

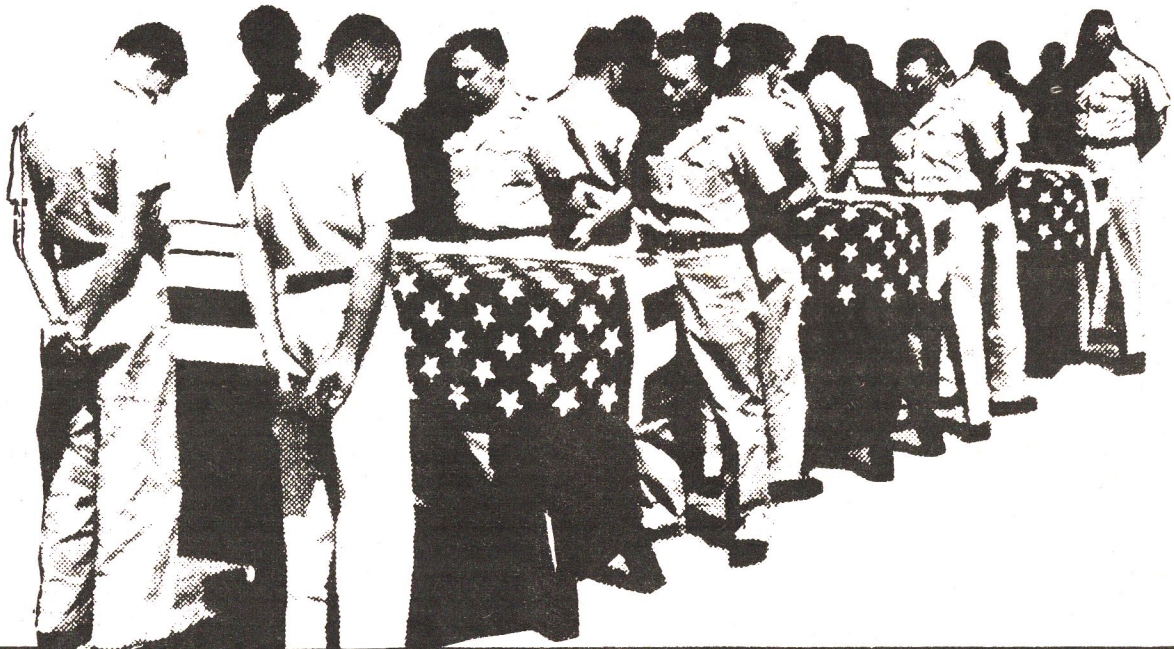
VIETNAM: IS CANADA INVOLVED?

Progressive Worker

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VIETNAM



**THE BEGINNING OF THE END
FOR U.S. IMPERIALISM!**

Progressive Worker

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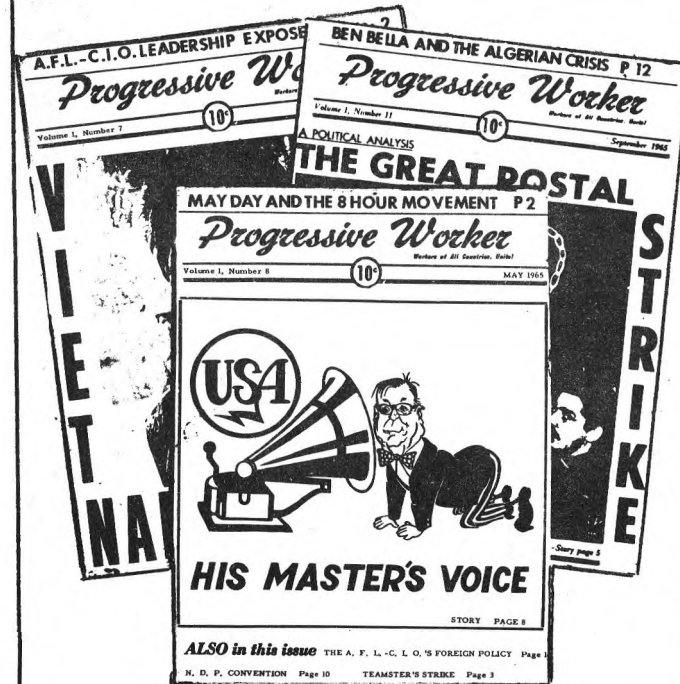
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Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung

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

— Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art

Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung

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MONOCREST AND THE CARPENTERS

There are several important lessons that can and must be learned from the struggle that has taken place in Monocrest. This is especially so since the matter has by no means been settled. The question of jurisdiction has been referred to Carl Goldenberg, C.L.C. bureaucrat, as arbitrator, and there is still a strong possibility that Goldenberg will render a decision in favour of the Carpenters, thus precipitating a new round of battles—this time with the Carpenters being fortified with the moral victory of an arbitrator's ruling. This is a possibility which the workers at Monocrest and the rank-and-file members of I.W.A. must be prepared for.

Monocrest has once again underlined the point that craft unions are neither able nor willing to organize and lead the workers in modern industrial plants. The Carpenters had jurisdiction in Monocrest for several years but failed to organize the workers so they would be equipped to defend their interests. Wages in the plant were extremely low and working conditions were deplorable. But Carpenter's Union officials showed not the slightest interest in the fate of the workers concerned even though they were receiving less than a living wage in a plant that was supposedly under the protection of the Carpenter's International, a union which is prone to boast of its great power and influence.

It was into this deplorable situation that the I.W.A. stepped with a message of hope for the workers—industrial unionism and the opportunity to fight for better conditions. The Monocrest workers responded to the call of the I.W.A. and demonstrated their readiness to fight behind correct leadership. The I.W.A. is to be congratulated and is deserving of every support in their effort to bring the benefits of militant industrial unionism to the super-exploited section of the workers. Trade unionists in British Columbia should make it quite clear they will not accept any reversal of the workers' decision to unite in the I.W.A., even if that reversal should be sanctified by the decision of a so-called "impartial arbitrator" ruling in favour of the craft union.

The anti-worker attitude of the Brotherhood of Carpenters became an open secret as a result of their reaction to the I.W.A. entry into the plant. This so-called "union" which had made no attempt to aid the workers, and which had sat for years on a dormant agreement, immediately engaged in a spate of frenzied activity in an effort to impede the workers' attempts to improve their working conditions through their organized strength in the I.W.A. Not the least of the activities of the Carpenters' Union officials was the supplying of scabs to Monocrest for the purpose of breaking the strike called under I.W.A. leadership. This strikebreaking activity was extended to the construction field where officials of still another Carpenters' local hid from the construction workers the fact that the kitchen cabinets they were installing were being produced behind a picket line. Such activities are considered to be all in a day's work by the bureaucrats of the International Craft Unions who are in the service of a foreign-controlled movement and who strongly oppose any effort of Canadian workers to exercise control over their own affairs.

One additional lesson to be learned from developments at Monocrest if we examine it is the role of those leading members of the Communist Party of Canada who have managed to secure for themselves well-paid positions in the international trade union bureaucracy. These fake "radicals" make loud speeches about "autonomy", "militant trade unionism", etc., but in practice they side with those who engage in strikebreaking and in bullying the workers. Monocrest has provided additional evidence of this fact because the carpenters' organization in B.C. is under strong influence of these C.P. officials who pretend to be militants. Lorne Robson, a leading figure in the District Council of Carpenters, and in the Building Trades Council which supports the Carpenters against the I.W.A., is one of the leading lights in the back-room conspiracy against the workers' interests. The workers in the plant will need to be on their guard against such characters who will come around talking about the "need for unity in the international unions" and slandering those who

fight for Canadian Unions for Canadian Workers. Their scabbing role has been thoroughly exposed—have nothing to do with them.

Standing firm and united in the I.W.A., the workers can beat both the bosses and the craft union bureaucrats—there must be no sell-out under cover of an arbitrator's decision. Trade unionists should pledge their solidarity to the workers at Monocrest and the I.W.A.

Wage Rates at Monocrest:

Carpenters \$1.50 base; I.W.A. \$1.95 base. The I.W.A. got 25 cents an hour retroactive to May 1st before the strikers returned to work. This meant cheques of \$200.00 and over to workers at Monocrest.

TRADE UNION PROGRAM

10c



N.L.F. STUDENTS IN CANADA

by Donna Mergler

"Are the 5 points of the FNL and the 4 points of the DRV negotiable?"....."No, one cannot negotiate ones independence — ones liberty."

Quotation from an interview with NLF student representatives.

Last month three warm, friendly South Vietnamese students addressed a meeting of union leaders, RIN members, PSQ members, UGEQ executive members and other assorted individuals of Montreal, s left. Notably absent, were members of the Trotskyite L.S.A. The meeting was held at the office of Quebec's Union Generale des Etudiants. It was UGEQ who had invited the Vietnamese delegation to visit Quebec and speak to the Quebec students. An interesting parenthetical remark is that the Canadian government only allowed the Vietnamese to visit Quebec even though a similar invitation had been received from C.U.S.

The Vietnamese students are leaders of the Union des Etudiants Pour la Liberation. They explained the situation in Vietnam to the assembly. They began by explaining the heroic history of the Vietnamese people in their fights against foreign invaders. They were the only people to have defeated the Mongols... then the Chinese... followed by the French... the Japanese... and the French again..."and we will now defeat the Americans!"

For six years, following the ousting of the French at Dien Bien Phu, in 1954, the disbanded Vietminh did not pick arms against the reudal terror of the Diem regime. The fight began spontaneously in the Mekong Delta—far from the borders of North Vietnam. The people of Vietnam could no longer put up with the torture and terror. From these initial uprisings the Front National de la Liberation was formed. It is a front organization of more the 24 parties ranging from Parti Democratique, a party of petit bourgeois and intellectual to the Parti Marxiste-Leniniste. Any group that supports the armed struggle for national liberation is welcomed... there are Buddhists for Liberation and Catholics for Liberation, Cao Dai for Liberation.....The National Committee is elected by the presidium and the policies of the Front are determined on the basis of mutual discussion and collective decision.

The Vietnamese students told of the student and university life in the Liberated Zone", they said, "but, here, education is flourishing more than anywhere." The students launched a campaign against illiteracy. Fourteen new alphabets have been created for ethnic groups—in wartime! Many university students spend part of their time teaching the young children. More than 95 percent of the children of the Liberated Zone go to school. Their school buildings are nothing more than huts of straw surrounded by subterranean trenches for communication and shelters. Judging by the U.S. bombing, the schools are considered as military bases. "Maybe this is because they know that this is where the fighters are being formed" suggested one of the Vietnamese comrades. The higher education can be compared to any university in the world. University education must be decentralized due to bombing. There are departments of Pedagogy, Economics, and Medicine; there are also three Art Schools functioning. One of the visiting Vietnamese, a pretty female, is a student of medicine. She maintained that her medical education was superior to that of any school as it is combined with practical experience. The students and their professors travel from village to village to care for the victims of the U.S. bombing.

This young woman then told us of the fight carried on by Vietnamese women. One of the commanders of the NLF forces is a woman of whom the Vietnamese are justly proud. From 1954-60 the women were in the vanguard of the pol-



itical fight, which was the principle form of resistance. They spread petitions, protected partisans, built subterranean hideouts. After the six years, when it was realized that the political fight was getting nowhere, it was they who led the fight by taking arms from the foreign armies. Their work is military and political today. Women are organized into the supplying of food for the NLF armies, and the collection of information. Example: in river crossings, what the enemy troops are doing.

The Union des Femmes works with the mothers and wives of the soldiers in the reactionary army. The NLF aids the wives of the reactionary soldiers if their house is bombed, in childbirth... she quickly sees who is with her and who is against.

They discussed the perspectives of the war, and stated that they expected more U.S. military. This is because their big military machine is up against a popular war and cannot conquer the people. The people are all over and nowhere. With wry smiles, the Vietnamese told us of the efficiency of the American armies. For every fighting man, eight are required to keep him supplied "For an American must have his ice cream, and Vietnam is a very hot country." These U.S. soldiers require the conditions of home before they will fight. Their morale is very low. U.S. activities now are all defensive. The only new operations are the "clean-up" manoeuvres where they encounter resistance. The Americans sleep with their eyes open—everyone can be a "Vietcong!" The NLF is growing every day. In 1962 there were 20,800 (by U.S. figures) and the U.S. sent 200,000 troops. In 1968 there are 300,000—the U.S. only has 500,000 troops. In Saigon the situation or the Americans is worsening. It is even hard on the Saigonese bourgeoisie. Rice used to be Vietnam's major export. Now the rice they eat comes from Florida. The women (including many ministers' wives) of the Occupied Zone have formed a Protection of Women Organization—protection against whom?—no woman, no matter what her rank is free of raping at U.S. hands.

They ended their discussion with a few words about the organization of the NLF forces. These are grouped into three. Firstly the guerillas in every village. These men and women participate in the production and in the fighting. There is a regional army that is chosen from the guerilla, and the best of these form the Regular Army. There is no lack of soldiers. The U.S. has not been able to destroy one unit in their "seek and destroy" operations. The talks ended with optimism: **The U.S. will never subjugate the people of Vietnam. We will fight as long as necessary to throw them out.**

ON THE SOUTH VIET NAM N.F.L. POLITICAL PROGRAMME

STATEMENT OF THE D.R.V.N. GOVERNMENT

WHILE the entire Vietnamese people are celebrating the anniversaries of the August Revolution and the National Day of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam with resounding victories won on all the battlefields in both parts of the country, an historic event has taken place in South Viet Nam, filling with new enthusiasm the hearts of the people and fighters in the whole country: the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation recently convened an Extraordinary Congress and adopted its Political Programme.

Seven years ago, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation came into being with a 10-Point Programme, rallying and mobilizing the 14 million South Vietnamese people to rise up and fight unflinchingly and perseveringly against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their henchmen. Under the leadership of the Front and to put into practice the 10-Point Programme, the South Vietnamese armed forces and people, in the countryside as well as in the mountain and urban areas, and on both the military and political fronts, have, in the mettle of the victor, attacked the enemy without let-up, dealing him heavy blows, crushing his "special war" strategy and defeating the first rounds of his "local war," liberating four-fifths of the territory and two-thirds of the population of South Viet Nam, driving him into a stalemate and issueless situation. The Front's [10-Point] Programme reflected the patriotism and determination of the South Vietnamese people of all strata to struggle for self-liberation. It has given full scope to its great effect, and has become the banner of unity, the banner of struggle and the banner of victory of the South Vietnamese armed forces and people, and a shining, just cause which has won broad, powerful international sympathy and support, and enhanced more and more the prestige and influence of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, both at home and in the world.

Over the past seven years, the resounding victories recorded by our South Vietnamese compatriots under the leadership of the Front have made an important contribution to the defence of the North. They have greatly stimulated their compatriots in the North in socialist construction. They have set a shining example to their North Vietnamese compatriots in their struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, in their determination to resist and defeat the war of destruction by the U.S. aggressors, and encouraged them to fulfil, with great enthusiasm, the duty as the great rear toward their blood-sealed compatriots in the South.

Now, the U.S. imperialists are frantically stepping up their war of aggression against South Viet Nam and brazenly escalating in a highly dangerous manner their attacks against North Viet Nam. Ahead of the armed forces and people in the whole country are the most arduous battles and the most glorious victories. It is at this juncture that the Political Programme of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation has come into being, continuing and developing the former 10-Point Programme, following up the victories already achieved, and leading the South Vietnamese people to bigger successes and to complete victory.

