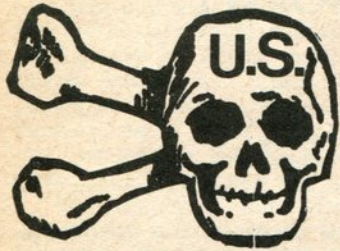


# **Progressive Worker**

MARCH 1968 VOL. 4 NO. 5 TEN CENTS.



# **VIETNAM**



**THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMED FORCES  
WIN REPEATED VICTORIES**

# Progressive Worker



Published Monthly By  
PROGRESSIVE WORKERS MOVEMENT

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

TORONTO  
MAY 1st BRANCH...  
P.O. Box 1151, Adelaide St. Postal Station  
Toronto 26, Ontario

EDITOR: JACK SCOTT  
CIRCULATION: DAVE FORSYTH

Signed articles do not necessarily represent the views  
of the Progressive Workers Movement

Produced entirely by Voluntary Labour

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

## Subscribe Now

### PROGRESSIVE WORKER

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

12 issues \$1.00

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_



## Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung

\$ .50 per copy

### FOUR ESSAYS ON PHILOSOPHY

#### ON PRACTICE

#### ON CONTRADICTION

- I. The Two World Outlooks
- II. The Universality of Contradiction
- III. The Particularity of Contradiction
- IV. The Principal Contradiction and the Principal Aspect of a Contradiction
- V. The Identity and Struggle of the Aspects of a Contradiction
- VI. The Place of Antagonism in Contradiction
- VII. Conclusion

#### ON THE CORRECT HANDLING OF CONTRADICTIONS AMONG THE PEOPLE

- I. Two Different Types of Contradictions
- II. The Question of the Suppression of Counter-Revolutionaries
- III. The Question of Agricultural Co-operation
- IV. The Question of Industrialists and Merchants
- V. The Question of the Intellectuals
- VI. The Question of the Minority Nationalities
- VII. Overall Planning and Proper Arrangement
- VIII. On "Let a Hundred Flowers Blossom, Let a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend" and "Long-Term Coexistence and Mutual Supervision"
- IX. On the Question of Disturbances Created by Small Numbers of People
- X. Can Bad Things Be Turned into Good Things?
- XI. On Practising Economy
- XII. China's Path to Industrialization

WHERE DO CORRECT IDEAS COME FROM?

\$ .50



## Advance Books and Periodicals

2 35 East Hastings St Vancouver 4, B.C.

# GREAT VICTORIES IN VIETNAM

Events of the **last month** have shattered any illusions the Americans had **about a "victory"** of any kind in Vietnam. The people's forces **now** hold the initiative on every front, in spite of the 500,000 Yankee troops and the Saigon puppet army.

Using correctly the strategy and tactics of People's War, the NLF has forced the enemy into a passive position even in the cities in which his control is strongest. The Americans and the puppet forces, having no base of support among the people, are being defeated everywhere.

On January 29, during the Tet (New Year) truce, American planes bombed and strafed N. Vietnam and the 3 northern provinces of South Vietnam. Their excuse was that the people's forces were using the truce to move supplies and men around the Khe Sanh area. The truce broken, the NLF answered by launching its greatest offensive of the war.

On January 30, the National Front for Liberation opened up attacks against more than 20 enemy-held areas simultaneously. The co-ordinated attacks, carried out against widely scattered points, took the enemy completely by surprise in every case. The offensive was meticulously planned. Hundreds of thousands of troops were involved in the final preparations. Townspeople and villagers in each area — almost all of South Vietnam. It would have taken only one person, one traitor, to give the Americans and puppets a few hours of warning. Incredible as it may seem, on January 30, throughout all of South Vietnam, that one person, that one traitor was lacking.

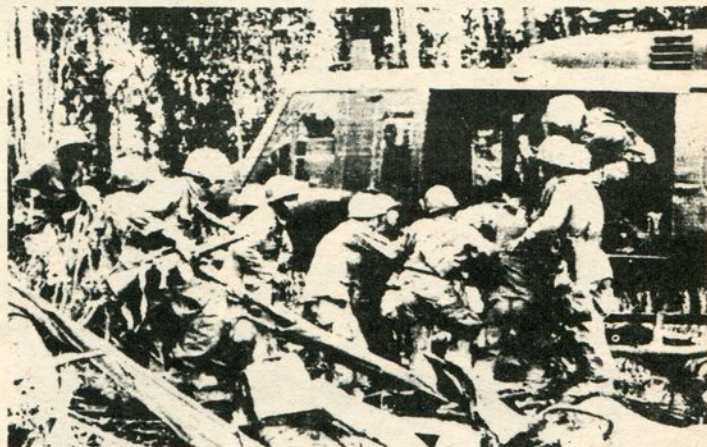
No part of Vietnam is now secure for the Americans and their puppets. While the officials sweat it out behind their barricades, the NLF, supported by the civilian people, attacked even Saigon, hitting the American embassy, the South Vietnamese president's residence, puppet police stations (freeing many prisoners), the U.S. Forces Command H. Q., and the headquarters of the puppet Navy. Radio Saigon was put off the air after messages from the N.L.F. were broadcast. On the outskirts of Saigon the airbases at Tan Son Nhut and Bien Hoa continue to receive heavy shelling, ending air transport from these points. The oil storage area of the U.S. base was destroyed by fire after a direct hit by the NLF.

The enemy-held provincial capitals in Bien Hoa, Can Tho, Ben Tre, Tan An, Cho Lon and My Tho were also attacked and enemy ammunition dumps, administrative buildings and military headquarters destroyed. Many aircraft were destroyed at Da Nang (only a few short months ago considered an American "secure" area and now the object of repeated heavy attacks), Ben Tre, and other American air bases, and many cities and towns, including the old capital, Hue, were under NLF control.

In every area, the people supported the NLF and fought beside them. In retaliation the Americans bombed the residential sections of many cities, including Saigon, murdering thousands of civilians. Each of these victims, of course, immediately became a "Viet Cong casualty" in American reports.

Patriotic soldiers of the South Vietnamese Army, no longer held by terror by the helpless American forces or their puppets, deserted to the NLF. In Soc Trang, the 21st Division of the 33rd Regiment, 3rd Battalion of the S. V.

Army, stormed the U.S. ammunition dump and joined the people's forces, bringing weapons and supplies with them. 103 men from the 1st Division joined them, and the picture was similar everywhere in South Vietnam.



Although the Americans have been militarily losing the war in Vietnam for some time, they were able to some extent to control the news at home. Only a few weeks ago barefaced lies such as "We are slowly winning this war", "Our intelligence situation is excellent", "We are on the offensive and the Viet Cong is desperate", etc. were believed by many Americans, in the absence of concrete facts about the way the war was going. The great NLF offensive has exposed all those lies even to the people living in the United States. If "intelligence is excellent", why were the Americans and puppets almost the only people in Vietnam who did not know of the coming massive attacks? If "the Americans are slowly winning", how can anyone explain the rapid defeats?

Johnson has reacted strongly to the recent people's victories and is trying, too late, to disassociate himself from the military disasters in Vietnam. His call for a statement to the effect that Khe Sanh can be defended, signed by all his commanders in Vietnam, shows the seriousness of the recent events. By taking this action, Johnson has made the significance of Khe Sanh that of Dien Bien Phu. He has made it explicit, in his statement, "I don't want another damn Dien Bien Phu (at Khe Sanh)". Thus, if it falls to the NLF, which it undoubtedly will, Johnson has created a situation in which the only thing the Americans can do is **admit** military defeat. Whatever they do after that, that fact remains the same.

The National Liberation Front has already won the war in South Vietnam. With the support of the people, it holds the initiative, fighting battles when and where it chooses. The 10,500 new American troops now being rushed to Vietnam to prop up the shattered enemy forces will not change this situation. The Americans and puppets have no security, are safe nowhere in Vietnam today. The tottering government, backed up by what many once believed was "the greatest military might in the world" is defeated. The people are winning everywhere. Long live the NLF! Long live the heroic people of South Vietnam!

# U.S. AGGRESSORS: GET OUT OF VIETNAM






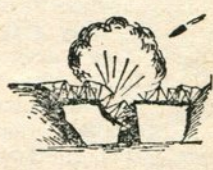
# The Boundless Power of People's War



Fighters of the South Vietnam Liberation Army.

## The Seven Years' Splendid Battle Achievements of the South Vietnamese People and Their Armed Forces



 <p>Nearly 1.5 million enemy including over 300,000 U.S. and satellite troops put out of action.</p>	 <p>8,590 enemy planes shot down or destroyed.</p>	 <p>15,835 enemy military vehicles destroyed.</p>
 <p>463 enemy vessels sunk.</p>	 <p>2,704 enemy strongholds or posts overrun</p>	 <p>1,302 bridges demolished.</p>

A recent communique by the South Vietnam Giai Phong Press Agency reported on the great victories won by the south Vietnamese people and their armed forces in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. The chart above gives still incomplete figures for the losses inflicted on the enemy up to December 13, 1967. The communique pointed out that in the seven years since the founding of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, the South Vietnam People's Liberation Armed Forces have followed the line of invincible people's war and grown steadily in all aspects.

In addition to the rapid growth of the Liberation Armed Forces, the communique pointed out, the south

Vietnamese people have formed a force more than 2 million strong fighting on the political front and, in the past seven years, the aggregate total of those taking part in the various political struggles has reached nearly 120 million. The urban areas under the temporary control of the enemy have become active volcanoes for the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys.

The south Vietnamese people, the communique stated, have created a vast liberated zone covering four-fifths of the territory and two-thirds of the population of south Vietnam. In this liberated zone the people have asserted their role as their own masters.

# DEBRAY'S CONCEPT OF REVOLUTION

Editor's note: This is the concluding section of the article "Debray's Concept of Revolution", the first part of which appeared in the last issue of *Progressive Worker*.

## The Party and the Guerilla

"If there is to be a revolution, there must be a revolutionary party; without a party built in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism." (Mao Tse-tung, 'Unite, Fight Against Imperialist Aggression')

"Our principal is that the Party commands the gun, and the gun must never be allowed to command the Party." ("Problems of War and Strategy").

Earlier, when we referred to the article by Mao Tse-tung "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas", we said Mao had suggested methods of correction. These suggestions are closely related to the question of the Party in relation to guerilla warfare and to People's Revolutionary War in general. For example, in discussing how to correct the purely military viewpoint, Mao Tse-tung says, in part:

"Raise the political level in the Party by means of education, destroy the theoretical roots of the purely military viewpoint. . .

"Intensify the political training of officers and men. . .

"Arouse the local Party organizations to criticize the Party organizations in the Red Army and the organs of mass political power to criticize the Red Army itself, in order to influence the Party organizations and the officers and men of the Red Army.

"Draw up Red Army rules and regulations which clearly define its tasks, the relationship between its military and its political apparatus, the relationship between the Red Army and the masses of the people, and the powers and functions of the soldiers' committees and their relationship with the military and political organizations."

Mao Tse-tung makes it very clear here, as he does everywhere, that Party leadership is a most important factor in all areas of work, including the military. It follows, therefore, that there must be a strong and highly-developed revolutionary political organization — a Marxist-Leninist Party — to lead the struggle on all fronts. It remains to be seen, from a study of the section now under discussion, if Debray agrees with the position outlined by Mao Tse-tung.

Mao Tse-tung, let it be noted, recommends that the mass organizations of the people criticize both the Party and the military organizations. This could be a clue on what to expect from Debray, since we already know his firm decision to keep the guerilla forces "organically separate" from the civilian population. Certainly, on this basis, all criticism of the military by the organizations of the people is automatically ruled out.

Debray begins with the statement:

"To subordinate the guerilla group strategically and tactically to a party that has not radically changed its normal peace-time organization, or to treat it as one more ramification of party activity brings in its wake a series of fatal military errors..." (P 67-68)

Thus Debray sets the stage for his work of demolition. It will not be until the following section, "The Principal Lessons for the Present", that he will make clear his position on the role of the Party, but he uses this section to lay the basis for his policy on the question of political leadership.

It is well-known to revolutionaries that the revisionists in Latin America have played a treacherous role for many years. Revolutionaries conduct a sharp ideological struggle against the revisionists as part of the struggle to build a true Marxist-Leninist Party, that will lead the fight on all fronts, including the military front. Debray makes use of this history of revisionist treachery, but not in order to achieve the objective of establishing a true revolutionary Party. He uses revisionist treachery as a weapon with which to beat to death the Marxist-Leninist Party and the revolutionary line of Mao Tse-tung, and to substitute one-man military

dictatorship for the political leadership of the Party.

To achieve his purpose Debray uses the revisionists to introduce a division between leadership and guerilla bands. He claims that the political leaders must remain in the city while the guerillas operate in the mountains and between the two there can be no real understanding or unity of purpose. This situation Debray writes about as though it were a normal state of affairs. Between the "mountain" and the "plain" (the "sierra" and the llano" there is a natural division and even enmity. Debray makes his point very clear when he says:

"When a guerilla group communicates with city leadership or its representatives abroad, it is dealing with 'its' bourgeoisie" (P.71)

Thus Debray sees class contradictions, antagonistic contradictions, between political leaders and military leaders. To justify his position he cites some of the many crimes of the revisionist leaders in Latin America and details the way in which revisionist and opportunists cliques "used" guerilla movements to advance their parliamentary carrier. From these negative examples he draws the lesson of opposing all political leadership instead of realizing the need is for a real revolutionary party.

To emphasize the alleged "difference" between urban revolutionary and mountain guerilla Debray paints an exaggerated—and romantic—picture of the rugged life of the guerilla band, on the one hand, and an equally exaggerated picture of the "soft life" of the city dweller, on the other hand. He writes:

"...Capitals... are livable purgatories compared to the urban agglomerations of Asia or even Europe. How can an inhabitant of these cities, however much of a Marxist-Leninist he may be, understand the vital importance of a square yard of nylon cloth, a can of gun grease, a pound of salt or sugar, a pair of boots? The truth is that you have to live it to understand it. Seen from outside, these are 'details', 'material limitations' of class struggle, the 'technical side', the minor and hence secondary side of things. Such are the mental reactions of a bourgeois, and any man, even a comrade, who spends his life in a city is unwittingly bourgeois in comparison with a guerilla. He cannot know the material effort involved in eating, sleeping, moving from one place to another—briefly in surviving. As long as he has some cash in his pocket, it suffices for his daily needs.

Of course it is not enough, but with the affluence of the Yankees and the corruption that follows in their wake, more can be earned without too much difficulty." (P.70-71)

Here Debray sets up a chasm between the urban worker and the band of heroes in the mountains, just as he set up a chasm between his guerillas and the civilian population in the local areas. In place of guerilla fish in a sea of people, Debray views his roving band as heroes in a sea of mortal enemies.

In any event, if Yankee affluence can so easily bribe and corrupt the people with money that "can be earned without too much difficulty", then why bother with forming guerilla bands. If this is a permanent condition, and Debray intimates that it is, then there will never be a revolutionary situation develop in Latin America which can be taken advantage of by revolutionaries.

This observation by Debray shows that he has no real knowledge of the condition of the exploited masses in Latin America. Millions of workers and peasants constantly suffer from the pangs of hunger and countless thousands, young and old, die of diseases caused by malnutrition. "Yankee affluence" is not such a good provider as Debray seems to imagine it to be. But Debray ignores these facts and carries his conclusions to their ultimate point of insane "reasoning". He says:

"As we know, the mountain proletarianizes the bourgeois and peasant elements and the city can bourgeoisify the proletarians" (P 76-77)

Now all we need in order to realize the "peaceful transi-

tion to socialism" is to figure out how to get the bourgeoisie to the mountains — provided, of course, that we can solve the problem of how to keep the workers from becoming bourgeois.

