

FOREIGN MONOPOLY IN AGRICULTURE

Progressive Worker

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FIGHT FOR OUR OWN UNIONS;
TO REVOLUTIONARY
PEOPLE EVERYWHERE!



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Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung

If you are a bourgeois writer or artist, you will
eulogize not the proletariat but the bourgeoisie,
and if you are a proletarian writer or artist, you
will eulogize not the bourgeoisie but the prole-
tariat and working people: it must be one or
the other.

— Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art

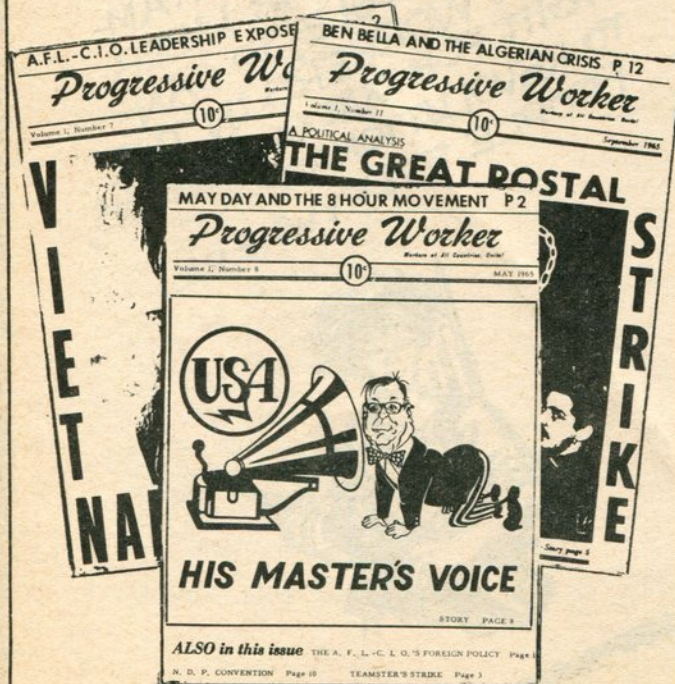
Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung

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DRAFT RESISTANCE U.S.A.

by Pat Corbett

Undoubtedly the most advanced revolutionary force in United States today is the Black Liberation Movement. Although its future tasks are many and difficult, the Movement has already had many successes: it has created a mass base, provided good militant leadership, made fraternal contact with other revolutionary movements and has done battle in many cities. Thus a recent criticism of the white radical movement by a Black leader, "You lack a true mass base for your leadership", comes from a sound understanding of the state of the struggle in the U.S.

The white radical movement, so much in the press since the Berkeley strike, has had too little contact with and effect on the working people in the U.S. Many reasons for this can be seen. Perhaps the basic cause underlying the mistakes that have been made is that, because the revisionist Communist Party long ago abdicated leadership of the struggle, the new militants suffered from political inexperience.

There has been undeniable success in mobilizing public demonstrations and marches. However, some demoralization and confusion has resulted from the obvious lack of effect these demonstrations have had on the policies of the U.S. government.

At this point, the most encouraging new area of struggle is the Draft Resistance movement. The truly militant leadership, capable of providing clear-cut analysis, is beginning to come to the fore in showing the way to the positive revolutionary potential of draft resistance. What is this potential?

(1) It has a basis in the community, and especially the working class community, whose sons are drafted for Vietnam. The success of the draft resistance programs in working district high schools illustrates this point.

(2) Draft Resistance provides a solid base for united front work. As well as being a uniting issue with broad sections of the white community, it provides a basis for unity with the Black Liberation Movement, which refuses to fight "the Man's war in Vietnam".

(3) Young activists in the Draft Resistance movement are discovering the need for and the techniques of building a mass base. This is vital in order to develop revolutionary consciousness among white working people.

(4) The Draft Resistance movement demoralizes the troops and contributes to building anti-imperialist sentiment within their ranks. The movement also provides a vital channel of communication to get the real facts of the war to the troops.

(5) The Resistance Movement directly confronts the apparatus of the State. Such a confrontation, with the inevitable repression, exposes the true nature and brutal tactics employed by the State to maintain its imperialist war machine.

(6) Most important of all, the draft is essential as the primary source of manpower required by the U.S. ruling class to sustain exploitation and repression around the world. The Draft Resistance Movement, by threatening this supply of manpower, threatens imperialism itself.

As an example of the analysis now coming to the fore, we publish below a leaflet which has been widely circulated in the Seattle area, to troops and civilians alike. While this may not represent the majority thinking in the movement, it represents a view that is gaining increasingly wider acceptance in its presentation of a positive revolutionary direction.

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

Jeff Segal of S.D.S. reports that the August conference of anti-draft activists in Madison, Wisconsin, floundered around without doing much of anything. Segal feels this happened because of little work on strategy on the local level. Actually the problem is much larger than that. Lately we seem to be running into the problem of a lack of an overall strategy in terms of long range perspectives and a defini-



tion of what Draft Resistance is all about. Is it more than just another individual technique for getting out of the army for whatever reason? If so, what is it then? Since the reasons can be so different, how can the movement have a common strategy, or even purpose?

There are those who would tell us that these questions are irrelevant and that we need only to throw ourselves into activity more vigorously for these problems to evaporate into thin air. But action needs to be based on at least a minimal understanding of what that action means in the long run or it will very quickly lose momentum and any semblance of direction and we will find ourselves at an impasse.

We must realize that the nature of the movement and its strategic effect is determined primarily not by the hopes and wishes of the activists but by the reality of the objective conditions which created the need for draft resistance. Julius Lester of SNCC reporting on the OLAS conference in Havana (in the same issue of the Movement) puts it in these terms:

It is crystal clear to us that we are fighting an international structure that enslaves us all. The only way we can beat it is to internationalize our struggle so you'll have an international power fighting an international power. That is the way we can win, because if we do what Che says we should do, that is, to create two, three, many Vietnams, we shall have them fighting on all fronts at the same time and they cannot win. When we isolate the struggle, they can bring all their power on one country and once they do that, that country is lost.

But they cannot fight all of us at the same time. So that even if we do not have the same goals, even if we do not have the same political ideology, we have the same common enemy.

These are the international facts of life which must be taken into account when considering strategy.

The Black Liberation Movement forms the first such front against the common imperialist enemy inside the United States and the growing strength of the uprisings in the

Black ghettos is just a foretaste of what is to come.

Once the anti-draft movement goes beyond helping a few individuals and begins to seriously threaten the supply of military manpower, once it becomes a means of helping to build a really effective resistance inside the military, it will be striking at the very heart of the imperialist war machine, and will, in effect, constitute a second front against the common enemy at home. As such it can expect to meet exactly the same sort of repression the system uses against the black people and against the Vietnamese or Dominicans. The imperialists realize quite well that the military monster which is their chief means of support is also fatally vulnerable.

If these are the true facts, then the strategy has to be to expand and develop this second front as widely and as militantly as possible. It is only common sense to unite with those outside the country who fight the same aggressor. It is only common sense to unite with and support the Black rebels who have created the first front against the common

enemy inside the country.

When these things take place, the aggressor, the U.S. Power Machine, far from running the world, becomes a besieged fortress. Within that fortress, it becomes possible to open up even more fronts, 3, 4, and 5 more.

For example, scientists and intellectuals, white collar ditchdiggers too, can refuse to cooperate and can do more than talk. They can sabotage and demolish whole sectors of the research and technique on which the highly sophisticated workers have similar possibilities. In a fortress under siege, the struggle does not proceed primarily by majority vote, and small beginnings in the right directions will eventually open up entire new sectors.

Draft resistance must expand its own front, support the Black Liberation Movement, build strong ties with revolutionaries in other countries, and encourage the opening of new fronts by others and in the end there is really no doubt: WE WILL WIN!

RAILWAY AUTOMATION

The introduction of automation is not a particularly new phenomena to the Canadian scene, but the very recent speed up of this process particularly in the 50's and 60's has posed a real dilemma to the present Canadian Society. All industries have been affected, some of the most hard hit being in the fields of the auto industry, lumber industry, manufacturing and transportation. Privately owned capitalist enterprises throughout Canada have resorted more and more to automation as a means of raising their precious profit margins.

Rationalization and automation of work processes should be a boon to the worker, making his labour easier and providing him with leisure time in which to participate in educational, cultural and sports activities. But under capitalism the worker has to fear automation because, while it provides him with an abundance of leisure it does so only in the form of unemployment and minus the income necessary to provide his family with the necessities of life.

One industry particularly hard hit and in the news of late is the Railroad with the announcement that ten thousand workers are to be laid off by April 1968 on the C.N.R. alone. No announcements have been made from the C.P.R. or other systems in Canada but we can rest assured that their silence gives the railroad workers no security. In fact the C.P.R. are at this moment cutting back throughout the industry. On close examination of railway policy we find that tens of thousands, on all systems, in the last twenty years, have been "laid off". Firemen were hit particularly hard after the introduction of Diesel power to replace the old Steam power. Accompanying this event were large scale layoffs of mechanics, roundhousemen etc. With the introduction of motorized equipment for main line inspection section gangs which numbered in hundreds were reduced to three or four men per 50 miles of track. The introduction of teletype into the offices of major terminals has all but eliminated the workers in a once numerous communications system. The introduction of automated yards and an agreement now to cut switching crews from three men to two in many parts of the country has also hit the switchmen hard and produced a totally bleak picture in this department. The trainmen are similarly affected by the new two man crew agreement.

New innovations are on their way. The C.P.R. is engaged in tests whereby remote-controlled locomotives in the centre of the train enable them to move up to 500 cars in a single train handled by one crew. Rationalization has already cut crews to the minimum resulting in the dismissal of thousands of workers. This new development, which has the effect of combining six or seven trains into one handled by a single minimum-sized crew, means more unemployment on the railroads.

The courts, government and employers have recently united to push for "run through" agreements, that is, agreements that will double the divisions one crew has to operate

the train from their home terminal. If this infamous tactic is realized half the trainmen in the country, at one swoop, will be walking the streets.



"Will you lie down of your own free will or are you going to force us to have a law passed?"

The picture in this industry is not pretty to say the least. All along the line the Railway companies have been and intend to continue hacking and chopping the workers ranks for the sacred goal of more profits.

The workers in this industry have not taken the decimation of their ranks lying down. Rank and file opposition has been constant. Strikes, slowdowns and militant demonstrations have taken place throughout the nation.

Working hand in glove with the employers are the International trade union bureaucrats of the craft unions in the industry. At every turn they have stabbed the workers in the back while wining and dining like groveling ghouls with the big bosses. The workers throughout the industry regard their unions as being almost on par with the companies as oppressive machines with which they must fight. Several

attempts have been made to form independent Canadian Unions in both the east and the west but have failed, not because of non support but because the industry is federally certified. This means that to decertify the present unions, workers must obtain a 51 per cent majority in each terminal across the nation. An almost impossible task considering that the company can easily move men to a terminal to ensure a safe vote in one. The Canadian Union attempt met with phenomenal success but has since petered out, because of the difficulties faced and irresolute leadership. We are confident however, that with the growth of more independent unions in other fields the Canadian railway workers will again raise the banner of struggle and persevere to build a true union, democratic and free from foreign domination.

Workers from coast to coast in this industry are watch-

ing the radical changes taking place in this industry with increasing disgust. Many are beginning to question an economic system which can introduce machines and not care a bit about the results this brings the working class. Automation should be a blessing, one in which all the people share by lessening the work load on all. Instead, in capitalist Canada it only produces smiles on fat, pussy, "management" faces while honest workers are left to tears and soup lines. However, the smiles and tears will be short lived. In the economic crisis now entering the Canadian nation the workers are being forced to struggle for their livelihood. This coming struggle will certainly shake the rule of Capital in Canada and point the way forward to a new social system—the system of socialism, where the means of production will be owned and operated by the people for their benefit.

FOREIGN MONOPOLY IN AGRICULTURE

Prince Edward Island, where potatoes is the main crop (52,000 acres planted annually), has long been looked upon as the last major area in Canada where the family farm survives. However, latest reports indicate that capitalist farming has made giant inroads into the Island province and the independent family farm is in the process of rapidly disappearing from the scene to be replaced by the large business farm which is often foreign-owned.

A half-century ago it was still possible in Canada to occupy a piece of land and engage in independent farming with equipment no more elaborate than a team of horses and a few primitive farm implements. But nowadays one requires a substantial amount of capital in order to engage in a successful farming venture. The small, independent family farm cannot sustain the cost of modern agricultural machinery without which the farmer cannot hope to carry on operations that will provide him with a satisfactory income. The small farms, therefore, are in the process of being absorbed into larger, more economical units that can be worked on a profitable basis using more machinery and less manpower. This is exactly what is taking place in Prince Edward Island resulting in the wiping out of the family farm and forcing the occupants to depart for urban areas to seek employment in industry.

According to figures released by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, farm units in Prince Edward Island in 25 years have declined from 10,200 to 6,357—a drop of about 38 per cent. This trend toward fewer units is not only continuing but accelerating. Almost one-third of the 25-year decline occurred in the last five years of this period, during this time a total of one thousand farms ceased to exist as individual units.

In the 20-year period from 1941 to 1961 the farm labour force dropped 43 per cent, reflecting the trend toward concentration and large-scale use of modern farm machinery. The abandonment of uneconomic units is indicated by the fact that improved farm acreage fell from 737,000 to 580,000 in the same period. Measured by percentage the decline in cultivated acreage was less than half the decline in farm labour force, a further indication of the fact that it was the small individual family farm that was being wiped out and labour being displaced by machinery.

The increasing age of the farm labour force—only 14 per cent under 35 and 39 per cent over 55 according to 1961 figures—shows that it is the youth who are abandoning the farm because they can see no future on the land. That this trend is continuing can be gathered from the fact that so-called "commercial farms" have risen in number to 3,328 from 2,886 in the past five years.

During the past year the small independent farmer has been subjected to a further economic squeeze due to a bad growing season and falling prices. This will undoubtedly mean that more families will find it impossible to carry on and be forced to abandon the land to capitalist farmers.

Many of those remaining in the fast-declining ranks of individual family farmers are tied by contract to the processing plants that have located on the Island. Contract terms

are hardly more than adequate in good years and nothing less than disastrous in poor years. Relations between the growers and the companies, never too friendly, are deteriorating still further as the power of the companies, and their ability to shackle the farmer, increases.

There are 300,000 unused acres of farm-land that could easily be brought into production. The Provincial Government has been considering the possibility of doing something to reclaim this fertile soil, but even if followed up, the scheme is unlikely to benefit anyone but the big capitalist landowner—especially the U.S. owners who are purchasing large tracts of Island farm-lands.

A North Carolina company has acquired 900 acres on which to grow tobacco and the U.S.-controlled Imperial Tobacco Company is also buying land in the same area. The processing plants, which are largely American owned, are also purchasing land on which to grow the crops required in their operation and thus are by-passing the independent grower.

Almost at the other end of the country, in Saskatchewan a convention of the Farmers Union approved a resolution expressing concern over the "invasion" of U.S. farmers and corporations into farming operations in the province. One resolution called for legislation to prevent corporate farming, while another calls on the Saskatchewan Government to legislate against all foreign purchases of farm and ranch land. The resolution states it is: "well known fact that Americans own many sections of farm land in Saskatchewan and young people desirous of farming cannot compete price-wise with foreign capital."