As pointed out by the Front's Political Programme, "the tasks and objectives of the South Vietnamese people in the struggle for national salvation are now as follows: to unite the entire people, resolutely defeat the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression, overthrow their lackey puppet administration, establish a broad national democratic coalition administration, build an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous South Viet Nam, and proceed toward the peaceful reunification of the country."

The Front's Political Programme marks a new development of the patriotic struggle of our compatriots in the South, brings into bold relief the

SUPPORT THE NLF!

objectives of the South Vietnamese people of all strata — to defeat the U.S. aggressors and their hirelings, build an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous South Viet Nam, and proceed toward the peaceful reunification of the country — which are the legitimate aspirations of the 14 million South Vietnamese people. The Political Programme is the manifestation of the most clear-sighted, most sensible lines and policies of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation to resist the U.S. aggressors and save the country.

It is the banner of great national union and an invincible weapon of our South Vietnamese patriots to triumph over the U.S. aggressors.

The Front's Political Programme is a strong and lofty manifestation of the blood-sealed unity between North and South Viet Nam and the iron will to reunify the country.

The Front's Political Programme is the call for unity and combat of our South Vietnamese patriots from the frontline of the struggle against the U.S. imperialists, which is echoing in the world, winning stronger and broader sympathy and support from brothers and friends in the five continents, and stressing the South Vietnamese people's determination to fulfil their international-

ist duty to contribute with honour to the cause of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress in the world.

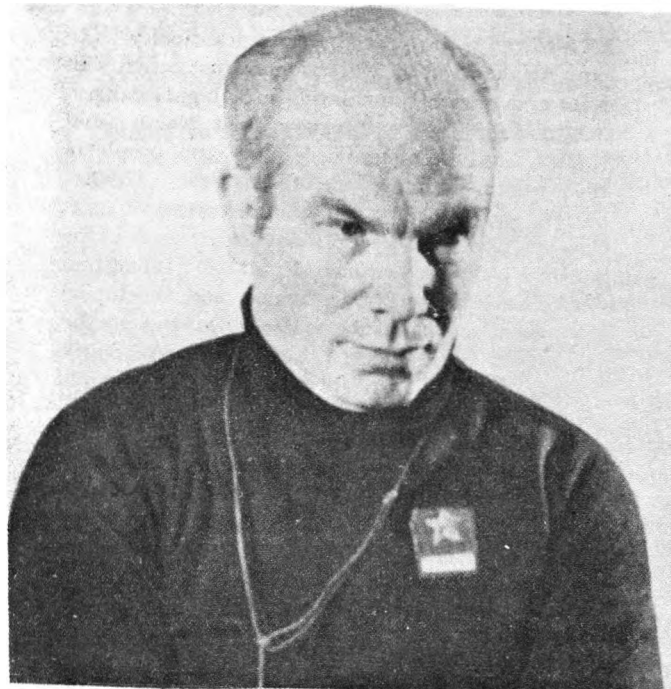
The Front's Political Programme has all the more highlighted the role of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation — the only genuine representative of the heroic South Vietnamese people who are defeating and will certainly defeat completely the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their flunkys.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the people in the North warmly hail and resolutely support the Political Programme of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation. The 17 million fighters and people in the North pledge themselves to always be of one mind and stand side by side with their blood-sealed brothers and sisters in the South, to fight with valour and perseverance, to grudge no hardships or sacrifices, and to be resolved to fight and defeat the U.S. aggressors in order to defend the North, liberate the South and proceed toward the peaceful reunification of the country, thus contributing to the safeguard of peace in Asia and the world.

Hanoi, September 2, 1967

FRIENDS AT THE BETHUNE MEMORIAL

BY Rewi Alley



DR. NORMAN BETHUNE

a little parcel of Canadian earth to put on the Bethune memorial, and not having time to travel to Shihchiachuang to put it there, left it in Peking with the American writer, Anna Louise Strong.

In the meantime, Kathleen Hall, who had been a nurse in a mountain ravine hospital in the Tai Hang Mountains, came on a visit to China. She had known Bethune well, and at considerable personal risk had heroically run medicines into the mountains to him. Kathleen was anxious to get back to New Zealand, while I was attending an Asian Economic Seminar in Pyongyang in Korea. Dr. Ma Hai-teh, hardly known at all by his American name of George Hatem, and with the Red Army since 1936, was preparing to go off to the Shantung countryside on a medical mission there. Dr. Hans Miller, a German doctor who had been working with the people's forces since 1939, was convalescing after a long illness. It was his own way of getting better however, entailing full time work which he was loth to leave. Nevertheless, we four did meet together on the morning of June 24th 1964, Kathleen carrying the little plastic bag of black Canadian earth, and were soon making the five hour railway journey south to Shihchiachuang for a quiet little ceremony of remembrance at the Bethune memorial there.

As we went, we looked curiously out of the train windows. It was hard to see even traces of the immense flood which last August swept across this countryside. Crops were growing well. We noted that a great many of the houses in villages near Shihchiachuang had been re-built. In the city itself, after our arrival, we heard epic stories of how light and power were maintained, and transport kept up despite the waters. How food was distributed and normality restored.

We went through the city, now one including suburbs, of some 700,000 people. In the memorial park for revolutionary fighters, we were joined by three boys and a girl. They were Young Pioneers. Charming, live and chipper youngsters, they went with us while we laid a wreath on the Bethune

memorial, and while Kathleen scattered the Canadian earth beside it. On our wreath we had written, "Peoples of the World Unite". It was a magnificent afternoon, though somewhat hotter than Peking. Kathleen looked across the plains to the mountains and wished she could go on up there to find old friends, despite her age and the strenuous travel she had just completed. Hans Miller looked at the graves of Dr. Kotnis and Dr. Atal, the two Indian doctors whose memorials are also here, and reminisced how he had gone with them from Yen-an to the front line areas. Ma Hai-teh spoke of how he had received them in Yen-an, and I remembered the three weeks' travel taking them up to Yen-an from wartime Chungking. We looked over the memorial halls. At old photographs. Relics of the struggle and thought of how the old enemy, now with different flags and different slogans, but with the same old motive still stood around China borders, thirsting for the loot of this land.

The memory of Bethune, in these days when new heroes spring up, still lives. Yet youngsters want to make him come still more real in their minds. The Young Pioneers who came with us were full of questions. "Why did you come to China? Why did Bethune come to China? How long was he in China? Did he have any children?" Groping for additional information that would clothe the figure in their school books with more substance. They knew of his spirit of internationalism, his love for his comrades and his devotion in working for them. Indeed they had all joined the Young Pioneers at a ceremony held in front of the Bethune memorial. "How black the earth is" one said to me, as Kathleen dropped it on to the yellow loess soil below.

Dr. Norman Bethune, was a veteran of the Spanish War. He had fought against exploitation in his home land, in Spain and at the end of his life in China. He died after an infection received while operating in a front line sector in the War of Resistance. This was in 1939. Actually, the enemy was entering one end of the village while he was operating in the other. Both Bethune and his patient got away, but in the hurry he cut his finger. Though he later amputated it himself, it was too late. There were not even sulpha drugs available at that time in the guerilla regions.

In Shihchiachuang next morning I awoke early, and from my window watched farmers going out into the fields. Long strings of bicycles, the morning sun glinting on their chromium plating, then brown sun tanned backs that bent over rich vegetable gardens. Vegetables, meat and grain are extremely cheap now, there even being some difficulty in selling all the pork coming on to the market, despite losses due to flood in 1963. The cotton crop is coming along well, and the corn stands high. The morning's paper comes in. There is a piece which is taken from the wall newspaper of a production team whose village was completely inundated and whose homes had to be vacated. Farmers said last year they ate cabbage from Peking, potatoes from Sinkiang, turnips from Sian, had coal from Shansi to keep themselves warm, and rice from Kwangtung. This year they said, we have the biggest harvest we have had in many years despite heavy unseasonable rains. But this should make us think of how we can help elsewhere, how we must conserve every bit of it. Indicative of how the spirit of giving rather than grabbing, working together rather than working for oneself, is uppermost.

We talked with a local leader. He told us more about the flood last year, how over 700 millimeters of rain fell around the city in a few days—as much as 1,000 m.m. up in the hills beyond—so that the rivers could not carry it all. So many heroes came forward then. Too many for all their names to be remembered. The whole city went on functioning as normally as it could despite inundation. A militia force of six thousand saw that food got everywhere. There was mass action to save the dam at Ta Ss Kou, menaced after two check dams higher up the gorge behind it had given away. In saving it, three counties beneath were saved from certain devastation. Then there were a host of smaller incidents, from which I pick just one. Two soldiers on patrol in the back areas saw that three old peasants were isolated on an island in the middle of a flooded river. They fixed up a raft, and carrying food on it, tried to cross, leaving their clothes behind for it was August and very hot, and they wanted free-



Comrades John Wood and Jack Scott of P. W. M. at Shihchiachuang, May 1967

dom of movement in case they had to swim. The current seized their craft and spun it around and around, but they held to it and their bag of food, struggling to get it into shallow water which they finally did some way below the tail of the island. Then they waded up only to find the peasants somewhat scared of them, two naked men and a bundle. They shouted that they were army men, and then they together stood and sung an army song. The three old peasants recognized it, and came down joyfully. They had not eaten for four days. Together they planned how to re-cross the next day, by which time waters had gone down a little. All were saved. Bethune was proud to put his life and his skill on par with such as these, folk un-named and not specially honoured, who could give so much.

The following article was written by comrade Mao Tse-tung to commemorate the death of Dr. Norman Bethune who died on Nov. 12th 1939, while serving

(An article from 1964: previously unpublished — Editor)
Some Canadians, travelled to China in 1964. One of them had known Dr. Bethune the Canadian doctor so well known to the western world through the book "Scalpel and Sword", and to millions of Chinese children through his story which is incorporated into their school books. The visitor brought

with the 8th Route Army in China. This article is one of the "Three Most Constantly Read Articles" of Chairman Mao. It expresses all we could say of Comrade Bethune and is worthy of life-long study, for the principles extolled here are the very essence of the communist spirit that will shape the world of tomorrow and are shaping the China of today.

— EDITOR

IN MEMORY OF NORMAN BETHUNE

December 21, 1939

Comrade Norman Bethune,¹ a member of the Communist Party of Canada, was around fifty when he was sent by the Communist Parties of Canada and the United States to China; he made light of travelling thousands of miles to help us in our War of Resistance Against Japan. He arrived in Yen-an in the spring of last year, went to work in the Wutai Mountains,² and to our great sorrow died a martyr at his post. What kind of spirit is this that makes a foreigner selflessly adopt the cause of the Chinese people's liberation as his own? It is the spirit of internationalism, the spirit of communism, from which every Chinese Communist must learn. Leninism teaches that the world revolution can only succeed if the proletariat of the capitalist countries supports the struggle for liberation of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples and if the proletariat of the colonies and semi-colonies supports that of the proletariat of the capitalist countries.³ Comrade Bethune put this Leninist line into practice. We Chinese Communists must also follow this line in our practice. We must unite with the proletariat of all the capitalist countries, with the proletariat of Japan, Britain, the United States, Germany, Italy and all other capitalist countries, before it is possible to overthrow imperialism, to liberate our nation and people, and to liberate the other nations and peoples of the world. This is our internationalism, the internationalism with which we oppose both narrow nationalism and narrow patriotism.⁴

Comrade Bethune's spirit, his utter devotion to others without any thought of self, was shown in his boundless sense of responsibility in his work and his boundless warm-heartedness towards all comrades and the people. Every Communist must learn from him. There are not a few people who are irresponsible in their work, preferring the light to the heavy, shoving the heavy loads on to others and choosing the easy ones for themselves. At every turn they think of themselves before others. When they make some small contribution, they swell with pride and brag about it for fear that others will not know. They feel no warmth towards comrades and the people but are cold, indifferent and apathetic. In fact such people are not Communists, or at least cannot be counted as true Communists. No one who returned from the front failed to express admiration for Bethune whenever his name was mentioned, and none remained unmoved by his spirit. In the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei border area,⁵ no soldier or civilian was unmoved who had been treated by Dr. Bethune or had seen how he worked. Every Communist must learn this true communist spirit from Comrade Bethune.

Comrade Bethune was a doctor, the art of healing was

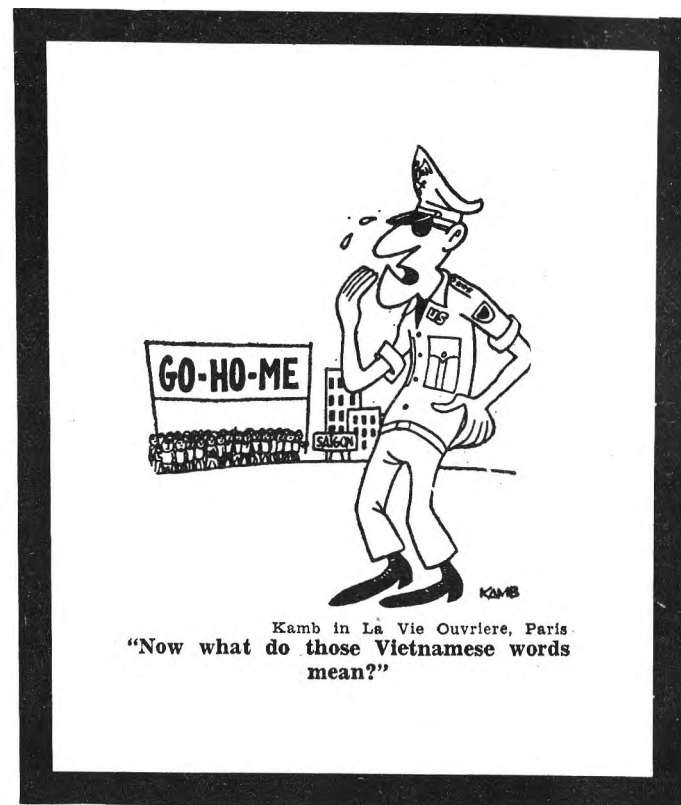
his profession and he was constantly perfecting his skill, which stood very high in the Eighth Route Army's medical service. His example is an excellent lesson for those people who wish to change their work the moment they see something different and for those who despise technical work as of no consequence or as promising no future.

Comrade Bethune and I met only once. Afterwards he wrote me many letters. But I was busy, and I wrote him only one letter and do not even know if he ever received it.

I am deeply grieved over his death. Now we are all commemorating him, which shows how profoundly his spirit inspires everyone. We must all learn the spirit of absolute selflessness from him. With this spirit everyone can be very useful to the people. A man's ability may be great or small, but if he has this spirit, he is already noble-minded and pure, a man of moral integrity and above vulgar interests, a man who is of value to the people.

NOTES

¹ The distinguished surgeon Norman Bethune was a member of the Canadian Communist Party. In 1936 when the German and Italian fascist bandits invaded Spain, he went to the front and worked for the anti-fascist Spanish people. In order to help the Chinese people in their War of Resistance Against Japan, he came to China at the head of a medical team and arrived in Yen-an in the spring of 1938. Soon after he went to the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei border area. Imbued with ardent internationalism and the great communist spirit, he served the army and the people of the Liberated Areas for nearly two years. He contracted blood poisoning while operating on wounded soldiers and died in Tanghsien, Hopei, on November 12, 1939.



