

# CRISIS IN THE UNIONS!

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# U.S. AGGRESSORS: GET OUT OF VIETNAM

# Progressive Worker

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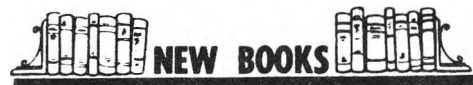
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## FANSHEN: A DOCUMENTARY OF REVOLUTION IN A CHINESE VILLAGE, by William Hinton.

Monthly Review Press, New York and London, 90s.

'Fanshen', meaning literally to 'turn over', is an old popular phrase which the Chinese people for the first time carried into reality during the Revolution. To China's millions of landless and poor peasants, it came to mean a 'new world' in which, the author tells us, 'word blindness' gave way to literacy, women ceased to be chattels, peasants learned to govern themselves, and the centuries-old tyranny of the landlord was destroyed forever.

How the peasants of Long Bow village in Shansi Province began to build this 'new world' is told in fascinating detail by William Hinton, a former U.N.R.R.A. technician who stayed on in China during the closing stages of the Civil War to teach English

in an area held by the people's forces. In the spring and summer of 1948 he was granted permission to act as observer with a People's Government work team assigned to Long Bow. The work team's job was to correct abuses and mistakes arising out of the Land Reform of 1947, initiated at the height of the Civil War, when the Communist-led forces launched the political and military offensive which in 1949 carried them to total victory over Chiang Kai-shek's U.S.-backed armies.

The power of the book is its insight and vivid portrayal of the villagers, their individual and collective experience in taking what was a great leap across centuries. The book is particularly valuable as background to the present Cultural Revolution.

Long Bow, in China's poverty-stricken northwest, occupied by Chinese forces collaborating with the Japanese, had been liberated in 1945 by the 8th Route Army and the People's Militia. At the public trials of traitors and collaborators held immediately after, local tyrants were condemned on peasant testimony, at first given reluctantly, and their wealth and property confiscated and distributed.

In 1946 the People's Government launched its campaign against the feudal land system itself, and landlords and rich peasants were tried. After four weeks of 'settling accounts' meetings, a Peasant's Association was set up as the responsible legal organ for implementing the Land Reform. The 'fruits of struggle'—expropriated lands, livestock, farm implements and housing—were redistributed to the landless and poor. The yoke of the landlord was forever broken and the peasant had found a voice which could never be stilled.

In this period the women emerged from docile enslavement to become a social and political force. After taking part in the village councils, they held a series of meetings 'speaking pains to recall pains' and afterwards formed a Women's Association. When one village husband exercised his age-old privilege of punishing his wife he found himself besieged by peasant women. Wife-beating in Long Bow came to an end.

Not all problems were solved so simply, however. Land in the area was so poor that even re-distribution could provide no more than the barest subsistence. The gentry's reaction to Land Reform had been to conceal all moveable wealth either by burying it or hiding it with relatives. The four-week campaign for its recovery and distribution resulted in the equivalent of about seven pounds per head—a year's wages for a hired hand. This money, invested by peasants immediately in draft animals, implements and seeds, helped toward a solution of the production problem.

Another brake on production was the attitude of the middle peasants, who had been intimidated by the attacks on landlords and rich peasants. Despite the Government's injunction that the interests of the middle peasants must be protected, some had been wrongly assessed as rich. Some feared that as employers of hired labour they would be accused of being exploiters; others had collaborated with the Japanese. The People's Government work team to which William Hinton was attached visited each individual, heard grievances, scrupulously re-examined each case and redressed wrongs. Other complaints were also investigated. Communist Party and village cadres were subjected to a month-long examination by a panel of poor peasants. Mistakes were gone into, abuses and petty crimes brought to light. After this agonising re-appraisal good cadres were reinstated and a village congress was elected. The work team packed up and left Long Bow village to look after itself—having 'fanshened' from top to bottom.

# BLACK AMERICA ON THE MOVE



MILITANT BLACK AMERICANS IN NEWARK DEFY ARMED NATIONAL GUARDSMAN

In the United States what is referred to as "the long hot summer" has arrived and with it all the problems, and more, that the ruling class were nervously awaiting but hoping would not develop. Armed uprisings of the oppressed in America's Black Ghettos are already erupting and Black America is demonstrating a degree of organization, determination and revolutionary vigour of a far higher order than has previously been seen. This, no doubt, is due in large measure to the fact that Uncle Toms of the character of Martin Luther King have been more clearly exposed as agents of the oppressor and are recognized as such by increasing millions of Black Americans. Revolutionary elements such as Stokely Carmichael are displacing the "non-violent" (that is, non-violent in face of reactionary violence) mis-leaders of the King stripe in the leadership of the Black Liberation Movement.

Newark, New Jersey, is the first of many Ghetto uprisings that will undoubtedly mark the passage of this "long, hot summer" of 1967. Newark is a northern ghetto that features all the anti-Negro discrimination and brutality which many people have long associated with the South. Police brutality has been raised to the status of a fine art in Newark and is directed almost exclusively against the Black people. In exclusive Negro districts the police detail is 99 per cent white and composed of cops who are notorious for their hatred of the Black Americans.

The New Jersey city is reported to be the most densely populated urban area in the United States and the Black people here are more densely concentrated than anywhere else in the country. Slums are amongst the worst rat and cockroach infested areas to be found anywhere and rents are exorbitant even if the housing was of a proper standard of decency. Newark is also hit with what is officially reported as the highest rate of unemployment in the U.S. (about twice as high as the national average) and the Black Americans, as is the general rule, suffer most from the scourge of joblessness.

For several years now a "dialogue" has been in progress between white civic officials and "representatives" of the Blacks. Like all such "dialogues" it has achieved exactly nothing so far as improvement of deplorable conditions in the Black Ghetto is concerned. In addition to unemployment and unfit living accommodation there are not near sufficient schools for the children in the Ghetto. The schools operate on a "shift" basis and the youngsters get only half the schooling available to children of the white section of the

population. This points up the ridiculous claim of both reactionary and so-called "liberal" whites that the Blacks should get themselves a better education and so become equipped to compete for occupations demanding higher skills. How does one acquire an education when facilities for obtaining it are unavailable?

More than half the population of Newark are Black Americans but the city administration is completely controlled by the white minority. The administration, always willing to engage in "dialogue" and talk about grandiose plans to "rehabilitate" the Blacks, take no practical steps to relieve the deplorable conditions of ghetto life. Joblessness, slum housing, discrimination and police brutality all add up to intolerable conditions which the Black community is no longer willing to accept or to just have "discussed" in conferences of oppressed Blacks with white oppressors on a basis of "equality".

Aware of the fact that no improvement in ghetto conditions is forthcoming in spite of all the fine talk the Blacks began organizing and fighting to secure at least some minimum concessions to their just demands. Big business, profiting greatly, from race discrimination and super-exploitation of the Blacks, answered the just demands of the ghetto residents with arrests, violence and brutality. In defence of their freedom and their legitimate rights the Newark Negroes, like their Black compatriots all across the land, are meeting counter-revolutionary violence with revolutionary violence and are giving back blow for blow against the armed terror of the imperialist state.

Newark has called on the National Guard to suppress the armed resistance movement of the Blacks and the Guards detachment moved into the city in full battle order but have as yet been unable to conquer the Ghetto. The involvement of the National Guard makes the close kinship of the Negro movement with the anti-imperialist struggle of the Vietnamese all the more clear. It is the National Guard units that are mobilized when additional troops are required for the U.S. aggression in Vietnam just as they are mobilized for war on the protesting millions in the Black Ghettos. Aggression in the Ghettos or in Vietnam is the work of the same imperialist ruling class who draw their armed forces for aggression against both from an identical source. More and more Black Americans are refusing to serve in the army of imperialist aggression and are, themselves, engaging increasing numbers of the army in a fight for their own liberation.



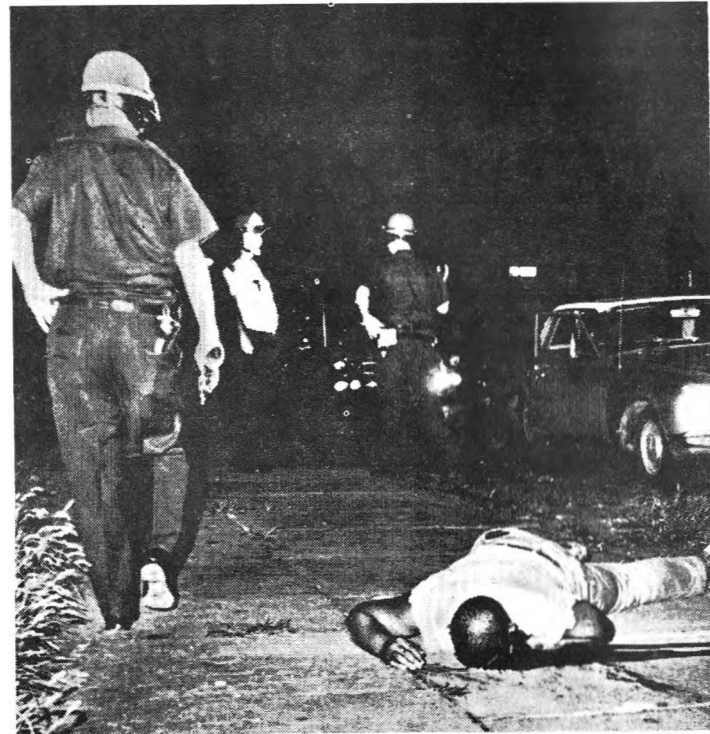
Many white "radicals" and "liberals" often talk of the need for the Negroes to unite with the white progressive and labour movement. But what is required at this stage where the Black struggle is far in advance of the white movement, is for these "radicals" and "liberals", if they really mean what they say, to call on the white progressive and labour movement to unite behind the Black struggle for it is in that arena that U.S. imperialism is being met and challenged on its home ground.

New fascist laws are in process of enactment and directed specifically at the Negro movement. Of such a nature is the current proposal to enact a law against "agitators" crossing state borders for the purpose of "fermenting riots and disorders". By means of this reactionary law the ruling class hopes to arrest many militant Negroes and remove them from leadership leaving only the servile "Uncle Toms" in control. This law can, of course, be used also against the general progressive movement and for the suppression of even the mildest attempts to change the status quo. Sites for concentration camps to contain the resisters have been set up for some years as reported in a number of labour and progressive journals long ago. It is to be expected they will be occupied at some time in the near future.

How serious a problem for the U.S. ruling class is the Black Liberation movement in the U.S.?

There are more than 20 million Black Americans in the U.S. and they are tending to unite around a revolutionary leadership and on a program of armed struggle. In addition there are a multiplicity of other groups which will be inclined to move into action with the Negroes. North American Indians have been stepping up their struggle and 5 million Mexican-Americans, who suffer from even more deplorable conditions than the Negroes and are more concentrated geographically — living mainly in the South West — are involved in militant strikes, chiefly in agricultural production which is run on an industrial basis. These, together with other groups of the most exploited, constitute a total in excess of the total population of Vietnam, North and South.

A stepping up of the struggle and the increasing use of armed action as an important method of struggle, faces the imperialists with two serious problems. One problem is that a sizeable portion of the population has arrived at the conclusion that the U.S. is engaged in a war of aggression in Vietnam and that their own interests are identical with those of the victims of aggression, therefore, they too should be engaged in anti-imperialist activity. They are deciding to have no part of the war in Vietnam thereby denying the im-



NEWARK, VIETNAM — SAME OPPRESSOR

perialists access to an important source of recruits for the armed forces.

A second vital problem consists of the mounting popularity of armed struggle. This means that the imperialists, in addition to being impeded in recruiting attempts, are compelled to deploy increasing numbers of their hard-pressed forces in an attempt to contain armed insurrection in their home base. It could well be that the mounting struggle in the U.S. will be of such proportions in the immediate future as to require the deployment of armed forces at least equal in number to those deployed in Vietnam.

The U.S. imperialists are in deep trouble and victory for the peoples' forces is now in sight.

## HONG KONG, THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES

From strikes in two small factories the Hong Kong situation has now reached the international diplomatic level. Through their police the British authorities have used traditional methods — brutal attacks causing injury and death and wholesale arrests. This has naturally led to growing resistance.

Wrested from China in 1842 and enlarged by the lease of the New Territories for 99 years to 1997, Hong Kong is a true colony. Its only administrative body with elected members — 10 elected out of 26 — is restricted to simple municipal affairs. Since they have "no political outlets" says Dennis Bloodworth in *The Observer* on 21st May and no "legislature, they must dispute outside." Banks and great commercial buildings tower over slums; rich mansions overlook broken-down shanties of the poor. On 17th May *The Guardian* reported that "a British Labour M.P. who visited Hong Kong recently found the conditions of work as bad as they were in England a century ago." Bloodworth commented that "under-employed not unemployed, is significant, for anyone given a broom to use and a bowl of rice a day by a second cousin twice removed can be described as employed. Unskilled factory workers may be paid as little as £2 (\$6) a week, and be unceremoniously laid off or penalised in plants that are not shown to distinguished visitors, badly ventilated sweat-shops whose lamps burn far into the night."

Britain is the ruler and Britain is answerable.

Across the border from Hong Kong is a society free of 4

exploitation where millions of Chinese, taking part in the Cultural Revolution, have been demonstrating and expressing their views with the active encouragement of the authorities. Ideas know no frontiers.

The government of the People's Republic of China is amply justified in protesting about the treatment of the Chinese workers in Hong Kong, and the people of China naturally sympathize with their compatriots living next door. No longer can Chinese people be brow-beaten by the foreigners.

Furthermore, the Government of the People's Republic of China has repeatedly protested against the use of Hong Kong as an anti-China base. Not only does it swarm with United States-Chiang Kai-shek spys, saboteurs and agents of all kinds. On top of this, Supporting U.S. aggression in Vietnam, the British Labour Government has been offering Hong Kong as a haven to war-weary U.S. forces refreshing themselves for further violence against the Vietnamese people.

(from: THE BROADSHEET, England)

The Labour Government, carrying on in the "best" traditions of British Imperialism, is continuing to mount brutal assaults against the Chinese workers of Hong Kong, who are intensively exploited and paid starvation wages. Just recently 800 additional Gurkas (mercenaries recruited from among India's starving millions, and with the blessings

of the Indian Government) were flown in to augment other hundreds already on the scene. Brutalized running dogs of Chinese origin and with loyalties to Chiang Kai-shek and the defeated landlord class, are armed by the British and turned loose on the working people, while the last of the Colonel Blimps — like Governor David Trench — look on at this festive of blood and chortle with glee.

It is quite something to see these English overlords at their lawn bowls and cricket and afternoon tea as though their whole world were not coming down on them unmindful



that an entirely new world, the world of tomorrow, is just an hours train ride away.

