

U.S. LAWS TO GOVERN CANADA?

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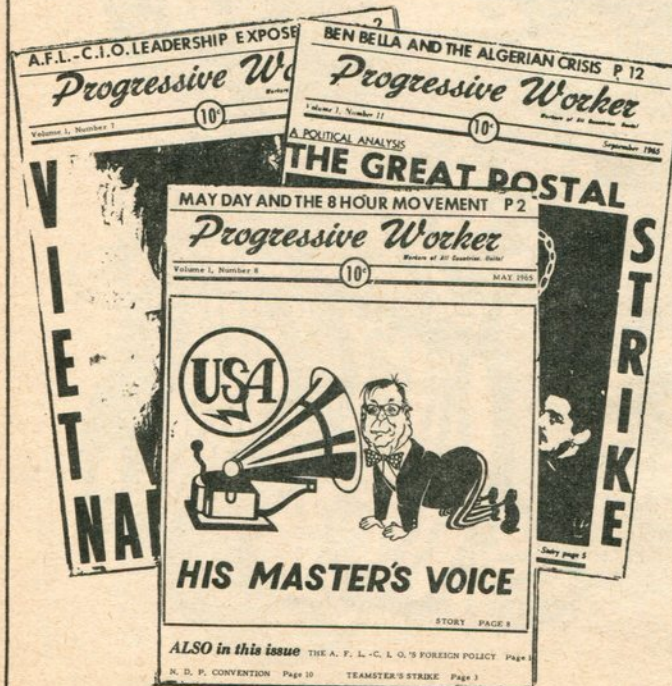
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CONFLICT IN THE IMPERIALIST CAMP

The political and economic crisis of the imperialist system has become considerably sharper during the past year. In all of the leading western imperialist countries production is declining and unemployment is increasing. The conflict between these nations is intensifying as each tries to shift financial difficulties onto others. Such conflicts and crisis are certain to accelerate the process of disintegration of the imperialist camp.

The enormous successes achieved by the peoples' anti-imperialist struggle has greatly undermined the strength of the imperialists system headed by the United States. The area of imperialist exploitation is rapidly diminishing, the capitalist world market has become noticeably smaller and the imperialists are finding the going both tough and costly. Vietnam, which was supposed to be an easy victim overcome by a puppet army, has proven to be a very costly project in terms of both money and personnel. This one engagement is costing the United States more than \$ 30 billion annually and is utilizing a large and growing percentage of the productive capacity of the nation. The increasing resistance to the war is confronting the ruling class with the early prospect of a political crisis.

All of the leading imperialist nations have experienced stagnation or actual decreases in industrial production, a lag in sales, increased unemployment and growing inflation. These factors have been particularly noticeable over the past six month period. These signs almost certainly presage a full scale economic crisis in the near future, unless the ruling class can produce an economic miracle, which doesn't seem likely at the moment. Some economic experts are already expressing concern and alarm over the possibility of an economic catastrophe reminiscent of the "thirties". It is against this background of impending catastrophe that the life-and-death struggles among the imperialist powers, in the spheres of trade and finance, are rapidly reaching a climax. Each endeavours to shift their difficulties to another, and in the resulting melee the dominant position of U.S. capital is undermined and becomes more precarious.

The U.S. dollar, both directly as well as indirectly through control of the pound sterling, dominated the world monetary system. The attack on the pound of Western European countries like France, (and the subsequent devaluation of the pound) was symptomatic of the attempt to take over European hegemony from the United States. Last November, when the pound was in serious trouble, France raised every possible block in the way of Britain obtaining loans to prop it up, and secretly encouraged heavy selling of sterling in order to bring about its early devaluation. Official spokesmen in France openly declared it was their intention to get at the dollar by attacking the pound. A number of U.S. financial experts have reluctantly admitted that devaluation of the pound was a serious and bitter defeat for the United States in the raging currency war.

Sterling devaluation, followed by devaluation in more than twenty other countries, precipitated an avalanche of dollar sales and started a veritable gold rush in London, Paris New York and other leading gold trading centres. In the course of a single week the drain on U.S. gold reserves amounted to three times the volume reached in the first nine months of 1967. U.S. gold reserves have fallen to \$12 billion, of which less than \$2 billion is "free gold" available to meet any future run on the reserves. Claims held by other nations against U.S. gold stocks total more than \$30 billion, so it can easily be imagined what kind of a fix the U.S. will be in once a really big gold rush gets under way.

Johnson, speaking for the U.S. ruling class, has offered assurances that the United States is determined not to devalue the dollar. But these "assurances" ring with a rather hollow sound when coupled with pleas addressed to the European capitalist powers not to cash in dollars for gold. Thus the U.S. tries to cajole and coerce West European capitalists into supporting the dollar by withholding claims against U.S. gold stocks. However, these tearful pleas appear less appealing with each passing day and France has categorically re-

fused to participate in the "gold pool", a U.S. device for supporting the dollar. Other members of the "gold pool" rejected a U.S. demand that they deposit their gold with the United States Treasury Department. Some central banks in Europe have made it clear they will not permit any further growth in dollar holdings in fear of heavy losses should the dollar be devalued. Constant fear of devaluation and consequent losses are bound, eventually, to end in attempts to reduce dollar holdings thus bringing even more pressure to bear on the dollar and U.S. hegemony of the monetary system. An even bigger and more critical financial struggle is now developing in the capitalist world.

The capitalist world market is shrinking even as productive capacity is expanding so that fierce competition to secure the markets in the non-imperialist countries has developed to the stage of a free-for-all in an attempt to grab each other's domestic markets. In an effort to by-pass tariff barriers and capture the European markets the United States exported vast amounts of capital and, in 1962, proposed the so-called "Kennedy round" of tariff cuts—"mutual tariff cuts of 50 per cent"—as a means of forcing entry into the West European "common market", thus paving the way for a huge influx of American industrial and agricultural products. However, the nations of West Europe reacted with measures to curb the inflow of U.S. capital and at the same time accelerated mutual tariff cuts while they raised tariff barriers against countries outside the bloc in order to ward off the dumping of American commodities. It was only after five years of hard bargaining that agreement was reached on the "Kennedy round" negotiations and then it was an agreement that brought little, if any, benefit to the United States.

Intermingled with the complicated and bitter currency war there has been developing, since the beginning of 1967, an increasingly fierce trade war among the imperialist countries. The "steel war", "petroleum war", "rubber war", "textile war", "milk war", "chicken war" and "grain war" have all been notable events in the battle for markets, the last two had considerable impact on the Canadian economy with the government being compelled to subsidize grain as a direct result of U.S. dumping of wheat on the world market.

The U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam has caused a heavy drain on the material and financial resources of the nation, resulting in a further weakening of the competitive power of the United States in the trade war. By last October U.S. exports had declined to their lowest point in 18 months while imports registered a steady increase. Commodities from the European "common market" and from Japan have made deep inroads into the U.S. domestic market in sharp competition with local products. Several branches of U.S. industry such as iron and steel, textiles and dairy products have described the situation as alarming and are urging Congress to enact legislation to limit import quotas on more than one hundred items of foreign origin in order to defend their monopoly hold on the domestic market. It is estimated that these bills, if passed, will reduce U.S. imports by 25 per cent, and this has prompted over 40 countries to file protests and threaten retaliatory action against American goods. Some important circles in America are predicting that the proposed import-curbing measures are sure to trigger an unprecedented trade war in the capitalist world and do more harm than the difficulties they are designed to overcome.

British imperialism, which has consistently followed the U.S. line in international affairs, is rapidly declining politically and economically and is hard-pressed in the trade war. Britain has been afflicted with deficits in foreign trade for many years past and is presently in the grip of a chronic crisis in domestic finances and international payments. The Wilson government is currently begging for admission into the "common market" as a way of increasing exports to European countries. However, France, which is challenging U.S. domination in Europe, has vetoed Britain's application in view of growing subordination to Washington, both politically and economically.

The monetary and trade conflicts are a sign of the steadily growing general crisis of the capitalist world order and reflect the uneven development of the different imperialist countries and the steady decline of the financial and economic supremacy of the United States. In 1949 the U.S. possessed about 70 per cent of the total gold stock in the capitalist world. Today the U.S. share of gold has fallen below 30 per cent, and gold is the principle symbol of economic strength of an imperialist power. So it is clear that U.S. imperialism is confronted with a growing challenge to its dominant position in the capitalist world and the struggle is sharpening between the United States striving to maintain its world control and the other Western nations which are determined to frustrate American ambitions.

THE IMPACT ON CANADA

The United States has instituted emergency measures designed to reduce the outward flow of capital and to correct the imbalance of international payments which is already seriously taxing the declining reserves of gold. Having failed in their efforts to convince other imperialist powers to help prop up the dollar, and to contribute to the cost of the war in Vietnam, the U.S. ruling class has decided to resort to more drastic measures. These emergency measures are certain to have a serious impact on the Canadian economy.

Johnson has ordered the curtailment of U.S. capital investment abroad, foreign travel is to be restricted in an effort to save some hundreds of millions of dollars spent annually by those vacationing outside the United States, American monopolies with foreign investments are instructed to return to the U.S. a greater percentage of their profits, thus forcing reluctant countries to contribute to the cost of US aggression.

A number of America's closest allies—Spain for example—are protesting about the ultimate effects of the emergency measures on economies that are already shaky. Elimination of the \$90 million spent annually by travellers would spell disaster for Spain and already hard-pressed Britain is contemplating the new measures with something less than joy.

In Canada, our ever-subservient government, who are of the opinion that the U.S. monopolists can do no wrong, claim that the emergency measures will have little effect here. Some businessmen and economists are not so certain there will be no bad effects.

In 1965 Canada's deficit in the balance of payments with the United States totalled \$1,912 million and the trend was upward. Only the massive inflow of U.S. monopoly capital, which was the direct result of selling Canada to the American imperialists, kept the figure down to even this enormous figure. Halting, or limiting, the inflow of capital can only result in a worsening of the situation so long as the present political and economic relationship exists.

In addition, the U.S. ruling class has absolute control of the Canadian economy with investments in the \$30 billion range. So deeply have American investments penetrated the economy that small family businesses are being taken over by giant U.S. monopolies. For example, the huge U.S. monopoly, General Bakeries, recently purchased a relatively small restaurant chain in Vancouver and a large U.S. financial institution, General Acceptance Corporation, bought a small industrial concern in the southern interior of British Columbia.

Enormous profits are reaped from these huge U.S. investments so that compliance with instructions to bring home a larger percentage of foreign earnings, coupled with a curtailment of capital investment, can mean economic disaster for Canada under existing conditions. In spite of government assurances to the contrary, devaluation of the Canadian dollar is virtually certain, resulting in drastic cut in the living standards of Canadian workers.

Wherever production can be cut back in Canada and moved to U.S. plants—such as in auto and electrical manufacturing—Canadian plants will be closed, or limited in production quotas, thus leading to increased unemployment which is already a serious problem.

We are not, of course, advocating expansion or even maintenance of the present level of U.S. investment as a cure for our ills—most of our economic problems are the result of already too much U.S. investment. We would not be in our present plight if we had control of our own economy. We would probably still have problems, but they would be fun-

damentally different than those which now bedevil us. The first step in the direction of protecting the national interest; and defending the living standards of the people which is bound up with the national interest: is to put an end to foreign domination of our economy which means putting an end to U.S. imperialist domination of our country. Failure to move in this direction with all possible speed will mean economic catastrophe. It is certain that the dominant section of the Canadian ruling class, which has always preferred making a fast buck to defending the interests of the nation, will not be overly concerned with the fact of alien domination and its consequent effect on the economy. It is, therefore, clearly up to the Canadian working class to take the steps necessary to effect a change in the situation.



HUNGER IN INDIA

Recent reports from India reveal that more than 200 million people are suffering from chronic malnutrition and of this staggering number many millions are expected to die of hunger. This deplorable situation continues and intensifies even as British and American imperialists extract great wealth from the exploitation of the people of India, while Indian comprador capitalists, such as the Birla family, export capital in order to reap large profits abroad, and while the Indian reactionaries, responding to the demands of the imperialist aggressors, prepare war against People's China.

Indian revolutionaries, in the service of the people, have taken up arms against the reactionaries and are leading growing masses of people in a struggle for a People's Democratic Government that will open the road to Socialism. As expected, the reactionaries are responding to the people's armed struggle with all the force that they can command.

Aiding the reactionaries in their attempt to suppress the people's struggle are the Soviet-supported revisionists, including those in control of the government in the state of Kerala. These Kerala ministers have mobilized a special force of "volunteers", composed largely of retired officers from the reactionary army, for the purpose of conducting an armed counter-revolutionary attack against the masses struggling against hunger and extreme exploitation. Once more, in India as everywhere else, we can see how the revisionists come to the aid of imperialism and reaction in a period of crisis. However, the Indian revolutionaries are winning important victories and will surely defeat the reactionaries and their revisionist running dogs.



WORK FOR NO PAY?

The propaganda organs of big business are joyfully hailing the stupidity of a mere handful of British workers who have volunteered to work 30 minutes each day for no pay. The capitalist propagandists are hoping the stupidity will prove contagious and spread to other groups of workers. Some of those acclaiming the so-called "Save Britain" movement are rare specimens indeed. For example, the Greek immigrant who is currently in tenancy at Buckingham Palace, Windsor Castle, Balmoral, and a host of other stately and costly mansions, heaps congratulations on the misguided workers and urges greater numbers to join the movement. This is surely colossal cheek from someone who has never worked a day in his life; someone whose castles, polo ponies, yachts and other expensive accoutrements are costing the British workers a massive chunk of cash annually. We have yet to hear Phillip volunteering to give up some of his expensive equipment and hobbies, and honest toil is a subject not mentioned in his presence — unless it is to offer suggestions on how to intensify the exploitation of the British working class. The present state of the British monarchy strongly suggests the urgent necessity for a twentieth century Cromwell.

We wonder why these super patriots stop at volunteering only 30 minutes daily. If Britain is worth saving in its present condition, why not contribute the entire day's labour in return for minimum rations and accomplish the task more rapidly? Or does patriotism have its limitations after all?

Britain, as an imperialist state, is certainly in poor shape. But the capitalist class who run Britain are still making a handsome profit from domestic and foreign investments and from their role as stooges for the U.S. imperialists. This class is not noted for its sacrifices in the interests of the nation. On the contrary, their drive for profits intensifies as the crisis sharpens. Witness, for example, the profit-taking in the days immediately preceding the devaluation of the pound. So long as this class rules Britain, any sacrifice on the part of the workers will go, not to the salvation of the nation, but into the pockets of the rich. Such is the inevitable result of capitalist rule.

The stated objective of the misguided "patriots" is to save Britain by increasing production. But capitalist rule has resulted in removing hundreds of thousands from production and putting them in the ranks of the unemployed. In fact, the openly admitted policy of the Wilson government is to increase unemployment. If all those presently unemployed were returned to productive life they would contribute, on the basis of a 40-hour week, at least as much as the entire working force would if ALL contributed 30 minutes daily.

the "national interest". They want a guarantee of profitable markets before they go into production and the fact that there is a growing army of unemployed workers indicates that there are not sufficient profitable markets to ensure full employment. Given this situation, the 30-minute movement will not increase production but will increase unemployment which will limit still further the domestic purchasing power, again increase unemployment and lower production still further.