The Liberal Party regime of Premier Ross Thatcher is very unlikely to be moved by the appeal of the Farmers Union. The oil, chemicals and other resources of the province have already passed into American hands and the Thatcher Government have shown themselves ever ready to facilitate the transfer of still more of the province's natural wealth to control of the U.S. monopolists. All in the name of "progress" and the "people's welfare," of course.

From whatever angle one views the situation there appears no hope for survival of the small independent farm. The land, like the urban industries, is rapidly coming under control of big, foreign-owned monopolies, who are interested in agricultural production only when it guarantees them fabulous profits. While millions of the world's peoples go hungry Canadian agricultural production is restricted or farm produce held in storage awaiting a "better price."

The capitalist has condemned the dispossessed farmer and the dispossessed worker to a similar fate of unemployment and deprivation, but in doing so they are bringing closer the day when both will recognize the similarity of their problem as well as their common enemy, the capitalist exploiter. When this is clearly recognized farmer and worker will unite to destroy the capitalist system and replace it with a socialist system where there will be no exploitation of man by man.



50 YEARS AFTER

The following is an article that was to be published in the last issue of **Progressive Worker** but due to technical difficulties with the printing equipment it could not appear. We therefore print the article now as the points on the state, the proletarian dictatorship, etc., are relevant to the struggle taking place today. **Editor**

To mark the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution, the Progressive Workers Movement held a banquet and social evening on November 4th. Besides the dinner, speeches, etc., the 80-odd people in attendance watched the excellent film by Sergi Eisenstein "Ten Days that Shook the World". This film is not to be confused with the film of the same title shown the following night on the national television network CTV. In that film they passed off the seizure of state power by the Russian workers as a personal revenge by Lenin against the Czar because his older brother had been killed several years earlier by the police for his part in an unsuccessful attempted assassination. Sergi Eisenstein's film, on the other hand, was brilliant exposition of the first proletarian dictatorship coming into existence. Those readers wishing to borrow this film for a showing in their area please contact PWM directly.

Comrade Jack Scott, Chairman of the Central Committee of PWM was the main speaker and he traced the Russian Revolution from pre-1917 to the present day. Dealing with the period of the Provisional Government led by the social-democrat, Kerensky, Jack told of the attempt by the bourgeoisie to usurp power at the expense of the Workers and Peasants. Of this period Bolshevik deputies of the first Congress of Soviets declared:

"The Czar is gone, but the revolution is just begun. The overthrow of the Czar is only an incident. The workers didn't take the government out of the hands of one ruling class, the monarchists, to put it into the hands of another ruling class, the bourgeoisie. No matter what name you give it slavery is the same."

The bourgeoisie could only offer, war, hunger and exploitation wrapped in slogans such as "Wait till the end of war", then "Wait for the Constituent Assembly" but the people replied with their own slogan "All Power to the Soviets."

With victory of the October Revolution by the Russian proletariat came support from the workers around the world who refused to load ships bound with interventionists, who went on strike, etc. The historic meeting of delegates to the Western Labour Conference at Calgary on March 13, 1919, passed a series of resolutions declaring Canadian working-class support for the Revolution in these words:

"...this convention expresses its open conviction that the system of Industrial Soviet Control by the selecting of representatives from industries is more efficient and of greater political value than the present form of government;

Be it resolved, that this Conference places itself on record as being in full accord and sympathy with the aims and purpose of the Russian Bolshevik and German Spartacan Revolutions; that we demand withdrawal of all allied troops from Russia; and further, that this Conference is in favor of a general strike on June 1st should the Allies persist in their attempt..."

"That this Convention declares its full acceptance of the principle of 'Proletariat Dictatorship' as being absolute and efficient for the transformation of Capitalistic private property to communal wealth and that fraternal greeting be sent to the Russian Soviet Government... recognizing they have won first place in the history of the class struggle."

Jack then dealt at some length on the question of material incentives as touted by the Revisionists and counterposed that with the position as held by Lenin. The Khrushchovites maintain that workers must be bribed with higher pay, more material wealth, etc. whereas the Leninist position is summed up best by the self-sacrifice of the Communists and sympathisers on the Moscow-Kazan railway who voted unanimously to;



"...lengthen the workday by one hour, accumulate these extra hours and put in six extra hours of manual labour on Saturday for the purpose of creating material value of immediate worth. Being of the opinion that Communists should not stint their health and life for the sake of the revolution, this work should be performed gratis. COMMUNIST SAB-BATHS to be introduced throughout the sub-district until complete victory over Kolchak has been achieved."

Here is what Lenin himself wrote:

"... the Communist Subbotniks organized by the workers on their own initiative are positively of enormous significance. Evidently this is only a beginning but it is a beginning of unusually great importance. It is the beginning of a revolution that is much more difficult, more material, more radical and more decisive than the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, for it is a victory over the habits that occurred capitalism left as a heritage to the worker and peasant. Only when THIS victory is consolidated will the new social discipline, Socialist discipline, be created; only then will a reversion to capitalism become impossible and Communism become really invincible."

Not only did Lenin deal in the above quote with the matter of material incentives versus moral incentives but here he pointed out quite correctly that the class struggle exists under socialism. Jack further elaborated on this particular point and expressed that "... the class struggle not only continues under the dictatorship of the proletariat but INTENSIFIES." For proof of his contention Jack turned to Lenin and his "Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" which was written in 1919. "In October 1919, that is, two years after the establishment of Soviet power, consequently it contained not only Marxist theoretical concepts but, in addition, the practical experience gained in two years of exercising proletarian state power and in struggling against the attempts of the bourgeoisie to return to power." As these points are of utmost importance in defeating the arguments of the Khrushchov revisionists we urge all our readers to examine this particular article and "New Phase of Struggle" both by Lenin. The latter article deals with the matter of "specialists" under Socialism.

Comrade Scott then traced the sequence of events that led up to the seizure of power by the bourgeoisie and events taking place in the Soviet Union today. Soviet "aid" is in reality no more than "aid" as given by the capitalist countries.

State loans and lotteries are becoming more common place in the Soviet Union. Interest on bank deposits, western "culture", widening of wage gaps between the lowest and highest paid workers, etc., are some of the more obvious indications of the bourgeois advance.

The present situation in the Soviet Union as to foreign investment is such that the capitalist countries are investing in ever increasing amounts. Commenting on Fiat of Italy's development of an auto industry in the Soviet Union, Jack had this to say, "this is a project made possible by a \$50 million U.S. loan, and if anyone thinks the Yankee traders are giving \$50 million to help build Communism they have a vacancy where their brain ought to be".

In summing his speech Comrade Scott finished in these words:

The dictatorship of the proletariat has been transformed into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The exploiters have control of the state and they are using the state to transform the collective economy into private ownership and a system of class exploitation. At the present moment that is the course of development in the Soviet Union and will remain so as long as the neo-bourgeois elements retain state power.

It would, however, be a mistake for us to think that the Russian Revolution was a complete loss. The proletarian revolution in Russia blazed entirely new paths and it is almost inevitable that mistakes should be made in an undertaking of such gigantic proportions. But these mistakes can be great teachers if we but apply ourselves to the task of learning from them. The road that Russia traveled had to be trodden. However much we may have wished otherwise, there appears to have been no other course. The heroes and heroines of 1917 opened up the road that others might pass more easily. That

fact still stands to their eternal glory.

And the proletarian revolution advances on from the point at which they were compelled to leave it. The Chinese people are the inheritors of the standard borne so valiantly by those who fought a half-century ago and, under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung, they are carrying it to new victories in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Nor will the victory of the neo-bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union be a permanent one. They cannot solve the class contradictions that confront them by any oppressive means. The working people of Russia will undoubtedly resist the oppression and exploitation of the new bourgeois class and ultimately rise again in insurrection and overthrow the capitalists and landlords—this time permanently. Already voices of revolt are being heard. Last year an underground Bolshevik group announced its presence in the U.S.S.R. and called on Soviet workers to rise and throw off the new ruling clique of exploiters. I will close with this quotation from their call to arms:

"Long live our sacred red banner, the banner of socialist . . . No matter how hard the opportunists try to besmirch it, it remains unstained. No matter how hard they will try to drag it down, there exists forces in the world which keep it aloft—honour and glory to them! The hour is not far off when this banner will again flutter over the fatherland of Socialism.

"Long live the Communist Party (B) of the Soviet Union! Let our friends and enemies throughout the world hear us! Bolshevism in Russia is springing from the ashes like a phoenix. We Bolsheviks are fully aware that the tasks facing us are very complicated, but we shall proceed even through sacrifices and tortures.

B.E.

STRIKES OBSOLETE?

When I.W. Abel making his successful bid to become president of the powerful United Steelworkers of America, one of his main campaign promises was to end "tuxedo unionism" meaning the kind of labor-management relations based on "friendship and cooperation" between the two opposing forces. Abel accused his predecessor in office of indulging in this kind of activity and promised, if elected, a return to a policy of militancy in relations with management.

The only practical alternative to "tuxedo unionism" is a militant class policy. But Abel, graduate of the American school of labor bureaucrats, is quite incapable of developing and leading such a line of action. In the final analysis, having reached the top and being confronted with a choice of fight or capitulate, Abel chooses to capitulate and embrace the very policy he condemned when seeking office.

A clear indication of Abel's dedication to "tuxedo unionism" was his appointment by Johnson to be a member of the United States delegation to the United Nations. In this atmosphere he mingles with representatives of "tuxedo unionism" on a world scale and supports American aggression in Vietnam and elsewhere. This is "tuxedo unionism" on a grand scale.

In view of Abel's support for Johnson's war of aggression in Vietnam it is interesting to note that the Steelworkers, under his leadership, is hailed as a "progressive union" by leaders of the Communist Party of Canada. The C.P. leaders in Mine-Mill also gave tacit approval to this policy by

There is no fundamental difference between the domestic and the foreign policy of the ruling class—the one compliments the other. It follows, therefore, that support for the one predicates support for the other. In view of this it is not surprising to find Abel in full agreement with the monopolists. No other possible interpretation could be put on his proclaimed attitude on strikes and labour-management relations.

According to Abel "strikes are losing their effectiveness"

and should be replaced with arbitration as a means of reaching a settlement. In an interview with the press Abel revealed that this matter has been the subject of discussion between management and labour officials since 1959. (A tacit admission of continuity of policy from that of his predecessor in spite of his pretended "opposition"). In the course of the interview, in an obvious reference to the rank and file behind whose backs the "discussions" were carried on, the Steel Union president was reported to say: "There are opponents who do not want to give up the sacred right to strike."

Abel cited a number of "facts" to prove that "strikes are obsolete". But all of his "reasons" were related to the weaknesses in tactics, policy and structure of the labour movement. Instead of advocating measures that would eliminate these weak spots and strengthen labour, Steel's leading bureaucrat advocates weakening the movement still further by stripping it of its only effective weapon—the strike. So Mr. Abel serves the ruling class at home and abroad—in domestic affairs as president of the United Steelworkers of America and in foreign affairs as delegate to the United Nations.

This advocacy of a "no-strike" policy is of more than passing interest to Canadian trade unionists. It is not only the fact that more than 120,000 miners and steel workers in Canada are "represented" by the United Steelworkers in an industry that is effectively controlled by United States monopoly, but that top leaders of the union in Canada have long declared their support for the idea that "strikes are obsolete". There would seem to be no reason to doubt that Canadian officials have been involved in the discussions that have proceeded in secret for the past 8 years and that their support for Abel as president was given in full knowledge of his partiality toward arbitration.

Canadian workers will need to take firm and fast action to defend their basic interests against this collaborationist policy. The first step in that direction is to step up the fight for an independent Canadian union.

VIETNAM SUPPORT: TRUE AND FALSE

On Sunday, November 5th, members of the Communist Party called the police to stop people from collecting money for the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. The following article will describe the situation on November 5th, and show how the action taken by Communist Party members was not an unusual event produced by the pressure of that particular situation, but rather a logical outgrowth of a revisionist ideology.

The Committee to Aid Vietnam Civilians held a meeting in Vancouver on November 5th at the Queen Elizabeth Theatre with Rene Levesque speaking and Eleanor Collins singing. A group of people from the Committee to Support the NLF turned up with literature from Vietnam, leaflets, and collection cans for money to send directly to the NLF representative in London, Mr. Nguyen Van Sao. The leaflet distributed by the NLF Committee members said, in part:

"We support the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam because it represents the vast majority of the Vietnamese people in resistance to U.S. aggression . . . The Vietnamese people have learned through their many struggles (against the French, against the Japanese, and now against the U.S.) that no aggressor has ever left their country unless he was forced to leave. Peace is the goal of the NLF, but a just peace can only be achieved through struggle."

(The leaflet also included the main part of a letter from Nguyen Van Sao thanking the NLF COMMITTEE for the \$312.32 collected at the October 21st demonstration in Vancouver.)

As the NLF COMMITTEE members attempted to enter the lobby of the Queen Elizabeth Theatre, their way was blocked by members of the CIVILIAN AID COMMITTEE, who claimed that since they had booked the theatre, they should be the only ones to collect money there. Before long, Communist Party people within this Civilian Aid Committee decided that the best way to handle the awkward situation was to call the cops—and the cops were called.

A discussion of whether the SUPPORT THE NLF COMMITTEE was right or wrong in attempting to collect money under these circumstances must begin with a discussion of the validity of the position of the CIVILIAN AID COMMITTEE. This committee collects money for Vietnamese civilians on the basis of a humanitarian appeal—i.e., "people are suffering over there, and we should help them out." This approach has a number of drawbacks.

1.) It encourages a 'war is bad' attitude which doesn't distinguish between the just resistance of the Vietnamese and the immoral aggression of the imperialists. For instance, somebody who was convinced that "North Vietnamese aggression" and "Vietcong atrocities" were taking place could still give money to this committee.

2.) It emphasizes the suffering of the Vietnamese people rather than their victories, which makes the example of their struggle a demoralizing one instead of the inspiration that it should be. This is the same approach that the bourgeois press takes: emphasize the suffering, minimize the victories.

3.) It fails to offer political support to the Vietnamese people—the money is given conditionally to the DRV and the NLF: it must be spent only on medical supplies for civilians. This suggests that the Committee does not support at all the actual resistance by armed people (non-civilians?) against American aggression. Not only does the Committee stipulate that the money cannot be used to buy arms to repel the aggressor—it can't even be used to buy medical supplies for the heroic people who are injured in the course of repelling the invader.

Furthermore, the Committee gives legitimacy to the notoriously corrupt Saigon government by giving 10 per cent of

the money to the International Red Cross to be used in the Strategic Hamlets. How effective this aid may be is indicated by the following report from South Vietnam:

"When we saw a prisoner with toes and feet black, we knew that the process of slow, painful death had begun. The body would die before the eyes of the victim. We needed only four vitamin pills, but we got nothing. The guards used oreomycin and theramycin to prevent disease of their chickens." (Madame Nguyen Ti Tho, quoted in the Appendix to Bertram Russell's WAR CRIMES IN VIETNAM.)

