everyone lives as a member of a particular class, and every kind of thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brand of a class."

(Quotations from Mao Tse-tung)

Marx and Engels, in the Manifesto of the Communist Party, pointed to the fact that all written history was one of class struggle, a state of affairs which dated back, in fact, to the collapse and disintegration of primitive tribal communism. The theory of class struggle was neither invented nor discovered by Marx but was already known to the ruling class. Touching on this question in a letter to Joseph Weydemeyer, Marx wrote:

"... as to myself no credit is due me for discovering the ex-

istence of classes in modern society, nor yet the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this struggle of classes and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes."

But Marx did not stop at the point of a mere reiteration of something already known to the bourgeoisie. He went beyond the bourgeois economists and pointed to the historical necessity for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat as an essential step toward the abolition of classes.

In the same letter to Weydemeyer he stated:

"What I did that was new was to prove: 1) That the existence of classes is only bound up with particular historical phases in the development of production; 2) That the class struggle necessarily leads to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat; 3) That the dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society."

Marx was not suggesting the need for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat merely as an exercise in statecraft for the working class. He meant it as a weapon for the forcible suppression of the enemies of socialism in the transition period, hence he recognized the existence of classes and violent class struggle during the socialist transition. Anyone who does not accept this concept of Proletarian Dictatorship—stops short at the theory of class struggle—is not a Marxist. These were facts well known to Lenin who wrote in "State and Revolution":

"It is often said and written that the main point in Marx's theory is the class struggle. But this is wrong. And this wrong notion very often results in an opportunist distortion of Marxism in a spirit acceptable to the bourgeoisie. For the theory of class struggle was created not by Marx, but by the bourgeoisie before Marx and, generally speaking, it is acceptable to the bourgeoisie. Those who recognize only the class struggle are not yet Marxists; they may be found to be still within the bounds of bourgeois thinking and bourgeois politics. To confine Marxism to the theory of the class struggle means curtailing Marxism, distorting it, reducing it to something acceptable to the bourgeoisie. A Marxist is solely someone who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. This is what constitutes the most profound distinction between the Marxist and the ordinary petty (as well as big) bourgeois. This is the touchstone on which the real understanding and recognition of Marxism should be rested."

Dealing further with the question of classes and class struggle, especially as it is related to the period of socialist transition, Lenin outlined two famous theses: 1) Under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat the resistance of the bourgeoisie becomes **STRONGER**. That is, **AFTER** the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, instead of withering away, the class struggle continues to exist. This Leninist thesis is one that is all too often forgotten or ignored. 2) The small producers spontaneously generate bourgeois elements and capitalism. Proceeding from these two theses it can be grasped that, under the dictatorship of the proletariat classes still exist and the question of who will win, bourgeois or proletariat, is not yet finally settled. In his "Greetings to the Hungarian Workers", in 1919, Lenin wrote:

"The abolition of classes requires a long, difficult and stubborn struggle which, **AFTER** the overthrow of capitalist rule, **AFTER** the destruction of the bourgeois state, **AFTER** the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, does not disappear (as the vulgar representatives of the old socialism and the old social democracy imagined) but merely changes its forms, and in many ways becomes fiercer."

The Hungarians failed to heed Lenin's warning and the Proletarian Dictatorship was overthrown by the counter-revolution.

In 1920 Lenin again underlined the point of class struggle under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat when he wrote "Left Wing Communism":

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is a most determined

and most ruthless war waged by the new class against a more powerful enemy, the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased **TENFOLD** by its overthrow (even if only in one country) and whose power lies not only in the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisie, but in the force of habit, in the strength of small production. For, unfortunately, small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously and on a mass scale."

Lenin did not live long enough to solve the problem of class struggle and revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Stalin, although he gave some indication that he knew of the existence of the problem was unable to grapple with it. The result of the failure to tackle the problem and conduct sharp struggle against the bourgeois elements, especially in the field of ideology and culture, made it possible for the representatives of the bourgeoisie in the Party to seize power after the death of Stalin and to set up the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie disguised as the "state of the whole people" and on the pretext that the dictatorship of the proletariat was no longer necessary as there were no longer any opposing and antagonistic class divisions in the U.S.S.R.—that the class struggle was ended. Now, 50 years after the October Revolution, the Soviet Union has returned to the capitalist path and bourgeois dictatorship thus making it necessary for the workers to make revolution for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie a second time.

Marxism-Leninism in the era of Proletarian Dictatorship!

Mao Tse-tung gave serious attention to the two theses formulated by Lenin and he systematically pointed to the existence of classes and class struggle in socialist society. Although this question is fundamental to Marxism-Leninism it can easily be overlooked or incorrectly handled under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is a point to which some good Marxist-Leninists, not to speak of hardened revisionists of the Brezhnev-Kosygin type, failed to pay attention.

On this point Mao Tse-tung has greatly developed and enriched Marxism-Leninism. It was in the light of the experience and lessons of both the Chinese and international revolutionary movement that Chairman Mao drew attention to and dealt with the problem of class contradictions and class struggle in socialist society. **AFTER** the seizure of power and of the means of production there must be a revolution on the ideological and cultural fronts. It is especially in the field of ideology that the question of who will win has not yet been settled.

In late 1964 and early 1965 Mao Tse-tung pointed to the fact that a handful of leading people in the Party were taking the capitalist road. Having wormed their way into positions of authority in the Party and the government they were using their positions to launch attacks against the proletarian dictatorship. It is not the capitalists at large who could turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie—they did not have the power or the ability. Those who could turn it into a bourgeois dictatorship are the capitalist roaders in positions of authority in the Party. The bourgeois reactionary line they put forward represented the demands of the bourgeoisie—the revisionist line of capitalist restoration.

The struggle in China finds expression in the conflict between two opposing lines—the revolutionary line of Mao Tse-tung and the bourgeois reactionary line of the capitalist roaders. The main target of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the capitalist roaders, the representatives of the bourgeoisie within the Party.

After the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie still finds expression in the struggle for the seizure of power. The bourgeoisie want to seize power and the proletariat, in defence of its dictatorship, must struggle against the bourgeois reactionaries who have gained some positions of power and try to use them against the proletarian dictatorship. Seizure of power and counter-seizure of power still exists in the struggle between socialism and the capitalist roaders. The rightists in authority attacked the dictatorship and the working masses counter-attacked with the Proletarian Cultural Revolution under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung.

If a Marxist-Leninist forgets this basic problem of class struggle and the seizure of power in socialist society, or fails to pay sufficient attention to it, he is a proletarian element who is in danger of becoming a revisionist in outlook—a social democrat. If he ignores the problem he will be in danger of following down the road of the Soviet ruling clique.

Chairman Mao says:

"The imperialists and domestic reactionaries will certainly not take their defeat lying down and they will struggle to the last ditch. After there is peace and order throughout the country, they will still engage in sabotage and create disturbances in various ways and will try every day and every minute to stage a comeback. This is inevitable and beyond all doubt, and under no circumstances must we relax our vigilance"

"... although in the main socialist transformation has been completed with respect to the system of ownership... The class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute."

(Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung)

It is this struggle between the classes, the struggle for the seizure of power and especially the sharp struggle to eradicate bourgeois culture and ideology and for the development of a proletarian culture to serve the masses and socialist construction that is at the root of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution. This is no secret and he who cannot see it or denies it is no Marxist-Leninist.

REVOLUTION AND "DISORDER"

"A revolution is not a dinner party, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing embroidery it cannot be so refined, so leisurely and gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another."

(Quotations from Mao Tse-tung)

If we are not in possession of a correct proletarian outlook, we will not clearly understand the question of "disorder". There are two different kinds of disorder. One kind is disorder for the enemy and this kind of disorder is the main aspect of the Cultural Revolution in China: disorder for those in authority, the bourgeois leaders in the Party and in society generally, who are taking the capitalist road. The "disorder" generated by the revolutionary proletarians and students has routed these bourgeois elements and thrown them into utter confusion. Disorder such as this means victory for the Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Of course in such a fierce struggle between two opposing sides some people who are really on the side of the proletariat may be hurt by mistake. But these are individual cases and will be kept to a minimum. Besides, such people, in the final analysis, will be protected and compensated.

The significance of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution lies in the fact that it is a most profound and serious class struggle. The representatives of the bourgeoisie in the Party attacked first, whereupon the proletariat counter-attacked. The struggle started first in the field of ideology and gradually developed into a struggle in the economic field; a struggle for power. There are many complicated phenomena that have emerged in the process of the struggle but by adhering to the class viewpoint and tracing everything back to the root causes and class struggle what is desirable and should be retained and what is undesirable and in need of being discarded will be clear.

In this struggle—in the Proletarian Cultural Revolution, it is Chairman Mao Tse-tung who represents the correct revolutionary line and those who oppose Chairman Mao are the representatives of the bourgeoisie who would turn China back on the road to capitalism. When the revisionists attack Chairman Mao they strike at the very heart of the revolution and give large support to imperialism and reaction. This has been well known to the revolutionary masses in China for a long time and they respond to the attacks by rallying more closely around the great leader of the revolutionary peoples. Now working people in every country in the world study closely the works of Mao Tse-tung and hail him as the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era. In this period of the

breakdown of imperialism and the advance of socialism it is the thought of Mao Tse-tung that guides and directs the revolutionary masses.

It is under the leadership of Chairman Mao that the masses are developing a sharp struggle on the ideological front in China. This ideological struggle is to guarantee the consolidation of the political power of the proletariat and the consolidation and development of the socialist system of ownership. Without this ideological struggle state power in China would change colour either quietly or as the result of a violent counter-revolutionary coup. Then the socialist system of ownership would be replaced by the capitalist system of ownership and the people's communes would revert to the former system of ownership by landlords and rich peasants.

The outcome of the struggle now taking place will determine the future destiny of China and will exercise a decisive influence on the whole world because, as far as the present era is concerned, it is China that plays the really decisive role in the world. It is China that is the decisive factor so

far as revolution, not only in China but in the world, is concerned. We can say with confidence there will be hope in the world so long as China does not fall and does not change its political colour. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is an event of vast importance which has a vital bearing on the destiny of the whole of mankind.

"Historically, all reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct a last desperate struggle against the revolutionary forces, and some revolutionaries are apt to be deluded for a time by this phenomenon of outward strength but inner weakness, failing to grasp the essential fact that the enemy is nearing extinction while they themselves are approaching victory."

(Quotations from Mao Tse-tung)

(Editor's Note: The above remarks are based on observations of the mass movement and the Cultural Revolution while on a visit to China. Additional articles will appear in future issues)

U.S. - MADE FASCIST COUP IN GREECE

During the night of April 21st the Armed Forces in Greece, which embraces most of the extreme reactionary and vicious elements in the country, occupied strategic areas and established an outright military-fascist regime. Troops patrolled the streets of the main cities and towns and jet planes flew overhead to intimidate the people.

As dawn broke over Athens a decree signed by King Constantine was announced via radio. This decree provides for re-institution of the death penalty; it abolishes the law prohibiting the military from trying civilians before a war tribunal; the laws on freedom of the press and freedom of speech are annulled as is the act which outlawed torture. A curfew was proclaimed and orders issued to shoot on sight anyone on the streets after sundown.