Let us take the Midland Pie Co. as an example. This is a place where the entire staff is making a 30-minute contribution. No doubt the various bakers of tasty pastries are producing all, and more than, the market will absorb. But with harder work and a 30-minute work-for-nothing plan, production will increase — that is the sole objective of the current madness. However, with more pies on their hands than the people can afford to buy, the profit-hungry capitalist owners of the bakeries will move to reduce production by laying off workers — if not in the Midland Pie Co., then in other such operations. Such are the dynamics of capitalist society. To save the nation the working class must first conquer the nation.

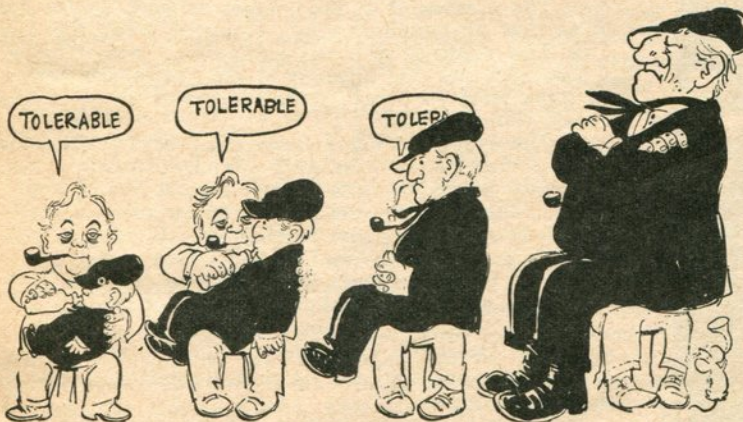
THE LESSON OF GERMANY

The workers of England should study the lesson of post-war Germany. There the working class, under the influence of their imperialist-minded leaders, volunteered to forego necessary improvements in their deplorable living standards until the German economy had been rebuilt from the devastation of war. Their success was spectacular and the "miracle of Germany" was hailed in all the capitalist nations. But after the job of rebuilding the country was successfully concluded, who owned it? Krupp, Thyssen, I.G. Farben and the new imperialist masters from America, that's who owned it: not the workers on whose blood and sweat success depended.

The sacrifice of the workers could not save Germany from the inevitable crisis now overtaking the country. That sacrifice could only enrich the monopolists and bring unemployment and poverty to the masses.

Latest figures from Germany (December) show a massive 33 per cent growth in unemployment in a single month. Official figures now show 2.4 per cent of the labour force to be unemployed and the numbers are increasing. Apparently not counted in these reports are hundreds of thousands of labourers imported from abroad (many from Yugoslavia) who are discharged from employment but not counted as Germans, or returned to their homeland.

In addition to mass unemployment, higher prices are adding to the miseries of the people while the rich grow richer. Already low standards of living are being reduced still further and the Nazi element are making determined efforts to return to power. Such is the end result of the sacrifice of the working class when it is made in the interests of the capitalist state. As we have already stated above, not salvation of the nation, but conquest of the nation is the immediate task confronting the working class. When that task is accomplished, then sacrifice will be worthwhile and meaningful.



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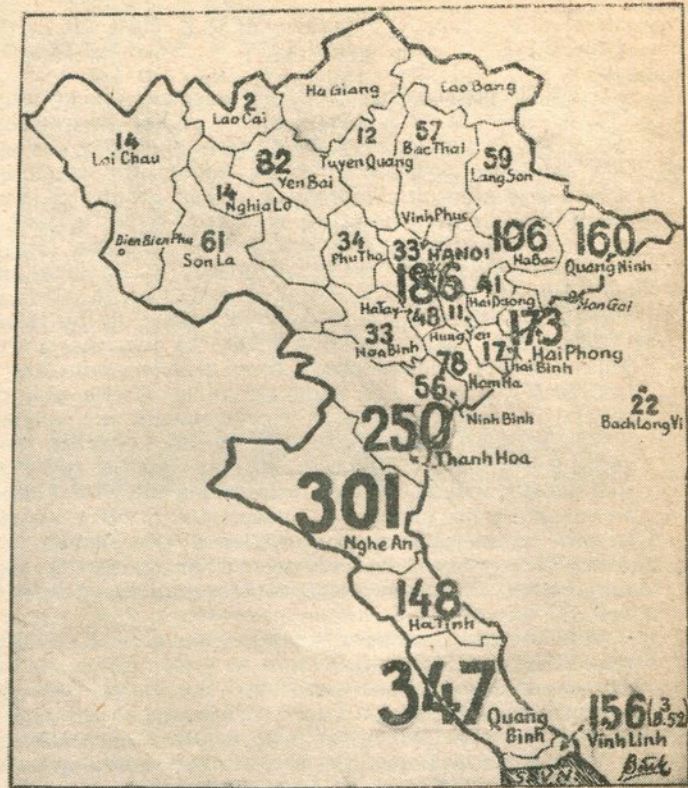
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It is, therefore, clearly within the power of the capitalists and their government to increase production by eliminating unemployment. But the capitalists are not concerned with

Up to November 11, 1967

2,523 U.S. AIRCRAFT WERE DOWNED OVER NORTH VIET NAM



Figures of American plane downed in North Viet Nam

15 AMERICAN PILOTS
AMONG THOSE
RECENTLY CAPTURED
IN NORTH VIET NAM



FROM 2,000 TO 2,500 A RECORD: 500 U.S. PLANES DOWNED IN 5 MONTHS

NORTH Viet Nam A.A. defence brought down the 2,000 th plane on June 5, 1967 and the 2,500th on November 6, 1967. Thus in five months:

— The tempo of American losses was the quickest ever since the beginning of the U.S. air war of destruction in the North;

— The number of enemy planes downed on the spot as well as that of American pilots captured were the largest;

— The Yankees suffered particularly heavy losses per day: 39 days saw the downing of 5-9 planes each day, and 9 days more than 10 planes. The record was set on August 12 with 13 planes downed.

— The aggressors experienced many hard periods, losing:

- 46 planes from July 1 to 15
- 50 planes from August 1 to 14
- 66 planes from August 17 to 31
- 40 planes from September 1 to 11
- 42 planes from October 1 to 9, and
- 66 planes from October 22 to 31

— The most victorious months for our defence:

- August : 116 planes downed.
- October : 130 planes downed.

— New types and models were found among the American planes downed:

B.52 stratofortress bombers. the biggest of the U.S.A.F. in Vinh Linh (2 on September 17 and one on October 30, 1967),

F.4D Phantom, in Ha Bac on August 23.

— Our coastal defence damaged 27 times war vessels of the U.S. Seventh Fleet, the Australian Royal Navy and the puppet Navy, including cruisers and destroyers.

TRADE, AID AND EXPLOITATION

For some years past the Soviet ruling clique has been using international trade and so-called "aid" as methods of exploitation of the peoples of the neo-colonial countries. India with its tens of millions of starving people, is an example of what is in store for those who fall into the clutches of the revisionists. In the final analysis, revisionist trade and "aid" have the same ultimate objective as that of the imperialist nations of the west — profit.

There is one area — Eastern Europe — where profit returns are not proving enough to satisfy the growing appetites of the Soviet revisionists. Several years ago the Kruschovites tried to launch a scheme that would bring about a more satisfactory situation. This was the time when the Soviet rulers announced their plan to annex the industrial half of Rumania, leaving the other half as an agricultural hinterland which would be a source of needed food supplies for the markets of the Soviet industrial areas. The proposal was denounced by the people and government of Rumania who immediately cut themselves loose from Soviet revisionist domination and began to plot an independent course for their nation. The difficulties accruing to the Soviet Union consequent on this development caused the revisionist clique to hesitate in putting into effect their still more grandiose plan to turn the nations of Eastern Europe into a vast colonial possession that would give them an empire with a greater expanse of territory than that ruled by any of the Czars.

However, the Kruschovites considered this to be only a temporary set-back and they have lately returned to the problem armed with a more refined tactic in place of the crude annexationists policy attempted in the Roumanian affair. This time the revisionists are proposing a currency manipulation after the style of the imperialists. But it is not to be referred to as "devaluation" which might tend to expose the trick. Instead, the Soviet clique try a bit of sleight-of-hand by reversing the operation and calling for an upward re-evaluation of the rouble. But the end result will be the same. The general plan is to get higher prices for Soviet goods and pay less for imports from other countries.

The plan has already been announced in a semi-official manner, in two leading economic journals—the journal of the Foreign Trade Ministry and in "Problems of Economics". The journal of the Foreign Trade Ministry stated:

"The existing exchange rates create a false impression about the effectiveness of trade in different goods. If the exchange rates were put in order, many things would be put in their proper places."

Problems of Economics discusses the question of prices prevailing in trade between the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe and recommends a whole new approach which would result in higher prices for Soviet goods and substantially lower prices for goods purchased by the U.S.S.R. Clearly if the Soviet rouble were to be granted even a modest ten percent advantage (sterling devaluation exceeded 14 per cent) then Soviet prices would be ten per cent higher while they would also pay ten less for imports. The end result could be a cut of up to 20 per cent in the living standards of the peoples of Eastern Europe.

Undoubtedly the Soviet ruling clique are confronted with many difficult problems. They are being called upon to give some evidence of the "Communist abundance" they claim to have achieved. Agricultural production is in a mess, making more difficult their task of supplying the masses with even a minimum of necessities. Goaded by unemployment, hunger and oppression, workers and peasants are beginning to offer determined resistance. The new bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie are demanding more imported luxuries from the countries of the capitalist west, and particularly from the United States. The shiny new automobile plants being built on the banks of the Moscow river have to be paid for.

The Kruschovites, like every ruling minority, seek to solve their problems by intensified exploitation of the masses — particularly of the masses in the colonial and neo-colonial areas. The proposed currency manipulation is one means by

which the revisionists hope to increase exploitation of the peoples in Eastern Europe and in this way find a partial solution to their problems.

But the ruling groups in the other countries have difficulties of their own to contend with and discontented masses of working people to hold in check and they will not be at all disposed to bail out the Soviet clique at the expense of their own problems. On the contrary, each will be trying to advance their own interests at the expense of the other and to negotiate with the capitalists in the west if it will give them an advantage. Hence, instead of unity in the Soviet camp, there is vicious competition for markets and for advantages in trade just as one finds anywhere in the capitalist world.

The coming preparatory meeting to set up an international revisionist anti-China conference may very well put up a facade of "unity", but in reality there will be no unity. The contradictions and conflict arising out of the scheming for economic advantage and the competition for markets preclude any possibility of real unity between the revisionist ruling cliques.

Having chosen the capitalist road, the Kruschovites are certain to suffer grievously from the effects of the expanding world crisis of the capitalist system. The attempts they will inevitably make to force the masses to bear the burden of the crisis are certain to result in the working people resorting to revolutionary action and overthrowing the revisionist rulers. Imperialism has reached the end of the road and the Kruschovites will not succeed in solving their problems by imperialist methods.

SUPPORT



THE NLF!

South Vietnam National Front for Liberation

Progressive Worker and the Progressive Workers Movement will accept statements of support, messages of solidarity and donations to be passed on to The National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

Organizations and individuals can send their contributions to the P.W. address.

INDONESIA UNDER FASCISM

(The following is a continuation of the report on Indonesia begun in the last issue).

ECONOMIC APPARATUS IN THE HANDS OF THE MILITARY CLIQUE

All the key positions in the economic field are now occupied by the military clique. In trying to give an 'acceptable' reason for this, Suharto gave on April 8, 1967 the following explanation to the home and foreign press.

He said: "Apart from their duties as an instrument of the State in the defence-security sector, the growth of the armed forces has also given them the right as a social and political force, beside other forces of the Indonesian people. In performing their duty and right as a social and political force...the armed forces will not make possible and will never introduce a military dictatorship in Indonesia. The fact that the armed forces have lately — and especially during the transitional period — played a more important political role compared with the previous time, is because of the determination and intention of the armed forces to rehabilitate and safeguard the life of the Pancha Sila Revolution. In the field of economy-development, the armed forces will contribute their technical abilities and their equipment to support and accelerate developmental efforts through their 'karya' operations (civic missions)".

In fact, everybody in Indonesia knows that the fascist military regime did not especially utilize the armed forces to carry out "civic missions", but particularly as the most important instrument of state power, to safeguard the "new order" for the creation of which the regime has taken over all the political institutions, giving them the power to take over all the key positions in the economic field. Nobody believes the "assurances" given many times by Suharto that he and the other fascist military chieftains "will never introduce a military dictatorship" in Indonesia, for the simple reason that everyone has already long since felt the existence of the fascist military dictatorship in his daily life, in all fields.

This kind of humbug has also been stated by Suharto in his instructions to the Indonesian diplomats stationed in Asia and Pacific countries. *Antara* on October 7, 1967, quoted Suharto as saying that the diplomats "should encourage foreign capital investment in Indonesia". He said: "In this relation I want to stress here that by inviting foreign capital investment it means that we are not selling out ourselves to a foreign country or foreign interest". He explained that foreign investment is necessary "to serve the economic stabilization programme" and added that "economic strength of the South and Southeast Asian countries would strengthen the position of these countries to reject any foreign influence or interference."

With this kind of nonsensical logic Suharto wants to deceive the people and to cover up the ugly features of the comprador regime, to prettify the nature of the member countries of the so-called Association of Southeast Asian Nations, all of which are none other than new-type colonies and to justify the comprador regime's intention to transform Indonesia into another Thailand, or "Malaysia", or even into another "Republic of South Vietnam", i.e. into a new hunting ground of imperialism and a new base for imperialist aggression.

A member of the foreign affairs commission of the bogus parliament, Jusda, arriving back in Jakarta from Southeast Asian countries to carry out a "mission", made on October 4, 1967, a "suggestion" to the fascist military regime to open representations in South Korea, in South Vietnam (Saigon) and in Taiwan, and to "strengthen" ASEAN in order to "achieve stabilization in Southeast Asia".

All the facts show the nature of the Suharto-Nasution regime: it is a military dictatorship and a comprador regime.

Let us now see what key positions in the economic field are occupied by generals.

The Minister of Trade is a major-general (D. Ashari),

and so are the Ministers of Light-Basic Industries (Mohamed Jusuf) and of Agriculture (Sutjipto), while the Minister of Maritime Affairs is an admiral, and the Minister of Communications a commodore.

Many generals have become secretary-generals and director-generals in the hands of these military men, i.e. the ministries of manpower, finance, maritime affairs, plantation, textile industry, and public works of which the secretary-generals are military men. There are two military men acting as director-generals in the ministry of mining.

Besides the ministries and other governmental economic institutions, hundreds of state enterprises (industrial, agricultural, land as well as sea transportation enterprises, commercial) are in the hands of the military clique. Since 1957, many foreign companies in Indonesia had been taken over as a result of the struggle of the working people of Indonesia. But afterwards, the military clique robbed the workers of the fruits of their struggle, and those corrupted officers were using these enterprises as a source for corruption and manipulation.

Bureaucratic capitalists already existed long before 1957, but beginning from that year the emergence of that parasitic class was more evident and clearly seen everywhere by the people. These bureaucrat-capitalists, by abusing their positions and power in the government and state-controlled enterprises, by using bureaucratic means and contacts with other authorities and the capitalists, were scrambling for profits, squandering state funds and other corruptive practices to enrich themselves.

A typical example among the big number of the bureaucrat-capitalists of Indonesia today is brigadier-general Suhardiman. In 1957 he was appointed by the reactionary Nasution generals' clique to be in charge of various state trading companies (formerly Dutch companies). Since then he and other officers in other state enterprises formed a large group of "managers and directors in green uniform".