Kamb in La Vie Ouvriere, Paris
"Now what do those Vietnamese words mean?"

Letters to the Editor

(One of our readers, Mr. Bernard Galitz, of Massachusetts, addressed a dissenting letter to the editor of "Jewish Currents", which was rejected for publication on the pretext that it was "not written in a sober and persuasive manner." The letter published here was a reply to that rejection.—EDITOR)

November 17, 1967

... An open letter by a Jewish revolutionary, communist, and humanist, to the editors of a reactionary chauvinist anti-humanist Zionist publication that long has been masquerading as a radical and humanist magazine—for publication by PROGRESSIVE WORKER, our Chinese comrades, or others—as the reactionary magazine to which it is addressed refused to publish the letter of substance to which it refers, and surely would not publish it.

B. Galitz

Mr. Morris U. Schappes, Editor
Jewish Currents
22 East 17th Street
New York, New York, 10003

Dear Editor Schappes,
and Editorial Board,

I thank you for taking the trouble to reply to my letter, but I must in all candor say that I cannot accept as a reflexion of objective reality the presumption in your letter that the portion of the radical press that has taken a nationalistic attitude toward the Middle East situation continually publishes dissenting views in its columns, and that the objection to my letter was not ideological, but rather that it does not make its points "in a sober and persuasive manner". I think that on the contrary, the objection to it was that it makes its points in all too sober and persuasive a manner, and in doing so, it steps on some very sensitive toes, toes which have been sensitized in regard to this matter long before the Middle East troubles. I think that it has been rejected mainly because it shatters some cherished narrow hotly protected little collective self-delusions about the full scope of the problem of anti-Semitism. This, of course, is my heresy, heresy especially in the eyes of petty nationalists who for decades have been wearing the cloak of revolutionaries, and who have just discovered that the cloak does not fit the man. A certain wing of the "radical" press has chosen dissenting letters that are not very articulate and not very sober to print in order to give the false impression of objectivity while slyly using the more provocative aspects of these letters to work the following of these magazines up into a higher and higher pitch of nationalistic fervor. This wing of the "radical" press has scrupulously seen to it that dissenting letters from Jews on the Middle Eastern situation get little publicity, the more to build up a solid nationalistic reactionary front and to work the nationalistic fever of the following of these magazines even higher.

Be assured therefore, that I maintain now even more than before the thesis of my letter: that Jews must not always fall back on the argument that the "Gentile Devil" or traditional anti-Semitic attitude is the root cause of all their difficulties, and that the problem of petty Jewish merchants and landlords exploiting Negro ghettos and Jewish intellectuals finding their way into the ranks of the prostituted establishment house intellectuals of imperialism is simply some anti-Semitic plot cooked up by Black Nationalists, Liberation Fighters, and Communists who supposedly have somehow found their way into alliance with the traditional anti-Semitic forces or channels of Western Civilizations. That you now maintain this attitude proves that you never were radicals, but always were selfish, narrow, petty, sly, deceitful reactionary nationalists hiding in the cloaks of radicals. We Jews have our own class problem as well as does any other national group. We must fight reactionaries within our national ranks and get the petty exploiters out of the Negro ghetto; we must see to it that no more Jews ever become petty exploiters in any poor Gentile neighborhoods or become

prostituted imperialist intellectuals. In this way, we will be fighting the ideology of anti-Semitism and correcting those who use it: we must also fight anti-Semitism by eradicating imperialism and all forms of exploitation; this is the final answer to all forms of discrimination and exploitation and persecution. The system of exploitation has given the Jew a certain role. He must reject this role. Then he must reject the whole system of exploitation. My greeting to the Jewish people does not extend to the deceivers of the Jewish people within their very own ranks. I greet the Jewish people as part of humanity, not as a nationalistic chauvinistic force that uses all forms of deceit, including the foulest one, falsely masquerading as radicals, in order to set themselves up as a force outside of humanity as an alien element to be dealt with by other means of deceit and cunning as if one were dealing with another species of animals. There is no room for a "Chosen People" mentality amongst Jews who would be radicals or revolutionaries or even a progressive part of humanity. And all of your actions exhibit that mentality. As long as you persist in silencing those Jewish critics, revolutionaries, humanists, true radicals, who would open the Jewish people up to humanity, rescue it from its prison of the anti-humanist "Chosen People" mentality, as long as you continue to deceive yourselves to think that all fraternal criticisms of the behaviour of Jews is merely traditional anti-Semitism and nothing else, as long as you keep yourselves and your people imprisoned within the narrow clutched fist of your parochial mentality, your hate of openness and true discussion of your situation, the longer you will betray the Jewish people to more decades of difficulties as something not quite inside humanity, something alien, invidious, feared, and disliked by the majority of humanity. The more you close up within yourselves to escape truth the more you will be convinced that those who tell you truth merely fit into your pat explanation of he world that all who try to open you to the world, to humanity, to take you out of the prison of the ghetto of your own minds, are merely traditional anti-Semites.

Therefore my active revolutionary sympathies go to your victims; the Jewish people who you imprison within your ghetto of the mind, the ghetto in which you imprison them and separate them from humanity with your own narrow and selfish outlook; the Arab people, who you have driven from their homes and genocided because of your attitude that no human being has any rights that may be in conflict with the "interests", (in your narrow, reactionary, and incorrect sense) of the "Chosen People", and of the Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and other Gentile poor in America who are exploited by petty merchants and landlords who are disproportionately Jewish because you will not face this problem and see to it that the next generation of Jews does not go into this reactionary and self-defeating activity. And as it would be a waste of time to send this letter to you I send it instead to true radicals, true revolutionaries and true humanists, and address it to you as defendants in the dock—as an open letter. I no longer fear the fabrications of your narrow minds. My mind is liberated from your Medieval nonsense. I call for a cultural revolution amongst Jews.

Fraternally,
Bernard E. Galitz

The recent visit of the N.L.F. student representatives pointed out very clearly some of the weaknesses of the student anti-war movement in Quebec. While it is generally strongly opposed to U.S. aggression in Vietnam, there is no organized anti-imperialist committee functioning here at this time. There has only been a token effort made to win support for the N.L.F. although the Quebecois have a common interest with the Vietnamese in their struggles for self-determination. The Union General d'Etudiants Quebec, who sponsored the visit, is opposed as a body to the war, but is unable to fill the role consistently of an organized committee. This permitted the CIA to make some propaganda gains and cover up an otherwise successful N.L.F. tour of Quebec; a smashing defeat to U.S. propaganda efforts—in their own backyard. Visits to the three major Montreal universities saw the

student bodies ill-prepared for the machinations of the CIA. Strangely enough, the first meeting was held at english-speaking Sir George Williams, the least progressive of the three. Stranger still, few progressives at SGWU were even aware of the meeting. The majority of the people I spoke to there only learned of it the same day. Yet a small ultra-conservative group knew well enough in advance to be able to make effigies, placards, etc. and organize a sizeable group. Naturally enough, CBS and CBC were there to televise the proceedings. The stacked and unrepresentative meeting soon degenerated into a vicious name calling attack on the N.L.F. representatives. The progressives present retaliated in kind but were clearly out-numbered. Victor Rabinovich, newly-elected V.P. of external affairs in UGEQ scheduled the meetings and as chairman of this fiasco, let it get completely out of hand. In private conversation later, he attempted to avoid responsibility for it. He blamed this correspondent for raising the slogan "Victory to the NLF" once the meeting was in the hands of the reactionaries. This cry was taken up by others and provided the only semblance of opposition to the rightists. The racist nature of these became clear when Mrs. Nguyen Ngoc Eung began speaking in French, her second language, and was shouted down with cries of "speak English". I mentally echoed the answering cry of a sympathetic Quebecois, "anglais cochon".

The meeting at McGill was of a different nature. UGEQ, which underwent a barrage of criticism following the meeting of the previous day, was better prepared. Laurier Lapierre chaired and there were ushers present to maintain order. The left was out in force, eager for revenge, and as insurance, a friend had invited six burly longshoremen.

Even had there been any organized opposition, it would have had difficulty in getting seats in the overflowed auditorium. The crowd applauded lustily and were overwhelmingly in favor of the NLF. Any dissidents were quickly silenced by a long menacing glare of those around them. The only incident, and a forewarning of things to come, occurred during the question and answer period. A young, excellently-spoken Vietnamese; one of a number who are attending Quebec universities rose, and referring to himself as "only a poor Vietnamese" (laughter) questioned the validity of the NLF statements. The chairman of the NLF delegation, Ly Van Sau, adroitly handling the manouvers of this agent, pointed out many examples in the U.S. press which backed up his points. When this traitor expressed concern for others like himself should the NLF win, Ly Van Sau pointed out that the NLF program specifically welcomes any "overseas Vietnamese who wish to return to take part in the building of the country." Some of the Vietnamese students plan to return to the North, so he was already well-aware of this. Thus thwarted, after a few more similar exchanges the "poor" Vietnamese sat down.

Following the McGill meeting, the NLF student representatives held several well-received rallies at some smaller Montreal colleges before leaving for Quebec City. All reports have been of an enthusiastic reception on their swing through the province, with supporting demonstration and large student audiences. Among the placards seen were; "Quebec pour les Quebecois, Viet Nam pour les Vietnamiens" "Meme Lutte — Meme ennemi, l'Imperialisme U.S." The press covered these meetings only fleetingly.

In Montreal, we waited, in anticipation, for the visit to the huge, and progressive University of Montreal. It is known in the clubs of Westmount as "That hot-bed of separatism". The U. of M. student body, A.G.E.U.M. is the core of the UGEQ; which, incidentally, belongs to I.U.S., the non-CIA-sponsored world student association. It is very sympathetic to the Vietnamese fight for national liberation.

The jammed student social center was forced to turn away many long before the meeting started. The T.V. crews set up early, but most of the press representatives had to crowd on the stage because of lack of room. The entrance of the N.L.F. speakers was met with an ovation. When they finally reached the speakers' platform they were suddenly greeted with a shower of eggs and over-ripe tomatoes, to the great surprise and consternation of the throng. The source of this barrage soon proved to be a group of hooting Vietnamese students, led by the afore-mentioned "poor" Vietnamese.

Confused by this development, and with bourgeois-liberal views on "non-whites", the Quebecois students; who would have made short shift of any other such group; reacted unsurely. They hurled back epithets and slogans but made no other move. The minuscule group was allowed to keep up disruptive actions unmolested, except for one minor scuffle, throughout the length of the meeting. Of course, the news media focused on his as the dominant aspect, enabling them to give a distorted picture to what Ly Van Sau called "the warmest" reception yet.

Despite the machinations of the CIA and the amateurish bungling of the UGEQ representatives, the visit did much to popularize the cause of the N.L.F. among the students of Quebec. It is regrettable that it was restricted to the milieu. It seems clear that this restriction was the main concern of the CIA. The ruling class is prepared to write off temporarily, if necessary, "kooky students". They recognize very well, that the real force that could end the war is the working class.

In the aftermath of the visit a student-faculty group determined not to be caught off-guard again has formed at SGWU. They have scheduled a series of noon-hour "Teach-ins" throughout the rest of the year. It is hoped that other universities follow their example and a real effort is made to expand the movement beyond academic boundaries, and into the shops.

Larry Walker
Montreal

The cartoon stickers found in the article "The Communist Party and the Trade Union" can be obtained in quantity by writing the P. W. M., 35 East Hastings St., Vancouver 4, B. C.

—EDITOR



SCIENTIFIC ADVANCES IN CHINA

(China Features)

The recent announcement by China of the building of a giant transistorized all-purpose computer coincided with the entry of her great proletarian cultural revolution into the stage of decisive victory. The production of this latest type of computer is an indication that New China has scaled another peak along the road in the overtaking of world advanced standards in science.

To express their infinite love for Chairman Mao, the Chinese workers constructed the computer in such a way that everytime the machine starts a portrait of Chairman Mao appears together with the words, "Serve The People" in a facsimile of his handwriting. It also plays the tune:

The East shines red, the sun rises,

There emerges in China a Mao Tse-tung.

Designed and constructed by Chinese workers, technicians and scientists and made from equipment produced in China, it is the creation of the Institute of Computing Technology of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, which has turned out several types of electronic computing machines during the last few years.

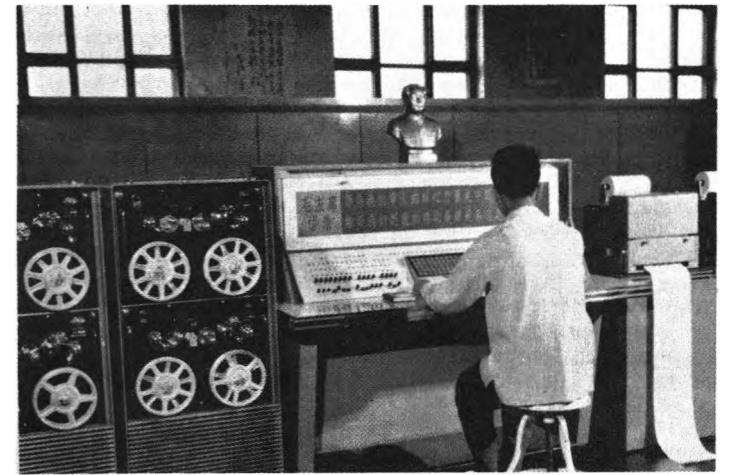
The production of transistor computers requires knowledge of up-to-date technology, combining the latest achievements in electronics, semi-conductor, precision instrument and computing science.

By virtue of its split-second speed and accuracy, the new computer will be used in the fields of atomic energy, rocket and space flight, as well as in various other spheres of the national economy. It has already solved many practical complicated and weighty problems relating to production, construction, scientific research and design.

The building of the computer is a blow at imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries, who have imposed a blockade and embargo on China, including a blockade in respect to the latest discoveries in science and technology.

Bearing in mind Chairman Mao's teaching of self-reliance and hard struggle, the Chinese workers, technicians and scientists built the computer in the Chinese way. When ever they encountered difficulties, they consulted Chairman Mao's works to help them find the solution to their problems.

The bulk of the work in the creation of the computer has been done since the advent of the cultural revolution. Commenting on this signal scientific achievement, the People's Daily says that it is a great victory for the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung and an important fruit of the policy of "grasping the revolution and stimulating production" during the great proletarian cultural revolution.



It also states: "An acute and fierce struggle has been going on between the proletarian and the bourgeois line in the development of China's science and technology. The handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, represented by China's Khrushchov, laid onesided emphasis on the role of technology and had blind faith in bourgeois 'experts' and 'authorities'. They advocated material incentives, opposed giving prominence to proletarian politics, opposed the revolutionary mass movement and opposed the revolutionization of people's thinking.

The People's Daily adds "This counter-revolutionary revisionist line, pushed by China's Khrushov, has collapsed in the great proletarian cultural revolution." China's many new successes in science and technology during the last year or so have dealt heavy blows at China's Khrushchov. They demonstrate that the mighty spiritual force generated by the great proletarian cultural revolution has been transformed into a mighty material force, which is giving impetus to the building up of China's national defence and to the development of her industry and agriculture.

