

MORE ON U.S. DOMINATION OF CANADA

Progressive Worker

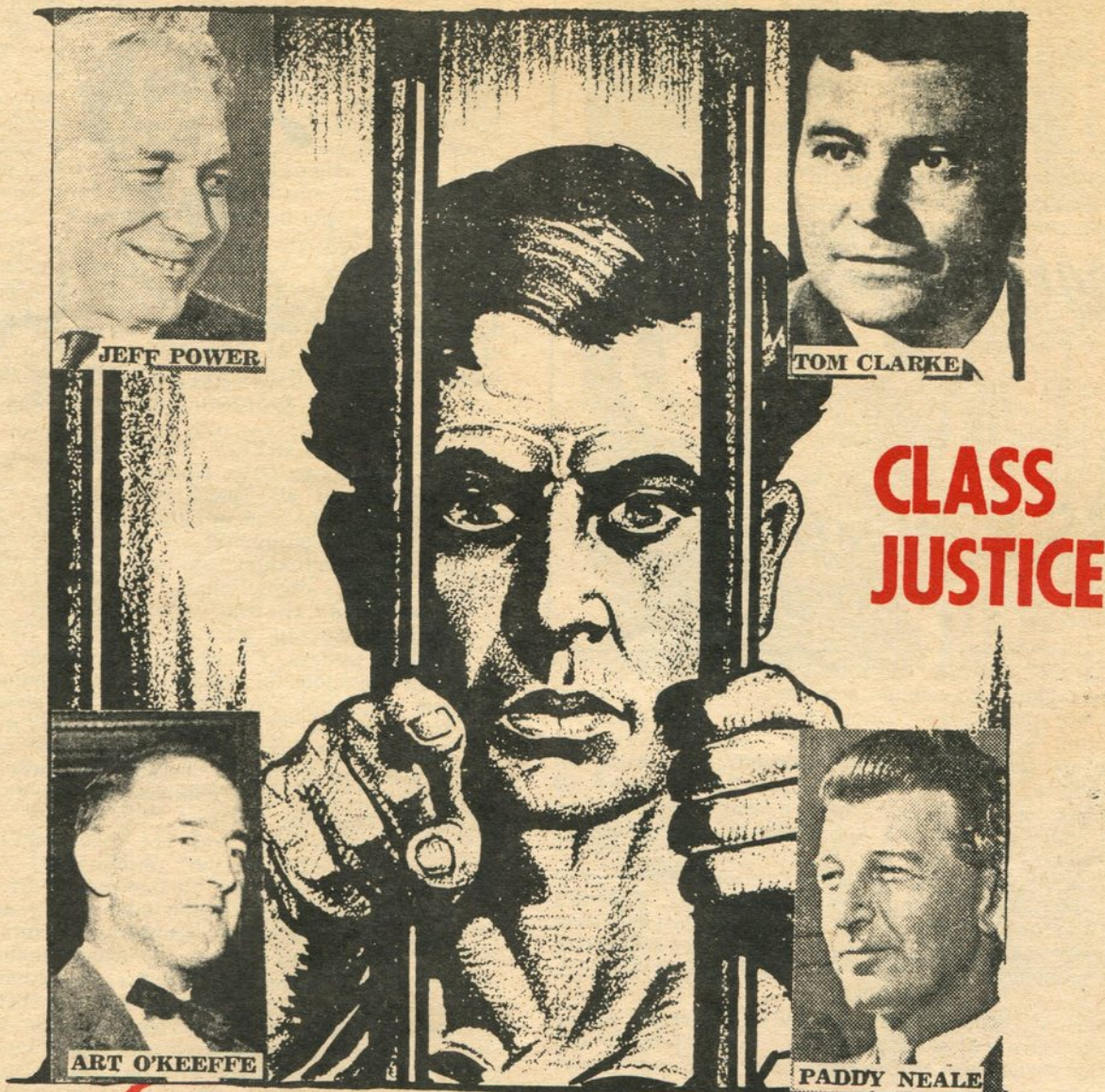
Workers of All Countries Unite!

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FELLOW WORKERS:



Remember!

WE ARE IN HERE FOR YOU; YOU ARE OUT THERE FOR US

Progressive Worker

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CANADA ON CHINA RECOGNITION

Once again Canadian delegates at the United Nations are playing a double game at one and the same time "friend" and enemy of the Peoples Republic of China. Emotional speeches are made on the subject of the need to recognize the existence of the Chinese state and give China a seat in the United Nations while preparations are made to again support U.S. opposition to China.

In relation to China, Canada's role in the U.N. is a standing joke in most countries of the world. Canada's delegate speaks firmly on China recognition, then when the vote is taken marches contrarily forward, like a caned schoolboy, to vote for the resolution of his U.S. master.

and debasing attitude and demand a foreign policy based on Canada's national needs and interests and not on the wishes and instructions of the U.S. aggressor.

VIETNAM NEWS

By October first, U.S. troops outnumbered puppet forces in South Viet Nam and U.S. casualties had mounted to a point where American army spokesmen were admitting they were appreciably higher than those being inflicted on the U.S. puppet army. It is becoming increasingly difficult for the imperialists to deny that this is a wholly American war against the people of Viet Nam. Large numbers of U.S. aircraft are being destroyed both North and South of the temporary line of demarcation. American forces in Europe are being still further reduced in order to supply

trained reinforcements for the Asian battlefield.

Reports are being received of an increasing number of bombing "errors" by U.S. planes. The latest such report was on the destruction of a Montagnard village which the mountain people had built in an area they thought would be outside the battle zone.

To date the U.S. has admitted killing 166 South Vietnamese "by mistake" and injuring 252 others. The air force apologized for the "errors" and paid relatives of those killed an average of 34 dollars for each victim the total for the 166 amounted to little more than many Americans pay for a fancy sports car. The lives of South Vietnamese are held of little value by the Americans.



"Let this session of Congress be known as the session — which declared all-out war on human poverty." — President Johnson, January 8, 1964.

MORE TROTSKYITE TREACHERY

Dispatches from Guatemala carry the news of the expulsion of all Trotskyite elements from the MR-13 guerilla units—the organization that Castro castigated at the Tri-Continental Conference in Havana for its alleged domination by counter-revolutionary Trotskyites. The revolutionary court which brought the Trotskyites to trial was composed of the MR-13 Political Bureau, guerilla rank and file representatives, Militia leaders, Chairmen of Peasant Committees and their decision for expulsion was unanimous. The trial and expulsion resulted from the misappropriation of funds raised by ransoms paid for wealthy prisoners held captive by the guerillas. The Trotskyites had directed these funds into the treasury of the "Fourth International". The communique of the Revolutionary Court reads as follows:

"The trial was the result of the premeditated way in which (the Trotskyites) arbitrarily and dishonestly disposed of the money of the Guatemalan masses, which the MR-13 administers due to the necessities of the struggle, employing it for tasks leading to the conquest of power, the establishment of a Worker-Peasant government and the construction of socialism in Guatemala. The MR-13 declares before the masses of Guatemala, the Americas and the world, that it is expelling the Trotskyites and breaking all ties with the Fourth International and all its sections because of the opportunistic and disloyal conduct they displayed within the party and reaffirms its unswerving decision to continue the armed struggle for the program of the Socialist Revolution".

The money which the courageous Guerillas of Guatemala seized from the wealthy exploiters was brazenly stolen by the Trotskyites and to finance Anti-China slanders and propaganda attacks on every revolutionary movement in the world. There is no limit to the treachery practiced by these counter-revolutionaries.

INJUNCTIONS AND CLASS JUSTICE

Contempt of court charges arising out of the labour injunction battle connected with the Lenkurt strike reached an expected climax in the court-house at Vancouver with the sentencing of 4 union men to terms ranging from 3 months to 6 months and the levying of a total of \$3,100 in fines on more than 20 additional accused. Almost from the moment that Social Credit Attorney General Bonner, in an outstanding display of anti-labour bias, stepped into the picture and ordered prosecutions on alleged defiance of injunctions that had been obtained by a U.S. company to break the strike of Canadian workmen, it was a foregone conclusion that convictions would be registered against the unionists with sentences the only matter to be settled.

Dramatic sidelights to the court case were, first: the defeat of Attorney General Bonner in a Provincial election that was called and completed while the court case was still being processed and, second: B.C. Premier Bennett's proscription of overtime almost at the moment the men were hearing sentence—a particularly important sidelight since the strike action which drew down the wrath of the law was fought against the imposition of overtime by management and now the Premier informs us that overtime is threatening to undermine the economy and declares a ban on it. If what the Premier says is true he should order the re-instatement of more than 200 discharged Lenkurt employees; with full pay; release the jailed men and commend them for services above and beyond the call of duty. If he fails to do this the Premier will present us with conclusive evidence that his overtime declaration is bogus.

Several developments in the court while the trial was in progress presents us with more than a hint of evidence that the class bias of the court at least equalled that of the Premier and his Attorney General.

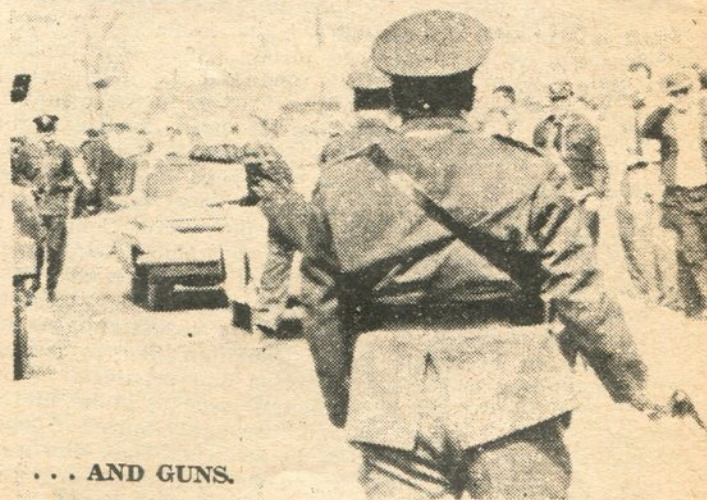
Item one: Several of those charged who took the stand to give evidence on their own behalf were challenged on their political beliefs when they were asked if they were members of the Progressive Workers Movement. The presiding judge seemed to consider it unnecessary to ask anyone on the prosecution side if they were members of Attorney General Bonner's Social Credit Party or question them on their record of service to American monopoly in the domination of Canada.

Item two: In his summation of the proceedings the judge flagrantly disregarded the rules of the game even though they are already stacked against the accused. In a most blatant demonstration of class bias the judge, in sentencing Jeff Power of the Marine Workers Union, referred to alleged violence used by Power on the picket line and left no doubt in anyones mind that this alleged violence was an important factor in his decision to sentence Power to 3 months in jail without the option of a fine. Yet the judge knew, as everyone else knew, that Power was facing trial on the charge based on this alleged violence which was separate and apart from the contempt charge. Judge McDonald, therefore, in a fine display of contempt on his own part, sentenced Power to three months in jail after finding him guilty on a charge for which he had not been tried.

Item three: One of the Lenkurt workers was heavily fined because he had allegedly distributed a leaflet published by the Progressive Workers Movement. In citing reasons for the penalty the judge referred to this as a "scurrilous leaflet", but such an opinion—and especially in view of the open display of bias on the judges part during the entire trial—can only be considered a personal and prejudiced opinion and by no means a "legal" opinion therefore it has no place in a legal decision.

It almost seems as though court officials are hell-bent on proving that Mr. Bumble, in Dicken's *Oliver Twist*, was quite right when he said "the law is a h'ass". But as much as we sympathize with Bumble's expression of supreme contempt for English law and with Paddy

TO ENFORCE INJUNCTIONS THEY USE . . .



Neale's reiteration of that contempt we are compelled to dissent on political grounds. The law is by no means a 'h'ass—it only seems that way. The law is an instrument of class rule. Based on property relations the law is a weapon designed to defend and maintain state power of the ruling class of exploiters and keep in a proper state of subjection, the exploited majority. It is in its attempts

to accomplish this and at the same time appear neutral in disputes between the main contending classes—workers and capitalists—that makes the actions of court officials, from Attorney General to the flat footed cop masquerading as a worker on a picket line, appear utterly asinine.

Cutting much more deeply than did Dickens into the social and class relations involved was Anatole France in his un-forgettable statement that "The law in its majesty forbids both rich and poor alike to sleep under bridges and on park benches". It is precisely on this point of "equality before the law" that bourgeois legislators and jurists seek to obscure the class nature of the law and confuse its harrassed victims. Employer and worker, we are told, appear as equals in sight of the law and receive equal treatment at the hands of those who dispense bourgeois justice. But not one of these eminent jurists will venture an explanation on how it is possible to arrive at a just decision by treating unequal people as equals.

To illustrate our argument on this matter of "equality before the law" let us cite a hypothetical case that could well occur. Suppose we have an appearance in court of two accused—one a wealthy capitalist, the other an impoverished truck driver—on identical charges of impaired driving resulting in serious accidents. Both accused appearing as "equals before the law" are found guilty of the offence and are meted out "equal" justice by the presiding jurist. The wealthy capitalist receives a fine of one thousand dollars or 6 months in jail and has his licence suspended. He pays his fine with a flourish and with no feeling of financial loss, goes out and hires a chauffeur to drive him around in his luxurious limousine. The impoverished truck driver who received "equal justice" unable to pay his fine goes to jail for 6 months and, with his licence suspended, is out of employment on release and forced to eke out a living for his family on social assistance. But the conscience of the Pilate in the judgement seat is at rest since he complied with the letter of the law and treated both accused as "equals before the law".

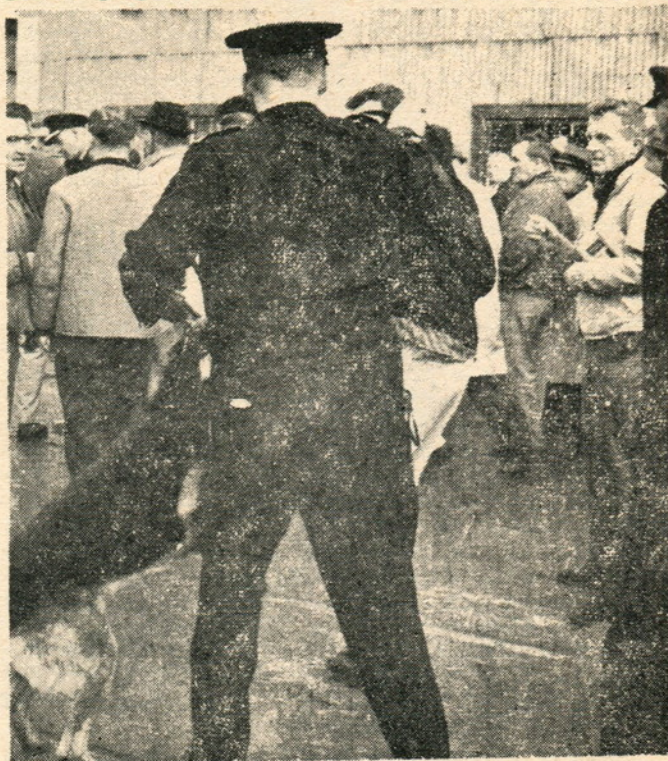
It is clear that real justice can never be done by treating unequal people as equals so the case for equal responsibility falls flat on its face as does the appeal for universal upholding of the "rule of law" on the strength of the claim that all are "equal before the law" and have a common interest in the maintenance of this so-called "rule of law".