Foreign correspondents in Athens reported thousands of arrests being made and additional thousands of fugitives in hiding and being hunted by police. Concentration camps are being prepared to receive large numbers of prospective internees. Trade unions and popular organizations of the people have been disbanded.

The king of Greece was an important factor in paving the way for the successful coup of the fascist junta. It will be remembered that Winston Churchill was the one who master-minded the return of the monarchy to Greece at the end of the second world war, using Britain's armed might to re-impose this hated royal family on Greece against the almost universal opposition of all classes and sections of the people.

In the years since the end of the world war United States monopolists have displaced the British in Greece (as they have done almost everywhere) and for almost two decades the Greek army has been converted into what is virtually a branch of the U.S. Armed Forces—a fact which is openly reported in the American press.

Some people (especially in American liberal circles) are confused and misled by the U.S. government announcement of a "limitation of arms aid" to Greece. They think this indicates U.S. government and ruling class opposition to the fascist dictatorship. The announcement is no more than an empty gesture to give the appearance of opposition to fascism and a sop to the liberal element—it has no real meaning. The fact is the military junta have more than sufficient arms. What they lack is popular support.

Over the past 15 years the U.S. has supplied the Greek military command with \$1.3 billion worth of arms—over \$150 million dollars worth in the last two years during which the military coup was being prepared. Moreover, the so-called "limitation" is a selective embargo which bans

shipment of only certain classes of arms and equipment.

The installation of the fascist regime was a necessary measure to protect the vast growing American investment, and to guarantee the security of expected additional investments, against seizure by the working class which has been showing signs of restlessness and a growing revolutionary spirit. Colonel Maharezos, Minister of Co-ordination, declared that the government planned to maintain all existing guarantees for the free movement of investment capital in and out of Greece. The Colonel also announced that his government would still further simplify procedures so as to facilitate more such investments.

Just as important as the protection of U.S. investments in Greece (some circles think more important) is the strategic character of the country itself as the doorway and key to the oil-rich lands of the Middle East. The oil Emperors of Standard and Texaco who have made certain the sixth fleet will remain in the Mediterranean are also taking steps to make sure that Greece remains capitalist and an imperialist bastion against progress in the Middle East.

The working class movement has been suppressed temporarily and many have been arrested, beaten and tortured. But it is a foregone conclusion that this fascist regime cannot be maintained for anything like the 20 years that the previous regime of fascist reaction lasted and which ended just 3 years prior to the present military coup.

The military-fascist rulers are unable to delude the working people with their demagogic propaganda. These military dictators have not fooled the workers and they are without roots among the masses. By holding down the lid on the boiler the fascists will actually help to create the very explosion they are supposed to prevent. With all avenues of social protest closed the people will turn towards the only possible alternative—united revolutionary action to overthrow the fascist dictatorship.

This course of action is all the more certain in view of the complete exposure of the revisionists and social-democrats and the clear demonstration of the utter bankruptcy of their line of "peaceful co-existence" and peaceful transition". The workers will readily recall how, when they came out in their millions to demonstrate, the revisionist leaders instructed them to remain calm, refrain from violence and stay within the law. The ruling class, as they now observe, will not hesitate or recoil at the thought of resorting to violence and over-riding the law when they consider it expedient and to their interest. The workers will learn the lesson well and will take the necessary action to free Greece from fascist reaction and U.S. domination.

VIETNAM - OUR POSITION

Discussions and analyses of the situation in Vietnam are a continuing project. The imperialist enemies of the people, of course, have their own so-called "analyses" and fabricated news dispatches, designed to mislead, confuse and immobilize the masses who support the just and heroic struggle of the Vietnamese against U.S. imperialist aggression. The Moscow revisionists aid and abet the U.S. imperialists in their plots to undermine and defeat the anti-imperialist people's war.

Friends and supporters of Vietnam embrace a multitude of groups with varying political outlooks and a variety of opinions on what constitutes correct measures of support and on what policies and tactics are right for Vietnam. It is important that these forces be united on a broad anti-imperialist front and in support of the just struggle of the people of Vietnam. Given a correct program and policy these forces **CAN** be united, Vietnam can be aided and the imperialist aggressors defeated. The program around which these forces can be united does not need to be formulated in confused and complex generalities and a profusion of slogans, it can be clearly and simply stated in a few words—U.S. aggressors get out of Vietnam, NOW! Leave the people of Vietnam in freedom to determine and shape their own destiny. So long as the aggressor refuses to accede to these just demands the movement will have to use various methods to bring pressure on the aggressors and render all-out aid to the only true representatives of the people of Vietnam—the National Front of Liberation in the South and the regime of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the North.

Recent published comments on Vietnam prompt us to believe that now is an opportune time for us to re-state our position on Vietnam. This position must be based on an accurate analysis and proper understanding of existing conditions and serve the vital needs of the situation in Vietnam—it should not be a policy that we find easiest for ourselves or sets us apart from the broad peoples' movement in support of Vietnam. We must base our decisions on what is NOW the situation in Vietnam and not on the speculations of the various bourgeois commentators on radio and T.V., or in such journals as the New York Times, Washington Post, U.S. News and World Report, etc. We must understand the central contradiction in the conflict and the relationship of the class forces involved. We must accept the situation as it is NOW and shape our policies accordingly, not speculate on some possible future betrayal and act now as though that betrayal were already an accomplished fact. Such an attitude means to abandon faith in the masses and accept defeat as inevitable. We are confident the aggressor will be defeated, the people will win!

TWO NATIONS — OR ONE?

The Geneva Conference of 1954, in order to facilitate the orderly withdrawal of the defeated forces of French imperialism and the transfer of the administration of the nation to the real representatives of the people, made a temporary division of Vietnam at the 17th parallel. The Agreement which developed from the Conference provided for elections in both areas by July 1956 and the ultimate reunification of the country on terms and by procedures to be worked out by the elected representatives of the people. This agreement was signed by France, the occupying power, and by the representatives of the victorious peoples forces in Vietnam as well as such guaranteeing powers as the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain. It was also agreed to by Canada who became a member of the International Control Commission (I.C.C.) set up to ensure the enforcement of the terms of the agreement. The United States, rather significantly, refused to sign the agreement although, under pressure, they made a vague public statement to the effect that they would "not resist it".

However, the ink was scarcely dry on the agreement before the Americans began their work of undermining it: in fact, there is good reason to believe they started their ac-

tivities BEFORE the agreement was drawn up. First step up the ladder was to get rid of France's puppet, Bao Dai, and install one of their own who happened to be a former collaborator with Japan, the notorious Ngo Dinh Diem, who was quickly disposed of when no longer of service.

The made in America puppet announced there would be no elections since the "Communists were sure to win" and South Vietnam was declared an "independent nation" which the U.S. militarists took under their protection. That all this was in defiance of the Geneva Agreements did not seem to disturb unduly the guaranteeing countries or the I.C.C. of which Canada was a member. It was by means of this thoroughly illegal procedure that "two Vietnams" were created.

The U.S. aggressors needed "two Vietnams" in order to provide a basis for their allegations of invasion from the North" and so provide some justification for their armed actions in Vietnam. The Canadian government supports this "two Vietnams" myth and so betrays the Geneva Agreements which they undertook to enforce when they accepted a post on the I.C.C.

This arbitrary and unjustified division which was imposed on Vietnam naturally results in certain political and economic developments peculiar to each. But these are superficial manifestations—fundamentally Vietnam is still one nation united in resistance to U.S. imperialist aggression. The regime of the Democratic Republic in the North is the indisputable government in that area; the National Front of Liberation is the only legitimate representative of the people in the South. It is for these two, and these two alone, acting on behalf of the people of Vietnam, to determine when and under what conditions the two parts of Vietnam are to be reunited.

We take a firm and unequivocal stand that Vietnam is **ONE** nation against which an act of imperialist aggression is being perpetrated

SEPARATE ACTS OF AGGRESSION?

Some groups which claim to be firm supporters of Vietnam help to give substance to the "two Vietnams" myth by fashioning protests in such a manner as to create the impression they consider the war in the South, the bombing of the North and the invasion of the "Demilitarized Zone" to be separate acts of aggression of varying degrees of intensity. While it is true that each new act represents an extension of the aggression against the people of Vietnam, and as such merits the strongest protest and condemnation, it still remains that Vietnam is one nation and each new atrocity perpetrated by the U.S. aggressor is part of the one war of aggression against Vietnam.

The separate demands for "an end to the bombing of Hanoi", "stop the invasion of the Demilitarized Zone", etc.,—demands which tend to compartmentalize and divide various aspects of the aggression—can all be summed up in one correct demand: "U.S. imperialists get out of Vietnam, NOW! Leave the people of Vietnam to freely shape and determine their own destiny". Only when this aim is realized will an end be put to **ALL** the acts of aggression against Vietnam.

THE CHIEF CHARACTERISTIC

The primary feature distinguishing the struggle in Vietnam is its anti-imperialist character: the U.S. imperialists wage a war of aggression against the people and the people mobilize in a united anti-imperialist front to offer armed resistance to the aggressor and their puppets, to fight for the liberation of the South from imperialist occupation and to re-unite the country. At this stage of the struggle, when the main contradiction is between the U.S. imperialists and their puppets on the one hand and the anti-imperialist and national liberation front on the other hand, the immediate objective is to carry the people's anti-imperialist war through to the end, administer total defeat to the imperialist aggressor and free the nation from imperialist oppression and exploitation. The workers, peasants, students, intellectuals and the peoples' armed forces, who form the solid core of the anti-im-

perialist and national liberation front, are the ones who will determine the course of the struggle and its ultimate outcome. We have the utmost trust and confidence in the ability and determination of the masses to carry the struggle



Men of the heroic Viet Nam People's Army.

against the U.S. imperialists through to the very end and against all obstacles.

REVISIONIST TREACHERY!

At the outset we wish to declare that we cannot agree with the ridiculous statement which is being circulated in some circles to the effect that "U.S. imperialists are so confident of the Soviet ruling clique that they are encouraging more so-called 'aid' from the Soviet Union to Vietnam". Carrying that argument to its logical conclusion would be tantamount to saying that the U.S. imperialists would be extremely happy if the Soviet Union were rendering Vietnam effective aid of a kind capable of inflicting greater casualties on U.S. armed forces. The truth is never quite so simple as the above statement tries to make it appear.

The U.S. is NOT happy that any aid at all is going to Vietnam. They agree to a MINIMUM of Soviet aid and even allow its delivery by sea without impeding it in any way because they know the alternative is to lose Soviet influence in Vietnam and, consequently, would mean losing all possibility of Soviet pressure for a "negotiated peace" which would give the U.S. substantially what it wants in Vietnam. The Soviet revisionist clique extends a minimum of "aid" for several very important reasons: (a) To hold its position of influence in Vietnam and to press for a "negotiated peace". (b) To perpetuate the myth in international progressive circles that the revisionists "aid" the anti-imperialist and national liberation movements. If it were not for these facts the Soviet Union would give no "aid" whatever. In fact, if North Vietnam had not been considered part of the "world camp of socialism" BEFORE the U.S. aggression started it is very unlikely that any "aid" at all would be going to Vietnam. The revisionists would content themselves with the passage of pious resolutions. Check the liberation struggles around the world and see how many are receiving Soviet "aid". It is a fact that no national liberation movement in the world ever received Soviet "aid" until AFTER it was successful—and then only for the purpose of subverting it. South Vietnam receives NO Soviet aid whatever.