The paper concludes; "Chairman Mao teaches us that the masses have boundless creative power. The proletariat of the East know a thousand times more than the bourgeoisie of the west. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and by working hard and relying on ourselves, we are blazing a completely new road for the development of science and technology."

STRUGGLE IN MALAYA

The "Malayan Bulletin" of the Malayan National Liberation League, in the October issue, contains news of the Malayan peoples movement that is of interest to revolutionaries everywhere. One item describes the begging visit of Lee Kuan Yew, puppet premier of the so-called "Singapore Republic," to the United States during the month of October.

On the eve of his departure the puppet ruler declared his support for a "U.S. presence in Asia." Then, as he arrived at New York airport, he informed reporters "we have an interest in the developments in Vietnam and we would hope that American decisions will help to consolidate peace and security in the area." The U.S. imperialists showed their gratitude for the support rendered their schemes by the puppet premier and greeted him with the statement; "The U.S. welcomes a patriot, a brilliant political leader and a statesman of the new Asia."

Malaya's puppet rulers are confronted by serious political and economic problems, and especially by growing unemployment and the worst crisis in the rubber industry in many years. One of the objects of the visit of Lee Kuan Yew

is to beg for more American capital which, in fact, has already begun to make deep inroads into Singapore's economy. Nearly two-thirds of the \$150 million already invested in the island city is in petroleum products which comprise the major Singapore export to Saigon.

Lee Kuan Yew stands exposed as anti-communist, anti-China and anti-people, just like the other puppets in the area. His traitorous nature was made obvious when he welcomed the Japanese militarist chief, Sato, prior to his American tour and signed a joint communique with Sato expressing the hope there would be "regional co-operation" among all the traitors, fascists and puppets in Southeast Asia, and "for a peaceful solution in Vietnam" against what he calls "Asia's potential super power."

The price of natural rubber fell below 48 cents per pound on September 6, 1967, a sharp drop of 20 cents since the first quarter of 1966, thus confronting the puppet regimes with the worst economic crisis they have had to grapple with so far.

Malaya, biggest producer of natural rubber and with a colonial economy, has been worst hit by the price drop. Sta-

tistics show there are 285,000 rubber plantation workers in the packing, smoking and allied industries. 2 and one-half million — about one-third of the total population of 8 million — are dependent on production of rubber. In fact, the entire Malayan economy hinges on the rubber industry. The fallen price is the lowest since December, 1949, and its seriousness is apparent in the fact that for every drop of one per cent in the price of rubber there is a corresponding drop of \$22 million Malayan in government revenue. The puppet government, composed of people whose interests are bound up with rubber, seeing their profits at stake, are shifting the burden of crisis on to the workers. It is admitted that rubber tappers can afford only one meal of rice per day, and that has to be supplemented with tapioca.

With rubber at the current price wages are down to about \$1 per day as against \$3 per day previously. At the same time the cost of living is rising and rice, the staple food, has shot up from 30 cents to 50 cents per kati. Workers who lease trees from small holders are earning just enough to pay rent. Compared with the price of 2 years ago, the income of smallholders is reduced by 40 per cent at the current price level.

It is the workers and peasants who have to bear the brunt of the crisis. The large plantations of the rubber tycoons can still make a substantial profit even at current prices. The laborers and smallholders are beginning to rebel

ALBANIANS IN YUGOSLAVIA

An article in the Albanian journal "Zeri i Popullit" reports a national-chauvinist dispute is raging among the members of the ruling Titoite clique in Yugoslavia, and has reached a peak in the confrontation concerning the question of language between the two most powerful national groups — the Serbian and the Croatian. These quarrels, says the journal, become intensified due to the economic reform, which concerns political as well as economic power being concentrated in the hands of various Serbian and Croatian-Slovenian factions, and arouses opposition and sabotage in the other Republics.

The apparatus of the state and of the revisionist party until recently under the influence and control of people like Rankovich, are demonstrating their disorientation and reluctance to serve following the changes that took place in the supreme command of the Yugoslav leadership. Added to this is the growing conflict on Yugoslav territory between the special interests of US imperialism and the Soviet revisionists. In view of this it must be particularly difficult for the Tito clique to maintain order, remain calm, and to avoid, or even delay, the impending catastrophe.

It was not by accident that Tito chose Kosova as the place in which to intervene in these problems, for Kosova is where the revisionist policy has been carried to extremes and in the most barbarous manner against a big national group, the Albanians. It is here that contradictions, born of capitalist exploitation, are sharpest and where the state and party apparatus have no trust in the people. Of course Tito did not propose to change the situation, for he is not the least interested in the fate of the people in Kosova or of the other Albanians living in Yugoslavia. He wanted to create an idyllic picture of revisionist reality, a propaganda trick to deceive Albanians in the region. By representing the situation as allegedly settled in an "exemplary" manner, he attempts to convince the peoples of Yugoslavia that "the example of Kosova" shows that existing nationalist disputes, the economic chaos and other difficulties are not the consequence of the policy of the leadership, which is pure, but that they are temporary difficulties, misunderstandings, errors committed by individuals, results of the activities of Rankovitch, etc.

In spite of talking from morning till night Tito was unable to deceive the people of Kosova, or of other regions, by his demagoguery. It was clear from the speeches that the Tito clique are determined to carry out the old great-Siberian chauvinistic policy of denationalization against the Albanians of Kosova and other national groups; a policy of na-

against conditions and there is rousing panic and fear in the hearts of the puppet rulers. In view of this situation the puppet rulers have been making desperate but vain efforts to "save the situation" through purchase of a substantial amount of rubber in order to stabilize prices. But even these desperate measures have not succeeded in raising the price above 50 cents.

Commenting on this buying support the Far Eastern Economic Review said: "This move came close to gambling, a dangerous undertaking, even for rich countries — and 'Malaysia' is not rich. There are too many elements outside 'Malaysian' control. If the problem is short-term then there is a case for belt-tightening until things improve. If the problem is long-term, this exercise will be demonstrably futile, and impose even worse stresses on the economy in the times ahead. The problem is merely deferred and compounded." The "Far Eastern Review" represents British monopoly groups and is speaking from experience. All these artificial methods of price-propping have proved futile in the past. The present attempt of the puppet clique will prove even more futile because they are confronted by the U.S. monopolists who are dumping rubber as a lever to force unconditional service from the Malayan puppets. When a pigmy attempts a giant's task he is bound to go under.

—FROM MATERIAL IN "MALAYAN BULLETIN."

tional oppression, police violence and preservation of colonial status and to exploit the region for raw materials and cheap manpower. Tito went to Kosova to assure the local great-Serbian chauvinists that talk of democracy, national equality, etc., are pure and simple propaganda required by the situation.

Of late the Titoites themselves have been compelled to publicly admit crimes of genocide committed against the Albanians and to relate in the press stories of hair-raising events surpassing even those of the mediaeval inquisition. But Tito did not speak of these events in Kosova and acted as though they had never happened. By not touching on them, by not justifying them even demagogically, he meant to say to the Albanians that terror, national oppression, mass migration and denationalization was not a policy or error of Rankovich that would be corrected, but a fundamental line of Tito himself, of the whole Yugoslav leadership, which would continue without compromise in the future.

Tito treated Kosova as though it were a field of investment and exploitation of raw materials for the big Serbo-Croatian industry. He tried to cite an example of a country which had been liquidated, where the national feeling, the national problem, play no role at all.

Tito is apparently seeking to liquidate the small amount of self-administration still left to Kosova and to create even more unbearable political and economic conditions for Albanians so as to force them to abandon their lands and by this mean completely eliminate the Albanian population.

The Albanians who have bravely resisted the barbarous pressure and oppression of the chauvinistic Belgrade band, in the same manner as they have withstood Titoite violence, will not allow themselves to be deceived by Tito's demagoguery. They see that whatever measures the Belgrade rulers adopt, be it of a violent or flattering nature, they are directed against the fundamental interests of the Albanian population, against its life and future.

Tito's message to the people of Kosova contained only promise of exploitation, national oppression, unemployment and misery. The capitalist law will operate here as everywhere and no investment will be made without guarantee of maximum profit and if the capitalist is not allowed to use it where and when he pleases. The fact that foreign capitalists are permitted to make any kind of investment and to manage their enterprise means that the situation will become even more serious. The situation in the Gyakorva district is illustrative of conditions in the entire area populated by Albanians. Here an official government report discloses that

this district of 22,000 population has employment for only one out of every eleven persons and investment until 1970 are committed for modernization of existing plants only, nothing for expansion. Population growth is 3.1 per cent.

The Tito regime is seeking to solve the problem by having the unemployed, mainly Albanians, emigrate to West Germany, the Scandinavian countries, France, etc. In order to encourage this migration the Titoites give special courses to acquaint the potential emigrants of places to go and where to find jobs. This policy is hardly less barbarous than that used several years ago when the Albanians of Kosova and Macedonia were forcefully removed to Turkey. These inhuman actions are encouraged and supported by administrative means as well as by discriminating measures in the field of education and culture. All possible obstacles are raised to prevent Albanians finding jobs in their country, from acquiring new trades and from becoming skilled workers. They compel Albanian children to attend Serbian schools and expel them if they venture a protest. It is even more difficult for Albanian youth to enter university.

Tito admits that 40 per cent of the population of Kosova are still illiterate. Teachers and schools are in short supply. 6 per cent of the total electric power for Yugoslavia, 8 per cent of coal production, 50 per cent of lead, 30 per cent of magnesium ore, 90 per cent of silver as well as other minerals, not to mention the large agricultural production, are obtained in Kosova. But the children have not even a hut in which to learn their lessons and are compelled to remain illiterate for life; they are without doctors to treat them when ill.

These conditions are not the result of lack of finances but of the great-Serbian chauvinistic policy of the Belgrade rulers who rob the people and seek, by every means, to keep them in darkness and backwardness.

VIETNAM: IS CANADA INVOLVED?

Canada's Minister for Foreign Affairs, Paul Martin, has recently been acclaimed in some so-called "left" circles as having adopted a "progressive stand" on the question of U.S. aggression in Vietnam. This flows from the fact that Martin appears, according to his public statements, to have renounced his former position of unqualified support for the global policies of U.S. imperialism to one of a modified criticism of those policies.

There are several compelling reasons why Martin, as spokesman for the government of Canada on foreign affairs, wishes to give the impression of APPEARING to have disassociated himself from the more bellicose aspects of U.S. imperialist world policy. There are the serious defeats which the people of Vietnam have been inflicting on the American war machine which leads some sections of the international capitalist class to have misgivings about America's ability to enforce her will on the peoples of the world and, consequently, fears of impending disaster as a result of an American defeat. There are Canadian capitalists, just as there are capitalist circles in other lands, who are anxious to escape the disaster and ensure their own survival as a class, thus the attempt to APPEAR to oppose U.S. policy while in actual fact supporting the fundamental objectives of that policy.

Pressures are also being applied to the various ruling groups and their governments by a rising tide of people's opposition which is increasing in militancy—even in the United States itself. These are pressures which every government must take note of and attempt to handle in their own way to the best of their ability.

Martin, himself, has personal ambitions which inspire him to make an effort to "improve his public image". He has visions of replacing Pearson as leader of the Liberal Party and as Prime Minister of Canada. To further these ambitions he considers it necessary to appear as a "man of peace", hence his keen desire to appear in the role of critic of American policies while doing nothing to impede the U.S. aggression; on the contrary, continuing in all ways to assist in furthering that aggression.

One important fact that underlines the point that Martin

The cultural institutions that have been established are not Albanian but have been specially set up for anti-Albanian purposes, to oppress the Albanians, to eliminate their culture, to Serbianize them. That is why there is no higher school in the Albanian language, no Albanian theatre or cinema. Albanian language publications are discouraged while those of the Serbs are increased and expanded. Officials in Kosova throw into the wastebasket all communications written in the Albanian language under the pretext they cannot understand it.

Tito dwelt on the dispute that is raging between the rival Serbian and Croatian clans on which language shall prevail and become official. He tried to use this also in Kosova to hit at Albanian efforts to preserve their national language. Tito declared: "We do not live on grammar, on this or that dialect." But the question of language with the Albanians in Kosova is not just a matter of grammar; it has to do with their national character, their history and traditions, their very existence. It is not a mere linguistic question but a vital problem which the Kosovars are staunchly fighting to have given a deserved place and attention.

The Albanians of Kosova know too well that Tito himself is the architect, initiator and organizer of the crimes committed against them; that as long as the country is ruled by the revisionist there can never be security and democratic rights for them, their national rights and equality cannot be secured. Therefore, they will never allow themselves to be caught by the traps set up by the Tito clique but will know how to continue their struggle, alongside of the oppressed peoples of Yugoslavia, alongside the Marxist-Leninists, for the exposure of the Tito clique to the end, in defence of their indisputable interests.

has not really changed his position in relation to U.S. aggression is his failure to label the U.S. as the aggressor and to

END CANADIAN SUPPORT FOR U.S. AGGRESSION IN VIETNAM

demand immediate U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. Martin restricts his "peace efforts" to echoing U.S. proposals for negotiations which, in fact, means support for the Johnson program. A second fact is Martin's attitude to Canadian involvement in U.S. aggression so far as it concerns supply of Canadian materials for the American war machine.

The Canadian people have recently awoken to the realization that Canada is aiding U.S. aggression in Vietnam to the tune of hundreds of millions of dollars annually in supplies of materials of war, and increasing numbers are voicing vigorous protest and demanding an end to such shipments. Here, again, Martin is the spokesman and apologist for the government; the one who tries, by devious means, to explain away Canadian involvement and silence the public clamour.

Martin's "explanation" of Canadian shipments is laboured and involved and has a false ring to it. He states: "We are making no shipments direct to Vietnam": "Our supplies to the U.S. are under terms of our NATO commitments and have no relation to the war in Vietnam": "It is not proper for us to question what the United States does with what is purchased from us."

We reject these so-called "explanations" which Martin

offers. It is very much our concern what the U.S. does with supplies obtained from us and it is entirely within our right, in view of increasing U.S. aggression, to demand an accounting. Martin's claim of no "DIRECT" shipments to Vietnam is evading the main point of Canadian support to U.S. aggression by making supplies available. It is of no great importance whether those shipments go "direct" or stop temporarily in some half-way house in the United States. That such shipments are being made is a fact which cannot be denied. From the plant of Canadian Industries Ltd., at Valleyfield, Quebec, there are two cars leaving daily via C.N.R. for various points in the U.S. and carrying goods ultimately destined for Vietnam. We publish in this issue of P.W. unquestionable proof of our contention—a bill of lading for one of these cars en route to a point in the U.S.

The goods marked being returned to the U.S. are containers which are sent from the American plant and then returned filled with T.N.T.—a high explosive. As can be seen the U.S. consignee is an army ammunition plant in Nebraska

which manufactures ammunition for use in Vietnam.

The evidence we present here concerns a relatively small shipment but these shipments are going on continuously and reach very large proportions indeed. When Paul Martin claims we are lending no "direct" assistance to U.S. aggression in Vietnam he is dealing rather loosely with the truth and Canadians opposed to our involvement should refuse to be influenced by his misleading statements. Pressure on the government must be continued and increased until we compel them to end their pro-U.S. activities.