It was on the strength of this "rule of law" myth that the presiding judge in the Lenkurt case chastised the accused workmen for their failure to observe the law as interpreted in summary—and ex-parte—decisions handed down by prejudiced jurists. Those who consider certain specific laws unjust, remarked the judge, should work by legal methods for their repeal in the meantime observing the law regardless of how distasteful that might be. It would seem fair to conclude that, had MacDonald presided at Nuremberg no Nazi would have been convicted since the whole defence rested on a claim of obeying orders—observing the "rule of law". Contrary to the strictures handed out by Justice MacDonald, unjust laws should be met with contempt and resistance. It is only by resistance that such laws are destroyed. Observation only weakens efforts to remove unjust statutes and encourages the legislators to strengthen them by passage of additional acts based on class and privilege.

The central and fundamental issue at stake in this case was most effectively and thoroughly buried in legalisms until the dying months of the trial. That vital issue was the right of the working man to defend the only real property he possesses—his job. The officials involved in the case from the Attorney General on down, and not excluding the defence lawyers, had a vested interest in keeping this important point buried in obscurity since exposing it to the light of day would lay bare for all to see the class nature of the law and the class nature of the court decision in the Lenkurt case.

In every important centre of population in Canada today the average citizen can observe upon the streets

armoured vehicles bearing armed men. So accustomed have we become to the sight of such "armoured services" that we no longer pay much attention to it. We have even become very casual about the use of vicious dogs by private detective agencies (Incidentally these, too have been used in strikes.) Yet, it is quite clear that this is, to say the least, an extra-legal device for the protection of private property. One might be hard pressed to discover



any constitutional authority giving the right to anyone to organize and maintain such private armed special services. But there is no doubt whatever that they would be upheld by any court in the land. There is no doubt whatever in anyones mind that these armed guards would shoot down any bandit who tried to steal the private property of the bankers and bosses which these gunmen are paid to protect to the death. One cannot conceive of an act more violent, or more violent than this one in the protection of private property.

The activities of the industrialists and financiers taken in response to the need, real or imagined, to protect their capital, is a common occurrence and is fairly generally accepted without protest. But, if such measures were resorted to by labour to protect their only capital—their days work—the state would be called upon to give "relief" immediately and the forces upholding the 'rule of law' would be forthwith called into action to suppress such "unlawful" activities.

Let the working people but act in militant fashion in defence of their capital against the hired thieves of the capitalist who would rob them of their work and their actions will be branded a riot or revolution by the very men who go outside the law to protect their wealth when scarcely even the THREAT of theft is to be seen and there are armed law officers all around to afford them protection if such a threat should materialize.

If the worker mans a picket line in order to protect his private property—his job—from being stolen by scabs all the law enforcement agencies will be summoned to uphold the capitalist in his "legal right" to engage in this particular form of banditry, to rob the working people of their property and reduce them and their children to destruction. Soon cops will arrive on the picket line to organize provocations, a bureaucrat will be found to finger honest workers, an obedient Cabinet Minister will be called to jump at the bosses command and order prosecutions, and a prejudiced judge will be unearthed to sentence

the victims to incarceration in some local Bastille.

It is ever thus when the weight of the law is brought to bear on the worker on behalf of capital; the "rule of law" is the rule of the exploiter. MacDonald and his colleagues on the bench may protest all they wish about the neutrality of the law and make claims that it is designed for the protection of rich and poor alike but the sharpening class struggle is rapidly exposing the role they play in sustaining capitalist rule and is making a shambles of their denials of class bias. The law, and the state agencies that administer it, are based on the legal needs of the exploiters and act, as indeed they must act, in direct opposition to the fundamental needs and interests of the working class.

In the interests of the future well-being of the labour movement it will be necessary to say here a few words on how labour reacted to this attack launched at the investigation of the foreign monopolists who endeavour to shape our destiny and with the assistance of appointed union bureaucrats who act on orders of those who loyally serve those same foreign monopolies.

In the beginning labour looked like it was prepared to take a correct position when public announcement was made that anti-labour injunctions would be defied. However, once the legal machinery was set in motion labour leaders elected to play the game according to the rules laid down by the class enemy. Instead of moving the strike into the court in a gesture of defiance lawyers were hired and all the legal niceties were observed.

Lawyers are not a part of labour's fighting battalions, they have, in fact, a vested interest in the legal game and are compelled to follow the rules. In total disregard of labour's downright condemnation of the ex-parte anti-labour injunctions the lawyers pleaded, on behalf of their clients, ignorance of the fact that an injunction had been granted; or a mis-understanding as to the "enormity" of the offence. In the final analysis the legal representatives were reduced to making a tacit admission of guilt when they pleaded with the court for leniency on the basis that those in court were victims of discrimination, having been singled out from a much larger group of offenders.

This on-again, off-again defiance of the anti-labour injunctions will only result in confusion, disorganization and frustration in labour's ranks and can only lead to demoralisation and demobilization at the very time that conditions call for the highest degree of morale and organization. We need to take a fighting stand and maintain it to the very end into the court and to prison if need be. Workers should dispense with legal representatives who will be concerned with observing the rules and revive a tactic that was used by labour in some of its more glorious days—workers' self defence, and go into court a united and fighting unit with all of labour standing solidly beside them.

One of the class-war prisoners, Tom Clarke of the I.W.A., in the dying minutes of the trial had recourse to this tactic when he, in effect, dismissed his lawyer and made his fighting declaration to the court in the following words:

"I will not be intimidated by courts or court action or people of your ilk when in my opinion I am morally right. Nor will I stand idly by and watch my fellow workers and fellow trade unionists treated in a like manner.

It has always been a basic premise of the trade union movement that an injury to one is an injury to all and when one is injured it behooves all to come to their assistance.

This I will do.

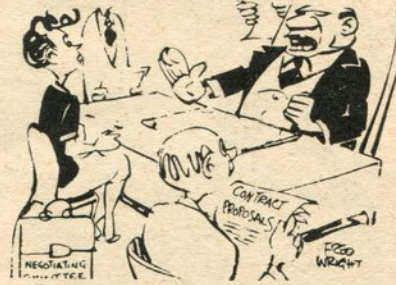
As you are well aware some of the rights that society as a whole enjoys today were won by the blood of working men and women. The employer has always used all at his disposal to retard the growth of trade unions and free thought, resorting to murder, so-called 'legal execution', troops, police, spies, stool pigeons, scabs and what have you, all to no avail. In this day and age the employer has become a little more sophisticated and does not gen-

erally resort to the tactics of old but he still retains this inclination. He now uses the courts to do what he cannot accomplish himself.

I wish to make my position quite clear. I do not wish you, your lordship, to be under any illusions as to my actions. If a picket line appeared around this building tomorrow and you were to grant an injunction prohibiting picketing, I would join that picket line if requested to do so.

In closing I will say that I refuse to apologise to you, this court or anyone else for my actions. What I did was what I know was right."

This eminently correct stand taken by Tom Clarke in the employers court must not go for naught—another fine speech delivered by a militant victim of class justice to be enshrined in some dusty museum of labour relics. It must not mark the end of a trial but the beginning of a new resolution and determination to take up battle stations and, like Clarke, declare our intention to refuse to be intimidated by capitalist law and ruling class justice. Clarke's brilliant accusation of those who sit in judge-



"I won't even listen to the union's proposals until you agree to accept the company offer!"

ment of working people is a torch clearly lighting the path ahead. Let us all resolve to follow his example and take the road of unyielding struggle.

The conclusion of the "trial" witnessed the unearthing of a really remarkable worm in the person of one Eric Brown, lawyer for the Master Painters Association and a loyal defender of the interests of his capitalists masters. Mr. Brown was reliably reported to have expressed the hope that the imprisoned men would "rot in jail", a statement loaded with ruling class bitterness not too unlike the notorious remark of Thayer, judge in the Sacco-Vanzetti case which Professor Richardson of Dartmouth College to whom the remark was made—swore to be in these words: "Did you see what I did to those anarchistic bastards yesterday." Brown, like Thayer, aspires to be judge, jury, and executioner over honest working people. It is his considered opinion that a life term constitutes a just sentence for contempt of court—this is the only construction one can place on his vicious declaration.

I'll be judge, I'll be jury,

Said cunning old Fury;

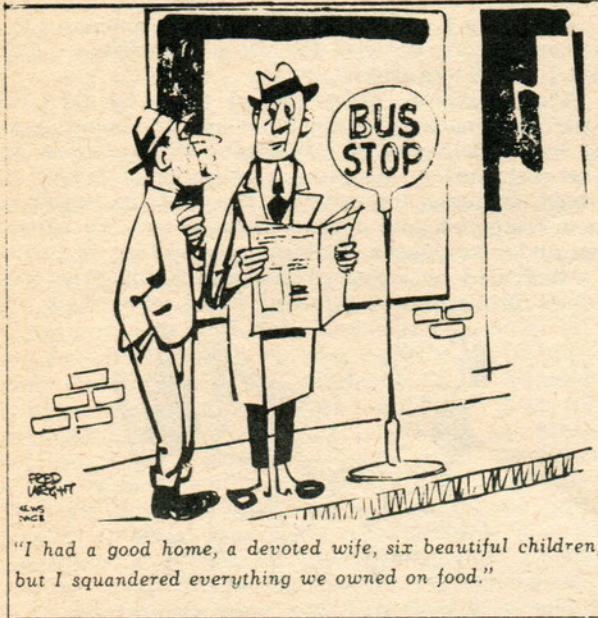
I'll try the whole cause and condemn you to death!

If the capitalist system lasts another season or two and Mr. Brown lives long enough he will no doubt be elevated to the bench by an appreciative ruling class; there he can wreak his vengeance on the workers he so bitterly hates and then appear before Chambers of Commerce and Rotary Clubs to declaim on the subject of how the law protects rich and poor alike and treats each without distinction of class or social station. And we poor mortals will be expected to be awestruck and show proper respect for the vast knowledge possessed by "Justice" Brown.

What the aspiring justice seems to forget is that there are millions of us and just not enough jails for us all to rot in. He should exercise some care lest he be the one to rot, for the capitalist system will not last forever and real justice will, of a certainty, overtake Mr. Brown and the class he so loyally serves. One day soon the working class will rise up and take their jails apart, stone by stone, and let some blessed sunlight in and drive out the rot.

CANADIAN ECONOMY IN TROUBLE

The Canadian economy, which is based mainly on the supply of primary products according to the demands made upon them by other national economies—mainly U.S., followed by Britain—is particularly susceptible to fluctuations in international trade. A minor recession



in the U.S. economy can have far-reaching effect on Canadian production and employment. War-bloated production in the U.S. resulted in increased demands on Canada's natural resources and a temporary boom in employment. However, the troubles of the U.S. economy are causing a sharp reduction in U.S. investment and this together with a big increase in withdrawal of U.S. earnings on Canadian investment in beginning to have serious effect on the nation's economy.

Already auto production has been drastically reduced and the situation in this industry is further aggravated by the effects of the "auto pact" which operates to the benefit of the U.S. monopolies and against the interests of Canada. "Pockets of unemployment" are evident in many parts of the country.

British Columbia is probably more vulnerable to the fluctuations of the U.S. economy than any other part of the nation in view of the province's almost complete dependence on the export of primary products such as

lumber and by-products (over 40 per cent of the economy) and base metals.

The drastic reduction in housing starts in Canada plus the same situation in the U.S. and Britain—both prime markets for B.C. lumber products—spell near-disaster for the forest products industry which is so vital to the economic health of the area. Within the next few months there will be a minimum of 5,000 lay-offs in lumber mills which will directly affect employment in the woods and have serious effects on the rest of the economy. Capital investment, especially in the pulp and paper industry where some scheduled construction has been postponed indefinitely, has been sharply curtailed. There are numerous forecasts of widespread unemployment during the coming winter.

Government and management made frantic attempts to hold down wages and living standards during the 1966 round of labour negotiations but were largely unsuccessful due to the militancy of the highly-skilled workers who were assisted by unprecedented demands on their skills. To offset the victory labour achieved in contract negotiations interest rates on loans and down payments on purchases were sharply increased resulting in a decline in purchases of furniture, major home appliances and in new housing starts.

For the past few years overtime work, especially in the many isolated parts of the province where a lot of construction, mining and lumbering operations are located, has been almost a way of life with many workers putting in 70 or more hours per week. The extra earned on overtime has become a regular part of the income of many workers particularly in the skilled trades and many industries have claimed it is essential to their operation. Up until recently unionists who were fighting to end overtime were being threatened with court actions for refusing to work abnormal hours and some unions even lost certification for having ordered a ban on overtime work. Now the B.C. government has done an astounding about face with the premier ordering a ban on all overtime and threatening legislation to enforce it. But our government officials have by no means joined the unions crusade to cut the un-naturally and unhealthy long hours of work. The governments aim is to cut the workers income and so reduce his purchasing power. There will be a stretch-out of current construction schedules with costs likely being reduced.

The general outlook is for a bleak winter for Canadian workers unless a militant struggle gets under way soon.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC "SOCIALISM"

In Britain Mr. Wilson's Labour Party government is giving the world a dramatic demonstration of what Social Democrats and revisionists mean when they prate about "peaceful transition to a socialist society." With capitalism in deep trouble the parliamentarians are planning how to bail it out at the expense of the workers. Government policies are deliberately aimed at the creation of unemployment, the lowering of wages and living standards and an increase in productivity and profits. Layoffs are widespread in synthetic fibers, construction, auto manufacturing and home appliances and will soon spread to services and other trades.

The unfavourable balance of payments is due in large measures to the maintenance of large numbers of armed forces abroad and the purchase of military supplies from the high-priced U.S. market. A show of cutting costs is being attempted by plans made for the withdrawal of troops from Germany but

in reality this is being done so that other troops can be kept East of Suez in order to uphold a common Anglo-American policy.

Pseudo-radicals, such as the leaders of the Communist Party, are forced to offer some criticism of the Wilson policies but call for continued worker-support for the Labour Party in the name of "keeping the Tories out". "The Labour Left", they claim 'will change the direction of the party and force the adoption of 'socialist' measures". Don't rock the boat, wail the so-called "leftists", because it is the left wingers who stand in the shakiest constituencies and could be defeated. And it is these "left-wingers" who raise a great clamour about the Wilson austerity program but do nothing whatever to actively resist it. So nothing is done: Wilson has his way and the workers are squeezed. Britain is badly in need of a revolutionary alternative.