Soviet "aid" is limited to near-obsolete defensive weapons in minimum quantities. The U.S. commentators help the Soviet revisionists maintain their masquerade of real aid by talking about how effective these almost useless weapons are. Not a single offensive weapon is delivered to the Vietnamese thus effectively preventing them from carrying the attack against the aggressor.

Even more effective aid is being rendered the imperial-

ist aggressor by the Soviet ruling clique in other parts of the world than Vietnam. The Soviet guarantee of peace in Europe enables the U.S. to withdraw its forces from that area and concentrate them against the Vietnamese. At a time when the most effective aid to Vietnam would be the opening of many more fronts of anti-imperialist struggle the Soviet ruling clique and their stooges in the revisionist parties concentrate their efforts on preventing the opening of such fronts and preach "peaceful co-existence" and "peaceful transition". In addition they supply the U.S. imperialists with scarce materials needed to carry on the air war against Vietnam.

There is no limit to the treachery of the degenerate revisionist traitors who stop at nothing to demonstrate their subservience to the aggressor and in calling on the revolutionary peoples to lay down their arms, cease their resistance and bend the knee in capitulation to the U.S. imperialists.

Canada's revisionist puppets follow closely on the heels of their Krushovite masters. These followers of the baton heap praise on the "peace proposals" advanced by U Thant and the Pope and do so in the full knowledge that these proposals bear a made-in-Washington stamp. Under the guise of "medical aid for civilians" they raise funds for Saigon. Is it not obvious that unity with such people means unity WITH the imperialists not AGAINST them. Real solidarity with Vietnam means that the revisionists must be thoroughly exposed and an end put to Soviet collusion with the imperialists.

However hard they work in the service of imperialism the efforts of the revisionists will never prove successful. It is as "Peking Review" has stated:

"U.S. imperialism is drawing near its doom in Vietnam, and it is being tightly encircled by the revolutionary peoples in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the whole world. However much U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism may take 'united action', they cannot save themselves from their doom. The revolutionary torrent of the people of the world will surely break the dam of the reactionary forces and sweep away all kinds of ghosts and monsters".

Let the Soviet leading clique, who clamour for "anti-imperialist unity", abandon their collusion with U.S. imperialism and render real and effective aid to Vietnam then we can say there is a basis for unity. However, we do not expect the Moscow revisionists to accept our advice but we are confident the proletarians of the Soviet Union, with their great revolutionary traditions, will put an end to the revisionist ruling clique and their treachery and render true internationalist aid to Vietnam and all struggles of national liberation.

OUR POSITION!

Vietnam is the focal point of the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of the world. This is the decisive fact which determines the attitude of every revolutionary toward the peoples anti-imperialist war in Vietnam.

Our position on this imperialist war in Vietnam has been, and is, clear and unequivocal. We refuse to speculate on the possibility of future betrayal, much less accept it as though it were an already accomplished fact. SO LONG AS THE PEOPLE OF VIETNAM ARE LOCKED IN MORTAL COMBAT WITH THE IMPERIALISTS, SO LONG AS THEY ARE FIGHTING IMPERIALISM WITH ARMS IN HAND, THEY WILL HAVE OUR COMPLETE AND UNQUALIFIED SUPPORT.

We shall exert every effort to mobilize the people in opposition to the U.S. imperialist aggressor. We shall strive to change the policy of subservience to U.S. imperialism which is presently being pursued by the Pearson government and to put an end to Canadian support of U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

This is the bounden internationalist duty of every Marxist-Leninist and it is a policy which serves the true interests of the Canadian people who are held in economic bondage by the same U.S. imperialist power that is presently conducting the war of aggression against Vietnam.

THE PEOPLE WILL WIN!

Imperialist propagandists endeavour to mislead the people with fabricated tales of imperialist victories, by questioning the ability and determination of the people to inflict defeat on the aggressor and with predictions of a stalemate in "a war no one can win". But the truth is the people are winning and inflicting stunning defeat on the imperialists and their puppets. Evidence of heavy losses in the air arm can be seen in the pressure on the helicopter and aircraft industry and in the recent decision to block retirement of thousands of pilots due for discharge because no replacements are available.

Additional factors favourable to a peoples victory are now coming into play. The guerilla forces in Latin America are increasing in both numbers and activities and are exposing and rejecting revisionist betrayal. These anti-imperialist forces are giving real and meaningful aid to the heroic people of Vietnam by challenging the imperialists in one of their most vital areas.

While visiting the representatives of the National Front of Liberation in Peking recently we were informed that the successes of the Front are being achieved with only half

their forces as yet committed to action. Obviously the aggressor faces stormy weather ahead.

In the U.S. itself popular opposition to the war is on the increase and growing more vigorous and more militant every day. The Black people especially are taking up a firm position of opposition and, in this respect, they are giving the lead to the entire nation in militant action opposing the U.S. war of aggression.

There is no doubt about it: the people will win. The U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists will certainly meet their doom in Vietnam. The just war of the Vietnamese people will end in victory for the revolutionary people and in defeat and total disaster for the imperialist aggressor.

END CANADIAN SUPPORT FOR U.S. AGGRESSION IN VIETNAM!

**U.S. AGGRESSORS GET OUT OF VIETNAM, NOW!
DOWN WITH THE REVISIONISTS AGENTS OF IMPERIALISM!**

SUPPORT THE NATIONAL FRONT OF LIBERATION!

PROGRESSIVE WORKERS MOVEMENT.



Fighters of the South Vietnam Liberation Army.

STATEMENT BY HO CHI MINH

."OUR COUNTRY IS ONE, OUR NATION IS ONE"!

In a letter of June 5th addressed to Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the Presidium and the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, President Ho Chi Minh of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North) writes, in part:

"Our South Vietnam compatriots have recorded big victories, so have our compatriots in the North . . .

"The enemy has sustained heavy defeats. However, he remains stubborn. He will bring in more troops, resort to more savage methods and continue to intensify his aggressive war in the South and attack the North more ferociously. He will also use new deceitful tricks about 'peace negotiations' in an attempt to deceive public opinion in the United States and the world. But no matter how many hundreds of thousands of additional troops they may bring in and how savage and cunning they may be, the U.S. aggressors can in no way get out of their passiveness and quagmire in South Viet-

nam. The more they fight the more ignominious setbacks they will suffer.

"Our people are vigorously marching on the path of victory, the nearer our victory the more difficulties we shall meet. But decidedly we are not afraid of sacrifices and hardships. For the independence and freedom of the fatherland, we are resolved to fight till complete victory.

"Our heroic compatriots and fighters of South Vietnam, are united as one man; they are fighting well and producing well; they are an invincible force.

"Our country is one, our nation is one. The people of the South and the North are determined to fight and defeat the U.S. aggressors. The 17 million people of the North are resolved to live up to their pledge to fight side by side with their 14 million kith-and-kin compatriots in South Vietnam in order to liberate the South and defend the North with a view to the reunification of the Fatherland.

"U.S. imperialism will certainly be defeated! The Vietnamese people will certainly be victorious!"

MOSCOW'S REVISIONISTS AT EXPO

The closing of the Kuwait pavilion and the arrest of three people who named Johnson as murderer are only two of a series of events underlining the political reality behind the final liberal facade of Expo's "Man and His World" theme. But there is one reason why Marxist-Leninists should visit the fair—the chance to meet at first hand revisionists from the Soviet Union!

The U.S.S.R. pavilion is staffed by Russian men and women who are answering questions of visitors about their country. They are however ill-prepared for the inquires of a genuine Marxist-Leninist, as a Progressive Worker member from Toronto discovered.

Only one of about six Russians interviewed admitted having seen the writings of Josef Stalin; none had studied his works. Stalin was to them only the great hero of the patriotic war against Hitler, not a thinker of any consequence. None would admit that the Soviet Union was trading in vital war materials, like magnesium, with the U.S.A. All pretended to be staunch defenders of the Vietnamese victims of U.S. aggression—yet they claimed that peace was better than war everywhere in the world today, because of the threat of atomic war. One spokesman defended the policy of peaceful coexistence with the U.S.; when his interviewer pointed out that he was talking as if imperialism were a

tame household pet instead of a tiger, he said that he did not like the analogy! When the P.W.M. visitor to the pavilion asked if the Soviet Union had anything to say to a Canadian Marxist working to build a revolutionary mass movement, the Russian replied that Canadian Communists should work through parliament, and attempt to get elected! He further suggested that the French and Italian Communist parties, with their parliamentary procedures, provided a good model to follow! At this point the P.W.M. visitor looked at the huge portrait of Lenin which dominates the pavilion, and suggested that it be removed, since the elementary lessons of Lenin's teaching were apparently not known to the Soviet representatives. The Russian replied that many things had changed since Lenin's day.

The displays of the entire pavilion are, in their attempt to emulate the U.S. and show how "progressive" the U.S.S.R. can be made to appear to suit capitalist tastes, a model of revisionism. For any Marxist who has the slightest doubt of the line the Soviet Union is taking, a visit to the Soviet pavilion and a talk with one of the Russian representatives there will convince him once and for all of the counter-revolutionary character of the current Soviet leadership.

One last note: none of the Russians had read any of the works of Mao Tse-tung.

CHINA SHAKES THE WORLD

Just a few days ago we were reading a U.S. commentary speculating that China had neither the know-how nor the wherewithal to make any rapid advances in the field of Nuclear development. Less than 72 hours later came the news that sent all of America's "China specialists" into a frenzy of activity directed toward a re-adjustment of their views on the capacity of the Chinese people to match anything the West can do, and do it better—China has test-exploded a hydrogen bomb and thus demonstrated she is not only making headway at a much faster rate than was expected of her but is actually advancing at a much more rapid rate than did the West in its development of nuclear energy.

This latest test in China is one more positive proof of the un-workability of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. plans to monopolize nuclear weapons and dominate the world. It has now been finally proven beyond all question that the Soviet-American discussions on nuclear weapons and their control (MONOPOLIZATION) are no better than an exercise in futility. Nuclear weapons can not be monopolized nor can the world be dominated by any two great powers. Kruschov's claim that a shake of a fat finger from Moscow and Washington would tremble in fear, is looking sillier every day.

Mr. U Thant, whose reticences about making comments on the destruction and banning of nuclear weapons is very

noticeable, was quick to take the stage in expressing "regrets" at China's success in exploding the bomb. No doubt the Secretary-General will have a certain amount of company to associate with him in his depressed state of mind what with Kosygin, Johnson, and al joining him at the United Nations for a post mortem on the middle East and, they hope, a public burial of Arab resistance to imperialist conquest. But for every one of the "regretful" band of revisionists and imperialists there will be at least a million in Asia and Africa who will rejoice at China's great success.