Dealing with the problem of winning over members of the reactionary army Debray returns to his favorite prescription of a dose of fear instilled by a show of strength. He says: "In order for an army to respond to patriotic or revolutionary appeals from the popular armed forces, it must repeat them. And a soldier respects only what he fears." (P. 85)

Once again Debray has painted himself into a corner. If the actions of the soldiers are conditioned SOLELY by fear, then they would remain with the reactionary army until the guerillas were able to show an absolute superiority, which becomes an absolute impossibility while there exists no chance of changing the balance of forces by winning over a section of the enemy. With the workers becoming bourgeois, the peasants not to be trusted, and the army held in a grip of fear, the situation of the band of heroes appears completely hopeless. Perhaps it was this feeling of hopelessness that caused Debray to inform us that Fidel claimed the guerilla band becomes invincible when it reaches a ratio of one to 500 (P. 76).

Debray has no understanding whatever of guerilla warfare, nor does he relate it to war in general. His view of guerilla warfare is that it is complete in itself and that a military objective can be taken by means of guerilla warfare alone. It appears that he also views guerilla warfare as especially revolutionary and those taking part in it as automatically revolutionary in outlook. This viewpoint is undoubtedly the origin of his idea that the mountain "proletarianizes" (that is: develops a proletarian ideology in) bourgeois elements. A brief reference on page 87 aids in highlighting this point:

"Once more it has been forgotten . . . that guerilla warfare is essentially political."

Debray seems to forget that ALL war is political. "War," says Clausewitz, "is politics by other means." So guerilla warfare has no special characteristics so far as politics is concerned. Therefore, if it is possible for the "mountains" (guerilla warfare) to proletarianize bourgeois elements, then all warfare being political as it is, should possess the same peculiar quality of being able to change the ideology of the participants. Would Debray contend that the war in Vietnam will "proletarianize" the U.S. imperialists?

The mistake is in thinking that guerilla warfare is no part of warfare in general and that it is the special property of revolutionaries and used only for the attainment of revolutionary objectives. This is far from the actual fact. In his pamphlet "On Guerilla Warfare" Mao Tse-tung writes:

" . . . The fact that revolutionary guerilla warfare is based on the masses of the people does not in itself mean that the organization of guerilla units is impossible in a war of counter-revolutionary character . . .

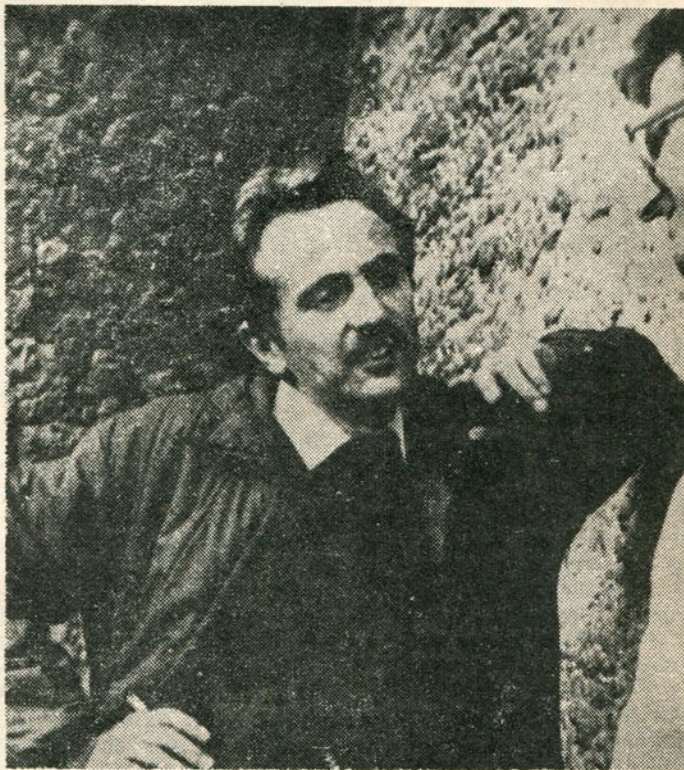
" . . . we may cite the examples furnished by the White Russian guerilla units organized by Deniken and Kolchak; those organized by the Japanese; those organized by the Italians in Abyssinia; those supported by the puppet governments in Manchuria and Mongolia, and those that will be organized here by Chinese traitors."

Of course we must distinguish between guerilla warfare and guerilla tactics, such as American "counter-insurgency" warfare, used by the reactionaries, just as we distinguish between just and unjust wars. Revolutionary guerilla warfare will have a firm base in the masses of the people while the reactionaries, on the other hand, will find it impossible to build such a base.

What gives People's War, and guerilla warfare as a part of it, its revolutionary character is its political objective. If these objectives are not clearly set out then guerilla warfare loses its revolutionary content and will become reactionary or degenerate into bandit gangs equally in conflict with the people as with the forces of the state.

Without dependence on the people Debray finds it necessary to turn his attention toward the acquisition of arms as a matter of prime importance. With him arms, not people, are primary. On pages 88-89 he writes:

" . . . military techniques assume a special importance in Latin America. Unlike China, and Asia in general, the initially great disproportion between the strength of the revolutionary forces and that of the entire repressive mechanism, and the demographic consequences of poverty in the rural areas do not permit the immediate replacement of arms and technique by sheer mass and number of combatants. On the contrary, to compensate for this initial disproportion and for the relative demographic poverty of many countries, technique must be wielded with expertise. Whence the more important rule here than elsewhere of, for example, mines, explosives, bazookas, modern automatic weapons, etc. In an ambush, for example, when the smallest detail and every minute count, the intelligent use of modern automatic arms, their firing plan, a coordinated program of fire can all compensate for the lack of scarcity of manpower on the revolutionary side."



DEBRAY IN BOLIVIAN PRISON

The essence of Debray's proposal is for the creation of a highly-trained, well-armed, professional army, which will have small beginnings but ultimately reach superiority over the state forces in arms and manpower. Hence Debray's mistrust of the so-called "civilian population" which is just as great as that found amongst the reactionaries. Debray is not considering guerilla warfare at all, but the confrontation of two professional armies, with one side compelled to keep "roving" and avoid combat while they train and build their army and acquire arms. This is not guerilla warfare — revolutionary or otherwise. And in this type of warfare the "supreme commander" alone decides all actions down to the most minute detail.

"In brief, no detail is too small for a political-military chief: everything rests on details — on a single detail — and he himself must supervise them all." (P.89)

Here, too, Debray emphasizes his opinion that military action takes precedence over political action; military leadership outranks the political; his type of "guerilla warfare" is a purifying fire in which all participants are proletarianized. "Pure 'politicians' . . . cannot lead the armed struggle of the people; pure 'military men' can do so . . . The experiences of Cuba . . . demonstrate that people — even petty bourgeois or peasants — are more quickly and more completely moulded by the experience of guerilla warfare than by an equal amount of time spent in training school for cadres — a consequence . . . of the essentially and totally political character of guerilla warfare." (P. 89)

We have pointed out earlier, and reiterate here, that the purely military viewpoint, from which Debray suffers badly, is a serious error that will result only in failure and defeat for the revolutionary forces. Military affairs and politics are not, as Debray thinks, opposed to each other. Military affairs are but one means of accomplishing political tasks. Debray is taking exactly that position for which Mao Tse-tung criticized the Communist Party organization in the Fourth Red Army: "Some even say, 'If you are good militarily you are good politically; if you are not good militarily, you cannot be any good politically' — this is to go a step further and give military affairs a leading position over politics."

The task of the revolutionary army is not just to fight. Besides fighting it must do propaganda work among the masses, organize them, arm them, help them to establish revolutionary political power and to set up Marxist-Leninist Party organizations. But Debray imagines that the task of the revolutionary force is no different than that confronting the reactionary army. For him the sole task consists of destroying the military strength of the enemy — politics will take care of themselves, and attending to them now, according to Debray, will only impede progress on the more important military front.

Having, as he believes, set free the present from the past — that is, glancing briefly and discarded as inapplicable to Latin America, all previous revolutionary experience, Debray now proposes to draw some political lessons and conclusions from his thesis. "Let us," he says, "examine the problem at its root," and proceeds to point out "The Principal Lesson for the Present."

#### **The Principal Lesson for the Present**

The author begins this section by posing three questions: "Which should be strengthened today the Party or the guerrillas, embryo of the people's army? Which is the decisive link? Where should the principal effort be made?" From his answers to these three questions we will try to discover more concrete evidence of Debray's position on the Latin American revolutionary movement.

Debray briefly outlines his opinion of the historical experience of the Marxist-Leninist movement under the heading "Theoretical Orthodoxy" and "Historical Orthodoxy" and quotes Giap from 'People's War, People's Army,' as follows: "The first fundamental principal in the building of our army is the imperative necessity of placing the army under Party leadership, of constantly strengthening Party leadership. The Party is the founder, the organizer, and the educator of the army. Only its exclusive leadership can permit the army to hew a class line, to maintain its political orientation, and to fulfill its revolutionary tasks." (P. 97)

The "Theoretical Orthodoxy" in this, by Debray's standards, consists in aiming at destruction of the bourgeois state power and establishment of the 'dictatorship of the exploited' rather than aiming at the destruction of the enemy's military machine. This task of conquering state power requires a political party — a Marxist-Leninist Party.

"Historical Orthodoxy" consists in the fact that these principles have been applied up to now in all the victorious revolutionary struggles of our epoch. But this does not satisfy our aspiring student of philosophy. He claims that Cuba ushered in a new era in revolutionary struggle — a "new conception" of guerrilla warfare. He urges we give this experience our immediate attention:

"Is it an exception or does it foreshadow something fundamental? What light does it throw on the current Latin American experience? We must decipher this experience in time, and we must not rush to condemn history in the making because it does not conform to received principles." (P. 98)

Defending Castro from some alleged charges of heresy, Debray goes on to quote Fidel on the question of who will make the revolution:

"Who will make the revolution in Latin America? Who? The people, the revolutionaries, with or without a party! (Fidel)" (P. 98)

And in his own interpretation of this remark Debray comments:

"Fidel Castro says simply . . . that this vanguard is not necessarily the Marxist-Leninist Party; and that those who

want to make the revolution have the right and the duty to constitute themselves a vanguard independently of these parties . . .

"There is no metaphysical equation in which vanguard equals Marxist-Leninist party . . . Parties . . . can die and be reborn in other forms. How does this rebirth come about? Under what form can the historic vanguard reappear?" (P. 98-99)

Note here that Debray contends THE Marxist-Leninist Party is not necessary to the success of the revolution. In other words, no matter how much he may prattle about a vanguard in general, he rejects the idea of a political vanguard based on Marxist-Leninist, proletarian ideology, to lead the revolution. His theory begins to become clear — defeat the enemy militarily and the politics will take care of themselves automatically.

"How can we think or state that under the present circumstances there can be a revolution with or without a party? . . . In what form can the historic vanguard appear?" (P.99)

Again Debray refers to revolutionary experiences in China and Vietnam but only in order to reject them as in no way useful to Latin America. His extremely brief summary of these historical events contain important errors but we will have to pass over them at this time since they would require considerable space to discuss. Debray, however, draws the conclusion that the Latin American situation requires "a new style of leadership," and in discussing this leadership he says: "In Latin America, wherever armed struggle is on the order of the day, there is a close tie between biology and ideology. However absurd or shocking this relationship may seem, it is nonetheless a decisive one. An elderly man, . . . molded by other circumstances and goals, will not easily adjust himself to the mountain . . . nor understand activity in the cities . . . physical fitness is the most basic of all skills needed for waging guerrilla war . . . A perfect Marxist education is not, at the outset, an imperative condition . . . Physical aptitude is the prerequisite for all other aptitudes; a minor point of limited theoretical appeal, but the armed struggle appears to have a rationale of which theory knows nothing" (P. 102)

With one broad sweep Debray excludes the vast majority of the population from participation in his revolution. All women would be excluded (at least half the population to begin with). The elderly (how old?) and the young; those suffering disability due to the ravages of hunger occasioned by poverty. Already excluded are the workers whom Debray claims are corrupted by Yankee affluence, and the peasants who cannot be trusted. This means at least 80 per cent of the population would be excluded leaving only the bourgeois and petty bourgeois elements of the population—no wonder Debray concentrates his attention on mobilizing the intellectual elite!

Debray proposes a new organization which:

"requires the temporary suspension of 'internal' party democracy and the temporary abolition of the principles of democratic centralism which guarantee it.. party discipline becomes military discipline." (P. 103)

The party and party democracy are to give way, it seems, to military dictatorship. Thus Debray carries his idea of the supremacy of military affairs over politics to the ultimate. The only thing we can hope to get out of that style of work is a military-fascist dictatorship.

"Let it be recognized that no part of the guerrilla movement has attempted to organize a new party; it seeks to wipe out doctrinal or party divisions among its own combatants. The unifying factors are the war and its immediate political objectives. The guerrilla movement begins by creating unity . . . around the most military tasks . . . a unity of non-party elements and of all the parties represented... The most decisive political choice is membership in the guerrilla force. Thus gradually, this small army creates... unity among all parties . . . Eventually the future People's Army will beget the party...essentially the party is the army." (P. 105)

"In Cuba, it was not the party that was the directive nucleus of the popular army.. the Rebel Army was the leading nucleus of the party . . . "The Cuban revolution . . . thus made a decisive contribution to international revolutionary experience and to Marxism-Leninism.

"...The vanguard party can exist in the form of the guerrilla band itself. The guerrilla force is the party in embryo.

"This is the staggering novelty introduced by the Cuban Revolution."

This is not such a "staggering novelty" as Debray thinks it is, nor is it any "new conception". Politically, Robin Hood and his Sherwood Forest gang were as far advanced as Debray, and in public relations more advanced. The essence of the "new conception" is militarism, with politics appearing to come second—if considered at all. Unity, we are told, is created among all parties. Unity to the point where all parties including the Marxist-Leninist party, completely disappear, merging their identity in the guerrilla band and the only political choice left is membership in the guerrilla force which now happily represents the interests and views of all parties, under the authority of a benign military dictatorship.

Since different parties represent the interests of different groups in society and only the Marxist-Leninist Party represents the interests of the exploited masses against the exploiters one must, in the name of reason, demand an explanation as to how the guerrilla band resolves these inter-party contradictions, and particularly how it resolves the antagonistic, class contradictions between worker and capitalist in such a way as to make a proletarian party unnecessary.

This "new conception" of the merging of all parties in the guerrilla band and the suggestion that a proletarian party, a Marxist-Leninist party, is not necessary to the victory of the revolutionary struggle, the emphasis on military affairs over politics, clearly means that Debray is proposing a guerrilla movement without politics, without a proletarian ideology, without any ideology at all. But this is a myth. There is no such thing as a fighting force or movement without an ideology.

As Lenin pointed out; there are only two ideologies, proletarian and bourgeois. If there is an absence of proletarian ideology then there must be bourgeois ideology in command. Since proletarian ideology has to be consciously fought for, and since the only possible weapon available is the Marxist-Leninist party, Debray, by his act of abolishing the Marxist-Leninist party and merging its identity with other parties in the guerrilla band, opposes the proletarian ideology and makes bourgeois ideology the leading political force in his roving band of rebels. Instead of having the Party command the gun, Debray wants the gun to command the Party and that, plus the absence of proletarian politics, adds up to a bourgeois military dictatorship seizing power in the name of socialism—and that is no "new conception" either, as the history of Germany will prove.

In summing up his "principal lesson for the present" Debray says:

"A new situation calls for new methods... we must guard against forms of action, whether from error or tradition, are inappropriate to this new content.

We can now resolve the initial dilemma. In the long run, certain regions of America... will not need to choose between a vanguard party and a popular army... The people's army will be the nucleus of the party, not vice versa. "...the principal stress must be laid on the development of guerrilla warfare and not on the strengthening of existing parties or the creation of new parties. "...insurrectional activity is today the number one political activity."

There is a very important question here which Debray leaves unanswered: who, what force, is going to set in motion these insurrectional activities? Who is going to provide the military and ideological leadership? There is little point in Debray protesting that ideological leadership, political leadership, is an unimportant item at the moment. The very act of writing "Revolution in the Revolution", a conscious and deliberately conceived act, is, in itself, a negation of the "politics second" idea. In writing the pamphlet Debray is acting as ideological spokesman for the "new conception" forces and presenting in a systematic way the political ideas of those who favour the new conception. So there is, after all, an ideology, political leaders, a "vanguard" of sorts, who have constituted themselves the leaders—military and political—of the forces of the "new conception".