TWO ANNIVERSARIES

Within the short period of a few weeks revolutionaries around the world will have celebrated the anniversary of two revolutions: the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the victory of the Chinese Revolution in 1949. This critical year of 1966 confronts us with the need to not only celebrate the anniversary of these revolutions but to take note of the separate courses they have taken and assess the lessons to be learned from each.

When the Russian Revolution first broke upon the world in the throes of a crisis of the imperialist system all the force of capitalist propaganda was channeled into convincing people that Bolsheviks were a blood-thirsty lot intent on dehumanizing and destroying human beings. Many and lurid were the tales of "Communist brutality" that emanated from Riga, Latvia, where the main center of capitalist propaganda was located for many years. So-called "news dispatches" were filed by the tens of thousands depicting for the gullible a picture of mass starvation and deliberate mass murder. These gruesome tales were told for many a year and were believed by countless thousands of people in every land.

However, ever since the Kruschovite revisionists became helmsmen of the Russian Revolution it has become virtually impossible to find a harsh word in the capitalist press of the Western World about Russian affairs. But the same lurid tales and fantastic propaganda attacks that were once directed against the Russian Revolution are still being used, only now against the Chinese Revolution with the imperialist propaganda media being given a big assist by the revisionist press in the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe which is being particularly zealous in the dissemination of anti-China slanders.

In Canada, the Canadian Tribune and the Pacific Tribune, journals published by the Communist Party, echo the anti-China propaganda originating in Moscow and, when that is scarce (which it seldom is) content themselves with the re-printing of slanders culled from the capitalist press. These so-called "Communist" journals have abandoned the tasks for which workers sacrificed to establish them—to give leadership in the struggle and clarify issues. They have now become no more than a mouthpiece for the Moscow revisionists and spreaders of anti-China slanders. Joining in on the chorus is the Far Eastern Newsletter edited by James and Mary Endicott who make a great noise about being "friends" of China but stand in the front ranks of those who attack her hardest. The treachery of these pseudo-leftist journals contributes far more to the confusion and misunderstanding among honest working people than the imperialist press could ever dream of achieving on its own.

The general outline of what is taking place in China and of the present course of events in the U.S.S.R. is readily discernable and understandable to a Marxist-Leninist. But the revisionists have their own opportunist aims to pursue and, in order to advance these aims present a distorted picture of developments refusing to examine them in the light of historical materialism. Like their mentors, the bourgeois commentators, the Canadian revisionists maintain that the great genius of Krushchov exposed the "terror and brutality of the Stalin era" and changed the course of events overnight. In this way they arrive at the same conclusion as the capitalist propagandists on the struggle between reaction and revolution in the transition period presenting it as nothing other than "a struggle for power between contending factions."

During the years of transition from capitalism, years of revolution, civil war, imperialist aggression, all the difficult years of reconstruction, vast social changes in the countryside and the building of an industrial complex the revolutionary forces found it necessary to make concessions to some anti-social groups: petty bourgeois and bourgeois elements. For much of the period imperialism

was still a powerful factor in the world, economically and politically, and capitalist ideological influence still strong. Under certain conditions concessions to these elements



is not only permissible but absolutely necessary in order that the development of the nation may go forward. One must be always aware, of course, that this provides fertile soil on which revisionism and bourgeois ideology can grow and be ever alert to hold in check the counter-revolutionaries who would seize advantage of the situation to turn the revolution back toward capitalism. The only way in which this danger can be minimized and eventually eliminated is for the revolutionary forces to carry on consistent, correct and sharp struggle against it.

It is of vital importance that these alien elements be kept out of the revolutionary party, out of the state organs and posts of importance and influence. As early as 1919 the opportunists showed their hand in the party organizations when they began to raise the demand for violation of the policy established by the Paris Commune. Demands for raising the salaries of state officials to 2 to 3 times workers earnings were defeated only by the firm resistance of Lenin and his closest colleagues. After Lenin's death the opportunists began to have their way with party members, in violation of an important Leninist principle, sharing in the advantage of a widening wage gap. It was in this period also that important posts in the cultural field fell under control of bourgeois-minded intellectuals who used them to provide an ideological base on which revisionism could build.

While Stalin understood well the need for sharp struggle against the bourgeois remnants in the transition period and was also aware of the continued existence of contradictions in the era of socialist construction, he did not clearly understand the nature of the different contradictions an error which caused him to attack, and sometimes physically destroy, good revolutionary leading to a weakening of the unity and fighting strength of the revolutionaries and, in consequence, a relative strengthening of the counter-revolution.

During the critical war years the neo-bourgeois element, assisted by further errors, were able to consolidate their position and even secure new gains. The end of the war did not bring about the sharp turn which was neces-

sary to ensure the defeat of the counter-revolution and the situation deteriorated still further during the immediate post-war years.

After Stalin's death and by the time of the 20th Congress the revisionists felt themselves firmly enough entrenched to seize the party and state apparatus and begin the return to capitalist social and economic relations. The Marxist-Leninists proved unequal to the task of turning the tide and the revisionists, led by Krushchov and under cover of panic propaganda about the ability of the imperialists to destroy the world, won a temporary victory.

The revisionists climb to power in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe did not go completely unchallenged. Marxist-Leninists from China and Albania were well aware of the dangers involved in the revisionist challenge and offered resistance to it. For a considerable period, however, the ideological conflict was pursued only at the top level of leadership, leaving out the mass of party members and touching not at all the great mass of workers in the Socialist nations. The revisionists were able to continue improving their positions assisted by the absence of any open challenge to their policy.

China faced the same fateful choice as the Soviet Union but under somewhat different conditions. Guided by Mao Tse Tung and his comrades-in-arms the Communist Party of China had a correct understanding of class relations and contradictions in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism and, consequently, had formulated a correct general line to deal with them. Because of their correct policy the Marxist-Leninists of China met the challenge of the revisionists and bourgeois elements and have been successful in their efforts to mobilize the party and the people to turn back the challenge. The revolutionary forces have proved to be stronger than the reactionaries and, although there is no guarantee of vic-



tory and no grounds for complacency, there is good reason for optimism in view of the notable victories already achieved.

The struggle is a bitter one and probably will be long. The revisionists and bourgeois elements have been able to take advantage of past conditions and mistakes to entrench themselves in a number of important areas, especially in arts, literature, education and theatre, where they have utilized their positions of advantage and influence in an attempt to create the ideological conditions for a return to capitalism. These reactionaries are not going to surrender without a fight and the struggle to dislodge them and permit the revolution to go forward is a sharp and bitter one requiring the active participation of the great mass of working people. It is precisely this

struggle which is now in progress in China. The People's Liberation Army, the Red Guards, the Proletarian and Peasant mass organizations, led by the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists, are now carrying out a sharp struggle to expose and defeat the revisionists and bourgeois elements.

It is this struggle, this fierce battle of the revolutionaries against reaction and to advance the revolution, that is calling forth from Soviet and other revisionists cries of "abuse of freedom", "denial of democratic rights", "cult of the individual", "assaults on human dignity", etc. Completely lost in the fog of their concepts of "peaceful co-existence" and "peaceful transition" they have lost sight of the fact that revolution is not a tea party, that it is bitter, unrelenting struggle against the class enemy, against the counter-revolution, a struggle which, like all battles, has its casualties. But it is a necessary and a worthwhile struggle; one that will lead to final and complete victory for the revolutionary forces.

It is a fundamental requirement of all Marxist-Leninists that they learn the lessons of revolution and, in particular, use this anniversary period to make a thorough study and examinations of the successes and the failures. From the C.P.S.U. we can learn the negative lessons taught by revisionism: from China the positive and inspiring lesson of revolutionary action, of uncompromising struggle against revisionism and counter-revolution.

We express our solidarity and support for the Socialist Cultural Revolution now in progress in China and we look expectantly forward to the day when Marxist-Leninists in the Soviet Union will regroup their forces, defeat the revisionists and re-establish the Proletarian state and socialist relations. We are confident that day will come.



V. I. Lenin in the Smolny in the days of the October Revolution.

FREEDOM OF CHOICE?

William Dodge, executive vice president of the Canadian Labour Congress and leading defender of U.S. unions in Canada, is very much disturbed at the thought the workers in Quebec might have the right to join the union they want and the one they choose may not be the one favoured by him. Dodge took Liberal M.P. Gerard Pelletier to task for having said that railway workers in Quebec should be free to affiliate with the union of their choice. Mr. Dodge wants parliamentarians who will favour legislation that will ensure Canadian workers being held captive to U.S. unions.

TROTSKYITE PRESS SERVES REACTION

In the wake of the desperation counter-attack of the imperialists the Trotskyites are stepping up their counter-revolutionary activities and in line with this increased effort the Canadian Trotskyite press, loyally serving imperialism and revisionism, in a recent issue published an all-out attack on the Peoples Republic of China and, in particular, on the Great Socialist Cultural Revolution now in progress.

In a rather obvious attempt to cover up their tracks and appear different than the Krushchov revisionists the Trotskyites declare; "The disastrous role of Moscow's opportunism is undeniable", but then proceed to mount a massive campaign designed to destroy the very people who stand in the forefront of the struggle to expose and defeat the revisionist program of disaster. What is this but revolution in words but counter-revolution in deeds? There is not a single attack on Soviet revisionism and no condemnation of imperialist aggression. According to the Trotskyite "analysis" the Communist Party of China bears responsibility for every conceivable evil in the world including the threat of nuclear conflict. Every single item of attack in the Trotskyite statement can be found in the imperialist press; the Trotskyite propagandists merely try to give them an air of 'respectability' by dressing them up in left-sounding phraseology.

The Cultural Revolution in China is directed against counter-revolutionary bourgeois elements and revisionists who still occupied positions of prestige and influence in Peoples China. It is clear that every victory over these remnants of the old society means a strengthening of the revolutionary forces and a corresponding weakening of the forces of reaction and imperialist aggression. But the Canadian Trotskyites, who pretend to be great revolutionaries, instead of supporting measures that will lead to a strengthening of the revolution present the bourgeois and revisionist elements as defenders of the revolution and "democracy" in the abstract and in this way align themselves on the side of those who oppose carrying the revolution forward. They make favourable quotations from the works of those who demand "democracy" in general and completely ignore the Marxist concept of the Revolutionary Dictatorship of the Proletariat as the form of state power required for the transition to a communist society. One example of this wrong approach is the spirited defence of a quote called from the works of a leading Chinese revisionist who wrote: "If socialism doesn't give democracy then it is the tyrant's way". But "democracy" is also a state and we must ask, "What kind of democracy?" "Democracy for whom?" Bourgeois democracy, founded on a social system of exploitation and war is anti-people, anti-socialist and as such is counter-revolutionary and those who, like the Trotskyites and revisionists, worm their way into positions of influence in the Proletarian State for the purpose of expediting a return to bourgeois democracy, to capitalism, are counter-revolutionaries and betrayers of the revolution and no amount of well-turned journalistic phrases can make it otherwise.

So desperate are the Trotskyite propagandists for anti-China material that they renew outworn and discredited attacks on the "Big Leap Forward," "steelmaking" and the People's Communes repeating the imperialist and revisionist slanders as though they were newly-discovered truths. A lie which the Trotskyites are helping to circulate is the statement; "The views of the opposition remain unpublished." Everyone knows that this so-called "opposition" which is so ardently defended by the Trotskyites used the positions of trust they had held for years to advance their own revisionist views while they denied to revolutionary workers, students and intellectuals the right to publish their correct revolutionary views. Is it not a fact that China has published thousands of anti-China slanders (including the works of Khrushchov) while the C.P.S.U. friends and allies of the Trotskyites refuse to print a single word of

Marxist-Leninist criticism of C.P.S.U. acts of treachery and betrayal.

"North Korea," states the Trotskyite press, "has recently declared its independence of Peking." Such a statement could only be written in total ignorance of the policy of self-reliance firmly advocated by China or as a deliberate attempt to mislead. If by "declaring its independence" the Trotskyites mean that North Korea has abandoned revolutionary Marxist-Leninist positions in favour of revisionism then her independence will not be strengthened but, on the contrary, will stand in mortal danger of being destroyed. The security of North Korea's independence rests on maintaining revolutionary vigilance and close fraternal relations with Peoples China. It should not be necessary for us to remind sane and thinking people that the independence of North Korea is in no small measure, due to the self-sacrifices of the Chinese people who contributed a great deal in lives and material assistance to aid in defeating U.S. aggression.

The Trotskyite role of panderer between revisionism and imperialism is nowhere more clear than when they criticize China and Albania for insisting on a struggle to the end against the Soviet revisionists. After having labelled the Soviet role "disastrous" in an effort to cover their treachery the Trotskyites now about-face and condemn China and Albania for refusing to unite with the C.P.S.U. revisionists in their disaster role. They, like the revisionists, call this "unity against the imperialists" but fail to explain how one fights imperialism by uniting with the very people who are doing their utmost to prettify the imperialists and make easier their attempts to suppress by violence the peoples struggle for liberation. Obviously such "unity" can only undermine and weaken the anti-imperialist struggle and strengthen imperialism. If we are to destroy the imperialist aggressor then unity must be based on a correct Marxist-Leninist program and not on the revisionist policy of peaceful co-existence with the aggressor and murderer of mankind. We suggest that the Trotskyites, who express so much concern over publishing the views of the "opposition," should take their own "criticism" to heart and publish the views of China and Albania on the necessity of waging a fight to the end against revisionist policies.

In their most recent attack the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites again reiterate one of the vilest slanders ever concocted by this nest of treachery. This they do in a statement referring to the Indonesia tragedy as follows: "The responsibility for the tragedy of the P.K.I. (Communist Party of Indonesia) and the Audit leadership falls directly on the Maoist leadership." Once again these renegades align themselves on the side of the fascist hangman at the very time when he is numbering his victims in the hundreds of thousands. Not the hangman but the victim himself is to blame for his position on the scaffold. Lest one should think this is but a colossal blunder, even though a ghoulish one, let us remind our readers that, at a time when Moscow and Leningrad were under siege and Hitler's Nazi monsters were immersed in a campaign of genocide against half a score of nations, these same people called for the "overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy" a position clearly calculated to aid the Nazi murderers just as their present "leftist criticism" of the so-called "Maoist" leadership is calculated to aid the Indonesian generals and U.S. imperialists in their murderous and barbarous suppression of the people of Indonesia.

Such obscenity as is here exhibited by the Trotskyites is usually indicative of some deep rooted treachery and degeneracy. And so it is here with the Trotskyites having plenty to hide in Indonesia and trying to achieve that by hurling their vile slanders at the Communists of Indonesia, victims of a particularly brutal fascist regime and against the C.P. of China foremost defender of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist principles.

WHO IS ADAM MALIK?

Adam Malik, who was born in Sumatra in 1917, has been a prominent and leading member of the Indonesian "Murba" Party since it was founded in 1948. The "Murba" is the political organization of the Trotskyites in Indonesia and demonstrates the same characteristics that are the hallmark of the Trotskyite movement everywhere:

It raises in words the banner of 'Marxism', 'revolution', 'leftist' and the like, but in practice implements the program of political reaction.