This brigadier-general is well-known to everyone in Indonesia for his anti-Communist attitude. He has shares in several shipping companies, possesses several villas and bungalows, and a lot of private cars usually marked with his insignia. He made dirty deals with many Kuomintang agents of the Chiang Kai-shek gang in Indonesia and abroad. This brigadier-general is appointed director of the "state-owned" (in reality owned by the military clique) PT Berdikari ("self-reliance"), a powerful company which controls many banks, factories, plantations, trading companies and import-export companies, etc. (Among others: bank "Dharma Ekonomi").

Brigadier-general Suhardiman, to complete his role as reactionary bureaucrat-capitalist, has another function or "duty". He is also the general chairman of the anti-Communist yellow trade union "SOKSI" (an abbreviation for "Central Organization of Indonesian Socialist Workers") rigged up by the military clique in many parts of Indonesia. He is also the publisher of the reactionary newspaper "AMPERA" (Djakarta), and naturally, he has his private bank accounts in West German, British, and Japanese banks, where he has close ties and transactions with the capitalists.

In Indonesia today there are thousands of bureaucrat-capitalists of the Suhardiman type, since thousands upon thousands of officers are on their "civic mission" duties in many state enterprises, economic and financial bodies and government offices.

Because of the mismanagement in the state enterprises occupied by the military clique many of them are going bankrupt, and while the people are confronted with more and more difficulties for their existence, this clique in the state enterprises is enjoying the abundant luxuries of a corrupt life. Since these state enterprises are scattered all over Indonesia, the evil practices of these "green shirts" are only too well-known by the Indonesian people, and all their perverse misconduct has evoked strong discontent and anger among the people.

The military clique are exceedingly greedy, and therefore they are not content with merely controlling the official and semi-official economic apparatus. Instead, they have also occupied many private enterprises, factories, banks, communication companies, textile industries, import and export enterprises, either covertly or overtly.

For example, the director-general for Foreign Trade (who has a big "say" in foreign trade) is brigadier-general Abdurachman Prawirakusuma, while the director of the Central Overseas Corporation in Singapore is major Suhud Alinudin. Trade with the Chiang Kai-shek gang in Taiwan is totally controlled and manipulated by the fascist military clique. The chairmen of the board of private textile industries' organization are brigadier-general Sadikin and brigadier-general Abimanju.

The chairman of the cooperative movement in Indonesia is also a brigadier-general (Rahardjodikromo), while the chairman of the board of the biggest department store in Indonesia "Sarinah" is major-general Tirtosudiro. The chairman of the retail traders' association in the Djakarta region is colonel H. Baleo.

The control of all the state trading companies is held by colonel Usman Ismail, while the chairman of the national institute of tourism is brigadier-general Brotokusumardjo. The director of the textile technological institute is also a major-general (Sorjosunarso), while the director of the fertilizer factory is a brigadier-general (Hasan Kasim). In the field of sea transport and commercial navigation, important key positions are also in the hands of the military clique. A major-general is exercising tight control of the most important item, the food supply for the whole of Indonesia. This major-general, (Tirtosudiro), is the head of the "National Logistics Command" which is in charge of the problem of supply and distribution of important foodstuffs (rice etc.).

All the important channels and key positions in the economic field are occupied by the military clique, or are under their supervision and control. Especially in the provinces these military "administrators" are playing a big role in the economic life, directly or indirectly.

This situation is the very reason why the Indonesian economy is now plunged into chaos and ruin. It is not only because the fascist military regime has carried out a reactionary, anti-popular, pro-imperialist policy in the field of economy, but also because the administrative machinery and the economic apparatus are in the hands of a rotten, corrupt and reactionary class represented by the fascist clique of generals.

In a report on the situation in Indonesia a Dutch newspaper "Het Parool" stated: "Another corruption has consolidated itself: the military. One sees the green uniforms everywhere: in all streets, in every village, always in the best houses and the most beautiful buildings; amply provided with transport vehicles, in a country that suffers seriously from shortage in transport facilities. Indonesia gives this impression of a wide stretched garrison town full of ribbons. The military exploited well the important places they conquered after the coup of 1965. They made themselves masters of thousands of government posts; they nestled themselves into the nationalised enterprises, where they usually demonstrated to the fullest their incapacities until the enterprises reached the verge of bankruptcy. This power gave birth to the abuse of power."

After describing the wanton practices of the army of exorting money on the streets, their brazen attitudes in the trains against the people, etc., this report summarised: "These are the symptoms of the million fold pressure exercised by the army upon the lives of the small men."

Professor W.F. Wertheim of the University of Amsterdam in his article "Indonesia before and after the Untung Coup" with pungency made the following correct assesment of the regime of Suharto and Nasution: "There is no sign that the present government, which, despite its democratic terminology, shows many traits of military fascism, is succeeding in really solving a single economic issue. Corruption is as rampant as ever".

DIFFICULTIES CREATED BY THE FASCIST REGIME

How is the situation now?

Facts have fully proved that this rotten fascist military regime, with all its decadent forces, has thrown Indonesia

into an unprecedentedly difficult economic situation for the broad masses of the people.

All branches of industry are facing great difficulties because of the heavy taxes exacted from them, and many of the small industries have already closed down, leaving hundreds of thousands of workers devoid of any means of livelihood. Scarcity of raw materials, lack of spare-parts, too many regulations, inflation and the decreasing purchasing power of the people are no uncommon phenomena of the situation. In addition, many industries are working with only 15-30 per cent of their potential.

Unemployment is mounting day by day owing to the difficult conditions in the countryside and the increasing dismissals as a result of the "rationalization" of the state enterprises and the bankruptcy of private enterprises. Figures announced by the regime's officials indicate that the total number of unemployed has reached more than 16 million — on the streets of the big cities in Indonesia beggars, paupers, prostitutes and criminals can be seen in large numbers.

As to the approximate 2 million government employees, their salaries, for the most part are not enough to make ends meet, and their life is very difficult. Except for a small number among those of the "upper class", nearly all of the government employees receive an average monthly salary sufficient only for 10-15 days. With the soaring prices of daily necessities, life is becoming more and more difficult for them under the rule of the fascist regime.

American correspondent Seymour Topping wrote:

"The country is bereft of hundreds of competent, dedicated local officials who had affiliated themselves with the Communists in their search for means to help their impoverished country. They were among the hundreds of thousands who were killed or imprisoned in the army purge after September 30. In many areas, inexperienced army officers and conservative traditionalists have taken their place."

Corruption, smuggling and other crimes committed by government officials at all levels and in every section, especially among the high and middle ranking officers, are rampant and on the increase. The Indonesian newspapers are flooded with accounts of armed robbery in the streets (even in broad day-light), embezzlement, smuggling, etc.

The following example was reported (and admitted) by NEWSWEEK magazine of 18 August, 1967:

"Throughout Indonesia, moreover, the epidemic corruption that marked the Sukarno era persists. Its chief practitioners, now that the army controls the government, are military men and many of their gauges are petty ones. Armed soldiers on leave stop cars and force drivers to take them to their destination. Filmgoers find soldiers sitting in their reserved seats and refusing to leave. Or the troops manning a roadblock may ask civilian passers-by if they have any "illegal" portraits of Sukarno — and then confiscate banknotes bearing the likeness of the ex-President. But corruption is big business too. Army-operated freighters sail from Medan and Surabaya loaded with copra and rubber to be traded in Hong Kong for radios and refrigerators, which, in turn, are sold back home at premium prices. Without such expedients, would not be able to eat. Officially, a private earns a dollar a month, a general \$10. As one general's wife said: "Of course my husband is corrupt. He has to pay his troops something extra or he would have a mutiny on his hands."

Examples of the rampancy of corruption in the remote islands and regions were also reported by the reactionary news paper **Duta Masjaraka** (Djakarta), based on the admitting of the military-controlled bulletin "PAB" (information service of the armed forces): "In general, all armed forces and government services in the province of Riau (group of islands near Singapore and a part of Sumatra. Ed.) are involved in smuggling. Smuggling is not only practised by the civilians but mostly by responsible authorities on duty."

While there are more and more ostentatious and luxurious cars for the upper class, it can be seen that on the streets of the big cities of Indonesia, the state of public transport for the people is very poor. Only 20-30 per cent of the total registered public transport cars (buses and trucks) are in running condition, owing to the lack of spare parts and the bad condition of the roads.

The food problem is getting more and more serious under

the administration of the Minister of Agriculture, major-general Sutjipto. The price of rice is soaring every month, while production is decreasing. Life in the countryside is getting more and more impossible for the poor peasants and farm labourers and the number of people flocking to the big cities from the countryside is increasing.

In many parts of Indonesia such as Middle Java, Island Lombok, etc., famine has claimed a great death-toll, while the military clique in charge of the "national logistics" is becoming richer by corruption and manipulation at the expense of the millions upon millions of people. Because of the shortage of rice the fascist regime has had to import about one million tons of rice (price about \$140 million U.S.) for the year 1967. For this import of rice, only the military clique and its gangs can derive "concrete gains" from the commission and manipulation.

Under the control of the Minister of Light and Heavy Industries, a major-general, production is steadily declining in every field, and the same is true of agricultural production under the control of the Minister of Agriculture, also a major-general. Export of agricultural produce is on the decline, while many of these export products are smuggled by the military clique and their gangs.

According to an official announcement of the regime, between June 1966-July 1967, 43 activities of smuggling were registered, and about 300 ships and boats were detained. It was admitted in this official announcement that this smuggling was done by members of the regime's armed forces.

Because of the economic difficulties, and their failure in many other fields, the fascist generals started their anti-China campaign aimed at diverting the people's dissatisfaction and discontent with its reactionary rule. These anti-China and anti-Chinese outrages have also been launched to meet the needs of U.S. imperialism and modern revisionism. To maintain its reactionary rule, the fascist regime, while further hiring itself out to U.S. imperialism and Soviet modern revisionism, has intensified its opposition to the progressive people and China and stepped up its discrimination against the Chinese nationals. In this way they hope to deceive public opinion, and conceal from the people of Indonesia and the world what is actually happening in the country.

The Fascist Generals are Compradors.

Since its usurpation of power through the counter-revolutionary coup d'etat in October, 1965, the fascist military clique headed by Suharto and Nasution has brutally massacred hundreds of thousands of democrats, progressives and Communists. Z

The generals' regime is still imprisoning hundreds of thousands of democrats, progressives and Communists, many

of whom are leading members and cadres of revolutionary organizations of workers, peasants, youth, students, women, scientists, journalists, writers and cultural workers.

While attacking the progressive movements at home and attacking China and Chinese nationals, they are giving themselves up completely to the service of imperialism, by relying upon the economic "aid" and credit from imperialist and capitalist countries as well as upon investment of foreign capital in Indonesia.

The military regime hopes to avert in this way its total collapse and to bolster its extremely shaky position. Its whole economic policy is based on the ruthless exploitation and oppression of the people at home on the one hand and serving the interests of world imperialism on the other.

Let us take a look at the facts.

After its usurpation of power, this fascist generals' regime decided to "return" hundreds of foreign enterprises and companies which had been taken over after the year 1957 to their former "owners", i.e., the U.S., British, Dutch, Belgian and French monopoly capitalists.

These ex-foreign enterprises are banks, various kinds of big factories, plantations of rubber, tobacco, coffee, tea, etc., which are scattered throughout Indonesia, and which for centuries drained the natural resources and the sweat of the working people of Indonesia for the accumulation of huge profits.

By returning these enterprises to their former owners, the fascist generals set these vampires loose to continue their blood-sucking in Indonesia.

A number of these ex-foreign enterprises have been converted into the so-called "joint-venture" companies, which in essence are nothing other than disguised foreign companies with an Indonesian facade, which serve the interests of the compradors and bureaucrat-capitalists and international capitalists.

The betrayal of the fascist regime has even gone beyond that. It not only lets the old bloodsuckers and exploiters continue their evil practices in Indonesia, but also invites new ones. After passing the foreign investment bill in the regime's "parliament" in December 1966, this regime has invited more new exploiters and new bloodsuckers by throwing the door wide open for them. This foreign investment bill promises favourable and attractive guarantees for the foreign investors to accumulate huge profits, easy concessions, legal protection, exemption from taxes for a certain period, and security. It means that the regime will protect these companies from the danger of workers' strikes and other just actions of the people to prevent these foreign companies from getting huge profits.

(to be continued)

PEKING EXHIBITION

Hsinhua News Agency reports from Peking an exhibition in progress on the life of the Canadian doctor, Norman Bethune, who died in 1939 while serving in the war of resistance against Japanese imperialism. Sponsor of the exhibition is the leading organ of the People's Liberation Army.

The display is centered around the world-famous article, "In Memory of Norman Bethune", by Chairman Mao Tse-tung. On display are 165 photographs and pictures and 24 relics. Also included is an oil painting showing Chairman Mao receiving Norman Bethune, rare photographs showing Norman Bethune's life, study and work in China during the period of the war of resistance to Japanese aggression, the typewriter and medical instruments he used, his writings and reproductions of his manuscripts, letters and telegrams he wrote and excerpts from his diary.

The Hsinhua news release states:

"The great internationalist fighter Comrade Norman Bethune arrived in Yen-an in the spring of 1938. With a boundless sense of responsibility in his work and boundless warm-heartedness toward all comrades and the people, he worked for two years in the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei border area in the flames of the war of resistance against Japan. When he died

a martyr at his post, our great leader Chairman Mao wrote "In Memory Of Norman Bethune", praising his internationalist Communist spirit, "that makes a foreigner selflessly adopt the cause of the Chinese people's liberation as his own".

'Guided by this article, the exhibition gives a full account of how Comrade Bethune studied, worked and lived in China and especially how he diligently studied and tried to grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought and acted firmly and thoroughly in accordance with the thought of Mao Tse-tung.'

We must all learn the spirit of absolute selflessness from him. With this spirit everyone can be very useful to the people. A man's ability may be great or small, but if he has this spirit, he is already noble-minded and pure, a man of moral integrity and above vulgar interests, a man who is of value to the people.

"In Memory of Norman Bethune"
(December 21, 1939), *Selected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 337-38.*

canadian worker

FIGHT THE INJUNCTION

With the continued and increasing use of injunctions against the labour movement it is becoming readily evident that the policies of the present leadership are proving at best disastrous. To fight the injunctions, and a fight it will have to be, we are going to have to take the fight out of the courts and off the billboards, and back to the job where a truly effective struggle can be waged. Only the workers themselves can fight, and, more important, are prepared to fight. Where this line of action has been taken, victory has resulted with few or no casualties.

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

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

The results of the "respectable" approach can best be shown by the strike at Peterborough. Being only a few short weeks after the victory at Oshawa it might appear that possibly the C.L.C. would see the light and lead a struggle similar to that waged at Oshawa. But true to form the bureaucrats ran at the first sign of trouble. This time after 25 warrants were issued Ontario Federation of Labour officials disbanded the picket line, stating the fight would be carried into court. Result: an unsatisfactory strike settlement and a number of workers serving jail terms of up to 6 months.

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

Closer to home, the C.L.C. and the B.C. Federation of Labour not only jump at the mere sight of an injunction but have also thrown in their lot with boss et al. The now infamous spectacle in Prince Rupert where the C.L.C. members openly colluded with the courts to break the strike of the United Fishermen and Allied Worker's Union (a non-affiliate), is over but not forgotten.