A number of striking and demonstrating workers have been murdered in cold blood by the authorities. Some have been shot, some beaten to death. There have been reports of workers being beaten to death while under arrest. Cause of death is usually stated to be heart disease, or some other appropriate malady from which the victim never suffered until he had fallen into the clutches of the police. Hundreds have been hospitalized, others given necessary medical treatment and additional hundreds have been arrested. The armed terror traditionally associated with a colonial administration is raging unabated. The alien oppressors, frantic at the sight of their approaching doom, are attempting to bludgeon and terrorize their unwilling and resisting victims into submission. And all this demonstration of traditional imperialism, using gunboats and mercenaries is organized and directed by the imperialists Social-democratic agents in the Labour Movement with whom the revisionists announce they are "going to march shoulder to shoulder to Socialism and Communism." Hong Kong is a really excellent example of "peaceful transition" under Social-democracy.

However, the working people of Hong Kong are not capitulating or retreating before this Social-democratic brand of imperialist tyranny. Encouraged, inspired and assisted by more than 700 million compatriots in the People's Republic of China, who have driven out the imperialists and landlords and are making giant strides forward in the Cultural Revolution, the workers of Hong Kong are intensifying their resistance against the naked terror of imperialist reaction.

Up to sixty thousand workers have been on strike in the main enterprises in Hong Kong, Kowloon and the New Territories. Public utilities, transportation, textiles, dockyard, shipping etc., have all been affected by militant political strikes under the leadership of the trade unions. Import-export trade and shipping, upon which the English merchants grow rich, have been at a virtual standstill and the exporters are crying bitterly over the loss of profits.

Since the beginning of May more than one billion Hong Kong dollars (about 200 million Canadian dollars) have been withdrawn from accounts in banks run by foreign capitalists. 5

The stock exchange is only operating spasmodically and stocks dropped in value a total of 760 million Hong Kong dollars. The price of gold has surged upwards on the local market, reflecting a lack of confidence in Hong Kong currency. There has been a sharp drop in tourist trade and, consequently, a decline in the income normally gained from this source. Real estate transactions, an extremely lucrative business for the British capitalists and the main source of revenue for the British authorities, have reached a dead end. Capital outflow has reached massive proportions. A local Vancouver report states a number of "important businessmen" from Hong Kong are scanning the possibility of locating in the B.C. coast area. According to the reports these are "very responsible" men who are impressed with opportunities for investment" in British Columbia. It is expected that the government will make every effort to accommodate these wealthy immigrants and afford them every facility in transporting their knowledge and skill in the exploitation of labour to the Lower Mainland of British Columbia. The skill of a Hong Kong capitalist is high on the list of imports that Canada can well do without. Labour should not be misled by the Chamber of Commerce tales about the employment these characters will create. Tell the scab-herders to stay home, we don't need them or their blood-money in Canada.

The "dignity" and "prestige" of Britain's Social-democratic colonial rulers have been trampled in the dust. British authorities are being challenged and condemned in their own courtrooms, emergency decrees issuing from the Governors mansion are being treated with contempt and even the sentry box outside the official residence has been plastered with big character posters denouncing British atrocities.

Hsinhua News Agency, reporting a speech by Chou En-lai, said the premier declared:

"Hong Kong's destiny will be decided by our patriotic countrymen there and 700 million Chinese people as a whole, definitely not by a handful of British imperialists. The British Government and the British authorities must become a bit more sober-minded. If they remain obstinate and refuse to come to their senses, if they, in disregard of the warnings of the Chinese Government and people, continue to carry out brutal suppression of our patriotic countrymen in Hong Kong and insist on setting themselves against the Chinese people, then it is certain that they will receive even heavier punishment. They must bear all the responsibility for the grave consequences arising therefrom."

British imperialism, bankrupt and nearing its end, sick unto death to the point where not even the "Labour"



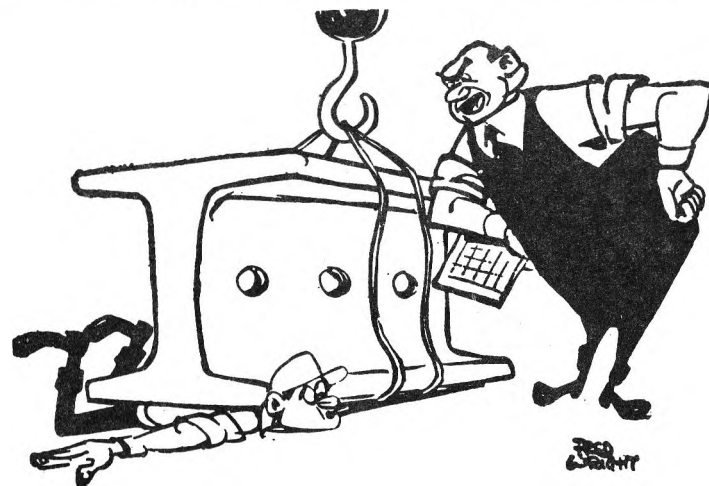
physician Wilson can revive it, is still putting up a mad and vicious struggle to survive in its last remaining days. But the vast and determined anti-imperialist force now assembling will certainly put an end to the last remaining vestiges of the tyranny and oppression that was the trademark of the "empire upon which the sun never set", but upon which the darkness of night is now rapidly descending.

# CRISIS IN THE UNIONS

Signs of crisis in Canada's trade unions are evident everywhere. The organization has proven itself thoroughly impotent in dealing with employer attacks, especially so when the courts enter the dispute. Even leading members of official circles are not immune when it comes to handing out jail terms and no amount of tearful pleading with the employer and the state for a change in attitude — alternating with brief spells of threats of dire consequences — seems likely to alter the situation. The slight improvement in wage rates (and very little else) is due to the shortage of manpower in the highly skilled trades (a condition which is rapidly changing as capital expansion diminishes), it is not due at all to the much-advertised toughness and negotiating skill of the union bureaucracy.

An ever present indication of the incapacity of the leadership and the general shortcomings of the movement is the continuing weakness in the number of organized workers. The leadership announces gains in total membership but fails to point out that the unions are actually LOSING in terms of relative strength in that they are gaining very few recruits from amongst the new workers coming into industry from the schools and universities. Less than 27 per cent of the labour force is in the organized labour movement and much of what is in, is either employer-dominated, or virtually so. Some of the larger and more financially powerful unions — Steel for example — boast of large increases in membership but studiously avoid the increase is almost entirely the result of membership raids on other unions which adds nothing to the total membership of the unions.

The large mass of low-paid and highly-exploited majority of the Canadian working class remains out of the union circle. The income gap between these unorganized workers and the top section of the highly-skilled has reached record proportions. One third of the Canadian labour force do not earn enough to pay taxes which means an annual income of less than \$2,000 in the case of married workers and \$1,000 in the case of unmarried workers. An additional one third barely manage to make it into the tax bracket category and live precariously on the edge of financial disaster. It is only the top one third of the work force that enjoys the benefits of our "affluent society" and a large number of these are in a position that is by no means secure and are vulnerable to the first icy blast of even a "mild" economic recession.



"Quit trying to hide, Grimsby, and get back to work!"

It is the top one third of the work force that accounts for almost all the trade union membership although it must be added that there are tens of thousands of trade union members who are working for wages that are far less than adequate and under deplorable working conditions. The union leadership has done nothing substantial to bring more than 70 per cent of unorganized workers into the labour movement, unless one counts pious resolutions as serious attempts to organize the unorganized. Even the pious resolu-

tions are confined to a recitation of things already well known and appeals to the employers to help bring the benefits of union organization to the under-paid majority — an appeal that falls on the "deaf-ear" of the exploiters. Only a militant policy and a fighting stance will bring organization to the unorganized — in a word, a complete change of personality and outlook on the part of the leadership — and we are not likely to see that happen under the present right-wing social-democratic regime in the unions.

The workers are more and more fighting a defensive battle with more than 70 per cent of the workers receptive to employer propaganda and developing an attitude of hostility toward the unions. (This group constitutes practically all of that undefined mass which capitalist propagandists refer to as the "general public"). Prices are generally related to the highest incomes which means that, as the income gap widens, the living standards of the lower categories are worsened absolutely as well as relatively. With a very limited amount of cash available these low-paid workers are compelled to purchase cheap consumer goods that wear out rapidly and are, consequently, more expensive than the costlier more durable items in the long run, while cheaper in the short run. Credit buying and borrowing is more of a necessity for the low-pay categories and also more expensive.

With no organization to defend them these workers are in no position to blame the employers for their condition and certainly not in a position to challenge them. They are, therefore, more susceptible to employer propaganda, which is more readily available anyhow, and, consequently, they tend to accuse the unions of responsibility for the high cost of living and all their problems resulting from that condition. It is from this sector of the population that the ruling class, skillfully exploiting the weaknesses and shortcomings of the unions, are able to gain at least a sympathetic hearing and a measure of temporary support for their anti-union measures.

It helps not at all for the bureaucrats to become exasperated and make broad allegations about how stupid these workers are for not availing themselves of the "benefits" of trade union organization. Waiting around for the workers to organize themselves spontaneously and come searching for the unions will achieve no results. In addition, the record of the recent past is not such to inspire confidence in the unions and union leadership especially amongst a body of workers who realize it will take a long tough struggle to win even minimum gains and the type of leadership required for that fight does not presently exist in the trade unions. Workers have seen trade unionists hauled off to jail with no more substantial a reaction than the passing of one more protest resolution and a reiteration of the perennial call to "vote N.D.P.". They have seen also the most abject defeat of the trade union movement since the decade of the twenties and the notorious "yellow-dog" contracts.

The defeat which the trade union movement sustained at the Coleman plant in Ontario was the most humiliating it has experienced in several decades. The Coleman organization is a directly chartered local of the Canadian Labour Congress which means their defeat and humiliation is shared by the entire labour movement in Canada. In the strike at Coleman the leadership tolerated both injunctions and scabbering by the local gendarmes without offering any real resistance. The result was total capitulation to the employer, a return to work on his terms which lays down conditions that completely destroys the effectiveness of the union as an organization designed to defend the worker's interests. How serious the C.L.C. considered this strike was amply demonstrated when they cut off strike benefits as the strikers became eligible for capitalist state benefits under the Unemployment Insurance Act.

The loss of the strike showed clearly the incompetence and impotence of the present union leadership when faced with any serious challenge, and this particular strike did not present any serious challenge to the employers as a class, as well as having been conducted under condition

that are still relatively favourable to the workers—certainly more favourable than they will be in the near future as the economic situation deteriorates. This disastrous defeat, together with the full-scale retreat in the face of the injunctions attack, is most unlikely to inspire the unorganized worker with any feeling of confidence in the trade union movement or in its ability to render them aid and protection from the vengeful counter-attack of the employers.

If the trade unions are to become real fighting organs of the working class; if they are to attract wider sections of the most ruthlessly exploited, a whole new approach, new program, new policies will be necessary. But first we must understand what is the real nature of the sickness from which the labour movement is suffering.



"I had a good home, a devoted wife, six beautiful children, but I squandered everything we owned on food."

## CLASS COLLABORATION!

The roots of the crisis now developing in the trade unions are embedded in the class-collaborationist policy presently being pursued by the movement and its leaders. This class-collaborationist policy is securely built into what has become the main activity and proud achievement of the labour movement—the union contract. The annual, biennial or triennial ritual of the signing of the contract, which is the most important, if not the only, pursuit of North American unions, is an act of fundamental compromise with the class enemy, with that class which directs the operation of the social and economic system based on exploitation and profit. The capitalist yield ground on such relatively minor points as union security, seniority, social welfare and receive in exchange from the representatives of labour a tacit, if not open agreement to safeguard the essential structure of the capitalist system.

Accepting as their own the fundamental objective of the ruling class—the preservation of the capitalist system—stamps its imprint on the trade union movement. Opportunism and "respectability" are integral components of trade union operation. The union machine becomes absorbed into the capitalist structure which takes on an air of sacredness with so-called "labour-leaders" delivering eulogies extolling the benefits of our "free society". Radicalism, any challenging of the capitalist structure itself, is abhorred, denounced and generally prohibited through a variety of anti-Communist clauses in the constitutions of the unions.

The result of the pursuit of the type of activity to the exclusion of all other forms of the pursuit of trade union action is to reinforce the very foundation of capitalism and inhibit the workers from striving for those basic objectives that are in the true interests of their class. Unions that

are "respectable" and "acceptable" tend to derive their strength and stability as much from employer co-operation and complicity as they do from the services they render to the membership. Dues check-off, compulsory dues payments, compulsory membership, all vigorously defended as sacred and inviolable principles of the working class under the misnomer of union security, are matters on which the employers co-operate with the opportunistic functionary of the trade unions.

The illusion of equality with the employer which is engendered by the collective agreement creates an imaginary balance of privileges between exploiter and exploited. Blinded by the fancied prestige of his illusory equality with management, sidetracked in the routine activity around petty demands, the worker unconsciously drifts into activities that his inferior status as an exploited member of society, loses sight of the struggles required for his complete emancipation. Revolutionary aspirations are no longer a consideration.

Commitment to the maintenance of the "free enterprise" system, and search for bourgeois "respectability" which reduces the movement to a program of keeping on doing what it has long been doing and having no real idea of where it is going, causes many of the best elements to feel that their efforts are futile, because the collective agreement does not touch upon the fundamental problem. Since the collective agreement constitutes the entirety of their activities and is presented as the totality of action promising all the fruits of the worker expects from the struggle for his liberation, the union activist finds himself suffering from frustration and having the distinct impression that he is on a treadmill running at top speed but never advancing an inch from his original starting point. What is hailed as a vital action of social regeneration turns out to be no more than a cheap and common business deal with the employers which is founded on a non-aggression pact and a co-existence agreement between labour and capital that gets nowhere and changes nothing. Each new pact is greeted with the announcement that another 2 (3, 4, or ?) years of "labour peace" is guaranteed—the class struggle is consigned to the deep-freeze until the next round of negotiations arrives.

With the collective agreement having now become the only justification for the existence of the unions, the members demonstrate a vast disinterest in activities between collective bargaining sessions. Most locals—and there are very few exceptions meet only about 9 times during a normal year when no negotiations are taking place. Quorums for union meetings seldom exceed 2 to 3 percent of the membership, yet they sometimes experience difficulty in convening because less than a quorum shows up. Even in a situation where strike action is imminent it is not unusual to have only 40 per cent of the members attend. With bargaining sessions at a 3-year interval (ranging up to 10 years in some cases) most unionists personal contact with the organization seldom extends beyond having his dues and assessments deducted from the pay cheque.

Union meetings, once the scene of lively and spirited debates on a variety of subjects and the regular meeting place of opponents of the status quo ranging all the way from radicals reformers to avowed revolutionaries, are now, for the most part, respectable forums of conservative opinions that would be equally at home in a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce or at a gathering of the Rotary or Kiwanis Club. In fact, "labour statesmen" are often called upon to address meetings of such pillars of the community". There is no place where a revolutionary is more conspicuous, or more out of place than in a meeting of an "International" union local. The same dull and dreary "orators" get up at every meeting to belabour the same uninteresting and trivial subjects they have been nattering about for 20 years. Organizations that once were fertile ground for the birth of new and challenging ideas are now intellectual deserts, forums for the dissemination of the shallow thoughts of dilettantes and intellectual pygmies. If other critical ailments fail to kill them the unions might well die of boredom.