Since Debray himself, spokesman as he is, has categorically ruled out the Marxist-Leninist party, this ruling out proletarian ideology, he owes us an explanation, especially in view of the importance of the question, on just what kind of "vanguard" he is asking us to follow.

Here Debray enters the final phase of his thesis: **Some Consequences for the Future**

"The setting up of military bands, not political bands, is decisive for the future. This distinction... is much more than a simple difference. Between military bands and political bands there is not only the difference between the less and the more urgent, the less and more decisive... one must go from the military band to the political movement—a natural extension of an essentially armed struggle;... In most countries... it is possible to move from a military band to a political band, but to move in the opposite direction is virtually impossible." (P119-120)

Debray stands things on their head. He states that politics is an extension of the armed struggle, rather than the contrary which has been the accepted opinion until now. One means of the way to reach the objective has now, in terms of the "new conception", become more important than the objective itself. Armed action for Debray has become an object in itself, of primary importance, the political goal is secondary.

However, whether Debray likes it or not, politics are still primary. If he refuses to consciously accept and struggle for a proletarian revolutionary line, his armed action will nevertheless end at a political objective which, under the circumstances, could only be a bourgeois armed dictatorship.

Debray, like Castro, imagines he can stand clear of the international struggle between revisionists and revolutionaries with a formal denunciation of both and by passing directly to the armed bands. It is significant though that his main attack, again like Castro, is directed against the Marxist-Leninists while revisionists appear to be criticized but, in actual fact, emerge virtually unscathed. The whole effect of his position is to strengthen revisionism. For example, a footnote on page 124:

"Even if we assume, by a violent exercise of the imagination, that a 'pro-Chinese' group were to assemble fifty or so scatterbrains, or renegades... they would not last two weeks. There is no common language between... guerrillas and 'pro-Chinese'... they literally do not understand each other. More or less the same phenomenon is found in Africa..."

Note that Debray here extends the range of his "new conception" to Africa. In another place, commenting on Algeria, he claims that alleged "failure" flowed from the fact that the army did not take control of the state administration. A very simple solution indeed. Bolivia has shown that it is not quite that simple. The struggle against imperialist oppression and native reaction is a complex and many-sided affair, there is no easy route or short-cut to victory and Debray does the revolutionary movement a disservice when he suggests there is such a route and turns his opinion into a system. "Revolution in the Revolution" will not survive for long: unfortunately it will be a costly venture while its influence lasts.

#### **SOME CONCLUSIONS**

Reduced to its essentials, "Revolution in the Revolution" can be summed up in a few brief lines:

A. Only he who totes a gun and roams the mountains can be called a revolutionary.

B. The **SOLE** method of struggle is the armed struggle and military victory the objective.

C. Politics is secondary and a Marxist-Leninist Party unnecessary.

D. Arms and material, not people, are the important thing.

E. The gun must control politics, not politics the gun.

F. Ideological clarity, a proletarian ideology, are secondary to military knowledge.

G. Workers and peasants are corrupt or fear-ridden and only an intellectual elite is capable of surviving the hardship of the mountain and jungle; therefore only they are capable of providing leadership.

H. All previous revolutionary experience is of no consequence and knowledge of revolutionary history can even be

Continued on page 17 ...

# canadian worker

## WHAT'S AHEAD FOR LABOUR?

It appears virtually certain that the arrival of summer this year will be accompanied by large scale trade union struggles as the contracts of major B.C. unions come up for re-negotiation. The *Globe and Mail*, semi-official organ of the Bay Street robber barons, has already ventured to predict that a strike in the B.C. lumber industry is inevitable in 1968. The press in Western Canada, with the *Vancouver Sun* in the lead, has chastised the *Globe and Mail* for its pessimistic attitude, and has feigned astonishment at the idea that anyone could so confidently predict a lengthy strike in an industry that directly affects one-half the economy of British Columbia, and that such a prediction could be made six months before negotiations begin. After examination of our economy, we prefer to accept the opinion of the business community-oriented *Globe and Mail* to the Alice in Wonderland columns of the *Sun*.

The economy of Canada and to an even greater extent the economy of B.C. is dependent upon raw material production and export of natural resources, mainly to the unstable U.S. market. In 1967, 64 per cent of Canada's exports went to the U.S. Competition from other capitalist nations and the drain of the Yankee aggression in Vietnam have precipitated a crisis in the U.S. which is beginning to tell on the Canadian economy. During January a run on the Canadian dollar caused by President Johnson's directives to American corporations to transfer profits back to the U.S., pushed its value to within .15 per cent of 1 cent of a forced devaluation under the rules of the International Monetary Fund. Only the raising of the bank interest rate from 6 per cent to 7 per cent to attract more U.S. capital and a statement issued at the Canadian Government's request that the U.S. Treasury Dept. would provide leeway for continued large-scale flow of American capital into Canada saved the dollar. If anything shows this country's total dependence on the U.S., and the closeness of economic chaos, this whole situation surely does.

Spiralling prices during the past few years have eaten into the wage gains made by unions but there is definitely no end in sight to their climb. U.S. Secretary of the Treasury Henry Fowler, in testimony before the Ways and Means Committee, indicated that Americans and likewise Canadians can expect a three-and-one-half per cent price increase for the first half of 1968. To counteract this increase, he called for a 10 per cent surtax on all incomes, a measure which President Johnson warned must be taken or there would be dire days ahead for the American and thus the Canadian economies. This leaves workers two appealing choices, higher prices or higher taxes. We will probably get both.

With these bleak prospects ahead for the economy as a whole let us look at the probable developments in major B.C. industries during the coming year.

The forest industry is by far the largest in the province and one that is almost entirely dependent on exports. A look at what is happening to the stock market prices of four of the largest companies in the industry is very revealing.

Company	1964-65 Price	Jan. 1968 Price
MacMillan Bloedel	\$38.00	\$21.00
B.C. Forest Products	\$34.25	\$15.25
Columbia Cellulose	\$13.25	\$3.80
Crown Zellerbach A	\$36.25	\$21.25

The prices of these stocks were probably inflated in 1964 and 1965 but this only accounts for part of the decline they have experienced in the past 3 years. The main reason they have fallen is due to loss of confidence on the part of investors. In other words the rats are leaving the sinking ship.

While sales by B.C. producers of forest products were up slightly in 1967, profits were generally down from their fantastic levels of a year ago. Stiff competition from the Scandinavian countries, the Soviet Union, the U.S. and especially Japan indicate a decline in sales for 1968. Much lower labour costs and will make Japan our most formidable competitor.

Japan does not have her own supply of logs but U.S. capitalists aided by the Treasury Department are falling over each other to make them available. Export of logs from the U.S. to Japan increased 1700 times from only 1 million board feet in 1960 to 1.7 billion in 1967. The U.S. proposes to maintain exports at this high level and to allow previously banned shipment of logs from Alaska to take place. The dire effects that these increased exports will have on B.C.'s lumber industry are foreshadowed by events that have already occurred in the U.S. There the national Forest Products Association and the Carpenter's Union threatened on January 9 to go to court to stop raw log sales to Japan after it was reported that 27 west coast sawmills had been closed by the exports already.

The same U.S. Treasury Department study recommends a reduction in imports of lumber from Canada and suggests that this measure, together with the increased sales to Japan, could result in a \$500 million annual improvement in the balance of payments. Commenting on this suggestion the president of Canadian Forest Products Ltd. stated:

"If this recommendation is implemented it would be disastrous to our lumber trade, but I don't think it will be."

We are not so confident of American restraint as this optimistic spokesman. The U.S. ruling class will implement any measures they consider necessary to protect their interest and will consider Canada only so far as their own substantial investments in the country are concerned. The president of Canadian Forest Products Ltd. would be better advised to spend his time seeking out new markets instead of indulging in infantile expressions of confidence in the U.S. imperialists sense of "fair play."

Another important factor affecting B.C. lumber sales was last years devaluation of the pound. Britain is the second

The *Canadian Worker* is published monthly by The *Progressive Workers' Movement*. It is distributed as complementary copies, but also appears as a supplement to the magazine *Progressive Worker*.

The PWM is a revolutionary communist party dedicated to serving the interests of the Canadian working class. It is the only political group that supports the slogan "Canadian Unions for Canadian Workers," for further information or subscriptions to the *Progressive Worker* (\$1.00 per year) write to: PWM, 35 East Hastings St., Vancouver 4, B.C.

largest importer of B.C. forest products and with devaluation increasing their price by 15 percent this can only result in decreased sales for the country.

These conditions of diminishing markets coupled with an increase in the available labour supply, due to layoffs, makes for a situation that is favourable to the employers and causes them to stiffen their resistance to labour's demands. This is the case in the southern interior of B.C. where a protracted strike in the forest industry is still in progress with no indication of an early settlement. The present attitude of the employers toward negotiations would appear to ensure that the interior strike will still be in progress when a probable strike by coast woodworkers commences in June. This could mean a serious crisis for the labour movement and for the economy of the province. No doubt, thoughts of the devastating effects of such a strike — which would be a long one — is what stirred the Minister of Labour out of his lethargic condition and impelled him to summon the leaders of the International Woodworkers of America and the forest industry to Victoria to a recent conference.

Pulp and paper is already in as much trouble as its close relation, forest products, is headed for. In the chaotic planless manner that is the hallmark of the system, capitalism has been expanding productive capacity at the precise moment when the world market for its products is declining. For a time world demand for paper products was increasing rapidly and profits were enormous. The top five or six producers expanded plants and built new ones. These expanded plants began to reach the peak of production just when the demand for paper products was falling off, instead of increasing as expected. A crisis hit the industry and mills were placed on production quotas well below capacity — production was down 125,000 tons in 1967 — while new construction was halted abruptly. Commenting on this situation R.M. Fowler, president of the Canadian Pulp and Paper Association, stated:

"The position of the industry . . . is seriously weakened by the fact that massive increases of capacity came at a time when demand growth had temporarily halted . . . " " . . . it is more than clear that Canadians have made a creditable contribution to their own misfortunes. We have gone ahead to lay down newsprint machines . . . that won't be needed to meet world demands for 3 or 4 years."

"As a result, we are facing for 1968, an average operating rate in newsprint of about 83 per cent and in the rapidly expanded segment of kraft market pulp an operating rate even lower."

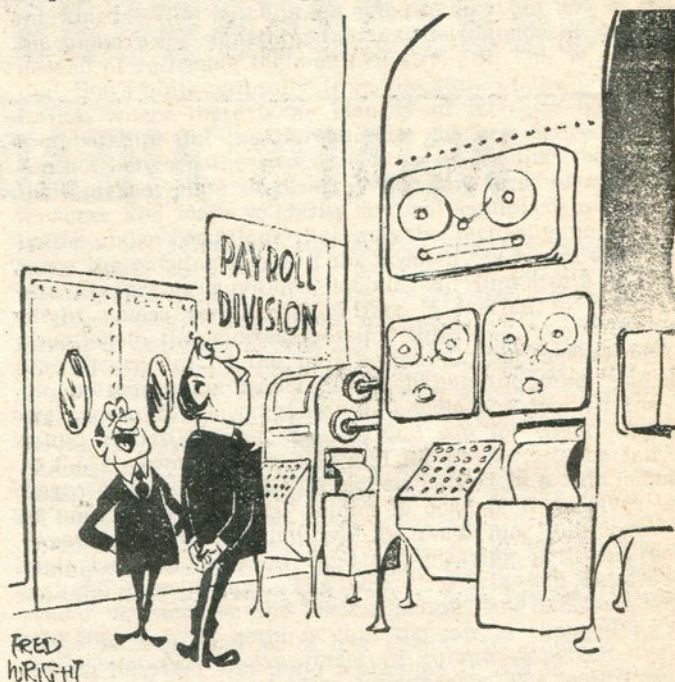
Fowler's three to four years is in the nature of "whistling in the dark." There are at present no signs that warrant an uncritical acceptance of his optimistic outlook. On the contrary economic thunderclouds on the horizon indicate stormy weather ahead. In addition, the mortality rate of North American newspapers rules out the possibility of any spectacular rise in demand for newsprint in the near future. The value of Mr. Fowler's three-to-four year estimate can be judged by the comparison with his profound "analysis" of the cause of the crises in the industry. Commenting on this point Fowler said:

"It was bad luck that produced an excessive increase in capacity at the same time as the growth in demand faltered." So when your out of luck and stoney broke don't blame capitalism — its just "bad luck" that's responsible.

Mining which is yet another important sector in the B.C. economy, has not yet been struck with heavy unemployment although note must be taken of the fact that rationalization and automation are holding the work force to a minimum while production and profits soar. But this relatively high rate of production in mining is due to a reason that can ultimately lead to disaster. Mining is completely dominated by U.S. interests and the major part of mineral production goes to the United States. The market is entirely due to the needs of the U.S. ruling class policy of aggression and drive to dominate the world. The defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam — which is certain — will lead to the collapse of the mining industry. Placing their reliance on U.S. imperialism, the mining

moguls will certainly go down the drain along with the imperialist aggressors.

The U.S. copper strike, now in progress for many months, keeps the demand for copper from outside the country at a



FRED WRIGHT

"The little one figures out salaries. The big one figures out deductions!"

high level and the world price extremely high. The ruling class pay a high price for copper abroad in order to "teach miners a lesson" and copper production in Canada enjoys a temporary boom condition because of the situation.

Construction is a segment of the economy which is dependent on other sectors and on which they in turn depend. This industry uses large quantities of materials from mines and forests when a high level of building is maintained. But a high rate of construction also depends on a constantly expanding economy, for without a constantly expanding economy, new plants, administration buildings and homes are not much in demand, consequently leading to a sharp decline in construction. This is precisely the case in B.C. and it is expected that the situation will deteriorate still further.

B.C. Hydro and Power Authority has been a large-scale employer of construction workers and is a very significant example of what is happening to the construction industry. Gordon Shrum, one of its co-chairmen, recently announced that Hydro plans to slash its 1968 capital expenditure program by about \$50 million because of high interest rates in the money market. Coupled with spending reductions of about \$100 million due to near-completion of the Peace & Columbia River power projects, Hydro's total expenditures will be down \$150 million from last year.

Similar gloomy news was expressed recently by Peter Dalton, president of the Canadian Construction Association, who predicted that increased bank rates will probably cause a sharp curtailment in construction in 1968. He suggested that 1969 will be even worse because of the lag in approving projects and the beginning of construction.

In summary, the employment outlook in B.C. is far from good and that is a fact which organized labour must take cognizance of for it places employers in a tactically stronger position than they have been for some years.

#### Ability To Pay

With economic prospects being dim in all sectors of the economy except mining, employers can be expected to weep large crocodile tears about their ability to pay higher wages. The chance that their tears will be heeded by the workers is slight, since the working class fell far short of maintaining their already inadequate share of increased production in the boom periods of post-war years. This was admitted by the

Federal Minister of Labour who "let his hair down" as the saying goes in a luncheon speech to the National Business Press Editors Association Conference in Ottawa on January 18th. Commenting on a six-year period of spectacular economic growth, the minister stated:

"Between 1961 and 1966 Canada increased her output by 35%, increased the number of jobs by 18%, increased personal consumption per capita by nearly 18%, cut unemployment to roughly 3.5% of the labour force, and, in 1966, we achieved almost full utilization of our existing productive capacity."

So increased employment and consumption reached only half the percentage increase in production, and even full utilization of our productive capacity did not result in full employment. (3.5% of the labour force remained out of work during the spectacular boom period, a constantly available labour pool ready for any emergency, such as strikes).

Who benefitted from the half of the increased production that labour did not get? Let us look at what the minister of the crown has to say about this aspect of the economic boom.