What people in Strategic Hamlets need is not vitamin pills for their guards' chickens, but the liberation of the Hamlet by military action of the NLF.

These are the negative aspects of the CIVILIAN AID COMMITTEE. The positive aspect is that at least some money does get to Vietnam to help Vietnamese civilians. Not all the money collected, however, gets to Vietnam: in fact, much of the money is consumed by expenses right here in Canada. Some of the expenses at the Levesque meeting, for example, included: rent of the Queen Elizabeth Theatre (about \$650), hotel rooms and round trip air fare for Levesque, musicians' fees, and publicity expenses. In a telephone conversation, the head of the Committee, Dr. A.M. Inglis, refused to reveal the cost of the Levesque meeting, and stated that this information would not be made public until the annual report was published. But at the meeting itself, Inglis was overheard reassuring a supporter that the collection (of over \$2,000) "easily covered expenses." This suggests that a good deal less than one half of the money contributed actually made it to Vietnam—but of course we won't know for sure until the annual report comes out.

Of course, every committee has legitimate expenses. But it is a questionable policy to bring a "name" speaker in from another part of the country just to say the same things that hundreds of local people could say just as well—or much better. (Levesque certainly didn't help reveal the true nature of the war by saying it was "crazy" and contrasting it with Korea where, according to him, the U.S. and others were fighting for the liberation of the Koreans.) The only justification for bringing in Levesque would be if he had some special insight or information that others didn't have. For example, the expense might have been worthwhile if Levesque had been able to compare the independence struggle in Quebec to the Vietnamese struggle showing how they were both in opposition to U.S. control. But in spite of Levesque's reputation as a "fiery", "outspoken", etc., speaker, he didn't say anything that the audience couldn't have found in an old edition of the STAR WEEKLY. Financing Levesque's trip seems like a pretty poor way to spend money the audience had contributed to help the Vietnamese. (As for Miss Collins, with her expensive furs and her self-righteous songs, the less said the better.)

Furthermore, it is important to emphasize that unless the money was collected specifically as an expression of political support (which it wasn't, as pointed out above), it remains just money, or just medical supplies, of no more political significance than medical supplies captured by the NLF from the Americans. The relative importance of political support versus financial support to the Vietnamese themselves is shown very clearly by the following quote from Nguyen Van Sao's letter to the SUPPORT THE NLF COMMITTEE:

"It gives me great pleasure to thank you personally, and on behalf of the SVNLF for your kind donation. We realize that your contribution springs from a correct understanding of what the war in Vietnam is about! We welcome your gifts and donation because they symbolise the solidarity that exists between Canadian people and the Vietnamese people. But

SUPPORT THE NLF!

we appreciate more than all gifts the growing political understanding on the part of more and more Canadian people in the justness of our heroic struggle of which your Committee are devoted."

Many people who have given money to the CIVILIAN AID COMMITTEE have done so in the misguided belief that their money was a symbol of solidarity with the Vietnamese people. Hopefully, the Vietnamese will take their gifts as such, in spite of the official position of the Civilian Aid Committee. But there is a way that you can make sure that your money expresses real political solidarity. You can give it, unconditionally, to the National Liberation Front via the local committee (Committee to Support the NLF, Box 691, Station A, Vancouver) and ALL of it will be forwarded to the NLF representative in London. Or you can send it directly to Mr. Nguyen Van Sao yourself (35 Netherhall Gardens, London NW 3, England).

In order to fully understand the position of the CIVILIAN AID COMMITTEE, it is necessary to see the relationship between it and the Communist Party. The Committee was organized and promotes such committees as the Civilian Aid Committee, and many of the leading figures are Party members (including Dr. Inglis himself and others who hide their political affiliations under a mask of bourgeois respectability). Consequently, the Committee reflects the general ideological position of the C.P.

Some years ago, the Communist Party decided that the best way to ensure that the world would not be destroyed by a thermonuclear war was to try and popularize a demand for "peace". Unfortunately, the people who control the United States are not interested in the kind of arguments that the Communist Party was putting forward. The U.S. is in a stage of aggressive economic expansion (i.e., imperialism) and imperialists are not impressed by moral arguments, no matter how many ministers (or doctors) the Communist Party could inspire to moralize.

The consequences of this general analysis in the particular context of Vietnam were revealed in a statement by the B.C. executive of the Communist Party (PACIFIC TRIBUNE, Feb. 19, 1965.)

"In contrast to this stand for united action to preserve world peace as a condition for social progress, there are those who ignore or minimize the danger of thermonuclear war; who emphasize winning instead of ending the war in Vietnam."

(Do you remember now, all those demonstrations where C.P. members carried signs saying, "End the War in Vietnam"?)

It is never specified just what particular sell-out of the Vietnamese people would end the war without it being won by the NLF. But if anyone at this late date still believes that the situation in Vietnam would be improved if the NLF stopped fighting, they should bear in mind that more Vietnamese were killed by Diem's repression before the NLF took

up arms than were killed in the 'war' years of 1960-66.

(War Crimes in Vietnam, p.177)

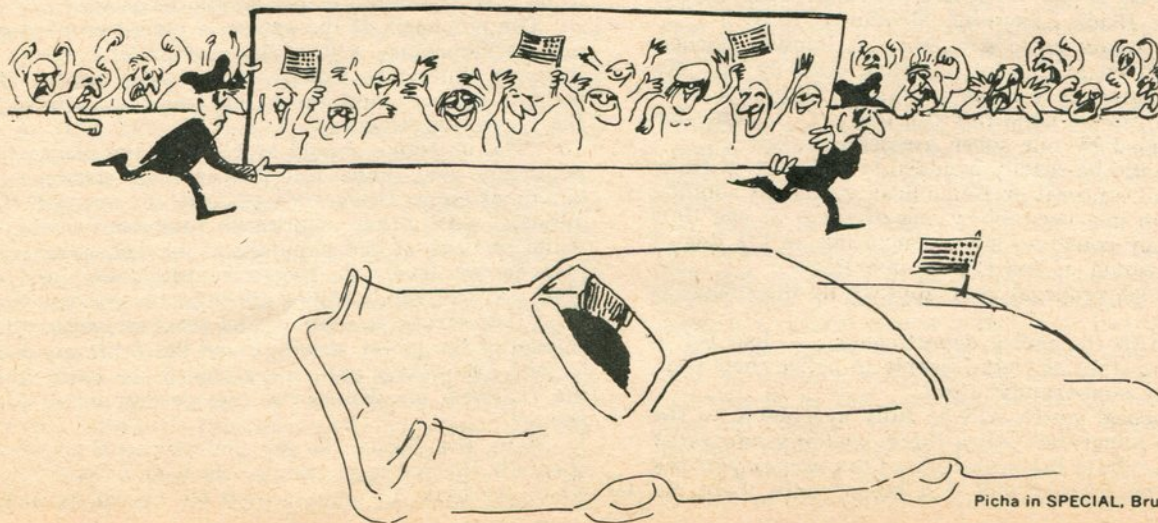
In conclusion, the reason that the Communist Party or Committee, and calls the cops on the Support the NLF Committee, is that it doesn't support the National Liberation Front. In private, C.P. members may say that the Party "really" supports the NLF, but in their public statements (even the recent ones which have attempted to sound more militant), they have never come out clearly in support of the National Liberation Front. On demonstrations, they have taken wishy-washy and incorrect positions (Stop the Murder of Women and Children, "Peace Through the U.N.," etc.), and they have explicitly disassociated themselves from statements in support of the National Liberation Front.

Their recent performance, when they called the police on members of the Committee to Support the NLF was just another logical application of their political position. If you believe that the only important thing is to end the war in Vietnam, then you will be in opposition to the wishes of the Vietnamese, and in favour of making deals with imperialism to bring about some kind of compromise. It follows that, on the local level, you will be opposed to the people who support the Vietnamese and be willing to make deals with the local police in order to promote your own compromise position. The question that all honest people must ask Communist Party members is: "if you really believe these things and support this kind of action — on which side does this put you?"

There is nothing sectarian or ultra-leftist about supporting the National Liberation Front. The NLF is a broad grouping that represents all the Vietnamese except a handful of traitors. There is no point in evading the issue by saying you support 'self-determination.' The Vietnamese have decided already — if we support self-determination, we must support the National Liberation Front.

The Committee to Support the National Liberation Front is to be congratulated for its efforts to raise the public's awareness of the imperialist nature of the Vietnamese war and the justness of the NLF's position. If, in the course of these activities, they expose the position of the Civilian Aid Committee, and the C.P. line behind it, this is a good thing, and consistent with their position of building support for the NLF.

As this issue of P.W. was going to press the Co-op Book Store (controlled by the Communist Party) refused to carry Christmas cards showing two little Vietnamese girls with straw hats to protect them from shell fragments. The message inside the card read "as long as U.S. aggressors tread Vietnamese soil, there can be no peace for any of us." Money from the sale of the cards went entirely to the NLF. (minus only the cost of the paper and envelopes). The refusal of the Co-op to carry the cards didn't hurt sales too much—1700 cards were sold in three days.



BLACK LIBERATION?

Almost everyone outside the Black communities in the United States (and a few inside) are deeply disturbed over the rising tide of struggle in the ghettos and the degree of militancy being shown by the black people. Almost everyone includes the utterly discredited Gus Hall leadership of the revisionist Communist Party of the U.S.A. Concern over the direction the struggle is taking has caused the Gus Hall clique to publish some items of advice which they hope will influence Black Americans to cool down their revolutionary ardour and adopt a more "reasonable" course of action.

Appointed to present the Party statement was its National Chairman, Henry Winston, who happens to be black. The choice of Winston as official spokesman on this subject was undoubtedly due to the fact that the national committee hoped to give their statement the look of being indigenous to the Negro movement. But it takes more than just a black skin to make a black man in the United States nowadays—it takes the added ingredients of courage and determination to fight against national oppression and for the freedom of the black people by whatever means are necessary and possible. By this standard, the Hall clique statement, regardless of the colour of the one who penned it, still bears the stamp of a white man's Party in a white man's world talking down to oppressed and tyrannized black people. Winston's attempt to give it a different appearance with his "We, 22 million black Americans" cannot change the origin or intent of his class-collaborationist statement.

The "Canadian Tribune", official organ of the Canadian blood-brothers of Hall and Company, has reprinted the statement in a manner that associates them with its contents and attempts to influence the workers of Canada to adopt a sympathetic attitude toward it. They acted in a similar manner toward the anti-Negro article written by Bridges the West Coast Longshoremen's leader. We propose to offer a few critical comments on this offering of the "Canadian Tribune".

In an appeal to the emotions rather than to the intellect—a factor which influenced the decision to have a Negro present the statement—Winston trumpets past contributions made to the Negro struggle. Writing of Communist activities in the twenties and thirties, Winston states:

"Many of its members, Negro and white, gave their lives in those early bitter battles."

It is true that many party and non-party people—both black and white—gave their lives in the struggle for Negro freedom. But, while they are deserving of honour, their sacrifice does not call for any special consideration in choosing today's leadership or in formulating a program to fill the needs of the day. In any event, the Gus Hall clique are usurpers who are not in the direct line of descent of the heroic fighters of the past. If Winston and his colleagues want to examine the past in order to learn from it that would be fine, but we will not agree to their using the past as a blanket to cover present treachery. We are interested, at the moment, in what IS not what WAS. What are Winston and Company proposing for the Black Liberation Movement NOW?

Winston first treats us to a number of familiar clichés: "We have arrived at a point of grave crisis in our history", "Clear thinking as well as courage", "Equality now, not in the dim future", "Time has run out", "... a question that must be decided by our sober assessment", etc.,

all of which could be readily included in the election statement of any solid Democrat or Republican candidate running for office. Johnson has used every one of them at one time or another and they sound no more convincing on the lips of the National Chairman of the Communist Party.

The first actual proposal that appears in the article is in these words:

"... racism in the police departments ... has led to the demand for the right of Negro people to police their communities. We fully support that right."

That is a proposal which will be fully acceptable to the ruling class. If an integrated police force, wielding integrated nightsticks, will facilitate the protection of the property of the white slumlords the solution will find favour with them. So

long as capitalism exists in America a Negro police force can be no different than a white police force—protect the property and special rights of a white ruling class. That is a fundamental truth which cannot be hidden by talk about "the right of Negro people to police THEIR communities".

There is an alternative, but it is one which would not appeal to Winston and his reformist comrades. The alternative is the formation of a revolutionary people's police force whose main task would be protection of the Negro people from the terrorist activities of the white ruling class, and not the protection of property. As the Black Liberation Movement grows in strength, experience and organization it will finally reach the stage where it can maintain revolutionary order without benefit of police uniforms.

Confronted by the militant determination of the Black people to refuse any longer to tolerate the abominable conditions of ghetto life, Winston finds it impossible to come out in direct opposition to Negro armed resistance. He is compelled to make an indirect approach and even to present the appearance of being in favour of armed resistance, but only as "a last resort". The real content of his advice to the Negro is to shun violence and wait for the white workers and "progressives" to fight the battle of the Negro. Here are some of the main points made by Winston:

"Surely everyone would prefer to win basic change without the use of force" ... "The task, especially of Negro leaders is to jointly seek the ways to skillfully make the best use of our heroic people's militancy ..." "Armed uprisings cannot be successfully undertaken by the black communities alone, no matter how courageously they struggle. They require powerful allies, above all in the ranks of the working class, white and black ..." "... the real task at hand is to rally nationwide support, particularly the support of all truly democratic white Americans, especially white workers ... to aid the struggle for survival of the black Americans ..." "There is an urgent need for militant and united struggle ... mass marches, demonstrations, massive militant civil disobedience, boycotts and strikes ... sit-ins, sit-downs and sit-outs and armed defense when necessary. It should include black community mass marches to the polls to elect Negro mayors, U.S. Senators, Congressmen and Negro public officials on every level."

With little more than casual reference to the violence of the state and its auxiliary arm, the racist organizations, Winston presses on to urge his readers to shun violence and place their dependence on mass marches of the Martin Luther King variety and on the elections of Negroes to public office. Negroes elected to public office in capitalist America will, for the most part, be no different than a black man in uniform—both will be in the service of the ruling class against the interests of the working people and that means, in the first place, against the basic interests of black Americans. Struggle not marches is the road to take, and the forms of struggle to be used is for the Negro people to decide.

The emphasis of the article is placed on electoral activity and parliamentary action, the election of Negroes and "progressive whites" to Congress and other public offices. Here is how Winston and the C.P.U.S.A. view the objectives of the Negro movement:

"The objective should be to unite the black communities politically, and make full use of their strategic position in our great cities. From such positions of strength they can, in alliance with other oppressed minorities and progressive white sections of the population, struggle effectively for unprecedented levels of Negro representation and drastically alter political relationships throughout the country."

"It is wrong to conclude, as some do, from the stubborn refusal of the power structure and the Johnson administration to deal adequately with the crisis in the black ghettos, that the channels for democratic change are closed to the black people."