Ever since the Murba Party was founded, Malik and others of its leading people have consistently participated in all the counter-revolutionary activities of the right wing as, for example, Nasution attempted a seizure of power in 1952. Murba leaders were known to have contact with the right-wing generals long before the coup of October 1965 and now Malik occupies a very important position in the Cabinet of the Council of Generals and shares responsibility for the massacre of Communists and progressives in Indonesia.

Malik seeks power chiefly through intrigues and plots, never relying on the strength of the popular masses.

He calls himself a "Murba" (common man) but is, in fact, extremely wealthy and a main shareholder in various companies, maintains an intimate relationship with foreign businessmen and is numbered among the top ten of Indonesia's bourgeois elite. Malik has the same interests as the fascist generals now in power and they have need of him and his party to plot intrigues and make propaganda for them while he and his Trotskyite Party, on the other hand, need the fascist generals to be their "backbone" and thugs in opposing revolutionary parties and the people.

Co-operation between the Trotskyites, the bourgeoisie and the fascist generals is visible also in the field of foreign policy where Malik and his followers are embracing the revisionists and are apparently having their efforts meet with some success.

The intrigues of the Trotskyite Malik and his colleagues touched a high point with the forgoing of a "document" attributed to the Communist Party in which it was stated that the Communists were planning a coup d'etat. This so-called "document" was distributed with the aid of the right-wing generals in order to promote dissension in the revolutionary ranks of the Indonesian people.

In 1965, Malik was appointed minister-coordinator for the implementation of a guided economy and many of the present economic difficulties are a result of his mismanagement while occupying that responsible post.

The Trotskyites are guilty of numerous crimes against the peoples movement and are screaming invectives and accusations at others in a desperate attempt to distract attention from themselves and their treachery. They act just like the purse snatcher who shouts "stop thief" in order to cover his own retreat but we have no intention of allowing ourselves to be diverted by such tricks.

ON VIETNAM

The Trotskyites, like their revisionist allies, are finding it increasingly difficult to hide the fact that their policy on Vietnam aids the imperialists. Their tactic of "capturing the Vietnam Day Committee was designed to facilitate their efforts in this respect. Referring to Vietnam in their recent Anti-China blast they made this revealing comment: "The speeches made during the Albanian delegation visit to Peking implicitly warned the North Vietnamese, who have been trying to steer a middle course between Moscow and Peking."

The sinister sound of "implicitly warned" was lifted in its entirety, from the imperialist press and given the "left" blessing of the Trotskyites. But like the bourgeois journalists before them the Trotskyites present no evidence on hand.

And what of the "middle course" which the Trotskyites speak of with such deep feeling? Peoples China supports wholeheartedly the firm position of the Vietnamese people that the aggressor must get out of Vietnam and

leave the people to determine their own destiny. The revisionists talk loudly of unity against the imperialists but in deeds facilitate the imperialist aggression. The only thing that might be termed 'middle course' between these two would be the attitude of Wilson and Pearson which is to promote the Johnson peace hoax and in this way actually aid the aggressor overpower his victim. We can only conclude then, on the basis of the evidence which they themselves present, that the Trotskyites are in opposition to the firm stand of Peoples China in support of the Vietnamese peoples' resistance to aggression and in favour of a policy which falls far short of a demand that the imperialist aggressor get out of Vietnam.

The wide-ranging attack which the Canadian Trotskyites aimed at China has been most revealing and serves to expose once again the treacherous role played by this band of counter-revolutionaries. Let us make sure we learn from it.

MARXIST-LENINIST GLOSSARY

In last months issue of P.M. we began the publication of terms commonly used in Marxist journals and discussion circles. With this months issue we continue with the publication of several additional terms and their meaning. We hope by this means to make available to our readers a glossary of Marxist terms and, consequently, aid them in more readily understanding the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint.

REVISIONISM: a tendency hostile to Marxism first initiated at the end of the 1890's by the German Social-democrat Eduard Bernstein. Bernstein attacked dialectical materialism and advanced the slogans of "reconsideration" and "revision" of the philosophical foundations of Marxism. The fundamental basis of Bernstein's revisionism was the philosophy of Kant, mixed with mechanical materialism. The revisionists sought to replace dialectics with a vulgar evolutionism which could see only a simple process of slow and gradual development. Proceeding from this point the revisionists rejected the idea of working class state power, opposing to it the "peaceful growth of capitalism into socialism" agitated for collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and advanced the doctrine of the harmony of class interests.

Bernstein was followed by the Machist school of revisionism promoted by such as Fritz Alder in Austria and Bogdanov in Russia who attempted to substitute the reactionary philosophy of Mach for dialectical and historical materialism. In the Second International Kautsky and his followers degenerated into typical revisionists in the field of philosophy. Their revisionism was an expression of political opportunism and betrayal of the socialist revolution. Only Lenin and the Bolshevik group combated Kautsky's attempts to revise the philosophical and scientific foundations of Marxism.

During and immediately following the second world war the American, Browder, led new large-scale attempts to revise Marxism but were defeated. The cause of revisionism was taken up anew by Krushchov and the modern revisionists especially after the death of Stalin. The Communist Party of China, under the leadership of Mao Tse Tung are in the Vanguard of the struggle against the modern revisionists just as Lenin and the Russian Bolsheviks led the fight against the Kautskyites in defence of Marxism and the Russian Revolution.

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ON U.S. DOMINATION OF CANADA

Those who defend U.S. domination of Canadian industry and resources as a price we necessarily pay in return for speedy industrial development and there are more than a few so-called "Canadians" who coin a handsome profit from such domination—are forever offering "reason" to justify their betrayal of the nations independence. High on the list of these "reasons" cited by the apologists of U.S. monopoly control are the following:

a) Canada is a small nation unable to develop its own vast and rich resources independently.

b) The limited finances we have at our command are insufficient to underwrite Canadian industrial development.

There are several ways in which we can demolish the first "reason" stated to explain our inability to promote independent development.

Firstly, it occurs to us that those offer up this explanation have little faith in the future of our country adhering firmly to the opinion that our vast open expanses of territory will remain forever unoccupied. We contend that properly planned agricultural and industrial development would lead to a rapid increase in population and the construction of new communities where now stands barren lands. Other northern nations have built large metropolitan areas in arctic or near arctic districts and there is no reason to believe that Canada cannot do likewise; even do better by studying and learning from the experience of others.

Secondly, a nation which cherishes its independence would, in any event, develop only so much of its resources as it is capable of developing independently and not mortgage its future to foreign monopolies in exchange for a more speedy realization of certain industrial objectives. Development would necessarily and automatically expand as the needs of the country and its foreign trade requirements increased with increasing population, instead of, as now, as and when the needs of foreign monopoly demand it with the flow of exports being cut off when the demand wanes resulting in crisis induced by political and economic policies over which we, as a nation, have no control.

The second reason stated above is one favoured by financiers and economists whose interests are closely linked with those of foreign monopolists. These are the junior partners of U.S. imperialism, content to sell Canada short so long as it brings them a profit.

The reply to this "reason" is, in one respect, related to that we gave to the first reason: again, a nation proud of its independent status would develop only so much as its financial resources would permit and would refuse to mortgage itself for a quick profit now.

The policy we now pursue entails digging up our minerals for export at bargain basement prices and buying back manufactured goods at inflated monopoly prices. Even our mineral and natural resources we no longer control having handed over virtually all our known deposits to be exploited by alien financiers.

And what happens when we hand over control of our resources for development by foreign monopolies? These concerns invest a little money which they soon recover in the form of profits, depreciation and many other ways. But after recovering their initial investment they still claim ownership over the plants and resources from which they continue happily reaping increased profits so long as they exist.

Even if we required financial assistance to develop our country, as the economists claim we do, would it not be more logical to borrow the money and repay it instead of selling the country to foreign exploiters?

After the loan was repaid we, and not U.S. bankers would own our resources. Even if we borrowed on the most usurious terms it would be better than the permanent alienation of our industry.

The policy we now pursue is like the family that sells off its household chattels a piece at a time in order to purchase unnecessary luxuries. When every piece and finally the house is sold, the family either moves onto the street to make room for a new occupant or lives on as a renter of the property he once owned. Do we want to end up as tenants in our own home?

The domination of Canada by U.S. monopoly interests leads to some very peculiar circumstances. Take the strange case of the large sales of Canadian wheat for example.

Now our wheat is a commodity which is particularly Canadian. Wheat never depletes but keeps renewing itself every year so long as we keep tilling and fertilizing the good earth.

Over a period of some years when we, like the Yanks, wouldn't trade with a "red" to save our souls, farmers stored wheat until it was mountains high in the fields and they were poverty stricken, depending on government for an existence. Finally some of our politicians and business, mostly from fear of a farm revolt, got a little sense and relaxed their "no trade with reds" policy sufficiently to allow massive sales of wheat. We sold wheat by the tens of millions of bushels and a corresponding number of dollars poured into the economy of the country. Some of these dollars, those not appropriated by the speculators, found their way into the hands of farmers and transport workers.

These farmers and transport workers who had gone without many things for a long time began buying farm machinery, automobiles, television sets and refrigerators and other goods resulting in a big boost to the economy. Before the wheat sales auto workers were fortunate if they got 6 months work in a year but immediately after payments were made on the first shipment of wheat they began to work 7 days a week and overtime every day.

Now here at last we had a mighty inpouring into the economy of those dollars the economists say we are sorely in need to pay for our industrial development—and not a Yankee dollar in the lot, all from such places as China, Poland, Russia, etc. But what happened to all these non-Yankee dollars?

The industries from which the farmers and the transport workers purchased their goods are all U.S. owned so the financial benefit from sales of Canadian wheat ended up in the coffers of U.S. financiers who say they wouldn't even sell their polluted water to a 'red.' And these U.S. monopolists used the added income obtained from this source to extend their stranglehold over the Canadian economy by the purchase of still more Canadian industries and resources.

Every step we take that should result in improving our lot and strengthening our independence actually ends up benefiting and consolidating U.S. monopoly control over our country. Thus it will remain so long as we allow our resources to be alienated by a foreign power. And there are so-called "statesmen" who consider this to be an ideal condition for Canadians to live with.

What this adds up to is that we not only wear shackles but are called upon to pay for the privilege and it is not a purchase, just a rental, for these shackles are made and owned in the U.S.A. It is high time the chains were broken. But there are some among us who are busy forging new ones for us to wear. Of such a character is the auto pact as is the free trade proposal mooted by the Western Liberals at their Saskatchewan convention.

We must put an end to these policies that result in the alienation of our natural resources and industry; policies which bring our nation under the domination of a foreign power. Let us take back what is our birthright and develop our nation in independence, dignity and freedom.

NAZI RESURGENCE

Less than 22 years after the final catastrophe of Hitler's war machine the world is witnessing the resurgence or Nazi organization and philosophy in West Germany. In the forefront of the Nazi renaissance is the German Nationalist Party modelled after the Hitlerite National Socialist Party. The top leadership of this party is heavily larded with fascists one-third being veteran members of the National Socialist (Nazi) Party. The National Party has about 30,000 members, secured 2 per cent of votes in the last election and is growing at a rate considered alarming by anti-fascists. The Party's program includes a demand for the return of "Eastern Territories" the pressing of which could only lead to war.

The National Party runs youth camps that are not unlike the Hitler "Strength Through Joy" camps of some 30 years ago. Camp activities are organized on Nazi lines and "education" is blatantly nationalist and pro-fascist.

The "Young Eagles", another of the more open of the Nazi groups, draws its membership from among young schoolboys. Organized on military lines the "Young Eagles" receive training in weapons handling and other army subjects, uses a form of salute that differs from the pre-war Nazis only in the omission of "Heil Hitler".

A measure of the growth of right-wing influence is the extreme right press, the circulation of which has grown by 50 per cent in the past 6 years.

Some observers attribute at least some of the rapid rise of pro-Nazi elements to the lessening of Soviet pressure on West Germany and an apparently keen desire on the part of political leaders in the U.S.S.R. to conclude an agreement with West German politicians even, it is rumoured at the expense of East Germany. But whatever the reasons West Germany's Nazi resurgence is cause for concern and demands counter action.

QUEBEC ARRESTS

With the arrest of Vallieres and Gagnon at the United Nations it would appear that the Front Liberation de Quebec (F.L.Q.) has been virtually destroyed. But the arrests, and any trial that may follow, are bound to leave behind them a lot of unanswered questions and unfinished business.

The F.L.Q. was formed by young and inexperienced French Canadians in an attempt to secure the independence of their nation. Adopting a "romantic" approach and lacking a firm political base the movement was doomed to making many serious errors, if not to total defeat. However, no matter what the mistakes and shortcomings the F.L.Q. developed out of the fact of Anglo-American domination of French Canada and the arrests have in no way altered that fundamental fact so the struggle will by no means cease, but will grow in intensity.

We are critical of the methods adopted by the F.L.Q. There are no short cuts to liberty, no easy road to freedom; nothing can substitute for the difficult and neces-

sary task of building a firm political base among the industrial workers and the impoverished farmers of Quebec. But we are not about to join the ranks of those who will point the finger of scorn and condemnation at these victims of an alien oppressor. They are patriots whose one consuming desire was the liberation of their people from the yoke of foreign bondage and on that point we express to them our solidarity and support.

Let those who talk glibly of 'justice' and a 'fair trial' reflect for a moment on the fact that the "justice" they speak of will be meted out in the courts of the oppressor against whom these boys fought. It is not justice but the safety and stability of the oppressor state that will concern those who sit in judgement. It is injustice and alien oppression that are the twin midwives who officiate at the birth of such movements as the F.L.Q. and it will not be trials, "fair" or otherwise, but only the defeat of the exploiters that will make them disappear by removing the reason for their existence.

Vive Quebec Libre.

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SOVIET COLLUSION WITH U.S. IMPERIALISM

Leading spokesmen of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet government, assisted by their fellow conspirators in a number of East European states, have recently stepped up their notorious campaign of slander against the People's Republic of China. Particularly noisy is their propaganda of lies about China blocking passage of Soviet "aid" to Viet Nam.

To anyone who can read and recognize the features on a map it is perfectly obvious that the U.S.S.R. has clear passage by sea to Viet Nam without having to cross any national frontiers. The sea voyage to Cuba was a much greater distance yet the Krushovites, in pursuance of their own policy, found it possible to begin shipment of nuclear weapons to that country—and that without consulting the Marxist-Leninists. What then, are the Soviet revisionists trying to cover up with their lies and slander? What treachery is all this noisy anti-China propaganda designed to hide?

An important tactic of military strategy is for an attacking force to exert every effort to divide the enemy while concentrating their own at the chosen point of attack. The attacker will even be prepared to sacrifice certain positions temporarily in another area in order to achieve his aim. Any serious examination of the facts will show that this is exactly what the United States is trying to achieve in their war of aggression against Viet Nam and that the Soviet revisionists are acting so as to facilitate their efforts in this respect. It is in order to hide this betrayal that the Soviet leaders try, like the practiced card-sharp, to distract attention of the masses from watching them too closely and discovering their treachery and double-dealing. That is the real reason for the loud singing of the anti-China chorus and the conspiracies now being hatched in Washington, Moscow and at the United Nations have resulted in a new spate of even louder anti-China screams to hide the new stage of Soviet—U.S. imperialist collusion.