We greet this latest success of China in the field of nuclear energy and extend our congratulations to the Chinese people on their great achievement and to Chairman Mao Tse-tung for the way in which he is leading the people of China and the people of the world from victory to victory. We view this as a great blow for peace, against revisionist treachery and for socialism.

From here on the Soviet-American "Non-proliferation" talks at Geneva will be more of a farce than ever before. There is only one correct policy and demand on the nuclear weapon problem and that is to accept the proposal advanced by the People's Republic of China. Destroy all nuclear weapon stockpiles and cease production forthwith. Anything short of this is a fraud and the hydrogen bomb test in China makes the point quite clear.

NOT A UNION?

Rejecting an application for certification the B.C. Labour Relations Board declared the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers "not a union" under the meaning of the act. It will be interesting to see how the Labour Board justifies this decision—if, in fact, they ever do try to justify it.

How ridiculous the decision is can be seen when it is realized that U.E. has been in existence for more than 30 years, represents about 26,000 workers in the electrical industry and has contracts with some of the largest of the electrical manufacturing companies. If U.E. is not a union we would like to know what it is. The Labour Board should be compelled to give clearly stated reasons why they consider U.E. not a union and also to state what, in their opinion, is a union under the meaning of the Labour Act.

The Labour Board has too often used this "not a union" charge to uphold the certification of a bureaucracy that no longer enjoys the confidence of the workers. It is being used constantly for the express purpose of preventing the establishment of an Independent Canadian Union movement. The workers in the plants are the only people who have a legitimate right to determine what constitutes a union and who will represent their interests. The Labour Act clearly states "the worker has a right to belong to the union of his choice"; it says nothing at all about a worker having to become a member of a union chosen by the Labour Relations Board.

We protest this high-handed act of the Labour Relations Board and demand that they cease interfering in the internal affairs of the unions.

JOHNSON'S MONTREAL 'WELCOME'

The image of U.S. imperialism in Canada has been taking a beating lately in Toronto and Montreal. June's **Progressive Worker** recorded the April 15 demonstration against U.S. aggression in Vietnam, during which one U.S. flag was burned and another cut and torn to shreds by Progressive Workers Movement members in Toronto. On May 25 in Montreal another U.S. flag was seen in shreds—a hole where the stars and stripes' should have been, when the flag was raised to welcome U.S. President Johnson. The reason for the torn flag went unexplained, while the world press turned its attention to another aspect of Johnson's "welcome".

Washington was obviously running scared of Montreal's opposition to the Johnson visit to Expo; this was proven by the fact that they announced the visit at midnight, eleven hours before Johnson arrived, and confirmed that he was coming only two hours before he arrived. Better to chance a small crowd, they must have reasoned, than to go into a certainly hostile situation. Montreal workers learned only from their morning papers that Johnson was about to land.

Nevertheless, Johnson's visit was marred by more than a mysteriously torn flag. As he began his 3-minute speech (the whole trip was kept to a bare-minimum glance at the U.S. pavilion), despite the swarms of U.S. Security personnel and the Canadian police serving them, two young Quebecois cried out the truth—"Johnson assassin!" They were immediately seized by police, but not before their words had gone over the radio-TV reports and photographers had pictures of them being hauled away with their mouths covered.

A few minutes later, two members of the Progressive Workers Movement were also taken into custody, one for shouting "**Johnson assassin**" and the other for crying out "**Murderer**" and "**Bloody Butcher**" as Johnson arrived at the U.S. pavilion. The second comrade, who had also shouted "**Marines are murderers**" after the playing of the Marine Hymn, was punched and dragged away by four Montreal plainclothes police. He and the two young Quebecois, who are fighters in the struggle for Quebec independence from the common enemy of U.S. imperialism, were arrested and charged with disturbing the peace. The irony of this charge—disturbing the peace of the chief enemy of peace the world over—was apparently lost on the Montreal police.

The trial, remanded until June 1, provided an interesting case. Defence for the three pointed out that there was in Canada and Quebec a great tradition of heckling as a means of expression, that a few shouts did not constitute in themselves a disturbance of the peace, and that the bourgeois pretence

to "freedom of expression" was at stake here. The fact that the peace was not disturbed is salient—one of the police testifying had to admit that there was no "standing ovation" for Johnson. In fact, the crowd was stone silent through almost the entire visit.

By charging disturbance of the peace, police avoided the necessity of using the unconstitutional Expo bylaw outlawing demonstrations on the Expo site. Unfortunately, they then have the difficulty of explaining that the peace of the people was not disturbed. The crowds stood in uncomfortable muzzled silence while the few militants who were able to reach the site on such short notice spoke out against the current commander of the imperialist mass murderers. Thus the question is whether the law against "disturbing the peace" is to be used in an attempt to stop public utterance of what the public knows to be true. The judge will decide July 10.

The arrests and the Expo bylaw against demonstrations meanwhile illustrate again the truth that in a capitalist country, no matter how bourgeois-democratic, the people have their freedoms only **until** they need them. Johnson's visit provided an excellent opportunity for Canadians and Quebecois to speak out. The short announcement, the brief visit, the bylaw against demonstrations, and the hordes of U.S. Secret Servicemen, R.C.M.P. and Montreal police all guaranteed that the supposed right was never exercised. When all these precautions failed, the cops went into action—in one case violently. The arrests, made by Montreal plainclothesmen who didn't bother to identify themselves to the PWM comrade before punching and dragging him away, also showed again the complete subservience of our "law officers" to their U.S. masters. On the other hand, the fact that two Quebecois militants for Quebec independence and one visiting PWM comrade were arrested together and defended together illustrates the solidarity of our movements in the two nations.

Editor's note: The P.W.M. Comrade mentioned in the article is the writer himself, Barry Lord, who is standing trial on the charge of "disturbing the peace". The two young Quebecois are Jean Racine and Donna Tarlo of La Jeunesse Socialiste. Our congratulations on their fine display of militancy and our pledge of solidarity and support is extended to these Comrades. We ask our readers to send protests to the Attorney General of Quebec at Quebec City and demand the charges be dismissed.

END UNEMPLOYMENT?

According to reports in the Vancouver Press of June 16 Premier Bennett of B.C., speaking at a press conference on the opening of the bank of B.C., stated that "people who oppose mining development in Strathcona Park are against employment". Condemning those responsible for unemployment is a laudable effort at any time (although we do not necessarily agree with him on the Strathcona Park issue). The viewpoint expressed by the Premier is particularly welcome at this time when at least 350,000 Canadians (official figures) are seeking employment.

We would like to draw the Premier's attention to a development he must have somehow overlooked. There is a great deal of unemployment in B.C. and the situation is growing worse. A Vancouver shipyard has announced it will lay off 500 men and forecasts are that up to half the work force in the steel fabricating shops will be cut out of work by midsummer.

Now it is obvious that these employers who are responsible for the discharge of workers are against employment. The question is: "Will Bennett do something about it?" Here is a real test of the Premier's indignation against those who are opposed to employment. How about a law, M. Premier, making it a crime for employers to deprive workers of employment.

We suspect, however, that the real reason for the Premier's indignant outburst was not from a concern for unemployed workers, but because some mining barons (Yankee ones at that) were in danger of being prevented from reaping a profit out of tearing up our parklands and polluting our lakes. It is very unlikely that the Premier will do anything to curb those who are really "against employment"—in the shops where the workers are being laid off.

CONFLICT IN THE WOODS

For some years now there has been a wide-ranging discussion in Canada on the question of how many unions should operate in a given industry and how many unions are necessary to embrace all workers in Canada. This problem reached a peak of discussion at the time the last convention of the Canadian Labour Congress (C.L.C.) was convened at Winnipeg and several resolutions proposing a reconstructing of the movement—particularly from British Columbia—were presented to the delegates. However, the bureaucracy, always fearing new ideas, side-tracked the proposals to a commission charged with investigating the problem.

To date the most far-reaching proposal to come before the commission is that presented by the Canadian Union of Public Employees (C.U.P.E.) whose submission suggests that the existing 174 labour organizations now operating in Canada be replaced by 10 large unions—certainly a radical reduction in numbers. The C.U.P.E. proposal is already being given a rough ride by a frightened bureaucracy.

The streamlining and more efficient organization and operation of Canada's trade union movement is by no means a new subject of discussion. As early as 1919 Western Canadian members of the American Federation of Labour made an attempt to organize what was known as the One Big Union and the organization of the Committee for Industrial Organization (C.I.O.) in 1936 was another dramatic effort to form large industrial unions which would be more effective bargaining units. When the A.F.L. and C.I.O. merged it was suggested that, within a few years, the number of operating unions should be reduced through the merging of some of the small and inefficient groups with the larger ones. After several small and insignificant moves in this direction the whole matter was quietly pigeon-holed until it was resurrected in the resolutions at the C.L.C. convention.

The most formidable obstacle in the way of realizing better organizational forms and greater efficiency of operation has undoubtedly been the horde of bureaucratic officials who feed on the North American Labour movement. New ideas are steadfastly resisted because their implementation might result in some officials being moved out of soft jobs and back into the factories. Some idea of what motivates the bureaucrats can be obtained by examining the activities of this particular breed in the discussions now taking place between Mine, Mill and the Steelworkers. So far as the membership is concerned there has been some vague talk about the blessing which will accrue from "unity". But for the officials there is already in effect a detailed plan on the preservation and continuity of all those offices now held by paid officials, guarantee of pensions, welfare benefits, etc. The bureaucrat is most certainly going to take care of his own—and North American labour has an overwhelming horde of bureaucrats to take care of. Pierre Vadeboncouer, in his 1962 work "Light on American Trade Unionism," pointed to the fact that there were 65 thousand full time officials servicing a union membership of 18 million in the United States while in Britain 3 thousand officials looked after 8 million. In other words, Britain had one paid official for every 2700 workers, the U.S. one for every 277 the U.S. has ten officials for each one in Britain, and if there has been any change in the situation in the intervening years it has been for the worse. Canada, of course, with more than 70 per cent of its union membership controlled in the U.S. not only helps sustain the U.S. bureaucracy but also has, an equally large bureaucratic machine of its own to support.

It is against this background of a horde of hungry bureaucrats, whose identity of social and economic interests is with the employer and not the worker, that the hard-pressed members of Canadian unions are trying to effect a change in the structure of the unions. It is also against this background that the International Woodworkers of America are trying to develop a single union in the forest products industry.

The principle of a single union is one which every clear-thinking worker will heartily endorse. There are, however, certain pitfalls that could lead to trouble in the future if not guarded against now. That these pitfalls are not being carefully considered is evident from the propaganda presently

being circulated by the firmist supporters of the "one union" proposition.

There are certain illusions created as a result of the historical development of the I.W.A. and these illusions could lead to trouble. For most of its existence the I.W.A. has been a West Coast Union embracing traditionally militant workers of Western Canada and the U.S. In this organization British Columbia wielded powerful influence as the largest single bloc and united with the equally-militant workers of Washington State dominated the union. A Canadian was international president for some years and Canadians played an important part in the international executive committee. The end result of this situation was that Canadian members of the I.W.A. did pretty much as they pleased and, in fact, were the decisive factor in formulating many of the progressive policies of the I.W.A. So far as the I.W.A. was concerned there was no evidence of domination from the U.S. officials—it was quite the opposite for some years.