This class-collaboration character of the North American trade union movement, its absorption into the structure of the capitalist system and essential defence of that system is one important element contributing to the crisis of the trade unions. Given a continuation of present policies—and

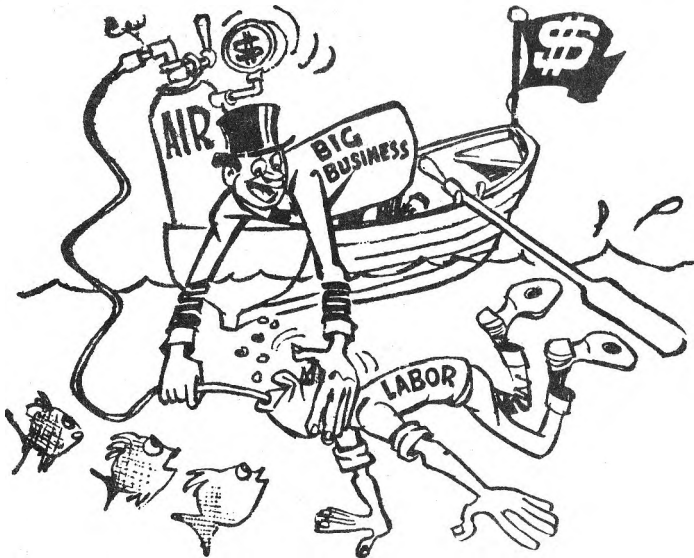
ther is no sign of change in the offing—the bureaucrat-ridden “internationals” will lose all reason for existence as organizations of working people. They are already on the road to death and decay. Reduced to the status of dues-collection agencies, the negotiation of contracts as they come due, administrators of property and multi-million dollar investments and, as often as not, playing the role of stern disciplinarians of militant workers, the established American unions have neither the ability nor the desire to serve the great mass of low-paid, super-exploited workers nor do these workers find themselves attracted to the rarified atmosphere of this bureaucratic structure. Unable to probe new sources of membership the unions fail to maintain growth parallel to the growth of the labour force.

#### PSEUDO-RADICAL “SOLUTIONS”!

The June 23 issue of “Pacific Tribune” announced, on behalf of the Communist Party (revisionist), a “Program for B.C. Labor”. The statement calls for an end to “intercine warfare” and suggests getting at “the big problems facing the working class”, and goes on to declare:

“This will mean the unions tackling more than just contractual matters and job conditions. They must raise their sights to the foreign and domestic policy problems the country is facing”.

This sounds very imposing indeed but if anyone reading this expects the C.P. labour experts to go on from here to suggest dispossessing the capitalist class they will be doomed



“See . . . If it weren't for me you'd drown!”

to disappointment. The six cliché-ridden points in the statement mention socialism but once — at the conclusion and as an afterthought. In spite of all the brave talk about “more than contractual matters” it is precisely these that the statement deals with.

On the question of Vietnam and the Middle East for example, the statement warns we cannot have both guns and butter — we must make a choice about what comes first; the unions must discuss the “effect of war costs on living standards.” Signs of a recession, aggravated by U.S. domination of the economy, are pointed out together with the advice “this situation has to be changed”. The “challenge of automation” comes in for some attention accompanied by the proposal “to deal with it . . . at the collective bargaining and parliamentary levels.” On “contract negotiations” the C.P. Labour Committee makes the general proposal to fight for “shorter hours, higher wages, and better working conditions.”

In “Point 5”, “Workers in Position of Leadership”, these erstwhile “radicals” get down to the serious business of serving up a social-democratic broth. “More attention to parliamentary work”, we must not leave government to employers representatives. A planned approach to parliamentary work is required for control over our economy. “Contest in a big way the positions of administration and power in gov-

ernment.” “Labor’s rights . . . cannot be fully realized without removal of the employers’ representatives from the positions of power in government”.

Labour unity is spelled out to mean “unity” in the American unions with independent Canadian unions allowed to appear sometimes in the sweet bye-and-bye when the American bureaucrats no longer object to them — Oh happy day!

There is not a single demand advanced in this statement of the Communist Party that cannot be granted within the confines of the present economic system. Capitalism could accede to every single demand and still remain a highly profitable system. And these demands are put forward only on behalf of the organized minority; we assume the unorganized majority will-perhaps-be covered when they have the good sense to organize. Many an avowed social democrat would demand more. After this it is no doubt only fitting that the statement should claim that 60 per cent of the B.C. labour force is organized when the true figure would be not over 40 per cent.

The Trotskyite League for Socialist Action has a very comfortable program of “action” for the unions that permits them to recline at their ease and chew the philosophical cud, as is their usual practice.

They declare that there is no need for concern over union affairs; the bureaucrats will take care of them since that is what they get paid for. The unions, they say, should make the revolutionary demand for the 30-hour week. This is revolutionary because the capitalist cannot grant it so that when the workers insist on it they will overthrow the system. This is said in blithe disregard for the fact that the 30-hour week is already operative in some areas in the United States and thousands of workers in Canada on short time are working less than 30 hours per week in many cases. When the 8-hour day was being fought for the employers declared that it would ruin the economy. It seems the Trotskyites believe the 30-hour week will do what the 8-hour day failed to do.

#### Needed—A Class Program!

What is required, and what true radicals and revolutionaries should fight for in the trade unions, is a class program; policies that will take care of the interests of the workers as a class, promote anti-capitalist struggle, and develop the class consciousness and proletarian ideology of the working class. This calls for the development of broad rank and file actions around basic demands. Although official union posts will be contested as part of the campaign to develop the struggle, the radical and revolutionary left must adopt measures to guard against falling into the opportunist error of seeking union office as an end in itself or placing too much significance on success in winning office. The pseudo-left proudly boasts of their ability to win official positions in the unions but fail to take note of the fact that this has been achieved as a result of making compromises on principle with the right social democrats and the ruling class. These erstwhile “leftists” sugar up the ruling class poison to make it taste sweeter and make the defeats appear as though they were victories. Their main task is one of ideological confusion to disarm the workers.

The 30-hour week which is touted as a panacea that can cure almost every ill, including capitalist control of automation processes, is not all it is made appear to be. In spite of the Trotskyite claim that the 30-hour week would bring down the capitalist system, any intelligent worker knows it could be granted and scarcely cause a ripple of disturbance. It is even questionable if it would be necessary to hire any additional workers and it would certainly not solve the problem of unemployment.

The 30-hour week is a legitimate demand for the purpose of giving the worker more leisure time but raising it as a demand which will end unemployment only results in the unions chasing a mirage. The labour movement should establish the principle that lay-offs will not be tolerated under any circumstances and proceed from there to enforce the principle that every worker will receive a basic income sufficient to provide for all needs whether or not there is work available. This is a demand around which the entire working class can be mobilized, particularly when the crisis of capitalism begins to sharpen and the unions must be prepared to resort to the weapon of the general strike in

order to force its acceptance. This demand for guaranteed full employment is one which the ruling class definitely cannot implement.

The trade union movement must act united and speak on behalf of the entire class. The suggestion that the necessary unity can be achieved by means of certain forms of organization, such as all workers belonging to American unions, is a myth. The unity has to be based on class principle and out-



“Heads, my salary gets raised . . . tails, yours gets cut!”

look, not on formal organization. There is no unity on principle today. Based on the capitalist ideology of “every man for himself” even members in one local are seldom, if ever, united on principle. Local is ranged against local and union against union, each trying to profit at the expense of the other. One union strikes and another continues working—even signs collective agreements behind the picket lines. The original union principle “all for one and one for all” which was the solid strength and foundation of the movement in its founding years, is no longer operative in the rat-race conditions now prevalent.

Real unity can never be achieved while the present class-collaborationist policies remain dominant. The unions will have to quit striving for “respectability” and trying to please the ruling class. They will have to become real organs of the working people and speak out authoritatively on behalf of the entire class. Class solidarity will have to be placed above the “sanctity of the contract” and the principle of “an injury to one is an injury to all” reinstated. When one union is in battle with the employer all should be participants in the struggle.

To become an effective spokesman of the unorganized as well as organized workers, and a staunch defender of their interests, unions must demand a universal minimum wage that will raise all incomes to a proper standard commensurate with the productive capacity of the nation’s economy. This will draw the unorganized into the struggle and, ultimately into the labour movement.

Many of the basic objectives which the unions must fight for are not obtainable in negotiations with individual employers. They can only be won from the employers as a class through the medium of their state administration—the

government. Political as well as economic strikes will have to become a part of the every day activity of the unions.

#### In Summary

An entirely new approach to negotiations is essential if the unions are to become real defenders of working class interests. Current leadership policy is to set so-called “realizable objectives” in negotiations. That means, to strive for a compromise on the maximum the employer will be willing to grant and the minimum the workers can be convinced to accept.

A new policy of setting working class demands which will be fought for until won must be substituted for to prevent class-collaborationist basis of labour-management negotiations. As old demands are won new objectives must be set and fought for. No agreement should ever last more than one year, with all union contracts to come due simultaneously. Collective agreements should be automatically cancelled when any important development, such as an increase in the cost of living, changes the basic economic and working conditions that prevailed when the contract was signed.

The unity and solidarity of the labour movement must take precedence over the sanctity of the contract with the employer at all times. When any part of the labour movement is in conflict with the employers all others must extend unqualified support regardless of contractual commitments to the employer.

Improved labour-management relations, a subject dear to the heart of the opportunist and the bureaucrat, is not something the unions should concern themselves with. The tale that labour and management have common interests is a myth. The capitalist strives to make the maximum possible profit from the worker, while the worker, in defense of his living standards, is compelled to fight for more of the product of his labour that is being appropriated by the capitalist. Between these two there can be nothing but eternal hostility and constant conflict. Labour peace means permitting the capitalist class to exploit labour and reap profits without hindrance. That is certainly in the interests of the capitalist — it is not in the interest of the worker.

Repudiate the policy of class collaboration. Formulate demands that are in the interests of the CLASS as a whole and not for the advantage of one section over another. Sectional demands weaken the unity and solidarity of labour. The ultimate objective of all our demands is for an end to capitalism and for labour to rule the earth.

## EDITOR FIRED



Barry Lord, a contributor to P.W., was fired as editor of “Arts, Canada” effective October 1st. Coming hard on the heels of his arrest during an anti-Johnson demonstration at Expo '67, there appeared no doubt that the firing was for political reasons. This is all the more certain since the circulation of “Arts, Canada” was on the increase while Lord was editor.

“Arts, Canada” will probably now return to its humdrum bourgeois existence and go into slow decline with extinction at the end of the trail.

# LETTER FROM MONTREAL

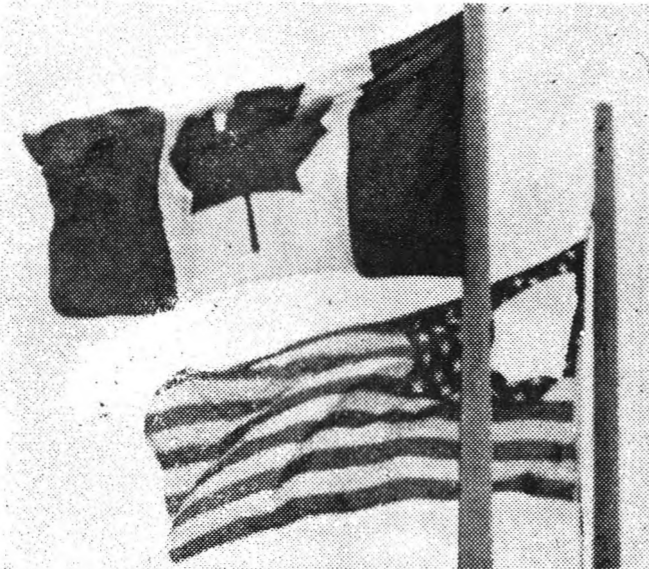
On May 25th, despite the Expo '67 "Gag Law" and a secrecy-shrouded visit by the President of the "most powerful nation in the world," a group of independent militants and P.W.M. members demonstrated their solidarity with Vietnam and opposition to the U.S. genocidal war.

Knowing how much the U.S. ruling class fear the people and aware of their methods to avoid demonstrations of protest, we began organizing a month in advance of the rumoured "sneak visit" on U.S. day at Expo. Johnson's visit was not announced until just two hours before his scheduled arrival in an attempt to forestall demonstrations.

Due to the shortage of time it was possible to get only ten people to the site, but this was sufficient as any larger group would have been spotted and "screened" by the secret police — many of them imported from the U.S.. The Place des Nations was crawling with F.B.I. and R.C.M.P. agents as well as Montreal City cops. We went in small groups, two or three to each section and sat in different areas. Johnson arrived and inspected the "Honor Guard." The U.S. and Canadian flags were raised to the masthead but on the U.S. flag where the stars should have been was a gaping hole. The U.S. flag was pulled down and the Canadian flag flew alone. Shouts of "Johnson Assassin" rang out and were heard by millions on TV and radio. The cops moved in and dragged us away:

The cops were told "Get them out of sight, we want to keep it quiet." Two were charged and, after being held a few hours, we were escorted off the Expo site. A few of the younger City cops expressed sympathy with our opinion of Johnson when out of hearing of the special agents.

A Toronto member of P.W.M. who had just arrived and was unaware of our action, was arrested when he greeted Johnson at the U.S. pavillion with shouts of "Bloody butcher!" and "Johnson, murderer!" In contrast to the reaction of some of the uniformed cops at the Place des Nations, the plain-clothes "subversive squad" brutally beat him up but stopped when there was a hostile reaction from the crowd.



(Gazette Photo Service)

Flag with gaping hole run up on mast

After being held for over 12 hours without charge (a common occurrence in Montreal) all were charged with "disturbing the peace" which carries a maximum sentence of \$500 fine and/or 6 months in jail. At the trial the defense lawyer questioned if they would have been arrested had they shouted in favour of Johnson. The decision will be given July 19. The outcome will not affect the struggle against U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

L. J. W.

# THE CENTENNIAL FIZZLE

When Canada celebrated 100 years of Confederation on July 1st the only fire was in the fireworks. You might say as a non-birthday it was an overwhelming success and all the "objective" reporting of the press lords cannot cover up what was essentially a dull and uninteresting occasion. What was most in evidence was the fact that the common people had little to shout about.

As we entered the second century of Confederation labour was faced with a mounting attack from the capitalist state by way of the courts. The use of injunctions was on the increase; more union men were going to jail for longer terms; and the use of scabs to break strikes was becoming more widespread under cover of the injunctions. Tougher struggles for an improvement of living conditions, and to ward off an impending crisis, were confronting the working people as the new century of Confederation dawned. The workers had nothing to cheer about on "Canada's birthday."

The native Indian groups used the occasion of the celebrations to protest the worsening of already intolerable living conditions imposed on them on and off the reserves — on the reserves by means of direct state oppression and exploitation and off the reserve by means of racial discrimination. At Vancouver an Indian spokesman at the official celebration which attracted 32,000 people spoke out strongly against the treatment meted out to Canada's original inhabitants. The flag-waving minority didn't think Canada's birthday celebrations should be taken advantage of to recite a list of long-standing grievances of the native Indian population against the ruling class that robbed them of their heritage.