Just a few days ago, Gromyko, head of the Soviet delegation was photographed happily seated between Johnson and Rusk the two leading executioners of the Vietnamese people and chief architects of U.S. pro-fascist and anti-Negro policies. The main subject under discussion—in secret—by this trio of conspirators was how to facilitate Johnson's peace hoax and so advance U.S. imperialist plans vis-a-vis Viet Nam and Asia. Comments from both sides indicated that a measure of agreement had been reached on certain fundamental points and that the U.S. imperialists were quite prepared to make certain concessions in one area in order to achieve their objectives in another, more critical, area.

The U.S. military strategists are being hard-pressed to maintain a sufficient supply of skilled military personnell in Asia due to the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people and the casualties they are inflicting on

the aggressor in the war of national liberation. To help solve this problem of man-power shortages U.S. military tacticians are desirous of obtaining a detente in Europe that will enable them to reduce their commitments there and concentrate their efforts on the Asian theatre of operations. The Soviet policy of "peaceful co-existence" (collusion) with the imperialist aggressor has already contributed a great deal to facilitate the transfer of troops from Europe to Asia—including the induction of German troops into the U.S. army for service in Viet Nam. The American political and military leaders have been extremely anxious to extend the so-called "thaw in the cold war" so that the troops still remaining in Europe can also be transferred to the more critical area and assigned to more urgent tasks. The U.S., as an inducement for the sealing of an agreement, has expressed willingness to make certain concessions to the Soviet leading clique. All the evidence points conclusively to the fact that Gromyko has struck another bargain with the aggressor and against the fundamental interests of the peoples.

The U.S. publicly offered proposals for the curbing of German aggressive circles in respect of the status quo in Eastern Europe: to avoid supplying nuclear weapons to the German militarists: to make far-reaching concessions to Soviet demands for the reaching of an agreement on U.S.—U.S.S.R. monopoly of nuclear weapons and to make vast changes in United States restrictions on trade with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe especially in so-called "strategic goods". The fact that the United States has already begun to make effective its part of the bargain and that Gromyko greeted the U.S. proposals and actions with unseemly joy indicates that both sides have agreed on the main items under discussion.

It follows then that Soviet foreign policy is facilitating U.S. aggression in Asia and strengthening U.S. imperialism for its war on the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. No amount of anti-China slander can succeed in covering up this criminal collusion of the Soviet revisionists with the U.S. imperialists.

In addition to rendering vital and effective direct aid to the U.S. aggressor the revisionist policy affords it other important assistance in presenting the American imperialist aggressor in the light of a power sincerely interested in achieving peace. In this way the Soviet leading group contributes to the confusion, disruption, disorganization and splitting of the peoples movements everywhere. It should by now be obvious to everyone that unity with such a group of traitors would mean uniting WITH imperialism, not AGAINST imperialism. Such spurious appeals to "unity" must be contemptuously rejected, the fight against revisionism carried through to the end and the people everywhere mobilized and ideologically armed for the all-out battle against U.S. imperialist aggression.

Letters to the Editor

I received today No. 191 of "The Canadian Far Eastern Newsletter," edited by Mr. James G. Endicott, the same person who heads the World Peace Movement. In his newsletter, Mr. Endicott quotes from a Mr. Victor Perlo. Mr. Perlo has discovered a new theory to explain the Cuban missile crisis of Krushov days. Mr. Endicott finds this theory convincing.

Here is Mr. Perlo's theory:

1. The crisis actually was caused by an active U.S. plan to invade Cuba and by the Soviet preparations to go to war with the United States should such an invasion take place
2. The settlement was that the USSR remove certain of

its missiles and bombers from Cuba in return for an effective U.S. promise not to invade Cuba and the removal of comparable U.S. missiles from Turkey.

Now let's see how this theory squares with the facts. Did the U.S.S.R. at anytime, or even now would the USSR go to war with the USA to defend Cuba? The USSR has not said so. The most that any Soviet leader has said is that they would mobilize world public opinion against the USA in the event of a Cuban invasion. Read Fidel Castro's speeches. He is very clear. He does not expect the USSR to go to war against the USA, should Cuba be invaded. He has asked for limited help similar to that offered Viet Nam.

Krushov stated over and over again that anything was better than atomic war. At the time of the Cuban missile crisis, the USSR delegate to the U.N. indicated

that atomic war was not imminent. If the USSR actually intends to go to war with the USA in the event of a Cuban invasion, then why don't they say so. Is it not foolish to allow the Americans to miscalculate and blunder into atomic war? Why do they not make such a commitment in the most clear and unmistakable words, so that the U.S. leaders will know the consequences of invading Cuba? If the USSR leadership has made such a commitment then why does the Cuban leader say the opposite?

In part No. 2 of this "convincing" theory it says that the missiles were removed from Cuba in return for a promise not to invade Cuba. Here is the picture that Mr. Endicott finds so convincing. We have an aggressor, the USA, poised ready to invade Cuba. We are prepared to go to atomic war to defend Cuba, so to be better positioned for such a war we place atomic missiles on Cuban soil. Then on only a spoken promise, and a rather vague one at that, we say the crisis is over, everything is okay now, Cuba is saved, we can trust the nice honest leaders of the U.S. imperialism. We no longer need the missiles in Cuba. What nonsense!

Either Mr. Endicott is the most naïve of men, or he is spreading lies at that.

I think it is rather obvious that the U.S.S.R. took a long shot gamble which they were not prepared to back up. Kennedy knew they wouldn't back up their missiles in Cuba, so forced a showdown.

What is stopping the Americans from invading Cuba? First, the Cuban people. It would not be a quick conquest for the U.S.A. Second, the U.S. leaders are not yet ready to walk naked before all the world, they still

seek some rags of legality. Third, they hope that other methods of undermining the Cuban revolution might succeed, perhaps with Russian help. The road of revisionism is slippery and once you start, the way down is fast. The Soviet Union is following a foolish course that can only end in war. The U.S. ruling class is becoming ever more reckless and irrational. I would like to ask the U.S.S.R. Where do you draw the line? Cuba? Vietnam? China? Or do you wait until you stand alone? On that sad day, do you think the U.S. imperialists will be less warlike?

One wishes it were different. That the Soviet leaders would stop coniving with the USA. Return to working class solidarity. Tell the U.S. leaders that an attack on any socialist country is an attack on the U.S.S.R. Perhaps you say the risk is too great. The Americans might force a showdown, then it would be atomic war. That is possible, just as it is possible that the U.S. might strike now, without warning. But it is also possible that faced with a united and determined socialist camp, the U.S. leaders might decide it the better policy to be peaceful.

Throwing your friends to the U.S. wolf is the sure way to war, just as it was with Hitler.

The Soviet Union stubbornly continues its capitulationist and appeasement policy toward the USA. So we have no choice but to carry on without the U.S.S.R. and gather as much force as possible against U.S. imperialism. China prepares for the worst, knowing that no help will come from the first workers' state.

Victor Penn

KEEP THE FIRE OF REVOLUTION ABLAZE

August 17th, 1966 is the 21st anniversary of the outbreak of the Indonesian Revolution. This is an historic day which should not be ignored. We will commemorate this anniversary, but naturally in a way that is different from what we did last year on the same occasion, and it is certainly different from the way the Nasution-Suharto fascist military regime will observe this day.

This year's anniversary of the August Revolution will be commemorated under the situation when the fascist military clique of Nasution-Suharto has completed its coup d'etat. The fascist militarists certainly will "commemorate the August Revolution" by making a feast on the remains of the 300,000 people whom they have killed, by drinking from the wine cups full to the brim with the blood of Communists, patriots and democrats whom they have slaughtered. They will besmear this historic day by wildly dancing in obedience to the baton of their masters, the U.S. Imperialists, and together with the latter they will sing hoarsely the worn-out songs of anti-Communism, anti-people, anti-democracy and anti-China. In a state of drunkenness from temporary victory, they will more frenziedly shout: "Long Live America", "Long Live America"!

On the contrary, the revolutionaries will mark this occasion full of profound anger and with the renewed spirit to struggle. Hundreds of thousands of people have fallen, hundreds of thousands more are suffering from vicious tortures in prisons and concentration camps. Among them are our own close comrades-in-arms, our beloved fathers and mothers, our husbands, wives and children. They are our heroes, the heroes of the people, the heroes of the Indonesian Revolution. They have sacrificed everything for the sake of revolution. They have set a glorious example of how a revolutionary should act. They have placed revolution above all else. On this occasion, we, who are still alive to continue the struggle, bow in tribute to their heroic sacrifices and pledge to continue upholding the banner of their struggle—unafraid of hardships and difficulties, unafraid of death, dare to fight and

dare to win final victory.

It is with this spirit to continue the struggle of our fallen comrades that we will observe the anniversary of the August Revolution this year. In order to ensure the success of our struggle, we should draw the necessary lessons from the 1945 August Revolution.

What lessons can be drawn from the August Revolution?

The 1945 August Revolution is the seizure of state power from the hands of the Japanese militarists by the Indonesian people with the force of arms. If we had followed the ideas of people like Mohammad Hatta and Sutan Sjahrir who advocated that we should wait for the Japanese occupational authorities to grant independence to the Indonesian people, if the progressive people and youth did not take up arms and wrested the state power from the hands of the Japanese military occupational forces by the force of arms, then the Indonesian people would never have enjoyed independence, and the Republic of Indonesia would not have been born!

Thus, the Indonesian people can clearly understand that revolutionary violence as a means to achieve victory in struggle is a universal truth. No revolution can achieve its complete success, unless the people take the path of armed struggle. All great revolutions in the world, including the old-type democratic revolution in France, the proletarian revolution in Russia and the new-type democratic revolution in China, have proved the correctness of this theory. Why is it so? The explanation is clear: because there is no exploiting class that will voluntarily hand over its power to the oppressed people. In Indonesia the Japanese militarists, though they had declared their unconditional surrender to the Allies, still did not want to hand over power to the Indonesian people, until we compelled them to do so by force of arms.

Therefore, we who are still alive and resolve to keep the banner of revolution flying, should tightly grasp this valuable lesson. Today, a revolutionary can be distinguished from a non-revolutionary by his attitude towards the

necessity of waging an armed struggle against the Nasution-Suharto fascist military regime. Those who agree to wage an armed struggle against the Nasution-Suharto fascist military regime are genuine revolutionaries, while those who adopt the opposite attitude are false revolutionaries!

The 1945 August Revolution has taught us that a revolution can only be won when the people are armed, and that a revolution will fail when the people cannot defend their revolutionary gains by the force of arms. At the time when the workers, the peasants, the youth and students firmly held weapons in their hands, the resistance against the Japanese occupational forces was ended in victory, and the war of independence against the Dutch imperialist troops was fought most resolutely. But when Hatta and Nasution, by launching the "Madium Provocation" on the instruction of U.S. imperialism, succeeded in disarming the people, the revolution then failed. The bourgeois compradores were able to restore easily, through the conclusion of the Round Table Conference (RTC) Agreements, the semi-colonial and semi-feudal status for Indonesia.

For this reason, in order to guarantee the victory of the revolution, it is necessary for the people to arm themselves, and to build up their own armed forces. It is from the barrel of a gun that political power grows. Without armed-struggle, a revolution can never achieve its complete victory!

The revolutionary gains of the people can be defended only by force of arms. The coup d'etat launched by the Council of Generals in Indonesia has proved that the revolutionary gains of the people can be destroyed in a comparatively easy manner by armed counter-revolution, when the people are not in the position to defend them by force of arms.

In the two decades of independence, from August 1945 to August 1965, the Indonesian people had scored great victories in their struggle. In the struggle against imperialism they had succeeded in abrogating the RTC agreements, expelling the Dutch and British enterprises and a part of American enterprises, and liberating West Irian from the illegal occupation by the Dutch colonialist. In this struggle they had boycotted American films, waged a principled confrontation against the neo-colonialist puppet, "Malaysia", and laid down the foundations for an international anti-imperialist united front, the united front of the new emerging forces, with Asia, Africa and Latin America as the core, against the old established forces headed by U.S. imperialism.

In the struggle against feudalism, the Indonesian people had succeeded in fighting for the adoption of state laws which would provide for a limited land reform and the reduction of land rent, namely the Basic Agrarian Law and the Law of Crop Sharing Agreements. But even for the implementation of these limited objectives the peasant masses had had to fight stubbornly against reactionary officials and right-wing militarists who defended the interests of feudal landlords.

In the struggle for democracy, the people had successfully fought for the recognition of the right to existence of democratic political parties, and for the banning of the anti-democratic political parties such as the conservative reactionary Islamic party, "Masjumi", the social democratic compradore party, "PSI", and the Trotskyite "Murba" party. Anti-communist propaganda and activities had been considered illegal.

Political co-operation between the various groups of the Indonesian society had been established on the basis of an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal program, the Political Manifesto. The foundations for a progressive economy which gave special emphasis to the principle of self-reliance had been laid down in the Economic Declaration.



GENERAL SUHARTO.

A number of progressive people had held certain functions in state institutions as cabinet ministers, deputies to the People's Congress, parliament and regional legislative bodies and even as village heads.

But since, on the one hand, the main instrument of state power, the armed forces, is in the hands of the reactionary forces, while on the other hand the people do not have their own armed forces, the revolutionary gains that had been achieved by the people in long years of bitter struggle can be destroyed by the counter-revolutionaries in such a short time.

The reactionaries now have substituted a subservient pro-imperialist policy for the consistent anti-imperialist struggle which Indonesia had been waging so far. They returned the enterprises that had been taken over by the workers to their former imperialist owners, while the investment of foreign imperialist capitals was resumed and intensified further. American films and decadent literature are flowing in again. The anti-U.S. imperialist foreign policy was replaced by a pro-U.S., anti-China foreign policy. The struggle against feudalism was replaced by attacks against the peasants. Democratic political parties such as PKI (Communist Party of Indonesia), PNI (Nationalist Party, under the leadership of Dr. Ali Sastroamidjojo) and Partindo (Indonesian Party, another nationalist party) were dissolved and banned, while anti-democratic reactionary parties such as Masjumi, PSI and Murba are being revived. Democratic liberties were suppressed and replaced by fascism. The teaching of Marxism-Leninism was forbidden. The anti-imperialist common program was replaced by anti-Communist campaign. The representatives of the people in the People's Congress, parliament and regional legislative bodies were expelled, and in their place reactionary politicians were installed.

Practically speaking, the Nasution-Suharto fascist military regime has restored the old domination of imperialism and feudalism in Indonesia, and has made Indonesia another puppet of imperialism like "Malaysia", South Viet Nam, Taiwan, Thailand and South Korea.