For quite other than strictly trade union reasons members of the Communist Party who were in control of the union's affairs, on orders from the Party functionaries, decided on a break with the I.W.A. and for the establishment of a Canadian union on the pretext of possible U.S. domination in the future. This decision was arrived at by top party officials, never discussed with the workers involved and sprung on them unexpectedly in a convention controlled by Party members. The workers were unconvinced with arguments about possible U.S. domination and quite unsympathetic to the "independence" proposals. The whole disastrous policy resulted in an organizational debacle that split the union, handed effective control to an extreme right wing group and set the union back in wages and working conditions in relation to other groups.

A combination of these two circumstances—a wide degree of local autonomy and a sad experience in the bureaucratic attempt to secure so-called independence—lends weight to the arguments in favour of sticking with the "International". However, the I.W.A. membership should give serious consideration to the fact that the process being followed to achieve a single union in the industry and that this would bring about an entirely different relationship of forces. The unions with which it is proposed the I.W.A. should merge have much more bureaucratic tendencies and are more dominated by U.S. officials. The I.W.A. would be a minority in such a union of forces, the right wing forces would be strengthened and the B.C. militants badly outnumbered and effectively controlled. The Gold River incident, where a unanimous decision of membership representatives was upset by a few officials, is only a small example of what awaits them after a merger of the type that Thompson is after. There will be neither "true democracy" nor "genuine Canadian autonomy" come out of such a merger, as is called for in a leaflet recently published by the regional council.

It never ceases to amaze us how some union officials cry loudly for "autonomy" and oppose the emergence of an independent Canadian union movement which is the only sure and effective way to achieve autonomy. The plea of isolation will not hold water, there is nothing to prevent an independent Canadian union movement from affiliating internationally with the unions of ALL countries whereas, as members of the U.S. movement they can have relations only with those countries on George Meany's "accepted list"—and that excludes a hell of a lot of countries.

"Nationalism isolates us" is a nice round, but meaningless phrase which is contained in the Regional Council leaflet. If that were true then every union movement in the world is isolated except Canada for we are the only country in the world that has a union movement controlled in a foreign country. ALL union movements are national except ours and therefore, according to Thompson and the regional council, are isolated. What is forgotten is the fact that our economy is totally dominated from the U.S. and our union movement is structured to meet the needs of foreign-owned industry instead of for the needs of Canadian workers and the nation.

Fundamental to the vital needs of Canadian workers is

the necessity to break the stranglehold of foreign domination and this we cannot do so long as we remain subservient to the dictates of a labour bureaucracy that supports the foreign policy of the U.S. ruling class. We can only break with that policy by breaking the hold over our union affairs which is exercised by those who enforce it. Talk of Canadians, an insignificant minority in the so-called "internationals", changing that policy is nothing but a pipe-dream. We should cease being a minority in a foreign movement and become a majority in our own independent Canadian movement. Canadian workers must first organize as Canadians and then affiliate internationally as free agents choosing whom we will associate with on our own decision and not on orders from abroad.

There is an available alternative to what Thompson and company propose—an alternative that can secure one union in forest products without fear of veto from U.S. officials, and, at the same time, further the development of an independent Canadian union. The Pulp and Paper Workers of Canada is already a power in the industry in spite of the many obstacles thrown in their path (they won Gold River over the combined opposition of the I.W.A. and International Pulp and Paper). Let the I.W.A. and Pulp and Paper Workers of Canada unite their forces in one CANADIAN union for forest products and they will secure the allegiance of virtually all the workers in all branches of wood and wood-working in Western Canada within a year.

The direction of movement of Canadian workers is toward independent Canadian unions and the I.W.A. will not be able to turn the tide, although they might succeed in impeding it. The I.W.A. members have a glorious opportunity to contribute to an important advancement of the Canadian union movement. If they should decide to support an independent movement they could start a mighty surge that will sweep all Canada and submerge the international bureaucrats and put an end to foreign domination of Canadian labour.

The fight for this principle is becoming more important every day. Walter Reuther has gaudiose plans for world-wide unions controlled from the United States, paralleling the expanding control of the U.S. monopolies over the economics of many countries and serving the foreign interests

of the U.S. ruling class. These plans are finding favour not only among an important segment of the U.S. bureaucracy but is actually receiving a major boost from certain circles in Canada who talk loudly of "autonomy" but work toward continued domination of Canadian labour. Canadian workers should not become a party to the expansion of U.S. control over labour in others countries. Real internationalism demands resistance to foreign domination and we can offer such resistance only if we are free.

Suggestions that Canadians can change the policies of American labour are unworkable. We are outnumbered by more than 10 to 1 in "international" conventions even when we have a full contingent present - and that rarely happens.

Our suggestion then is for the I.W.A. to open negotiations with the Pulp and Papers Workers of Canada with a view toward beginning an organizational drive to establish one union in forest products, an independent Canadian union that exercises full control over its own affairs without fear of interference from U.S. bureaucrats. It should already be evident that anything short of this will not be successful since it will not meet with the approval of U.S. officials.

The suspension of four I.W.A. locals from the B.C. Federation is a glaring example of the high-handed methods used to keep Canadian labour in line. Here we have locals punished for criticizing Joe Morris, who happens to be a member of one of the suspended groups. Morris, incidentally was criticized for going contrary to a UNANIMOUS decision of the members of the union organization to which he belongs.

The message is clear; "do not criticize officials when they are carrying out the policy of the international bureaucracy." Trying to work with these officials would mean that a single union in forest products would not be realizable within a decade-if at all. The only way to reach the desired objective is to break with bureaucratic control and mobilize all those who share the desire of having one union speak for them.

END FOREIGN (U.S.) DOMINATION
CANADIAN UNIONS FOR CANADIAN WORKERS

A LETTER FROM DR. BETHUNE

While in Peking recently we had the good fortune to come across several hitherto unpublished letters and documents written by Norman Bethune and presently in the possession of Rewi Alley. Here we publish one which helps to show the character of this Canadian doctor who gave his life in service to the Chinese Revolution and who is revered by one fourth of the human race in China. The article "In Memory of Norman Bethune", written by Chairman Mao Tse-tung shortly after Bethune died has made the name "Bethune" a household word throughout the world.

General Nieh, to whom the letter is addressed, was Commander of the 8th Route Army.

Sheng Yin Kou,
Sept. 30, 1938

General Nieh,
Military Headquarters,
Dear Comrade:

Dr. Lin has brought me tonight, the sum of \$301.00 for my acceptance. This sum seems to be made up of \$100.00 for myself personally; \$102.20 I am supposed to have spent for drugs; and \$98.80 I have spent for gauze and cotton. In regard to the first item of \$100.00 I repeat my telegram of August 12, 38 to the military council of Yen-an, in which I refused to accept this money and suggest it be turned into a special tobacco fund for the wounded. I can only repeat this suggestion. In regard to the other items, I have no knowledge of the sum of \$102.00 supposed to be spent by me on drugs. In regard to the \$98.00 spent on gauze and cotton, of this sum I only contributed \$70.00 the remainder

having been given by Dr. Brown. As this money was given me by Dr. Chaing at Lan Hsien on June 6th before leaving for Wutai, it was not my money I spent but that belonging to the medical service of the 8th Route Army. The receipt for this has been sent to the chief of staff, Yen-an. It is inconceivable that I should be supposed capable of accepting \$100.00 a month personally when the other doctors receive \$1.00 a month and General Nieh himself, the magnificent sum of \$5.00 a month.

In addition, I have no need for money as everything I need is freely supplied me.

With comradely greetings,
(signed) Norman Bethune M.D.

HUKS—TEN YEARS AFTER!

Ten years ago the government of the Philippines and their U.S. masters announced the total destruction of the Huk guerrillas. However, reports out of the Philippines say the guerrillas are on the move again and have already established control over most of Central Luzon. It is generally conceded that the guerrillas are running an efficient administration in the area under their control. More than 25,000 peasants have declared their allegiance to the guerrilla authorities. The Philippine guerrillas, like guerrillas almost everywhere, get their arms from American troops occupying their country.

CUBA AND REVISIONISM IN LATIN AMERICA

By Barry Lord

The May 1967 issue of **Progressive Worker** included an article entitled "Cuba Exposes Pseudo-Revolutionaries", reporting on Fidel Castro's speech of March 13, 1967, in which the Cuban leader exposed pseudo-revolutionary tendencies among Latin-American "parties that entrench themselves behind the name of communist or Marxists." While the article applauded this "sharp leftward turn" away from Castro's position of two years ago, when he denounced attacks on revisionism as "division" within the socialist camp in the face of an attacking enemy, it also noted that the attack on pseudo-revolutionaries in Latin America had dealt only with the results of revisionism, not with its source. The article concluded:

"it remains to be seen if (Castro) and his Communist Party of Cuba are prepared to go on from this hesitating and vague start to a direct challenge of revisionism in all of its manifestations and especially against its Moscow fortress. We await further developments."

Almost three months have passed since the March 13 speech. What has happened since? In broad outline, a difference can be seen between the position taken by Castro in his speech, which has been made more specific and accurate by the Central Committee of the Cuban party, and the position taken by Major Guevara in his message to the tricontinental magazine published by the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America (OSP-AAAL) and printed in **Granma**, the official organ of the Central Committee. Evidently the Central Committee does not yet see the divergence between its own statements and those of Guevara: it is the purpose of this article to make the difference clear.

The main thrust of Guevara's **Tricontinental** message (printed in **Granma**, April 23) was a call for the creation of two, three or four Vietnams; this in itself is certainly praise worthy. Guevara even seems to identify the revisionist evasion of all-out support for the Vietnamese people:

"U.S. imperialism is guilty of aggression—its crimes are enormous and cover the whole world. We already know all that gentlemen! But this guilt also applies to those who, when the time came for a definition, hesitated to make Vietnam an inviolable part of the socialist world; running, of course, the risks of a war on a global scale—but also forcing a decision upon imperialism."

So far so good. Yet Guevara does not identify this hesitation as the guilt of the leaders of the Soviet Union. Instead, he continues with this comment:

"The guilt also applies to those who maintain a war of abuse and maneuvering—started quite some time ago by the representatives of the two greatest powers of the socialist camp."

This is virtually exactly the position which Fidel Castro took two years ago; in 1965, when he dismissed attacks on revisionism as factional "division" in the face of the enemy. Either Guevara has not read Castro's 1967 speech in which he exposed pseudo-revolutionaries in Latin America, or he has connected that speech with the pseudo-revolutionary sell-out of the Vietnamese people by the leaders of the Soviet Union. Since the Central Committee printed and applauded Guevara's message, it also does not see that his attack on the "war of abuse and maneuvering" is closer to Castro's 1965 position than it is to his 1967 exposure of pseudo-revolutionaries.

Let us hear more from Guevara:

"The time has come to settle our discrepancies and place everything we have at the service of the struggle.