Have the "channels for democratic change" ever been open for the common people, black or white? The fact that white workers are represented by bourgeois candidates of

the same colour does not mean they are, fundamentally, any more free than black workers. It is only that in the case of the black people there is little room left for manoeuvre and the viciousness of capitalist exploitation is made more obvious. The ruling class are well aware that this is so and a powerful section are now in favour of finding a solution to the crisis through acceptance, on the basis of equality, of a section of the Negro bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie. It is this solution for which Winston is pandering in his article. He blithely ignores the fact that racial oppression is class oppression and it will end only when class oppression ends. Winston's call should be for white workers to unite with the blacks in struggle which would mean urging a sharpening of the anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist battles. Reversing that call, urging the black people to concentrate on finding paths to unity with the whites, means putting forth efforts to dampen down the struggle.

"The Communist Party of the United States . . . has always affirmed the right of oppressed people to forcibly overthrow an oppressive regime whenever the channels for democratic change are closed to them." (Winston)

Here Winston is advising the people not to overthrow the ruling class so long as they are allowed to vote for this or that defender of the system of capitalist exploitation. Wait until the gates of the concentration camps clang shut behind you then, unarmed and at the mercy of the enemy, call for struggle to overthrow the ruling class. When the situation is hopeless—fight, but not before then.

That is the advice of a hopelessly confused reformist and revisionist who has lost all sense of political balance. It is advice that will lead not to victory, but to the grave. The time to struggle is when the opportunity presents itself, not after all hope for advance has been removed.

"Black people . . . smell the flesh-burning stench of

the gas chamber in these menacing developments. They have rightly served notice that they have no intention to play the role of passive victims of genocide". (Winston)

Winston obviously sees the Nazi death camps as the only form of genocide. The gas chamber, the whip and the lynching tree are not the only ways in which to accomplish the destruction of a people—the \$1900 average annual income of American Negro families is as effective a form of genocide as any of the more dramatic ones. It has the added advantage of achieving the objective more quietly and with less attention being given by those not directly affected.

The basic content of the Winston statement is advice against meaningful struggle which might disturb the petty-bourgeoisie and certain corrupt sections of the U.S. working-class. All of the proposals he advances are exactly those favoured by the petty-bourgeois liberals and even by a section of the bourgeoisie who are concerned with finding at least a temporary solution to the racial crisis so that the war in Vietnam can be more efficiently prosecuted. That is exactly the line of the "eminent liberal", Hubert Humphrey, who occupies the office of vice-President.

It is not enough for the common people to accept solutions advanced by the ruling class. Such advice as that given by Winston who says :

" . . . make the 1968 elections the arena for great and victorious struggles."

must be forcefully rejected. The arena for "great and victorious struggles" is not the polling places controlled by the ruling class. The arena is the cities, towns and countryside of America and the weapon is the mass strength of the people and, immediately, the united strength and determination of the people of the ghettos who are presently in the vanguard of the struggle. More struggle, not less, is the need of the day.

ROBBING HOOD

For many centuries people have fashioned stories around folk heroes who are part fact and part fancy. Who in Canada has not listened to wonderful tales about England's Robin Hood of Sherwood Forest or enjoyed the songs about the great adventures of Ireland's Brennan On the Moor? Whatever their point of origin or name by which they are known these folk heroes all had one thing in common; they were champions of the weak against the strong, the exploited against the exploiter. They took from the rich and gave to the poor.

But the old folk tale has taken on a new twist in Canada. Recent events have caused us to unearth a folk hero in reverse. We have a Robbing Hood who takes from the poor to give to the rich, and that is a "folk tale" that is all fact and no fancy, as the recent so-called "mini budget" will substantiate.

The Minister of Finance has announced increases in taxes on incomes and on various items of consumption. These taxes are designed to bear most heavily on the wage earner, and particularly those with fixed or low incomes. Those with incomes of \$50,000 or more will not have their taxes increased at all while many families already on, or below, the "poverty line" will see their living standards still further depressed by a tax bite amounting to \$25 per year, or more.

Our accusation of "taking from the poor to give to the rich" was deliberate and meant literally. About 18 months ago a 5 per cent tax was levied on business which the government promised to return in 36 months. This tax, amounting to approximately \$80 million, is now to be repaid in June—12 months ahead of the promised date, and the sum involved represents about one-half the amount which will be collected during the first year the new tax on the poor is in effect. So the Minister of Finance is quite literally taking from the poor to give to the rich. In fact, we are being twice "taken to the cleaners". Business never pays any tax, regular or special. When new taxes are imposed they simply increase the exploitation of the worker and get the tax back—plus a profit. So we have already paid the 5 per cent

business tax at the point of production and are about to pay again through the simple expedient of having the Minister of Finance extract it from our wages and give it back to the capitalists.

These new tax imposts will have the same basic effect as Britain's devaluation of the pound. The workers in Britain will have the same number of pounds, but they will buy less. Canadian workers will have less money and goods will be dearer due to additional taxes, so our purchasing power will decline just like that of the British workers. And the end result will be the same—large-scale unemployment in both cases.

Added to this is a massive cut-back in various public works projects and welfare programs, which will aggravate the situation still further. Cost of borrowing money has been increased and this will mean abandonment of some planned projects and the demise of others already started. Some plans for multi-million dollar plant expansions and new construction have been indefinitely postponed and even where construction had already begun (especially in pulp and paper) a halt has been ordered in many cases.

We have already had news of proposed closing of a British-owned steel plant in Nova Scotia and two U.S.-owned lumber mills in British Columbia. Although the projected closure has been temporarily postponed, there is every expectation that closure is inevitable in all cases. We have not yet begun to feel the full effects of Britain's crisis which was dramatically highlighted by the devaluation of the pound. But this is bound to have serious consequences for Canada which had a favourable trade balance with England as against a critical deficit with the United States. British purchases in Canada are sure to decline and Canadian industry and agriculture will suffer a serious blow. Adding to our tribulations is the expected decline in grain sales to China and the U.S.S.R. This will spell still further trouble for our already crisis-ridden economy.

We are still far from feeling the full effects of all these factors on our economy, yet we are already experiencing the

largest unemployment in many years. At the end of November official reports showed the unemployed number 269,000, more than 4 percent of the labour force and more than 30 per cent above the figures for the previous year. These "official" figures by no means tell the whole story. Thousands of unemployed who are out of unemployment benefits and existing on social assistance payments are not counted as looking for work and are, therefore, considered "out of the labour force" and not unemployed. Workers who are only partially unemployed (and often in need of unemployment benefits or social assistance to supplement their meagre earnings) are "officially" working. Married women who generally must work in order to help with the family income are rarely, if ever, figured in unemployment statistics. Students leaving school in search of work are usually not counted until they have had a job and been laid off.

The unemployment picture, then, is probably much worse than it actually appears to be from official reports and the immediate future looks rather dark. Government policies, like the fiscal program announced by the Minister of Finance, are designed to increase the wealth and power of the capitalist owners—particularly the U.S. monopolies. These policies can only compound the problem and lead to still greater unemployment. In fact, the opposition parties, who would like to become the government, are accusing the incumbent Liberal Party of fostering policies deliberately intended to increase unemployment and "cool off" the economy. In other words, creating conditions favourable for an

attack on the living standards of the workers and farmers.

We are making no definite predictions of an economic crisis in the immediate future. There have been signs of such an impending crisis at least three times since the end of the war. Each time the economy was revitalized by a resort to aggressive action, first in the "Cold War" period, next in the Korean War and last in the present U.S. aggression in Vietnam. However, unemployment is now rapidly increasing even as the war rages in Vietnam. America is spending \$30 billion a year directly, and untold billions indirectly on that war, and Canada, as a partner of U.S. imperialism, is profiting from the conflict. Nevertheless, our unemployed lists are growing longer and predictions in all business circles is for the trend to continue at an accelerated pace throughout the winter with little hope of any substantial recovery in the spring.

If it should prove that there is no improvement in Spring with unemployment continuing to increase, then the economy is assuredly in serious trouble. The American economy is showing clear signs of instability and there is every reason to expect that conditions will become even more critical. Dominated as we are by the U.S. monopolies in the economic field and by the American bureaucrats in the trade union field, we are sure to be hit sooner and harder than the U.S. economy.

Labour in Canada would be well advised to prepare for the worst and see to the strengthening of their organizations in the expectation of some pretty sharp struggles before the end of 1968.

U.S. IMPERIALISM IN HAWAII

Editor's Note: The following article is submitted by a young Asian Studies student presently attending U.B.C. He has lived in Hawaii for a number of years and plans to return there next year. We are expecting several more articles dealing with the struggles of the people of Hawaii during the coming months.

The author visited China one year ago and is under constant harassment by the State Department and the military authorities for refusing military service.

"Mr. President, the times call for candor. The Philippines are ours forever...and just beyond the Philippines are China's illimitable markets. We will not retreat from either. We will not repudiate our duty in the archipelago. We will not abandon our opportunity in the Orient...Our trade henceforth must be with Asia. The Pacific is OUR ocean. More and more Europe will manufacture the most it needs, secure from its colonies the most it consumes. Where shall we turn for consumers of our surplus? Geography answers the question. China is our natural customer...The Philippines give us a base at the door of all the East...And the Pacific is the ocean of the commerce of the future. Most future wars will be conflicts for commerce. The power that rules the Pacific, therefore, is the power that rules the world. And, with the Philippines, that power is and will forever be the American Republic." (Senator Beveridge, Senate speech, Jan. 9, 1900. Congressional Record, Vol.33, Pt. 1, P. 704.)

With this rather frank statement of the crisis in capitalism in the United States one can see the beginnings of U.S. imperialism in the Far East as early as 1900. Two years before, the United States had annexed the Hawaiian Islands, which in the future proved to be a better or at least more functional staging area for American imperialism, located ideally close to the West Coast and midway to the Orient.

Today Hawaii represents a unique area for the struggle currently being waged in the U.S. against that government's aggression in Vietnam. Located on the major island of Oahu are the command headquarters for all operations in Vietnam including the naval headquarters for the Seventh Fleet. Besides numerous army and navy installations the air force

has at least three main bases which train pilots for duty in Vietnam. The islands, being tropical, offer a special training ground not found elsewhere in the States for jungle-type guerilla warfare, and though this training does not seem to have done them much good, there are many areas of the islands restricted for this type of activity.

In addition to official military operations such organizations as the Peace Corps and the Agency for International Development (AID) have their main Asian offices located in the islands; the former is a propaganda tool for the U.S. and the latter has recently been discovered planning and operating counter-guerilla warfare schools both in Hawaii and in selected countries in South East Asia (Malaya in particular). It is natural that the security precautions taken in the islands against any dissenters is terrific. Besides the usual control devices such as the FBI and the CIA, there exists Army, Navy, Marine and Air Force Intelligence plus local subversive investigation groups. These groups coordinate their efforts at keeping down any dissent within the ranks of workers and students.

Despite the gradual development of a base area for U.S. adventures in Asia, since annexation in 1898 the islands have had a militant labor history which though slightly dampened today is again beginning to be on the upsurge as the true nature of U.S. foreign policy reveals itself to the workers. However, because of the very active suppression of labor from the beginning, and especially in the 1950's, the locus of struggle has temporarily shifted to the university where students have become very active and vocal in their denunciation of U.S. aggression in Asia. As a background to the present situation and possibilities for the future of this strategic area, the following brief summary of past militancy of labor will perhaps provide a better understanding of this little known area of struggle, which is continuing and increasing today.

Labor, in the early days of Hawaii, meant sugar plantation workers. As the plantations expanded in the 1880's thousands of Japanese immigrated to the islands to work under the penal contract labor system. Under this arrangement workers could not leave the plantation grounds without permission on penalty of fine and punishment. Many worked 12-14 hours a day for about 8 cents an hour. Health conditions were poor and social benefits nil. In short, it was slave labor.

Early attempts to organize were ruthlessly put down by the employers and it wasn't until 1909 that the first effective organization among workers began. Eighteen days after the first union was organized among the Japanese, they went on strike asking for better conditions and higher wages. But the employers were well prepared to meet this challenge and were not prepared to yield an inch. The strike ended with little success.

Hawaii was ruled by a web of oligarchy which extended over the islands and was composed of an elite of 'mainlanders' (Caucasians from the U.S.). Since sugar was the dominant economic factor agencies were created, five in number, which controlled the entire economy. The "Big Five" as they are called today later expanded and by 1940 owned 90 per cent of all industry and directly or indirectly controlled the remainder of the economy with an incredible network of inter-locking directorates. They knew their position and what it depended on and were determined not to allow anything to interfere with their ambitions. In order to curry local opinion at least among the Hawaiians, they shrewdly handpicked a local man to represent the islands in Congress. But he too knew his position and upon what it depended and consequently followed orders well.

The next major strike occurred in 1920 when 5,000 Japanese workers were called out from the cane fields, this time accompanied by 1500 Filipinos, a large majority of both groups. They stayed out for 165 days and although they injured the sugar economy the elite did not budge and the strike ended in confusion. However, this time the employers had felt the strength of the workers and therefore re-organized their own forces so that between 1925-1935 all union activity ceased to exist.

In 1935, with the passage of the National Labor Relations Act, trade-unionism became active again and saw the formation of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU). This was to become the most radical and far-reaching labor effort ever. They tested their strength against the elite in 1937 by calling out workers of the large Inter-Island Steamship Co. The strike ended in a massacre of the workers but a defeat for the employers. Thus began the contradiction that was to characterize the dynamics of labor-management relations up to the present day. Every attempt of the workers to assert their power was rigorously opposed by the elite which in turn only strengthened the union and the resolve of the workers to continue their struggle. A lot had happened since the 1920's when the elite boasted that their laborers were "well-behaved, un-organized, and cheap." Now the ILWU organ, the **Voice of Labor**, espousing the views of its strong leader Jack Hall, could print on the front page, "Know your class and be loyal to it . . . class collaboration ends in Fascism. Fascism ends in war. Down with both!"

In 1941 the first labor contract in the island's history was signed between a major industry and a union, thus ending an era of absolute management dominance and beginning of a new era in the struggle of the workers. But the war intervened and the islands were put under martial law which curtailed the activities of the unions until Japan's surrender in 1945. After the war and with the end of martial law, labor

once again asserted itself and this time more strongly than ever. The ILWU, leading the field, not only became active in the economic realm but in the political as well. For the first time in the island's history the major employers were on the defensive. The strike of 1949 among the longshoremen completely devastated the economy, dependent as it was on shipping, and proved to the employers that the union was not going to be intimidated again. The elite began a desperate smear campaign against the union's leaders many of whom were admitted American Communist Party members. The Party had organized in Hawaii but was still very small. But despite the attempts of the establishment to discredit the union leaders along these lines the workers continued to support them in an ever stronger manner.

By 1955 the extraordinary growth of the ILWU not only in the economic area but the political as well caused growing alarm among the Big Five. The Party organ, **Honolulu Record**, performed an admirable task in raising the consciousness of the workers by writing on all aspects of U.S. foreign policy plus publishing many good articles on the history of the workers in Hawaii. Its able publisher, Koji Ariyoshi, had recently returned from Yenan where he had been living with Mao Tse-tung during the civil war in China in the 1930's. He was in a special position to report on activities in that area of the world.