Today, we the revolutionaries are determined to keep the banner of revolution flying, to keep the fire of the 1945 August Revolution ablaze, to carry the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal national democratic revolution through to the end, and to ensure that the people will be successful in seizing political power and in defending it. For this, the only path to be taken is the path of the 1945 August Revolution, the path of armed struggle. Let us dedicate everything to the cause of this noble struggle!

MODERN REVISIONIST ART

(Condensed from People's Daily, May 13, 1966)

Ever since the Soviet writer Sholokhov published his short story "The Fate of a Man" in 1956, the propaganda machine of modern revisionism has been working overtime. The secretariat of the Council of the Union of Soviet Writers declared this short story to be of "principled significance" in the history of Soviet literature. Then came such words of flattery as that it ushered in a "new stage," opened a "new chapter," and so on till the laudation finally touched top note by extolling the hero of the story as "a lofty moral example for tens of millions of people throughout the world."

Khrushchov himself stepped forward to proclaim Shokolov an "outstanding artist, a talented annalist," and personally fussed over the celebration of Shokolov's birthday, pinning medals on his chest, granting him monetary rewards, taking him along on a visit to the U.S. and promoting him to membership of the Central Committee of CPSU and, after assuming power, the new leadership of the CPSU made a great fuss over Shokolov's 60th birthday celebrations and issued a special postage stamp carrying his portrait in his honour.

Far and wide the western bourgeoisie chimed in. The film based on this short story was shown in 1,200 cinemas in Britain and in 2,000 in France within three years after it was made. And in 1965 they bestowed on him a Nobel Prize in the field of literature.

Why has this short story won such plaudits from the modern revisionists and the western bourgeoisie? Because it is a model in the peddling of bourgeois pacifism which, coming after the 20th Congress of the CPSU and as the first example in the field of Soviet literature, hoisted the black ensign of modern revisionist art and literature, opposing revolutionary war.

PEDDLING PACIFISM AND OPPOSING REVOLUTIONARY WAR

Through the "tragic" experiences of Sokolov, the author presents "The Fate of a Man" as an epitome of the fate of mankind as a whole, and condemns revolutionary war and peddles bourgeois pacifism.

The author builds up a picture of Sokolov, prior to the anti-fascist war, living in peaceful, happy surroundings, with a sweet and lovable family. Sokolov's wife bears him three children, after which he "broke away from my mates" and withdraws into the haven of a philistine life. They save up a bit of money, buy goats, build themselves a cottage with a shed, and he says contentedly: "What more did we want? (This and following quotations from the short story are from a translation by Robert Daglish, published by the Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow.)

As Shokolov sees it, so long as no one disturbs this "happy life" of withdrawal into one's protective snail's shell, that amounts to the greatest joy in life, never mind whether enemies at home and abroad are creating disruption and sabotage and the oppressed nations and oppressed people of the world are suffering. Peace is happiness!

It is impossible to find the slightest element of any high ideal in Sokolov's mental make-up. And the author paints the picture of the life of this philistine not in order to expose and criticize it but to show it in an attractive light, and spread the idea that individual happiness stands above everything, that peace alone brings happiness, and in so doing to erode the revolutionary determination of the working people.

The anti-fascist war breaks out. With infinite sympathy, Shokolov depicts Sokolov's wife Irina as in a state of hysteria at the very thought of war. Then seeing her husband off at the station, she sobs uncontrollably and "her eyes were dull and staring like someone who's out of his mind." The author is telling the reader that it was the anti-fascist war which destroyed Sokolov's life of "peace and happiness" and tore relatives and loved ones

from each other, and in so doing is directly laying the reactionary groundwork for negating the anti-fascist war.

And as the plot unfolds, using heavy contrasting strokes of the brush the author works up the war-means-disaster "picture of the destruction of man's happiness." According to the story the anti-fascist war ends with the utter ruin of the individual happiness of the little Sokolov family. A bomb lands on Sokolov's cottage, wiping out his beautiful wife, his daughters, his goats, his porch—everything—leaving him only a deep crater, and weeds, and the stillness of the graveyard. The author then arranges for Sokolov's son to be "killed by a German sniper" on the ninth of May, the morning of the day of proclamation of victory by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. The result is that instead of talking about the victory of the anti-fascist war, it reads as though the Soviet people "buried their last joy and hope."

Then the author, desperately exaggerating the psychological wounds inflicted on his hero by the war, goes out of his way to say his "eyes filled with such ingrained yearning and sadness" and to invent hair-raising dreams in which Sokolov sees visions of his wife and children and wakes up at night to find his pillow wet with tears. In this way the author suggests to the reader that victory is as bad as defeat in a revolutionary war and that it brings the people nothing but loss of life and possessions and inflicts deep spiritual wounds.

According to Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of Mao Tse-tung, we know that there are different kinds of peace and different kinds of war. Revolutionaries want peace in the interests of the revolution, and at the same time stand for revolutionary war and support it and wage it with firm resolve. And they fight revolutionary wars precisely in order to prepare the conditions for doing away with war once and for all. By first asserting "peace is happiness" and then charging that "war is destruction," Shokolov places war in absolute opposition to peace and individual happiness for the purpose of pleading for humiliating peace and for opposing revolutionary war. It is not difficult to see in this the rough pattern of Khrushchov's pacifist political slogan that "war means death" and only peace can bring a "good life."

PEDDLING THE PHILOSOPHY OF SURVIVAL AND MAKING TURNCOATS AND COWARDS SEEM ATTRACTIVE

Since Sokolov's brain was full of the bourgeois pacifist idea that "peace is happiness," when the war descends on him, the primary thing for him is to survive. Once he could save his skin so that he might be able to resume his old hopes and dreams, he was willing to do anything, become a slave, a traitor or a lackey. If one places personal happiness and one's own family first in ordinary times, in wartime one certainly places survival and surrender first. This is the inevitable consequence of the logic of Sokolov's life and character.

At the front, Sokolov's lorry is punctured with holes at the top and sides and he sustains light wounds. Facing the enemy he does not dare to fight or resist. When enemy soldiers pass by him, he is scared and only dares to "squint up at them out of the corner of my eye." But they "went away." And without even being guarded, he himself "stepped out westward—a prisoner."

In the prisoner-of-war camp when Sokolov hears the camp commandant "cursing away for all he was worth" in Russian, "he'd make us feel a bit better . . . it was like a breath of air from over there." When the enemies were "punching us, kicking us," he had "the habit of ducking my head into my shoulders."

When he came before the fascist murders, he "stood to attention, snapped my broken-down heels together, and reported in a loud voice like this: 'Prisoner-of-war Andrei Sokolov at your service, Herr Kommandant.'" The enemy officer sarcastically says to him: "Before you die, Russian

Ivan, drink to the triumph of German arms." Later, Sokolov says: "To my death and relief from torment then."

The enemy commandant holds out to him a smallish loaf of bread and a lump of bacon fat. He "gripped that bread to my chest tight as I could" and picked up the fat. When he "lurched" back into his hut, he "pitched flat down on the cement floor, unconscious." For the sake of staying alive he accepts the enemy's "favour" and throws aside all patriotic integrity.

And worse still, Sokolov eventually becomes a servant of the fascists in the true sense of the term. He drives for a fascist major and builds "defence works" for the Nazis to resist the Soviet army's march on Berlin, thereby committing outright treason against his own country.

The author puts a pretty gloss on this coward, a fellow afraid of death and a traitor, and decks him out in the trappings of a "hero." Sokolov not only chokes a turncoat to death but also escapes from the prisoner-of-war camp, and when he escapes a second time, he captures and carries off a fascist major.

But is it possible that such a coward as Sokolov, a fellow afraid of death and a traitor, would be so "heroic" as to choke a turncoat to death? It is completely out of character and the people's revolutionary enthusiasm. Because in a revolutionary war, the heroic people are certainly capable of seeing the dawning light of victory beyond a heavy pall of sacrifice and destruction, and of drawing greater strength, courage and determination from so doing. And even if a certain sector suffers sacrifices, the more the reactionaries kill, the more the revolutionary forces grow and the nearer the reactionaries approach their doom. Wherever the people wage revolutionary war, there they win freedom and rejoice, and the counter-revolutionaries are defeated and sorrow. Therefore, a revolu-

tionary work of art and literature should clearly and vividly reflect the insuperable strength of the "omnipotence of revolutionary war." The revolutionary people are invincible.

The "new line" which "The Fate of a Man" initiated is an out-and-out modern-revisionist and capitulationist line of art and literature. It serves the purposes of the modern-revisionist and capitulationist political line, that is to say, it serves the purposes of imperialism and all reactionaries. Thus, the existing differences between us and the modern revisionists over works on war themes are not just a question of art and literature but the fundamental issue of whether or not the people of the world should rise up in revolution and oppose imperialism.

At the present time, when U.S. imperialism is imposing war on the people of various countries, the question of whether to encourage the people to dare employ revolutionary war to oppose counter-revolutionary war or to deceive and frighten them into begging for humiliating "peace" through pacifism and capitulationism, the question of whether to sound the most powerful note of people's war so as to summon up the people's revolutionary will to overthrow the cannibalistic system of imperialist exploitation or to use the cloying music of "peace" to assuage the wrath of the revolutionary masses and benumb them, and give imperialism an extra lease of life—these are vital questions arising out of the tit-for-tat struggle that is going on between two diametrically opposed political lines and between two diametrically opposed lines in art and literature.

Nobody can hold back the angry waves of the world opposition by the people to imperialism. Both the modern revisionist political line and its line in art and literature are doomed to bankruptcy.

AID WITH STRINGS

by Cheddi Jagan

In Guyana, the U.S. government and its apologists are creating the myth that with U.S. aid milk and honey will soon flow. Guyanese have been made to feel that with U.S. support there will be increased prosperity.

This is an illusion. Experience in Latin America has demonstrated in one country after another that U.S. aid is given with strings, that U.S. aid is the camouflage for economic, political and military subjugation, which has resulted in an ocean of poverty stricken people.

Primarily U.S. aid serves to help the U.S. economy and to maintain the imperialist system. The largest proportion of U.S. aid is military and not economic. And only a small portion of this economic aid goes to the poor, so-called underdeveloped countries.

For instance, in the period 1945 to 1960, for the U.S.A. only about half of its total foreign aid of about \$83 billion was in the form of economic grants and credits. And then again less than half of this economic aid went to the poor so-called underdeveloped countries.

U.S. military aid has been given with the main purpose of strengthening the military vis-a-vis the political institutions and to further suppress and oppress the masses. Before the 1947 U.S. Mutual Security Act, there were only 3 dictatorships in Latin America. But with the passage of this Act and the creation of the cold war myth that Latin America was threatened by "communist subversion from without and within", military dictatorships were established in one country after another. To fight this so-called communist threat, Latin American dictators and pseudo-democrats, backed by the U.S.A. have imposed upon the Latin American people a crushing burden of military expenditure amounting to about \$1.4 billion (U.S.) a year.

U.S. aid, whether military or economic indirectly supports the American economy. 80 to 90 percent of U.S. aid is supplied either in the form of military and capital

equipment or surplus consumer goods. In the context of a chronic unemployment problem in the United States, U.S. aid is therefore equivalent to the export of "packaged unemployment".

Moreover, the conditions under which U.S. aid is given are meant to maintain the colonial status quo. U.S. policy makers have made it clear that they do not intend to allow ex-colonial territories to free themselves. The economic straight-jacket in which they were bound during the colonial era, as producers of raw materials, mainly minerals, as markets for foreign manufactured goods, and as sources for the extraction of super profits, is to be maintained.

The U.S. government will give aid on the condition that it is not used for the industrialization of the emergent countries and provided that the recipient countries agree to a policy of incentives to foreign investors. The recipient government must also agree to concentrate expenditure mainly on infrastructure development which constitutes an indirect form of assistance for the foreign investors.

For more than a decade and a half since the enunciation of the Truman Doctrine, U.S. policy has been specifically stated. The powerful National Association of Manufacturers laid down the economic policy directives of the Truman Doctrine: "during the period of economic aid, the participating countries should not undertake any further nationalisation projects, or initiate projects which have the effect of destroying or impairing private competitive enterprises...aid should be extended to private competitive enterprise in the foreign countries instead of to governments or their agents".

In March, 1950, the then Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the Point Four Program, put it this way: I think there is a pretty widely held idea that we are go-

ing to build large mills, mines and factories for these underdeveloped peoples. That is not true.

In 1955, Albert J. Powers, a Commerce Department trade consultant, as head of the delegation, to the 1955 International Industrial Exposition in Bogota declared: "It is the policy of my government not to intervene in the financing of activities which should properly be promoted by private enterprise. It is up to you people to create business and industrial opportunities which will attract investment capital from the United States. Remember, too, that you must offer the responsibility of greater profits than obtained at home. This is a time of exceptional inducements in my country for domestic financial ventures".

U.S. companies going abroad today demand many incentives so that they can make a quick return on their invested capital in about 3 to 4 years. The same emphasis on the encouragement of private American capital was more recently pronounced by the Clay Committee on Foreign aid. In 1963, it said: "We believe that U.S. should not aid a foreign government in projects establishing government owned industrial and commercial enterprises which compete with existing private endeavours".

These are the conditions under which U.S. aid is today being given to Guyana. The puppet coalition government has abolished or severely modified taxes—property, gift, capital gains, prestige advertising—which the PPP government had imposed in 1962 on the wealthy. U.S. Reynolds Metals Company has been granted a 25 year tax freeze and a 75-year concession to one quarter of a million acres of high grade bauxite lands. Oil concessions have been granted to three foreign companies. United Fruit Co and British-American Tobacco Co., through their subsidiaries are to be put in charge of banana and tobacco cultivation.

Meanwhile, U.S. aid given is to be used mainly for unproductive expenditure on roads, sea defences, airport and public buildings. A road is to be built to facilitate the 40-mile Demerara Bauxite Company, subsidiary of Aluminium Company of Canada, from U.S. airbase, Atkinson Field, to Mackenzie. Of the \$5.5 million (U.S.) loan for this road \$4.5 million is to be spent in the U.S.A. Only \$1 million will come to Guyana. But interest charges alone in 40 years will be \$2.75 million (U.S.). The cost of the road has now jumped to \$8.5 million (U.S.) and a U.S. firm has been awarded the contract.

The government has also agreed to dredge the Berbice River, an annually recurring feature, at an initial cost of about \$8 million to facilitate the Reynolds Metals Company, the U.S. Bauxite Company.

U.S. aid given under these conditions result not only in a fantastic drain of profits but also in a crushing debt burden. According to the U.N. Commission for Latin America, during the 1946—1956 ten-year period, North American companies got \$3.17 for every

dollar invested. And so crushing has the debt burden become that many Latin American countries are forced to borrow new loans or negotiate extensions of time in order to pay debts falling due. In 1956, Latin American countries borrowed \$450 million (U.S.) with one hand, only to pay almost the same amount with the other.

The imperialist countries not only give aid with political strings but also commit underdeveloped countries to a policy of buying dear and selling cheap. Prices for manufactured goods exported to poor countries continuously rise while those for raw materials from poor countries fall. From 1957 to 1963 Great Britain made about 600 million pounds sterling annually by buying cheap and selling dear. Because of this trend Latin America is like a sick man receiving a blood transfusion in one hand and donating blood from the other. In 1962, Latin American countries lost \$500 million as a result of a fall in prices as compared with prices in 1956. That was the exact amount Latin America received as aid under the U.S. Alliance for Progress.