We wish to pass on one more item which as yet is but a rumour but appears it may prove to be quite substantial. We have been informed from a source we consider to be reliable that Canadian army officers and N.C.O.'s are fighting in Vietnam attached to Australian forces "for training purposes". If any of our readers should come into possession of evidence substantiating this claim we would appreciate receiving it for purposes of publication and comment.

LUMBERMEN IN HEILUNGKIANG

By REWI ALLEY

Curious how much alike Canada is to the province of Heilungkiang in China's northeast. The same tall timber, the same wide plains, with their black soil. The same logging industry, and the same kind of climate: Population figures of around eighteen million run about the same for both places.

Heilungkiang takes its name from the river of the name, which the Russians call the Amur, and which is the present boundary between the two countries, one fixed by the Russians after an unequal treaty forced on China a century past. The province is rich in timber that comes down from the Greater and Lesser Hsingan mountains, and helps much with construction in many parts of China. It is also a rich grain exporting province, its wide plains being tilled by the now increasingly mechanized communes or state farms. Many immigrants still come in from Shantung and provinces in the south, and its capital of Harbin has gone up in population from 800,000 in 1949 to 2,100,000 in 1967, swiftly becoming a highly industrialized city.

In September of 1967, I spent some weeks in the province, and during that time visited the I-chun area of the Lesser Hsingan ranges. This is a place of timbered hills, whose major production is lumber from the ancient natural forests now being felled. There are fifteen forestry divisions in the administrative region, each with a logging industry connected up with the national railway system by either modern highways or else by narrow gauge forest railways. We spent our time in one of these fifteen divisions, that of Dai Ling, watching mechanized loading of great logs, the mechanized felling of trees, and then the careful work going into widespread afforestation. There are larches, spruces, and pines, and plenty of graceful silver birch. In the valleys skirting forest stands, are groves of Manchurian walnuts, and plenty of hazelnut bushes. Five hundred thousand people live and work in the fifteen forestry divisions, either in the lumber, in industry or in mining. Valley cultivation provides some of the grain needed, and all the vegetables. But Heilungkiang is so rich a grain producing province that the bringing in of grain to lumbering areas presents no great problem. In the days of Japanese Occupation of the North Eastern provinces of China, there was ruthless exploitation of both resources and people. Forests along the railways were felled and the hills burnt off so as not to give cover to the resistance. Today, at Dai Ling, the forestry division of the I-chun administrative area we stayed in, there is a cadres school for foresters, and a fine large nursery as well as a Forestry Research Institute for new forestry work. There are many schools for children, hospitals, as well as modern amenities for the towns that depend on the industry. There are timber mills, and machine shops, along with narrow gauge railways that reach up into back valleys. The lumbermen live well now. No more the acorn flour Japanese Imperialists made folk subsist on, but as one 68 year old lumberman said proudly, "It is the best white flour now!" Most of the lumbermen, however, are relatively young with young families growing up, tough, hardy youngsters used to the hills and to work amongst them. Each spring there is a short planting season for afforestation. It lasts from May 1st to May 20th, and literally everyone in the lumber camps and administrative centres turns out to take part in it, all the way up from school children to old folk. Don't think that because the area is in the far hinterland of rural China that the political side is forgotten. I see a worker away up on a hill face. He waves his little Red Book at me, and I wave mine back. Everywhere throughout the countryside now one sees the quotations from Chairman Mao's works painted up on boardings, walls and indeed almost everywhere they can be put.

The language of lumbermen takes on the phrases of the Cultural Revolution, "Dou, Pi, Gia" "Struggle, Criticise and Transform." Or "Struggle Against Selfishness and Criticise Revisionism" — "Dou Ss, Pi Hsiu." After all who could be more proletarian than a lumberman, and this is a proletarian revolution, aiming at collective working as the best way for all, along with the clearing away of selfish ideas. 95 per cent



of all the organizations, administrative and industrial, had come into the three way alliance of old cadres, young rebels and army throughout the whole I-chun area while we were there. "All in the service of the people" is a slogan that is kept on with all the while. Old middle class ideas of individualism and so on are ruthlessly exposed. The folk in this pioneer area then, seem out to set an example to their fellows in more favoured places, tying up their politics with the practical tasks of production. It was very good to see the enthusiasm of the young foresters in charge of the growing forests. How tenderly they watched the young trees springing up, and with what pride they showed them to the visitor. The favourite tree in this Lesser Hsingan Ling area is the Red Pine, called so because of the red tinge in its timber. It grows well once it gets a proper start and has some shelter in its early stages, so consequently a good deal of care is put into raising it in nurseries during its first three years, covering seedlings over with earth in the winters and protecting them against the heat of midsummer. The soil here is a rich, black one, but because of the frozen earth beneath, the roots of trees do not grow so deep. I wondered if the Canadian Sugar maple would grow here, for should it do so it would be an asset and too whether the more modern strains of hazelnut could be raised. The Manchurian Walnuts which grow wild and yield a thickkerneled, long nut, may perhaps later be improved, for the food bearing tree has a big future in China of the future. In the valleys there is considerable marshland on which a pine called the "Chang Sung" grows well, though to get the best results it needs to be planted out on a mound of earth rising a little above the damper ground. Some of the most successful planting has been with larch and spruce which grows sturdily though slowly in comparison with the timber trees of southern China. Red Pine plantations often do well when planted on hill faces amongst the scattered wild oak scrub.

In the Dai Ling area, the narrow gauge railways are now giving place to modern highways, truck operations having proved in other divisions to be more convenient than rail. Harbin-made forest tractors pull the logs around with ease. Trees are felled in quick time by motorized saws. Half work half study schools make forestry their work, and it may be expected that the new school system will yield more able practical foresters than has been the case in the past. Education is so clearly at the basis of much in the new day, and complete change in the educational system is one of the targets of the Cultural Revolution of our day.

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THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE TRADE UNIONS

A powerful current of opinion in favour of an independent Canadian movement is sweeping through the trade unions like a prairie fire in a dry, hot summer. A number of locals have already departed the ranks of the so-called "Internationals" and adopted independent status. The union bureaucracy, whose whole existence depends on continued American domination, is reacting with predictable panic. Included in the ranks of this panic-stricken bureaucracy is a close-knit and highly-organized group of union officials, long-time members of the Communist Party of Canada—a sort of bureaucracy within a bureaucracy—who attack the independent Canadian movement from the "left", and in this way complement and strengthen the otherwise untenable position of the right-wing opportunists and careerists. It is this "left" bureaucracy in whom we are particularly interested at the moment and we propose to make a critical examination of the entire history of their role in Canadian unions as it relates to the fight for an independent movement.

The trade union program of these "left-wing" pie carders can be stated briefly without danger of distortion or over-simplification. These are the main points:

A. "Unity" is the most important objective of the trade unions.

B. "Unity" is attainable only within the confines of the American unions and all efforts to build an independent movement constitutes "splitting" and "left adventurism".

C. "Autonomy" (an indefinite form of restricted "independence", the limitations of which are never clearly defined) can be obtained from the U.S. bureaucrats at some remote date in the future.

D. "Independence" can be obtained at some even more remote date once we have convinced the U.S. overlords of our eternal loyalty in bondage or in "freedom".

The pseudo "leftists" promote this program as though it were a great revelation of eternal truth known to them alone—something in the nature of the commandments of God handed down to a Moses on the mount. Everyone who opposes this awesome truth is a "splitter", a "leftist", an "agent of the C.I.A.", and must be forthwith drummed out of the ranks of the faithful who pay tribute to George Meany and Company.

The defenders of this program would have the workers believe that this is the only proven recipe for success; a formula based on experience in union activities. They are peculiarly reluctant to discuss the history behind this program—and it has a history—a history of 46 years of dismal failure and inglorious defeat. It is this history we intend to discuss briefly in this article, and for that purpose we will start with a resume of the early history of trade unionism in Canada.

EARLY YEARS

Contrary to opinions held by many workers today, and particularly by young workers, our unions were not a gift graciously bestowed upon us by U.S. workers concerned for our welfare. In fact, Canada and the United States both owe the beginnings of trade unionism to the same source—immigrant workers from the British Isles who had trade union experience at home, especially in the years following the industrial revolution. U.S. unions came to Canada not to organize but to absorb organizations that already existed.

No exact history is known of our earliest labour organizations but substantial facts exist to indicate it had very early beginnings. Harold Innis, in "The Fur Trade in Canada" cites a memorandum addressed to Sir Guy Carleton, Governor of Canada, dated January 20, 1778, and appealing for regulations to stop desertions and demands for higher pay on the part of skilled canoemen. The memorandum read, in part:

"... that it be published before the Traders and their Servants that the latter must strictly conform to their agree-

ments, which should absolutely be in writing or printed, and before witnesses if possible, as many disputes arose from want of order in this particular."

The memorandum went on to complain of the "infamous custom" of hiring away skilled men for higher wages before their agreement was complete, a practice seemingly indulged in by some unprincipled traders. In a footnote Innis cites an 1800 report on wage demands as follows:

"Young men asked more at Montreal than at Detroit. They wanted 700-800 livres and would sign for only one year."

Innis further records that in 1789 ten firms banded together in an agreement not to hire a voyageur unless he could produce a certificate from his parish priest.

Attempts to cut wages when fur prices declined due to the French Revolution were stoutly resisted by the canoe-men; and agents of the Northwest Company complained of "the recalcitrant character of the French" and of the "weakness and pusillanimity of the magistrates who had allowed a party of upper country engages (hired men) who rose and took off the pillory, to escape". It was reported that several of the ringleaders demanded higher wages in August, 1794, but without success. "The more obstreperous were sent to Montreal." Sanctity of contract (does that sound familiar?) was an effective weapon used by the company.

There were labour organizations in Nova Scotia at least as early as 1816. In that year the Nova Scotia Assembly passed an Act fashioned on the English Statute of 1800, which prohibited combinations of workmen. That unions already existed in Nova Scotia is indicated by the reference in the Act to the numbers of workmen in Halifax and other parts of the province who "by unlawful meetings and combinations endeavoured to regulate the rates of wages." A fraternal delegate from Nova Scotia attended a meeting of the National Typographical Society in New York in 1837.

Printers' societies were established in Quebec in 1827 and in Ontario in 1832. In 1834, the Montreal Gazette reported resolutions passed at a meeting of Master Carpenters (employees) which referred to a recently established organization of workmen as follows:

"We now, in consequence of the present combinations consider ourselves called upon to make a stand against their arbitrary and injurious conduct and after mature and calm deliberation, have resolved that the long established custom of this place previous to last year is the best, and that it shall remain unaltered; we have, therefore, agreed that from the first of April to the first of November a day's work shall consist of eleven working hours. . . We are further unanimous in declaring our opinion that the society calling itself the "Mechanics Protective Society", is calculated to produce the worst consequences; such a body of men cannot be considered competent to what they have undertaken neither are they likely to confine themselves to decent and becoming order, they are therefore dangerous to the peace and safety of good citizens".

INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

It was not until 1863, long after a number of unions had been organized in Canada, that the first approach was made by U.S. unions for the formation of "Internationals". The Moulders' Union was the first to accept Canadian locals. There were unions of moulders in Toronto, Hamilton, Brantford, London and Quebec. Delegates from the first four of these five cities attended the convention in Cincinnati in 1861 and the name of the organization was changed to the Iron Moulders' Union of America in 1863.

The National Typographical Union in the U.S. conducted a ten year campaign, starting in 1854, to have Canadian printers join their organization. In 1860 an appeal for "International" unions was addressed to Canadian printers in the following terms:

"It will, if we succeed in bringing these unions under

our jurisdiction, strengthen both our numbers and our finances; it will do away with the difficulties that now exist in regard to the exchange of cards. . . and it will be the means of strengthening the bonds of fellowship and good



CANADIAN UNIONS FOR CANADIAN WORKERS

feeling that should exist between ourselves and our sister countries".

In 1865 the constitution was revised to allow for the entry of Canadian unions and charters were issued to St. John Local No. 85 and Toronto Local No. 91, the first of the Canadian unions to enter the fold. The Knights of St. Crispin, an association of shoemakers, entered Canada at Montreal in 1867 and there were soon lodges in about half-a-dozen Canadian cities, all of them dedicated to resist the introduction of machinery that was blamed for the increasing unemployment in the trade. The Railroad Brotherhoods also entered Canada in the 1860's and "International" unionism was well on the way to becoming the dominant form of labor organization in Canada. Organization of labor on craft lines was finally consolidated at the convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1886 which elected as its president Samuel Gompers, the very epitome of bureaucracy, class-colaborationist labor leadership. American unions rapidly displaced the independent Canadian labor organizations and became dominant in Canadian workers groups.

Organization on "International" lines appeared quite a natural development in those early years and the distortions and bad influence of later years could not be easily forseen. Trade, then, was north and south rather than east and west and the international border was no more than a formality which in no way impeded the passage of workers in search of employment. Long before there was any formal affiliations Canadian and American unions, recognizing the tendency of workers seeking employment casually crossing the border, had made arrangements for an exchange of union cards.

Another important point of consideration was the fact that Canada was not yet economically dominated by the United States investors. American money was still concerned with internal development, westward expansion and exploitation of the territories seized from Spain. Britain was still the dominant imperialist power in North America and labor in the 19th century had no way of knowing then the dire consequences that would result from an economy dominated by U.S. investors and a labor movement dominated and dictated to by the class-colaborationist labor lieutenants of the foreign investors who began to buy up Canada in the early years of the present century.

RESISTANCE TO THE "INTERNATIONALS"

American labor's penetration of Canada did not proceed entirely without opposition, even in the early years.

The Provincial Workman's Association (P.W.A.) of Nova Scotia, which was the first organization of workers in Canada to extend beyond local bounds, bitterly resisted at-

tempts of American unions to enter the district. Penetration was initially attempted by the Shoemaker's Association and the United Mine Workers of America. It is significant that the P.W.A. members felt no pressing need for American affiliation and the main reason resided in the fact that they had succeeded in forming a union national in scope and did not require the aid of U.S. unions to help them break out of local isolation. The P.W.A., founded in 1879, managed to survive for 38 years before it finally fell under American pressure. It is interesting to note how the downfall of the P.W.A. was achieved with the aid of Canadian labor bureaucrats, and how this applies to other independent Canadian unions as well.

The Knights of Labor, (which had originated in the United States), by the late 1870's and early 1880's had become mainly a Quebec and purely a Canadian movement. The Knights joined with locals of the internationals to form the Montreal Federated Trades and Labour Council, but, instigated by Samuel Gompers, a number of international union locals withdrew and split the Council in 1897. Assisted by Gompers these defecting locals set up a second labor council under A.F. of L. control. (This had a great deal to do with later trade union developments in Quebec since the Knights was almost entirely a Quebec movement.)

The crude interference of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats in the internal affairs of Canadian labor resulted in a sharp conflict between pro-Canadian and pro-U.S. supporters at the 1901 convention of the Trades and Labor Congress. A proposal to transform the T.L.C. into a Canadian Federation of Labor was placed before the convention delegates. Ralph Smith, the incumbent president, presenting the officers' report, stated the case for a Canadian movement in this way:

"A federation of American unions represented by a national union and a federation of Canadian unions by a national union, each working with the other in special cases, would be a great advantage over having local unions in Canada connected with the national unions of America."