Later, at almost the exact moment when honest unionists in B.C. established the Fishermen's Defence Committee, for the purpose of helping the Fishermen which necessarily included a fight against injunctions, leaders of the B.C. Federation of Labour started their campaign to "Stamp Out Injunctions".

One cannot accept this as an accident, and when we review the appeal, "A dollar from every worker", and combine this with the manner of spending this money, the indictment

is complete. Billboard advertising and signs on Hydro busses serve two main purposes. It serves to drain off thousands of dollars of workers' money in a useless effort, thereby preventing the money from going to the Fishermen where it might do some good, and it assures the bosses and their government that no real effort will be made to have the law changed.

The role of electoral politics also is used in an attempt to dissuade any independent action on the part of the workers themselves. Statements calling for election of a "labour" government are just so much nonsense when we look at who the leaders of a party like the N.D.P. are. It is conceivable that the same C.L.C. bureaucrats who control the labour movement now are suddenly going to champion the abolition of injunctions when elected to parliament or legislature? Considering the fact that the union bureaucrat is even more afraid of a militant rank and filer than is the employer, he has an interest in the retention of injunctions. What would make him happy is a situation where strikes sanctioned by the bureaucracy would be free from the threat of injunctions but "wildcats" and strikes by non-affiliates would be subject to such legal measures of prohibition.

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

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

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WHO IS TO BLAME FOR RISING PRICES

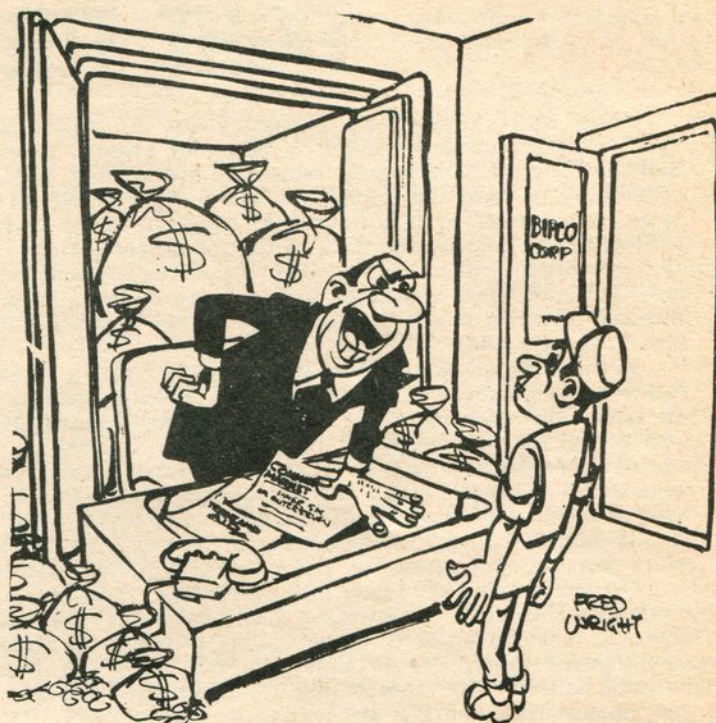
By P. Cameron

It is no secret that the prices of food, housing and other necessities are climbing higher and higher each month. The newspapers (and other spokesmen for the employers) have been busy trying to convince us that this situation has come about because "our labor costs spiral madly out of line and our productivity lags."

But what the employers call "labor costs" are 'wages' to the workers — and no worker has noticed his wages spiraling madly out of line. Furthermore productivity can't be lagging too badly behind because automation and speedups are eliminating more and more jobs, while production remains the same or increases.

A recent book published by the federal labor department (The Behavior of Canadian Wages and Salaries in the Post-War Period) confirms that productivity has been going up — in fact its been going up much faster than the buying power of wage-earners. Output per man hour in manufacturing industries increased by 86.7 percent between 1949 and 1965! In the same period hourly earnings in 1949 dollars went up only 53.8 percent. (Dollar wages have gone up more than this, but this has not increased buying power because the money is worth less. For example, one dollar in 1968 is worth about 65 cents in 1949 dollars).

So the inflation problem is not due to a mad spiral of wages, or a lag in productivity. Workers should not accept this argument or any such argument preparing the way for government wage-control. Housewives faced with soaring prices in the supermargets should not put the blame on workers who are struggling for a decent wage for their families. The guilty party in the crisis of rising prices is a group whose income would be exempted from any governmental wage-control, yet who contribute nothing whatsoever to production. They are never attacked in the newspapers, as labor is, for being "irresponsible," yet they have taken full advantage, and more, of the rise in productivity to increase their profits. The guilty party is the employers.



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

INTERIOR WOODWORKERS STRIKE

By Del H.

After 3 months the first cracks have appeared in the previously solid wall of the B.C. interior lumber operators. Celgar Limited which operates a mill at Castlegar B.C. has signed a contract with the International Woodworkers of America providing for parity with coast woodworkers in 1969. The settlement was less than the immediate wage parity with coast woodworkers demanded by the I.W.A., but was substantially better than the terms of the Monroe report which offered 44c over 2 years instead of 50c immediately.

The history of the strike to date has once again pointed out two important lessons. One being the role of the government and the other the successes that militant united action can achieve.

The government has on numerous occasions been used to put pressure on the union. The first instance occurred before the strike when a government minister, Ray Williston stated that interior woodworkers should not expect lumber operators to pay the same wages as companies on the coast because interior operating costs are higher. He thus lent official support to the lumber operators claims.

Probably the most important government ploy was the appointment of Justice Monroe as an industrial commissioner. After weeks of investigation, thereby stalling the strike, he brought down the report that offered 14 cents over 2 years and tried to justify the claims of interior operators that they could not pay parity with the \$2.76 an hour coast rate.

After Justice Monroe failed in his notorious task the government supervised strike ballot was used against the workers. In conducting the ballot, voting was carried on first in the northern interior local, where it was known the percentage in favour would be lower, in the hopes that this would affect

the southern interior vote. This had little effect since 70 percent of the southern workers favoured a strike.

The labour laws of B.C. as they are now constituted require that a majority must be gained in each lumber operation before that operation can be struck. As a result of this law a majority of workers in some mills were persuaded to vote against the strike and thus some mills continued operation even though a majority of I.W.A. members in the industry voted to go on strike. In the northern interior where more mills remained in operation than were shut down the lack of solidarity led to a settlement basically in line with the Monroe Report. A serious defeat for the workers was thereby sustained.

On the question of union solidarity for parity demands an important lesson should be learned. In the northern interior solidarity was completely lacking and workers were thereby forced to accept what they had been offered even after a 5 week strike.

In the southern interior and at Celgar there has been united action in demanding parity and the Celgar settlement indicates that the union will win wage increases much better than those offered by the Monroe Report.

It is important when discussing the strike to keep in mind that the furrious opposition of the interior lumber operators must be seen in a context larger than the present conflict. The contract of 26,000 coast woodworkers expires this June. The companies are serving notice that they will go all out to defeat attempts by the workers to take away any of their vast profits. Coast woodworkers however will just as surely as their interior brothers and sisters refuse to be intimidated by the lumber monopolies and the B.C. Govern-

AFL-CIO IN CONVENTION

Canadian workers who are still enamoured of the American unions, and remain in the grip of U.S. bureaucrats, need to take a close look at the work of the AFL-CIO convention held in Miami in November. The decisions taken by these "business unionists", given a continuation of existing conditions, will seriously affect the lives and living standards of most Canadian workers.

On Protectionism

The American labour bureaucracy has lined up with the monopolists in a demand for government measures designed to protect U.S. industry by restricting the import of manufactured goods. At the same time, the administration is urged to take steps that will support the export of U.S. goods to foreign markets.

These proposals, when viewed in the light of U.S. domination of the Canadian economy and the shrinking capitalist world market, can only have a totally destructive effect on the already inadequate Canadian secondary industry. The end result will be to force Canada to become even more exclusively a provider of raw materials, at low prices, for U.S. industry, and an importer of American manufactured goods at high prices.

Such a policy, especially in the crisis-ridden imperialist world of today, will spell disaster for Canadian industry and, therefore, for Canadian workers. In this manner are Canadian unionists served by their American "representatives".

Aggression in Vietnam

The Miami Convention declared full support for U.S. aggression in Vietnam. If these bureaucrats had their way, they would dragoon Canadian workers into service in this war of aggression which is opposed by the vast majority of the world's people — including Canadians.

On Negro Rights

The attitude of the AFL bureaucrats toward the Negro is on a par with their attitude toward Canadians. They look on both as inferior people. For all their pious speeches about "Human Rights" they have not even progressed to the point of the American Civil War, now more than a century behind us. A few facts on Negro membership in the dominant craft unions is dramatic proof of where the bureaucracy stands on this important issue.

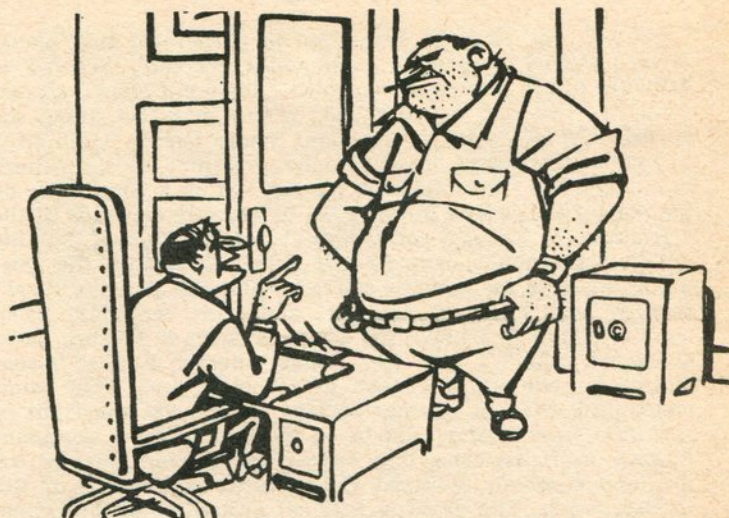
In the Cleveland local of the I.B.E.W. only two Negroes hold membership, and not a single Negro has been admitted to the five Ironworkers locals in Newark. The five major craft unions in Cleveland had a grand total of exactly four Negro apprentices. A report from the U.S. Department of Labor shows that there are only 2,191 Negro apprentices in all trades throughout the entire nation. That was one more than had been recorded in 1950 — a tremendous advance in the solution of a critical problem!

The Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks abolished segregated Negro locals. This they accomplished by absorbing them into white locals who took jurisdiction over the jobs and gave them to whites. Locomotive Firemen removed a Negro exclusion clause from their constitution, but only after it became virtually certain that there would be few, if any, firemen ever again hired on U.S. railroads. Meany's own union, Plumbers, had one Negro among 1,319 members in Cleveland local 36.

A great many more facts could be cited, but this is sufficient to give a clear idea of the prevailing conditions in the bureaucrat-ridden U.S. unions. It is not a pretty picture, nor is it one that Canadian workers, sworn to uphold reactionary union constitutions, can be proud of.

What To Do!

It is obvious that Canadian workers, less than 10 per cent of total AFL-CIO membership, are not in a position to change these U.S. union policies. That leaves us but one alternative: an independent Canadian union movement that will reject reactionary AFL policies. This requires real independence, not a phony "autonomy" that still leaves the U.S. bureaucrats in control of our affairs.



"You are the most disagreeable, uncouth loudmouth who ever worked here. . . How would you like a job as foreman?"

Letters to the Editor

Editor, Progressive Worker:
Brothers:

Your article on the "Communist Party and the Trade Unions" was much appreciated and very timely considering the recent farce conducted by the B.C. Federation of Labour, and specifically Mr. Harvey Murphy's actions. As a man who "came back" to the house of Labour, I feel Mr. Pen Baskin should have shown his gratitude by nominating Murphy for 4th Vice President to complete the seilout.

Needless to say your cartoon sticker "Are You a Member of an American Union Too" has shown up in a number of appropriate locations and the needling value of these stickers is reflected in the quickness they are removed from wherever they are placed. Please forward me a goodly supply so that I can cover Surrey with them.

Keep up the good work.

Fraternally Yours,
F.I., North Surrey, B.C.

Editor, Progressive Worker:
Dear Brother:

I agree 100 per cent with your fight for Canadian unions free from American control and domination. I know what this fight means for I was one of the founders of the Canadian Union of Operating Engineers. We broke away from the reactionary, corrupt and dictatorial International Union of Operating Engineers in 1961, which sent a telegram last year to President Johnson praising him for his "heroic" stand in Vietnam and assuring him of their full support.

Needless to say the C.L.C. hates our guts and we get no support from anywhere in the "Canadian" labour movement. Therefore it is refreshing and heartening to get your magazine and learn that some Canadian workers are fighting American imperialism in the labour movement. Of course I agree with your other views too!

Anyway, here is my subscription to your magazine.

Fraternally Yours,
D.C., Weston, Ontario

BILL C-186

by Jack East

A bill was recently introduced in parliament that would break national bargaining monopolies currently granted to affiliates of the American controlled Canadian Labor Congress (C.L.C.). The bill, called C-186, would in effect allow the Quebec Confederation of National Trade Unions (C.N.T.U.) to represent workers presently misrepresented by the American dominated "International Unions." It is a concession on the part of the federal government to growing demands of the Quebecois for national self-determination. It appears that the governments public campaign of trying to explain the Quebecois struggle for national self-determination as a "cultural" problem only involving language and other secondary problems is failing to achieve the desired results in Quebec. Most Quebecois couldn't care less about whether English Canadians take two years French in school or not. They want meaningful changes in their society. They want the right to run their own destiny, not to be dictated to by a dominant English capitalist class that serves the Yankee masters for the joint economic, political and cultural exploitation of the Quebec people. The growing national awareness of the people of Quebec has been reflected in many ways, chief of which is the development of their own labour movement, the C.N.T.U. It is this group which has forced the introduction of Bill C-186. Essentially the bill demands the reform of the Canadian Labour Relations Board to allow an appeal board which would give representation in favor of the C.N.T.U. so that jurisdictional disputes between the C.N.T.U. and the C.L.C. in Quebec might possibly be decided in favor of the C.N.T.U. The present board is now weighted in favor of the corrupt Yankee dominated C.L.C. Board representation consists of eight members; four capitalists and four "representatives" of labour (three C.L.C. bureaucrats and one C.N.T.U. rep.)

From this line-up one can easily understand why the C.N.T.U. would not get satisfaction in certification applications placed before the board. In fact, the C.N.T.U. although having majority support among railway, C.B.C., waterfront and other Quebec workers represented by so-called national unions has not been able to decertify these C.L.C. sponsored unions.

By law workers are supposed to be able to join "the union of their choice" but in practice as demonstrated by the Labor Relations Board and provincial labor boards across the country this right is non-existent. All boards as presently constituted are dominated on "labors side" by C.L.C. bureaucrats whose function is to protect the established Yankee dominated union movement and eliminate the growing demand for truly Canadian and Quebecois unions. This has been demonstrated time and again across Canada. Particularly in Quebec, B.C. and Ontario.