"We all know that great controversies agitate the world now fighting for freedom; no one can hide it. We also know that these controversies have reached such intensity and such bitterness that the possibility of dialogue and reconciliation seems extremely difficult, if not impossible. It is useless to search for means and ways to propitiate a dialogue which the hostile parties avoid. But the enemy is there; it strikes every day, and threatens us with new blows and these blows will unite us, today, tomorrow, or the day after. Whoever understands this first, and prepares for this necessary



union, will earn the people's gratitude."

This is an echo of the 1965 Castro speech, which read: "Here it's not a question of analyzing the problem under dispute theoretically or philosophically, but of recognizing the great truth: that in the face of an enemy that attacks, in the face of an enemy that becomes more and more aggressive, there is no justification for division; division doesn't make sense, there is no reason for division."

This call for unity in the face of the enemy would be praiseworthy if it were not a clear call for unity with the very revisionist pseudo-revolutionaries whom, by the time of his 1967 speech, Castro had come to identify as a very real threat to the revolutionary tasks of Cuba and the Latin-American people. Yet Guevara, in 1967, maintains his attempt to belittle and obscure attacks on revisionism as "controversies," Guevara continues:

"Because of the virulence and the intransigence with which each cause is defended, we, the disposes, cannot take sides with one or the other form of manifestation of these discrepancies, even if we at times coincide with the contentions of one party or the other, or in greater measure with those of one part than with those of the other."

Now that is a very curious statement. Guevara contends that revolutionaries cannot take sides in an attempt to expose and condemn those who betray their revolution by pretending to be revolutionary while in fact making deals with the revolutionaries' enemy, U.S. imperialism. And what reason does he give for tying the hands of the revolutionaries when their interests are being threatened from within the socialist camp by traitors? "Because of the virulence and intransigence with which each cause is defended"! Since when does the heat of a debate frighten a revolutionary?

Dealing with the Russian 1905 party split between Mensheviks and Bolsheviks, Lenin wrote:

"...it is not enough to point abstractly to the two current in the movement and to the harmfulness of extremes. One must know concretely what the given movement is suffering from at the given time, what constitutes the real political danger to the Party at the present time." (**Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution**, Ch. 13, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965, p. 113)

Surely these words apply in the current "controversies"! It is not enough to point abstractly to "one or the other form of manifestation of these discrepancies" and to the

"virulence and intransigence with which each cause is defended." One must know what the revolutionary movement is suffering from at the given time, what constitutes the real political danger to it at the present time. This concrete knowledge is being gained by Castro and the Central Committee increasingly in Latin America, and is reflected in the comparative "sharp leftward turn" which we observe in their current pronouncements.

As for Major Guevara, he admits that no-one can deny the "controversies". But what solution does he offer? He returns to his theme of unity:

"In time of war, the expression of current differences constitutes a weakness; but as things stand at this moment it is an illusion to hope to settle these differences by means of words. Time will settle them or give their true explanation."

This can hardly be called a major addition to classical Marxist theory! It is certainly anything but concrete knowledge of what the movement is suffering from, and what constitutes the real danger to it! It is more like whistling in the dark, in the hope that problems will solve themselves. "Time" of itself will change nothing, except as men use it to make changes. People make history, not time.

Guevara's statement seems to be in places a strong call to arms, and has apparently been taken as such by the officers of the Tricontinental. At one point he says:

"In our struggling world, discrepancies regarding tactics and methods of action for the attainment of limited objectives should be analyzed with the respect that the opinions of others deserve. Regarding our great strategic objective, the total destruction of imperialism via armed struggle, we should be uncompromising."

But Major Guevara will find that if he is to be truly "uncompromising" about armed struggle, then he will have to become the enemy of the counter-revolutionary revisionist parties and their source in the Moscow leadership; then, despite "the virulence and intransigence with which each cause is defended", he will have to "take sides". He will have to examine the opinions of revisionist leaders - whom Castro has learned to identify as "pseudo-revolutionary" - with something more stringent than "respect"; he should beware that their opinions will betray his great strategic objective, the total destruction of imperialism via armed struggle, by selling out that struggle as they did during Cuba's October Crisis, as they did very recently by failing to support the cause of the liberation of Palestine at the crucial moment, as they are doing by trading war materials to the U.S. for use in Vietnam, and as they are now doing in Venezuela by forsaking armed struggle and running for election to parliamentary office. Concrete knowledge of these and many other instances of revisionist betrayal of revolutionaries is available to Major Guevara; yet he is unwilling to "take sides."

Revisionist betrayal is in fact exactly what Fidel Castro and the C.C. in Cuba are discovering in practice in Latin America, particularly in Venezuela. The April 30 *Granma* carried an April 23 report from Caracas that the eighth plenary session of the Communist Party of Venezuela had resolved to "lay aside armed struggle and participate actively in the coming elections." At the same time, the meeting resolved to expel the Commander-in-Chief of the National Liberation Front-National Liberation Armed Forces, Douglas Bravo, from the Communist party, and to proceed to reorganize the party's leadership with a view toward the next elections. Is this betrayal of the Venezuelan people's struggle led by Bravo an example of uncompromising adherence to the "great strategic objective, the total destruction of imperialism via armed struggle"?

The Communist Party of Cuba knows that it is not. In May there were two significant additions to Castro's remarks against "pseudo revolutionaries." First, the May Day speech of Major Juan Almeida Bosque, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, printed in *Granma*, May 7; Bosque said:

"It is, in fact, loathsome that some certain groups - such as those who make up the rightist leadership of the Communist Party of Venezuela—should abandon the revolutionary struggle undertaken by the people and hastily select the appeaser's road of playing politics and engaging in desrepu-

table electioneering, betraying hundreds of combats who have fallen in the struggle and those who, heroic and unconquerable, fight on in the mountains. Those who condemn the guerrilla combatants are in effect, showing solidarity with imperialism and the reactionary government whose mercenary troops launch one offensive after another in their futile attempts to liquidate the guerrillas."

The Communist Party of Cuba has good reason to criticize the Venezuelan revisionists, as three Cuban volunteers were recently captured by the Venezuelan Leoni government, the very government for election to which the revisionist Communist Party of Venezuela is now campaigning; one of the young Cubans was reported killed.

Granma of May 21 printed the May 17 declaration of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba in response to the charges of the Venezuelan government. The statement denounced the Leoni government as an imperialist puppet; it affirmed the right and duty of the Cuban volunteers to aid the Venezuelan people in their struggle against the common enemy, U.S. imperialism, and its agent, the Leoni government; it proclaimed the necessity of armed struggle as the means of liberation for the Venezuelan people and the whole Latin-American continent still subject to U.S. imperialist control. But, perhaps even more important, the declaration also shows some progress in the understanding of the characteristics of revisionism. First, the Committee acknowledges that the economic policies of U.S. imperialism reflect Washington's understanding of who its real enemies are:

"in all European enterprises in which Yankee investments play a dominant role or are decisive, the policy of the government of the United States is imposed over and above the sovereignty of each country. None of these industrial enterprises, whatever the country in which it is located, accepts the sale or purchase of any product from countries such as Korea, Viet Nam, China, or Cuba."

Is it by accident that these same enterprises do accept the sale or purchase of products from the Soviet Union and the countries with revisionist leaders in eastern Europe? The Central Committee makes no comment. Yet the Central Committee is aware that the U.S. uses its trade and cultural relations with revisionist countries to its own imperialist ends. The declaration continues:

"Nor does the United States hide its intention to use economic relations to penetrate, weaken, demoralize, corrupt and split the socialist countries of Europe. Not a single act of Yankee international policy is not inspired by this morality, this policy, with these strategic objectives in mind."

Then why, we must ask, do the leaders of these socialist countries continue with their trade and cultural agreements with the U.S.? By working out the implications of this question, the Cuban Central Committee might have come to a full recognition of the fact that those countries are led by counter-revolutionary revisionists covert allies of the U.S. and real enemies of Cuba and the Latin American revolution. But the declaration does not pursue the point. Instead, it turns to denounce the United Nations, which, it rightly points out, "has in general served as an instrument to validate the crimes and villainy of Yankee imperialism." The declaration adds that Cuba stands opposed to nuclear test ban treaties under U.N. or similar auspices:

"As long as there is no system for the whole of humanity to offer all peoples, without exception, equal and effective guarantees of security, with privileges for none, the right of imperialist-menaced countries to develop their means of defense, whatever these may be, cannot be renounced."

But the Central Committee must know that the Soviet Union is signatory to such a treaty. It should therefore recognize and identify all signatories as enemies of imperialist menaced countries. Again, the declaration does not draw the obvious conclusion. Instead, the declaration touches on the Cubans' most direct confrontation with revisionism, the October Crises of 1962, when the Soviet Union made a deal with the United States at the expense of Cuba's defenses. The declaration states clearly:

"we refuse to recognize the right of the United States to dictate -as was the case during the October Crises-the type of weapons which our country, under constant threat of aggression, may possess."

Again, an opportunity to name the Soviet Union as the enemy of Cuba and its revolution; again, the opportunity declined by the Central Committee. The declaration goes on to deal with the imperialist-revisionist tactic of nuclear blackmail, the appeal to fear that a national liberation struggle may lead inexorably to world nuclear conflict. The Cuban position is strongly stated:

"The alternative that confronts the peoples is: either capitulate to imperialism or resist and fight. To resist and fight in all periods of history has to face the risks entailed by resistance and struggle, as to capitulate has meant simply to capitulate."

"Fear aroused by nuclear blackmail does indeed lead to an inexorable result, which is to yield to imperialism without resistance and without struggle."

But the Central Committee does not add that this nuclear blackmail argument is used not only by the apologists for imperialism, but even more by the apologists for the revisionist allies of U.S. imperialism.

So again and again the Central Committee describes various aspects of the effects of revisionism, still without getting any closer to identifying its source. But in the concluding paragraphs of this May 17 statement, there is a significant advance on Castro's speech of March 13.

"Peaceful coexistence," one of the chief concepts of Soviet Union revisionist policies since Krushchev, is named as a inimical to the cause of true revolutionaries:

"if the concept of peaceful coexistence between States with different social systems does not guarantee the integrity, sovereignty and independence of all countries alike, large and small, it is essentially opposed to the principles of proletarian internationalism. What kind of peace are the Vietnamese enjoying? What kind of coexistence is the United States practising with that country? As for the men, women, and children who die there daily ...what do the words peace, European security, peaceful coexistence and other idyllic phrases of the kind mean to them?"

Again the Central Committee declines to name the source of this concept of peaceful coexistence. Perhaps it hopes that Soviet Union will be embarrassed by this kind of polite attack on its policies?

To advance from a Mar. 13 attack on 'pseudo-revolutionaries' through an experience with 'rightist' leaders in Venezuela to a May 17 identification of the concept of "peaceful coexistence" as essentially opposed to the principles of proletarian internationalism, is not much progress; but it is progress. We should applaud and encourage it. But we must also ask why the Cubans' "discovery" of revisionism is proceeding so slowly, with so much apparent evasion, and why the Central Committee endorses Guevara's message, which is not essentially different from the old Castro position of 1965? There would appear to be two possible reasons: one is that Cuba is so deeply enmeshed in "aid" and trade agreements with the revisionist countries that it dare not identify them; the other is the more disturbing suggestion that the Cuban leadership itself is revisionist, or has revisionist elements in it strong enough to head off direct confrontation with revisionism as such, but not strong enough to prevent Castro and others from denouncing pseudo revolutionaries and the policy of peaceful coexistence. In either case, the leadership is not willing to acknowledge the difference between Guevara's refusal to take sides in the controversy against the revisionists, and the implications of its statements against various aspects of revisionism's effects in Latin America, Vietnam and elsewhere.