International bureaucrats managed to have this section of the report tabled until the 1902 convention, which gave them a year to prepare to defeat the proposal. The 1902 convention controlled by delegates from "international" craft unions, proceeded to split the labor body along craft versus industrial and Canadian versus American lines. The convention refused to seat delegates representing the Montreal Federated Council, lifted that organizations charter and seated delegates from the Council approved by Gompers and the A.F. of L.

A resolution calling for a constitutional amendment stating that "no national union be recognized where international unions exist" was presented to the delegates, debated and finally passed by a vote of 89 to 35. The dominance of the international craft unions was made complete with the election of John Flett, a paid officer of an international union, as president of the Congress. The A.F. of L. bureaucracy promised to make an annual payment of \$500 to the T.L.C. in exchange for surrendering their national sovereignty.

The campaign to bring the entire trade union movement under U.S. control was pushed with added vigor following the 1902 convention. One of the first steps affected the Coal miners, most of whom were organized in the P.W.A. in Nova Scotia. The logical step would be to have the P.W.A. affiliate to the T.L.C., but there was in this case a conflict of jurisdiction with the United Mine Workers of America, an international union which, under terms of the 1902 convention must receive T.L.C. recognition in the coal mining industry. There was one embarrassing crossing to be navigated—the U.M.W. of A. had not a single member in Canada. In 1904, when the question was up for consideration, the delicate situation was handled by reporting that the P.W.A. could not be accepted into affiliation with the Congress because it was a provincial association. In the same year the P.W.A. lost a bitter strike in the steel mill in Sydney. The A.F. of L. bureaucrats undertook to convince the workers that the strike was lost because the P.W.A. did not have sufficient funds. But when the United Mine Workers succeeded in moving in some months later it also encountered strong company resistance during a strike — and lost.

The Amalgamated Society of Carpenters, which had British connections, was just as summarily dealt with as the

other organizations. An agreement for recognition of ASC locals was abruptly terminated by the A.F. of L. in 1911 and in 1912 the Trades and Labor Congress terminated the affiliation of the A.S.C. on orders from the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. This action was taken in defiance of the 1912 convention which had voted to reject the demand of the United Brotherhood. The executive committee cancelled the convention decision and returned the A.S.C. per capita payments. P. M. Draper, Congress secretary, attempted to justify this arbitrary act in a letter to the A.S.C., written in 1913, in which he stated:

"The international trade union movement . . . as understood in Canada . . . recognizes as its supreme head of the A.F. of L. and this for all trade and jurisdictional matters."

An A.S.C. official in an indignant reply accused Draper and the Congress executive of crawling to an organization officered by men whose allegiance was to another country. He continued:

"It is to be sincerely hoped the time will soon come when we shall see the Canada Trades Congress take a firm stand for its independence while keeping friendly relations with the workers in other countries."

These divisive actions extended to the West Coast where the Western Federation of Miners and the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees were forced out of the Labor Councils of Vancouver, Victoria, and other places, where they had previously been seated as affiliates.

Thus we see that division and splits are not at all the responsibility of those who fight for an independent Canadian movement, as the fake radicals in the Communist Party try to prove. That responsibility rests squarely on the shoulders of the American bureaucracy and their paid stooges in Canada — quite a few of whom are members of the Communist Party of Canada and with a vested interest in a continuation of the status quo.

At this point the American bureaucrats could claim victory over a considerably weakened Canadian Labour Movement but the resultant situation merely sowed the seeds of new conflict. Fresh forces were already rising to challenge the foreign bureaucracy in the name of independence and for a more effective and fighting labor body.

THE RISE OF THE O.B.U.

"Western Radicalism" has been a political factor of some importance for many years. It affects particularly the workers and farmers of the four western provinces, but even the bourgeoisie in the west became infected with the disease. This political attitude has its roots in the retarded and distorted industrial development peculiar to the west for many years. This vast territory west of Ontario, so rich in natural resources and fertile soil, was limited to the task of supplying raw materials and agricultural products for the eastern markets. The west was in the economic and political position which gave it the appearance, and forced on it the political attitudes, of a colonial possession. Every advance, the building of a national railway for example, had to be bitterly fought for against the opposition of the lords of finance in the east. Westerners harboured a healthy hatred for the eastern money markets — Bay Street and St. James Street — and blamed them for most of the economic backwardness of the west.

It was not unnatural, under the circumstances, that labor in the west should look on the union bureaucrats as serving dual capacity: as representatives of a foreign power and at the same time, of the eastern financiers. The attitudes adopted by the bureaucracy and their open contempt for the "wide-eyed radicals of the west" contributed nothing to dispelling the low opinion western workers had of them. On the contrary, their every action strengthened the anti-bureaucratic, anti-eastern opinions of the west.

The crisis attendant on the imperialist war of 1914 added fuel to the fire and caused it to break into the open. At the heart of the problem was the question of labor's CLASS position in relation to the war and conscription. The union bureaucracy supported the war effort, defended conscription and made fervent patriotic speeches to that effect. Western labor, by and large, opposed the war and condemned it as a venture of imperialist conquest. Opposition became even more vigorous with the introduction of conscription which was openly opposed by labor in the west and practical assistance rendered those who refused to answer the conscription call.

When the T.L.C. executive carried a proposal condemning opposition to conscription the "B.C. Federationist" published a bitter denunciation:

"If there is any one fact . . . it is that there is nothing at present in common between the labor movement of the east and that of the west.

"The labor movement of the east is reactionary and servile to the core. Its vision has never reached beyond the matter of work and wages, the gospel and philosophy of slavery. If there has been any advance and progressive thought it has, as a rule, come forth from the west. The 106 who at the convention voted against the reactionary policies of the Congress, were almost entirely from Winnipeg and the west thereof.

". . . it is time the western labor movement repudiated this servile and suicidal policy and refuse to longer be party to it."

The Russian Revolution, which faced condemnation from the labor bureaucracy in the east, stirred up sympathetic attention in the west. Articles by Lenin, including "Left-Wing Communism," began appearing the "B.C. Federationist," journal of the B.C. Federation of labor. When Samuel Gompers formed the "American Alliance of Labor and Democracy," a pro-imperialist group specifically designed to drag labor into war service, and as a forum for attack on the Russian Revolution the editor of the "Federationist" referred to him as:

"The biggest humbug of the age, and the most impudent and insufferable reactionary that the world has ever known."

This conflict over the imperialist war, conscription and the Bolshevik Revolution finally reached a climax with the death of Ginger Goodwin, popular organizer for the Western Federation of Miners, a former vice-president of the Federation, a radical socialist and an opponent of the war and conscription.

Goodwin had been placed in class "D" and declared unfit for military service. But during a strike, Blaylock, manager of the Smelter at Trail, arranged to have Goodwin reclassified "A" and called for service. Like many another draft dodger of the day Goodwin took to the hills near Cumberland, Vancouver Island, where he could count on the support of the coal miners. In late July, 1917, Dan Campbell, a special constable, tracked down Goodwin and shot him in the back with a soft-nosed, or "dum-dum," bullet. Campbell was first indicted for murder but later exonerated.

B.C. labour responded to the murder of Goodwin with a general strike that un-nerved the ruling class. Businessmen in Vancouver mobilized a mob of drunken "patriots" and wrecked the Labour Temple. A similar attempt to destroy the Longshoremen's Hall was defeated on a 24-hour battle against a police-supported mob. The Longshoremen further defied the "patriotic" elements when they voted to continue their strike for an additional 24 hours in the face of extreme intimidation.

In September 1917 came a wave of repression. Fourteen radical organizations were banned by order-in-council: Efforts to bring about a change in government, or any political, social, industrial or economic change, by force, threat of force, or even the defense of the use of force, was prohibited. No meetings could be conducted in the Russian, Ukrainian or Finnish languages. "The Week", organ of the Victoria Labour Council, was banned, as was the Socialist Party journal, "The Clarion", and workers caught with books published by Charles H. Kerr, socialist publishing house, were imprisoned. Those who were caught aiding "draft dodgers" were given prison sentences. Western labour correctly interpreted the wave of repression as a ruling class attempt to smash the labour movement under cover of protests of "patriotism".

In September, when the campaigning of repression was gaining momentum, the T.L.C. convened at Quebec City. Right from the opening formalities it was obvious there was a wide and bitter division between the progressives, largely from the west, on the one hand, and the conservatives, largely from the east, on the other hand. The traditional eastern setting for the convention, coupled with the refusal to institute a policy of travel assistance, assured the eastern bureaucrats of a formidable block of votes from nearby eastern localities while the long distances from the western regions meant a minimum number of progressive delegates. With

their bloc of votes the conservatives won on every issue. Opposition to conscription was ruled out; a resolution for the release of conscientious objectors was defeated; the resolution opposing intervention in Russia was tabled; a request to have reorganization plans drawn up by a special committee instead of the executive was tabled; a proposal to hold a convention in the west went down to defeat.

Nominees for executive position named by the west were almost invariably defeated, while those candidates who were bitterly opposed by western delegates were elected. Sam Watters, a moderate and the incumbent president, who was supported by the west was defeated by Tom Moore by a vote of 195 to 155. David Rees of Fernie, B.C., a candidate for fourth vice-president was narrowly defeated in a contest that saw more ballots cast than there were delegates at the convention. On a revote after protest, Rees was elected.

The western delegates to the Quebec convention held a meeting and, with one dissenter, voted in favour of recommending a conference of representatives of the four western conferences to discuss united action and how to win enough eastern support to ensure the defeat of the bureaucracy. The B.C. Federation of Labour undertook the organizing task and sent out calls for a meeting to be convened at Calgary on March 13, 1919. The Federation postponed its own convention to March 10, and named Calgary as the scene.

The Western Labour Conference was attended by 239 delegates: Alberta 89; British Columbia 85; Saskatchewan 17; Manitoba 46; Ontario 2. Before the conference ended the delegates had evolved plans for an entirely new organization, with principles and policies completely opposed to those of the Trades Congress.

Resolution no. 3 recommended that all bodies represented sever their affiliation with the internationals and co-operate in the formation of an industrial organization of all workers — the One Big Union. A further conference to finalize organization after all bodies had been canvassed was held at Calgary in June.

In spite of united opposition from employers, government and labour bureaucrats, the One Big Union met with a sympathetic response from large numbers of workers. The difficulties of the Winnipeg general strike, and the arrest and imprisonment of many leaders was not sufficient to stop the advance of this dynamic movement. The OBU convention of January, 1920, reported a membership of 50,000 and there were encouraging signs of growth in Ontario and among the coal miners and steel workers of Nova Scotia. But what the ruling class and their labour lieutenants could not achieve for themselves was about to be done for them by the left — the smashing of the O.B.U.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Although the general practice is to date formation of the Communist movement in Canada from the Guelph Convention of 1922, at which the Workers' Party of Canada, forerunner of the Communist Party, was formed, there were Communist circles in Canada several years before that. There were two Communist Parties in the United States, the Communist Party of America and the United Communist Party of America, each of which had Canadian sections. Members of these sections held a preliminary meeting at Toronto in 1921 to prepare the convention of 1922. The 1921 conference and 1922 convention formalized into a program what had been the general policy of the Communist circles prior to 1922. The point which we are presently concerned with, trade union policy, was the one point that led to disagreement and ultimately a split between the assembled delegates. What were the roots of this policy and what did it consist of?

William Z. Foster, a leading American syndicalist and later an outstanding member of the C.P. U.S.A. went to Europe to study working conditions and spent some time working in France and Germany where he participated in trade union work and observed them in action. His observations led him to believe that militants were wrong in leaving the established unions to form "revolutionary" bodies. On his return to the U.S. he left the I.W.W. and advocated a policy of returning to the A.F. of L. craft unions and working from within ("boring from within") to transform them into radical industrial unions. Jack Johnstone, a Western Federation of Miners leader in British Columbia, was a supporter

of Foster and carried his "back to the crafts" policy into Western Canada.

Later the BC Federationist published Lenin's "Left Wing Communism" in Canada, a work which sharply criticized the German left on substantially the same grounds that Foster used to criticize the I.W.W. It was this policy of "back to the crafts" that was espoused by Communist circles in Canada and formally included in the program of the Worker's Party in the following way:

"...Not only the policy pursued by some groups in the past of seeking to revolutionize the labour movement by splitting away to form new ideal unions be completely abandoned; not only must dual unionism be vigorously combated; but positively all tendencies to consolidate the trade unions by amalgamating the related crafts on the basis of one union for each industry must be fostered within the existing trades."

This directive constituted a direct order for the dissolution of the O.B.U., abandonment of the industrial unions and a return to the crafts in the hope that they could some day be converted into industrial unions with a radical outlook. On this point the delegates split and when the pro-O.B.U. forces refused to accept the decision the majority declared virtual war on the industrial organization.

Here we had a classical example of the mechanical application of a policy which was right for one place to an entirely different set of conditions of national independence involved in their decision. The German trade unionists at whom Lenin directed his criticism were in a German movement, composed of German workmen and led by German bureaucrats. Foster was equally concerned with a movement completely American. But Canada, unlike any other trade union movement in the world, was under the domination of a foreign trade union bureaucracy that was in the hands of labour lieutenants of the imperialists who were already supplanting the British in domination of the Canadian economy. Looming larger than industrial versus craft form of organization was the question of national sovereignty. The convention majority saw no contradiction between their call for Canadian independence and their insistence that Canadian workers submit themselves to a foreign bureaucracy that was in the service of the financiers who were bidding to control the economy of Canada. They apparently did not see any real connection between the reactionary A.F. of L. bureaucracy and the U.S. imperialists.

The policy of "boring from within" not only put the party squarely on the side of the A.F. of L. bureaucrats, it put them also in active opposition to any form of independent Canadian trade unionism advocates of which were (and still are) condemned as "splitters, leftists, reactionaries, provocative elements, etc". For example, Tim Buck, in his book "30 years, The Story of the Communist Movement in Canada", declares that supporters of the O. B. U. were "enslaved by the idea that secession from the craft unions was the hallmark of militancy" but has no comment on the fact that the majority considered membership in the craft unions to be the "hallmark of militancy". Bill Bennet in his "Builders of British Columbia" voices a sweeping condemnation of the O.B.U. that is worth quoting at length as an example of the attempt of party leaders to consign the organization to oblivion. Bennett wrote:

"...the O.B.U. sent revolutionary greetings to the Soviet Government and the Party of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg... as well as fully accepting the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. These revolutionary declarations laid the O.B.U. open to the widest attack. To the bosses, who stood to lose by the coming into existence of a powerful industrial union, they provided the argument that this was a revolution. The Winnipeg strike and the sympathetic strikes in Vancouver and other Western Canadian cities were denounced as attempts to set up soviets in our democratic country. The O.B.U. was doomed before it was born. With the help of all the reactionaries, particularly those in the labour movement, it was utterly defeated and the militants were again on the outside. "The O.B.U. debacle was due to the fundamental error that wrecked the I.W.W. trying to combine revolutionary program with the tasks of an ordinary trade union, the maintenance of wage scales and working conditions. It was

a political party and a trade union in one. A trade union cannot be a revolutionary party, though it may be a weapon of revolutionary struggle".