At Montreal's Expo 67 also the Indians were very much in evidence. The Indian pavilion was a center of protest—more than a display of handicrafts. Chief Delisle of the

Caughnawagas, acting as spokesman for the Indians of Canada, personally stated the Indian protest to the Queen — a shocking affair, according to the experts on etiquette. Chief Delisle was not much perturbed about the outraged feelings of the bourgeois experts on what constituted proper respect for royalty. He was, however, disturbed and keenly disappointed over the lack of interest and of sympathy that the Queen clearly displayed in Indian affairs — and said so.



# STATEMENT OF INDONESIAN COMMUNISTS

In the issue of P.W. for March, 1967, we published a summary of a document prepared by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia (P.K.I.) following a discussion conducted in Central Java in August, 1966. The document was a critical examination of the work of the Party during the preceding 20 years and up to the disaster that overtook the proletariat and peasantry in the Nasution-Suharto counter revolution and the blood bath inflicted on Indonesia by the military-facist clique.

We are in possession of an additional and later document continuing the work of critically examining the past period and planning the future. Once again we present here a summary of the most essential points in this important document and, as before, we will put all direct quotes in quotation marks and that part not included in quotes will be our own summary. This article comes at a very opportune moment since we underwent the experience at a recently held forum in Simon Fraser University, British Columbia, of Communist Party (Revisionist) and Trotskyite spokesmen once again engaged in the gross indecency of heaping calumny on the Communist Parties of both China and Indonesia and blaming them for the slaughter of Indonesian progressives and revolutionaries—the victim is blamed for his fate. The documents of the P.K.I. are a fitting answer to the Revisionist and Trotskyite assistants of imperialist reaction.

## INTRODUCTION

The P.K.I. statement declares that those capable of continuing the struggle must engage in criticism and self-criticism as the only correct method of discovering shortcomings and mistakes in the theoretical, political and organizational fields, in order to rectify them.

The disaster which caused serious losses to the revolutionary movement has raised the curtain which for a long period had hidden the grave weaknesses of the P.K.I., whose leadership had engaged in adventurism, violated organizational rules and "involved themselves in the September 30th Movement which was not based on the consciousness and conviction of the masses". This had caused the isolation of the Party from the masses and the leadership adopted a right opportunist line by entrusting Sukarno with the fate of the party and the revolutionary movement. This marked the climax of the shortcomings and weaknesses of the P.K.I.

The Political Bureau states its awareness of the grave mistakes and the intention of paying serious heed to the criticism of cadres, members and sympathizers. The document then quotes Lenin on criticism and self-criticism: "The attitude of a political party towards its own mistakes is one of the most important and surest ways of judging how earnest the Party is and how it in practice fulfils its obligation towards its class and the toiling masses. Frankly admitting a mistake, ascertaining the reasons for it, analyzing the conditions which led to it, and thoroughly discussing the means of correcting it—that is the earmark of a serious party; that is the way it should perform its duties, that is the way it should educate and train the masses" (Left Wing Communism.)

The example of how to conduct criticism and self-criticism set by Comrade Musso in 1948 led to the re-establishment of the P.K.I. as the vanguard of the Indonesian working class. The inner Party struggle which took place during the rebuilding of the Party brought into being the new Political Bureau in 1951 which was re-elected by the Central Committees of the 5th and 6th Congresses. But experience up until the September 30th Movement has shown that this Political Bureau failed to implement the correction stated in "The New Road (resolution of August, 1945), and Committed serious deviations from Marxism-Leninism which resulted in the P.K.I. being unable to fulfil its mission as vanguard of the working class and leader of the liberation struggle.

The Political Bureau of the P.K.I. considers it necessary to make a complete analysis so as to enable all members to make a through study of the weaknesses and errors so that these will not recur again in the future. However, it is not easy to make a complete criticism and self-criticism while the terror rages; so in order to meet the urgent necessity, and

in order to facilitate the study during the current rectification, it is necessary to point out the main mistakes and weaknesses of the Party.

## MAIN WEAKNESSES IN IDEOLOGICAL FIELD

"The serious weaknesses and mistakes after 1951 had as their source the weaknesses in the ideological field, especially among the leadership. The source of these weaknesses is the petty-bourgeois class origin and the lack of knowledge of Marxism-Leninism among the Party leadership."

Indonesia is a country where small enterprises and individual farms abound and where the Party, consequently, is surrounded by a large petty-bourgeois class from whence comes many party members. These petty-bourgeois bring into the Party their ideas, habits and subjectivist and one-sided method of analyzing problems. It proceeds not from objective reality but from subjective wishes, feelings and imagination. A struggle against subjectivism did not succeed in completely eradicating this ideology from the Party. The 5th Congress, despite criticism, committed the same subjective error in adopting the General Elections Manifesto which put forward a program for the establishment of a people's democratic power through general elections. This constituted a "Leftist" error in that it went beyond the possibilities of the existing conditions and a rightist error because of its line that people's democratic power could be achieved by peaceful means in a general election.

Out of subjectivism grew right opportunism which merged with modern revisionism and became the main feature of the mistakes committed by the P.K.I. The rise and development of these weaknesses and errors were caused by the following factors.

a) Criticism and self-criticism in a Marxist-Leninist way was not developed in the Party. One example was the revoking of the Election Manifesto and its replacement by a program for a Government of National Coalition. But this was not followed by extensive criticism concerning the ideological root of the mistake because "the prestige of the leadership must be safeguarded." Consequently, the change failed to eradicate the opportunist position in relation to general elections within the framework of bourgeois democracy.

Rectification and study were not carried out seriously and persistently; the results were not properly summed up nor were they followed by appropriate measures in the organizational field. Study was aimed more at overcoming weaknesses among the rank-and-file and never at unfolding criticism and self-criticism among the leadership. Criticism from below was suppressed rather than listened to. Failure to promote criticism in the Party on one hand, and the low theoretical level of the cadres on the other hand, blunted the critical power and ideological vigilance of the cadres in general, and the leading cadres in particular.

b) Penetration of bourgeois ideology through contacts with the national bourgeoisie in the united front and through bourgeoisification of the Party leaders after the Party obtained posts in governmental and semi-governmental institutions. This is a situation which did not exist before the August Revolution of 1945.

c) Modern revisionism penetrated the Party when a report supporting the line of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. was uncritically approved and the objective of "achieving Socialism peacefully through parliamentary means" was adopted as the line of the P.K.I. This "peaceful road", a characteristic of revisionism, was reaffirmed at the 6th Congress of the P.K.I. when the following passage in the constitution was approved: "There is a possibility that a people's democratic system as a transitional stage to Socialism in Indonesia can be achieved by peaceful means, in a parliamentary way. The P.K.I. persistently strives to transform this possibility into a reality." This line was further emphasized at the 7th Congress and not corrected even when the Party became aware that the C.P.S.U. had taken the revisionist path.

Toward the C.P.S.U. leadership the P.K.I. leaders, who were tightly bound in alliance with the national bourgeoisie, took an unprincipled stand. This consideration did not start

from the independent interests of the proletariat but rather from the need to protect the alliance with the national bourgeoisie. Though the P.K.I. later criticized modern revisionism thus earning a respectable position among the ranks of the world Marxist-Leninists, they continued to maintain good relations with the C.P.S.U. leadership and the influence of revisionism was by no means eradicated.

This experience provides the lesson that criticism of the revisionism of the C.P.S.U. leadership alone does not automatically guarantee freedom from right opportunist errors. Revisionism is a concrete danger that has brought great damage to the Party and serious loss to the revolutionary movement of the Indonesian people. Therefore, modern revisionism must not be underestimated, a ruthless struggle must be waged against it. A firm stand can be maintained only when the Party abandons the line of "preserving the friendship with the modern revisionists."

... the P.K.I. while criticizing the modern revisionism of the C.P.S.U. leadership, also made revisionist mistakes itself, because it had revised Marxist-Leninist teachings on class struggle, state and revolution. Furthermore, the P.K.I. leadership not only did not wage a struggle in the theoretical field against other 'revolutionary' political thoughts which could mislead the proletariat ... but had voluntarily given concessions in the theoretical field. The P.K.I. leadership maintained that there was an identity between the three components of Marxism: philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism, and the so-called 'three components of Sukarno's teachings'. They wanted to make Marxism, which is the ideology of the working class, the property of the whole nation which includes the exploiting classes hostile to the working class."

#### **MAIN ERRORS IN THE POLITICAL FIELD**

The mistake of right opportunism in the political field include three problems: 1) the road to People's Democracy in Indonesia, 2) the question of state power, and 3) the implementation of the policy of the national united front.

Right opportunism reveals itself in the road to be taken to achieve people's democracy as a transitional stage to Socialism. It is in choice of road that a fundamental difference arises between Marxist-Leninists, who hold that proletarian revolution is the correct way and that in countries like Indonesia the stage of the people's democratic revolution must first be completed, and the revisionists who dream of achieving Socialism through the "peaceful road."

For 15 years from 1951, the P.K.I. conducted a legal and parliamentary struggle, a form of struggle that must be used by a revolutionary proletarian party only in a definite situation and under certain conditions. This form as carried out was, in the main, correct and in accordance with the objective conditions, these conditions being: the tide of revolution at low ebb, the driving forces of revolution not yet re-awakened and the people, who had never enjoyed political independence before 1948, still harbouring illusions and hopes of bourgeois democracy.

Certain results in political struggle and Party building were achieved at first. One important achievement was the formulation of the main problems of the Indonesian revolution as the present stage being a new-type bourgeois democratic revolution whose tasks were the liquidation of imperialism and all vestiges of feudalism and to establish a people's democratic system as a transitional stage to socialism. The workers, peasants and petty-bourgeoisie were the driving forces, the leading force being the working class, the principal mass strength the peasantry. The national bourgeoisie was a wavering force that might side with the revolution to a limited extent and at times betray it. The working class, in order to fulfil the role of leader of the revolution needed to form a revolutionary united front with other revolutionary classes and groups based on a worker-peasant alliance and under working class leadership. However, the Party had not intensively discussed or reached unity of thought on the principal means and the main form of struggle and this shortcoming developed into right opportunism and revisionism. It was a great mistake for a Party with such a historical mission to treat these questions as problems that concerned only the leadership and certain cadres and not the whole party. The result was the majority in the Party were rendered passive with regard to the most important problems.

While the leadership of the Indonesian revolution is the working class its small numbers preclude typical methods of workers struggle such as the general strike developing into armed insurrection. The experience of the Chinese Revolution shows the main form of struggle to consist of armed struggle against the armed counter-revolution. The essence of the revolution being agrarian in nature the people's armed struggle is the armed struggle of the peasants under working class leadership. The practice of the Chinese Revolution in the application of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of China and at the same time, the general law for revolutions of peoples in colonial of semi-colonial and feudal countries. The Indonesian Revolution must inevitably adopt this main form of struggle and follow the road of the Chinese Revolution.

This agrarian revolution must not be restricted to agrarian reform in the bourgeois fashion, paving the way for capitalist development in the countryside. It must liberate farm laborers, poor and middle peasants from feudal oppression by foreign or native landlords and confiscate and distribute the land. This can be victorious only when carried out under force of arms under working class leadership.

Following the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. the "peaceful road" was dominant and although it was said that "in defending the sovereignty of Indonesia the role of guerrilla warfare is of the utmost importance" yet in practice no effort was made in this direction. To cover their opportunism the Party leaders spoke of the "two possibilities"; the "peaceful road" and the non peaceful road. They contended the better the preparations for non-peaceful development, the greater the possibility for a "peaceful road". This attitude cultivated the hope for a peaceful road which did not exist in reality. In practice the Party, the working class, the masses were not prepared to face the possibility of a peaceful road. The massacre which followed the failure of the September 30th movement is the most striking proof of this.

Opposing those who urged a study of the Chinese experience the Party leaders put forward the "Method of Combining the Three Forms of Struggle" but instead of leading along the road of revolution each was led along the "peaceful road". When the peasants began to rise in unilateral action against the native landlords they were not encouraged to develop them into a higher form, but were diverted into actions that were not directed against the landlords, into such actions as the "New Culture Movement", the "Rat Extermination Campaign", etc. Thus the peasant movement was diverted from its correct orientation and became a reformist movement.

In the cities, despite deteriorating conditions, workers actions of political significance began to disappear because they lacked proper leadership. It is true that the take-over of enterprises belonging to Dutch, British and Belgian imperialists had political significance. "But the actual results of these actions were beneficial only to a handful of bureaucrat-capitalists and could by no means improve the living conditions of the workers concerned. Besides, since the Party leadership considered the former imperialist-owned enterprises that were controlled by the government as national property, further actions by the workers were restrained. Far too many activities were organized directly by the trade unions or through the Enterprise Councils aimed at increasing production, raising the workers efficiency, improving the economy, etc. which did not improve the living conditions nor heighten the revolutionary spirit of the workers."

"Proceeding from the erroneous view that the armed forces of the Republic are not reactionary armed forces working within the enemy's armed forces was interpreted as integrating the important organs of the state with the people, or strengthening the relations between the people and the armed forces. It plainly means integrating the instrument of violence of the oppressing classes with the oppressed classes. Such a grave error could occur because the Party leadership had deviated from the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the state." The error referred to here arose from an attitude that the Republic was not a bourgeois state and its army not an instrument of the bourgeoisie. It was forgotten that the armed forces brought into being by the August Revolution, had fallen into the hands of the reactionary bourgeoisie who now controlled state power. Even though

many in the ranks had worker-peasant origin, it could not alter the fact that the armed forces as a whole served the interests of the ruling classes.

After the failure of the August Revolution the P.K.I. leadership adopted an opportunist line that spread amongst the people illusions about bourgeois democracy. The leaders failed to educate the working people so they could understand the class nature of the state or to arouse their consciousness that the struggle for liberation necessitated superseding the bourgeois state by the people's democratic dictatorship through revolution. Beginning with 1952 the P.K.I. supported various administrations with a view toward drawing the national bourgeoisie back into the national united front. Subsequently the P.K.I. adopted practices which meant abandoning its position as a proletarian party with an independent attitude toward bourgeois governments and failed to discharge its task of exposing bourgeois democracy. Even worse, instead of using parliamentary struggle to accelerate the political obsolescence of parliamentarism it strengthened the parliamentary system.

The P.K.I. adopted a tactical program demanding the establishment of a Government of National Coalition which ultimately took the form of a demand for a co-operation cabinet with Nasakom as its core. This promoted the illusion that under the bourgeois dictatorship, where no armed forces of the Party existed, it would be possible to set up a government of all democratic elements that would facilitate the accomplishment of strategic aims. Propaganda for a people's democratic state was relegated to the background in a way that impeded the development of the revolutionary consciousness of the working people. The climax of this deviation from Marxism-Leninism was the formulation of the "theory of two aspects of state power". (Editor's note: This question was dealt with at length in our March issue).

To clean itself from the mire of opportunism this "theory of two aspects of state power" must be discarded and the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the state be re-established.

The national united front, which was neglected in the August Revolution of 1948, was placed at the centre of Party work in the period following 1951. The 5th National Congress decided and the 6th Congress reaffirmed, that the building of a national united front constituted the most urgent Party task. From neglecting the national united front in the forties the leadership swung to the opposite extreme and regarded it as the number one question.