At this point it would be well to examine the opposition to the present bill. The first group to step forward quite naturally was the C.L.C. This group is the most noisy and is trying to make with the holy act. It declares its opposition because this bill would endanger "wage standards" and "seniority rights of the workers." This of course is directed towards workers presently under its domination. The picture presented by these outraged pork choppers is laughable. If they really had good wage contracts and if seniority rights really meant everything as they would have us believe, what have they to fear by the simple passage of a bill by the Ottawa talk fest. No, these bureaucrats realize only too well that if this bill was passed there would be immediately in Quebec a mass exodus from the class collaborationist C.L.C. unions into the C.N.T.U. thus endangering the flow of pork chops in their direction. Not only in Quebec but in Canada as well the workers would soon take the Quebec example. This is the real reason for their opposition, fear of extinction by a thoroughly fed up working class. The C.L.C. is initiating a campaign to lobby M.P.s., plead with capitalists etc. This campaign has not fallen on deaf ears. C.L.C. and capitalist representatives on the Canadian Labor Relations Board have

already informed the government that they will walk out and resign if Bill C-186 becomes law. The N.D.P., many Liberals, Tories and Socred in the house have united against the passage of the bill. The capitalists have also responded in the negative. Their mouthpiece (the Toronto Globe and Mail) recently carried an editorial entitled "A Dangerous Bill" in which they present their class opposition to the bill. Wednesday January 3, 1968 edition. A quote from the article is interesting, it states:

"Quebec and French Canadians are entitled to a better recognition in many areas of their cultural and linguistic aspirations. But the Liberal government goes irresponsibly far when, solely to placate the C.N.T.U. it hands that organization a sponner with which it could wreck the national works."

In other words give the Quebecois their own language, but don't give any meaningful control of their own destiny to them.

Faced with this united block of politicians, labour bureaucrats and capitalists the gov't. has quietly retired the bill to the "Parliamentary Committee on Labour and Employment." The Globe and Mail confidently predicts the bill will never be resurrected but allowed to die there. No doubt it will. They should know, it's their gov't. And once again the Quebec people come away empty handed—but wiser. History is showing them an old law of development of society—namely no oppressor voluntarily gives up his right to oppress. The C.L.C. bureaucrats and their Yankee masters are no exception to this, nor are the English Canadian capitalists and their Yankee masters. History also shows that a people striving for their freedom and independence are not to be denied once they understand the nature of the enemy and his institutions. There is no lack of lessons issuing forth from the Ottawa gashouse, the people in Quebec are learning by negative example that their freedom won't be granted by appealing to the "reasonableness" of their oppressor and that no meaningful change will be granted them. What freedom they obtain will have to be taken by any and all means.

English Canadian workers should learn from this example also. The lesson is clear. It is in our interest to support the Quebecois struggle because objectively they weaken the same enemy that oppresses us. This is the real basis of unity Quebec and English Canadian workers have — a common enemy, therefore common struggle. The growth of the C.N.T.U. helps the struggle for Canadian unions and the opposite is also true. The lesson of the shelving of Bill C-186 points to a protracted and perhaps violent struggle in both nations.

ARE YOU
A MEMBER
OF AN
AMERICAN
UNION
TOO ?



**CANADIAN UNIONS
FOR CANADIAN WORKERS**

DEBRAY'S CONCEPT OF REVOLUTION

This article is the result of a critical examination of the pamphlet, "Revolution in the Revolution?" and is a systematic presentation of the Progressive Workers Movement's position. Due to the length of this article we will carry the concluding section in the next issue of Progressive Worker. Comments and criticisms are welcomed. — Editor.

Recent events in Bolivia have brought to the fore certain questions of strategy and tactics in the Latin American revolution. One of the central figures in the Bolivian incident was a young French student of philosophy whose essay, "Revolution in the Revolution", was published for the first time in English almost simultaneously with the final act of the tragedy enacted in the jungles of Bolivia. The essay was hailed by the publishers, Huberman and Sweezy editors of "Monthly Review", as a work of "first importance".

At first glance it appears indeed strange that an essay by a philosophy student still in his mid-twenties should attract such widespread attention as to sell some hundreds of thousands of copies in several languages. It is nothing short of amazing that one so young, whose only experience of revolution has been through the books of a college library, should be looked upon as the originator of a new concept of revolution. This is particularly so when one considers that his famous essay received acclaim before Debray had gained world fame as a prisoner of the reactionary government of Bolivia.

The only explanation for this meteoric rise to fame, and the real importance of the essay, is because Debray has presented in systematized form the thinking of such leading people in Cuba as Fidel Castro and his closest colleagues and this gives his work a greater significance and greater authority than if it were no more than a private essay by the author. If this assumption is correct then the book reflects what would be tantamount to official Party and Government policy in Cuba. In view of this, and because of its undoubted influence among students, intellectuals and in petty-bourgeois circles, it becomes necessary for us to make a critical examination of the policies espoused in the essay; the more so since we are so closely linked with the results of any attempt to put into practice the "new revolutionary concept" advanced in "Revolution in the Revolution".

Are we justified in concluding that Debray is representing the official Cuban attitude toward the Latin American revolution? Here is the opinion expressed by the publishers of the English language edition:

"... since publication in Havana in January 1967. . . the size of the first printing (200,000 copies) and the evident eagerness of representatives of the Cuban regime to secure the widest distribution of the work both inside and outside Cuba leave no doubt that Régis Debray, though writing only in his capacity as a private student of revolutionary theory and practice, has succeeded in presenting to the world an accurate and profound account of the thinking of the leaders of the Cuban Revolution on these subjects. It is not to depreciate Debray's contribution to say that we have here for the first time a comprehensive and authoritative presentation of the revolutionary thought of Fidel Castro and Che Guevara."

Debray had his first contact with Cuba in 1961 and wrote several articles on Cuba and Latin America before producing "Revolution in the Revolution". These earlier essays were published in both French and Spanish; the Spanish version appearing in the Cuban theoretical journal "Casa de las Americas" and reputed to have reached "a vast audience". The essay now under discussion also appeared on the pages of "Casa de las Americas", and was given at least semi-official status by the editor of the journal, and one of Cuba's leading ideologists, Roberto Fernandez Retamar, who wrote in his introduction to the article:

"At the end of 1965 Debray returned to Cuba, having resolved to deepen his understanding of the revolutionary experience. It was his view that up to then the subject had been insufficiently studied. The subtlety of his concepts, his

great analytical ability, and the originality of his approach, already revealed in the earlier articles, awakened the interest of the leading circles of the Cuban Revolution who offered him every facility for carrying out his investigation. During 1966 he was able to speak with many who had participated in our revolutionary actions: among others, with Major Fidel Castro, who conceived and led that struggle. There were many long conversations, and Debray heard accounts of the experiences undergone, sometimes at the very site of decisive military actions. Furthermore, he had access to numerous unpublished documents of that epoch which had been preserved: messages written in combat, instructions to military leaders in the field, military communiques, letters, and other texts. This gave him the opportunity to obtain a most vivid impression of those historic events. No one else has had access to such a wealth of material for historical research.

"Of course Debray has not written a history of that process, but he has drawn fundamental military and political conclusions from it, contrasting them with the personal experiences, the successes and mistakes of other guerilla movements which he knew directly, or about which he was able to obtain fresh and reliable information.

"It is with great satisfaction that we inaugurate the Cuadernos series of "Casa de las Americas" with this essay, which, even more than the author's earlier essays, is bound to arouse the interest of those who, everywhere on the continent of Bolivar and Marti, of Fidel and Che, know the duty of a revolutionary is to make the revolution."

This introduction by a leading Cuban theoretician constitutes very strong evidence that we have here something much more important than a private essay. Retamar stops just short of an outright statement that this is a presentation of Fidel's views on the Latin American and world situation. Of outstanding importance in Retamar's advice that the Debray essay is theoretical, not historical; that from the material placed at his disposal he has "drawn fundamental military and political conclusions". In other words, Retamar is informing his audience that it is the political and military, that is, the theoretical, conclusions Debray draws that are of greatest interest and significance for the Latin American revolutionary movement.

To what we have outlined above add the many passages from speeches by Castro, particularly during the past year, which are couched in the same terms as the Debray essay and one has fairly conclusive evidence that we have before us a document much more important than the private and personal opinion of a young student of philosophy. It is, therefore, as a major political statement of Fidel Castro and his colleagues that we begin a discussion of "Revolution in the Revolution."

"The Cuban revolution can no longer be repeated in Latin America"

Debray begins his essay with the above quote and then proceeds to take issue with those who express such an opinion. On page 24 (Monthly, Review July-August 1967) he writes:

"Historically Cuba has established the point of departure of the armed revolution in Latin America. It is this point of departure, assiduously based on a correct line, which is essential."

But an **Historical** examination of the Cuban Revolution could prove embarrassing to Debray's purpose so he avoids that form of approach. On page 16 he writes:

"Thus we cannot but deplore the continuing lack of detailed history of the Cuban insurrectional process, a history which can come to us only from those who organized and participated in it. This lack constrains us to reduce our references to allusions, whereas what is really needed is a systematic investigation."

So after contending "Historically Cuba has established a point of departure", Debray says since we have no such history let us proceed on the basis of implication and symbolism ("allusion") and through this process deduce a theory with which to guide the Latin American Revolution.

With seven years of the Cuban Revolution already behind him when he wrote his essay, there must have been available to Debray a fairly detailed history of the Cuban event. Why, then, did he not use it? We suggest that beyond emphasizing what was already well known to revolutionaries—that armed struggle is the **only** path to power—the Cuban Revolution held few lessons for Marxist-Leninists but many illusions for the unwary.

One important factor which Debray fails completely to take into consideration is that reactionaries are also capable of learning from history. Later events in the Dominican Republic indicate that the U.S. imperialists learned well the lesson of Cuba and are determined that never again will they be caught napping in Latin America. Not even the physical existence of Cuba could change the course of events in Dominica. Debray solves that problem by simply ignoring it.

The Cuban Revolution

There is nothing strange about the Cuban Revolution, no secret formulas that one cannot understand, only the myths and legends that certain people draw around it like a curtain make it appear that way. Debray could easily draw back that curtain but will not because it would mean leaving his "theory" entirely without foundation.

Ever since the Spanish occupation, Cuba, like most Latin American countries, had a revolutionary left wing led by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois circles who desired a measure of national independence. Castro was in the direct line of descent from these bourgeois revolutionaries as was Arbenz in Guatemala and several other such Latin American leaders. It is not by accident that Castro points to Bolivar and Marti—the best among these bourgeois revolutionaries—as the source of his inspiration.

Batista, whom Fidel sought to overthrow, had himself seized power by force and Castro was not the only one to oppose him with arms. Others had tried to depose Batista with armed force and had been crushed before Castro's famed attack on Moncada in 1953. The theory behind the Moncada attack was to seize Batista's second largest fort, and the one farthest from the centre of control, which was thought sufficient to start an uprising in Santiago, both in the army and among the people, and that the result would spread quickly across the island. The mildness of the treatment accorded Fidel and his comrades after capture is a sure indication of the fact that ruling class did not consider them dangerous to their political and economic control.

Moncada, Fidel's first plan insurrection, failed as did his second plan, the Gramma landing, which, in its original conception, aimed at seizing several large centres of population to be followed by a swift explosion of popular rebellion which would place Fidel and his group in power. The Gramma expedition was known to Batista and the force was almost wiped out on landing rendering the whole plan a total failure. Only 12 men of the original expedition reached the Sierra Maestra and Castro was forced to spend two years wandering in the mountains while he rebuilt his depleted force.

Batista's regime was on an extremely shaky foundation from the very moment he seized power and it grew rapidly weaker with each passing day. Vicious attacks against the student body (drawn from the wealthier families) alienated Batista's bourgeois and petty-bourgeois support. Unemployment was widespread and growing, living and working conditions deplorable, the average annual salary of the peasant was \$80 and peasant families chewed sugar cane as much as four months of the year as a substitute for the food they could not afford. Corruption in the administration was bad even by the Latin American standards. Officials enriched themselves while necessary public works projects and administration expenses went short of funds. Finally the U.S. imperialists refused any longer to subsidize Batista with loans and his regime staggered to its doom, to be replaced by the Castro-led rebels in the mountains who enjoyed a wide measure of popular support for no other reason than that they opposed Batista with arms.

Fidel was not a socialist while he was in the mountains. On the contrary he was, like most Cuban bourgeois nationalists, an anti-Communist. Fidel, at this stage, was not even an anti-imperialist, concentrating solely on overthrowing the tyrannous regime of Batista. It was only after he sought

to reach agreement with the United States and was confronted with impossible demands that he became anti-imperialist and turned, at the urging of the Popular Socialist Party, toward the Soviet Union for aid. The U.S.S.R., already under revisionist control, made no demands that would bruise the conscience of a bourgeois nationalist. After agreement with the U.S.S.R. was reached Castro declared the establishment of "Socialism" by decree.

But Socialism is not installed by decree and peasant land reform does not provide a base for a Socialist economy. The land is still in private hands and the owners employ labour at wages that are quite low. Accepting the so-called "international division of labour" promoted by the Soviet ruling clique turns Cuba into an area of exploitation for the revisionists. The Soviet Union exchanges high-priced manufactured goods for cheap agricultural produce and once again Soviet "aid" is turned into a source of profit.

Cuba is thousands of miles from any possible help in case of attack, yet, on Soviet urging, Castro keeps the country on a one-crop economy dependent on the world market and looks to the U.S.S.R. for arms. (The most dramatic illustration of how dangerous this is was demonstrated by the so-called "missile crisis" of 1962). The maintenance of Cuba as an independent nation demands that she become self-sufficient, able to stand by herself without outside aid for a protracted period.

Placing so much dependence on outside aid, and made dramatically aware of both the inability and unwillingness of the U.S.S.R. to guarantee necessary aid in a time of crisis, causes Castro to turn in desperation toward a scheme for the spreading of the "Cuban type" revolution to all of Latin America which, he divines, could exist as an independent unit without outside aid. This, of course, brings him into conflict with the United States even though Castro aims at no more than a patching of the capitalist system. The imperialist U.S. cannot, and will not, tolerate even a mild form of bourgeois nationalism. The events in the Dominican Republic are certain proof of that. The U.S. ruling class knows very well that any disturbance of the status quo could bring the whole edifice crashing down. The plan also brings Castro into conflict with the Soviet revisionists who want only to strengthen the U.S.-U.S.S.R. partnership for world domination.

Fidel, who interprets the downfall of Batista to have been due solely to the action of his tiny guerilla band, sees the key to the Latin American situation to lie in the formation of groups like the Granma expedition. Since such groups are not appearing as indigenous formations in the local areas they have to be promoted by outside forces and grafted on to the community.

This whole approach requires a "theoretical" base which will include strains of anti-imperialism, anti-revisionism, and anti-"Maoism", so that it will remain firmly in control of Fidel and his colleagues who are not socialist and are only intrinsically anti-imperialist.

Debray, therefore, was no happy accident. He was deliberately commissioned to produce the necessary "theory" and the result is **Revolution in the Revolution**. Thus an obscure student of philosophy is thrust, unprepared, on to the world stage as the spokesman of the petty-bourgeois leaders of what is essentially a bourgeois-democratic revolution masquerading as Socialism and developing in a period when classical bourgeois-democratic revolutions led by representatives of the bourgeoisie are no longer possible.

This is the real historic importance of the Debray essay and it is in this light that we will critically examine its contents.

Rejecting The Lessons of History

At the point where his essay really begins (P.19 **Monthly Review**) Debray writes: "... Cuba's real significance and the scope of its lessons, which had been overlooked before, are being discovered. A new conception of guerilla warfare is coming to light."