"During the earlier years of this economic leap, much of our labour in Canada was tied up in 2 and 3 year collective agreements. It was not until 1965 that labour was able... to press for what they considered an appropriate share of the massive new prosperity. Naturally they had some — and in many instances a lot of — catching up to do after the recession years when their share of the industrial product was in decline. In fact, statistics show it was... in 1965 and 1966 that labour regained its share... at the percentage level, equivalent to what it had secured nine years earlier in 1957."

It is clear from this that the workers, far from benefiting from our boasted affluence, took a considerable beating in a decline of real wages while the economy was expanding rapidly. But it is clear that someone must have reaped a rich harvest in these years of a booming economy and once again we look to the government minister for the answer to the question: "Who got the loot?" On this point the Hon. John R. Nicholson states:

"I should point out that if Canadian labour's share of industrial production had maintained its 1957 level through the succeeding seven years, its income in 1964 would have been \$650 million above what it actually was.

"I think... I should also point out that during the same period 1957-64, labour costs per unit of production rose by less than 3%, whereas corporate profits per unit rose by almost 18%."

Using the Cabinet Minister's figure of \$650 million as a base, we calculate that in the years to 1966 labour presented the capitalists (mainly U.S. monopolists) with an extra-special dividend of \$5 billion — and perhaps as much as \$6 billion — over and above "normal profit expectations".

The three year agreements (sometimes even 7 to 10 year agreements) that became a common feature of labour-employer contractual relations in those years, under the 'expert' guidance of high-paid labour bureaucrats, successfully shackle labour while they give the monopolists *carte blanche* to garner all the profit the traffic will bear.

#### OUTLOOK FOR '68

What are the prospects for labour advances this year? In the light of the above record it would seem that hopes for gains cannot be built on very sound foundations.

The bureaucratic officials, as usual, are making loud and militant-sounding speeches as though they were so many St. Georges going out to slay the capitalist dragon. But the record we have cited was established under their guidance and that record speaks for itself. Considering the fact that the working class, led by these bureaucratic 'experts' in bargaining, lost valuable ground in the fight for improved living standards at a time when conditions were relatively favourable to their efforts, how is it possible now, when conditions are infinitely more difficult, to have any confidence in their leadership? 11

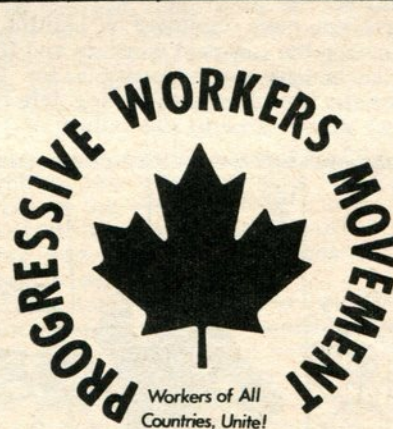
Leaders and organizations that have proved themselves ineffectual in the boom period are very unlikely to be in a position to cope with the problems that will confront them now that the boom is ended and we enter into a period of recession that appears to be but the prelude to a full-scale economic crisis that is now looming on the horizon.

The bureaucrats will no doubt claim that they have ably represented the economic interests of their members. As proof of their contention they will point to the relatively high wages paid to certain limited sections of highly-skilled workers, such as plumbers, machinists, electricians etc. There are several points here that must be clarified.

First of all the boom period which arose mainly as a result of the U.S. campaign to conquer the world, affected most of the western capitalist nations. Under these circumstances competition among the capitalists for the services of highly-skilled workers was extremely sharp. These skilled workers were not only moving from town to town but also from country to country and from continent to continent in the search for higher incomes.

This competition contributed at least as much as the "expertise" of the bureaucratic officials in securing higher wages for those with skills and it certainly made the way easier for the bureaucrats when they played any role at all.

But less than 30 per cent of the workers are organized and less than half of these fall into the category of "highly skilled". So the proof of their effectiveness which will be cited by the bureaucrats affects but a tiny fraction of the entire working class and it is the workers as a class, not their sectional interests, that we are concerned with. Capitalists have always been prepared, however unwillingly, to bribe and corrupt a strategic section so long as they are left



10¢

# TRADE UNION PROGRAM

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

free to carry on super exploitation of the majority of the workers.

In fact these same corrupt practices are themselves producing serious problems for the skilled workers with the onset of the economic crisis. Low paid workers, pensioners and all those on fixed incomes have been left far behind in the unprincipled scramble for personal advances that has so infected and corrupted North American society and eroded the fundamental labour principles—"One for all, all for one"—that have previously bound labour into a solid army. Each section of unionists pursue their own selfish aims, often at the expense of other union workers. When they consider the plight of others at all it is to do no more than pass a pious resolution deploring the conditions of the "underprivileged."

One encouraging thing to date is that the I.W.A. and the Pulp and Paper Workers of Canada have begun meeting to discuss going into joint negotiations later this year. These meetings if carried on could possibly be the start of having one Canadian union in the whole forest industry where the woodworkers here would be in a much better position for negotiating or carrying on any struggle "together" instead of competing with each other. Another suggestion we might make is the electricians and carpenters enter into joint negotiations instead of competing with each other. (They have a common interest.)

The end result of all this is that labour is entering a difficult period, not as a closely-knit organization but as a loose collection of individuals who hang together only because they are afraid of being hanged separately. Class consciousness is virtually non-existent in the North American unions and each man seeks to advance his own career, even at the expense of others. In addition, the interests of the workers as a class puts a weapon in the hands of the employers and that weapon is beginning to prove to be effective to at least a limited extent.

The ruling class have mounted a skillful propaganda campaign to convince the low-paid workers and those on fixed incomes that the unions are responsible for inflation and consequently for the plight of those being left behind in the mad race for the dollar. Due to the failure of the unions to

crat-ridden organization is the fragmentation of the unions into individual self-seeking units where union fights union, local fights local and member fights member, instead of all uniting for the common good. Members are often heard remarking: "What is the union going to do about it?" as though the union were something that existed outside of themselves instead of reflecting their unified strength. This is an outlook that flows quite naturally from the state of the union organization where there is no identity of interests between the membership and the bureaucratic leaders; indeed, there is conflict between the two. It is easy to see that the unions in their present state of disarray and low level of class consciousness and class solidarity are not equipped to engage in battle under conditions that may be tactically unfavourable. Since the existing trend of the economy is in the direction of less favourable conditions, labour will find itself in a sorry plight unless considerable effort is exerted to remedy the situation in the shortest possible time.

The record of the past period proves conclusively that the present union leadership, including the fake "radicals", are thoroughly incompetent to handle the job. At the first sound of battle most of them will run for cover, appealing to the government for help and for the boss to be fair. The fiasco of the so-called "injunction battle" is a fair indication of how these "experts" intend to conduct themselves in the days ahead. Everything will be done nice and legal with high-priced lawyers on hand and pleading petitions read to inattentive politicians. The bosses' courts will be asked to render decisions on the bosses' actions and workers will be told they can do nothing until the law is changed — by a social-democratic government, of course — which again is made up of American union bureaucrats. The worker will be confronted with a solid front of government, bosses' courts the boss and bureaucratic officials, who will unite against any attempt at militant action by the union members.

The unprecedented action of the B.C. Labour Minister in bringing together union officials and management representatives in the B.C. forest industry, months before bargaining is due to commence is no doubt largely due to an effort to have union bureaucrat and employer agree on what the worker should get and so avoid a strike. In this situation the worker becomes but a pawn in the game and is expected to move exactly as directed.

Much of the weakness of the labour movement can be traced directly to the selfish and self-centred outlook of the members. This is an ideology which is fostered by the ruling class with a powerful assist from the union bureaucrat, who, like the employer, has a vested interest in the promotion of a philosophy based on self-interest.

#### NEEDED: A CLASS POLICY

The labour movement will become strong and united only when it begins to cast off the ideology of the capitalist enemy and turn toward a class-conscious working class position. Not unity in the abstract, such as the fake radicals propose, but unity around a real working-class position.

In every trade union battle, such as the ones we are now coming to, the emphasis has always been on the purely economic side of the struggle, so that while battling the individual capitalist, the fight has always been kept within the confines of the capitalist system. The entire struggle is turned into an endless chase in a desperate attempt to keep pace with the sky-rocketing cost of living — a chase in which the weakest members of the chase are left far in the rear. Canadian workers have been running on this treadmill to nowhere for years.

The fight to improve living standards and working conditions, while extremely important, will not of itself challenge the capitalist system, nor will it result in an automatic increase in the socialist consciousness of the workers. On the contrary, trade union politics, economism, social democracy, if not seriously and sharply challenged, will dull the class consciousness of the workers through having them accept capitalism.

The pseudo-radicals who pass themselves off as "Communists" play an important role in this treacherous activity.

Though the capitalist class almost always bitterly resists the demands of the workers, they are never really frightened nor do they feel their fundamental class interests threatened



Instead of paying you for Christmas we're having the foremen dress up as Santa Claus.

represent the class this campaign of the capitalists is beginning to have some effect. Telling these people of low incomes to organize themselves and to vote N.D.P. (Social Democrat) is no proper substitute for a true, militant working class policy. The N.D.P. is only a political party of these international union bureaucrats anyway and if one takes the Social Democrats' shining example, Britain, all we see is wage freezes and scabbing on the working class.

The end result of a policy of self-interest and a bureau-

by trade union politics, since they are well aware that this type of politics actually protects the system by leading the workers away from real anti-capitalist struggle and turning their attention in the direction of seeking personal gain and advantage.

But the self-styled "Communists", who play a reformist role covered with radical-sounding phrases, attempt to make every trade union struggle against capitalist resistance look like it was a challenge to the very system itself, and in this way mislead the workers into believing they are winning fights for basic working class objectives. Every partial victory in an economic struggle is treated as though it signified the permanent occupation of an important fortress. The winning of reforms becomes an end in itself, the capitalist system is left intact and the capitalist is left free to order things in such a way as to ensure he will recover with his right hand everything — and more — he has given with his left hand. As proof of this claim, return for a moment to the statement by Federal Labour Minister Nicholson, who pointed out that, in spite of agreements granting wage improvements, the capitalists, in the single year 1964, came out with an extra \$650 million slice on top of their "normal" profits.

There is an important lesson which the workers must learn if they are to get off the treadmill they are now on.

They must begin to grasp the fact that every battle for a reform, even when it is won, is a battle that must be fought again and again. That is the essence of trade union politics. The only thing that can change this situation is the adoption of a policy which challenges the capitalist system, repudiates trade union politics, and puts the fight for socialism in the forefront of the struggle.

This fight, of course, will grow and develop only to the extent that the revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist Party of the working class grows and develops, and to the extent such a party succeeds in winning the following of the mass of workers. Militant, class-conscious workers who are discouraged and frustrated by a thousand battles that have all been "won" and yet got them exactly nowhere, should give serious consideration to the necessity of their becoming adherents of a working class party dedicated to the achievement of the revolutionary objective of putting an end to the capitalist system of exploitation and replacing it with a system where no exploiter can exist — a Socialist system.

That is the **ONLY** solution to the problems that beset the working class.

**Trade Union Committee,  
Progressive Workers Movement**

## TRANSIT UNION STRUGGLE

In this day and age of Premier Bennett's "affluent society", one would think that the Crown Corporation, British Columbia Hydro Transit, would be as streamlined as our "affluent society". The very truth of the transit situation in Vancouver B.C. is the complete opposite. The working conditions in the transit system and service to the public are totally behind in times, and leave a great deal to be desired. The situation also serves to show the role that the Amalgamated Transit Union (American) has played in so-called advancing trade unionism by fighting for the rights of better working conditions for its workers and also fighting to provide a better transit system for the people who rely buses.

The following will serve as an insight to the existing conditions in the B.C. Hydro Transit, both for its workers and the people who rely on the system.

As for the transit workers, they work under the most adverse conditions that are questionable and virtually unknown to the public. The B.C. Hydro Transit System covers all main public transportation in the lower mainland. The Hydro has a minimum amount of buses and drivers, and this results in a minimum service to the people at all times. This minimum service includes the early morning rush, mid-morning, afternoon, evening rush and night service. Bus operators are forced to work straight 8-hour shifts with no coffee breaks or lunch periods written into their contract with Hydro. These breaks, the Hydro will not recognize. Junior or new drivers are forced to work split-shifts, the result of which is a longer than 12-hour spread period to get in 8 hours work and for only 8-hours pay. Each bus on each line in the lower mainland runs on a set running time in order to maintain a standard service on that line. Because of this service set-up drivers are forced to drive over the 30 mile per hour speed limit in order to keep on time. If this is not done, drivers will miss the chance to use washroom facilities or the simple pleasure of half a cigarette. This is how tight running times are set up. On many bus lines in the city, like the Granville-Victoria and Main-Robson lines, keeping a bus on time is almost impossible at any time of day. At night of course, this is different. There are less people travelling by the transit system and less traffic on the streets. But the Hydro nicely took care of the night situation by cutting running time down. Even at night drivers do not get adequate time for coffee or lunch. These existing conditions result in health hazards for the drivers. Fatigue comes on very rapidly after a driver works 6 hours without a break of any mentionable time. After working 6 hours, reflexes are slower than when first starting a day's work. After 6 hours (with adequate

time allowed for breaks) a driver should be off the road, and finished work for that day. As it stands now, under the existing conditions, if a driver does not quickly respond to an emergency situation and is involved in an accident, he stands to be charged. This goes on his driving record and on the Hydro records against him. In most cases, the Hydro will not back a driver up in case of accidents that are classified as his fault, and the American union cannot and does not care to back up a driver either. The Hydro does a lot of talking about safety, but like other very important realities, they talk about safety in the abstract. The Hydro has no right to even mention safety when they can force a driver to be on the road between 6 A.M. and 7 A.M. only having finished his previous day's work 3 and a half hours earlier. This quite frequently happens during a driver's Sunday-Monday work.

The Hydro tells its drivers to be offensive drivers, to always look ahead, and try to anticipate an emergency situation. This is safety talk in a vacuum. How can a driver act quickly in any situation when he has worked 8 hours, had 2 hours sleep and is back on the road again with a full load of people in a bus right during the morning rush. We can assume that the so-called union (A.T.U.) goes along with this type of practice too, for this "union" won't put a stop to it. A driver while on the job is required to be: 1. an information expert 2. make change 3. keep the bus on time 4. know where he is going 5. call out all stops 6. keep the bus on time 7. watch traffic 8. watch people and oh yes, 9. drive.

In non-peak periods, it is most difficult to keep a bus on time. During peak (rush) periods, a bus is not allotted any more running time. The driver runs on non-rush period running time. Yet in rush periods, there are many, many more people to carry and traffic is extremely heavy, making the situation damn near impossible. People who have to ride the bus in rush hour times end up waiting for as many as 3 buses to pass before a bus can stop for them, since the others were too full to carry any more people. Because of the lack of buses and drivers, buses pack standing loads of people in rush hour which is another unsafe practice of the Hydro. There are up to 70 people packed standing in a bus under rush hour conditions, and if this bus were ever involved in a bad mishap, many people would be seriously injured, if not killed. This condition of course means that workers, both drivers and passengers, bear the brunt.

There are many more conditions that need to be brought forward and will be at a later date. The rotten conditions that

exist are being talked about more and more by the drivers and by the people who have to rely on this shoddy transit system. To prove this, out of 1,000 drivers taken on in the last hiring spree by B.C. Hydro, only about 75 of those 1,000 are on the job today. This proves that the job is haywire.