The main theoretical problem of the united front was solved at the 5th Congress which pointed to the worker-peasant alliance as the basis. "With regard to the national bourgeoisie a lesson had been drawn on the basis of the experience during the August Revolution that this class had a wavering character. In a certain situation, the national bourgeoisie took part in the revolution and sided with it, while in another situation they followed in the steps of the comprador-bourgeoisie to attack the driving forces of the revolution and betrayed the revolution. Based on this wavering character of the national bourgeoisie the 5th Congress of the Party decided to make continuous efforts to win the national bourgeoisie over to the side of the revolution. The Party must follow the policy of unity and struggle toward the national bourgeoisie."

Due to the subjectivism the Party was dragged into serious mistakes, to such an extent that its independence was lost in the united front with the national bourgeoisie and Party and proletariat became an appendage of the bourgeoisie. The process along with which these mistakes developed can be traced as follows:

In the rebuilding of the Party in 1951 the national bourgeoisie was won to the side of the people by utilizing the contradictions between the national and the comprador bourgeoisie. But the Party was still weak and the worker-peasant alliance was not yet established consequently the united front was not formed upon the strong foundations of the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class.

This united front was highly appraised by the leadership who declared that it "opened up possibilities for the building of the Party and for the realization of the immediate tasks of the Party." This appraisal gave rise to the formulation that the fostering of the national united front was the most

urgent task—a formulation that clearly indicated that by national united front the leadership meant first and foremost the united front with the national bourgeoisie.

Why could the national united front with the national bourgeoisie be maintained where no strong worker-peasant alliance existed? There were two reasons. First, because the national bourgeoisie, in their contradictions with the comprador bourgeoisie, needed the support of the working class. Second, because the Party gave the needed support without arousing the apprehensions of the national bourgeoisie that their position was in any way threatened.

The administration formed under the united front pursued an anti-imperialist policy to a certain extent and gave little freedom of action to the Party and revolutionary organizations. But the situation was favourable to Party building, especially in the countryside. However, in the course of co-operation with the bourgeoisie, the ideological weaknesses in the Party grew and were influenced by the bourgeois ideology. This gradually deprived the Party of its independence in the united front and led to too many concessions being given the national bourgeoisie.

The attitude toward and evaluation of Sukarno was a manifestation of the loss of independence. Conflict with Sukarno was avoided and the similarities and unity between him and the Party over-emphasized. There was no policy of Sukarno that was not supported by the Party, and he was accepted as "the great leader of the revolution" and the leader of the "people's aspect" in state power. Party leaders often stated the struggle was based not only on Marxism-



SUKARNO

Leninism but also on the "teachings of Sukarno" and that the Party made rapid progress because it realized Sukarno's idea of Nasakom unity.

Abandonment of principle in the united front developed further in the so-called "General Line of the Indonesian Revolution" that was formulated as follows: "With the national front having the workers and peasants as its pillars, the Nasakom as the core and the Political Manifesto as its ideological basis, to complete the national democratic revolution in order to advance toward Indonesian Socialism". This so-called "General Line" had not even the faintest smell of the revolution because, from the three pre-conditions to win the revolution, namely; a strong Marxist-Leninist Party, a people's armed struggle under the leadership of the Party, and a united front, only the united front was retained. Even then, it was not a revolutionary united front because it was not led by the working class.

The Party must correct this error, reject the erroneous "General Line", and return to the correct conception of a revolutionary national united front based on the worker-peasant alliance and under the leadership of the working class.

It was said that overthrowing imperialism was the primary task and from this came the slogan of "placing class interests under national interests". This error made it impossible to build a strong worker-peasant alliance, despite the spreading influence of the Party in rural areas. Because, under the slogan of "overthrowing imperialism is the primary task" all contradictions among the classes, including the

contradictions between landlords and peasants had to be subordinated to the "main contradiction"—the contradiction between the people and the imperialists.

Except in west Trian the imperialists did not hold power directly since the August Revolution of 1945. Political power was in control of comprador and landlords who represented imperialist and feudal interests. In addition, no imperialist aggression was in progress in Indonesia. In this situation, provided the Party did not make political mistakes, the contradiction between the ruling reactionary classes and the people, would develop and sharpen, constituting the main contradiction in Indonesia. The primary task of the revolution now is the overthrow of the rule of the reactionary classes who represent the interests of the imperialists. Only in this way can the liquidation of imperialism and feudalism be realized.

Correcting mistakes made by the Party does not mean a united front with the national bourgeoisie is not necessary. "So long as the economic structure of Indonesia is still colonial and semi-feudal in nature there will always be some strata of the bourgeois class who suffer from the oppression by imperialism and the bounds of the vestiges of feudalism. On the basis of the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class, our Party must work to win the national bourgeois class over to the side of the revolution".

The above were the main Right opportunist errors which developed into revisionism and reached a climax on the eve of the September 30th events. When the Right deviation had become complete there emerged its opposite; a "Leftist" tendency which manifested itself in an overestimation of the strength of the Party, an exaggerated appraisal of the results of the people's struggles and an underestimation of the strength of the reactionaries.

Political victories were won: Expulsion of the U.S. Peace Corps, boycott of American films, the seizure of British-owned enterprises, against U.S. aggression in Vietnam, etc. In some districts peasants started actions to win reduction of rents. Reacting to these victories of people's struggles, the reactionaries in collusion with U.S. imperialism intensified their activities, creating provocations against workers and peasants, spread forged documents, etc.

The estimation of an "increasingly mounting and ripening revolutionary situation" was an erroneous one. Even with the take-over of the British-owned enterprises and the anti-imperialist and anti-bureaucrat-capitalist that took place in rapid succession it could not be said to have reached the stage of a revolutionary situation. The demands raised were essentially still in the framework of partial demands or reforms and actions by the peasants, the main force of the Indonesian revolution, had not yet reached a higher stage nor widely spread. "The conclusion on the 'over ripening revolutionary situation' was nothing but the result of a method of thinking which regarded subjective wishes, feelings and imagination as reality." Party leaders feared to see realities that differed from their subjective wishes and they were displeased when regional committees or other organizations reported that mass actions fell short from the conclusions drawn. To please the leadership exaggerated assessments of mass actions were made—peasant actions in particular.

The leadership attempted to prod the "ever ripening revolutionary situation" into becoming a revolution was stressed in the Political Bureau Statement of August 17, 1965. This called on the Communists to work harder in pushing "the present revolutionary situation forward to its climax" so that the people can achieve fundamental victories. This was the climax of the "Leftist" mistake which dragged the leadership into adventurism which brought a great disaster on the Party and the revolutionary movement.

#### **MISTAKES IN THE ORGANIZATIONAL FIELD**

The Party's erroneous political line was accompanied by an equally wrong organizational line. The longer the wrong political line ruled the greater the mistakes in organization and the greater the losses caused by them. Political Right opportunism was followed by liberalism and legalism in organization. This organizational line manifested itself in the tendency toward loose organization and a striving after a large membership, which was called a mass Party.

The mass character of the Party is not determined solely by the large membership but primarily by the close ties link-

ing it to the masses and by its political line which defends the interests of the masses or, in other words, by the implementation of the Party's mass line, and this mass line can only be maintained when the prerequisites determining the Party's role as the advanced detachment are firmly upheld, when the Party members are made up of the best elements of the proletariat who are armed with Marxism-Leninism. Consequently, to build a Marxist-Leninist Party without giving primary importance to Marxist-Leninist education is impossible.

The expansion to 3 million members was a great achievement but at the same time liberalism was growing. Everyone who expressed agreement with the Party program could be accepted as a member. It became increasingly difficult to distinguish between a Party member and a member of a mass organization led by the Party.

This liberal expansion could not be separated from the political line of the "peaceful road". The large membership was intended to increase Party influence in the united front and effect a gradual change in the balance of forces making it possible to completely defeat the reactionary forces with a Party that was constantly growing bigger. In place of the education and training of Marxist-Leninist cadres stress began to be laid on the education of intellectuals to serve the needs of the work in the united front with the national bourgeoisie, and to supply cadres for the various positions in state institutions that were obtained through co-operation with the national bourgeoisie. What was done was the drawing of cadres from the countryside to the cities, from the regions to the centre, instead of sending the best cadres to work in the rural areas.

"The deeper the Party plunged into the mire of opportunism and revisionism, the more it lacked organizational vigilance and the more extensive legalism developed in the organization. The Party leaders had lost their class prejudice towards the falsehood of bourgeois democracy. All the activities of the Party indicated as if the 'peaceful road' was an inevitable certainty. The Party leadership did not arouse the vigilance of the masses of Party members to the danger of attacks by the reactionaries who were constantly on the look for a chance to strike. Due to this legalism in organization, within a short span of time counter-revolution had succeeded in paralyzing the Party organizationally."

Liberalism destroyed the principal of internal democracy, destroyed collective leadership and gave rise to personal rule. Democratic centralism was replaced with commandism based on the subjective wishes and interests of the leadership.

The Party leadership built their own organizational channel beyond the control of the Political Bureau which was often limited to endorsing the actions taken by the leadership and had to consider problems with only a fragmentary and superficial knowledge of them. A lack of critical attitude toward the leadership led to a situation where everything the leadership said was regarded as being right.

The Party leadership failed to integrate with the working masses. Many Party cadres had reached a standard of living which was far above that of the working people. They enjoyed the same facilities as the regular high-ranking officials of the government. There was even introduced a tradition of central and regional leaders of the Party and mass organizations being given an official government post so as to enjoy higher prestige and become not only Party prominent but public figures as well. This way of life was not comparable to that of the masses but like that enjoyed by the bourgeoisie. This style was accepted and justified under the slogan "raising the prestige of the Party". Some leaders even got bogged down in decadent bourgeois morals.

"In such a situation, how could the integration with the masses be realized? The appeals to combat complacency, be a good and still better Communist, create a Communist family, etc., served only as a smoke-screen to hide the hypocrisy and the moral degradation among the Party leadership."

Instead of examples of Communist simplicity in both Party and personal life at the centre one found only examples of extravagance and grandeur. A deaf ear was turned to criticism which was branded as "backwardness", "failure to raise the prestige of the Party", etc.

The party must be rebuilt as a Lenin-type Party that will be capable of fulfilling its role as the advanced detachment and highest form of class organization of the proletar-

iat. Such a Party must be armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, free from subjectivism, opportunism and revisionism; politically, it must have a correct program; organizationally, it must have deep roots among the masses and consist of the most trusted, experienced and most steered members who are an example in the implementation of the national tasks.

The task of rebuilding a Marxist-Leninist Party requires arduous and protracted work, and is full of danger, and consequently it must be carried out courageously, perseveringly, carefully, patiently and persistently.

#### **THE WAY OUT**

First we must realize the most urgent tasks facing us at the present time, the first one being the rebuilding of the Indonesian Communist Party free from subjectivism, opportunism and modern revisionism. To rebuild such a party cadres must achieve unanimity of mind with regard to the mistakes of the past as well as concerning the new road to be taken. We have lost many cadres of long experience in Party and mass organization work. However, stable leadership will be established at all levels, step by step, from among surviving cadres who will be capable of leading the Party and the Indonesian people to overcome difficulties one by one during this period when counter-revolution reigns and the tide of revolution is at low ebb.

There must be a rectification movement through which we will remould the erroneous ideas of the past into correct ideas. We must advance along a new road which means we must first completely abandon the old road.

It has been pointed out that the opportunist and revisionist mistakes made by the Party were not due merely to the outcome of the social and historical conditions of the last decade, they can be traced back—to the founding of the Party. We must, therefore, reject the notion that everything will be alright once we have criticized and self criticized. So long as the ideology of subjectivism is not completely eradicated, or if it is still found among the leadership, then we will not be able to avoid other mistakes of Right or "Left" opportunism because, in that case, we will not correctly analyze the political situation and so will not be able to give correct leadership. It is above all necessary to combat subjectivism persistently, at all levels. We will be successful in this when the whole Party is able to distinguish proletarian ideology from the ideology of the petty-bourgeoisie and when criticism and self-criticism is encouraged. To achieve this we must intensify Marxist-Leninist education so that subjective analysis and evaluation can be avoided.

The Party will be able to hold aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism only when it takes a resolute stand in the struggle against modern revisionism which is centred around the leading group of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This fight cannot be consistently waged if, at the same time, we maintain friendship with the revisionists. Loyalty to proletarian internationalism can only be manifested by a merciless stand in the struggle against revisionism, because revisionism has betrayed proletarian internationalism and betrayed the struggle of the proletariat and oppressed people all over the world.

In rebuilding the Party in Indonesia it will be necessary to pay attention to the creation of conditions to lead the armed agrarian revolution that will become the main form of struggle to win victory for the people's democratic revolution. This means that the greatest attention must be given to rebuilding the Party in the rural areas. We must solve the problem of arousing, organizing and mobilizing the peasants in an anti-feudal agrarian revolution. In order to lead the peasants we must integrate the Party with them and particularly with the farm labourers and poor peasants.

Due to the fact that the terror has inflicted great damage in the rural areas our task is rendered more arduous and difficult. But this does not alter the fact that the main force is the peasantry and its base in the countryside. With faith in the masses, by relying on the masses, we will certainly be able to transform backward villages into military bastions of the revolution.

The second task at present is the creation of conditions for proletarian leadership of the armed agrarian revolution. Provided we arouse the peasants in anti-feudal agrarian revolution working class leadership in the people's democratic

revolution is assured. However, we must continue attempts to establish a revolutionary united front with other anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes and groups. We must work to win over the urban petty-bourgeoisie as an additional ally. Present objective conditions offer the possibility of establishing a broad revolutionary united front.

The military dictatorship is the manifestation of the rule of the most reactionary classes in the country—the comprador-bourgeoisie, the bureaucrat capitalists and the landlords, who guard the interests of imperialism. Consequently, the army generals will certainly intensify suppression and exploitation of the people by imperialism and feudalism. These military dictators represent the interests of only a small minority who suppress the overwhelming majority of the people. That is why they are certain to meet with resistance from the broad masses. Resistance is also bound to arise from the ranks of the armed forces. It is clear then that it is possible to establish a broad front in the struggle to smash the military dictatorship.

The present situation is different from that which prevailed during the second white terror. Not all of the middle forces have joined the counter-revolution, the left wing, having been made a target of attack by the reactionaries, is rising up in resistance. The number of middle forces resisting the dictatorship is increasing daily and the Party must seek a united front with them. Thus, the third urgent task is the establishment of a revolutionary united front with all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes and groups based on working class leadership.

We are confident of the correctness of Mao Tse-tung's thesis "the imperialists and all reactionaries are paper tigers". The dictatorship of the right-wing army generals is also a paper tiger. No force on earth can prevent the total downfall of imperialism and all other reactionaries. The military-fascist watchdogs guarding the interests of imperialism in Indonesia will also be unable to avert their destruction. The savage torture and massacre of hundreds of thousands of Communists and democrats will not be able to prevent the people from rising up in resistance. On the contrary all the brutalities and cruelties will only serve to intensify the struggle.