In order to substantiate this claim, and to achieve his ultimate objective, Debray must "prove" that history contains no lessons for Latin America, that all previous revolutionary experience is irrelevant to the Americas and only the Cuban experience holds the key to freedom and "Socialism" for the continent. A formidable task, but one to which Debray applies

himself vigorously. He begins the task of demolition with this passage which appears on pages 19-20 M.R.:

"... Cuba remembered from the beginning that the socialist revolution is the result of an armed struggle against the armed power of the bourgeois state. This old historic law, of a strategic nature if you like, was at first given a known tactical content. One began by identifying the guerilla struggle with insurrection because the archetype — 1917 — had taken this form, and because Lenin and later Stalin had developed several theoretical formulas based on it — formulas which have nothing to do with the present situation and which are periodically debated in vain, such as those which refer to conditions for the outbreak of an insurrection, meaning an immediate assault on the central power. But this disparity soon became evident. American guerilla warfare was next identified with Asian guerilla warfare, since both are "irregular" wars of encirclement of cities from the countryside. This confusion is even more dangerous than the first.

"The armed revolutionary struggle encounters specific conditions on each continent, in each country, but these are neither 'natural' nor obvious. So true is this that in each case years of sacrifice are necessary in order to discover and acquire an awareness of them. The Russian Social-Democrats instinctively thought in terms of repeating the Paris Commune in Petrograd; the Chinese Communists of repeating the Russian October in the Canton of the twenties; and the Vietnamese comrades, a year after the foundation of their party, in terms of organizing insurrections of peasant soviets in the in the northern part of their country. . . ."

Straightening out all the distortions of history contained in this passage would require several lengthy volumes. Either out of ignorance or in a deliberate effort to confuse, Debray attempts to establish that all revolutions before Cuba started wrong. Therefore, one must learn only from the Cuban experience and avoid all others like the plague.

Cuba was not the only one to remember that armed struggle is required in order to smash the power of the bourgeois state. That fact has always been known to revolutionaries and precisely that point is one of the central items of dispute between Marxist-Leninists and revisionists. And in the matter of remembering that the **socialist revolution** is the result of armed struggle, as we said above, Castro led a bourgeois-democratic, not a socialist, revolution. Being inclined toward anti-communism at the time of the Granma expedition Castro would not have been at all interested in remembering anything about socialist revolution. This information must certainly have been available to Debray and we can only conclude that he is altering the origins of the Cuban Revolution because it is essential to the elaboration of his "theory".

Again on the question of the Russian October Debray engages in distortion. The Bolsheviks and Lenin did **NOT** think in terms of **REPEATING** the Paris Commune in Petrograd. Lenin, like Marx and Engels before him, was perfectly well aware of both the shortcomings and the historical significance of the Commune. If Debray had overcome his contempt for all previous revolutionary experience long enough to allow himself to read "State and Revolution" and "The Civil War in France", he would have been better acquainted with his subject.

The historical significance of the Paris Commune resided in the fact that it conclusively demonstrated the need for smashing the bourgeois state machine and replacing it with a state of a new type — the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was this revolutionary **LESSON** that the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, applied in the Russian Revolution with such great success. This is not **REPITITION**, it is the correct and creative application of the lessons of history to a new situation. Even though it succeeded in October Debray wants to reject it as not applicable to the Latin American situation.

Debray's casual dismissal of the rich lessons of revolutionary struggle in China as "repeating the Russian October in the Canton of the twenties" is equally wrong and distorted. In the first place, the Party was under the leadership, (almost the dictatorial control) of Chen Tu-hsiu, a notorious opportunist who never understood the role of the peasantry in China. His chief political adviser was the Russian, Borodin, who was even farther to the right than was Chen. The rev-

olutionary line of Mao Tse-tung, and Mao's leadership in the Party, did not become dominant until several years into the thirties, after which the Chinese Revolution forged ahead on a consistent path until power was won in 1949.

In any event, the battles of the twenties in Canton, Shanghai and Nanking were not the result of any erroneous attempt to "repeat the Russian October". These battles were thrust on the Party and the proletariat by the counter-revolutionary attacks of Chiang Kai-shek and the right-wing Kuomintang who had disrupted the United Front, seized power on behalf of the landlords and comprador bourgeoisie, and placed themselves in the service of imperialism. The **REAL** lessons of the Chinese Revolution are dated from the time when the revolutionary line of Mao Tse-tung became the guiding light of the revolution. Once more Debray distorts history for his own aims and purpose and to the detriment of the anti-imperialist struggle in Latin America.

Contrary to what Debray says, the Vietnamese did not take the experience of Russia and China and apply it rigidly, like a blueprint, to the situation in Vietnam. They brilliantly applied the lessons learned in those struggles and have greatly enriched those lessons and the theory of People's War in more than a quarter of a century of heroic battle for national liberation.

Debray's "new conception of guerilla warfare" is a visionary formula based on a distorted view of history and revolutionary experience and is manufactured to supply a particular requirement and fit into the mould of a pre-conceived "theory" rather than arising out of a correct analysis of Latin American conditions and class relationships. The creator of "Revolution in the Revolution" writes as though guerilla warfare was the peculiar property of revolutionaries and a form of warfare complete in itself. Guerilla warfare, in certain forms has, on occasion, been used by the bourgeoisie and reactionaries. The British General, Orde Wingate, used guerilla tactics against the Japanese in the jungles of Burma during the second world war, and so also did the Australians against Rommel in the African desert. Commando raids in Europe were a form of guerilla warfare. The Greek fascist general, Grivas, used guerilla tactics against the British in Cyprus as did the Israeli fascist Stern Gang in Palestine.

War in all its forms is used by both revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries for the sole purpose of achieving their objective—the conquest of power. The choice of what form to use, guerilla, mobile, or positional, does not always rest exclusively with a particular combatant, but is often determined by subjective conditions or by developments not entirely in his control. In Vietnam the people's army shifts from one form to another with the agility and mobility learned in many years of battle against the aggressor. In revolutionary warfare the people's forces must be prepared to use, and adept at using, all forms of warfare. To be rigidly committed to one particular type is to impose on oneself a limitation that could well prove fatal.

In his theses, "Guerilla Warfare", Mao Tse-tung wrote: "Experience shows that if precedence is not given to the question of conquering the enemy in both political and military affairs and if regular hostilities are not conducted with tenacity, guerilla operations alone cannot produce final victory."

It is clear from this that guerilla war is by no means the ultimate weapon in the struggle to overthrow the ruling class. It is but a part of the totality of people's war which must be directed at defeating the enemy **POLITICALLY** as well as in the field of battle. Debray, however, sees guerilla war as complete in itself and aimed only at wearing down the enemy **MILITARILY**, politics are to take care of themselves when the enemy has been beaten on the field of battle.

In order to "prove" the primacy of his "new conception of guerilla war" Debray must show conclusively that it has no roots in, and is not influenced by any previous experience. The whole concept must be shown to have sprung, complete in every detail, from the pure and unadulterated mind of its inventor. To establish this point is Debray's prime objective in the following passage which appears on page 20:

"One may well consider it a stroke of good luck that Fidel had not read the military writings of Mao Tse-tung before disembarking on the coast of Oriente: he could thus in-

vent, on the spot and out of his own experience, principles of a military doctrine in conformity with the terrain."

It is scarcely credible that anyone, and certainly not anyone who lays claim to leadership in the revolutionary movement, could have avoided having some knowledge of the works of Mao Tse-tung some ten years after the victory of the Chinese Revolution. Yet that is precisely what Debray claims for Castro and Guevara—apparently with their consent. That the works of the one man who, more than any other single individual, contributed most to the enrichment, elaboration and systematization of guerilla warfare as an integral part of peoples revolutionary war, were not included amongst the reading material of those who ventured to place themselves at the head of a revolutionary movement is not something to boast about, as Debray seems to think, it is criminal negligence.

Castro, of course, did read some books, and from them drew inspiration and knowledge to carry on the struggle. According to Debray one of those ranking high on the list of sources of military inspiration for Fidel was a work of fiction about the Spanish War; "For Whom the Bell Tolls" by Hemingway. That one could learn military tactics from any fiction story is in itself amazing, but that one could learn about guerilla warfare from such a work on the Spanish War is simply astounding. One of the prime weaknesses of the Spanish War was that there were no guerilla or partisan tactics used against the fascist armies. In fact, most of the main shortcomings in the Spanish War have been incorporated into Debray's "new conception of guerilla war".

- 1) There was no all-round policy and plan of people's revolutionary war—including the guerilla form of warfare.
- 2) Dependence on weapons rather than the full mobilization of the people.
- 3) Reliance on aid and support from abroad as a vital need rather than relying on one's own resources first and mainly.
- 4) No People's Army led by a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party.

This could hardly be considered a rich source of inspiration although it could teach valuable lessons by negative example. However, that is not the way in which Debray presents it. Yet, armed with this uncertain knowledge, Castro was able to

"... invent, on the spot, and out of his own experience, principles of a military doctrine. . .

That would probably be considered unbelievable by anyone except a student of philosophy whose only knowledge of revolutionary war is the imaginative reminiscence of a petty-bourgeois romanticist.

But Debray is aware of the world-wide influence of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and the great authority which his revolutionary writings exercise in Latin America, as they do throughout the world. So he must, perforce, find some way to cover his hero with the vast prestige of the world's leading Marxist-Leninist. This Debray does in a footnote which claims that Castro, after all, had practiced what Mao had written about never ever reading his works. Here are Debray's words:

"Mao Tse-tung's 'Problems of Strategy in Guerilla War Against Japan' came into Fidel's and Che's hands after the the 1958 summer offensive: to their surprise they found in this book what they had been practicing of necessity" (P.20)

One would think that after this admission Debray should recommend a study of the works of Mao Tse-tung. But such is not the case. The thing our "theoretician" wants least of all is for his readers to become acquainted with Mao's writings since that would expose the fundamental incorrectness of his "new concept". He wants to impress on his audience that Fidel is as great an authority on Marxism-Leninism as is Mao Tse-tung, and it is better to accept Fidel's advice since it is tailored to fit the "highly special conditions of Latin America". Here is how Debray puts his case for revolutionary illiteracy:

"... once again in Latin America, militants are reading Fidel's speeches and Che Guevara's writings with eyes that have already read Mao on the anti-Japanese war, Giap and certain texts of Lenin—and they think they recognize the latter in the former. Classical visual superimposition, but

dangerous since the Latin American revolutionary war possesses highly special and profoundly distinct conditions of development, which can only be discovered through a particular experience. In that sense, all the theoretical works on people's war do as much harm as good." (P.21)

Advising total ignorance of all previous revolutionary experience (except, of course, that of Fidel and Che—which was born of ignorance anyhow) Debray's hope for success should lie in the direction of an army of illiterates led by a single guiding genius. But this is not to be. For various reasons, which will appear later, Debray rules out the possibility of the poor and oppressed ever constituting a revolutionary army dedicated to the overthrow of the ruling class. He has other plans for a "revolutionary vanguard".

"... the irony of history has willed, by virtue of the social situation of many Latin American countries, the assignment of precisely the vanguard role to students and revolutionary intellectuals, who have had to unleash, or rather initiate, the highest forms of class struggle."

One of the chief weakness of such a "vanguard", according to Debray, is that they can read and might be influenced by the books they have read. Who knows: they might even have read Mao Tse-tung and decide to apply his revolutionary line to the Latin American situation.

In pursuit of his objective "To Free the Present From the Past" Debray proceeds with an attempt to demolish all previous experience in: a) Armed Self-defense; b) Armed Propaganda; c) The Guerilla Base; d) The Party and the Guerilla.

Armed Self-defense

Debray starts his criticism of "armed self-defense" with the categorical statement:

"Today, self-defense as a system and as a reality has been liquidated by the march of events."

What lies behind this statement is the argument that the mass of the people must not be organized and armed to defend themselves against the reactionary armed forces and to act as an auxillary force to the People's Army when the reactionaries penetrate the locality. After all, implementation of of measure like that could very well result in the revolutionary people overthrowing Debray's "roving band of heros and render them unnecessary.

Debray wants to present proof of his contention and for that he turns to the tin mines of Bolivia as a horrible example of the ineffectiveness of "armed self-defense". However, what Debray fails to realize (or fails to state if his does realize) is that his example is not at all an example of armed self-defense in a revolutionary situation where it plays a role in the total concept of people's war.

After the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1952, in which they played an important role, the Bolivian miners retained their arms. These forty thousand armed miners and industrial workers constituted a considerable potential revolutionary force. However, under revisionist and reformist leadership, they were restricted to making purely economic demands of a limited nature on the ruling class. When they marched on La Paz—as they did on a number of occasions—it was to enforce demands that were of concern only to the miners, at no time were demands of a national character raised that would unite peasant and worker in a fight for the nation. The end result, with the peasant having no personal interest in the outcome, was division of the exploited masses and ultimate defeat for the workers. This is a classical example of the result of revisionist and reformist treachery—it is not an example of armed self-defense of a community in a revolutionary situation.

The revolutionary approach to armed self-defense is the mobilization of the entire population of the area and the training of the people in the elementary principles of self-defense under supervision of the people's army. In this way the community is prepared to defend itself against a reactionary attack and is also a source of recruitment for all levels of the people's army. Debray rejects this proposition with the claim that the "civilian" community is incapable of defending itself. He says that the guerilla band should avoid contact with the civilian population since they are not responsible for its defense and, therefore, should not implicate them in guerilla activities and expose them to the ruling

class violence. Debray writes:

"...self-defense denies the role of the armed unit, which is organically separate from the civilian population. self-defense aspires to integrate everyone into the armed struggle, to create a mass guerilla force, with women, children, and domestic animals in the midst of the guerilla column." (P.29)

Debray enters into a mass of detail to "prove" that the people are incapable of either defending themselves or launching an attack to overthrow the bourgeoisie. Placing his reliance on arms and material he arrives at the conclusion that only a professional force is capable of confronting the professional army of the ruling class and only his intellectual band of heroes can provide such a force.

"Whether or not to provide the popular forces with an armed detachment, organically independent of the civilian population, freed the tasks of civilian population, freed from the tasks of civil defense, and with the goal of winning political power—such is the decisive criterion for distinguishing revolutionary phraseology from revolutionary theory." (P.36)

"The guerilla force is independent of the civilian population, in action as well as in military organization; consequently it need not assume the direct defense of the peasant population...the populace will be completely safe when opposing forces are completely defeated...this objective requires that the guerilla band be independent of the families residing within the zone of operation." (Pp. 41-42)

"...considerations of common sense necessitate wariness toward the civilian population and maintenance of a certain aloofness. By their very situation civilians are exposed to repression and the constant presence and pressure of the enemy, who will attempt to buy them, corrupt them, or to extort from them by violence what cannot be bought." (Pp. 42-43)

"Constant vigilance, constant mistrust, constant mobility—the three golden rules" (P.42)

Debray urges an attitude which is completely at variance with the revolutionary line of Moa Tse-tung who described the guerillas as fish and the people as the water in which they swim. But the author of "Revolution in the Revolution" expresses only contempt for, and mistrust in, the people whom he considers all too easily bribed and corrupted. None but his band of heroes, standing alone and isolated in their glory, are capable of resisting ruling class pressure and corruption.

It never seems to occur to Debray that if he distrusts the people and disclaims all responsibility for defending them, or assisting in training and organizing them for their own defence, then it surely must follow that the people will not put their trust in the guerilla band nor accept any responsibility for its protection. If his band of heroes are to remain independent from the civilian population, then the civilian population must, of necessity, be independent of the guerilla band. That, in fact, is exactly what happened in Bolivia where Guevara's guerilla band seems to have stayed clear of the people — even unto death.