In the 1950's the activities of the ILWU had caused enough concern among the establishment that the FBI was called in to investigate. House Un-American Activities hearings were held in which 66 people, were subpoenaed, including most of the union leaders. A general witch hunt was organized on the islands aided by numerous new local groups formed and financed by members of the ruling elite. Many of these organizations exist today. A local sociologist noted at the time that more people were visited by FBI officials in Hawaii in the 1950's than in any other state. Thirty-nine of the 66 refused to cooperate and were shortly afterwards indicted for contempt. Following the HUAC hearings six more men and one woman were arrested under the Smith Act for teaching to overthrow the U.S. government by force and were quickly convicted. Most of them were active in the union and political strikes were called all over the islands to support the leaders. Local branches of the ILWU on the West Coast called support strikes and finally the charges were dropped.

By 1959 the Party had disbanded and the political activities of the union were sharply curtailed. The intimidation during the '50's had been tremendous and had greatly hurt the labor movement. But today the unions are still strong though not as militant. The student community, traditionally passive, has lately become very active in direct proportion to the escalation of U.S. aggression in Vietnam. As the contradictions increase and sharpen more and more workers and students are beginning to see the true nature of U.S. moves in Asia and the rest of the "underdeveloped" world. As concerns Asia the state of Hawaii and its people will have a large role to play in the current struggle against the American government's aggression.

JOHN HAWKINS
Hawaii

THE PEOPLE OF VIETNAM WILL TRIUMPH! THE U.S. AGGRESSORS WILL BE DEFEATED!

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THE DOW DEMONSTRATIONS

For four days this fall, from Nov. 15 through Nov. 18, the Dow Chemical Company was one of a number of private companies and government departments interviewing students on the University of B.C. campus, for the purpose of recruiting personnel. Several companies which have already conducted interviews or will do so in the near future are deeply involved in manufacturing military supplies for the American war machine. Dow, however, has, more than any other single company, come to symbolize the shameless prostitution of Canadian universities, industry, and government. Dow Chemical is the manufacturer of the polystyrene which is used in American napalm, specifically for the purpose of making the product more adhesive to human skin.

No great publicity was given Dow's forthcoming visit. A number of U.B.C. students, having learned individually what was about to happen, called a meeting for the purpose of planning a concerted programme of action to last throughout the week of Dow's visit.

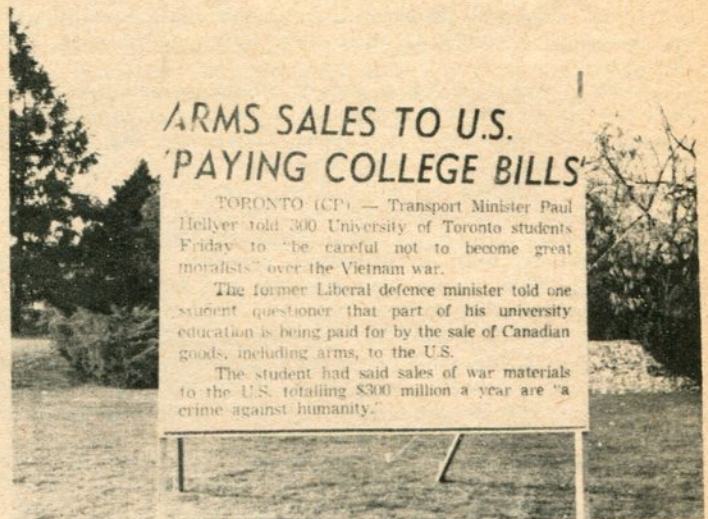
The meeting thus convened represented no official group and was composed of only a small number of individuals. Nevertheless, it gave the first indication of a serious and fundamental split which was to become quite widespread amongst anti-war students at U.B.C.

As soon as discussion began, Neil Burton suggested that the time had come for much more militant action than parading with placards, handing out flowers and going limp. The ineffectiveness of such action was underlined, Burton felt, by a public statement of Dow's saying the company would not object to any student demonstrations so long as the demonstrations did not interfere with the interviews they were conducting. Burton suggested a policy of issuing a public statement that Dow representatives would not be tolerated on campus and that any who attempted to come would do so at their own risk.

This suggestion was greeted with horror by several other people, most of them from the Arts Council, a group which, in the past year, has provided the most progressive student leadership the UBC campus has known in more than twenty years. But in this instance, they held that non-violence was a crucially important principle, itself as important in fact as the goals of the demonstrations themselves. Members of this second faction also suggested, in all seriousness, that Canada is a democratic country and Dow has a democratic right to come on campus, and therefore "What right have we to tell them they can't?". The argument was that students should rely on reason and persuasion to show prospective employees of the company the error of their ways.

The more militant faction then pressed to at least adopt a common programme of action so as to bring about a well-disciplined and united action. This too encountered a negative response from the second group. Stan Persky, president of the Arts Council, expressed the hope that "nothing would actually have to be organized. I thought it would all just happen spontaneously." He later told the meeting, however, that two of his acquaintances had actually begun organizing a demonstration and he stated with admiration that they were "just the most casual, disorganized guys I've ever met, and they're going to make it work."

Finally, two things were agreed upon at the meeting. First, the use of passive or active resistance would have to be left as a matter of individual conscience. The supporters of non-violence were prepared to stage a sit-in in the student placement offices and to attempt to reason with students who came for job interviews. It was specifically stated, however that the decision to go further and physically deny entrance to Dow officials or students would be purely personal and there was to be no binding policy. Secondly, a number of projects were divided among those present and everyone agreed to have the necessary work done within the following week. For example, some people were to arrange for a display of napalm, using a life-like dummy, others were to see to staging a burning of Vietnamese village huts, still others



would arrange for the display of 15-20 ft. photographs of the victims of American napalm attacks.

Neil Burton and a number of people around him made the mistake of taking their projects seriously, and assuming that the others did also. Burton, together with a friend, drove to San Francisco and back to procure negatives of the victims of American war crimes. On their return, they and a crew of eight to ten people acquired the use of the basement in a local hotel and worked for four straight days and nights to produce a series of giant photographs in time for their display beginning Monday morning, Nov. 15th. It should perhaps be mentioned that two of the people involved in producing these pictures paid over \$300. out of their own pockets to make the project possible.

The group working in the hotel basement proceeded on the assumption that all the other projects were being handled in like manner. Such was, unfortunately, not the case. The first demonstration against Dow was held on Tuesday morning. On the Monday, the giant photographs of napalmed children appeared on the library lawn, together with a giant photo-reproduction of Transport Minister Hellyer's now notorious advice to students to avoid moralizing over the Vietnamese war because it pays for their education. The hut-burning was also carried off at noon-hour on Monday, organized by a sister of one of the central people in the photography project. This was the sum total of activity prior to the Tuesday demonstration. None of it was the result of the Arts Council

leaders or anyone connected with them. This point is stressed only because of the subsequent claims by Arts Council President Persky and others that the protest was "theirs", they were running it, and that any protesters dissenting from their policies were interlopers.

Persky and the Arts Council had not, however, been idle during the week immediately preceding "Dow Genocide Week". They had called a number of mass meetings on the campus and discussed policies for the coming demonstrations. The other group represented at the first meeting was, of course, unaware of the later ones, as work on the pictures kept them away from the university.

At one of the large meetings held on campus by Persky and those around him, it was announced that the placement office had been contacted and had stated there would be room for only about fifteen students to "sit-in". Apparently Arts Council had no wish to antagonize anyone and urged students to comply with this limit, thus confining most protesters to milling about outside while the student interviews progressed.

Tuesday morning, the demonstrations began at the Student Placement Office. Almost immediately, a basic split was evident in the demonstrators. To understand why, it is probably necessary to be aware of one curious quirk in the personality of Stan Persky. Persky has introduced in the Arts Council a policy of governing through a "consensus" or "sense of the meeting". Mass meetings are held and the emphasis has been on discussing issues until a general agreement has been reached, thus avoiding a rigid voting system, a tyranny of the majority. In this way, a large measure of exasperating bureaucracy has been eliminated. That Persky's theories have meant the betterment of the Arts Council and of the University as a whole is beyond dispute. They are, however, demonstrably unworkable for any large group taking part in an anti-war movement.

The mass meetings called by Persky to discuss the Dow demonstrations, for reasons cited above, took no votes and made no formal declarations of policy. As noted earlier, Persky had from the beginning been resistant to calls to organize, preferring instead to rely on "spontaneous demonstrations". Yet throughout the week preceding the demonstrations he was continuously identified by the student newspaper as "the leader" of the protest movement and throughout this period he issued policy statements on behalf of everyone involved. For example, the Tuesday morning edition of the newspaper carried a statement by Persky saying that if police or engineers came to forcibly remove them, students would offer no resistance. Needless to say, many students were not as complacent about turning campus policing over to the engineers as was Persky.

Given this background of events, it should have surprised no one that not all the protesters who assembled Tuesday morning felt themselves prescribed by Persky and the Arts Council. Yet Persky and his followers were not only surprised, but considerably vexed and dismayed. Ironically, the conflict which occurred within the ranks of the protesters that morning was no longer over whether to stage a sit-in or go further. The "sit-in" idea had already been watered down to include only the fifteen or so students acceptable to the placement office. After starting with such a token "sit-in" in the early morning, the Arts Council types appear to have been persuaded by the Student Placement officers that even this limited affair was likely to interfere with their normal operations and considerably inconvenience the orderly progression of interviews. Whatever persuaded them, the "leaders" of this "spontaneous" demonstration adopted a highly "responsible" position and returned outside to picket and disseminate information.

Those who could not support this policy, after arguing the question thoroughly, broke with the others, entered the offices, and staged a "sit-in" of sufficiently mass proportions to physically block entry and tie up the operations for the day. Stan Persky came in and made a speech to the demonstrators, pleading with them to come outside, and modestly pointing out that campus radicals had never been able to achieve anything until he had provided them with correct leadership. As the day wore on, Persky had considerable difficulty controlling his temper and continually accused the

"militants" of ruining "his" demonstration. Finally, he informed this writer that he had "removed all possibility of me ever having any dealings with you again". It need hardly be said that this came as a crushing blow, somewhat akin to being excommunicated from the human race.

We shall return to the demonstrations shortly for summation purposes. In the meantime a brief description should be adequate. The first day was best described by Stan Persky, who told a television audience that he was stressing that students should not interrupt any of their normal university activities, should attend all their classes and just turn out on their noon hours. He further stressed to the public that this was a very nice, non-violent, polite type of demonstration. Evidently Dow Chemical agreed, because when it was all over, a company representative, in the manner of the captain of a winning cricket team, congratulated Persky for his very effective and responsible demonstration. Well he might think U.B.C.'s demonstration "responsible" in light of what happened to Dow representatives on other campuses. In any case, crowds dwindled considerably on Wednesday and Thursday.

It could be argued that the huge photographs of Vietnamese napalm victims, which stood for an entire week on the lawn in front of the library achieved more than did any of the other activities. For many university students, they provided the first visual proof of American bestiality. Those familiar with the nature of the war against Vietnam often take for granted that knowledge of the atrocities committed there is general. Unfortunately, university students as a group tend to be a sheltered lot. Many gain their entire knowledge of the outside world through reading their daily newspaper and such tragic-comic journals as TIME magazine. This type of student has in all likelihood never seen the results of American anti-personnel weapons. This explains the fact that thousands of students were literally shocked and revolted by what they saw, and the photographs sparked endless discussions all over the campus throughout the week.

They also, of course provided a target for various reactionaries and buffoons on the campus. On the first day, a solitary engineer with a flaming torch was physically prevented from approaching the pictures. The second night a squad of about a dozen thugs attacked our token guard of two men and a fifteen year-old girl. They succeeded in knocking over one of the pictures but after one attacker lost a tooth and had his glasses broken, they all fled in disarray. For the next two nights in succession a very strong guard surrounded the photos from early evening to morning. Wednesday night, scouts kept driving up on the library lawn, counting the men and weapons and driving off again. Perhaps they had expected a troupe of Arts Councillors to pass out flowers as the attackers destroyed the pictures. Instead of flowers, they found fire-irons and baseball bats and their thirst for violence deserted them. When the photographs were finally taken down, they were taken down by those who put them up.

In summary, the total activity directed against Dow at U.B.C. was extremely discouraging. It was not discouraging because of being ineffective. On the contrary, a great many interviews were prevented, the publicity given the affair on television and in the newspapers was probably even wider than the size of the demonstrations warranted, and Stan Persky and followers succeeded in engaging a considerable number of originally hostile engineers in what was probably the first intelligent dialogue on the war in which the engineers had ever participated. No, the week could probably be considered moderately successful in many ways.

What was discouraging in the extreme was listening to the idiotic rhetoric of fuzzy-minded intellectuals who at this late date are still willing to entangle themselves in meaningless discussions concerning such things as "Dow's democratic rights" to manufacture and sell the materials for mass murder, or "the democratic right of all companies and groups to come to the university campus." It is really not important whether violence is or is not used on any one occasion. What is important is the question of how much can be expected from various circles in the leadership of the current anti-war movement when, and the time is already upon us, the anti-war movement must move from merely protesting the war to stopping it. One university professor, active in the

anti-Dow protest, took the position that a coercive demonstration would be correct at a military induction centre in the U.S.A., because there the protest would be directed against a state authority which was sending men to Vietnam against their wills. On the other hand the fact that students came voluntarily for interviews ruled out any coercive action. The logical extension of this argument, of course, is that if all the soldiers in the American army had volunteered in true democratic fashion, then they would have a perfect right to go abroad and slaughter Vietnamese and we would have no reason to obstruct them. Similarly, it must be assumed that our only objective to Hitler's incineration of six million Jews is that Hitler held no plebiscite of the German people. If they had decided through due process of law to incinerate the Jews, the decision would of course be sacrosanct.

NLF STATEMENT

According to the time-honoured customs and habits of the people of Vietnam and a number of other countries, the Lunar New Year Festival, New Year's Day and Christmas are big festive days. During these days, the earnest desire of the people in Vietnam, the United States, and many other countries, as well as of the majority of the Saigon puppet army men, and of American and satellite troops, is to live among their families to enjoy the 'Tet' (Lunar New Year festival), to welcome the new year and celebrate the birthday of Jesus Christ.

For over ten years now, because of the utterly brutal aggressive war conducted by the U.S. imperialists in our country, and because of the traitorous policy of the Saigon puppet administration, lackey of the U.S., which has "brought in wild elephants to tread upon their ancestors' tombs", (as a Vietnamese saying goes) many families in Vietnam, the United States and U.S. satellite countries have been unable to enjoy family reunion during the traditional big festivals. Instead, they have had to endure many sufferings and mournings, including family separation, many wives have lost their husbands, and many fathers, their sons.

For the nation's survival, for our happiness at present and that of all future generations, the South Vietnamese people have risen up to carry out the revolution and wage a people's war, with the resolve to drive out the U.S. aggressors and throw off the puppet regime—their lackey—so as to wrest back national independence and sovereignty, peace, freedom and happiness for the whole nation.

The U.S. aggressors are sustaining heavy defeats, while our people are winning big victories. All our armed forces and people in their victorious mettle are dashing forward, overcoming every difficulty and hardship, and resolved to win complete victory.