The core of Bennett's criticism is that the O.B.U. was too revolutionary and that it scared the bosses. The unions, according to Bennett, should stick to their reformist knitting—wages and working conditions—and leave revolution to the elite. This reformist attitude has thoroughly permeated the party ranks to the extent that socialism is a forbidden topic in the unions. When Bennett says the destruction of the O.B.U. was aided by reactionaries "particularly those in the labour movement" he appears to be blissfully unmindful of the fact that it was chiefly the majority in the Worker's Party who gave the impetus to the anti-O.B.U. campaign in the labour movement. In his book "30 Years" Buck boasts of how the party led thousands of workers back to the A.F. of L. Here are a few of Buck's more notable remarks on the subject:

"...the first general task that the party set itself was built in the struggle to correct the 'back-to-unions' movement. The Workers' Party was built in the struggle to correct the mistaken worship of secession... militant workers returned to the craft unions."

But the fight against Canadian and industrial unionism did not involve the party in struggle with the left unions only—it also brought them into conflict with unions of a more right-wing character. In Quebec Catholic Syndicates had been formed as a challenge to the A.F. of L. Under the domination of the church in the beginning they were preferred by the employers and got more co-operation than the A.F.L. just as the A.F.L. got more preferred treatment over industrial unions in other areas. (The Catholic Syndicates later became the C.N.T.U. and a more militant body than the A.F.L.).

Insistence on "back to the craft unions" was one of the main questions which led to a split with St. Martin and his followers in l'Universite Ouvrier. Although an anti-clerical of long standing St. Martin insisted the Catholic Syndicates should be supported on the ground that "they are Quebecois". But party leaders still could not grasp the point that national sovereignty demanded that the workers of a nation control their own trade unions.

The 1902 resolution on "dual unionism", master-minded by Gompers, was brought into play again in the T.L.C. convention in 1921. On demand of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, an international, the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employers, a Canadian and industrial union, was ordered to merge with the international and was expelled from the T.L.C. when they failed to comply. The T.L.C. president declared:

"Congress... will uphold the right to restrict its members to supporters of the international trade union movement and those in agreement with the constitution and policies of the Congress."

The issue could not possibly have been made more clear: submit to control of the American bureaucrats or be expelled. Once again, as on many a previous occasion the U.S. bureaucrats and their compliant tools in Canada, were responsible for splitting the labour movement. In view of this situation the party leadership reaction could only be described as mild. Tim Buck representing the Toronto Machinists, and party members representing other locals, attended the Vancouver convention of the T.L.C. in 1923 with "unity" proposals. Buck's local of the Machinists complained that "Congress policy was blocking affiliation of local unions". The same complaint in almost identical terms, was being voiced 44 years later at a convention of the B.C. Federation of Labour, striking testimony to the "success" of the party trade union policy of which Buck boasted so proudly in '30 Years'.

By now fully a third of all Canadian unionists were in wholly Canadian unions and large numbers of members in the "internationals" favoured a radical change in structure. It is reasonable to assume that an absolute majority of union members in Canada could have been mobilized around a national union centre and gone on to win full support for an independent movement. However, both the A.F.L. bureaucrats from the right, and party members from the left, were united in bitter opposition to such a solution. The party policy at the 1926 convention was for "an all-in conference of all trade unions in Canada" (this is still a party proposal in 1967), the

bureaucrat response was that the international craft unions were wide enough to embrace all workers.

The inevitable occurred. In 1927 a new trade union centre the all-Canadian Congress of Labour, was organized and the question of Canadian versus American unions for Canadian workers was brought to the fore. The response of the party leadership to this development was to emphasize "unity" and "Canadian autonomy".

"Autonomy" as a substitute for independence was discussed at length by Tim Buck in his 1925 pamphlet "Steps to Power", published under the imprint of the Trade Union Educational League which, fittingly enough, was the "Canadian Section" of a parallel organization in the United States. All of chapter 5 in the pamphlet is given over to an examination of "autonomy" and the wonders it would work for Canadian unionism. One notable phrase stands out; "Autonomy is not going to be won in a day", and that is probably the understatement of the century—"autonomy" is no nearer now, after more than four decades of struggle, than it was when Buck wrote his pamphlet, and it may be even farther away. An important part of Buck's argument consists of an attempt to frighten the U.S. bureaucrats with the spectre of independence if "autonomy" is not granted. Referring to coal miners who had left the United Mine Workers, Buck argues that "autonomy" could well lead them safely back to the fold of international unionism. One point that Buck carefully avoids is an examination of why the party leaders consider it more possible to convince the bureaucrats to grant "autonomy" than to convince Canadian workers to assert their right to independence.

We have had the opportunity recently to observe where this policy of "autonomy" leads us. For many years the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers was held up as a shining example of "autonomy" and the United Steelworkers of America as a horrible example of "U.S. domination". For more than 20 years one of the fiercest struggles in the annals of Canadian labour was fought between these two organizations with "Canadian autonomy" stated to be the central issue in dispute. But suddenly, after many bitter conflicts and the expenditure of millions of dollars, party leaders who dominated the councils of Mine, Mill suddenly "discovered" that Steel was autonomous after all, and led the members back to the safety of international control. The fact that many party members received well-paid appointments as a result of the so-called "merger" had nothing to do with the decision, of course. It is no wonder that one delegate from Sudbury at the Mine, Mill convention declared the union reminded him of a prostitute—"you pay your money and you get screwed". The party leadership even put the Sudbury local under trusteeship and seized the members property for the Steel bureaucrats because the local insisted on its right to be an independent Canadian union.

WORKERS UNITY LEAGUE

The party leaders were to enjoy still another opportunity to correct their mistaken policy. But it was an opportunity forced on them, and not willingly taken; always accompanied by declarations of desiring "unity" with the internationals, not wanting to "split the unions", etc.

The period following the end of the first world war brought crisis in the wake of shut-down war plants and discharged servicemen returning to the labour market. The ruling class reacted to the rising tide of working class militancy with reactionary attacks against radicals in particular and and with "patriotic" mob attacks against foreign-born workers. By 1921 the "Palmer Raids" (which gave birth to Hoover of the F.B.I.) were in full swing in the United States. The U.S. labour bureaucrats gave all-out support to the anti-red witch hunts and passed their own union laws barring Communists from membership (most of them are still in effect). The so-called "boom" of the "roaring twenties" saw a partial economic recovery and a temporary stability of American capitalism which gave rise to illusions and aided Jay Lovestone to spread his theory of "American exceptionalism"—that the U.S. economy would continue permanently on an upward spiral and never know crisis. The craft unions were totally unequipped to cope with the new mass production industries, nor were they willing to surrender a single inch of their jurisdictional territory. For all of its ingenuity, Foster's plan for councils of the craft unions to organize the

big industries, founded on the shoals of craft self-interests and fragmented into isolated craft sections in spite of spectacular temporary successes in Meat Packing and Steel. The end result was even worse demoralization of the workers in mass production, greater speed up and drastic wage cuts.

In spite of all their expressions of loyalty to the "internationals" Communists in Canada were drummed out of the trade unions wherever they were discovered. Now they were in exactly that position which they claimed their "back to crafts" policy was designed to avoid—outside the unions and out of contact with the members of the organized labour movement. This situation, plus the fact that the A.F.L. bureaucrats were doing absolutely nothing about organizing the unorganized in the face of sharp attacks on the living standards of the workers, prompted the leadership to take some independent action to organize the unorganized while all the time declaiming all they really wanted was to belong to the respectable "international" unions.

"Necessity", it is said, "is the mother of invention" and necessity was certainly nipping at the heels of the party leaders in this bleak period. Pressed to make some move that would leave them out of isolation and put them in firm contact with the working masses the party leaders agreed to formation of an independent and militant labour centre affiliated to the Red International of Labour Unions—the Workers Unity League (W.U.L.). But from the very first the leadership insisted this was but a temporary measure and that the basic policy of the party on trade unions was to "work from within" to transform the crafts into autonomous industrial unions—back to the crafts.

The W.U.L. had a short but spectacular existence. Established in 1929, just as the stock market went into the tail-spin that heralded the beginning of the economic crisis of the '30's, that saw more than a million Canadian workers unemployed, it lasted for approximately 7 years until the birth of the C.I.O. when it too became an offering on the altar of unity in the internationals.

The W.U.L., for all of the shortness of its life, would have to be classed as one of the most important developments in the history of Canadian labour. It was virtually alone in leading labour battles in the dark days of the crisis. It survived, grew and served the interests of the working class in spite of the concerted opposition of employers, the state and the A.F.L. bureaucrats. Many of its members and leaders were beaten up and jailed—but still it grew and expanded. Most of the strikes that occurred during its brief career were led by the W.U.L. and all of them were tough battles against both boss and state. Two of the strikes were amongst the most memorable in the history of Canadian union battles.

A bitter strike was fought by 500 coal miners at Estevan, Saskatchewan, in 1931. The demands were an 8-hour day with \$5.40 per day for underground work and union recognition. On the 29th of September, 400 strikers began a march from Bienfait to Estevan where they were met by 47 armed men of the R.C.M.P. who opened fire in front of the town hall killing 3 miners and wounding 18, almost 50 were arrested. Alberta miners went out in sympathy and a victory was won at Estevan.

In 1933 a regiment of tanks and machine gun troops were sent to Stratford, Ontario, to break a strike of furniture workers. The workers responded with mass picketing—and won. If the unions today want to fight injunctions they could learn a lesson from the Stratford furniture workers.

The W.U.L. became a major force in the '30's so far as leadership and influence was concerned and it led most of the strikes that were conducted from 1929 to 1936. Its total membership may never be known for workers who could not afford dues were never denied membership and many thousands of workers in those days could seldom afford to pay regular dues. The 1932 convention reported 40,000 members but there was probably at least twice that number.

By 1935 the Canadian unions of the W.U.L., all-Canadian Congress of Labour and the Canadian and Catholic Confederation of Labour accounted for more than half the union membership in Canada. In addition, a great many, perhaps as many as 50 per cent, of the members in the craft unions were ready to rally to a Canadian centre if one with some hope of survival were to appear. Upwards of 80 per cent of the organized workers could have been drawn into a united

Canadian trade union centre but the party was still carrying its cross of "unity in the international crafts" and would give no lead in the formation of a Canadian movement that could have routed the U.S.-dominated crafts.

When the C.I.O. started its spectacular drive in the mass production industries the W.U.L. was disbanded and the workers were led once more into the internationals in the name of "unity". And not all were led into industrial unions. The Lumber and Sawmill Workers of Ontario, for example, were taken into the Carpenters union (a craft) instead of into the I.W.A. (an industrial). J.B. McLachlan of Nova Scotia a founding member of the party, obeyed the leadership instruction to take the coal miners back to the United Mine Workers and then resigned from the party he helped to create. His was not the only act of protest against yet one more failure to take advantage of a favourable situation and at least attempt to build an independent movement.

THE BANKRUPTCY OF A POLICY

In the beginning, the section of the A.F.L. bureaucracy that broke away to found the C.I.O. needed the Communists to help consolidate the organization of hundreds of thousands of workers who had poured into the unions. But the unions that had anti-Communist clauses in their constitutions kept them intact and no real protest was made in the interest of maintaining "unity". Those that didn't have such clauses would get them later. In the "cold war" period that followed world war two the anti-Communist clauses were used to get rid of militants, many of them men and women who had made great personal sacrifices to help build the movement. Once again the left was on the outside, barred from holding office and often barred from membership. Once again the policy that was to guard against isolation led only to—isolation. But the party leadership learned nothing from its errors and presses on with the policy of unity within the internationals.

We are constantly regaled with fiery speeches about the need for "unity" and the fight for "autonomy", a sort of half-way house to freedom that appears to be receding ever farther into the future. As an "example" of where the fight for independence will get us the leadership cite their own colossal blunders, such as the I.W.A. fiasco, as a warning against the dire consequences that attend any move toward an independent Canadian union movement.

Party bureaucrats are elated with the "successes" they are achieving with their policy during the past year or two. Party members are being allowed to hold office, many of them receiving well-paid appointments, in the international unions. Anti-Communist clauses are being tactfully ignored. The entire party leadership of Mine-mill has been taken to the well-padded bosom of the United Steelworkers of America which has some of the finest anti-Communist clauses to be found anywhere and when Harvey Murphy and his colleagues took their oath of office in order to qualify for their pay cheques and pensions they swore to uphold and apply those clauses. But don't lose heart, brothers, these are all victories for "autonomy"—so they say.

These so-called "victories" are being won by applying the old tactic: "If you can't beat them, join them!" And these bureaucrats masquerading as Communists are doing exactly that—joining the social democrats. Socialism is now a dirty word in the trade unions, and those that dare raise the question of Canadian independence are no better than provocateurs and C.I.A. agents.

Having made their peace with the A.F.L. bureaucrats, accepted office in the bureaucratic machine and sworn to uphold and defend the reactionary constitutions of the international unions, the party leadership is wholly committed to defending the American unions and fiercely attacking every move toward Canadian unionism. Every petty reform that is proposed is immediately hailed as a great progressive advance. The party bureaucrat is so colonial-minded that he even applauds the American bureaucracy negotiating wages and working conditions for Canadian workers with U.S. monopolists on American territory. Any mealy-mouthed talk of independence from that quarter is an insult to the intelligence of the nation.

Increasing numbers of Canadian workers are swinging to the support of an independent Canadian movement. Normally they would have looked to those who are known as Com-

munists to give a lead to this movement. But these are the very people who are defending the international bureaucracy and leading the fight against an independent movement. Rank and file workers will have to form their own committees and plan their own line of action. This is all to the good for more workers will be drawn into active participation and more leaders trained for a growing movement. Many have already started on the road; more will soon fol-

INDIAN REVOLUTION ON HIGH ROAD AGAIN

by Fan Hsiu
(China Features)

Experience in the class struggle in the era of imperialism teaches us that it is only by the power of the gun that the working class and the labouring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and landlords; in this sense we may say that only with guns can the whole world be transformed.

-- Mao Tse-tung

The armed peasants revolution that started in Darjeeling, West Bengal, is an extremely significant development in the political life of India. A revolutionary base, reminiscent of Telengana (a revolutionary base area in southwest India), was established last March by the revolutionaries of the Indian Communist Party in Naxabari and other Darjeeling villages.

Inspired by events at Naxabari, India's peasant movement is growing rapidly, too, in other parts of the north-eastern state of West Bengal and other areas of the country, including the neighbouring state of Assam, the Northeast Frontier Agency, Tripura in the east, Andhra in the south-east, including the Nalgonda district where the great Telengana peasant armed struggle in 1946; west of West Bengal, the organized seizure of land by peasants from big landlords has alarmed the reactionary Indian government to such an extent that they are apprehensive that another Naxabari is taking shape there. Similar conditions obtain elsewhere. In tea-producing Assam State, many posters proclaim: "The way of Naxabari is our way!"

All these events have struck fear into the hearts of the reactionary governments leaders, big landlords and big capitalists, as well as into the hearts of the renegade Dange and his revisionist followers in the Communist Party. India's Home Minister Chavan says the developments have become a matter of "great concern" to the Indian government. The reactionary press, voicing the Indian ruling class' fear of the peasants and the revolt against its own ruthless oppression, declare that Darjeeling will "become a national disaster." Indeed it is already that for the reactionary ruling classes!