"The tasks faced by the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists are very arduous. They have to work under the most savage and barbarous terror and persecution which have no parallel in history. However, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists do not have the slightest doubt that, by correcting the mistakes made by the Party in the past, they are now marching along the correct road, the road of people's democratic revolution. No matter how protracted, tortuous and difficult, this is the only road leading to a free and democratic New Indonesia that will really belong to the Indonesian people. For this noble cause, we must have the courage to traverse the long road."



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



# PEOPLE'S VICTORIES IN VIETNAM

During the last Winter and Spring, the South Vietnam people and armed forces recorded the most glorious feats of arms. They have taken a further step in defeating forces consisting of one million U.S., satellite and puppet troops along with all their strategies and tactics.

This was pointed out in a communique of the Command of the Liberation Armed Forces on the military victories of the South Vietnam armed forces and people in the Winter and Spring of 1966-1967.

We reprint the communique in full below—EDITOR

"To date, our South Vietnam armed forces and people have been striving for seven months to carry out the appeal issued by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Liberation for a victorious Winter-Spring.

This was a period when the U.S. aggressors with the greatest numerical strength and abundance in weapons took the most perfidious and cruel acts in an attempt to implement a great perfidious strategic plan dubbed the "two pronged" plan.

But was also the period when our South Vietnam armed forces and people bringing into full play revolutionary heroism and overcoming great difficulties and obstacles, fought fierce battles and won unprecedentedly big victories:

1. According to still incomplete data, in seven months from October 1966 to April 1967, our South Vietnam armed forces and people annihilated 175,000 enemies (comprising 70,000 U.S., 15,000 satellite and 90,000 puppet troops). The enemy units wiped out comprised 49 battalions and corresponding units, among them 27 infantry battalions (8 U.S., 1 Pak Jung Hi and 18 puppet battalions), 16 armoured



squadrons (15 U.S. and puppet) 5 U.S. artillery battalions, 1 puppet engineering battalion, 230 companies, among them 225 infantry companies (71 U.S., 9 Pak Jung Hee and 145 puppet), 5 U.S. artillery companies and 352 platoons.

The war means destroyed by our armed forces and people include: 1,800 aircraft shot down or destroyed 3,985 military vehicles of various types, among them 1,785 armoured cars, 100 ships and combat launches, 340 artillery pieces, 2 trains, 31 locomotives and 60 wagons destroyed.

Our armed forces and people also annihilated 200 military posts, 6 military subsectors, and destroyed 270 bridges.

In comparison with the Winter-Spring of 1965-1966, the enemy casualties in the Winter-Spring of 1966-1967 were up by 60,000, the number of naval craft destroyed nearly quadrupled, that of armoured vehicles destroyed increased by more than five times and a half. And if compared with the total enemy strength at the beginning of the Winter-Spring (September 1966) our armed forces and people annihilated nearly one fourth of U.S. and satellite troops, nearly one fifth of puppet troops, more than one fifth of the number of enemy battalions, nearly half the number of craft and nearly 70 per cent of the number of armoured cars.

2. By continual attacks and violent counter attacks our armed forces and people smashed all enemy operations, big and small, and inflicted on the aggressors very heavy losses.

Right at the beginning and during the last Winter-Spring the Liberation armed forces mounted powerful assaults, skilful ambushes and violent shellings on all theatres of operation had wiped out many main force units of U.S., satellite and puppet troops. One enemy battalion after another was knocked out in over 15 provinces and not a single month passed without scores of enemy companies and platoons being wiped out.

Our armed forces made deep and strong thrusts into a series of logistic bases, airfields, stores, sectors, subsectors, provincial and district towns and positions which are part of enemy complexes of bases, annihilated many enemy effectives and at the same time destroyed great quantities of war means, a major part of the enemy's rear area offered thus no security and many highway were cut or threatened. 25 airfields were subjected to a total of 46 attacks. Enemy military bases in big cities, provincial towns and subsectors as Saigon, Hue, Bac Lieu, Ben Tre, Thu dau Mot, Phan Thiet, Kontum, Hoi An, Quang Tri were made targets of the attacks of our armed forces. It is to be noted that many places inside Saigon and its periphery and the airfields of Bien Hoa, Tan Son Nhat were attacked, which resulted in heavy losses for the aggressors, the big ammunition depot in Long Binh and the traffic on the Long Tau River were attacked again and again, big amounts of ammunition and many naval craft were destroyed. The Pleiku and An Khe airfields were not spared. The airfields of Da Nang, Chu Lai and ammunition depots in Quang Nam... were also subjected to repeated violent attacks which resulted in heavy damage.

The most salient feature is that our people and armed forces in Quang Tri, Thua Thien and many other places from the plain to the mountainous areas launched continual attacks on the enemy while he entrenched himself in his bases as well as while he ventured to go out into contested areas or into our bases. We attacked the aggressors on highway and inflicted on them heavy defeats, driving them to a passive position and ignominious quagmire. To the great joy of our South Vietnam people and liberation armed forces, the heroic people's army powerfully shelled the U.S. heavy artillery positions in Gio Linh, knocking out thousands of U.S. aggressors as punishment for their frantic artillery bombardments against the North.

Wherever the U.S. troops came and established an enclave they fell at once into a network of arrows, bullets and booby traps of the guerillas. The belts for wiping out G.I.s are wearing down the American forces.

In addition to attacks on the enemy, our people and armed forces mounted fierce counter attacks. According to still incomplete figures from October 1966 to March 1967, the U.S. and puppet troops started thousands of operations involving one battalion or more in an attempt to destroy our bases and wear down the liberation armed forces, and also to support the "pacification" teams. Besides, mention should be made of tens of thousands of one or two company operations. Most of these were prolonged and unprecedentedly fierce ones.

In particular many operations were carried out on the largest scale. In addition to 60 operations of division entrusted size, the enemy launched three operations of field army size. In all important operations, the U.S. troops

16 played the main role while the puppet troops entrusted with

auxiliary duties accounted only 10 to 30 per cent of the total strength involved. Recently the U.S. aggressors tramping underfoot international law made a new serious step in intensifying and expanding the war: they sent some ten thousand troops into the demilitarized zone. South of the Ben Hai river to massacre our countrymen and threaten North Vietnam.

However all operations conducted by the U.S., puppet and satellite troops were defeated by the combined fight of our main force units, regional troops and guerillas. It is noteworthy that our armed forces and people dealt them the



South Vietnam Liberation Army men active in the Dong Thap Muoi region on their way to launch a surprise attack on the U.S. aggressors.

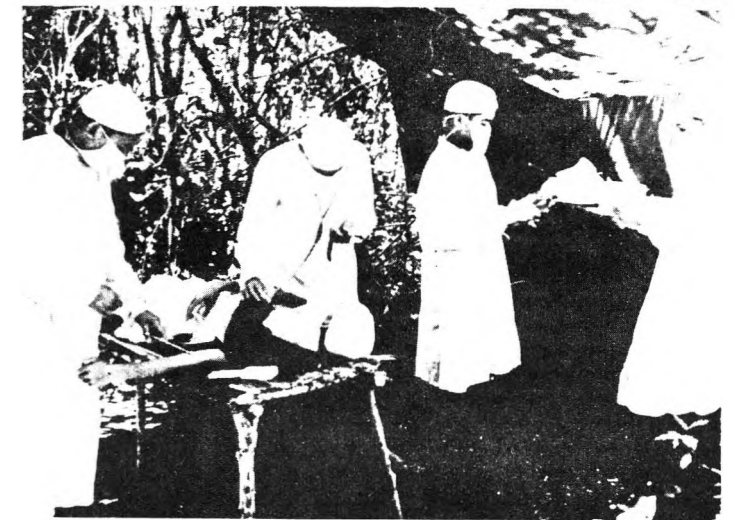
most telling blows and inflicted on them the heaviest losses right in the areas considered the most important ones, where they mustered big forces and big amounts of war means, and nurtured great ambitions: the area North of Saigon, the plains of Quang Ngai and Binh Dinh, the Sa Thay river valley in the High Plateaux, the Northern part of Quang Tri province, etc. In particular, North of Saigon in the so called "iron triangle" and war zone C, they launched successive major operations but all were defeated: Attleboro, Cedar Falls, Gadsden, Tucson and Junction City. The last operation which was the biggest and most important one in the last dry season as well as the whole process of the war ended in the heaviest and most thorough defeat the enemy has ever sustained.

Confronted everywhere with the continual attacks and counter attacks of our armed forces and people, the U.S. and puppet troops not only could not get out of their more passive position in the field of operations and combat, their forces were stretched thin everywhere, the figure of 20,000 G.I.s turned out not to be enough, the disposition of their troops was upset.

They planned to bring one U.S. division into the Mekong delta, but managed to send in only one brigade. Several U.S. brigades dispatched from the High Plateau to the plains of Central Trung Bo had to be brought back. Three U.S. brigades which had suffered heavy losses at the hands of our armed forces and people in Central Trung Bo and the Eastern Nam Bo had to move hurriedly to Quang Nam and Quang Ngai, from where the U.S. marines were sent to Quang Tri and Thua Thien to be beaten by our armed forces and people.

3) Our armed forces and people defeated the rural "pacification" program to which the U.S. aggressors and their puppets attach the great importance in 1967. Under the enemy plan, 90 per cent of the puppet army, part of the U.S. and satellite troops and big amounts of money are to be devoted to this and the program is to be carried out in an extensive and perfidious way, closely combining military attacks with rural pacification. Their purpose was to destroy the guerrilla movement, to wreck our political bases, to win over the population, to occupy part of our densely populated and rich liberated areas, to cause additional difficulties to our

resistance war, and at the same time to gain some political and military assets. In this rural pacification campaign the U.S., satellite and puppet troops have acted in the most savage and inhumane manner, which aroused indignant condemnation from the whole of mankind. In some places they conducted operations involving tens of thousands of troops to forcibly regroup the people. They used all kinds of barbarous weapons to massacre and intimidate civilians and destroy the means of livelihood: B-52s, steel pellet, napalm, phosphorous and magnesium bombs, flame throwers, toxic chemicals, etc. They burned down whole forests, razed to the ground entire villages and district towns with bombs and bulldozers, exposing hundreds of thousands of our countrymen to misery and diseases. Marching behind the bayonets and rifles of U.S., puppet and satellite troops are 40,000 pacification agents, with their deception, terrorization and coercion. But the brute force of the enemy was unable to shake the dauntless spirit of the heroic South Vietnamese people and the valiant liberation armed forces. On the contrary with the increased vigor instilled by deep hatred, our people and armed forces meted out to them well deserved punishment. We inflicted heavy losses on the enemy in the course of many operations of support for "pacification" teams. In operation "Cedar Falls" 3,000 troops were annihilated mainly by the rispoite of regional troops, militiamen and guerrilla's. In Ben Tre, Long An and My Tho our armed forces and people inflicted heavy losses on the American aggressor. Lately the U.S. and puppet troops who entered the Southern part of the demilitarized zone to regroup the people suffered 2,000 casualties in only 4 days. By using puppet troops for "pacification" work, the U.S. aggressors nourished the hope that they might escape the fierce blow of our armed forces but over the last 7 months, 20 puppet battalions and 145 puppet companies were wiped out. Our people and armed forces, especially regional troops and guerrilla's have combined armed activities with political struggle and political agitation among enemy troops and destroyed many "pacification" agents and teams. According to still incomplete figures in 3 months (from December 1966 to February 1967) we wiped out about 5,000 of them. Many compatriots who had been forcibly settled in enemy controlled areas left the concentration camps to return to their native villages. In the Mekong delta, a U.S. priority target for "pacification", our countrymen still live and fight dauntlessly under the banner of the Front. Generally speaking, although the enemy could at times and in some places cause difficulties to our compatriots in their life and production work, but the whole enemy program of rural "pacification" has sustained heavy



Liberation Front surgeons carrying out operation in jungle.

failure. Our liberated areas are still maintained, and even broadened in Quang Tri and Thua Thien. The U.S. rulers in Saigon and Washington have had to admit this defeat.

In a word, over the last 7 months, the U.S. aggressors tried to take advantage of the dry season which offered very favourable conditions for their military activities. They used 400,000 U.S. troops—double the figure for the last dry

season—along with large quantities of modern weapons to strike at us in numerous fields in an attempt to win significant successes to reverse the tide which was more and more unfavourable to them, to secure a position of force and to impose on us a surrender in the frame work of some political settlement or to go on intensifying and extending the war of aggression. But the greater their ambitions, the heavier and more thorough their defeat, their "two pronged" plan has sustained heavy initial failure. Their hopes have been frustrated, their situation is worsening, they have been driven to more passivity and are more seriously bogged down. The pursuit of their "two pronged" plan is encountering more and more difficulties.

In contrast, during the last Winter-Spring, emulating North Vietnam, our great rear to which we are linked by ties of close union, and coordinating our activities with it, our South, Vietnam people and armed forces showed a very firm determination, they did not flinch at acute difficulties, they fought bravely, launched continual attacks and recorded the most glorious feats of arms. We have taken a further

## PROGRESS IN BRAZIL

If the title of this article appears to our readers to be a bit strange it will be due entirely to the fact that we got it from a reasonably happy capitalist. It was the title given an address which Mr. J. Grant Glassco, President, delivered to the shareholders of Brazilian Light and Power Company Limited at the Annual Meeting in Toronto on June 20. For Mr. Glassco and his company the situation in Brazil undoubtedly spelled "progress".

Up until quite recently Brazilian Light owned the telephone operation in Brazil as well as the hydro-electric system. A short time ago we were regaled with stories about the "seizure" of the telephone service by the government of Brazil. On this point Mr. Glassco's report makes very interesting reading indeed. Mr. Glassco cited two factors responsible for an improved financial position; one was "reasonable" electric rates, and the other, "discontinuance of unprofitable telephone operations and the earning of interest in 1966 as the result of the sale of the telephone properties. So it turns out that the "seized" property was a white elephant that a benign government took off the company's hands and assured them a handsome profit in the process. Mr. Glassco expressed great pleasure at the result.

For this "unprofitable" venture the military dictatorship paid Brazilian Light \$96 million, the purchase price to be spread over a 20-year period. \$65 million of this amount is to be reinvested in Brazil. The balance of \$31 million, which is to be paid free of any obligation to invest, according to Mr. Glassco's report represents full recovery of the company's capital investment in the telephone system. The balance represented a \$65 million gift to Brazilian Light from a grateful government. And by the time interest is calculated over the 20-year period the total involved in the deal will probably be closer to \$200 million. It is no wonder that Glassco said of the Fascist dictatorship: "The new government of Brazil took office three months ago, dedicated to the same objectives of recovery and development . . ."—the recovery and development of Brazilian Light, of course.