As for the "union", the Amalgamated Transit Union, (American), it is very easy to see the part it has played in the many years it has been supposedly fighting for its membership. This American "union" has had more than adequate time to prove itself, and it has. Instead of conditions on the job improving over the years, conditions have worsened with the times. The so-called leadership of this union carries that old familiar line of unity with the American way of life and at any cost. This misleadership of Division 101, the Vancouver local of ATU, goes along hand in hand with this American "union". The constitution of ATU, like any other American union in Canada, is out and out reactionary. ATU ties the hands of the Vancouver transit workers so if they so much as breathe a word the ATU does not like, they can be denied the right to work. So the Yankees stationed in Washington, D.C., have the power to deny a Canadian transit worker the right to earn his bread and butter in his own country. A long-time mis-leader of this union said, "this union of ours is the most democratic union in North America." This statement is a fallacy, and if this misleader of Canadian workers cannot see this, then he must be an American and a bureaucrat himself, protecting his privileged position of selling us out and leading us down the garden path to worse slavery, only to try and prove his bankrupt old unworkable so-called principles. This misleader talks about democracy within an American union for Canadian workers when Canadian workers have no say in the running of the union. We have no say about the dues we pay, or how much the International President be paid per year. We think \$22,500.00 is too damn much for a so-called leader of a union who sells us out every time so as not to get the bosses angry at him and perhaps end up in jail where he could not enjoy his modest life on a salary of \$22,500.00. The I.P. gets \$22,500.00 per year, and we, the Canadian workers, get \$5,000 per year, if we're lucky. What a contrast! This is a division between boss and workers. It shows the American domination of the Canadian working class. It is a well-known fact that the U.S.A. dominates the Canadian economy and the Canadian labor force. When in Canada we have American companies and American unions, they work hand in hand with each other against the interests of the Canadian worker, and

the Canadian worker gets screwed. This is a fact. Look at conditions on the job. Look at the Yankee union and its reactionary constitution and the salaries paid to the "International" representatives. These fat boys in paying positions in the American union get more money per year than American company executives, in most cases. The Canadian misleaders or puppets to the ATU are keeping us servants of US imperialism under check, not working in our behalf by any means. How do they sleep at night, knowing they are nothing but little errand boys jumping to strings pulled in Washington, D.C., only to stick another knife in the backs of their fellow Canadian workers.

It is very easy to see that we need a Canadian union in the transit industry. We need a Canadian union under rank and file control so we who operate the transit can decide our own conditions and our own destiny. We have had enough of this American "unionism" from south of the border. We can do 100 per cent better without that Yankee union and 100 per cent better with our own Canadian union.

Coming up for publication in the **Progressive Worker** is more on the development in the B.C. Hydro Transit and the ATU.

**CANADIAN UNIONS FOR CANADIAN WORKERS**  
Bus Driver

# VIETNAM COURIER

Information Weekly

Hanoi — Democratic Republic of Viet Nam

Mailed to you for just the postage.

(1 year) \$100

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



# THE GREAT COAL SWINDLE

The \$650 million coal deal with Japan has been the cause of a great deal of trumpet sounding and rejoicing in certain quarters in British Columbia — particularly loud are the sounds of glee issuing forth from the hot-air factory operated by the political hucksters in the provincial capital, Victoria. The Social Credit managers of the estate owned by American absentee landlords are going all out to convince us that this deal is probably one of the greatest blessings ever bestowed on the residents of British Columbia since the day when the Gentlemen Adventurers Trading Into Hudson's Bay staked out a goodly chunk of the lands of this richly-endowed province as their private property. But, like the Gentlemen Adventurer's deal that preceded it by more than a century, the true facts are a far cry from the fanciful tales and deceitful propaganda being peddled by those who seek to wrap the shameful sellout in obscurity.

In the first place, it was not British Columbia, nor Canada nor was it Canadians, that surrendered the pass (Crow's Nest) to Japanese industrialists. That little trick was turned by the Kaiser Company of Oakland, California. Perhaps some of you had the naive idea that, since the coal deposits were on Canadian land, it was up to Canadians to determine the manner of their exploitation. But that's a ridiculous idea: How do you expect underprivileged American billionaires to turn an honest profit if every country insists on disposing of its own resources? Why, that's coming mighty close to Communism!

The plain fact is that legal title to ownership of these coal deposits is in American, not Canadian, hands. Crows Nest Industries Limited, which holds title, is 72 per cent American-owned. (Even that is a recent improvement — as late as 1962 only 12 per cent of the shares were Canadian-owned.) The entire deal for this Canadian coal, including the signing of the contract with the Japanese industrialists, was consummated on United States territory, and not one Canadian played any role at any stage in the proceedings. In the process American-owned Crows Nest Industries handed over 65,000 acres of Canada to American-owned Kaiser Coal Ltd., Canadian subsidiary of Kaiser Steel Corporation. Now the big question is, how much of the \$650 million of Japanese money actually finds its way into Canada? Damn little, is the only conclusion one can come to after a close examination of contract details.

Immediately following release of the news about the deal with Japan, the question was asked: How will U.S. restrictions on the export of capital affect financing? The answer to this question provided the most startling revelation of just how insignificant a factor Canada, as a nation, was in the preparation of the multi-million dollar deal. It was pointed out that the capital to be transferred to Canada to finance the operation would be in an amount so small as to be well within the limitations laid down by Johnson. The American promoters of the scheme claimed that only about \$17 million of the \$650 million involved would leave U.S. hands. This appears startling to say the least, but the end result may prove even more startling. We should take a close look at the financial details to see if we can arrive at some understanding on just how badly we fare. Here are some of the details presently known:

Crows Nest Industries will get 234,234 common shares of the Kaiser Corporation. Current market value of these shares is about \$18.7 million, but this, as is well known, is a figure that can change very rapidly — downward more readily than upward, in these days of crisis. There will be annual payments of \$731,175 (in Canadian funds) for a period of five years. This figure, however, includes dividend payments on the shares which presently stand at about \$1.08 per share. The effect of this is to suspend dividend payments for five years. What the dividend payments will amount to after the five years is anybody's guess.

Crows Nest will receive, in addition, 50 cents on every ton of coal mined after 1976 to a maximum of \$34 million.

The maximum financial return to Crows Nest Industries from promotion of this enterprise is the \$18.7 million from the Kaiser Corporation shares at current market value, the five-year guarantee of \$731,175 annually (total 3.6 million) 15

plus the \$34 million after 1976 for a grand total of \$56 million. Since 70 per cent of Crows Nest shares are in American hands the bulk of the \$56 million (which is a maximum that will probably never be reached) will most certainly never get to cross the international border, hence the confident declaration that the operation will not violate the capital export restrictions.

Over the 15-year period which the agreement covers the aim is to mine 60 million tons of coal — 45 million tons for Japanese orders and 15 million tons to the Kaiser steel plant at Fontana, California. Therefore, Canada will apparently receive the magnificent sum of about 25 cents for each ton of coal mined — provided, of course that payments reach the maximum amount provided in the Kaiser contract with Crows Nest. But we are not yet at the end of this sordid tale of betrayal, and that \$17 million can look even smaller yet. We turn now to the question of rail transportation to convey the coal for ship loading.

When the coal deal was first mooted CPR quoted \$3.50 per ton for transportation on an all-Canada route and the CPR subsidiary, Pacific Coast Bulk Terminals, entered a bid for the ship-board loading at its Port Moody terminal. However, Kaiser expressed dissatisfaction at the quotations and began negotiations with U.S. lines. Tentative plans now call for the Crows Nest subsidiary, Kootenay and Elk railway, to build a 77-mile line from Fernie, B.C., to link up with the U.S.-owned Great Northern at Eureka, Montana. The cost of the rail link is estimated at \$20 million — about \$3 million more than the maximum Canadian shareholders can expect to receive from the deal.

Transportation via Kootenay and Elk and Great Northern lines will mean port loading at Roberts Bank, where no bulk loading facilities are presently in existence. But a supine Provincial Government, ever ready to spring to the aid of the U.S. monopolists, have declared themselves ready to provide the necessary facilities, including necessary rail connections, within 18 months. This calls for an expenditure of up to \$10 million from the public treasury. In addition, shipping experts claim that the terminal charges of 50 cents per ton means that the Roberts Bank facilities will have to be subsidized by the B.C. taxpayers.

The strip-mining process carried out in Crows Nest Pass is notorious for the way in which it blights the countryside for miles around. Coal dust seeps its way into every crevice and cranny, and leaves its black mark on everything within reach. Now, as for years past, grandiose plans for a clean operation are loudly trumpeted. But one can expect that concern for maximum profit returns will take precedence over consideration for the welfare of the community. There is little hope for improvement of the deplorable living conditions in such communities as Michel and Natal, which have been virtually buried in coal dust for all of their existence.

Yet another swindle appears to be shaping up in connection with the plans for a terminal at Roberts Bank. The executive secretary of the B.C. Energy Board, a government department, revealed that within two hours of the announcement of the Kaiser deal four firms were knocking at the door to enquire on the possibility of a private operator being given the job of handling the loading facilities. So it is entirely possible that the terminal, financed and subsidized from the public treasury, will be handed over to a private company — and past experience strongly hints that it will be a U.S. company.

One other development helps to emphasize just how subservient the B.C. Social Credit government can be. When it was first thought that CPR would handle the transportation it was announced that the government-owned B.C. Hydro would operate rail switching at the port and receive a percentage of the rail charges in return. However, since probability of shipment via U.S. lines was introduced, it seems the picture may have changed since the B.C. government is more interested in giving money to the Yanks than they are in taking it from them. E.M. Gunderson, executive director of B.C. Hydro, now says that the power authorities' role is

not yet decided.

No one has yet tried to give any rational explanation of this astounding deal. If, indeed, there is any rational explanation. We don't really expect anyone to make any serious effort at presenting us with one. Already we can discern the outline of the plan to distract public attention away from the colossal sellout of our national interests that is involved in this scheme. We are about to be deafened with loud cries of how this means economic rehabilitation for a depressed area and jobs for unemployed miners. But no one will undertake to explain why this could not have been accomplished **without** the U.S. monopolies. It is clear that the people of B.C. are going to be called on to spend far more money than they will receive. If it not possible for us to spend it and still keep control of our land and resources for the benefit of our people?

Let us concede, for the moment, that selling the coal production from Crows Nest Pass to Japanese industrialists is a sound business deal. The coal is on our territory, which is

supposed to be under our sovereign control. We have the miners who can mine it, and will mine it, and we can easily acquire any additional machinery that is required — just as the Kaiser Corporation will acquire it. The transportation and port loading facilities we must provide in any event. Everything, in fact, exists for a direct deal between Canada and Japan if such a deal should be deemed advisable.

Now will someone in authority just give us a plain and simple answer to the question: Why wasn't a direct deal made? Why was it necessary for us to pay the Yankee monopolists \$600 million to sell our coal to Japan?

The final irony with which to conclude this sorry tale of national betrayal is contained in the public announcement made, naturally, in Washington:

"Kaiser officials said they have been told by the U.S. Commerce department they can reasonably expect the deal to be approved."

## 100 YEARS

"Centennial" has come and gone and it might prove useful to recap and ponder on the events of the past year. Every attempt was made to sell the idea of harmony existing between Quebec and Canada and of how confederation had benefited us all. There were many things done and said, but more important is what was not said. The principle omission was the fact that confederation had been preceded by the armed conquest of Quebec and that, although temporarily defeated, the people of Quebec have continued the fight for liberation for almost 200 years. Confederation was nothing more than an attempt to legitimize the conquest and secure the co-operation of a handful of traitors.

The visit of de Gaulle, if it did nothing more, removed the deceptive covering for once and for all. The struggle of the Quebecois for national independence now has assumed international proportions in that not only Canadians, but the rest of the world, is aware of their struggle. This awareness will and has led to support or condemnation depending on, as the trade union song puts it, "Which side are you on?"—the side of the people or the side of oppression. The working people of Canada and the world have a tremendous stake in the outcome of the battle, just as we have a stake in Vietnam. A victory for the people anywhere is a blow struck for freedom and against oppression. The Quebec people are in the forefront of the struggle against the policies of the United States for economic, cultural, and political enslavement of Asia, Africa, Quebec, etc.

The U.S. has a greater investment in Quebec and Canada than in all of Latin America combined. They too have a stake but of a different type and they will react very quickly to any attempt at change here in Quebec. Quebec bears the brunt of this investment followed closely by Ontario and British Columbia. It therefore follows that resistance to this colonization which is both overt and covert will be in a more advanced stage in Quebec than in the Canadian provinces. The growth of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (C.N.T.U.) is an expression of the rejection of U.S. imperialist control of the Quebec labour movement.

The C.N.T.U. now embraces a membership of upwards of 250,000 in every field of employment. Membership is growing rapidly despite all attempts to strangle them by a combination of American unions, big business and the C.L.C. aided by the government in both Quebec and Ottawa. Through their own trade union movement the Quebec workers are leading the fight against further encroachment by the U.S. into Quebec as well as struggling against domestic capitalists. The future of the Quebec nation is dependent on the action of the working class.

This is also the case in the Canadian provinces, for into the hands of Canadian workers falls the responsibility of leading the fight for Canadian independence. It is only the working class of any country, in an alliance with all progressive forces, that is capable of leading the struggle to victory. This is the task confronting the working class and we are confident they will prove equal to it. Therefore, of im-

mediate importance is "Canadian unions for Canadian workers".

Getting back to "Centennial" in the light of what has just been said, it is imperative for us to look at history and see how our "leaders" over the past 100 years have conducted themselves in "protecting" our country from foreign domination. The Canadian ruling class and their two main political parties of Liberals and Conservatives have always served foreign interests at the expense of the nation. While making a pretense of "putting Canada first", they have facilitated first British then U.S. capital to flow into the country unhampered. We are now in a position where not only most of our economy is dominated by foreign interests, but we are the only country in the world where the workers are members of foreign unions. The U.S., which already has the lion's share of economic control, is rapidly strengthening its hold by buying out still more Canadian business at an accelerating rate.

When you look at this sorry state of affairs it makes one a little ill to hear the politicians come forth to tell us what they and their predecessors have done for the nation during "our first 100 years". During the past year they have paraded all sorts of "national heroes" whom they consider worthy of honour for their part in preserving the nation. It would appear from their choice that only enterprising gentlemen, lords, railroad barons, clerics, etc., built the country while generals and politicians protected and defended it. There is no mention of the real builders of Canada—the workers and farmers who settled the country and built it practically with their bare hands. Somehow our history books miss these people.

Neither is there much mention made of the authentic history of the Indian people, who are part of the disinherited, and as such considered not worthy of attention or reference in official ceremonies.

With the dawn of the second century upon us we must face the formidable, but not insurmountable task now before us—the liberation of the nation from foreign domination. We are sure to witness a sharpening of the struggle in the not too distant future and the fight for Canadian unions is the first step in the battle for Canadian independence.

## BILL 33

A new bill, bill 33 has been introduced into the B.C. Legislature. A full report and analysis of the anti-labour nature of this bill will appear in the next issue of **Progressive Worker**. In the meantime it is our opinion that all of labour in B.C. must unite to fight this bill. The fight must be based on the full mobilization of the workers using their organizational and economic strength, and not a phoney fight, like the one waged against the injunction.

dangerous.

Debray cites Cuba as the living example and proof of his "new conception" but he carefully avoids discussing the detailed history of the Cuban Revolution so that we are left to accept his dictum that it does, in fact, sustain his system. Also carefully left out of his calculations is the experience of the Dominican Republic, where the American ruling class served final notice that Cuba would not be repeated, and Castro was compelled to stand aside while it happened.

One important fact that must be realized by the inventors of the "new conception" is that the struggle must develop from the people themselves and produce its own leaders. The struggle cannot be grafted on any more than forms of struggle not yet acceptable can be imposed on people. In his article "On Guerilla Warfare" Lenin wrote:

"... What are the fundamental demands which every Marxist should make of an examination of the questions of forms of struggle? In the first place, Marxism differs from all primitive forms of socialism by not binding the movement to any one particular form of struggle. It recognizes the most varied forms of struggle; and it does not 'concoct' them but only generalizes, organizes, gives conscious expression to the forms of struggle of the revolutionary classes which arise of themselves in the course of the movement. Absolutely hostile to all abstract formulas and to all doctrinaire recipes, Marxism demands an attentive attitude to the MASS struggle in progress, which, as the movement develops, as the class-consciousness of the masses grows, as economic and political crises become acute, continually gives rise to new and more varied methods of defence and attack. Marxism, therefore, positively does not reject any form of struggle. . . In this respect Marxism learns, if we may so express it, from mass practice, and makes no claim whatsoever to teach the masses forms of struggle invented by 'systemisers' in the seclusion of their studies. We know. . . that the coming crisis will introduce new forms of struggle that we are now unable to see."