The reactionary government has hurriedly resorted to both counter-revolutionary soft and tough tactics in an attempt to crush the revolutionary base in the Darjeeling area. Its trickery of "negotiation" and "land distribution" failed. The revolutionary leaders familiar with this outworn dodge, ignored the government emissaries. The peasants refused to go to the "land distribution" meetings even at the point of a gun. Instead of falling for the reactionary government's line they made active preparations to meet the military and police "encirclement and suppression" campaign planned against the revolutionary base. The peasant armed forces, led by the revolutionaries in the Indian CP have launched widespread guerrilla activities. They are supported by mass political struggles in the cities, such as demonstrations and strikes. Though armed mainly with bows and arrows, spears and knives, as well as guns seized from the enemy, the peasants in the Darjeeling area have successfully engaged the enemy forces, fighting when and where they choose.

The revolutionary peasant forces have won the first-round victory in the struggle against the Darjeeling "encirclement and suppression" campaign. The reactionary government's counter-revolutionary move was defeated. 22

low. Treachery such as we have seen in Mine-Mill may slow, but cannot halt, the onward march of the Canadian working class. We will certainly have an independent Canadian trade union movement because Canadian workers need such a movement to fight for their class interests and for the nation. Canadian labour has had a glorious past, it will have an even more glorious future.

The peasantry was solidly behind the revolutionary leaders. Naxabari has relit the flames of the great Telengana revolution.

Naxabari is one of three villages in the mountainous Darjeeling district of northern Bengal State, where the first peasant armed revolutionary bases covers an area of 270 odd square miles with a population of 80,000.

The birth of Naxabari and what it symbolises is a victory in an intense struggle between two lines that has been going on for a long time, in fact, ever since the big betrayal of the Telengana revolution by the revisionist leaders in the Indian Communist Party in 1951. The centre of the struggle has been the question of which road the Indian revolution should take. This is a key question upon which the success or failure of the Indian revolution hinges. The question has been: whether to seize power by armed struggle or by peaceful means, such as through "legal" parliamentary struggle. In other words, it has been a choice of whether to take the road of the Chinese revolution, Mao Tse-tung's road, or whether to follow the revisionist road of capitulation advocated by Khrushchov, China's Khrushchov, Italy's Togliatti, France's Thorez, and India's Dange and Nambudiripad.

The revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party in West Bengal, mindful of the lessons of the great Telengana revolution, in 1965 raised the slogan of armed struggle by arming the peasants and setting up rural revolutionary bases. In the last two years, they have devoted themselves to mobilizing and organising the peasants in the Darjeeling district. The revisionist leaders in the Party, meanwhile, were collaborating with the reactionary ruling class. In an attempt to benumb the rising militancy of the ruthlessly exploited and oppressed workers and peasants, the revisionist leaders were allowed to take part in the new state government after the last elections. But when the red flags were raised in Naxabari, many Communists in West Bengal who want to make revolution started a movement to "desert" this "non-congress" government. Naxabari thus became a centre of revolutionary struggle involving more and more revolutionaries.

Under the leadership of the revolutionaries in the Party, thousands of peasants took up arms. They organized peasants' associations and established their own political power. The revolt against the reactionary government and the landlord class was on its way.

Land taken by the landlords and plantation owners was seized by force, as was grain extorted from the peasants through exorbitant taxes or outright robbery. To the great delight of the masses of people suffering the worst famine in recent history, hoarding and speculation, especially in grain, was eliminated. Guns and ammunition were seized from the landlords and big estate owners. People's courts tried and punished local tyrants and other hated oppressors of the people. In the Darjeeling district where people's power was established, 80 such cases were handled by the people's courts from March to June 1967.

Defying the reactionary government's declarations of "law and order" which prohibited public assembly and the bearing of arms, the peasants armed themselves with whatever weapons they could lay their hands on, held armed demonstrations and rallies, and protected themselves against police attacks in the villages or when working in the fields.

Even the women took up arms and did sentry duties and other jobs to protect the new revolutionary order. Police stations in and around Naxabari and other villages were forcibly put out of action and their guns taken over.

Meanwhile, the revolutionaries made active preparations for a protracted armed struggle against the anticipated "encircle and suppression" campaign of the reactionary government. The peasants fully mobilized themselves for such a struggle. When, following the failure of the reactionary government's political trickery, thousands of troops and police were sent to Naxabari on July 6 to "stamp out" the revolutionary base, the peasant armed forces fought them in a guerrilla war. Though militarily weak, the guerrillas, who have the full support of the masses, have been able to carry on armed struggle and keep the red flag of Naxabari flying.

The preliminary victory won by Naxabari and other Darjeeling base areas against an enemy far superior in strength is a manifestation of the tremendous vitality of the new revolutionary force and of the tremendous impact of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung. The leaders of the armed struggle openly declare that the struggle "is waged in accordance with the revolutionary line set by Mao Tse-tung."

Naxabari's victory is as Chairman Mao Tse-tung says: "A small spark can start a prairie." The prairie fire that has begun to burn is apparent in the many Naxabari-type uprisings that have arisen right across the face of the semi-feudal and semi-colonial sub-continent of India.

Naxabari is the result of rapidly deepening class contradictions, of the ruthless oppression and exploitation of the big landlord and big capitalist classes of which the New Delhi government is the representative, aided by sundry junior partners such as the renegade Dange gang and the revisionist Nampoodiripad clique. The policy of savage exploitation and national betrayal pursued by the Indian reactionary government has driven the people to starvation and turned India into a country suffering the most severe food shortage in the world.

Today, 300 million of a population of 500 million are short of food. Another 150 million toiling people are on the brink of starvation. Food rations are cut again and again. Millions of peasants suffering agonizing hunger have had to abandon working on the land and go wandering in search of food in the shape of roots of grass, leaves of jute plant, palm seeds and even discarded mango stones.

It is reported that 4 million people die each year of hunger. This year, conditions are even more serious. The

state government of Bihar officially declared last April that one-third of the state is in a state of serious famine. At least 40 million of Bihar's 50 million population are now starving. "Times of India" admitted Bihar is stricken with the "the worst famine in the century" with "millions of walking skeletons." Conditions are much the same in the other 15 states. In West Bengal, 27 million of its 38 million are starving. In Madhya Pradesh (Central Province), 38 of the 43 districts are faced with serious famine.

Nehru's phoney socialism has become a tragic joke. To prop up its tottering reactionary rule the Indian government resorts to brutal suppression at home and becomes a willing collaborator with U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, in staging one anti-China campaign after another, thereby obtaining loans and other economic and military "aid" at the price of betrayal of her own people. In 1966, food imports rose to 15 million tons, as compared with a yearly average of 830,000 tons between 1951-1956. This year New Delhi has asked for even more. Under the present reactionary political setup, millions continue to die of starvation. Yet India is a country with extremely favourable natural conditions where two or three grain crops can be grown in a year.

Foreign "aid" has made India one of the most heavily indebted countries in the world. Its foreign debt, according to the New Delhi "Statesman", was 47,980 million rupees by the end of March this year. Of this, 3,000 million was due to be repaid, principal and interest, this year. It is calculated that it will take half a century to clear India's mountain of foreign debt, that is, until the 17th year of the 21st century!

The revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party, in breaking out of the drag-net of parliamentary struggle and "peaceful transition" to socialism and similar revisionist trash, has courageously led the Indian people on to the correct road to liberation, to free themselves from the deep misery of one of the most ruthless forms of class oppression and exploitation in contemporary history.

In following the road of the Chinese revolution, the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party are doing the absolutely correct thing. Chairman Mao says: "The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution."

Naxabari is the new dawn in the revolution of the 500 million Indian people, who have a long tradition of revolutionary struggle against imperialism and domestic reactionary rule.

THE LIBERATION OF TIBET

by Lill Martin

Editors Note:

The first in a series of articles dealing with so-called "Communist Aggression". A simple presentation of the facts should be enough to dispell the myths concerning Tibet, Korea, India and Hungary. This article will deal only with Tibet—later articles will deal with the other topics mentioned.

It is argued by many that China took over Tibet. That is, that Tibet, an independent and sovereign country was the victim of China's unforgiveable passion to expand and was forced to become part of China. This, of course, was all supposed to be done against the will of the Tibetan people.

Point one deals with the falsehood that states Tibet was an independent and sovereign nation. Anna Louise Strong deals with this in her book "When Serfs Stood Up In Tibet."

"It was Kublai Khan who took Tibet into China about 1250 by your western calendar. That was how Apei put it to me. Apei should know. He comes of a family that has sat in seats of government in Tibet a thousand years, first as petty kings to the east of Lhasa and after Kublai as nobles holding high government posts." That is the truth of the matter. Tibet was and is part of China. No foreign government ever recognized Tibet as a separate country from the 1200's until the 1900's.

Some background in Tibetan history may help clear up any misunderstandings. Tibet was ruled by the Dalai Lama, the Panchen Erdeni and two feudal parliaments of landowners called the kashag and the kampo lija. The former was for the Dalai's territories and the latter for the Panchens. The title of Dalai Lama was granted by the first Emperor of the Manchu Dynasty and of the Panchen Erdeni by the second Emperor. All changes in Tibetan government and all authorities (including the parliament) had to be sanctioned by the Chinese Emperors.

The Dalai and the Panchen were supposed to rule with parallel powers in Tibet. However, as such things go, first the Panchen and the Dalai Lama came into political prominence, and in 1923, when the Chinese Empire was falling apart it was the Dalai Lama who, under the influence of the British, declared Tibetan independence. The move was sanctioned by neither Tibetan custom nor law. No foreign country recognized it. Tibet, itself, still sought the approval of the central Chinese government for the "incarnations" of the new Panchen Erdeni and the Dalai Lama when the two previous men died. And in 1942 and 1946 the kashag sent deputies to the National Congress of China in Chungking and then in Nanking. By 1949 no even Britain would have any-

thing to do with Tibetan independence.

This loose but definite inclusion of Tibet as part of China is recognized today in the fact that Tibet, like Inner Mongolia Sinkiang and Kwangsi, is given the status of "autonomous region". It has its own language, customs, religion, and elects its local government for local affairs and its deputies to the National People's Congress of China to handle national affairs. However, autonomy also means, under the agreement signed between Tibet and the Central Government in 1951: "regional national autonomy. . . under the leadership of the central government and in accordance with the policy laid down in the Common Program." It would seem then, that as far as Tibetan independence goes, things were pretty much the same as before 1951 as after. What is this, then, about China taking over Tibet, and what happened in 1959 to raise such a ruckus in the international press?

As already noted, the Chinese Empire was already falling apart before 1949. Years of war against Japan and civil war did not help the matter any. In 1950, only one short year after the Chinese Peoples' Republic came into being the P.L.A., Peoples' Liberation Army, was as Anna Louise Strong puts it: "moving out to unify the ends of China." Miss Strong describes the so-called "take over of Tibet".

". . . the Peoples' Liberation Army met the Tibetan Army under Apei and roundly defeated it in a two-day battle, part of the Tibetans going over to the P.L.A. Smaller Tibetan detachments, in areas around Chamdo, fraternized with the P.L.A. on sight without combat. The P.L.A. did not pursue its victory into Tibet proper but encamped near Chamdo for eight months to await the conference which would come." The conference resulted in the 1951 Agreement quoted above.

As quoted, the Agreement specifically states Tibet must follow the policy of the Common Program. In China the Common Program is the achievement of Socialism, and Socialism cannot be achieved unless serfdom goes. To see what the abolition would mean to Tibet I will quote again from "When Serfs Stood Up in Tibet" by Anna Louise Strong:

"For centuries the population has consisted of two basic classes: the nobles and the serfs. In Lhasa they estimated that some two per cent of the people were in the upper strata, and an additional three per cent were their immediate agents. Ninety per cent of the people were serfs tied to the land, while five per cent were slaves, persons handled like chattels.

All power was in the hands of the nobles, and particularly in the hands of the biggest serf-owners. These furnished the six *kaloons* who made up the *kashag*, the secular council of ministers; they also furnished abbots and high dignitaries for the monasteries."

Tibetan economy, such as it was, was based entirely on serfdom, with the power in the hands of the nobles and the misery in the hands of the serfs. The nobles owned the land and the serfs worked it, often owing the entire harvest to the landlord for rent, repayment of loans, and interest. Every manor contained a chamber of horrors for torturing those who did not pay. As if this were not enough, one in every three men in Tibet was taken for the monasteries, causing a long decline in the population and the widespread outbreaks of syphilis. It is easy to see that any reform doing away with serfdom and compelled monkhood would have the support of the serfs and the opposition of the nobles.

This is in fact what happened, but it was not until 1959 that a showdown came between the P.L.A. supporting the

reform and the counter-revolutionary nobles, against it. In the meantime the Central Government and the P.L.A. spent the time helping the serfs prepare for the reform. Three highways were built into Tibet, the labour for which the P.L.A. paid the serfs. Schools, hospitals, experimental farms were set up. Seed loans and farm implements were made available to the serfs. And most important, the Preparatory Committee for the Tibetan Autonomous Region was set up. The *kashag* and nobles meanwhile organized counter-revolution. One occurred in west Szechuan district of Tibet in winter 1955-56, and another in the spring of 1958 in Chinghai and Kansu.

However it was in February 1959 that open counter-revolution began in Lhasa. The *kashag* demanded the right to occupy the State Trading Office of the Central Government. Upon refusal, the Tibetan Army (which according to the 1951 Agreements was supposed to be integrated into the P.L.A. by this time) trained their machine guns on the Communist Party Headquarters. On March 10th the counter-revolutionaries took over Lhasa, their army going rampant in the streets, pressganging youths to join their forces. The P. L. A. remained in barracks and applied to the *kashag* to restore order. The *kashag*, being on the side of the counter-revolutionaries, responded with a declaration of Tibetan independence. And thus it continued for ten days.

On March 20th the Tibetan Army opened fire on the P.L.A. at 3:40 a.m. The P.L.A. waited until 10 a.m. to return fire and by 1:30 p.m. had taken over most of the counter-revolutionaries' positions in Lhasa. It was another month before their entire base area in Loka was put under control. The Dalai Lama, siding with the counter-revolution, fled to India while the Panchen Erdeni remained loyal to the Central Government. (Perhaps this is why he is never mentioned in the Western press.) On the 28th of March the local government of Tibet was placed in the hands of the Preparatory Committee with the Panchen as acting chairman (the Dalai Lama was supposed to be chairman). The counter-revolution was an action of the landlords and nobles not of the serfs.

And how did the serfs react to all this? Put yourself in the position of a serf and imagine how you would feel. For years you have owed your entire crop to the landlord, your firstborn son was taken from you at the age of three to become a monk, you have seen him only twice since then; your daughter died of syphilis given her by the local landlord, your left hand is missing. It was cut off many years ago when you tried to hide some grain for next year's seed. Now you are tilling your own harvest for the first time and your son has returned home for a visit. He tells you he has been given freedom of person and will be leaving the monastery soon. You have seen the instruments of torture dragged from your old landlord's home and burned along with the feudal land titles and old loan papers. How would you feel? Like your country had been trampled on or like the author of this song:

"The Dalai Lama's sun
Shone on the lords.
Chairman Mao's sun
Shines on the people!
Now the lords' sun sets
And our sun rises.

As the great proletarian cultural revolution continues the peoples' sun shines even more brightly on the "Roof of the World."

U.S. AGGRESSORS: GET OUT OF VIETNAM