As indicated above Mr. Glassco expressed satisfaction with the "reasonable" electric rates. "The system of rate regulation", he reports, "is being administered fairly and efficiently." When Glassco considers the rate regulations "fair" you can be sure that the consumer is being fleeced. A new, unified rate schedule which came into effect on May 1st drew particularly favourable comment from Brazilian's President. The outlook is favourable—so favourable indeed that Glassco was able to forecast capital investments annually of \$50 million and, at the same time, express confidence that such enormous expenditures could be met "without restricting a reasonable dividend policy." Of course Mr. Glassco is counting on the reactionary government maintaining "law and order" while he reaps his enormous profits. We think he is over-optimistic and his confidence is misplaced — the people of Brazil will never tolerate the military dictatorship long, and the dreams of Mr. Glassco will burst like an over-inflated balloon.

step in defeating both enemy strategic schemes as embodied in their "two pronged" plan. We have taken a further step in defeating the enemy strategic forces consisting of one million U.S., satellite and puppet troops along with all their strategies and tactics. We have won victories against enemy infantry, modern weapons and techniques and all new tricks of theirs. Our forces are getting ever stronger and more powerful as the fight goes on.

The U.S. aggressors are still stubborn and are hatching many new schemes. They will intensify and extend the war at an accelerated tempo. 1967 is of the most important significance in the resistance of our people and armed forces. Let the liberation armed forces main force units, regional troops and guerillas realize this significance and pushing forward their victories, launch continual attacks on the enemy, completely smash his "two pronged" plan, and win even greater victories for the sake of the lofty and sacred cause of liberating the South, defending the North and achieving national reunification."



Another rather interesting point comes to light as a result of Mr. Glassco's address. Recently the Trotskyite League for Socialist Action have been seeking out "reasons" why they should not participate in the struggle against a very real enemy—U.S. imperialism. Finally they came up with a solution to their problem when they declared the actual enemy of the Canadian working class is Canadian imperialism. One of the "facts" cited to "prove" that Canada is an imperialist nation was the existence of Brazilian Light which they declare to be a Canadian imperialist investment. Now Mr. Glassco comes along with his report to blow down their house of cards.

Complaining bitterly of the "evil effects" the application of the Carter report on taxation would have on a company like Brazilian Light, Mr. Glassco stated: "Because a large proportion of our shares are now held by non-residents of Canada, the exposure of our income, already taxed in Brazil, to further taxation in Canada, with shareholders taxed on dividends by both Canada and the country of residence of foreign shareholders, would, in the aggregate, represent an intolerable burden." Underlining the extent of foreign holdings in the company and also the implied threat to move the base of operations, Mr. Glassco went on to say: "We believe that the corporate home for an international group of investors entering the utility business in Brazil has been of real benefit to Canada and that our continued presence in this country cannot but be advantageous."

Our readers may remember how P.W. reported some months ago, when Brazil was in turmoil before the present military-fascist regime took power, Brazilian shares took a tumble and large blocks were bought at a low price by an unidentified buyer in New York. We said at the time this mystery buyer must have had inside knowledge of the fascist coup about to happen in Brazil. It would appear safe to bet that control of Brazilian Light now rests securely in the U.S. and the only thing "Canadian" about the company is the office space it rents in Canada—and there is a good chance that too is Yankee owned. So much for the Trotskyite mirage of "Canadian imperialism". However, it is always much safer to shadow box in a corner with an imaginary opponent than to get into the ring with real live opposition that might fight back.

The address of Brazilian Lights president discloses one more item of more than passing interest in view of the apparent U.S. control of the company. The president regretted that, owing to tax laws, it was not considered wise to distribute large reserves to the shareholders so it was decided to invest a considerable portion. One million shares of John Labatt Limited were purchased at \$21 per share. It may well be that this purchase will be sufficient to ensure U.S. control of the Labatt firm through the shares held by Brazilian Light and other shareholders in the U.S.

Mr. Glassco's report to his shareholders contained some very interesting items indeed.

## CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

In the first part of this article, published last month, some of the premises of Zionism and misconceptions about Israel's role in the recent middle-Eastern war were examined. In this concluding article, I would like to turn to a discussion of the Arab world, and attempt to show why, as progressive people, we support the Arab peoples and condemn Israel for its aggression and expansion.

The Middle East contains some 60 per cent of the world's proven oil resources, and its potential reserves are believed to be much larger. This economic fact is central to an understanding of the actions of British and American imperialism in the area. The greatest part of this oil is owned by giant international cartels such as the Anglo-American Oil Co. (the majority of whose shares are owned by the British Government), the Standard Oil Co. (controlled by Rockefeller) the Gulf Oil Corp., and others. Billions of dollars annually are taken out of the oil fields of the Persian Gulf by such companies.

Since the end of World War II, American control of the Middle Eastern oil has replaced to a great degree that of the dwindling British Empire. The Saudi-Arabian oil fields are owned by the Arabian-American Oil Co. (Aramco), a merger of several giant American oil companies which is backed not only politically, but financially, by the U.S. government. Aramco has a 66-year monopoly on an area of 440,000 square miles (about one-sixth of the area of the United States.) For some years, oil has accounted for the largest share of American industrial investment abroad. Obviously, any political developments in this vast area are the direct "business" of the American big bourgeoisie.

With the exception of a handful of reactionary rulers, nothing of the massive fortunes made in the area goes to the people who live there. The giant oil companies operate as a government unto themselves, dealing with the kings and shiekhs within their economic empires. The oil concession agreements generally limit the sovereignty of the local government by stipulating that the government cannot exercise any control over the business operations of the company. The companies are also generally relieved of local taxation. Thus, little or none of the benefits from their main source of wealth goes to the Arab people.

It was in Saudi Arabia in particular that the Americans were successful in pushing out the British and establishing a powerful sphere of influence in the Middle East. However even if there was no oil in the Middle East at all, its strategic importance would undoubtedly attract the American imperialists. The Middle East is the land bridge between Europe, Asia and Africa, as well as the location of the Suez Canal. The U.S. replaced Britain as the dominant power in Israel after World War II and attempted to do the same elsewhere, with varying success. In the Truman Doctrine the American objective was clearly stated. Turkey (along with Greece) was to become a centre of American financial and military penetration. The Doctrine had the effect of strengthening the American position in the entire Middle East and accelerating the conversion of the oil empire into a gigantic war base.

Throughout the 1950's the U.S. (and to a lesser extent, Britain) made a series of attempts through subversion and more outright pressure to bolster its strategic interests in the Middle East. These attempts increased the anti-imperialist sentiments of Syria and Egypt, as did the Suez affair and the Eisenhower Doctrine of 1957, in which the American Government declared that what was needed in her foreign policy was to "defend the Middle East against the aggression of states controlled by international Communism." The Lebanese, Jordanian and Saudi Arabian governments allowed themselves to become open "allies" of the U.S. and condemned Cairo and Damascus for "opening the door to the spread of communism". They were rewarded, as all U.S. puppet governments are, with American money and arms, but were widely condemned by the other Arab states. The price they paid was high, as it has been for other American puppets. In May, 1958, civil war broke out in Lebanon; two months later the pro-Western Iraqi monarchy was liquidated

in a military coup. In September, 1957, concerned that Syria was "slipping toward Communism", the Americans encouraged their stronghold, Turkey, to mass its troops on Syria's border. Five months later, Syria united with Egypt to form the anti-Western United Arab Republic. After the Iraqi coup of 1958 eliminated Britain's position in that country, the U.S. landed troops in Lebanon and Jordan to forestall a "chain reaction" of political overthrow of reactionary regimes. Although the imperialist ambitions of Britain and the U.S. competed and clashed in the Middle East, the two countries frequently form a united front against their common enemy, Arab progress and Arab interests.



Israel's top warmaker, General Moshe Dayan, paid a friendly visit to the U.S. aggressor forces in Vietnam last fall. After a five-week front-line observation tour, he did his bit for imperialism by offering his advice on how the U.S. could best reach its goals.

In 1961, after a conservative domestic coup, Syria seceded from the U.A.R. The self-styled "socialist" Ba'ath Party of Syria quickly regained control, but talks of union between Syria, Iraq (also ruled by the Ba'ath Party) and Egypt in 1963 came to nothing. Today the Arab countries are no closer to uniting, except on the question of Israel's threat to them, despite the many proponents and statements of pan-Arabism, and it is undoubtedly true that before any true international unity can be achieved, each state must solve its own problems and become independent. There is no real unity between unequal nations. Today, in a broad sense, the countries whose governments are limitedly progressive and anti-imperialist (Egypt, Algeria, Iraq, Yemen and Syria) stand in opposition on questions of Arab interest to the regimes of Saudi Arabia's King Feisal and Jordan's Yankee darling, King Hussein.

The peoples of the Arab world have been plundered and betrayed by their feudal leaders and by European and American imperialism. In the years to come they will have a long and difficult struggle to free themselves from the reactionary tentacles of these forces and to lift themselves from their poverty and backwardness into a strong, free and independent people. They deserve our full support in their struggles, as does the Palestine Liberation Organization in its just claims for the displaced peoples of Palestine.

Their struggles against imperialism have been made im-

measurably more difficult by the creation and support of a strong imperialist stronghold in their territory. By fully cooperating with American interests in the Middle East, Israel does much of the American Governments dirty work for it, in return for unlimited military and financial support for



Arab Refugees: One more chapter in same old story

its own aggressive campaign against the Arab people. Israel's main propaganda defence for its actions is the reiteration of the Jewish people's suffering under Germany's Fascist government. In closing this article, it is necessary to point out how closely similar Israel's present stand is to the tactics of the Fascist government they officially abhor.

**1. Government Persecution of a Racial Minority.** The Arab people in Israel are discriminated against in employment. They are segregated into Arab villages and city ghettos. They have to have special permission to travel, to buy land, etc. They are generally regarded as a "fifth column" and

treated accordingly with suspicion, hatred and discrimination. The Arab peoples outside Israel, including those driven from their homeland by the Jews, are considered inferior people and their misery elicits only indifference and contempt.

**2. Economic Problems.** In recent years, the economy of Israel has been in serious shape. The payment from the German war reparations is now completed and the Zionist fund-raising organizations were finding it increasingly difficult to pry the former huge donations for Israel out of the Jewish communities abroad. The rate of inflation had reached 10 per cent a year. Most serious of all, the immigration to Israel had declined to 12,000 in 1966, while in the same year 11,000 left the country. By January, 1967 100,000 workers in Israel were unemployed, more than 10 per cent of the labour force. Class struggles were sharpening and there was serious disunity in the country. The situation was ironically reminiscent of Germany in the 1930's. Like Germany, Israel tried to solve her problems through war.

The country was united by the war. Unemployed workers were taken into the army. Vast amounts of new territory were seized. And last but not least, billions of dollars once again poured in through the Zionist fund-raisers for the "defence" of Israel.

There is no longer any doubt that Israel was fighting, not in defence, but to put an end to the developing struggle within her country by seizing territory to give the Israeli ruling class a new lease on life. In the captured territory, Israeli military governments were set up and "terrorists" and political enemies were herded into the Atlit P.O.W. camp south of Haifa. The United Nations obligingly resumed feeding the conquered peoples, relieving Israel of that chore, and also agreed to resume feeding, housing and medical care of the 400,000 Palestinian refugees in the captured Jordanian territory. This kind of cooperation encourages Israeli expansion very strongly and makes it easy for her to exercise her ambitions over the captured Arab people. Small wonder that Ahmed Shukairy, head of the Palestine Organization, suggested that for the defence of the people of the world against imperialism and aggression a counter United Nations, including China, should be set up.

There is every indication that Israel plans to continue to hold her captured "lebensraum", and every indication that the imperialist countries will back to the limit this aggressive policy. The conviction in Israel that the Jews are a "special people" to whom common political morality does not apply, plus her successful aggression against her "racially inferior" neighbours, augurs ill for the future of the people of Israel.

We condemn the designs of the government of Israel and of the U.S. government which backs it. We support the anti-imperialist aspirations of the Arab people.

## YEMEN FIGHTS BACK

There is an old saying "It never rains but it pours," and just about now the Social-democratic managers of England's tottering empire must be thinking that they are being cursed with permanent rains of monsoon proportions.

Battered and bleeding from their encounter with the workers of Hong Kong, the Labour Government suddenly found themselves being hit hard from another quarter when large-scale fighting erupted in the oil-rich "protectorate" of Aden, inflicting a number of casualties on the occupation army. Oil pipe lines and storage tanks have been blown up, resulting in the loss of large quantities of oil.

The Wilson government has announced that "independence" will be granted the "South Arabian Federation" on the 1st of January 1968. But both the independence and the "Federation" to which it is to be granted, are fakes created by the imperialists in a desperate effort to shore up their crumbling power in the Middle East. Unable to rule any longer in the old way the British collected a nondescript band of Sheiks "representing" tiny concessions from which they extracted fabulous wealth while acting as agents and hangers-on for Britain. These Sheiks have been herded together, under the protection of British guns, into the so-called "South

Arabian Federation" and will be granted "independence" British troops will continue to occupy the territory to "maintain stability" and to protect the "independent" rulers from the wrath of their outraged subjects.

The Front for the Liberation of South Yemen has denounced the "independence" scheme put forward by the "Labour" Foreign Secretary, Brown and has called for armed resistance and the expulsion of the British occupation forces in Yemen territory.

Policeman and Arab troop in the British controlled puppet forces revolted, freed political prisoners and, together with units of the armed people, seized the Aden district of Crater and held it for ten days. The outbreak among police and troops was a great shock for British authorities. A Sheikh who was a close and important collaborator of the British, and his bodyguard, were wiped out in a guerilla action staged under the noses of the British troops.

The British Government has been flying in large contingents of reinforcements but, seeing they are being hit on all sides at once, their position is already untenable and deteriorating by the hour.

# COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA—46 YEARS



Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Biao on the Tien An Men rostrum.

On July 1st, and in the midst of all the vigour and enthusiasm of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the people of China celebrated the 46th anniversary of the founding of the great and glorious Communist Party.

Just two weeks before the anniversary day dawned there came the announcement that China had exploded her first hydrogen bomb, an announcement which left the imperialists and revisionists in a state of permanent shock for they had counted on their blockade preventing China from progressing with such giant strides in the field of nuclear weaponry. They failed to pay heed to Chairman Mao Tse-tung, when he pointed out as far back as June 1958 that China could make a hydrogen bomb within 10 years—so they were taken by surprise when the task was completed well within the specified time.

It happens then, on this 46th anniversary of the founding of the Party, that China, under the leadership of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, has presented to the oppressed and struggling people of the world an anniversary gift of a mighty weapon in the fight against imperialist aggression and for freedom and peace. No longer will the revisionists and imperialists be able to carry on their conspiracy for a nuclear monopoly; no longer will they be able to threaten, scare and blackmail the hungry and down-trodden of the earth. Ever more strongly will ring out China's absolutely correct demand for the total destruction and abolition of all nuclear weapons. We greet China's outstanding achievement on the eve of the 46th anniversary of the Communist Party and hail the addition of this new and powerful weapon to the arsenal of the revolutionary peoples.

Anyone having knowledge of the history of the Communist Party of China and its great leader and spokesman, Mao Tse-tung, would not have lightly dismissed the prediction that a hydrogen bomb would be made within 10 years.