Everything that has been said here by Lenin is ignored by Debray. Most of "Revolution in the Revolution" is the direct opposite of this advice. Rejected also are these recommendations from Mao Tse-tung:

"Without question, the fountainhead of guerilla warfare is in the masses of the people, who organize guerilla units directly from themselves.

"... I mentioned the fact that guerilla troops should have a precise conception of the political goal of the struggle and the political organization to be used in attaining that goal. This means that both organization and discipline of guerilla troops must be at a high level so that they can carry out the political activities that are the life of both the guerilla armies and of revolutionary warfare.

"There are some materialists who say: 'We are not interested in politics but only in the profession of arms'. It is vital that these simple-minded militarists be made to realize the relationship that exists between politics and military affairs. Military action is a method used to attain a political goal. While military affairs and political affairs are not identical, it is impossible to isolate one from the other."

Whatever else it may be, Debray's "new conception" or "Revolution in the Revolution" is NOT Marxist-Leninist and that is a point, considering the evidence before us, that Debray is not likely to dispute. After all, he has been at great pains to convince us that a Marxist-Leninist vanguard is not necessary to the revolution. It is true, of course, that he occasionally speaks of a Marxist-Leninist Party, but he makes clear that this is to be organized AFTER the victory of the revolutionary forces — for what purpose, it is not quite clear.

Bolivia was undoubtedly the testing ground for the "new conception". With Guevara and Debray both on the scene there would seem to be conclusive proof that the "Revolution in the Revolution" was being put to the supreme test under the direction of the best forces available. If the evidence at hand is to be believed, Castro himself must have given the matter his personal attention.

"Revolution in the Revolution" will not stand up to the test of history. Revolutionary experience is a very material fact that Debray, however hard he may try, cannot wipe out.

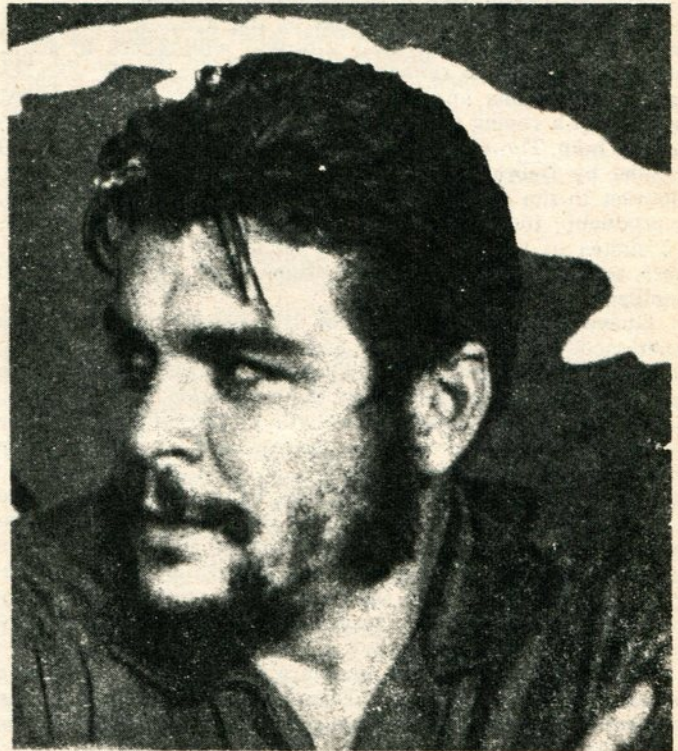
Theoretically, from the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint, the 'new conception' is a blank shot. The Bolivian events are final and tragic proof that the Debray formula is a failure also when it comes to practice.

The fundamental revolutionary content of Marxism-Leninism, enriched by the experience of the Chinese Revolution, and the contributions of Mao Tse-tung, have stood the test of time and practice. Despite what Debray says, Marxism-Leninism has a universal application, not in any rigid or sectarian sense but in its basic and fundamental truths. Latin America needs no 'new conception'; it needs the application of the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism to the Latin American situation.

Intellectual elites will not free the masses — the masses must be shown how to liberate themselves: only then will they be free.

#### Guevara in Bolivia

How did Guevara get himself involved in the Bolivian venture? How did it happen that he was leading a roving band of rebels and following a course of action that seemed at variance with some of his recorded statements before his disappearance and his tragic reappearance in Bolivia? Though



CHE GUEVARA

he did exhibit some strong traces of petty-bourgeois romanticism which would make him susceptible to accepting such schemes, in part at least, Guevara nevertheless did indicate he had some knowledge of the complexities of revolutionary struggle.

Some idea of Guevara's position can be found in his preface to the Spanish edition of Giap's work. Where Debray, and seemingly Castro, reject the idea that the Vietnam struggle holds any lessons for Latin America, Guevara expresses a contrary opinion. Here is what he wrote in his preface:

"General Giap speaks with the authority stemming from his long personal experience and that of the party in the struggle for liberation. The book, intrinsically of permanent validity, takes on still greater significance in view of the tumultuous series of recent events in this region of Asia and the controversies that have arisen as to the adequate application of armed struggle to resolve the unsurmountable contradictions between exploiters and exploited under certain historical conditions.

"... moreover the problems it deals with are of particular importance for the great majority of the peoples of Latin America now victims of the domination imposed by U.S.

imperialism. Needless to say, the book will also be of extraordinary interest to all the peoples of Africa who are daily waging hard battles against colonialists of various styles.

"... in general terms, its fundamental characteristics and the aggressors opposite nature come out to the sort of unsurmountable contradiction that exists throughout the dependent world and also contain the ways to solve them. . . the book thus poses questions of general interest to a world fighting for its liberation."

After touching briefly on the general course of the war in Vietnam, Guevara quotes approvingly this passage by Giap:

"Under the prevailing world conditions, a nation, even though it be small and weak, which rises up as a single man under the leadership of the working class to fight staunchly for independence and democracy has the moral and material possibility of defeating any aggressor whatsoever. Under certain historic conditions, this struggle for national liberation may become an armed struggle of long duration, prolonged resistance in order to attain complete victory."

Guevara adds this comment:

"This is a synthesis of the general characteristics a war of liberation should take on in dependent countries."

Here is expressed no distrust of the masses, but confidence in their ability and their ultimate willingness to fight. Here is expressed no reliance on an intellectual elite wandering the mountains and jungles in search of a non-existent utopia. Not a roving band of rebels, but a nation rising up as a single man. The elderly, the young, and the under-nourished rejected by Debray, show they too can make a heroic contribution to the cause of national liberation. Making bullets, or producing food for the front-line fighters, or setting bamboo stakes in a camouflaged pit as a trap for the enemy, these, too, are important contributions from the aroused and mobilized people.

Guevara obviously considered the lessons of the "Asian experience" to be important and valid for Latin America, whereas Debray considered knowledge of this experience to be dangerous to the conduct of the revolution. One wonders, then, what took Guevara to Bolivia in pursuit of a policy with which he seemed to be in disagreement, at least in some of its vital parts. We have, as yet, no authentic copy of the Diary which Guevara kept in Bolivia, but there appears to be some solid evidence to show that he may have been abandoning the scheme and trying to get out of the country when he was trapped and brutally murdered while wounded. Debray's strange reaction to the news of Guevara's death may have been occasioned by the fact that he thought Guevara was safely out of the country.

While we do not have Guevara's diary, we do have a rather cryptic statement by Debray in "**Revolution in the Revolution**" which may provide a clue to understanding this strange event. Debray writes:

"When Comrade Che Guevara once again took up insurrectional work, he accepted on an international level the consequences of the line of action of which Fidel Castro, the leader of the Cuban Revolution, is the incarnation.

"When Che Guevara reappears, it is hardly risky to assert that it will be as the head of a guerilla movement, **AS ITS UNQUESTIONED POLITICAL AND MILITARY LEADER.**" (P. 119 — emphasis by Debray).

The key word here is "accepted". One does not "accept" what one already possesses. Was there a discussion on a high level in Cuba on the implementation of the 'new conception' outlined by Debray, with the initial test to be made in Bolivia under the leadership of Guevara? Was Guevara at first opposed and "accepted" Castro's viewpoint only after long and sharp debate? These are questions that may not be answered for a long time — perhaps never. But they are questions that history has posed and they demand to be answered.

Although one would expect that the Bolivian event would write a finish to the 'new conception', it appears that this is not so. In his eulogies to Guevara, Castro makes it clear the 'new conception' is still in command. The death of Guevara and his comrades in the jungles is not accepted as defeat but is hailed as proof of the correctness of the chosen path and the death of the martyrs as the first signal of victory. It is

ironic that it should be Debray himself who gives reply to Castro on that point in these words:

"... Sacrifice is not a political argument and martyrdom does not constitute proof. When the list of martyrs grows long, when every act of courage is converted into martyrdom, it is because something is wrong. And it is just as much a moral duty to seek out the cause as it is to pay homage to the murdered or imprisoned comrades." (P. 86)

By all means let us seek out the cause of why the 'new conception' failed so ignominiously and so tragically. We hope our contribution to the discussion will aid in making that discovery, and also hasten a decision to return to the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism and the contributions of Mao Tse-tung. Fundamentally, the struggle in Latin America is similar to the world-wide revolutionary struggle and Marxism-Leninism applies there as everywhere else. It needs only to be interpreted in terms of Latin American conditions.

## LABOR

*I've builded your ships and your railroads,  
I've worked in your factories and mines,  
I've builded the roads you ride on  
I've crushed the wild grapes for your wines.  
I've worked late at night on your garments,  
I've gathered the grain for your bread,  
I've builded the house that you live in,  
I've printed the books that you've read.  
I've linked the two great oceans together,  
I've spanned your rivers with steel,  
I've builded your towering skyscrapers,  
And also your automobile.  
I've gone out to wrecked ships in the lifeboats,  
When the storm loudly cried for its prey;  
I've guarded your homes from marauders,  
I've turned the night into day.  
Whenever there's progress you'll find me,  
Without me the world could not live;  
And yet you would seek to destroy me,  
With the meager pittance you give.  
Today you may grind me in slavery,  
You may dictate to me from the throne;  
But tomorrow I throw off my fetters,  
And am ready to claim what I own.  
I am master of field and of factory,  
I am mighty and you are but few.  
No longer I'll bow in submission,  
I am LABOR and ask for my due.*

—Budd L. McKillips in *Canadian Packinghouse Worker*.

Dear Comrade,

This is to let you know that our beloved Chairman and Comrade Ray, passed away on February 6, 1968, the result of a heart failure.

His sudden passing has left us in grief and shock. Comrade Ray gave more than thirty years of his life to the struggles of the workers and the oppressed against the savage system of capitalist exploitation and oppression. His life was dedicated to a world free from the exploitation of man by man where social justice and scientific progress could flourish in an atmosphere of freedom and peace.

His life was snuffed out before these noble goals had been achieved but he died knowing that the fight against the evil system to which his life was dedicated would be continued until final victory.

He is sorely missed by all the comrades here but his courage will serve as an inspiration to us to carry on the struggle for which he lived and died.

Fraternaly,

Executive Committee  
Ad Hoc Committee for a  
Marxist-Leninist Party, USA

The Progressive Workers' Movement joins with the Comrades in mourning the death of the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee. We extend our sympathies to the members of the Committee who have lost a valuable fighter for the cause of Socialism.

Central Committee P.W.M.

# ON THE QUESTION OF LIU SHAO-CHI

The Belgian journal, "La Voix du Peuple", has given considerable attention of late to a speech by Sidney Rittenberg, an American who has lived in China for more than 20 years. An extremely long article purporting to be a criticism of the Rittenberg lecture has extended over a number of issues during November, December and January. Criticism of Rittenberg is the stated aim but the authors appear to have a much more sinister objective in mind.

Rittenberg spoke to a Peking meeting sponsored by a group known as the "Bethune-Yenan Rebel Regiment", apparently composed in the main of foreign experts working in China. This event took place in April 1967 and the address was subsequently mimeographed and distributed abroad in Belgium (in French) and in England (in English), under the title "Liu Shao-chi and His Evil Book". Copies of the speech together with articles attacking its main content have been received in Canada and we propose to comment on the lengthy polemic which appeared in "La Voix du Peuple".

While we might be disposed to be somewhat critical of Rittenberg's speech for being poorly constructed, not too carefully prepared and containing some careless formulations, we are in agreement with its basic content in criticizing and repudiating the bourgeois-reactionary line of Liu Shao-chi and upholding the proletarian-revolutionary line of Mao Tse-tung. However, the Belgian trio of Jacques Grippa, Rene Raindorf and Stephen Strulens who are of the opposite opinion, in reply to Rittenberg's 40 to 50 minute speech inscribed a reply that would fill a good-sized book.

The extreme length of this literary attack is largely caused by the authors' ranging far beyond the limits of the Rittenberg speech which did not provide them with sufficient scope for the objective they had in mind. In order to correct this situation Rittenberg is charged with not saying certain things, and the things which were not said provide the main basis for the attack. The authors list a total of ten so-called "omissions" in the speech:

"... no denunciation of American fascist imperialism": "... no analysis of the social base of social-democratic reformism and revisionism": "... no analysis of the contradictions in the contemporary world or the role of fundamental contradiction": "nothing about revolutionary movements for national liberation": "no reference to the contradictions between imperialists and revisionists on the one hand and socialist countries on the other hand": "no allusion to the new stage of working class struggle... in imperialist countries": "nothing... on the subject of contradictions between the capitalists and between the imperialists": "no reminder of the essential nature of our period as Lenin and other Marxist-Leninists have defined it": nothing... which recalls that this is a period during which imperialism will be destroyed and the proletarian revolution victorious": "These 'omissions' suggest strange conclusions about the real world..."

If these alleged "omissions" had been discussed, several days would have been added to a 50 minute speech. But let us leave it to the authors themselves to make reply to their charges of "omissions". In part four of their literary marathon, having forgotten what they had written several weeks previous, the authors, criticizing Rittenberg, unwittingly supplied their own answer to the false cry of "omissions"; as follows:

"It is also necessary to refute the false argument that is purely and simply a diversion and consists of saying that 'How to be a Good Communist' does not deal with such and such a question. With that reasoning no Marxist-Leninist work except a complete encyclopedia would be of any value."

That is fitting enough reply — nothing need be added.

However, we did not take up the pen to defend Rittenberg; the relentless attack on his speech is but the prologue to the real aim of his detractors — a covert attack on Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, an attack masked by vehement declarations of loyalty to Marxist-Leninist principles and with loud cries of "long

live Mao Tse-tung." But not every shouter of slogans is a Marxist-Leninist and the lengthy article in "La Voix du Peuple" is a prime example of that point.

In part 2 of the article we read:

"... the Marxist-Leninists of the world have always contributed new jewels to the common treasure of Marxist-Leninist thought, as Mao Tse-tung has done so brilliantly in many areas."

We have no desire to disparage the contributions of many working-class journalists around the world, (including our own modest effort), who work under difficult and trying circumstances. But we cannot agree that the vast and important contributions to Marxist-Leninist theory and practice made by the chief architect and leader of the Chinese Revolution are to be considered in the same light, for what the authors imply here is that Mao Tse-tung is just another contributor instead of presenting him in the proper light as the equal of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, the one who advances the work begun by these brilliant minds. Mao Tse-tung has brilliantly applied and developed Marxism-Leninism in the era of the final defeat of imperialism and of victorious proletarian revolution, and particularly in solving the problem of how to carry on the proletarian revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat — a task which Marx, Lenin, and Engels could not, and did not carry out.