As in the previous years, proceeding from its unswerving humane policy, in compliance with the time-honoured customs and habits of our nation and other countries, out of deep consideration for the legitimate feelings and desires of our people of the American people and the people in the U.S. satellite countries, of the majority of the puppet American and satellite armymen, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation decides to suspend military attacks against the puppet, U.S. and satellite troops:

1.) For 3 (three) days on the occasion of Christmas as from zero hour December 24, 1967 Indo-China time, that is

It seems evident that the time has passed for meaningless demonstrations and protests which see the slaughter in Vietnam continue unabated. It is time now to identify America as the successor of Nazi Germany in the world arena, as the enemy of the people of the world. Once having made this identification, the time has come to oppose the U.S. juggernaut by any and all means necessary. The time has come to make clear to the public the parallel between Dow's manufacture of napalm and the manufacture of gas for Hitler's Jew incinerators by certain German companies. But I fear we can expect little action from those who are prepared to sit and split hairs over the legalities of Dow's activities.

by C. A.

from 01 hour December 24, 1967 Saigon time, to zero hour December 27, 1967 Indo-China time, that is 01 hour December 27, 1967, Saigon time.

2.) For 3 (three) days on the occasion of New Year's Day from zero hour December 30, 1967 Indo-China time, that is 01 hour December 30, 1967 Saigon time, to zero hour January 2, 1968 Indo-China time, that is 01 hour January 2, 1968 Saigon time.

3.) For 7 (seven) days on the occasion of Lunar New Year Festival from zero hour January 27, 1968 (or the 28th of the 12th Lunar month) Indo-China time, that is 01 hour January 27, 1968 Saigon time, to zero hour February 3, 1968 Saigon time, to zero hour February 3, 1968 (or the 5th day of the first Lunar month) Indo-China time, that is 01 hour February 3, 1968 Saigon time.

On this occasion, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation calls on all our compatriots and the People's Liberation Armed Forces to observe scrupulously the above order for suspension of military attacks, and at the same time constantly heighten their vigilance, sharpen their fighting spirit, lay bare all enemy attempts to distort the significance of the Front's order for suspension of military attacks, stand ready to shatter all schemes of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen to commit acts of sabotage and provocation or to take advantage of the Front's order, help and create all facilities for the soldiers and personnel of the Saigon puppet administration to return to their families and enjoy the "Tet" and Spring festival, and let the American and satellite troops as well as the soldiers and personnel of the Saigon puppet administration freely attend Christmas and New Year Day's festivities.

We, Vietnamese people are always and will forever remain profoundly attached to humanitarianism since our goal of fighting is nothing other than to be able to secure a dignified life, secure the right to be man and master of our destiny, the right for our nation to be independent and free. But, as the U.S. aggressors are very obdurate, cruel and perfidious by nature all our armed forces and people must be ready with a high spirit and iron determination, to fight perseveringly and continually.

Only by so doing can we win really big victories during the current Winter-Spring and advance toward complete victory in the struggle of our entire nation against the U.S. aggressors, for national salvation".

U.S. AGGRESSORS: GET OUT OF VIETNAM

INDONESIA UNDER FASCISM

Editor's note: This is the first part of an important document we have just recieved from Indonesia. Later issues will contain further installments.

Massacres, Blood Debt of Suharto-Nasution Regime

For the first time since the downfall of Hitler, Mussolini and Hideki Tojo, the worst white terror, most barbarous nation-wide manhunt, genocide and persecutions have been carried out and still continue against the patriotic and progressive masses, especially the communists, by the Indonesian fascist military regime of reactionary generals headed by Suharto and Nasution.

At the instigation and with the full collaboration of U.S. imperialism through the CIA, these fascists of the worst type have massacred more than 500,000 patriots and democrats.

Never before have the Indonesian people witnessed such brutal, ruthless and barbarous outrages, comparable only with the most savage terror perpetrated by the tyrants and sadists of the Middle Ages.

Using the "September 30 movement" as a pretext the Indonesian counter-revolutionaries and fascists led by Suharto and Nasution launched a nation-wide massacre.

These inhuman massacres cannot be brushed aside in world history and cannot be glossed over, and will always be recorded by the the progressive people all over the world as blood debts owed by this monster's regime to the Indonesian people and the progressive people of the world.

During the past two years, the military regime has never made a frank account of the massacres. How many people have been killed? And why? They know very well that any statement or declaration on this matter, even a distorted or false one, will stink with the peculiar odour of the Nazi fascist.

The reactionary Indonesian newspapers kept silent because they were mortally afraid that the crimes perpetrated by the regime would be brought into the broad light of day.

But history will surel fully unearth the crimes of the crimes of the fascist military clique.

Let us look at what has been reported by C.L. Sulzberger in an article of *New York Times* (13 April, 1966), which reads in part as follows:

"One of history's most vicious massacres has not yet ended in Indonesia. More people have been slaughtered here during the past six months than in the entire Vietnam war. It is impossible to give any precise figure on the number slain. One careful diplomatic estimate puts the total at 300,000.



Others range higher. There is nothing courteous about the mass bloodshed that has raged and still rages in the hinterland. Officials seek to minimize its scope and claim the ghastly episode is closed.

"In February (1966), public beheadings were still being held outside Ende, capital of Flores Island. Each night soldiers were trucking groups of 20 or more P.K.I. suspects from the prison and out of town to decapitate them with heavy machetes.

"From East Java and Bali across the island group called Nusa Tenggara, which includes Flores, similar tragedies continue. At Kupang, capital of Indonesia Timor, the public is permitted to watch beheadings—but witnesses must take part. Men have been slain together with their wives and children to reduce chances of later revenge by eliminating complainants.

"Dancing girls in the palace of an agung (prince) in Bali are reported to have been executed on suspicion of Communist affiliation. There have been atrocious wholesale killings in both Central and East Java. Decapitation is favoured because Indonesian animist tradition claims that if an enemy's head and body are buried apart his spirit cannot return.

"Near coastal Surabaya early risers in March were pushing bodies away from the jetties before their houses. Jails near Jogjakarta are said still to be crammed with P.K.I. suspects who are not tried but taken out in nightly batches and killed.

"Unburied bodies recently littered village streets in Central Java, and a traveller was told of bullock carts loaded with human heads.

"Last week a visitor to Tangerang, near Djakarta, was told by army guards that the local prison held five thousand Communists. He was depressed by the dismal silence of the place and suspected the accused were being starved. In distant provinces P.K.I. press gangs have been worked on short rations until they drop".

That is the report in the *NEW YORK TIMES*.

Let us look at another report, given by Stanley Karnow, *WASHINGTON POST* correspondent, who toured the countryside of Java and Bali for two weeks to provide the first-hand report of the major acts of genocide of our time. His dispatches, which were filed from Singapore, follow in part:

"Thousands more (prisoners) were sent to Nusa Kambangan, a devil's island in the Indian Ocean south of Java. And thousands were shot, to be buried in unmarked graves.

"Near the town of Prambanan, the site of ancient Hindu temples, the district officer guided me to the Woro river. Under its sandy bed, he revealed unofficially, lay 3,000 bodies. I bent down and picked up the casing of a 30 caliber cartridge lying on the bank.

"The improvised jails of Central Java are still crowded with Communist prisoners. In Jogjakarta they are jammed into the building that formerly housed the United States Information Agency's Thomas Jefferson Library.

"In Surakarta they occupy an open gallery within the Sultan's palace grounds. In Salatiga, many of them lie on the cement floor of an unused movie theater.

"The prisons of East Java are emptier, since fewer captives were allowed to live. In this section, military commanders gave free rein to a 'silent army' of black-shirted Ansor youth of the Islamic Nahdatul Ulama, or Moslem Teachers Party.

"Thumbs tied behind their backs, captives were unloaded from army trucks into villages. The youth undertook to kill them. In East Java alone, according to a Moslem leader, about 250,000 people were massacred.

"Here the main instruments of execution were long sugar knives and sickles. Here, too, the slaughter assumed something of a ceremonial character. In several places the killers held feasts with their bound victims present. After dinner, each guest was invited to decapitate a prisoner.

"As the killing accelerated throughout November (1965), bridges were adorned with heads and headless bodies festooned with red flags were floated down rivers aboard rafts. The British consul in Surabaya found four corpses washed up on the river bank adjoining his precious garden.

"At one point, so many cadavers from Kediri filled the Brantas river that the downstream town of Djombang lodged

a formal protest, complaining that plague might break out. The massacres in East Java continued well into February (1966).

"With only 2 million inhabitants, the island of Bali suffered the highest percentage of killings in all Indonesia. Here at least 50,000 people were slaughtered, largely for mysterious motives.

"In December (1965), when paratroop commandos arrived to 'restore order', the slaughter became more systematic. Armed with Soviet sub-machine guns, groups of 25 commandos scoured villages, executing their entire male population. In some cases, entire villages were wiped out because their headmen had Communist affiliations.

"After one such massacre, a commando held up his Soviet weapon to an American student and said: 'This is a communist rifle and now it is eating Communists'.

"Many of the victims were scarcely Communists, but enterprising Chinese and Javanese. Much of their property, I was reliably informed, has passed into the hands of local army officers and politicians.

"Even children were not spared. When I pointed out to a Balinese merchant that the sons of slain Communists would seek revenge a generation hence, he replied, 'We thought of that, so we took care of their sons, too.' " So wrote the WASHINGTON POST on April 18th, 1966.

TIME magazine published on December 17, 1965 wrote the following report:

"According to accounts brought out of Indonesia by Western diplomats and independent travelers, Communists, Red sympathisers and their families are being massacred by the thousands. Backlands army units are reported to have executed thousands of Communists after interrogation in remote rural jails. Bands crept at night into the homes of Communists, killing entire families and burying the bodies in shallow graves.

"In Central Java the army even gave military training to Moslem youth, the murder campaign became so brazen in parts of rural East Java that Moslem bands placed the heads of victims on poles and paraded them through villages.

"The killings have been on such a scale that the disposal of the corpses has created a serious sanitation problem in East Java and Northern Sumatra where the humid air bears the reek of decaying flesh. Travelers from those areas tell of small rivers and streams that have been literally clogged with bodies. River transportation has at places been seriously impeded."

What is the exact number of the progressive people murdered until today? How big is the scale of the massacres? The fascist military regime has never revealed it, nor will they ever.

According to the estimate of the TIMES OF LONDON, the number of victims reached nearly one million. Thus, five times as many people have died in Indonesia as in Vietnam.

In the booklet, THE SILENT SLAUGHTER, (The role of the United States in the Indonesian massacre), Miss Deirdre Griswold of the Youth Against War and Fascism wrote: "No one knows exactly how many people have been killed in Indonesia. We accepted the figure of 300,000 dead—more people than have been killed in fifteen years of war in Vietnam. It is more than were destroyed in Nagasaki and Hiroshima put together. It's a staggering figure. And yet, I am afraid that we were wrong. I was given a revised estimate by a professor at the Modern Indonesia Project of Cornell University; and the figure cited to me was that about one million Indonesians have been slaughtered since the right-wing coup of last October."

The following was written by the American correspondent Seymour Topping concerning the massacres:

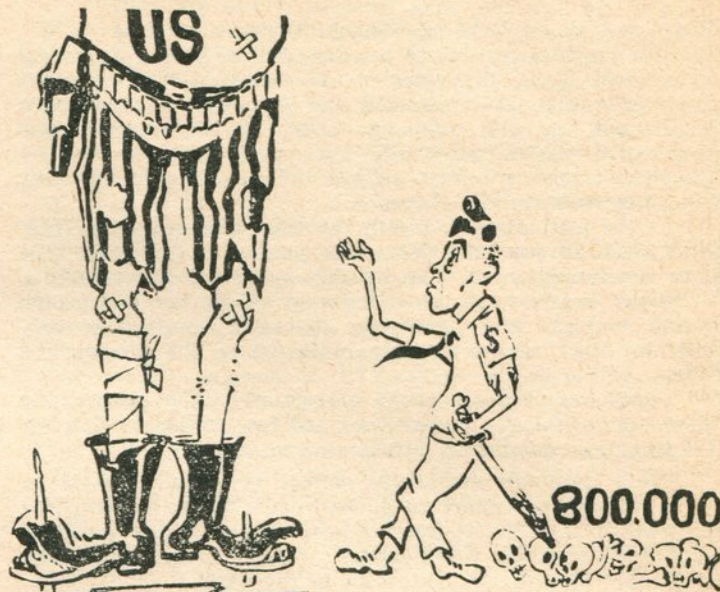
"From the terraced ricefields of Central Java to the exquisite island of Bali, from the rubber plantations of Sumatra to the fishing villages of remote Timor, the Indonesian people are troubled by the heritage of violence bequeathed their society by the slaughter of perhaps half a million Communists.

"The killings have left tensions among Indonesians that may not be eased for generations. The number of Indonesians who wait silently to collect blood debts is incalculable.

"No one will ever know how many of the Indonesian

Communist Party (P.K.I.), their sympathisers, families and falsely accused acquaintances died in retaliation for the abortive Communist supported coup in Jakarta in September 30.

"The best informed sources estimate 150,000 to 400,000 but they concede that the total could be far more than 500,000. The killings still go on.



The killer asks for his reward by S. Nar (Indonesia)

"This reporter found on a tour of the principal centers of Communist political influence that executions were usually carried out by the military in Central Java, while in East Java and Bali the populations were incited by the army and the police to do most of the killing.

"About five miles southwest of Klaten, peasants told of killings they witnessed during November and December and pointed out graves in the sandy river bed. They said soldiers came night after night, usually with five or six trucks loaded with prisoners, who would dig their graves in the river bottom before being shot.

"Apart from a few Communist leaders and army officers implicated in the 30th of September affair, who were judged in Jakarta by a military tribunal, the killings were carried out without trials.

"Major general Sumitro, military commander of East Java, said in an interview that general Suharto had issued a detailed order in mid-November that the P.K.I. should be destroyed "structurally and ideologically."

"He said staff officers had visited area commanders in early December to see if instructions had been understood and executed. General Sumitro said 'most local commanders did their utmost to kill as many cadres of the P.K.I. as possible.' "

Except Miss Deirdre Griswold, all the persons we are quoting above are correspondents of Western newspapers. What has been happening in Indonesia is the most barbarous genocide for which the fascist military regime of Suharto and Nasution, which has been bragging all the time of being upholders of "humanitarian principles", is responsible.

The reactionary generals' clique thinks that it can subdue the progressive people by sowing death, and it hopes to suppress progressive ideas with wanton killings. This is nothing but daydream.

Massacres and suppressions by the regime can only spur on the people still further in their determination to struggle through to the end against their mortal enemy.

About ten years ago, the great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung said: "Lifting a rock to drop it on one's own feet is a Chinese folk saying to describe the behaviour of certain fools. The reactionaries in all countries are fools of this kind. In the final analysis their persecution of the revolutionary people only serves to accelerate the people's revolution on a broader and more intense scale".

This is exactly what is happening in Indonesia to-day. The

frantic efforts by the regime in a thousand and one ways to stamp out the flames of the revolution of the people, only promote their hatred and force them to take the road of armed struggle.