Starting its long march with but 57 members, and harassed and hunted by the forces of the state from its very first day, the Party has gone through years of the most difficult, protracted and complicated struggles in the history of revolution. By heroic sacrifice the Party and its brilliant leader has aroused, inspired and led the Chinese people in turning a poor and backward, semi-feudal, semi-colonial and battle-scarred nation into a prosperous and vigorous socialist state of more than 700 million people. It is the Chinese Party, with its vast experience and profound knowledge gained in struggle, that holds high the banner of proletarian revolution and proletarian internationalism in the fight against imperialism and its ally, modern revisionism

The Communists of China have defended Marxism-Leninism against the fierce attacks of the revisionists and given powerful support and inspiration to the revolutionary movements of the whole world and have become the main bulwark of the international Communist movement.

In the period of the Democratic Revolution, Chairman Mao Tse-tung led the Party in criticising and repudiating right and "left" opportunism and in integrating Marxism-Leninism with the Chinese Revolution. Led by Chairman Mao the party guided the masses in armed struggle and defeated Japanese and U.S. imperialism and their flunkey Chiang Kai-shek. After fierce and bloody struggle the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat was founded. Speaking of this period Chairman Mao said:

"The development, consolidation and bolshevisation of our Party have proceeded in the midst of revolutionary wars; without armed struggle the Communist Party would assuredly not be what it is today."

On the completion of the Democratic Revolution, the right opportunists in the Party tried to halt at that point and build capitalism. However, Chairman Mao pointed out the correct course, the right opportunist line was rejected and the Party and people advanced from the Democratic Revolution to the Socialist Revolution without interruption. In just a few years Socialist collectivisation of the land and Socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce was, in the main, completed.

But this victory did not herald the end of classes and class struggle. Under the Krushovite renegades the Soviet Communist Party turned into a revisionist Party and the first Socialist state turned into a state under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. In China some elements in positions of authority in the Party attempted to follow the path of Krushov toward the restoration of capitalism. The question now facing the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists was; "How could the party avoid becoming a revisionist Party? How could it guard against the country changing its political colour?"

Chairman Mao Tse-tung provided the necessary ideological armament for the revolutionaries of China when he summarized the experience of the class struggle in Socialist society and the experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the world. He drew particular attention to the lessons to be learned from the usurpation of power by the Krushovite revisionists in the Party and state of the Soviet Union, and put forward theories and policies to prevent the Party and state in China from following a similar course.

In a most comprehensive, systematic and scientific way, Chairman Mao expounded the theory of classes and class

contradiction in Socialist society. Of this subject he wrote: "During this stage of history, classes, class contradictions and class struggle continue, the struggle between the road of Socialism and the road of capitalism goes on and the danger of a capitalist restoration remains. It is necessary to heighten our vigilance. It is necessary to undertake Socialist education. It is necessary to have correct understanding of the problems of class contradictions and class struggle and to handle them correctly, to distinguish between the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves on the one hand and those among the people on the other and to handle them correctly. Otherwise a Socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite, it will degenerate, and there will be a come-back."

In order to prevent China from experiencing the same descent into revisionism and capitalist restoration Mao Tse-tung advocated that class struggle be carried out in a penetrating and comprehensive way throughout the Party and the country. He advocated a Socialist education movement and the reorganization of the revolutionary class ranks in order to repulse attacks by capitalist and feudal forces. Tens of millions of successors to the revolution must be cultivated and trained in the storm of class struggle, said Chairman Mao, and in the past few years he continued to develop the theory of making revolution under dictatorship of the proletariat. The main target under the dictatorship, he pointed out, is the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. In the guidance of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution the writings and directives of Mao Tse-tung constitute a milestone in the development of Marxism-Leninism and indicate that a new era of Marxism has been reached—the era of the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was initiated and led by Mao Tse-tung for the purpose of overthrowing the handful of people in authority taking the capitalist road who had wormed their way into the party. By launching the Proletarian Cultural Revolution, smashing bourgeois ide-

## ON ABSOLUTE TRUTH

Truth: the correspondence of human knowledge with its object. Dialectical materialism conceives of truth as the developing reflection in the human consciousness, of eternally evolving reality. Materialism and idealism differ not only in respect to the question whether mind or nature is primary but also in respect to the question whether our perceptions and conceptions can be taken as a true reflection of reality. Dialectical materialism considers knowledge as a historically developing process of ever deeper and fuller comprehension of the laws of evolution of nature and society a process which attains to a more and more nearly complete and accurate reflection of reality. Philosophical agnosticism denies the possibility of genuine knowledge of the objective world. Agnosticism holds that nothing is given to us except subjective sensations, and that consequently it is impossible to determine whether an external world exists or not. Proceeding from a recognition of objective reality outside of us and its reflection in our consciousness, dialectical materialism recognizes objective truth. That is, believes in the presence in human sense impressions and concepts of a kind of content "that does not depend either on a human being or on humanity." (Lenin, Selected Works, Vol. XI, p. 185.) Lenin sharply attacks the reactionary, anti-scientific character of all theories which deny objective truth. Dialectical materialism asserts that the reflection of the material world in our consciousness bears a relative, conditional, historically limited character, but at the same time it does not regard such a character as a justification of subjectivism or "relativism" as that term is usually employed. Dialectical materialism recognizes the relativity of our knowledge, not in the sense of a denial of objective truth, but in the sense of the historical limitations of the approximation of our knowledge to this truth. In this way, the absoluteness of objective truth does not signify that this truth is ever expressible as a finite sum of knowledge, as a completed whole beyond which nothing remains. Truth is absolute precisely

ology and fostering proletarian ideology, by carrying the revolution to the end, it will be possible to prevent the nation and the Party from degenerating into revisionism and changing political colour.

The Cultural Revolution, contrary to the claims of its detractors, has been carried out under the direct leadership of the Central Committee of the Party headed by Chairman Mao. It has firmly established the fact that the vast majority of the Party members are good and solid revolutionaries.

The Communist Party of China has travelled a long and tortuous journey, survived many fierce battles against the enemy both within and without. During all the years, from the day of its creation until now, the Party has been led through every battle by the brilliant Marxist-Leninist, Mao Tse-tung. In these past years of struggle and turmoil Chairman Mao was often under attack by the enemy but as he himself has said it is good to be attacked by the enemy, it proves you are on the right road. Now in this period of the Cultural Revolution its great leader is once again under attack, even more vicious than before, by the enemies of the Proletarian Revolution and the Proletarian Dictatorship. Foremost in the ranks of the attackers are the revisionist renegades led by the Soviet ruling clique. Let these dogs bark as the caravan passes, they will not succeed in deflecting the revolution in China a single inch from its chosen path.

It is a most profound revolution the Party and the people of China are carrying out. They are charting paths never before travelled. We are confident that the Chinese Party, steeled in battle, equipped with the knowledge and experience gained in protracted struggle and, above all, guided by the most brilliant Marxist-Leninist of our day, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, will lead the people of China to victory in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution—that China will never change its political colour.

Long live the great and glorious Communist Party of China!  
A long, long life to Chairman Mao Tse-tung!

because it possesses no final limits, is continuously evolving, and proceeding to ever higher and newer levels of development. These levels in the development of absolute truth in themselves represent relative truths. However, each relative truth reflects, although but partially, the objectively existing reality. And in that sense each relative truth includes within itself a portion of absolute truth.

Thus the solution of the problem of truth in dialectical materialism is not to be identified with that of relativism. The latter interprets the relativity of truth subjectively in the spirit of agnosticism, which denies in principle the possibility of a knowledge of objective truth, and sets up boundaries to human knowledge limiting it to the study of the sphere of sensations. Dialectical materialism, although it asserts the relative character of each separate concrete truth and denies the possibility of attaining the complete truth about matter at any one (historically limited) moment, sets up no boundaries to human knowledge, but, on the contrary, proves its unlimited possibilities. Truth is always concrete, inasmuch as time, place and circumstances are germane to everything. Marxism denies the existence of abstract truth in the sense of something finished for all time and demands a concrete historical approach to the explanation of phenomena.

Philosophical thought before the time of Marx vainly disputed over the solution of the problem of truth, as it considered knowledge outside of practice, outside the activity of historically conditioned individuals who are always dealing with their surrounding conditions and endeavoring to control and change them in the pursuit of their interests. Practice represents the source of knowledge and the criterion of its validity. Dialectical materialism thus emphasizes the significance of practice in the process of knowledge, as the link between the subjective idea and the objective truth, which it conceives in terms of the evolution of nature and society.

## A LETTER FROM DR. BETHUNE

**Editors note:** We publish below the second in the collection of Bethune letters we came across in the possession of Rewi Alley in Peking. This one is on the newly established "Peoples Foreign Relations Association and is addressed to one of the founding members, Dr. Ma Hai Teh (Dr. George Hatem).

Sheng Yin Kou (Shansi)  
Chin-Cha- Chi Military District  
Sept. 30 1938.

Dr. Ma Hai Teh,  
Dear Comrade:

Your undated letter (why in hell don't you date your letters!) received Sept. 15, 38. As it was accompanied by another from Dr. Sun, of August 10, 38 I take it that yours was written about the same time. Your letter contained much information about which I am very much interested.

I am glad you have had the films developed and sent to Canada. In future however we intend to develop the films here as we have received some photographic material from Tientsien and we have an excellent photographer. We will send you for the use of the Peoples Foreign Relationship Association, prints of our stuff. While I am on this subject, I might as well go on and tell you about our Publicity Bureau. If you have access to my report to General Neih, of August 23, 38 (a copy which was sent to comrade Mao Tse-tung) you will see that I advocated the establishment of a department to collect and rewrite articles for the domestic and foreign press and not to rely on the reports of such observers as Hanson, Brown, and Lindsay or others coming to our district, However sympathetic they may or may not be.

The matter was taken under consideration and the arrival of your Sept. 15, telling of the Yen-an Association, was sufficient to spur us on to action.

A publicity bureau has now been formed; the first meeting was held Sept. 26 to consider plans of organization. At that meeting, attended by the four members of the Bureau, namely - Comrade Tung (my interpreter) was elected chief of the Bureau with special charge the literary and educational field and to act as liaison officer between the Chinese section of the Bureau and the English section; Comrade Teng of the Political Bureau attached to General Headquarters, was appointed in charge of the political and mass organizations section; Comrade Sha, formerly of the county press, and now photographer appointed to General Headquarters, was appointed in charge of the military section and photographer of the Bureau; I was appointed as in charge of the English section, with special attention to hospitals, public health, etc.

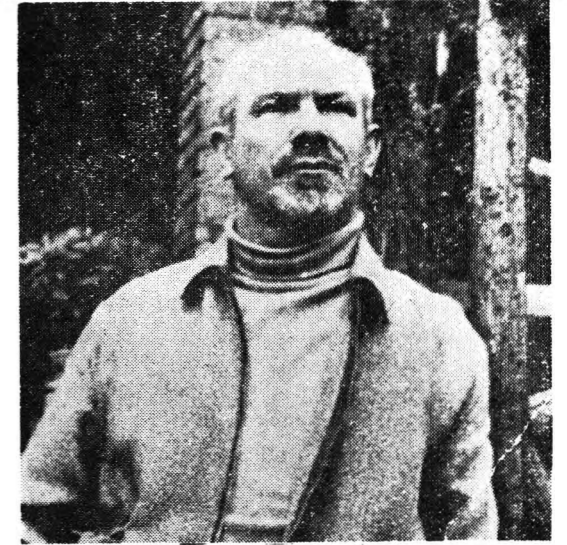
The name of the Bureau was chosen as "The Chin-Cha-Chi Branch of the Peoples Foreign Relations Association of Yen-an". It should be noted that we consider ourselves as a branch and not as an independently Acting Bureau. Only by centralization of the collection and placement of information will overlapping and non-utilization of the domestic and foreign fields be prevented. Yen-an is the logical place for such centralization. We intend to supply Yen-an with the material we collect. At the same time, we will offer suggestions as to its placement to the central association, if we consider such called for.

We suggest that a very careful analysis of the fields be made by the Yen-an Association, both in China and abroad, with special attention to the liberal bourgeois press, magazines and periodicals. Of course our own press should be supplied also.

It was decided to call a conference of the press, the Government, and the mass organizations, to discuss the appointment of our representatives of all departments in the District including the Army. This conference has been called for in one week.

Tentative plans for an office staff were made. In particular, each member of the Bureau pledged himself personally to write at least one article a month, in addition to the collection of more material we want to know what is going on in the entire district and to tell the world about it. If the

Yenan association wants at any time, "special" articles on different phases of our activities we will try and supply such demands. It was suggested that our plan be adopted for a dozen other districts in China where the activities of the



Norman Bethune

Party and Army are permitted to be known.

We have made plans to buy a movie camera to take films of the Army and Partisans, also a collection of photographs to form a travelling exhibition. We badly need an enlarger and large size printing paper. Could you get this in Sian for us?

Has anything been done about my suggestion for a travelling projector of movie films to come from Canada to tour the district? I ask this because I have received no mail from Canada for several months—no letters or papers and am cut off from the world!

Please send me some books in English. I have read all I possess a dozen times.

Later . . .

Owing to the critical military situation (we are being attacked by large concentrations from the south, west and east) the conference has been postponed. Our lovely new model hospital on which we spent so much care and work, has been evacuated to the east, and is now a divisional hospital.

The Japanese are within 55 li of us. I am standing by to proceed to the front as a Mobile Operating Unit. Expect to move up (that is to near Wutai) tomorrow. A determined attack is apparently being made on Wutai City.

I have just time to enclose a speech on the opening of the Sun Yat Sen Model Hospital (Sept. 15) and a copy of a letter I wrote to a friend of mine last month. I am sending a copy of my address to Toronto and New York (the Canadian and American C.P.) in case you think of using it. It accompanies my monthly report and was written not with publication in view, unless they thought fit.

Your association might use it if considered suitable—also the letter, which is nothing out of the way, but I enclose it as a sample, if your association would like more of the same type. Comrade Tung will send more on the Model Hospital. Frankly I have been so busy getting this Model Hospital on its feet, writing two books on surgery and medicine; a weekly medical bulletin to the front line medical service and doing 115 operations this month, that I have but little time left for writing letters and articles.

Having a great time! Only wish I had an assistant. What the hell is that damned American Committee doing? Why don't they send me help?

With comradly greetings to all.  
Remember me to Li Teh.  
Salute,  
Norman.



Long live victory! Woodcut

**HOW LONG?** By Rewi Alley

Scornfully  
the big boned, brawny  
sneer, "How can  
these thin ones  
in black pyjamas  
resist us? Our  
caloric intake is  
four times theirs;  
we eat, drink, wear,  
carry the most  
expensive of everything;  
the world  
is our world;  
today  
our day; we are  
the most tremendous  
thing yet conceived!  
The war? Well, better  
you just forget it;  
give in, negotiate;  
all we want is for you  
to love us, so we can get  
all we want at whatever

price we name."

A movement amongst  
green leaves; no, those  
are not branches; they  
are bare legs and arms  
that now drop lightly  
to the ground beneath;  
big brown eyes glance  
curiously at the enemy dead  
and on to prisoners  
wearily weeping with  
nervous exhaustion;  
smashed helicopters  
send smoke spiralling  
through forests; two tanks  
lying on their sides  
in the valley bottom  
look like two dead  
turtles; fat boy, fat boy  
how long does it take  
to learn that Vietnam  
is the land of the  
Vietnamese.

Peking, Jan. 8th, 1966