The industrialized countries talk about aid and development of poor countries, but produce synthetics and substitutes for the goods formerly purchased from the "underdeveloped third world". At the same time they refuse to enter into international agreements which will guarantee economic remunerative prices for the exports of the poor countries.

The solution of the social and economic problems confronting countries like Guyana is not one of dependence on U.S. foreign aid. The solution lies in the reconstruction of the economy and the undertaking of basic changes. Far more vital than the outflow of foreign aid is the prevention of the outflow of profits and capital which are needed for development.

In Guyana today there is an annual outflow of about \$50 million in profits and over \$12 million in government debt payments. As against this total outflow of nearly \$62 million, there is an inflow in all forms—grants, loans and private investments—of less than half this amount. This is the main reason for backwardness and poverty.

In the future, Guyana faces annually recurring budgetary deficits occasioned on the one hand by a growing bureaucratic and a repressive state machine and on the other by an increasing public debt charge. This will mean further taxation on the people and a slashing of social services—education, health, pensions—now enjoyed.

Any programme for national reconstruction must therefore have as its aim the prevention of the outflow of capital by strict monetary controls; the nationalization of the commanding heights of the economy; the allocation of increasing amounts of funds for development to the public sector for a balanced industrial—agricultural programme; and fiscal, land and monetary reforms with the aim of redistribution of wealth in the country.

U.S.-CRISIS IN THE MAKING

In spite of a relatively high employment rate due exclusively to military orders there are definite signs of crisis in the American economy. Stock market prices are bouncing like a yo-yo gone mad and remind one of the days immediately preceding the 1929 crash. Gold reserves are being lost at a rate in excess of \$1 billion a year. Some high-ranking businessmen are predicting a recession by the second quarter of 1967; but it could arrive earlier.

There are already cut-backs in certain areas of production, particularly autos and home appliances. Layoffs and short time are already quite extensive. In spite of the fact that unemployment is obvious a great deal of it is not easily discernable nor is it recorded; this applies to unemployment amongst Negroes and other minorities

who are discriminated against and for whom it is rarely considered worthwhile to keep social statistics.

Only the war in Viet Nam is keeping the U.S. economy at its present level and that too is having crisis effects. The vision of defeat or forced withdrawal from Viet Nam is sending U.S. economists into a panic. Previous wars have ended with a vast backlog of civilian orders waiting to be filled—World War II ended with a \$35 billion backlog of such orders. But to date all civilian demands are being met and there is, in addition, a pile up of inventories. This condition means that an end of the war not only cuts deeply into military orders but there will be no heavy civilian demand to take up the slack. And even with the war still in progress armed services orders are being slashed. The future of U.S. imperialism looks bleak.

SURRENDER AT CITY HALL

Statement of Ad Hoc Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Party, USA on the Afro-American Liberation Movement.

Marxist-Leninists have never fallen for the myth that an integrated cup of coffee, a walk down a highway or street, a prayer vigil on the steps of a closed real estate office will bring freedom to the Afro-American people.

Marxist-Leninists do not support a policy of exposing Afro-American militants to hostile white mobs, M.L. King style, while counseling them to 'turn the other cheek', to have patience, that all the 'blessings' of white bourgeois society will come to us if we keep our struggles peaceable and love those who despise us. But such has been a part of the Chicago Summer scene.

The Modern Revisionists who "lead" our Party are in complete accord with the M. L. King approach.

Indeed, the Lightfoot-West cabal, who serve the ruling class here in Chicago behind the mask of Marxism-Leninism, are devout followers of King and other black "Anglo-Saxons".

When King brought his gradualist approach to town earlier this year, J. West, who is best known for his work in destroying militant people's organizations, proclaimed the King movement a "revolution". But when Afro-Americans on Chicago's West side, who are politically well advanced beyond tokenism, met reactionary violence with revolutionary violence, West and Lightfoot were concerned that the "gains" made by King would be wiped out. When King began collecting rent on one West Side ghetto apartment building which represented the life savings of a seventy year old petty bourgeois landlord, the Party leadership was in ecstasy. To them this represented a "new Height" in the struggles for Afro-American freedom but they said nothing about King's failure to mention, let alone attack, the downtown temples of monopoly-capital, who own and ghost-operate hundreds of filthy, rat-infested, slum buildings in Chicago which are home to thousands of Afro-Americans.

Marxist-Leninists have always known what growing numbers of Afro-Americans are beginning to learn. When peoples' movements led by bourgeois reformists, take on a militant revolutionary mood and character, the leadership inevitably guts the movement of its revolutionary aspects by leading it back under the control of the reactionary power structure—just as King recently did when he solo, marched to City Hall to a "Summit Meeting" with Mayor Daley. Again, a movement growing in both numbers and the degree of militancy was blunted and brought under control of bourgeois democratic law and constitutionality.

The revisionists J. West and C. Lightfoot sanctify such actions by joining the chorus of the "liberal" elements in boasting about the ability of American bourgeois society to solve its internal problems in the interests of the masses by constitutional means; they glorify M. L. King and make a lot of noise about the "concessions" he has wrung from the ruling class. They have forgotten a basic lesson—that the ruling class in any bourgeois democratic society will permit concessions only to the point where their position of power is not threatened.

Our revisionist leaders' further dampen the revolutionary spirit of Afro-American movements by peddling the false line of a "growing Negro Labor Alliance" knowing all too well that such an alliance is non-existent at this stage, and **MARXIST—LENINISTS KNOW WHY IT DOES NOT EXIST.**

It is because the Party leadership has sold out their class interest, their Marxist responsibilities to the masses. That is why 1,500 misguided workers in Lafayette Park, a Chicago working class neighborhood, can cheer the Commander of the American Nazi Party and leaders of the KKK at an anti-Negro rally on a recent Sunday afternoon. But such reactionary manifestations do not concern our revisionists for they continue to caution the Afro-American movement not to push too hard or too fast, a favorite white liberal admonition, lest "gains" made will

be lost.

In essence, the revisionist West-Lightfoot cabal places integration ahead of liberation and freedom and they relegate to the white monopoly-capital power structure, the rights of the Negro people to decide for themselves their own destiny.

Because Marxist-Leninists understand that the Afro-American freedom movement represents the most advanced anti-imperialist struggle in the USA; because Marxist-Leninists understand the relationship between the Afro-American struggle at home and the heroic stand of the Vietnamese peoples against imperialism's invasion of



**M.L. KING
MODERN DAY
UNCLE TOM.**

their homeland, the Ad Hoc Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Party, USA calls on all rank and file members of our Party, and Marxist-Leninists everywhere to repudiate and reject the bankrupt revisionist line of collaboration with the enemy against our friends and endorse a minimum program for Afro-American liberation.

DEMAND NOW...

**THE RIGHT TO REVOLUTIONARY ACTION
THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION
FOR THE AFRO-AMERICAN PEOPLE IN
BOTH THE BLACK BELT AND IN THE URBAN AREAS OF THE NORTH AND WEST
WHERE AFRO-AMERICANS CONSTITUTE
A MAJORITY.**

**THIS IS A PROGRAM WHICH WILL RESOLVE
THE CLASS CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE AMERICAN
"COUNTRYSIDE" AND THE AMERICAN
"CITY". IT WILL LEAD TO POLITICAL POWER AND
ECONOMIC POWER FOR THE AMERICAN BLACK
NATION, WHICH, IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, IS THE
PATH TO PEOPLE'S POWER.**

(Editors Note: The AD HOC COMMITTEE is an organized group of Marxist-Leninist activists working inside the Revisionist Communist Party, U.S.A.)

NEGRO ARRESTED FOR PROTESTING

John Harris, Progressive Labor Party worker in the Negro district of Watts, Los Angeles, has been arrested on a "criminal syndicalism" charge and bail set at 15,000 dollars. The criminal syndicalism law which makes it illegal to advocate "change in industrial ownership" has been used only twice before since it was made law in 1919, and not at all since 1935. It is quite clear that the purpose of the charge is to terrorize residents of Watts, suppress freedom of speech in the ghetto and stifle the rising tide of protest against inhuman conditions in Negro areas. The Harris arrest follows hard on the heels of mass arrest in other communities where Negro protest and militancy is on the increase.

A broadly representative committee has been set up to organize protest and defence for Harris. The committee's address is 326 W. 3rd. Street, Los Angeles 13, California. Assistance for the campaign and letters of protest to the Governor of California and the Mayor of Los Angeles are invited.

WHAT'S YOUR LINE O'NEILL?

RED BAITING: LAST REFUGE OF A POLITICAL BANKRUPT

In the pulp and paper industry workers, by the thousands are quitting the United States union and forming an independent Canadian union. Pat O'Neill, who recently vacated the post of Secretary of the B.C. Fed. when the injunction battle was getting a little hot, received an appointment from the U.S. bureaucrats to head the fight against Canadian unionism. In a desperate situation he resorts to desperation methods: Under the familiar title of a U.S. television program- "Whats My Line?" - a leaflet has been published in a red-baiting style that reminds one of the late, unlamented Senator McCarthy. Publication was credited to a local that has little more than two score members in a mill which employs well over 1,000 workers but which still holds bargaining rights thanks to a decision of the Socred Labour Board.

The workers atarmac, and in a growing number of other mills, are turning their backs on O'Neill and his U.S. employers and are choosing to join Canadian unions run by Canadian workers. It is this fact which O'Neill's "red scare" leaflet is trying to hide and at the same time trying to confuse and divide Canadian workers in order to make them amenable to wearing Yankee chains. It is no 'red plot', but disgust and discontent with the dictatorship and incompetency of American bureaucrats and the desire for independent Canadian unions that inspires the workers to make a change. This is a fact that O'Neill will be unable to obscure: a tide of events which no phony red scare will turn.

WHAT THE LEAFLET SAYS

Even by rabid anti-Communist standards the O'Neill leaflet is a pitiful effort. His blood brothers in the Canadian Nazis and the John Birch Society will not be to happy with the results. The miserable few sentences that O'Neill managed to compose are constructed entirely of deliberate untruths and hysterical red baiting.

O'Neill lies when he says the Progressive Workers Movement (P.W.M.) is the "avowed Peking wing of the Communist Party." Avowed (according to Webster) means "self declared" and P.W.M. has not declared itself -nor is it- the wing, Peking or otherwise, of the Communist Party or any other party. The design which O'Neill says is not the maple leaf but a red star is the same design used by Expo 67. Does O'Neill wish to state that Expo 67 is a "Peking puppet" because it uses a design he dislikes?

O'Neill's claim that the P.W.M. "has now come out into the open in full support of the Pulp and Paper Workers of Canada," has a nice sinister ring to it and is intended to convey the impression that P.W.M. has only recently declared support for Canadian unionism. This is a lie. We have openly declared our support for an independent Canadian union movement, free from U.S. domination, ever since the first day of our organization as an independent organization of Canadian Communists. This can easily be established by reference to our journal 'Progressive Worker' which has been published regularly for the last two years. Our interest in the developments in the paper industry arises from our interest in the formation of Canadian unions, it has never been any secret and we have no intention of abandoning our position because of anything O'Neill, his U.S. bosses or the employers may say or do.

Not long ago Ed Lawson of the Teamsters tried his hand at these red-baiting tactics for the same purpose- to disrupt the labour movement and secure the post he occupies with the consent of his American masters. That the exposure of Lawson by the P.W.M. was fully justified has been proven by the fact that even those of his own circle have condemned his tactics and even openly accused him of having fingered union men for court baliffs. It is not P.W.M., but Lawson who has been proven to be the enemy of the labour movement. The future, we are certain, will be no more kind to O'Neill than the past has been to Lawson nor will his red-baiting efforts prove any more successful.

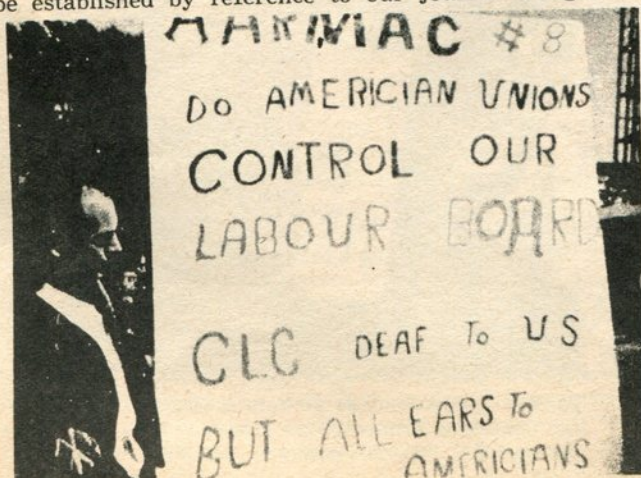
WHAT THE LEAFLET DID NOT SAY

There was so little content in O'Neill's leaflet he could have stuck it all in his eye and not impaired his vision in the least. But what was left out could fill volumes.

O'Neill tries to get a lot of mileage out of the fact that two union men made a combined total of three trips abroad-trips that that were not even remotely connected with current developments in the paper mills. But he leaves unexplained his own trips-scores of them-to the U.S. where he receives his instructions, along with his pay cheque, and these trips are very directly connected with the paper industry and the union.

On these two militants O'Neill tries to cast aspersions as part of his task of sowing dissension and confusion. But he fails to mention that any official positions these two may have held in the labour movement has been with the consent of the governed -by election- while he, on the other hand, obtained his post by appointment and over the vigorous objection of the governed who have clearly demonstrated the fact they want neither him nor his Yankee masters. No amount of anti-Communism can hide that fact. The justified desire of Canadian workers to have Canadian unions and rule their own affairs is labeled by O'Neill as "phony nationalism" but the leaflet omits all mention of his own phony so called "internationalism" which would tie our nation to the American war chariot and commit our organized workers to the support of U.S. monopoly control of Canada.

We are told that the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers "enjoys the support and confidence of the labour movement throughout Canada" but nothing is said about the lack of support and confidence it experiences among the very workers it is supposed to represent. Even in the U.S. where Canadian nationalism, phony or otherwise, is not an issue, tens of thousands are quitting this same union. A very peculiar



way indeed to show support and confidence.

THE PROGRESSIVE WORKER ARTICLE

The O'Neill leaflet refers to an article in the September issue of "Progressive Worker" in this manner: (it) "makes frequent wild references to the dark plots beloved by Peking and necessary to their strategy of disruption and chaos." It is unfortunate that the composer of that lurid prose did not think to use some of the vast empty spaces in his published communique to quote some examples of these so-called "wild references." It might have made a little easier the arduous task of trying to make some sense out of his nonsense.