SUHARTO'S CABINET—A CABINET OF GENERALS

The Suharto-Nasution regime is a fascist military regime, the most brutal, reactionary, corrupt and ruthless in Indonesian history. We will produce the facts as bases of our assessments.

This regime, which has come into power in Indonesia by brutally massacring in a fascist manner hundreds of thousands of Indonesian patriots; enjoys the political support of the most reactionary social forces in the country.

Internally, the Suharto-Nasution regime pursues an unbridled anti-Communist, anti-democratic and racist policy, while externally it follows a pro-imperialist and anti-China policy, directed by U.S. imperialism, and collaborates with the modern revisionists headed by the leading clique of the C.P.S.U.

The following is the assessment of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party expressed in its self-criticism adopted in September 1966. It pointed out: "The military dictatorship of the right-wing army generals led by Nasution and Suharto is the manifestation of the rule of the most reactionary classes, in the country, namely the comprador bourgeoisie, the bureaucrat-capitalists and the landlords. The internal reactionary classes under the leadership of the clique of right-wing army generals exercise dictatorship over the Indonesian people, and act as watchdogs guarding the interest of imperialism, in particular U.S. imperialism, in Indonesia. Consequently, the coming into power of the military dictatorship of the right-wing army generals will serve to intensify the suppression and exploitation of the Indonesian people by imperialism and feudalism. The military dictatorship of the right-wing army generals represents the interests of only a very small minority who suppress the overwhelming majority of the Indonesian people. That is why the military dictatorship of the right-wing army generals will certainly meet with resistance from the broad masses of the people..."

This assessment is correct. All the developments in Indonesia clearly indicate that the fascist regime of the reactionary clique of generals represents only the interests of a very small minority who suppress the overwhelming majority of the Indonesian people.

Through seizing power and occupying by force all the state apparatus and administrative machinery in the spheres of politics, economy, culture, law, foreign trade, diplomatic relations etc., the fascist clique of generals turned this regime completely into a tool for suppression and exploitation by imperialism and feudalism of the broad masses of the workers, peasants, small businessmen, patriotic intellectuals etc.

This fascist rule has been exercised in an unprecedentedly brutal and barbaric way, and millions upon millions of people have become victims of the fascist terrorism, persecution, unemployment, starvation and economic chaos, while the reactionaries are serving more and more the interests of imperialism by turning the country into a new-type colony.

The reactionary policy long pursued by the regime's military clique has landed Indonesia in a catastrophic political, economic and social crisis, which is unprecedented in history, and the course of events in the latest months shows that they are daily worsening in every field.

Because of the difficulties faced by the fascist regime, the reactionary clique of generals is trying desperately to maintain and "stabilise" their counter-revolutionary rule by resorting to more and more brutal measures to tighten their control such as installing of as many reactionary generals, officers and other military personnel as possible in every field of society.

The fascist regime's generals imagine that once they control all the administrative apparatus they will be able to solve the problems they are facing, and to further suppress the resistance of the people. However, events have proved the opposite.

The more frenziedly the regime intensifies its suppression

and exploitation, the more bitter the hatred of the broad masses of the people becomes, and it is itself bogged down in a situation where it will suffer one difficulty after another and find itself in a dire predicament.

The real nature of the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime can be seen clearly from the following few examples.

Suharto has been continuously attempting to give the assurance that his regime is not a military one. Let us see the facts.

In the cabinet, presided over by Suharto himself, all important ministries and key positions in other ministries are in the hands of the generals of the Suharto clique. The chairman of the "presidium" of the cabinet is the fascist general Suharto himself, who also holds the posts of Minister of Defence and Commander of the Army.

The following ministries are in the hands of the fascist military clique:

NAVY (admiral Muljadi), AIR FORCE (air marshal Rusmin Nurjadin) POLICE FORCE (general Sutjipto Judodihardjo), VETERAN and DEMOBILIZATION (lieut.-general Sarbini), HOME AFFAIRS (lieut.-general Suki Rachmat), MANPOWER EMPLOYMENT (brig. general Awaludin), TRADE (major-general D. Ashari), COMMUNICATION (air vice marshal Sutopo), MARITIME AFFAIRS (admiral Jati-djan), AGRICULTURE (major-general Sutjipto), LIGHT INDUSTRY (major-general Mohamed Jusuf).

The Attorney General is brigadier-general Sugih Arto. The secretary of the presidium of Suharto's cabinet is brig.-general Sudharmono and his deputy is lieut. Col. Ali Affandi.

To understand more clearly the nature of the Suharto regime and how the fascist military clique is occupying the key positions and controlling the whole machinery of the state power, consider the following top positions in the Indonesian government: of a total 24 Ministers, 12 are military and 12 are civilian; of a total 20 Secretaries-General, 11 are military and 9 civilian; of the total 64 Directors-General, 23 are military and 41 civilian.

It can be seen clearly how great is the domination of the military clique in Suharto's cabinet. More important to note is the fact that all the most important key positions are in their hands, including those in the ministries where the ministers are civilians. In these "civilian" ministries, either the important post of secretary-general or the post of director-general is in the hands of the fascist military clique.

The "civilian" ministries are headed by civilians only in appearance, while in reality the real bosses in these ministries are the generals or the colonels who are appointed secretary-generals, director-generals or inspector-generals.

In such a situation as Indonesia is to-day, it is easy to understand what little a "civilian" minister can do except to follow the line pursued by the fascist generals. After all, even though a minister might be a "civilian", he is the "man" of the military clique, who is not only supporting the fascist military regime but also its stooge.

In the following chapter we will see that the fascist generals and colonels are not only occupying the top functions. **COMPLETE MILITARISATION OF CONTROL IN VARIOUS FIELDS**

Not only the central administrative and executive bodies are controlled completely by the fascist military clique, but the regional or provincial one as well, and even down to the village level.

Out of the 25 provinces in Indonesia, 17 are controlled by military governors, which account for more than two-thirds of the total, and only 8 are "civilian" governors. Besides this, there are hundreds and hundreds of colonels, majors and lieutenants who are appointed mayors or heads of districts or sub-districts, scattered all over Indonesia. Even now more and more villages in Indonesia are "headed" by sergeants or other army representatives.

Also in the legislative sphere, the fascist military clique has done their utmost by every conceivable means to gain control of it. In the name of "law", "democracy", "order" etc., they have seized many key positions in the "law-making bodies", such as in the central parliament and the "people's

Congress" and in the provincial or smaller regional parliaments.

In the bogus "people's congress" (headed by the notorious general Nasution) and the parliament, the Communists and other patriots and democrats have been expelled and put in prisons or concentration camps, and their "empty" seats are filled afterwards by colonels and generals, or by "civilians" who are members of the political parties and groups supporting the fascist regime. Among others, many seats are filled by the terrorist youth and student organizations under the control and guidance of the fascist generals. It is the same case with the provincial and smaller regional parliaments, where colonels and majors are seizing important positions through their appointment by the fascist military clique.

In the regional parliaments, many officers become chairmen, vice-chairmen or secretaries of these bogus "instruments of democracy" of the Suharto-Nasution regime. More and more military men or supporters of the military regime have recently been illegally installed in these regional parliaments, thus making these "instruments of democracy" of the fascist regime nothing but a mere show.

The military regime and its supporters have also organized on a national and regional scale "extra-parliamentary" bodies which form groups of political pressure which in essence are only terrorist organizations. The most notorious and unpopular ones, hated by the broad masses of the people, are the "Students Action Front" (KAMI) and the "Youth Action Front" (KAPI) which perpetrate kidnapping, murder and intimidation against those they consider not in support of the fascist regime and the "new order."

Other organizations formed by the regime for the same purpose are the 'action fronts' for workers, peasants, women, teachers, scientists and merchants with the support of the reactionary elements from various walks of life in the capital and the provinces.

An interesting report which revealed the true nature of this "action front" was carried in "Sinar Harapan" in July 1967. In this report it was disclosed that many university students began to realize that the "Student's regiments" formed in many universities and colleges were in reality "mass organizations" of the army.

The report disclosed that the "students' regiment" Mahasura (in Surakarta, Central Java) is a mass organization of a certain army division; the "students' regiment" Mahawarman (in Bandung, West Java) and the "students' regiment" Mahadjaja (Djakarta) are in essence only political appendages of the respective regional armies.

These facts make it quite clear to everybody as to what is the true face and nature of the Suharto-Nasution regime. The central political and administrative power is in the hands of the fascist generals' clique, where the "acting president," the "chairman of cabinet presidium," the "chairman of people's congress," the attorney-general and a dozen other ministers are generals. In the provinces the same condition prevails, and in many cases it takes on the worst form, where the fascist domination of the military clique is felt everywhere and in many fields.

In many regions, the military governors, the local commanders and other military men installed by force in many governmental and non-governmental institutions, are forming a clique of the most reactionary and fascist type for the suppression and oppression of the people in the hope of stabilizing their rule.

Despite their efforts to get a tight control of everything in an attempt to stabilize their reactionary rule, the situation is going from bad to worse for the fascist regime in every field. The economic situation is deteriorating, corruption is rampant among the officers and officials and the contradictions among themselves are taking shape and becoming sharper and sharper.

In many occasions even the reactionary newspapers are forced by the situation — and by their own interests — to reflect the friction existing among the supporters of the fascist regime and resentment of various groups and political parties toward the "militarization" of the whole administration. This is due to the greediness of the military clique to control everything resulting in the elimination of the role of

the reactionary political parties allowed to exist and reducing them to mere tools of the fascist regime.

Let us take some examples.

On September 4, 1967, the mouthpiece of the military clique **Berita Yudha** (daily) published in its front-page a release given by the "information service of the armed forces" (PAB) which denied that "general Suharto has seized power and established a military junta." This release tried to peddle an outright fascist hypocrisy by stating that "general Suharto could not refuse the state leadership to prevent further chaos" and that "general Suharto had jumped into the stage to protect social order and law."

But, two days later, the reactionary newspaper **Duta Masjarakat**, organ of the ultra-reactionary Moslem party **Nahdatul Ulma** published a report stating that militarism does exist in Indonesia and that it is difficult to deny it.

The report stressed that "it is difficult for the politician in the world to deny the existence of militarism in Indonesia, since all places and seats in governmental services and non-governmental bodies are occupied by the uniformed men complete with their symbol of ranks." It stated further: "The Indonesian authorities may always declare that there is no militarism in Indonesia, but one cannot ignore the fact that those in green shirts and uniforms who are seen active in every field."

To be continued . . .

MORE FOREIGN CONTROL

Every day brings new reports of foreign investors reaching out to grab still more sections of Canadian industry, thus pressing to completion foreign control of the Canadian economy. One of the most recently reported developments is the acquisition, by Shell Oil of Canada, of a Montreal based coal and fuel oil firm which operates extensively in both Ontario and Quebec. This Montreal company had been classed as one of the largest independent coal and oil businesses in Canada before Shell acquired controlling interest.

Shell of Canada is a wholly-owned subsidiary of the Royal-Dutch Shell interests. The Canadian operations of Shell are under direction of the New York office of this international monopoly. The end result of the deal is to place still more of the Canadian economy under control of U.S. financiers. Even the relatively small operations in Canada are now falling into the hands of US investors with the Canadian ruling class cooperating fully in the operation.

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BOOK REVIEW

"FRIEDRICH ENGELS: HIS CONTRIBUTIONS TO POLITICAL THEORY" BY FRITZ NOVA. PUBLISHER: PHILOSOPHICAL LIBRARY INC. 15 EAST STREET, NEW YORK N.Y. 10016, U.S.A. PRICE \$4.50 U.S.

Engels, the close friend and collaborator of Marx during all of the most fruitful years of his life, always insisted that his own contribution to Communist theory was a very modest one greatly overshadowed by the voluminous production for which Marx was responsible. In an outline of the history of the German revolutionary movement, published as an introduction to the "Cologne Communist Trials" by Marx, Engels wrote:

"This theory which was to revolutionize the science of history, this theory which Marx is mainly responsible (for I played a very insignificant part in the matter) . . ."

However, while not diminishing in any respect the enormous contribution from Marx, communists have long held the opinion that Engels' contribution was much more extensive than he was ever prepared to admit or his contemporaries prepared to give him credit for.

Engels' work in the development and elaboration of communist theory is the subject of this book by Professor Nova, Chairman of the Political Science Department, Villanova University. The results of his studies and investigations have brought the author to the conclusion that Engels was much more than a junior partner of Marx and that he has much independent work to his credit. This he does without trying to establish any claim to discovery of a separate ism, to be known as "Engels-ism". To quote Professor Nova's own words:

"It is not the purpose of this study to propose that next to Marxism a place should be cleared for 'Engels-ism' . . ."

"It is the intention of this study to establish the extent of Engels original and positive contribution to political theory, aside from his known role as collaborator with Marx. . ."

While this reviewer is of the opinion that Professor Nova has produced quite an excellent study there are a few minor points with which the student of Marxism and the practical revolutionary would find himself in disagreement. This could be true of the treatment given the question of "revolution in one country" where the author appears to deal too casually with a very important and complex problem. Again in dealing with "surplus value" the author writes:

"Labour was the most important contributor to production and the source of all wealth. . ."

But this was not the view of Marx and Engels—a matter on which we have clear-cut evidence in the "Critique of the Gotha Program". In his criticism of the Program of the German Workers' Party which stated,

"Labour is the source of all wealth and all culture. . ."

Marx remarked;

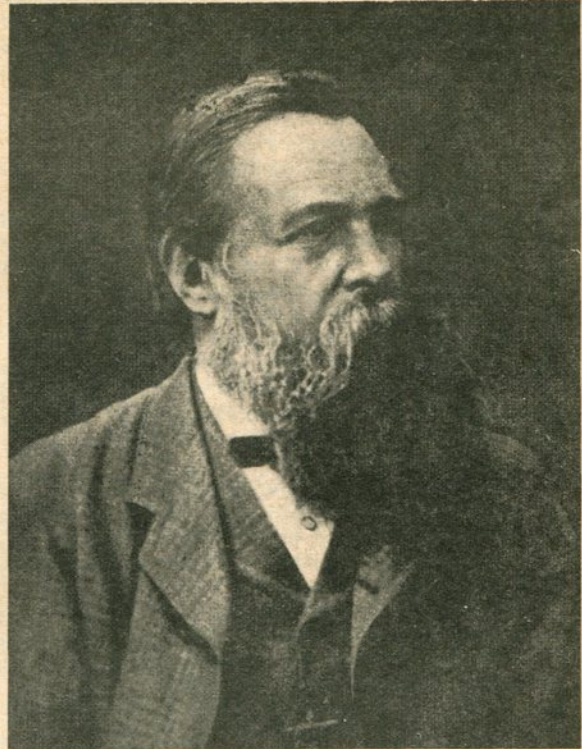
"Labour is NOT THE SOURCE of all wealth. Nature is just as much the source of use values . . . as labour . . ."

However, this is by no means the main feature of this generally excellent book by Professor Nova.

One-third of the study is given to an examination of the development of the dialectical and materialist approach to history and social relations. Marx and Engels were the only ones to rescue dialectics from the German idealist philosophy and had applied it to the materialist conception of nature and history. This was achieved mainly through sharp criticism of the two leading exponents of idealist philosophy, Hegel and Feurbach, to whom Marx and Engels accorded full credit for positive contributions while criticizing the negative and backward elements of their work.