One wonders, too, from whence Debray expects to receive reinforcements, food, and other supplies. Are we to assume that the students and intellectuals who have not yet joined the guerillas will take time out from their studies to bring up the needed supplies? This point seems to have been completely ignored by Debray.

The "theoretician" of the Latin American revolution may have thought his proposal of not accepting any responsibility for protection of the civilian population would appear to his readers to be a callous attitude to adopt. In any event he tries to justify his proposal as being in the interests and safety of the masses. He writes: "The guerillas avoid going to the villages and openly staying in a given house. . . If they do enter a village they may stop at all houses, so as to compromise all equally. . . If they must hold a meeting, they pretend to assemble the population by force, so that if threatened by repression the people can claim they were coerced." (P.42)

Certainly the guerillas will take measures to protect their contacts in occupied territory. But a logical measure of that kind has no relationship to the elaborate procedure outlined by Debray, nor is it for the same reason.

Debray has a "legal" approach to the question. If the ruling class cannot "prove in court" that members of the

community, visited by the guerilla band, have actual contact with the guerillas, then no repressive action will be taken. If Debray were not so contemptuous of learning from previous experience he would know that he is making a stupid assumption. The ruling class will inflict punishment regardless of the "guilt" or "innocence" of the people involved and there is a wealth of evidence to this effect. Let us cite just a few examples from modern history.

The British razed entire villages in Ireland if they were merely **SUSPECTED** of harbouring Republican fighters. The Nazis destroyed the entire Czechoslovakian town of Lidice as punishment for the death of Heydrich. In Vietnam, the Americans burn and depopulate entire communities thought to be in sympathy with the People's Army.

These are historic incidents which cannot possibly have escaped the attention of Debray, therefore he must know that the ruling class will punish any community in the general area of guerilla activities without regard to the "legal" requirement of proof of guilt. So when Debray renounces all responsibility for the safety of the civilian population he cannot really be motivated by concern for the people. We consider his real, and sole, concern is for the safety of his band of heroes.

The general opinion expressed in this section on "armed self-defence" is one of utter contempt for the masses who are considered incapable, if not unwilling, of fighting for their liberation. Only the chosen band of intellectual heroes can stand up to the pressures and repression of the ruling class. The people are but docile pawns in the battle and must await their delivery from the oppressor as a result of the heroic endeavours of the roving band of heroes. So says Debray.

ARMED PROPAGANDA

When Debray begins his discourse on "armed propaganda" with the statement: "The guerilla struggle has political motives and goals. It must have the support of the masses or disappear" (P.47), the reader hopes, for a fleeting moment that he is about to repudiate everything he has written until this point in his essay. However, we are soon to be disillusioned. Debray is simply beginning an outline of his impression of the course of development of the People's War in Vietnam with a view at last of categorically rejecting it as not applicable to the Latin American situation.

The winning of the masses by means of ideological conviction is not for Debray. Whereas in Vietnam, as in China, the guerilla movement is indigenous to the country and the locality, and the enemy force is alien, the situation in Latin America is opposite to the normal condition and, therefore, the guerillas will not be able to win the people by normal methods. Here is Debray's appraisal of the situation in Latin America: "The armed unit and the people's vanguard are not dealing with a foreign expeditionary force. . . but with a well-established system of local domination. They themselves are the foreigners, lacking status, who at the beginning can offer the populace nothing but bloodshed and pain."

Given this estimation it is understandable that Debray must find some method of propaganda hitherto unknown or unused by a guerilla movement. This he attempts and proceeds to elaborate on his "new conception".

"The poor peasant believes, first of all, in anyone who has a certain power. . . The army, the guardia rural, the latifundista's private police, or nowadays the 'Green Berets' and Rangers, enjoy a prestige. . . This prestige constitutes the principal form of oppression: it immobilizes the discontented, silences them, leads them to swallow affronts at the mere sight of a uniform. . .

"In other words, the physical force of the police and the army is considered to be unassailable, and unassailability cannot be challenged by words but by showing that a soldier and a policeman are no more bullet-proof than anyone else. The guerilla, on the other hand, must use his strength in order to show it. . . He must make a show of strength. In order to destroy the idea of unassailability — that age-old accumulation of fear and humility vis-a-vis the patrono, the policeman, the guardia rural — there is nothing better than combat. (P.51-52).

"The destruction of a troop transport truck or the public execution of a police torturer is more effective propaganda

for the local population than a hundred speeches. . . Afterwards, speeches may be made and will be heeded. . . During two years of warfare, I did not hold a single political rally in his zone of operations. (P.53-54).

"... armed propaganda follows military action but does not precede it. Armed propaganda has more to do with the internal than the external guerilla front. The main point is that under present conditions the most important form of propaganda is successful military action. . .

"To consider armed propaganda as a stage distinct from and prior to military operations is. . . to provoke the enemy needlessly. . . Given the social, ideological, and psychological conditions of the peasantry in the majority of Latin American countries. . . an agitational group, whether armed or not, will be watched, uncovered and liquidated. . ." (P.56).

Debray's "new conception" is gradually becoming clarified. He has introduced into the community a foreign armed force and imposed on the people forms of struggle which they are not, at the moment, prepared to accept and now must accept the consequences of his action. The "civilian population", according to the "new conception", respect and appreciate force alone. In order to win over the peasants, therefore, the band of heroes must demonstrate, by a "show of strength", that their force is superior to that of the enemy. This means — if it means anything at all — that the roving band of guerilla intellectuals must smash the reactionary forces of the state before they can hope to win the loyalty of the people, since they respect only the prestige connected with a superior force that has already demonstrated its effectiveness.

Debray's so-called "guerilla actions", therefore, are not related to the conquest of political power. These actions are designed to impress the local population and cause them to shift their respect and loyalty away from the established forces and put them on the armed opposition. What this comes down to is a contest between two armed forces with the loyalty of the civilian population as the prize which is conferred on the winner. Military action is primary, and political action, when it is considered at all, is a poor second and the masses stand aside in awe waiting to discover who shall be their new master.

The proud boast that Fidel did not hold a single political rally two years lends emphasis to the low esteem in which Debray holds political work. Mao Tse-tung, as long ago as 1929, dealt with precisely this error of putting military action ahead of politics. In his criticism of wrong methods of work in the Fourth Red Army, contained in the article "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party, Mao Tse-tung wrote:

"The purely military viewpoint is very highly developed among a number of comrades in the Red Army. It manifests itself as follows;

1. These comrades regard military affairs and politics as opposed to each other and refuse to recognize that military affairs are only one means of accomplishing political tasks. Some even say, "If you are good militarily, naturally you are good politically"—this is to go a step further and give military affairs a leading position over politics.

2. They think that the task of the Red Army, like that of the White Army, is merely to fight. They do not understand that the Chinese Red Army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution. Especially at present the Red Army, should not confine itself to fighting; besides fighting to destroy the enemy's military strength, it should shoulder such important tasks as doing propaganda among the masses, organizing the masses, arming them, helping them to establish revolutionary political power and setting up Party organizations. The Red Army fights not merely for the sake of fighting but in order to conduct propaganda among the masses, organize them, and help them establish revolutionary political power. Without these objectives, fighting loses its meaning and the Red Army loses the reason for its existence.

3. . . comrades subordinate the departments of the Red Army doing political work to those doing military work. . . If allowed to develop, this idea would involve the danger of estrangement from the masses, control of the government by the army and departure from proletarian dictatorship.
4. . . in propaganda work they overlook the importance of

propaganda teams. . . they neglect organizing of soldiers' committees in the army and organizing of local workers and peasants. As a result, both propaganda and organizational work are abandoned.

6. . . it is an important task of the Red Army to arm the local masses.

8. Some comrades, disregarding the subjective and objective conditions, suffer from the malady of revolutionary impetuosity; they will not take pains to do minute and detailed work among the masses, but, riddled with illusions, want to do big things. This is a remnant of putschism."

Among the sources of this purely military viewpoint Mao Tse-tung cites one that clearly applies to Debray's belief in the effectiveness of his roving band of heroes:

"... over-confidence in military strength and absence of confidence in the strength of the masses of the people."

Mao points out the means of correcting these errors, but since they have all to do with more correct and effective work of the Party organization, and since, as we shall see later, Debray rejects the idea of a need for a Marxist-Leninist Party, we will leave discussion of methods of correction until later.

After reading the quote from Mao one can understand it is no great wonder that Debray tries to discourage his audience from reading the works of Mao Tse-tung and, at the same time, makes an effort to convince all within hearing that Latin American conditions are fundamentally different from those prevailing in Asia.

With his mistrust of, and lack of confidence in the masses, Debray pins his faith in weapons and professional armies. (That his guerilla, force may be unpaid at the moment is besides the point—we are speaking of a principal, not rates of pay). The masses figure nowhere in the scheme of things except, perhaps, as the pot of gold at rainbow's end. His "new conception" has more in common with the military coup d'etats so prevalent in Latin America than it has with the struggle for proletarian power. It could not lead to proletarian dictatorship.

The Guerilla Base

Debray wastes no time over the discussion of guerilla bases. The reason for this is simple—he doesn't believe in them. The establishment of a base would require close links with the local population, doing political work among them, arming and training them. That would mean tying down the guerilla band too much for Debray's liking, stripping them of their adventurous role as a roving band of heroes, with responsibilities to no one but themselves. Of this type of action Mao Tse-tung wrote:

"Some people want to increase our political influence only by means of roving guerilla actions, but are unwilling to increase it by understanding the arduous task of building up base areas and establishing the people's political power." (On Correcting Mistaken Ideas)

In "Strategy in Guerilla War Against Japan" Mao Tse-tung dealt extensively with the problem of establishing guerilla bases and the different types of bases. This question was dealt with as a practical, not just a theoretical problem, of the anti-Japanese war.

"The third problem of strategy . . . is the establishment of base areas, which is important and essential because of the protracted nature and ruthlessness of the war . . . it will be impossible to sustain guerilla warfare behind the enemy lines without base areas. (Base areas) "are the strategic bases on which the guerilla forces rely in performing their strategic tasks and achieving the object of preserving and expanding themselves and destroying and driving out the enemy. Without such strategic bases, there will be nothing to depend on in carrying out any of our strategic tasks . . . It is characteristic of guerilla warfare . . . that it is fought without a rear. But guerilla warfare could not last long or grow without base areas. The base areas, indeed, are its rear.

"History knows many peasant wars of the roving rebel type, but none of them ever succeeded. In the present age of advanced communications and technology, it would be all the more groundless to imagine one can win victory by fighting in the manner of the roving rebels. However, this roving rebel idea still exists among impoverished peasants, and in the

minds of guerilla commanders it becomes the view that base areas are neither necessary nor important. Therefore, ridding the minds of guerilla commanders of this idea is a prerequisite for deciding on a policy of establishing base areas. The question of whether or not to have base areas and of whether or not to regard them as important, in other words, the conflict between the idea of establishing base areas and that of fighting like roving rebels, arise in all guerilla warfare . . . Therefore the struggle against the roving rebel ideology is an inevitable process. Only when this ideology is thoroughly overcome and the policy of establishing base areas is initiated and applied will there be conditions favourable for the maintenance of guerilla warfare over a long period."

We have here the considered opinion of one who has given brilliant leadership in the armed struggle against reaction. It is an opinion based on a vast experienced gained in leading and developing people's war. However, Debray and his rebel band are not interested in advice that carries the suggestion of a necessity for arduous and complex work, to win the masses and build a base for struggle. They want a short and easy path to fame and glory.

Debray, in an effort to avoid being tied down to a con-

sideration of this important problem, resorts to his old tactic of claiming fundamental differences between conditions in Latin America and in China. One of his biggest problems is to keep his followers from reading and studying the works of Mao Tse-tung and this he tries to achieve by warning that this could be a "dangerous" practice for aspiring young Latin Americans to indulge in. But this could prove difficult since revolutionaries everywhere know of the works of Mao Tse-tung and seek them out.

The final words of Debray on the question of a guerilla base are:

"The base of support is in the guerilla fighter's knapsack." (P. 65).

With that type of base the lone hero has no need of people and mass support. He has need of no one but himself, his knapsack and his heroic vision. People are not really essential to his plans — he is concerned only with the ideal world he hopes to find in the mountains and jungles if he can but keep wandering long enough.

Editors Note: 'This article to be concluded in the next issue of Progressive Worker starting with the section entitled "The Party and the Guerilla."' ●●●

C.P. INTERNAL BATTLE

The Communist Party of Canada is torn with internal contradictions in the conflict over policy as the crisis of the world capitalist system intensifies and exposes the present Party leaders as incapable of leading any kind of effective struggle for working class demands, and in defense of the of the nation. The Soviet ruling clique is hastening the transformation of the economy back to full capitalist ownership, adopting more open imperialist methods in relations with other countries, and colluding with U.S. imperialism in the drive to dominate the world. Fully committed to support of the line of Soviet revisionism, the national leadership of the C.P. of Canada are condemned to ineffectiveness against capitalism at home and in the struggle against U.S. imperialist domination of the Canadian economy.

Party functionaries and trade union bureaucrats who control the Party have nothing in common with the rank-and-file and are completely alienated from the mass of the working people. This alienation and isolation from the struggle was sharply emphasized by the number of leading Party trade unionists who refused to identify themselves with an anti-injunction demonstration called by the Fishermen's Union in British Columbia, because such identification might endanger their friendly relations with the Canadian Labour Congress and American union bureaucracies.

The Party members who are in daily contact with workers on the job are finding it impossible to advance — or even to defend — the revisionist policies dictated by the leadership. Tribune sales are declining sharply and Party members are becoming more and more reluctant to participate in street sales. The paper now carries a permanent ad offering a "generous commission" to anyone who will become an agent. Financial gain has replaced political conviction as an inducement to distribute the Party journal — small wonder when one considers the insipid contents of the official organ of Canadian revisionism.

Certain developments are causing the crisis to mature more rapidly in British Columbia than in the other English provinces. An anti-labour Social Credit government is mounting an attack against the labour movement; unemployment is increasing more sharply in B.C. than elsewhere; U.S. domination of the economy and natural resources is virtually complete, a condition facilitated by a government whose ministers tout integration of Canada with the United States; the fight for an independent Canadian trade union movement is more advanced in B.C. than elsewhere, a circumstance which brings the most militant and politically advanced section of the labour movement into direct confrontation with the revisionist bureaucrats who vigorously oppose any move in the direction of an independent Canadian movement.

These sharpening contradictions and conflicts in B.C. have resulted in a rift developing between a large number of Party activists in B.C. on the one hand and the revisionist-ridden national leadership on the other hand. The B.C. section of the Party is splitting and lining up in pro-national committee and anti-national committee factions. The differences are particularly sharp over the question of policy in relation to the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam, with the national leadership adopting a pro-U.S. line of appeasement which is in conflict with the Vietnamese determination to defeat the aggressor, hence the revisionist leadership is in opposition to Vietnam, giving that heroic country only verbal support while rendering real aid to the imperialists.

Latest development in the internal crisis in the C.P. is the reported resignation of at least two members from the Provincial Committee of the Party. This is sure to sharpen the antagonisms and may soon lead to additional resignations. The details of this bitter conflict in the West are being kept secret from the membership in other parts of the country, and are even being hidden from most of the members outside the Lower Mainland area of British Columbia. There is no discussion on the crisis in policy — indeed, discussion is discouraged and the Party journals are carrying on as though nothing was happening.