To downgrade the great contribution of Mao Tse-tung as *la Voix du Peuple* does means denying the authority of Marxist-Leninist thought in our day, it means lowering the banner of revolution. The thought of Mao Tse-tung is not just one more of many contributions, it IS Marxism-Leninism in our time and upholding Marxism-Leninism, defending the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship requires that revolutionaries uphold and defend the authority of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. The above-quoted passage fails in this respect — it lowers the banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, hence it lowers the banner of proletarian revolution in the world.

## THE "CENTER" OF REVOLUTION

When representatives of the Progressive Workers Movement returned from a trip to China last year, they stated:

"The outcome of the struggle now taking place will determine the future destiny of China and will exercise a decisive influence on the whole world because, as far as the present era is concerned, it is China that plays the really decisive role in the world. It is China that is the decisive factor so far as revolution, not only in China but in the world, is concerned. We can say with confidence there will be hope in the world so long as China does not fall and does not change its colour. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is an event of vast importance which has a vital bearing on the destiny of the whole of mankind" (*Progressive Worker*, Vol.3, No.9, July, 1967).

The passage of time and events have not caused us to alter our opinion. On the contrary, we are now more firmly convinced that the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship and winning new victories in the Cultural Revolution in China constitute objectives that are of supreme importance to the cause of the anti-imperialist struggle and the world revolution. From the contents of the article in *la Voix du Peuple* it appears that Grippa, Raindorf and Streulens are far from agreeing with us.

Rittenberg, after commenting on the revisionist seizure of power in the Soviet Union, went on to say:

"Was that going to happen in China? Were they going to take down the picture of Chairman Mao that hangs over the Tien An Men gate tower one day? Were they going to announce that China would not be the center of world revolution, that China will cease and desist from giving unstinted aid to the embattled peoples of all countries, particularly of Asia, Africa and Latin America in return for false assurances of peace and moderation from the imperialists."

Taking a distorted version of this passage as their point *la Voix du Peuple* presents an argument that conveys the

impression that the defeat of the Chinese Revolution would be but a minor tragedy. Here, in part, is *la Voix du Peuple* rebuttal to Rittenberg:

"For us Marxist-Leninists, the Soviet Union was for a long time the only socialist country, the only one where the victorious proletarian revolution showed the way. . . and constituted a powerful force for the proletarian world revolution. . .

"When the revisionists usurped power in the U.S.S.R., we were not for long disoriented and discouraged — we did not feel we had lost our 'center'. We considered this setback, this temporary defeat of the Russian Revolution, just as a setback, a check for ourselves and for the world revolution, a regrettable mishap for class struggle on a world scale, but we preserved intact our fighting will. . .

"When the Chinese revolution was victorious and the People's Republic of China was proclaimed we saluted that victory, considered it as our own. . ." (Part 3).

Ignoring for the moment the all-too-casual way in which the Russian Revolution is written off, and the very low estimate of the extent of that defeat, let us examine its meaning as it applies to China for it is the very obvious intention of *la Voix du Peuple* that it is intended to convey their opinion of a possible defeat in China. According to these writers, then, the downfall of the Chinese Revolution would be "just a setback", a "check", a "regrettable mishap for the class struggle" that would make no substantial difference to the world Marxist-Leninist movement and the anti-imperialist struggle. Apparently we can depend on the editors of "*La Voix du Peuple*" to "preserve intact their fighting will", step into the breach and challenge international reaction led by U.S. imperialism and aided by Soviet revisionism. With all due respect to "*La Voix du Peuple*" we simply cannot buy their theory. For us the Chinese revolution is a subject of outstanding importance the defeat of which could never be written off as a "regrettable mishap." Certainly struggle would go on. It is inevitable that struggle will continue, but under what vastly altered and unfavourable circumstances!

.. It would take nothing away from the outstanding heroism of the Vietnamese people, nor would we be underestimating their brilliant application of, and contribution to the strategy and tactics of peoples war, to say that, without revolutionary China as their firm and reliable rear, their struggle would be infinitely more difficult, if not impossible in its present highly-developed form. Without China, Soviet revisionist and treachery pressure to yield imperialist blackmail would go unchallenged.

.. It is not without significance that it is in Southeast Asia where the Chinese revolution has the greatest influence, and not in the Middle East or Latin America, that U.S. imperialism is meeting its most formidable challenge just now. Are we not justified in believing that had China fallen to the revisionists the anti-imperialist struggle in Vietnam and elsewhere would not now be in its present highly-developed form? If that disaster had occurred the counter-revolutionary policy of peaceful co-existence with the imperialists, and not that of the revolutionary anti-imperialist peoples war, would be the dominant characteristic in the world in this period. Should we, then accept the opinion that this would be only a "regrettable mishap."

We cannot accept the way in which "*La Voix du Peuple*" presents the sequence of events quoted above. It happens that the Russian revolution suffered a "regrettable mishap" following which the courageous editors of the Belgium journal "preserved intact their fighting will, the determination to struggle", then, happily, along came the Chinese Revolution which the editors "claimed as their own."

We have not such short memories. We will remember that the Chinese revolution was victorious for some seven years before the outright seizure of power by the Krushchovites and that it was the Chinese Party that was in the lead in exposing that betrayal by the revisionists. We know that it was still another seven years, in 1963, before Grippa and his colleagues effected an organizational break with the revisionists in Belgium. Had there been no Red China to stand against and expose revisionist treachery the struggle to build 20

a Marxist-Leninist movement would have been more difficult.

In his preface to the second edition of "*The Peasant War in Germany*" Engels said of the German workers;

If the German workers proceed in this way, they may not march exactly at the head of the movement — it is not in the interests of the movement that the workers of one country should march at the head of all — but they will occupy an honourable place on the battle line, and they will stand armed for battle when other unexpected grave trials or momentous events will demand heightened courage, heightened determination, and the will to act", and further on in the preface, they "form the vanguard of the proletarian struggle."

What could be said of the German workers a century ago, without state power in their confrontation with reaction, is a thousand times more applicable to China today. The working people of China certainly occupy an honourable place in the battle line, and those who have been privileged to see China in these days of victory in the Cultural Revolution know that the Chinese people, mobilized around the revolutionary banner of Mao Tse-tung, stand armed for battle when grave trials or momentous events demand heightened courage.

#### THE BOOK OF LIU SHAO-CHI

The true extent of "*La Voix du Peuple*" becomes clear in Part 4 which appeared in the issue of December 1st. Rittenberg's speech is but the means to an end, that end being defence of the book by Liu Shao-chi. This fact is established in the very first phrase when Rittenberg's criticism of "How to be a Good Communist" is referred to as "vituperations against the book by Liu Shao-chi". This categorical rejection of any criticism of the book is made still clearer later when Rittenberg's critical remarks are classed as, "frantic attacks against Marxist-Leninist parties", "a peridious campaign against Marxism-Leninism", "an anti Marxist-Leninist counter-revolutionary line", etc. Repudiation of the line of Liu Shao-chi is described as an "invention of Rittenberg and his masters" used with the "intention of destroying Marxist-Leninist parties by any means."

"*La Voix du Peuple* makes numerous allusions to "Rittenberg, his masters and agents" with the obvious intention of having all criticism of Liu Shao-chi and his book automatically associated with an alleged international counter-revolutionary conspiracy. In this way the authors of the article strive to suppress criticism of the line of Liu Shao-chi and, at the same time, give their actions the appearance of defending Marxism-Leninism. If Rittenberg does have "masters and agents" they must total in the hundreds of millions — presently engaged in sharp criticism and repudiation of the line of Liu Shao-chi. This repudiation of Liu Shao-chi and his book is an important part of the Cultural Revolution, and a fact which cannot help but be known to "*La Voix du Peuple*."

One of the authors, Stephen Strulens, arrived in China last spring apparently there to discuss some questions in connection with the Rittenberg speech. We met Strulens and his companion at the Shanghai Airport and spent several hours with them there. We were with them when airport workers gave a concert featuring the thought of Mao Tse-tung by means of song and dance — one encounters these impromptu concerts all over China. Propaganda teams of the thought of Mao Tse-tung can be found in all corners of the land and they number in the millions. In unison with the working masses of China these teams raise the cry "Down with Liu Shao-chi and his evil book." Strulens witnessed this phenomena at Shanghai and when we saw him again on our return to Peking we know he could not fail to see millions of workers repeating the slogan in the great square at Tien An Men, not far from the Hotel Peking.

Strulens, therefore, could not fail to observe that "Down with Liu Shao-chi and the capitalist roaders" was the demand of millions and not a plot devised by a small band of counter-revolutionary conspirators. Strulens must have communicated this fact to his colleagues. What purpose do they have, then, in attempting to have this appear as an "invention of Rittenberg, his masters and his agents? They can have only one

aim in view — rehabilitation of the bourgeois-reactionary

line of Liu Shao-chi as summarized in his book "How to be a Good Communist"

*La Voix du Peuple* gives an edited and abbreviated version of the following passage from Rittenberg's speech: "... the poison smuggled into the Communist movement by Liu Shao-chi and the representatives of his line, particularly reflected in his book, must be eradicated, not only in China, but throughout the revolutionary movement. Otherwise, it will be impossible to really establish a proletarian revolutionary line and carry the revolution forward to victory."

Responding to this "*la Voix du Peuple* says: "Rittenberg his masters and agents have thrown their ultimate to Marxist-Leninist: those who do not yell "Down with Liu Shao-chi and his book *How to be a Good Communist*' become 'false revolutionaries,' 'revisionists,' 'counter revolutionaries.'"

This type of 'reply' only amounts to an evasion of the real point at issue by a resort to invective. If Rittenberg is justified in his criticism of the book—and we agree he is—then those who do not join in repudiating it are false revolutionaries and revisionists, and resorting to invective cannot erase that fact. Again it is evident "*La Voix du Peuple*" is anxious to defend Liu Shao-chi by any available means.

Following the above passage the editors express righteous indignation over an "order" said to have come from Rittenberg:

"... at their order, our Party is supposed to servilely reject, totally, on the spot, with no discussion, a book which for all this time has been considered good. . . ."

There is no part of Rittenberg's speech which could possibly be interpreted as an order to servilely reject anything. As for "no discussion", the editors of *la Voix du Peuple* must surely know that Liu Shao-chi and his book have been important items for discussion for many months and that numerous articles and pamphlets on the subject have been published in many languages. If there has been no discussion of this question in Belgium then the fault rests with the Belgian movement for failing to read, study, and discuss the wealth of material and information available. And if there has been no discussion, as the above quotation clearly indicates, on what did *la Voix du Peuple* base their decision to reject Rittenberg's thesis and defend the book by Liu Shao-chi? It seems they have decided to accept the line of Liu Shao-chi "with no discussion".

That the authors of the article in *la Voix du Peuple* do defend *How to be a Good Communist* is not in doubt as the following passage from Part 4 will demonstrate:

"Rittenberg condemns *How to be a Good Communist* because it mentions nowhere the problem of taking revolutionary power.

"This is not true. Not only does the whole book deal with the education of the Communist Party, of the cadre in the revolutionary struggle, thus implying the necessity of the taking of power by the proletariat allied to the other classes of the labouring population, that is to say the dictatorship of the proletariat, but also deals explicitly with the fundamental question of power, in relation to the deportment of Communists."

It is significant that the authors are unable to quote Liu Shao-chi **DIRECTLY** on the dictatorship of the proletariat, but, in giving the lie to Rittenberg, are limited to making the unsubstantiated claim that Liu Shao-chi **IMPLIES** the necessity of taking power, which can be considered as no more than an opinion of the editors, and a very unreliable one at that. The truth is that *How to be a Good Communist*, first published in China in 1939, and revised and republished many times thereafter until 1962, maintains total silence on the proletarian dictatorship. (First published in the fierce struggle of the anti-Japanese war, it never once touched upon that conflict until the 1962 edition, long after the war, when a brief reference to it was thrown in). Liu Shao-chi simply describes the state as "centralized and at the same time democratic" and nowhere mentions the necessity for dictatorship over the class enemy. What is that but the Krushchovite "state of the whole people"?

However it is not necessary for us to enter into an endless debate over this question of implicit or explicit references to proletarian power for it is easy to establish the fact

that Liu Shao-chi not only does not mention the subject but actually **eliminates** all references to it in every one of the many editions issued since 1939.

In 1962—the year of the most recent edition (English edition 1964)—the question of proletarian power was under sharp attack from the revisionists led by the Soviet ruling clique, therefore Marxist-Leninists were duty-bound to rise in defence of this concept which is central to Marxism-Leninism. Yet Liu Shao-chi continued to erase it from his book.

On pages 40 and 41 (1961 English edition) Liu Shao-chi cites two passages from *Left-Wing Communism* by Lenin but he eliminates important sections from the body of each quotation. In the quotation on Page 40 the following section is excluded:

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is a persistent struggle—bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative—against the forces and traditions of the old society... Without an iron party tempered in the struggle, without a party enjoying the confidence of all that is honest in the given class, without a party capable of watching and influencing the mood of the masses, it is impossible to conduct such a struggle successfully."

And on Page 41 we find the following excluded from the quotation from Lenin:

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is essential."

So we can see clearly that Liu Shao-chi **ELIMINATED** all references to proletarian dictatorship when he "quoted" from Lenin and made no reference to the subject himself. Was this just an oversight, an accident repeated in each new and revised edition of *How to be a Good Communist*? How could any Marxist-Leninist possibly overlook the all-important question of proletarian power? It is not Rittenberg but the editors of *la Voix du Peuple* who are wrong about Liu Shao-chi failing to deal with the dictatorship of the proletariat. And in view of the charge by *la Voix du Peuple* that "Rittenberg and his masters" are trying to destroy the Marxist-Leninist movement it is significant that Liu Shao-chi erases Lenin's reference to the type of party required **UNDER THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT**.

The Belgian article states: "Engels, Lenin and Stalin ought to disappear according to Rittenberg". This is to our way of thinking a completely unjustified accusation, all the more slanderous in view of the failure to point out how Liu Shao-chi did, in fact, cause Engels and Stalin to disappear.

In all the editions of his book until 1962 Liu Shao-chi wrote: "be the best pupils of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin" and quoted three passages from Chapter Four of the *History of the CPSU*. But in nineteen-sixty-two, he revised this to read: "Be worthy pupils of Marx and Lenin" and deleted entirely the passages previously quoted from the *History of the CPSU*. To do this in nineteen-sixty-two could only mean conforming to the wishes and needs of the Soviet revisionists who attacked Stalin to destroy Marxism-Leninism. In order to delete the name of Stalin he made Engels a co-victim with him.

For us the evidence seems clear and irrefutable: Liu Shao-chi opposes proletarian dictatorship and the party of a revolutionary type which Lenin fought for and Mao Tse-tung did so much to build in China.

#### IN CONCLUSION

We have not exhausted the subject of Liu Shao-chi whose activities range well beyond those dealt with here. There is a lot of material available which can be obtained from *Advance Books and Periodicals*. Neither have we dealt completely with the lengthy article in *la Voix du Peuple*. We feel however, that we are justified in drawing the conclusion that the editors of *la Voix du Peuple* are committed to defending the bourgeois-reactionary line of Liu Shao-chi and are intent on making it appear that criticism of Liu Shao-chi is an attack on the Communist Party and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. But these two are representatives of two fundamentally different lines which cannot be reconciled. Liu Shao-chi represents the counter-revolutionary line of the bourgeois while Mao Tse-tung represents the proletarian revolutionary line. One must choose between these two. The Central Committee and the vast majority of cadres and Party members, together with the Chinese masses, guided by the

thought of Chairman Mao, are criticizing and repudiating the reactionary line of Liu Shao-chi who is the top party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

The speech by Rittenberg, as we have noted above, might justifiably be criticized for its style and some careless formulations. But this is not what the editors of *la Voix du Peuple* are concerned with. On the basic point of repudiating Liu Shao-chi and defending Mao Tse-tung Rittenberg is correct. But it is precisely against this correct point that the attack is directed. It is clear that the authors, behind the

screen of a pretended attack on Rittenberg, are, in **reality**, mounting an attack on Mao Tse-tung and the Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

We firmly state our opposition to the line advanced in *la Voix du Peuple*, which we consider to be pointing a revisionist course and, in essence, counter-revolutionary. We take our stand now, as always, on the side of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

## 'CANADIAN UNIONIST' AND BILL C-186

The editorial board of the "Canadian Unionist" ventured into the political arena in the February, 1968, issue of the magazine. We are not opposed to the "Canadian Unionist" becoming involved in politics. Indeed, we welcome this action as the fight for an independent Canadian trade union movement necessitates political activity if the cause is to advance. But understanding the role of skill for the Liberal Government at Ottawa is not exactly what we would consider a timely blow for independence — in the trade union, or any other field. Labour political action must be as independent as its trade unions and independence will not come as a result of being tail to the Liberal Party kite.