In the article we said it is impossible for Canadian workers to be properly represented by over-paid and over-fed bureaucrats who are under the thumb of the very foreign monopolists who exploit us. Canadian workers—especially in the paper mills—appear to agree with us on this point. We said that Yankee unions are available as vehicles for the infiltration of F.B.I. and C.I.A. agents. Every place the A.F.L.—C.I.O. operates, and especially in Latin America can provide ample evidence to testify to the truth of that statement and the dossiers these agencies have collected on Canadian militants appears to us to be sufficient proof of the fact that we are not neglected by them. We pointed to the fact that officials in the I.B.E.W. and in the Teamsters have acted in a manner directly contrary to the best interests of the workers. Does O'Neill wish to deny that charge? The entire labour movement knows it to be true and large sections of it have said so, loud and clear.

It is to be expected that O'Neill would deny our claim that Labour Boards give preferred treatment to the U.S. unions but the very fact that he holds bargaining rights for workers who have made it clear they want no part of him is proof enough of the claim. That union nominees on Labour Boards are invariably officials of U.S. unions is a truth easily established, for example, in B.C. it is Pen Baskin of the Steel Workers.

It may be that O'Neill challenges our charge that employers favour the American unions. We believe an examination of the evidence will sustain us in this. Here are just a few of the details from a very unsavoury record:

At the Kitimat, B.C. aluminum complex, both before and after construction, agreements were signed with U.S. unions before any substantial number of men arrived on the job. In order to get work men had to pay tribute to the bureaucrats. The Peace River project and the Welland Canal were two other operations where workers had no opportunity to choose the organization they wished to represent them. In certain railroad operations in Quebec where most of the workers belong to the C.N.T.U. the Federal Labour Department insists they must belong to U.S. controlled unions. The Heavy Construction Association of B.C. (an employer organization) circulated construction firms with a letter drawing attention to the fact that agreements signed with unions affiliated to the Building Trades Council called for refusal to employ men belonging to organizations not affiliated to the Council. This letter constituted a warning to sub-contractors not to have members of the Canadian Ironworkers Union, an organization which the Building Trades Council was attempting to destroy. This letter is conclusive proof of employer collaboration with the Yankee bureaucrats in a concerted effort to smash a Canadian union.

A firm from Japan which located in B.C. recently, Titan Steel and Wire, picked a U.S. union, the Teamsters, to represent its employees. Morris Jacobson, company president, was quoted on the subject in the Journal of Commerce Weekly, as follows: "We felt our people should be in the same union if possible, as it would make for greater working harmony in the area." The same company even picked the district (Surrey) where its employees should reside. Lawson will, no doubt, ensure "harmony" by keeping the workers "in line."

The record will substantiate every charge we made and prove conclusively that they cannot be so summarily dismissed as "wild references." IF O'NEILL WISHES TO DEBATE THE ISSUE PUBLICLY WE ARE PREPARED TO ACCOMMODATE HIM AT HIS CONVENIENCE.

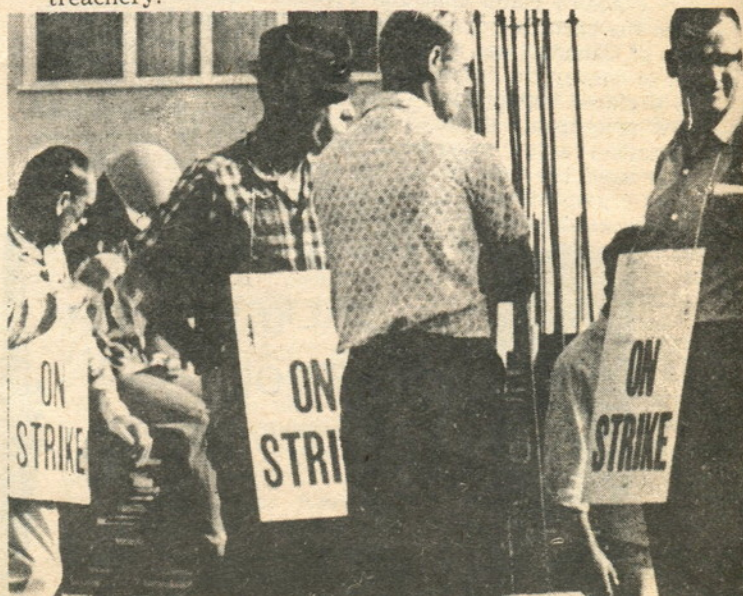
O'NEILL'S PERSONAL STRIKE

Why does O'Neill become so agitated and concerned over the question of Canadian unions? It appears to us that anyone having the true interests of the workers at heart would want to make an intelligent investigation of the facts and let them freely decide the course they want to follow. But O'Neill evades the facts, makes emotional appeals to prejudice and anti-Communist hysteria and becomes very incensed when anyone suggests letting the workers vote to decide the question. Even Strachan, the N.D.P. leader, fell victim to O'Neill's invective for suggesting a vote. (Does O'Neill consider Strachan also to be a "Peking puppet"?)

It seems obvious that O'Neill has something other than the welfare of the workers in mind when he resorts to red-baiting in an attempt to halt the move toward Canadian unions. We suggest that his real motives are to be found in the fact that he does not represent the workers but, rather, represents the interests of the Yankee bureaucrats who appointed him and pay him for the specific task of destroying the independent Canadian unions. His task is to see to it that the paper mill workers are kept under control of the U.S. unions—it is for this he receives his salary. The secret of O'Neill's concern over the possible "contamination" of the workers with "red propaganda" is as simple and as obvious as Al Capone's (Chicago gangster) concern over the same subject when he remarked: "We must keep the worker away from red literature and red ruses; we must see to it that his mind remains healthy"—cash payment, personal gain is the only reason for this concern.

O'Neill has been bureaucratically appointed to a position that pays him several times the salary of a paper mill worker and guarantees him a great deal more security and leisure time than is enjoyed by the workers he represents. To continue drawing the multitude of benefits from this sinecure O'Neill must defeat the move toward Canadian unions, hence his hysterical reaction which stems from his anxiety over his own security and personal fortune. It is in no way traceable to any concern over the condition of the workers.

O'Neill's bosses are located in a foreign country—the United States—and it is to them and not to Canadian workers he pledges his loyalty. He works for Yankee gold. It is he and not those whom he villifies who plots and works for foreign domination over Canadian affairs. Like every Judas he regularly collects the thirty pieces of silver that are the price of betrayal. He will never succeed in finding enough anti-Communist muck to cover his treachery.



Yankee union leaders picketing member of the Independent Canadian Ironworkers Union (Local No. 1) at Prince George B.C. These men are Yankee traitors.

REQUIEM FOR A MILITANT

Harry Bridges, President of the West Coast Longshore Union, last year emerged from a joust with California's anti-war youth his militant halo somewhat askew and slightly tarnished when he declared his intention to keep ships moving war material to Vietnam so long as George Meany's policy remained the order of the day. Hapless Harry has now lost his halo altogether after his recent sell-out of the union membership.

The five-year contract just signed by Bridges on behalf of the dockers provides for an immediate increase of 50 cents per hour then no further increase until 1969 when a 20 cent hike will go into effect and a further 20 cents in 1970. There are so many bad features in the contract that Bridges and his colleagues were compelled to spend more time explaining these away than they spent on the alleged good points.

The set-up in the West Coast dockers union is such as to virtually guarantee a ready-made majority for almost any recommendation. There are three classes in the union A, B, and Casual with the A group enjoying guaranteed employment and all contract benefits and also the only group allowed to vote on union matters. The B group enjoys some of the fringe benefits but cannot vote. The Casuals have no rights whatsoever. The A rolls are open for new members only when the employer needs more men and that situation looks like it will be more rare in the future than it has been in the past.

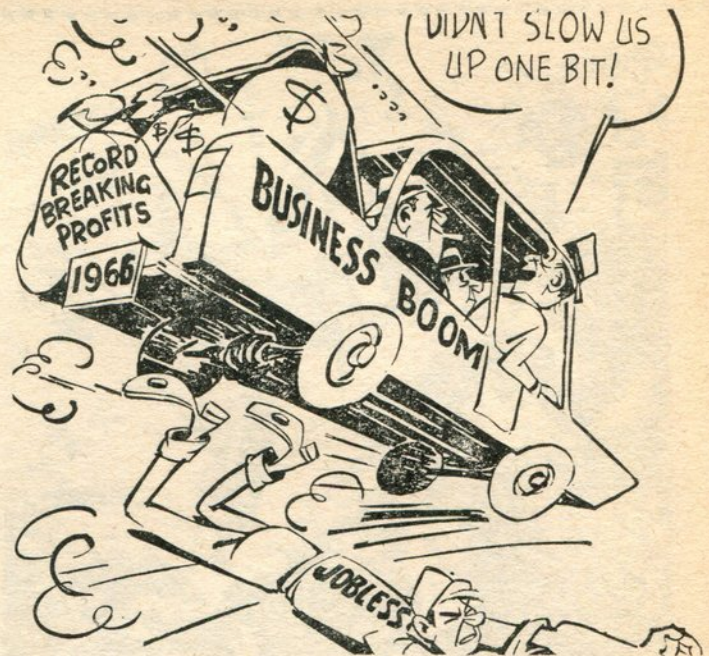
In spite of the apparent 'safe' majority Harry was able to muster only a bare 62 per cent in favour of his sell-out a development which goaded both him and Robertson (vice-president) to write petulant articles for the union paper "The Dispatcher", that further exposed the extent of the sell-out. More than 2,000 of the 2,503 majority came from the one district of Northern California where the union headquarters are situated and the leading officers in direct control of the situation. A number of locals rejected the proposed contract but are compelled to accept the overall majority decision. The clerks locals responded with a heavy vote in favour inspired mainly by a few extra concessions. If it had not been for that every district but Northern California would have voted the contract down.

Changes in the manning scales and elimination categories were concessions to the employer of such far reaching consequences that both Bridges and Robertson found it necessary to make a special effort to defend them.

Robertson made his defence with the startling claim that PMA employers must be afforded the opportunity to compete with back of the waterfront shippers. 'This will also mean', says Robertson, 'that PMA employers will be in a position to contract for this work, and be able to compete with other employers now doing this work.'

He goes on to say that these workers will not be covered by terms of the ILWU-PMA agreement. The real extent of the treachery contained in this proposal can only be realized when one is aware that the jobs Robertson proposes competing for pay less than two dollars per hour compared to the \$3.88 paid to the longshoremen. According to Robertson 'there is true self interest involved here' and one can only conclude he is advising the 'A' members they are safe from harm a point which becomes more clear when he says: 'this approach will in no way jeopardize our present agreement covering longshore work'.

Bridges, in his 'Dispatcher' column, expresses his resentment at the membership for having treated the contract proposed in such a cavalier fashion. But even he is forced to admit that "certain provisions no doubt (the contract) lend themselves to sabotage" and goes on to point out that this is "especially true of manning scales and the onerous work load and safety rules"—precisely those points on which the negotiators made the most significant concessions. But Harry takes care to absolve himself of all future blame with the statement that 'the best contract is only as good as the union that stands behind it' and cautions the members to do a good job of policing the



agreement. What the 'militant' Mr. Bridges fails to point out is that the best time to police a contract is when it is being negotiated and the whole membership is united to secure the best agreement possible. It is then the agreement should be tightened up instead of concessions being made that render the contract easy to sabotage and leave it to isolated gangs to uphold or not as they may desire.

But the most important factor in this round of negotiations is the one that none of the union leaders will talk about—its effect on the shipment of war material to Vietnam. A vast quantity of the supplies and equipment going to support the U.S. "dirty war" is being shipped from west coast ports and loaded on board by members of the ILWU. A strike for better conditions would have meant a halt in war shipments for as long as the strike might last. Such a situation might have proved embarrassing for the pseudo militant Bridges who last year rejected a suggestion that just one ship be struck as a protest. A strike for more wages to load war materials in face of the recent refusal to call a token strike in protest against a vicious war of aggression would have been the expose' to end all exposes. The Bridges' sell-out made it possible to avoid such an embarrassing situation and set the stage for five years of peace on the west coast docks so that loading war material Vietnam can continue without interruption.

Dear Comrades:

The enclose is a donation to the continuence of the good work you are doing.

I eagerly look forward to receiving the Worker, and it promptly gets read from cover to cover, and is then passed on.

Wishing you every success, I am
As ever, E.H.B.

Copy of letter to the Pacific Tribune.

Dear Comrade Tom:

I enclose cutting from the SUN—"Tom Clarke, speaks for self". I believe this address to the Judge who sentenced him along with the other labour leaders is a classic and should be given the widest publicity and another page in the labour history of B.C., where one man shows his utter contempt towards the bourgeois courts. How long are the working class going to stand for this nonsense. If his lordship the Judge thinks this is the end he had better get his thinking wig on straight. It is enough to give every working man cramps in the stomach.

Comradely Yours, Joe Ivens.

poems-poems-poems-poems-poems-poems



REALLY PITIABLE...

"We're the works! Big Stuff! Missiles Bombs, aircraft bigger than anything before imagined! We're hell tearing! Just nothing in this goddam world can stand up to us! Why we can even pulverize this ball of mud to the original atom ourselves included! Bow to us as tops free to take when and where we want, or you're dead as any Red Indian we made bite the dust! Its our world!" But today these voices which chant as if by rote, have more than a tremor of uncertainty in them.

In Viet Nam over which U.S. gunmen have wrought foulness through bitter years, folk live on from the good earth, tenderly nurturing rice shoots and their children; dams, reclaim deserts and believe when Mao Tse-Tung says "All for the People" that this takes sacrifice and struggle, right up to placing of all they have with such incredible determination built, at the service of Vietnamese brothers as a base to fight from.

In the whole history of our world nothing has been greater than this; man putting his ability to work together, and give his ali for his comrade, regardless; China which shows by practice, what a world of peaceful construction can be; Viet Nam what resistance can do, and the U.S.A. how really pitiable it is to see a people fooled by the mania of superiority.

Rewi Alley

BOTH SIDES OF THE LINES...

Viet Nam, despite all those big planes, communications through satellites spat out above the world, is still quite a long way from the USA.

Yet the Viet Nam the U.S. boasts it can blot out, goes on existing; so like distended bed bugs, empty expressions on vacuous faces; the killers are sent in, stuffed full of vitamins and propaganda, P.X. supplies and shots against tropical diseases, licenced to kill, torture and rape; ordered to burn, defoliate and take at will.

On Viet Nam, somehow or other Pentagon plans have a habit of not working out; hard to calculate on a surprise attack, an ambush, or else just being shelled in error by their own artillery; a mutiny or insubordination, the amount of love allies really have for the U.S.A. then too there are leeches, gnats, mud and heat, making G.I.'s wonder just who to defeat; so in thinking heads, the pure, dumb craziness of it all rankles; then if the thinker is coloured or a poor white, he says if only to himself, "I'm nuts! The real fight is back at home! Gotta get out of this mess somehow!"

In Viet Nam where the bare limbs of youth, move in liteness and beauty, making an impenetrable barrier against a vast devilry, the poor fight for the poor and despised on both sides of the lines, their sheer courage and confidence a blazing thing, lighting the way for freedom fighters the whole world through.

Rewi Alley