Marx contended that the state did not condition society, but that society conditioned the state, and that politics and history should be explained in terms of economic relationships. Engels had found himself in agreement with Marx on this point when he met him in Paris in 1844.

No longer was there need to interpret the labour movement in terms of mere accident. It was now possible to explain it as the result of the suppression of the proletariat 21



F. Engels

class and also as part of the pattern in the historically necessary battle against the ruling class, the bourgeoisie. While previously the blame for conditions of the workers was laid on the bourgeoisie subjectively, this was no longer the case as it was now apparent that the responsibility lay on the objective defect of the capitalist mode of production which had created the proletariat and its depressed social conditions.

While Professor Nova's sole aim is the verification of Engels important and original contribution to communist theory, an important section of his study is a restatement of the revolutionary content of Marxism and a refutation of the revisionist "theory" of the "peaceful transition to Socialism". This is the real significance of the two chapters "Peaceful Solutions Versus Revolutionary Transformation" and "Reformism Versus Social Revolution".

The author emphasises that while Engels worked with the Chartists he was critical of certain aspects of their program and especially criticised their working peacefully toward socialist ends which he referred to disparagingly as "legal revolution". Engels repeatedly pointed out that:

"since proletarian movements had been suppressed in most states, the proletariat would be forced into revolution . . . Engels concluded that social evils could not be cured by peoples charters. . . For him the concept of revolution by peaceful means was an impossibility; only a violent transformation of the existing conditions could improve the position of the proletarians. It would have to be a political as well as a social revolution."

In a letter to August Bebel on September 17, 1879, Engels rejected strict adherence to peaceful and bloodless methods in attaining the socialist goal.

" . . . Let the bourgeoisie fear the 'Red Spectre', Engels wrote to Bebel; why not admit that war between the classes is unavoidable? To surrender the idea of the class struggle and to walk hand in hand with the so-called 'friends of labour' would inevitably end up with the proletariat being taken

in by the bourgeoisie. Nor would it make sense to stop short of complete revolutionary overthrow or to postpone the program. After more than forty years of teaching the necessity of class war, it would be self-defeating for the proletariat to abandon it now in order to attract the support of the bourgeoisie. In any case the working class was better off without such support for its liberation. If, however, members of the bourgeoisie wanted to join the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, the condition must be their complete identification with the proletariat."

In a speech at Elberfeld Engels declared:

"Were private property to remain untouched or only partly redistributed this would mean failure to deal thoroughly with the basic factors causing the revolution. Sooner or later, similar conditions and the need for another revolution would re-occur. Only a total, thoroughgoing social revolution, a proclamation of communism, would do."

And in a passage that appears remarkably like it was a tailor-made reply for Regis Debry, Nova remarks;

"Engels wrote that the time of revolution by small and determined minorities at the head of 'unconscious' masses had passed forever. The implication was that the successful revolution would be a mass revolution fought by and for the masses themselves."

Marx and Engels sharply contested the views of Bakunin and the Anarchists on the question of the state. Bakunin contended that the sole task of the proletariat was to smash the state apparatus and proceed directly to stateless society and the building of socialism—all else would follow automatically. Marx and Engels, on the other hand, contended that the proletariat would need to construct their own state apparatus for the purpose of suppressing the class enemy and guiding the transition from capitalism to socialism. When there was no further need of the state it would "wither and die" of itself. In the chapter on "Anarchism Versus the

Proletarian Dictatorship" the author quotes Engels:

"The state power is nothing more than the organization which the ruling classes—landlords and capitalists—have provided for themselves to protect their social privileges" and Nova goes on to comment on this as follows:

"The Anarchists held it is the state that must be destroyed and then capitalism will go to hell of itself. The Communists, on the other hand, said do away with capital, the concentration of means of production in the hands of the few and the state will fall of itself. It is the abolition of capital that is precisely the social revolution."

To this we would add: it is the proletarian state that will fall (disappear) of itself.

This is undoubtedly a worthwhile study of Engel's contribution to the theory of scientific socialism that now goes under the name of Marxism. We would do no better than to conclude this review with a quotation of Professor Nova's estimation of Engels contribution to that theory.

"... a wealth of valuable writing by Friedrich Engels does in fact exist, and while they may be smaller in scope, perhaps less comprehensive, less penetrating, less systematic, less concentrated than the work of Marx, we do maintain that they are sufficiently analytical, and sufficiently original, sufficiently significant, and sufficiently far-reaching in general application and in their lasting effects to entitle Engels to be recognized in his own right. When we consider his independent theoretical grasp of communism, his independent authorship, his implementation of and supplementation to Marx's thought, his major original contributions to political theory, and above all, the mutually beneficial co-operation between Marx and himself, Engels rates a far more distinguished place among the founders of the political theory of socialism than previous literature has accorded him."

CRISIS IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY

A new crisis, born of the contradictions inherent in the class-collaborationist policies of the revisionist leadership, is tearing asunder the C.P. organization in Western Canada. Numerous conferences and committee meetings are being held in an attempt to solve the crisis and prevent a split. But even if some success should come of these efforts it could do no more than postpone the inevitable.

The very sharp decline in the number of readers of the Party journal "Pacific Tribune" is a reflection of the crisis, and the annual drive to maintain the paper's list of subscribers was a dismal failure, falling short by at least 300 and possibly 500. This almost certainly spells the end for "Pacific Tribune", especially since the coming spring financial drive will probably fall far short of its objective. Party membership is at an all-time low. These are set-backs which a revolutionary movement could survive, but are disastrous for a party which aims at parliamentary victory. So low have the Party fortunes fallen that they no longer publish final vote totals for Party candidates running in elections.

The cause of the current crisis in British Columbia arose from publication and distribution of a leaflet on the 21st of October, during the demonstrations of support for Vietnam. A British Columbia Party group printed a leaflet which labeled the U.S. an aggressor and made a mild suggestion of perhaps giving a measure of support to the Liberation Front. The National Leadership issued orders that the leaflet was not to be distributed as the Party was not in favour of labeling anyone an aggressor or of pledging support to any group. All they want is to stop the fighting. A number of B.C. members defied the National Committee order and distributed the leaflet, hence the crisis in the Party organization with shouts of "Maoist" being heard on all sides.

The revisionist Party is becoming of less consequence every day. Only those who are part of the trade union bureaucracy are any longer a factor, and then only because they strengthen the position of the conservative and pro-American elements in opposition to the struggle for an independent

Canadian trade union movement. But this is a temporary situation and the internal Party crisis is sure to be a factor in starting the break-up of the Party groups in the unions.

There have already been some purges in the Provincial leadership during the past year and there are sure to be more in the immediate future.

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ANTI-CHINA PLOT

The Soviet ruling clique are using the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution as a forum for rallying renegade revisionist allies from around the world to the Moscow centre of revisionist treachery. The main objective of the Moscow gathering was not the one publicly announced—celebration of the 1917 armed uprising of the toiling masses. That is an event which the revisionists would prefer to bury and forget. The true reason behind the revisionist trek toward Moscow was for the purpose of hatching an anti-China plot, and to prepare the ground for an international conference of revisionists to oppose China, unite with U.S. imperialism and intensify the drive to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union.

Of the 50 years since the revolution, during which time was laid—according to the claims of the Kruschovites—the economic base for a “full Communist society”, which they are presently constructing. Yet 29 years of these 50, the so-called “Stalin era”, when mentioned at all are spoken of only as a period of “brutal terror and oppression”. It was precisely in this period that the Soviet working class defeated imperialist sabotage and laid the industrial base for the current technical and scientific advance, including the intrusion into outer space. It was also in this period that the Soviet people smashed fascist aggression and overcame the devastation of war in spite of imperialist opposition and blockade. These victories were achieved at the cost of enormous self-sacrifice and heroism on the part of the Soviet working people who undertook their arduous tasks without a thought of personal gain or reward. Yet the revisionist ruling clique have the audacity to claim that Russian workers will produce only when they see that self-interest is served. That is a gross slander on the sons and daughters of the heroes who made the October Revolution, and one they will not long endure.

Even Kruschov, the wandering clown who served the restorers of capitalism for more than a decade, has been consigned to the ranks of “forgotten men”. A like fate befell Kruschov's predecessor, Malenkov, who essayed an unsuccessful attempt at resisting the “capitalist roaders.” Thus more than 40 years, over 80 percent of the historical period being “celebrated”, simply does not exist so far as the revisionists are concerned. This is a point which has not failed to attract the attention of the working people of the world; and even bourgeois commentators are compelled to take note of this fact which is so embarrassing for the revisionists. From the death of Lenin until the rise of “the engineers”, Kosygin and Brezhnev, Soviet history simply did not exist and the Lenin period is thought “safe” to deal with only because it is considered sufficiently remote to be amenable to distortion and thus used to “justify” the bourgeois seizure of power. So it is that Lenin is “quoted” by the revisionists as authority for such bourgeois concepts as the “State of the whole people”, the “Party of the entire people” and “material incentives”.

Not all the revisionist circles invited to Moscow could bring themselves to pay the price of admission which entailed swallowing the bourgeois ideological bilge and anti-China slanders being disseminated by the new Soviet bourgeoisie. A notable group among the absentees who rejected the pressing invitation to attend the Moscow tea party, was the Communist Party of Holland whose Central Committee notified the Soviet revisionists they would organize their own celebrations at home in protest against the C.P.S.U. having “deserted the Leninist path.”

Among the politically and ideologically ragged representatives of revisionism who hastened to the festivities at the sound of the baton were some pretty decrepit mendicant politicians who could ill afford to reject such an urgent invitation from the band-master. Italy and France were almost the only ones able to claim some semblance of bourgeois respectability and parliamentary success—a respectability and success obtained only by renouncing Marxism-Leninism and embracing the “structural reform” of bourgeois society.

Most of those present represented collections of rene-

gades that had long since reached the point of political insignificance and were rapidly approaching the stage of total oblivion. Those from India represented a group of traitors that had united with the U.S. imperialists and the Indian ruling class against the people of India and were loudly beating the drums of war against the Peoples' Republic of China. Delegates of the Irish Workers' Party, who put their names to the call for the anti-China world conference of revisionists, represented the ONLY political party in Ireland that has never taken up arms to fight for the Irish nation, and whose main activity consists of echoing the “advice” of the C.P. of Great Britain to the people of Ireland not to rise in armed struggle against the imperialists and their Irish puppets. The C.P.U.S.A. was there and in all probability was represented by an agent of the C.I.A. Attending also were leading members of the Communist Party of Canada who have seized control of the movement and turned it into a Social-democratic organization running interference for the Canadian ruling class, and the U.S. imperialists and their labour lieutenants in the A.F.L.-C.I.O. Of such material was the anti-China gathering of revisionist traitors at Moscow made up.

These renegades and traitors who masquerade as “Communists” are not the custodians of the fruits of the October Revolution. They have betrayed the revolution and abandoned the dictatorship of the proletariat, and begun the all-round restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. Their very existence is an insult to the revolution and to the memory of Lenin. The true heirs of October are the world revolutionaries and, in the first place, those revolutionaries who are advancing the banners of October to new heights in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China.

The intellectual pygmies who assembled in Moscow, may scheme all they wish, they will never prevail against revolutionary China led by the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era—Chairman Mao Tse-tung. Their anti-China “world conferences” are but the desperate acts of defeated, counter-revolutionaries who are panic-stricken at thoughts of the fate that is rapidly overtaking them, and who clutch at broken reeds for support against the force of the turbulent waves that are buffeting them in a sea of revolution. Their puny plots will avail them nothing: they will certainly be destroyed along with the imperialist masters whom they serve. A few lines from a poem by Mao Tse-tung make a fitting epitaph for these renegades whose fate is already in the hands of the revolutionary people:

“On this tiny globe

A few flies dash themselves against the wall,

Humming without cease,

Sometimes shrilling,

Sometimes moaning.

Ants on the locust tree assume a great nation swagger

And mayflies lightly plot to topple the giant tree

“The four seas are rising, clouds and waters raging

The Five Continents are rocking, wind and thunder

roaring.

Away with all pests!

Our force is irresistible.

NEXT MONTH

P.W. will publish an article based on a discussion of the Debray pamphlet, “Revolution in the Revolution”, and its meaning for the revolutionary movement in the Americas. The Debray article, and the Latin American movement in general, have been under critical examination in the Progressive Workers Movement and our contribution for next month will be in the form of a systematic presentation of our conclusions.

Also in next month's issue will be a continuation of the factual material on the fascist atrocities in Indonesia, plus articles on the economic situation in Canada and on trade union developments plus articles on international affairs.

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.

QUEER

Rewi Alley

Three of four
Russian missiles fired
from Port Said at a target
far out at sea, land on it;
Queer that Russian missiles
on Vietnam coasts are not
so accurate, so deadly
a menace to U.S. ships there
Queer!

Queer that Russians these
October days, do not demonstrate
at U.S. embassies, shout out
the bitterness of Vietnam for all
to hear; Queer!

Queer that Russians
celebrating the October Revolution
do not rise up, and kicking
lush consumer goods aside, become
a great welling force which with
the denied of the world would
overthrow man's chieftest enemy,
U.S. Imperialism!
Queer!

Peking, October 24, 1967

October Revolution - Fifty Years Later

And now
rivvies stand
around the tomb of Lenin;
rivvies embrace and kiss
the killers of Vietnamese,
those to whom
they sell eagerly
magnesium that burns
infant eyes; rivvies
who regret the cost
of cargoes to Haiphong
but not that of rockets
into space, made in such
pleasant co-operation
with enemies of
the human race.

by Rewi Alley

THAT INDONESIAN SMILE

They smile even when
their struggle forward
halts a moment, and work
that costs so much is swept
aside, making for new start
amongst ground roots.

They smile
as they square shoulders,
prepare for still more
bitter struggle; they smile
in hut and factory; still
smiling, they pick up broken
threads and start all over
again; they smile as they dance
but how could the onlooker
know through what bitterness
that smile comes?

Djakarta, October 20th, 1965.

CHANGE

For the moment, the defeated
Red Indians who once owned the whole land
but who now live wretchedly in reservtions
a battered point three percent
of the people of the United States,
finds itself a ten times greater percentage
when drafted for Vietnam; the poor Negro
who helped to build modern America, though
only ten percent of the American people,
finds himself drafted to be twenty percent
of U.S. soldiers in Vietnam, thirty percent
of front line casualties; but back
in Detroit Black Power rebels and gains
the right to speak, making one its cause
and that of the Vietnamese.

Around the coasts of South East Asia
the struggle deepens; the poor of
Vietnam's hills, jungle, delta, create
new history; shells fall around U.S. bases;
Laos, and hill folk meet U.S. onslaughts with
stepped up resistance; the oppressed
of Thailand shoot down more U.S. puppets;
the exploited of Burma organize
and fight back, the saga of the Malayan
Liberation army carries on, and all
through Asia and the Pacific rise
cries of bitterness, shouts of struggle
as an era ends, and change comes in.

Peking, October 14, 1967.