Are Cuba's leaders revisionist or revisionist controlled? Or do they eschew direct attacks on the Soviet Union and other revisionist countries because of trade agreements they have entered into? The best way to answer this question would be a detailed study of the Cuban economy, and the policies of the Cuban leadership in domestic affairs. For example, what does "the dictatorship of the proletariat" mean in Cuba? If it means very little, then the leadership is clearly developing in a revisionist direction. This article therefore points to the need for another one, which will examine in detail the Cuban leadership and its policies in the light of Marxism-Leninism, and attempt to uncover the reason for the Cubans' apparent hesitation to name the revisionist problem with which they are evidently becoming increasingly familiar.

JOKE OF THE YEAR

At a recent meeting of the Ottawa gashouse former defence minister Douglas Harkness came out with a suggestion that has to rank as the sickest joke of the year. During a meeting called to discuss Canada's "peace keeping" role in such "trouble spots" as the Arab-Israelis border, Cyprus, the Congo and the International Control Commission in Indochina. Harkness had the effrontery to suggest that young Indians should form the core of any "peace keeping establishment" sent to these areas. His declared reasons for this manoeuvre—"there are sufficient people there now with white faces" and further that it would solve the problem of "finding adequate employment opportunities for Canadian Indians". It is hard to believe that Harkness is serious but the present Minister of External Affairs, Paul Martin expressed "interest in the idea".

It is a matter of history now that white colonialists came to Canada to plunder and rape the natural resources of Canada. In the course of pursuing this "noble task" it is equally a matter of history how they treated the Indian people in Canada. The only word to accurately describe this treatment would be GENOCIDE. In Newfoundland the English colonialists put bounties on the heads of Indians and effectively exterminated the Native people there. In the rest of Canada the white people constantly played Indian against Indian, cheating, robbing and killing them at will. Finally they stole the Indians land and placed him in concentration camps (reserves) in which the white rulers to this day have oppressed and humiliated these people. But there is a law of social development that operates independent of the will of the white oppressing ruling class; where there is oppression there is resistance to oppression and that law is beginning to become operative on a large scale within the ranks of the

Indian people. The last few years have witnessed outbreaks of spontaneous protests, marches, seminars, demonstrations etc. against the oppression engendered by the Canadian ruling. Most recently we have witnessed the growth of a militant nationwide youth movement, a movement of rebels who are no longer satisfied with the leftovers, from the white man's table. Isn't it strange that Harkness and Martin just now "release" to the public this great brain wave of theirs. But the Indian youth and Indian people will not be fooled by these rather obvious manoeuvres on the part of their oppressors. Nor will the Indian youth take part in any "UN peace keeping" establishment to oppress the coloured people of other lands.

The only point Harkness was right on was that there is "too many people with white faces" oppressing the people in these other lands. Harkness and Martin are stooges for the Canadian rulers and the sworn enemies of the Indian peoples. The Indian people will one day soon stand up. That day seals the doom for the likes of Harkness and Martin.

INDIA - A NEW FORM OF STRUGGLE

The masses of India, suffering from extreme hunger and hardships of various kinds, have evolved a new form of struggle called "gherao" (beseiging). This tactic grew out of the fight for subsistence and against tyranny in West Bengal and is spreading rapidly to other parts of the country. According to a report originating in New Delhi; the gherao form of struggle is rocking the whole of Indian society and giving a mighty boost to the morale of the working people.

The workers of West Bengal, with a long tradition of revolutionary struggle behind them, are under no illusions about the class role of state government which the Dange renegade group of revisionists have tried to pass off as a "non-Congress Popular Government." The workers have intensified their struggle and are using the "gherao campaign" to support their demands. From early March to May Day more than 500 capitalists had been beseiged in their offices and residences on numerous occasions. On May 24, 500 workers beseiged 12 top officials at the Central Dainy of the West Bengal Government, in Calcutta. One capitalist, in an appeal to the Calcutta High Court for assistance, claimed he was forced to change his lodging daily in order to escape beseiging.

The reactionaries have called gherao, which was born in the intensified class antagonism in India, as an "epidemic" and are panic stricken by it. On May 22 the "Indian Express" reported "the beseiging campaign has reached Assam," and the Deputy Commission and superintendant of the police in Assam had to rush to the rescue of the general manager of the Oil India Company when he was beseiged for four hours by the employees.

In the state of Madhya Pradesh workers surrounded the administrative buildings of the state-owned heavy electrical project on the evening of May 19 and kept officials confined for some time after office hours. The "Press of India" reports, "Some businessmen and company executives, fearing they may soon be victim of gheraos, are packing

off their families to friends or relations."

On May 24 women employees of the state government in Uttar Pradesh, resisting dismissals, started an "indefinite beseigement of the residence of the Chief Minister while others beseiged the Minister for Revenue and Scarcity while he was on his way to see the Chief Minister. The "Times of India" wrote that the Revenue Minister endured suffocating heat in an enclosed car for several hours before being rescued by armed police reinforcements.

The big landlord and bourgeois classes and their state apparatus are thoroughly alarmed at the beseiging campaign. The "Indian Express" reported on May 22 that the Home Minister of the Central Government of India had conferred recently with the so called "non-Congress Popular Government" of West Bengal State and discussed ways of suppressing the beseiging campaign launched by the workers on their own initiative. The Minister condemned the campaign as "coercion" and, according to the "Statesman", he declared in a speech in Calcutta that the campaign "has created fear and a sense of insecurity" among the Indian reactionary ruling classes and "the Central government is deeply concerned over it." He threatened police intervention where there "was danger to life and property."

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi denounced the workers' beseiging campaign as "a weapon of intimidation." She also said that the Central government was "studying the question of how to deal with the situation."

Meanwhile, the Moscow revisionists were trying to strengthen the position of the Congress government. While masses of Indians were dying of hunger and disease all over the country, the Soviet ruling clique was shipping arms to the anti-peoples government of tyranny and starvation in New Delhi and advancing credits to the reactionary big bourgeoisie. The Soviet revisionist expects to make a handsome profit out of the misery, agony and hunger of the Indian people.

A NATON'S SHAME

The view most well-conditioned Canadians are induced to take of their national characteristics is supposed to run something like this: meek, enlightened, ever willing to compromise, unemotional etc. In other words the average Canadian is pointed out to be a retiring, inoffensive and neutral shade of grey.

Pleased as U.S. big business and their Ottawa office boys are with the image they have created they stand in danger of exposing it for the myth it is by their morbid dealings in other areas.

This picture of Canada as the fair-minded "middle power" is likely today to get only a bitter and cynical laugh from most of the world's oppressed peoples.

We can send all the powdered milk and eye glasses to India that we like, but it hardly atones for the jackal-like role Canada's cowardly capitalists play in helping British and U.S. imperialism rape that country.

Likewise all the band-aids and smelling salts that go to Vietnam. The Vietnamese people are no doubt appreciative of this medical aid (what there is left that is, after "South" Vietnam's fascist generals peddle it on the black market). Just the same the bomb splinters that twist and tear through them often come from Canada too.

Indeed, the role that Canada's subservient ruling class plays is an important one. It could be likened somewhat to the role played by Swedish capitalists during the Second World War. Among many other things the Swedish bourgeoisie furnished the Nazis with gas ovens and such for the Reich's extermination camps. These Swedish industrialists, in a display of capitalism reduced to its essence, sang the praises of their murderous contraptions on company stationary and advertising circulars.

But let not Canada's comprador bourgeoisie be outdone in playing this filthy game! When it is next announced how many Vietnamese have been burned and maimed in an agony of napalm, reflect that napalm is a petroleum product. Petroleum, as in Alberta.

Think too, of the fantastic percentage of total U.S. mineral imports that are ripped out of Canada: Copper—20 percent; Silver—36 percent; Iron ore—39 percent; Lead—20 percent; Zinc—37 percent; Gold—57 percent; Aluminium—67 percent; Nickel—91 percent. Doubtless, the bulk of these minerals go into U.S. imperialism's war production. Further, many of the imperialist's war industries are extremely water-exhaustive—hence a growing greed for the waters of Canada's rivers.

Raw materials are by no means the Canadian bourgeoisie's sole tribute to their imperialist master's war machine. The supplying of aircraft, weapons, radio equipment and missile parts for the conquest of Vietnam is swelling towards the two billion dollar level. In fact even the green berets worn by the Yank's fascist anti-guerrilla forces are manufactured in Canada.

Considering all this it might be beneficial to re-examine the image we have of ourselves as Canadians. In reality our Yankee-worshipping rulers have turned this nation into an unwilling slave and prostitute for the U.S. monopoly. The hour this ugly and detestable situation ends shall be the hour when we the Canadian people, rise to cast out our misleaders and create a free Socialist Canada.

Robert O'Brien

WASHINGTON'S BOY IN OTTAWA

Lester B. Pearson and his Liberal Party and government, in addition to their primary task of selling Canada to the American monopolies for a song, have the dual role of running interference for U.S. imperialism in the international arena. In Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America, Canadian officials have consistently represented the U.S. point of view to the detriment of Canada's relations with other countries. This was true in the Congo, Korea and the Middle-East in the past and it is particularly true in Southeast Asia and the Middle East today.

For quite some time Lester B., both in his capacity as diplomat and as Prime Minister, was fairly skilful in hiding his real aim and masquerading as lover of world peace and defender of down-trodden humanity. But the situation is getting a little rough these days and the Honourable Prime Minister is finding it increasingly difficult to hide his true role.

The Middle East crises, it would appear, has put an end to Pearson's masquerade as an independent agent in world affairs and, at the same time exposed his proposal for "an international peace-keeping force" to be nothing more than a plan for a U.S. imperialist international army of mercenaries operating under the flag of the United Nations—the Korean so-called "U.N. Force" extended to the whole world and used to suppress every liberation movement.

This role of the "Peace-keeping force" was fully exposed when Pearson wanted to keep Canadian troops in Egypt in defiance of Nasser's order to get out, a plan which could only be carried out by opening hostilities against Egypt. This situation was further aggravated by the blatant pro-Israeli statements of Pearson and other members of his government. The final outcome of this state of affairs was the undignified rout of Canada's contingent in the Middle East on a 48-hour notice to vacate from the Egyptian government.

On this, as on every similar occasion, Pearson and his fumbling cabinet rushed to "confer" with Johnson to see what they should do to further U.S. imperialist ambitions. The entire fiasco has served to make a final expose of Canada's subservience to the U.S. imperialist interests and has resulted in the Canadian representative to the U.N. being treated with even more contempt than previously.