If anything concrete is to come out of the present conflict there must be a revolutionary line and program advanced in opposition to the revisionists. This could rally the majority of the rank-and-file in the west and change the relationship of forces in the leading bodies. Those in the Party who sincerely desire a change in policy in the direction of a truly revolutionary program must bring the struggle into the open and expose the national leadership's revisionist treachery. The columns of **Progressive Worker** are open to those who want to make use of them.

**LONG LIVE
THE VICTORY OF
PEOPLE'S WAR!**

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U.S. LAWS TO GOVERN CANADA?

Amid all the pro and con discussion over the possible effects in Canada of Johnson's economic edicts one outstanding feature is being completely missed—probably deliberately since it could prove to be a very delicate item to tackle openly. We have reference here to the fact that it is already quite apparent that the emergency decisions taken by the U.S. administration in an attempt to redress the deficit in the balance of payments are to have the full effect of law over U.S. investments in Canada—and that means the major and most important sectors of our economy. This would appear to be a gross invasion of our national sovereignty, yet no one seems at all prepared to challenge the propriety of the action.

It is not the fact that Congress seeks to limit the outflow of U.S. capital. They can do what they wish to regulate and control their capitalists and we are not likely to voice any protest. In fact, in our view, it would be a welcome move if they were to halt the flow of U.S. capital into Canada entirely.

What we do have in mind is the administration's instructions to U.S. investors to return to the United States a minimum of 35 per cent of all earnings made by American companies and investments abroad. This instruction is certain to have a serious effect in Canada where there is a greater concentration of American capital than in any other area of the world, with the obvious exception of the United States itself. So what we actually have is the President of the United States ordering companies operating in Canada, under Canadian license and Canadian jurisdiction, to comply with certain laws passed by the Congress of the United States; laws, incidentally, which will have an inimical effect on the economy of Canada and on the living standards of the Canadian people. It would be difficult to imagine a more high-handed act of imperialist arrogance short of outright invasion. Yet our politicians, in keeping with their puppet character, never question the propriety of this latest act of inadmissible interference in our internal affairs, they only announce with a show of false pride the fact that, due to our friendly relations, the U.S. will deal more leniently with Canada than she will with other nations. If there was a shot lower than the gutter our political hacks would be crawling in it.

Since all these companies are located on Canadian territory and, presumably are governed by Canadian law, we would be interested in learning what the result would be if Canada were to enact legislation which would have the effect of counter-mandating the U.S. measures. What, for example, could we expect to see happen if the Canadian Government were to pass a law forbidding any foreign company the right to repatriate any profits earned in Canada; or even if the law were moderated to allow, say, repatriation of 20 per cent of the profits? Would it be reasonable to expect an unfriendly visit from the marines, those sturdy defenders of U.S. interests abroad? Could we look forward to a replay of 1812 and another opportunity for Canadians to burn down Washington? A pleasing prospect! It would be gratifying indeed if we had a government with enough guts to take the necessary action to supply us with answers to these questions. But that would be asking altogether too much of a ruling class whose chief claim to fame in the past century has been their consistent servility to the imperialist master.

Meanwhile, back at the "international" union ranch our "brothers" south of the border are lining up with the U.S. monopolies to lobby Congress for more laws designed to rob Canadian workers of their jobs. This they are able to accomplish because of the double domination of Yankee bureaucrats over Canadian workers. Domination on the job by U.S. imperialist monopolies and domination in the labour organizations by U.S. union bureaucrats.

AFL-CIO officials, who claim to represent both Canadian and U.S. workers without bias or discrimination, are petitioning Congress, in company with representatives of the industrial and financial world, for the implementation of trade restrictions on the following, among many other items:

wool and man-made fibre textiles and clothing; a tightening of provisions of the Auto Pact to ensure more jobs for U.S. workers; import restrictions on goods that threaten "sensitive" industries.

With typical Yankee-imperialist arrogance the ALF-CIO Council assailed those countries that attempt to protect their economy from American dumping. These protective measures, say the Council members, "have imposed hardships on thousands of American workers."

The joint representation of labour and industry could well result in the implementation of stricter protectionist laws by the U.S. Congress and a consequent sharp decline in exports to that country. Again, Canada thoroughly dependent on the U.S. market, is in a highly vulnerable position. There is, of course, a remedy. Put an end to U.S. domination of our economy and our unions, cease relying on United States markets and develop trade relations with all countries.

FALSE STATEMENT

Maurice Rush, associate editor of the "Pacific Tribune" and leading spokesman of the revisionist Party bureaucracy in British Columbia, decorated the January 5th issue of his reformist journal with a signed, front-page editorial. Mr. Rush would have better served the labour movement had he left the space blank. In a rambling and pointless discussion of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam Rush stated — among other things:

"Rising interest rates and prices, skyrocketing rents and cutbacks on construction leading to mass unemployment, are the direct results of the Vietnam war."

The unwary or careless reader may, at first glance, be impressed with the Rush rhetoric and think he has uncovered here a gem of wisdom. But what he has in reality confronted us with is a classic pacifist position in relation to war. According to this method of reasoning it is war in the abstract that is responsible for all our social ills and if one could only halt the fighting everything would be sunny and bright. Our palsied editor is of the opinion that there will be no unemployment, interest rates, rents and prices will fall and constuction increase, if only the Yanks and Vietnamese would stop fighting. That is the only logical meaning one could take from a statement attributing failure to achieve these desired objectives to be a "direct result of the Vietnam war". Hence the keen desire of Rush and his colleagues to halt the fighting even at the cost of permanent U.S. occupation of Vietnam. His carefully prepared trap is designed to catch unwary workers in his revisionist net and gull them into supporting his pro-Yankee line.

Unemployment and all the other social ills which Rush writes about so glibly are not the result of the war in Vietnam—or any other war. These conditions—and the war itself—are the direct result of capitalist exploitation and, in the first place, to U.S. imperialist exploitation and aggression, an imperialism that dominates and distorts the economy of Canada and condemns hundreds of thousands of our people to unemployment and hunger. This is an elementary item of knowledge known to every honest radical.

The solution to our problem, therefore, is not a stop to the fighting but a stepping up of the struggle to the end that U.S. imperialism may be defeated and utterly destroyed. But Rush and his colleagues have long since stated, in the columns of this same "Pacific Tribune", that they are not interested in a people's victory in Vietnam. All they want is to stop the fighting. That puts them squarely in the U.S. camp since the imperialists also fervently desire an end to the people's war of resistance and a "peaceful" acceptance of imperialist domination and exploitation. It is this class-collaborationist concept that is the source of the kind of nonsense Rush and the "Pacific Tribune" are peddling in the labour movement.

MALAYA AND SINGAPORE

The "Malayan Bulletin" for December refers to the budget speech delivered by the Finance Minister of the so-called "Republic of Singapore" as a "report of impressive economic fiascoes". The "Bulletin" points to the fact that the claimed economic expansion was credited to a growth of trade with Indonesia, expansion of exports to South Vietnam and an increase in the flow of Hong Kong capital to Singapore. These, it is pointed out, are but transitory factors which cannot continue to produce a stimulating effect for any length of time. They do, however, serve to underline the fact that the Singapore ruling puppets are representatives of the comprador class who collaborate with the Indonesian fascists and with the U.S. aggressors in Vietnam.

The \$300 million trade with Saigon consists mainly of petroleum and petroleum products for use in the bombers and military vehicles of the U.S. aggressor. This means that the puppet clique are actively aiding and abetting the U.S. imperialists in bombing and massacring the people of Vietnam.

In spite of the forced note of optimism there was an obvious element of panic in the Finance Minister's speech, particularly on the question of unemployment. The Minister conceded that unemployment had always been a serious economic problem in Singapore—the British military cut-back had made the problem still more acute. It was revealed that 12,000 workers would lose their jobs on military bases and join the ranks of some 52,000 other unemployed workers. A further 25,000 is added each year representing teenagers who enter the labor market for the first time. This is a sizeable figure when it is realized that the Singapore popula-

tion does not exceed 2 million. Limited efforts to cope with the problem have resulted in creating only 5,000 jobs per year where 25,000 are needed plus sufficient to absorb the present unemployment.

Devaluation of the pound sterling hit Malaya in the midst of a change of currency. The governments of Malaya and Singapore decreed devaluation meant a 15 per cent tax on the poor. The \$90 million lost in this transaction came exclusively from the pockets of the workers.

The price of rubber has dropped and the wages of rubber workers have been drastically cut. Registered unemployment number 114,000 but the plantation workers union claims the actual total is more than 165,000. Living conditions for workers and peasants are no better than they were under Japanese occupation and many are living on one meal of rice a day. Children go to school with empty stomachs.

It can be seen that the greatest concern of the puppet authorities is not for the general well-being of the workers and peasants but for the selfish interests of the feudalists, landlords and comprador capitalists and their U.S.-British masters. This is why devaluation was kept a closely-guarded secret until it went into effect.

To date 1700 persons have been arrested and fascist violence used against the protesting people. Police and troops were given orders to shoot resulting in 27 killed and hundreds wounded. Curfew has been clamped on many areas and white terror prevails.

The Malayan people are not going to take all this sitting down. Counter-revolutionary violence is being met with revolutionary violence and the fight will continue until victory.

INDOCHINA

Thailand and Laos have recently intruded into the news reports from Indochina, which generally concentrates on events in Vietnam. These recent reports are shaped to convey the impression that the United States **MIGHT** intervene in these areas, thus ignoring the fact that there has been continuing massive intervention in Thailand and Laos ever since the end of World War II.

When the war ended, U.S. imperialism stepped into the shoes of the Japanese in Thailand and actively pursued the same course of oppression and exploitation. The only difference is that the Japanese openly invaded while the U.S. intruded using the reactionary Thanom clique as a cover. The Thanom reactionaries masqueraded as an "independent" Thai government while actually playing the role of U.S. puppet.

There are already some tens of thousands of U.S. troops in Thailand — far more than were present in Vietnam when the U.S. first launched its aggression there. Thailand is used by the U.S. as a base for aggression against the Thai people as well as against the people of Vietnam. U.S. helicopters and planes, piloted by Americans, are used on a large scale against the people's resistance. Thai military forces are controlled by the U.S., even down to battalion level. Training exercises and other activities have to be reported to the U.S. "advisers". These "advisers" control every bullet and every drop of gasoline. A United States junior officer wields far more authority than a high-ranking Thai field officer.

Economic conditions have deteriorated badly under U.S. occupation. The price of rice has become exorbitantly high and is in short supply. Thus the indispensable staple food of the people is difficult to obtain. Currency devaluation has become a much worse problem under the Americans than it ever was under any other occupying power. Thai currency is scarcely used at all, even in Bangkok, the capital. The U.S. dollar occupies the dominant position in the market. Bangkok has become a centre of wild living and debauchery, a virtual colony of the United States.

Of the total 26.2 million population of Thailand, 20.3 million are peasants. Of these, 19.1 million are poor peasants, farm labourers, and middle peasants. These are the forces which supply the resistance to alien occupation. With the formation of the Patriotic Front in Thailand the many spontaneous acts of resistance merged into people's war against the U.S. aggressors and the Thanom reactionaries.

"Development villages", like the "strategic hamlets" of Vietnam, just another form of concentration camp, are used as centers into which the peasants are herded. Mass executions are common, and even the drinking water is poisoned as a means to force the people into the "development villages".

The people's forces have grown in spite of all attempts to encircle and destroy them. Active guerilla warfare is carried on in 25 of the 71 provinces of Thailand and large areas have been liberated to serve as a base for the conduct of all-out people's war.

In Laos also the U.S. imperialists and local reactionaries have suffered serious defeats. Here, as in Thailand, large areas have been liberated and the people's armed forces grow in strength and experience. During recent months a number of outstanding victories have been gained over the imperialists and their stooges. Thousands of reactionary troops were annihilated during the past year. U.S. planes have been shot down and many have been destroyed on the ground in attacks on U.S.-controlled airfields.

The United States has consistently intervened on the side of reaction in Thailand and Laos and has used both countries as bases of aggression against Vietnam. There is little that is new in recent U.S. threats to extend their base of operations since they are already actively involved — only the scale of involvement is at issue with a view to an increase in the commitment of forces. Beyond this, only the implied threat to include Cambodia in the zone of operations could be called "new". However, increased aggression will solve no problems for the imperialists — it will merely hasten their destruction.

POEMS

by Rewi Alley

In Support of Vietnam, October 1967

Stolen wealth
breeds arrogance which
grinds heels into
faces of victims
of monopoly monsters who
together with hirelings,
tiny generals
brassy news hacks
jibe in private at
the masses the manipulate;
viciously a vice president
rants on the peril
of Asiatic Communism, which
he screams, centres in Peking
threatening civilization!

Wretched, purse proud U.S.A.
that has grabbed wealth
sure enough, along with
the world's biggest percentage
of kid dope fiends, juvenile
criminals, young unemployed
and unemployable, so that
not only from the ripped
and desecrated fair land of
Vietnam, but also from
the despised who emerge
fighting from each U.S. city
ghetto, and too from amongst
the hungry of each and every
land, comes defiance, now
marked in these October days
protesting the devilry
of deliberate genocide
tried on their brothers
and sisters in Vietnam;
calling on all to stand
together, and regardless
fight the terror.

Peking,
October 18th, 1967.

★★★

INDONESIA IN THE YEARS TO COME

Still will red blossom
shine into laughing faces
of children; its glow
bathing in ruddy light
the backs of those who push
pull, hew, hoe and work
to make the base on which
this hundred million live.

Still will the red light
of dawn, fire minds
for change; still, despite
all, will the eager hearts
of youth accept the challenge
and fight selflessly on.

Djakarta, October 17th, 1965.

Your Friends, My Friends

Skies begin to clear; more
people begin to understand
Who are their real friends;
Negro citizens of the USA
place their fight squarely
in line with that of the Vietnamese,
and a blubbing US general
dashes home from Saigon to appeal
saying how can an officer lead
if he has to be looking back
over his own shoulder all the time
After all, there are a hundred
thousand armed Negroes exploited
under the leadership of the new
fascists in Vietnam; fascists who
would eliminate both Vietnamese
and Negroes if they had their way,
then go on to holding all other
peoples down, in their lust
for power, while ever prating
of that "American Dignity" which
they have already pitched away
amongst a burning mass of
children's flesh and ruined homes
of the poor in Vietnam.
Your friends, my friends
where do I stand and why?
Two thirds of the peoples
of the world are oppressed
and poor; flames of revolt
rip as in a prairie fire,
blazing everywhere in the hearts
of the denied; no black, no white
no brown or any other shade of skin
only the exploiters and the exploited
and now the exploited rise to fight, to win.

Kanchow, Kiangsi.
May 2nd, 1967.

★★★

MARCH OF THE LIBERATION ARMY

by Henry Tudor tune — Georgia

Bring the Little Red Book, boys,
Let's have another song.
"Give me the grip of your hands!"
We're forming in the morning,
A thousand million strong.
"Give me the grip of your hands."

Hurrah, hurrah, we'll sing the Jubilee
Hurrah, hurrah, it's the song
That makes us free.
When we've driven the Yankees
From the Mekong to the sea,
Marching, marching along

We will defeat the enemy,
Because our cause is right,
Our Liberation Army
The foremost in the fight
The foe falls back before us,
His troops are getting grey,
His cause is lost, as well it must,
Aggression does not pay.

Hurrah, hurrah, we'll sing the Jubilee,
Hurrah, hurrah, it's the song
That makes us free.
When we've driven the Yankees
From the Mekong to the sea.
Marching, marching along.