The article which hails the Liberal Government as the saviours of Canada and the Canadian working class is titled "Why We Support Bill C-186". Let us first make clear that PW supports Bill C-186, and we have stated our opinions on this in the past, but we support the Bill for entirely different reasons than those cited by the editors of the "Canadian Unionist", nor do we view it as a certain cure for all the ills of the Canadian workers.

Bill C-186 would give the workers the "legal" right to establish regional organizations rather than their being compelled to belong to long-established national bargaining units which, in the case of the railroads for example are not only fragmented into crafts but are dominated by the U.S. bureaucracy. Bill C-186 would make it possible for workers in occupations such as this to start the long-overdue task of building an independent and industrial union in one or several regions — the only way in which the job can be started. But this will not be an automatic result of the Bill, the workers will still be confronted with the united opposition of boss and bureaucrat who will have the assistance of government agencies in spite of the provisions of the Bill. The editorial in the "Canadian Unionist", however, conveys the distinct impression that the Bill will strike a fatal blow at the bureaucracy and free the worker without the need for struggle.

The "reasoning" of the editorialists" along the lines that the world situation has compelled the Pearson Government to introduce Bill C-186 may sound very learned. But it is clear from the text that the true reason for throwing in this "learned" comment is just in order to avoid the basic reason for the existence of the Bill — the insistence of the masses of militant workers in Quebec for its successful passage. The Bill certainly cannot be confined to the Quebec situation (although the Government boards may try to do just that) it is sure to have an effect across the land. But again that will depend on the efforts of the workers concerned.

Workers in Quebec were leaving the American unions and the "national bargaining units" that kept them chained to the U.S. bureaucracy and these units were rapidly disintegrating despite all the frantic efforts of employers, government and bureaucrats. The government faced the alternative of seeing the militant workers in Quebec, organized in the C. N. T. U., going ahead on their own or trying to control the development by setting out its limitations in a Bill. Workers in Quebec are obviously going to build a strong independence union movement with or without Bill C-186. With this in mind the real significance of the Bill is in the effect it will have on workers organizations outside Quebec for the workers in English-speaking Canada

will tend to seize advantage of the Bill's provisions as the fight for an independent movement sharpens. It is when contemplating this fact that the bosses and bureaucrat become panic stricken.

On this question of Quebec we feel constrained to voice a warning. The manner in which the "Canadian Unionist" handles the question of Quebec and Levesque has definite racist overtones. We are not enamoured of Levesque's political stand nor do we believe it will result in any lasting improvement in the status of the working people or securing independence for French Canada. However, to denounce a temporary alley of the working people of Quebec in their struggle for national independence while lauding the Liberal traitors is bankrupt indeed. But there are better ways to criticize Levesque and support the fight of working people in Quebec than joining in what amounts to racist attacks. Would the editors of "Canadian Unionist" pause long enough to consider that the same desire for independence which motivates their actions also motivate workers in Quebec — a desire for independence which has been a central feature of Quebec's political life for two centuries. It is only Anglo-Saxon arrogance which could demand that French Canadians fight to free Canada from U.S. domination in order to ensure the "freedom" of Canada. Perhaps, on reflection, it might occur to the editors that this appeal will have on the French Canadians no more effect than the similar stand of the pro-Americans in Canada — that we must submit to economic domination as the price of continuing to enjoy a 'high standard of living.'

The editors of "Canadian Unionist" categorically state: "... there are a substantial number of Canadian capitalists who are willing to fight against being absorbed by the U.S. politically. These people are beginning to organize and are looking for allies. Their natural ally is the Canadian worker."

The editors, who took the time to identify Levesque, would have been well advised to take sufficient time to clearly identify for us some of these revolutionary capitalists and present some evidence on their alleged state of organization. Armed with such information we would have been able to discuss the merit of their claim. In the absence of such detail we are restricted to stating we see no great panic among capitalists in Canada on the question of independence, nor are we in possession of any information that would result in convincing us that they are "beginning to organize."

We disagree also with the bold statement that "their natural ally is the Canadian worker." The worker is not the "natural ally" of the capitalist under any circumstances. There are opposing class interests and antagonistic contradictions between these two that cannot be submerged — they are bound to come to the surface, and do come to the surface in every strike and demonstration. Our contention is that in a certain stage of the struggle for independence some individual capitalists or groups of capitalists can, conceivably, become transient and not very dependable allies of the working class. This presupposes the fact that it is the workers who lead and the national capitalists who are led, this is opposite of proposing that the working class should voluntarily become followers of some ill-defined group of nation-minded capitalists who are prepared, hopefully, to strive for independence.

The editors of "Canadian Unionist" ignore the well estab-

lished fact that one thing only, motivates the capitalists as a class—the drive for maximum profits. “Independence” itself becomes an object for barter and a source of profit. We cannot subscribe to the contention that Canadian workers have anything to gain by placing their fate in the hands of this class or any section of it.

On the question of the fight against “political absorption.” At this precise time “political absorption” is a myth and chasing it serves to obscure the very real fact of economic domination which is effected by the very government which the editors of “Canadian Unionist” see as leading us in the fight for independence. Taking over Canada “politically” would be a liability. They are better served in having “Canadians” act as administrators of their Canadian estate and investments and in having the Canadian people pay the costs of administration. Political absorption would remove the last illusions and let Canadians see the real face of the enemy. That will be avoided by the imperialists to the last possible moment. Political absorption will come only when the Canadian ruling class can no longer fool the people and do the job of running the store. When that happens the marines will have landed to defend American interests and there will no longer be any doubt of who controls the nation.

One of the most astounding points raised in the editorial is the claim that the Liberal Government is leading the fight for independence. Here is what the editors write on this question:

“The only answer is to achieve an independent Canada and the government has embarked on this course.” and: “. . . some members of the Pearson government have so far indicated . . . they might be prepared to give leadership.”

## CANADA ROUNDUP

### SIGN OF THE TIMES

Up until a month ago the T. Eaton Corp. in partnership with several development companies, had ambitious plans for commercial-residential developments in three cities; Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver. The largest of the three projected developments was scheduled for Toronto with estimated costs of \$260 million, Montreal estimates stood at \$125 million. Estimated expenditures for all three developments schemes ran over the \$500 million mark.

Now two of the three development schemes, Montreal and Toronto, are definitely dropped and the third, Vancouver, although still given a chance for completion, looks like it too is slowly staggering toward its demise. Financial experts are predicting Vancouver will be dropped, and if not fully cancelled will at least be postponed for a number of years.

Also in Vancouver the Government of British Columbia is quietly dropping plans for a 33 storey building in the downtown area. The plans were announced and architects plans submitted more than a year ago. The site for the building was cleared and now stands an empty space in the heart of the downtown commercial area.

The C.P.R., Woodward's Stores, Simpsons-Sears, and several other companies have plans for a \$300 million development along the waterfront in Vancouver. This was one of the most ambitious projections for real estate development since the Place Ville Marie project in Montreal. This waterfront scheme is still talked of as an active development but it begins to look more every day that plans are stalled and no one would be greatly surprised if a long-term postponement is announced in the near future.

Plans for these developments were all completed when the nation's economy was still at the peak of a boom and capital expansion that had lasted for several years. Cancellation of these projects, and others totalling hundreds of millions of dollars, (the pulp and paper industry's cancellation of multi-million plant renewal and expansion plans, for example), are dramatic and conclusive proof of the fact that the ruling class have admitted to themselves that the boom is ended and we are entering a period of severe recession if not economic depression.

Apparently the editors either forget or choose to ignore the fact that the Liberal Party is the traditional representative of American interests in Canada. In our peculiar condition of political schizophrenia the Tories represented British imperialist interests. It was his pro-British attitude that gave Diefenbaker the aura of anti-Americanism for a brief and dramatic period during one political campaign. At the very moment that the editors of “Canadian Unionist” undertake the task of boosting the stock of the Liberal Government that very government is busily engaged in selling the title to the homestead. In another article in this issue of P.W. we have quoted a Canadian entrepreneur who accuses the Pearson Government of assisting U.S. shipping monopolies to seize the last vestiges of Canada's merchant fleet on the Great Lakes. To our way of thinking, that does not look much like “embarking on a course of national independence.”

Politics and attitudes toward governments, parties and political and economic groupings is a thing we must have more of in the labour movement, particularly amongst those who take a stand for an independent movement. But these political attitudes we adopt must be firmly based on the interests of the working class. Class politics, working-class politics, are in the true interests of the nation. The capitalists, on the other hand serve only their own selfish class interests and never the interests of the nation.

Those members of the editorial board who have committed themselves to defending the Liberal Government should resign or be removed. They do not speak for Canadian workers and they represent even less the views of those who fight for an independent union movement.

### B.C. UNEMPLOYMENT

The economy of British Columbia, more so than that of any of the other Canadian provinces, is solidly based on raw materials industries. Manufacturing is extremely limited with most consumer goods brought in from the U.S. and Eastern Canada.

Being so dependent on the demand for raw materials, the state of the B.C. economy will give a fair indication of what is in store for the national economy in the near future. This is so because demand for raw materials and capital expansion in the raw materials field fall off sooner and faster than the corresponding fall-off in secondary industry.

With this in mind we would have to say the future looks bleak. Unemployment in B.C. is officially admitted to be near a staggering 8 per cent. Some individual areas are actually in a catastrophic situation with carpenters the worst off, recording 23 per cent unemployment in the province — and the trend is upward. The rest of the building trades are also in a bad situation and appear to be headed in the same direction as the carpenters. The shipbuilding industry is almost extinct and one encounters nothing but gloomy forecasts in the lumber and the pulp and paper industries.

Carpenters and other such strictly proletarian elements are not the only ones who suffer from the tightening economic conditions. Underlying the depth of the current economic recession is the position of many highly-trained professionals who are without employment. Clarence H. Jackson of Vancouver, placement officer for one of Canada's high-level private employment agencies stated the case clearly if briefly, when he said “Vancouver just isn't the scene for a job seeker.” Jackson cited a number of individual cases where engineers and others with like skills were working, if they were working at all, as salesmen and in similar occupations at salaries well below their expected income level. 12 positions which were advertised by Jackson's firm were reported to have drawn an average of 282 applications for each position. Jackson stated: “. . . people who quit jobs elsewhere and came here . . . they must be out of their minds.”

Just a few short months ago British Columbia was coupled with California and Florida as one of the most

rapidly-growing areas in North America. But the beautiful dream has faded and British Columbia is giving us a foretaste of what is in store for other areas in the near future.

**CONTEMPT**

The supreme court of British Columbia has denied the Fishermen's Union and two of its officers the right to appeal the court's decision against them to the Supreme Court of Canada. The ruling has the effect of upholding one-year sentences against the two officers, and a \$25,000 fine against the Union for contempt of court in a strike which had been enjoined by the court.

Once again the complete ineffectiveness of appeals to the court for "justice" and "fair play" in cases involving injunctions, has been clearly demonstrated. It is clear that labour will continue to be bedevilled by injunctions until they decide to use their organized strength and economic power to put an end to this vicious method of strike-breaking.

#### **DOLLARS FOR JOHNSON**

George Meany has revealed A.F.L.C.I.O plans to raise a war-chest of \$2 million to aid Johnson in his bid for re-election. The big question for us is: How many dollars will be extracted from Canadian workers in U.S.-controlled unions to help re-elect the Texas butcher?

A strike of 1100 workers in the government-owned B.C. Ferries is threatening to erupt into a province-wide strike of civil servants. The workers, employed by a Crown Corporation, went out over various grievances of long-standing, and when out were placed under the civil service and told that as civil servants, they could not strike and must return to work immediately. The Social Credit Government in B.C. has a variety of ways to break strikes.

#### **OTTAWA AIDS IN U.S. TAKEOVER**

The president of several Montreal shipping companies has accused the Canadian government of helping U.S. companies to get control of the last vestiges of Canada's merchant fleet on the Great Lakes. In a speech to the Montreal Chamber of Commerce the shipping magnate claimed his U.S. competitors were receiving tax concessions and subsidies from Ottawa. He declared: "We grant tax benefits and direct subsidies worth millions of dollars to foreigners to help them seize control of our shipping trade on the Great Lakes."

This is just a continuation of the sordid tale of betrayal of the national interest that began shortly after the end of the second world war. A necessary prelude to scuttling Canada's merchant fleet was the smashing of the militant organization of seamen, the Canadian Seamen's Union. This was achieved in the name of "fighting Communism" and with the assistance of the gangster-controlled American Seamen's International Union which was called in by the Liberal government of Louis St-Laurent and given the cooperation of the state police — the R.C.M.P.

Efforts to destroy the merchant fleet prove successful to the point that Canada, third in the world in international trade, has no deep-sea ships, all cargo to and from Canada is carried on ships of foreign registry, most of them controlled by U.S. interests. Now the task of destruction appears to be penetrating into the inland seas and Canada, ultimately, is not even to be allowed to have a lake boat to her name. And along with the merchant fleet goes the ship-building and ship-repair industry. Canada's shipyards are dependent on contracts for naval vessels for their very limited existence. We build naval vessels to protect merchant ships that are not our own.

#### **ONTARIO BEET GROWERS**

A number of demonstrations of sugar beet growers erupted in Southern Ontario where beets have been one of the important crops for many years. The demonstrations are the outcome of a company decision to close the local plants in favour of relying exclusively on imported sugar cane and raw sugar despite a previous agreement to maintain a minimum of production. Fuel was added to the fire when the company, in reply to a growers demand for a government take-over, insisted they would not sell the plant and would not permit it to operate. Another demonstration of the arrogance of the foreign-controlled companies in Canada, a quick follow-up to a decision of a British-owned firm to kill the community of Cape Briton by closing the local steel mill and coal mines.

#### **BIG ONES EAT LITTLE ONES**

A report out of Alberta, the most Americanized of the Canadian Provinces, states that small privately owned manufacturing companies, which had been an outstanding feature of the region until recently, are rapidly disappearing into the embrace of giant corporations.

The reports state that "... the small entrepreneur, the founder of his business or heir to the family enterprise, is resisting this change." But the "expert" commentators on industrial development acclaim the development as a welcome one, holding the promise of great things for the future of Alberta. What they fail to consider is the fact that Alberta is critically dependent on the shaky economy of the United States; an economy which is confronted with the certainty of an early crisis. That situation does not appear to hold much promise for the future of the province in the foothills of the Rockies.



### *Letters to the Editor*

Dear Sir:

I wish to make a small donation to the N.F.L. and at the same time send my congratulations on their massive victories in the current spring offensive.

The Johnston regime, its so called experts, and their news hacks, would have us believe that they are scoring one victory after another. Well, all I can say to them is if they continue with such victorious they are going to end up with a glorious victory similar to that glorious victory obtained by Churchill and his brilliant advisories at Dunkirk.

One who thinks your movement is on the right track.  
H.C.M. Vancouver B.C.

Dear Comrades:

Enclosed please find \$5.00 cash to be donated to The National Liberation Front of South Vietnam — through the offices and address of the Progressive Worker.

As Chairman Mao says:

"The oppressed peoples and nations must not pin their hopes for liberation on the "sensibleness" of imperialism and its lackeys. They will only triumph by strengthening their unity and persevering in their struggle."

Please convey my thanks to Advance Books and Periodicals for the Vietnam Courier — Hanoi, four copies of which I received recently.

Yours truly,  
A.F.R. Calgary, Alberta