In Vietnam Canada's pro-U.S. role was long exposed. The bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the recent attack on the "Demilitarized Zone" by U.S. Marines just helps to make it even more clear. The Canadian representative on the International Control commission, set up under the terms of the 1954 Geneva agreement, has served loyally and consistently as a U.S. agent. The recent statement by Paul Martin, External Affairs Minister, makes this point crystal clear. Here is the official statement of the D.V.R. in reply to Matrin's mission on behalf of U.S. imperialism:

The Hanoi daily Nhan Don on May 11, 1967 refutes as groundless recent statements of Canadian External Affairs Minister Paul Martin about alledged talk between the D.V.R. government and the Canadian delegate to the International Commission.

According to the U.P.I. the Canadian Minister on May 8 declared that there had been secret discussions between the North Vietnam government and Ormand Dyer, Canadian Representative in the International Supervisory and Control Commission, and the North Vietnam government had requested the nature of the talks not to be revealed. He added that Canada's proposal might "receive serious study" by North Vietnam.

Nhan Dan said:

"These statements of the Canadian External Affairs Minister are groundless. The four stage plan of Canada which proposes the disengagement of troops in the demilitarized zone, the freezing of the course of military events

at the present level, cessation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam.

It is clear that this plan did not mention in any way U.S. aggression in Vietnam, the origin of the present extremely serious situation in Vietnam and Indochina. It is strikingly opposite to the urgent demand of the people all over the world that the U.S. end definitively and unconditionally the bombing of North Vietnam, withdraw U.S. troops from South Vietnam, recognize the National Front for Liberation, the sole authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people. In a word, the four stage plan of Canada is only an American plan, a part of the U.S. aggressors' "peace negotiation" hoax. It has been put forward according to a well co-ordinated program previously arranged with the Johnson clique. It is actually for this reason that the Vietnamese people and all those who sincerely desire peace in the world have rejected this plan of Canada immediately after it was made public.

Thus, what did Mr. Martin wish to obtain in cooking up such a fantastic story? One may without difficulty discern the three following main motives behind this move: First he wants to lend weight—though without much hope of success—to his government's four stage plan. By its very brazen partiality for the U.S., this plan is in fact only a worthless plan.

Secondly, he wants to keep spreading illusion among peace lovers about the U.S. desire for peace negotiation in an attempt to soothe the world people's indignation at the fact that the Johnson clique is frenziedly escalating the war in Vietnam by repeatedly bombing and strafing Hanoi, Haiphong and other populous areas in Vietnam. Mr. Paul Martin has not uttered a single word to condemn these piling crimes of the U.S. government in Vietnam. His recent statements are in fact an encouragement to the U.S. aggressors.

Thirdly, he wants to heighten in an unrealistic manner the role of Canada in the Vietnam problem, and to make believe that the Canadian government itself is tirelessly striving for peace in Vietnam. But the statements of Paul Martin and the Canadian government have been refuted by their own deeds. In fact, the Canadian government has always shown its approval for the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam, and has always tried to shield the U.S. aggressors. Canada has not fulfilled its responsibility as a member of the international Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam.

Worse still the Canadian government has sold weapons to the U.S. aggressors thus lending the U.S. a hand to massacre the Vietnamese people. The recent statements of Mr. Paul Martin did not represent any new effort of Canada in the service of peace in Vietnam. On the contrary they only marked a new step of the Canadian government on the road of serving the U.S. and tailing after it in the war of aggression in Vietnam.

"The paper concluded:

"The U.S. aggressors are being bitterly defeated in Vietnam and facing utter isolation in the world. Those who plead for them and shield them cannot avoid the disastrous consequences of their failure.

So long as the Canadian government continues their present wrong actions in service of the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam, it will incur sterner criticism and condemnation from the public opinion at home and in the world."

We join with the government and people of Vietnam in indignantly protesting this latest and most flagrant example of the Canadian governments efforts in the service of U.S. imperialism in its war of aggression in Vietnam. We demand an immediate end to this policy and a stop to all forms of support for the U.S. war against the people. An end to subservience and a policy of support to those struggling for freedom is in the true interests of Canada and the beginning of an end to U.S. domination of our Country.

IN THE SERVICE OF IMPERIALISM

Britain's "Labour" government of social democrats is serving British and American imperialist interests as loyally as any Tory regime ever did. In fact, no one could ever outdo Wilson in the dual role of stooge and door-mat for the U.S. aggressors. The "Labour" Prime Minister is one of the most ardent supporters of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and is constantly calling on the Vietnamese to surrender. The Wilson regime is closely allied with all the most reactionary racist regimes in Africa—notably Rhodesia and South Africa where outright fascist administrations are in power. It has been reported recently that the English social democrats are about to reach an agreement with the Rhodesian government of Ian Smith after a lot of posing as progressive defenders of the rights of the African people.

In the oil rich region of Yemen in the Middle East Wilson demonstrates how well he has learned his lesson from his imperialist masters. The people of Yemen are slaughtered by British troops acting on Wilson's command. Planes are sent to bomb the people with all kinds of missiles including Napalm and gas. In Malaya also Wilson deploys his social-democratic army in defence of imperialist interests and the sacred right of profit.

In every place people are uniting in struggle against the Wilson, social-democratic brand of imperialist exploitation and the labour agents of imperialism are experiencing the bitter taste of defeat. Nowhere is the defeat more imminent or more bitter than the catastrophe about to overtake the imperialist overlords in the British Crown Colony of Hong Kong and Kowloon.

On May 6 workers at the Hong Kong Artificial Flower Works in Sanpokong, Kowloon, went on strike in protest against the unjustified dismissal of several workers. They demanded that management open negotiations with them and that all unreasonable working rules be withdrawn. Management refused to give any consideration whatever to the just demands of the workers.

On orders of the British Governor, armed police intervened to break the strike and bloodily suppress the striking workers. Clubs, guns and gas (the gas bearing a "Made in U.S.A." label) were used freely by the police against the unarmed strikers. Sympathetic strikes and protest actions involving tens of thousands of workers spread like a prairie fire throughout the Colony. Big character posters were put up by the workers who carried at all times and referred frequently to the "Red Book" of "Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung."

The armed police stepped up their fascist attacks on the people, plain clothes detectives and police informants mingled with the workers to spy on them and to organize provocations. Gunboats, aircraft carriers and specially-trained troops made a "show of force" in the classical imperialist tradition.

Governor David Trench sits in his well-appointed residence and dispenses imperialist "law and order" like some warlord of by-gone days. At his instructions hundreds of workers are illegally detained by the police and brutally beaten and tortured while in custody. Children, women and the aged are not exempt from these fascist atrocities. Hundreds of the more seriously injured have been hospitalized and several have died as a result of brutal beatings at the hands of the police.

The activities of Trench seem to indicate he pictures himself as the reincarnation of Sir Y. Bowring, who bombarded Canton in 1857 because he considered he had been personally insulted by the Chinese Governor. What Trench seems to forget is the all-important fact that China is no longer ruled by the weak and corrupt Ching Court that ceded Hong Kong to the British in 1842. China's masses have stood up and dealt a smashing blow to the imperialists and 700 million Chinese side-by-side with their compatriots in Hong Kong who are resolutely resisting the fascist attacks of Wilson's Hong Kong hangman and Storm Troopers.

One additional source of conflict with the Chinese masses, who render all-out support to the Vietnamese victims of U.S. aggression, is the fact that Wilson has been turning Hong Kong into a U.S. base for the war in Vietnam and also a

base against China. This collusion with U.S. imperialism on territory that is rightfully Chinese will not be tolerated for long by the Chinese people.



An editorial in the People's Daily of Peking referring to Hong Kong stated: "Under British rule Hong Kong has become a hotbed of crime, a dark nether region. Its blood debts are numberless and its crimes cry out to heaven. There must be a final reckoning."

Chi Pen Yu, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party Cultural Revolution Group, speaking at a seminar of the Afro-Asian Writers Bureau, in Peking stated: "We hereby warn the British imperialists: the old debt you owe us in launching the dirty opium war and forcibly occupying Hong Kong by taking advantage of the corruption of the Ching Court is not yet repaid. Today you are again perpetrating fascist atrocities in Hong Kong. This is a grave provocation against the great People's Republic of China. The 700 million Chinese people will never tolerate it."

"British imperialists if you do not lower your heads and own up to your crimes, we will let you have a taste of the Chinese people's iron fist."

While in Shanghai two Canadian workers had the opportunity to join tens of thousands of Shanghai workers at the British legation (since closed down) and at a 90 thousand strong mass meeting protesting the fascist atrocities in Hong Kong and expressing solidarity with the workers struggling against imperialist oppression. Progressive Worker reiterates and renews the pledge of solidarity and demands the Wilson government that they dismiss governor David Trench put an end to the fascist atrocities in Hong Kong and yield to the just demands of the Hong Kong workers.

TWO POEMS

by Rewi Alley

Born in 1897 in Canterbury, New Zealand, Rewi Alley has lived in China for 35 years. His last anthology of Chinese poems in English translation was "The People Sing", published in 1958. Before that, he published "The People Speak Out" (1954) and "Peace Through the Ages" earlier in the same year, selections for these being made from both historical and modern Chinese poetry. He is also the author of many books about China. The following poems are his own.

Victory, Certain and Sure

by Rewi Alley

Typhoons rip in, hurtle
against hills, weaken
and blow out; absolute power
corrupts; especially
the kind that is drunk
with greed for
the heritage of others.
Folks with different
skins, watch
while palefaces plus puppets
set out to take hold
of South East Asia, bleed it,
rape it, try to bring it to heel.
Many a big dark eye fills
with questioning, wondering
if the hire money paid
balances. Cringing
South Korean slaves skin
captured Vietnamese alive
at the bidding of their big
white bosses, but all Asia
suffers. All Asia waits
All Asians begin to put
hate into action.
Imperialism has killed
and grabbed for long, ever
eager for the wealth
of others; now like
always before,
it over extends; a handful here
a gang over there; an army
of draftees dumped in
together with camp followers;
and everywhere its strength
is sapped, greedy fingers
falter, all wondering, "What
do I get out of this war?"
while Vietnamese quietly
move from one jungle stronghold
to another, sure and certain
of the victory that must
be theirs, common folk
with a just cause in their own land
can only win! Now
the world devil has but one way
get out!

Peking, Nov. 11th, 1966.

Two Hundred Thousand

by Rewi Alley

The modern world is hot
on creating records; more
than two hundred thousand
Vietnamese children who were
part of light and laughter
and of the world's treasure
ripped to shreds by U.S. Imperialism
in just five years; says killer

Curtis E. Lemay, bomb Vietnam back
into the stone age! Into
computers go records of fake
U.S. victories dreamed up to instil
flagging courage into demoralised
aggressor, despite his B 52's,
super-duper mobility
infra-red devices
radar eyes
fragmentation bombs
bacteria, defoliants,
massage parlours
economic experts
military allies
dollar bought puppets
dope shots, black markets
the seventh fleet
and general escalation
an aggressor who now
in his heart of hearts
knows it will be
the swift moving Vietnamese
who will win.

Tsunghua, Kwangtung
Feb. 20th, 1967.



Women guerrilla fighters.