

THE MARXIST

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THE LIBERATION OF THE PROLETARIAT IS THE TASK OF THE PROLETARIAT ITSELF

The statement that heads this page is an expression of unalterable truth. If we expect, or allow, others to do it for us, we cannot complain when we are betrayed.

How, then, do we begin? Where are the resources that will enable us to build a leadership from within our own ranks and equal to this immense task?

We believe that the potential exists primarily in industry. Workers in industry are constantly in conflict with the employing class. Struggle, in one form or another, is part of their daily existence. Illusions are difficult to maintain and workers quickly learn from experience that justice does not depend upon strength of argument alone, nor on numerical superiority. It has to be fought for and won. Further, in struggle workers accept quite naturally that organisation and discipline are indispensable. As both are also essential ingredients in modern industrial production, workers are already accustomed to their application.

If we cannot build the leadership needed from this source we will not build it anywhere. To start this we must work to form groups of workers within factories, dealing with concrete problems, intimately integrated with their own class and, as a direct consequence, seeking that which will assist them in their own endeavours.

It is here that the connection and interrelation of all things can be seen..... here that the dialectical nature of all development can be demonstrated.....here that the sweeping compass of Marxist-Leninist philosophy may not only be understood but put into practice.

We must recognise that it is not simply a question of forming groups of Marxist-Leninist workers, but primarily of developing Marxist-Leninist workers in the process of working in groups.

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COMMENT

If one were to judge the situation in the Middle East by the attitude of the news media, one would be very likely to come to the conclusion that everything in the garden would be lovely if it were not for the greedy and backward Arabs ganging up on little, brave, progressive Israel, who is only defending herself.

It is presented in such a way as to awaken sympathy for Israel on the emotional basis of the sufferings of the Jewish people throughout the ages, and particularly after the rise of Nazism in Germany.

It is presented in such a way that anti-Zionism is equated with anti-semitism - a travesty of the truth.

The Jewish people have made great contributions to literature, the arts, the sciences; indeed in all fields of human development, but Zionism, and the associated teaching that they are some kind of "chosen people" has brought them nothing but distress and suffering.

At one time or another, all peoples have, in the course of their historical development, have been conned by leaders into believing that they were something special and unique.

This was often to the advantage of a privileged class which was represented by such leaders, but for the common people it has always meant disaster.

It is only necessary to remind ourselves

of the events in Germany and Japan between the two World Wars and the consequences which flowed from them, to appreciate the lessons of history.

In essence, Zionism is no different.

Theodore Hertzl, founder of the Zionist movement, envisaged a Jewish State which stretched from the Nile to the Euphrates (Syria).

In June 1969, the Times quoted General Dyan as saying;

"Our fathers reached the frontiers which were recognised in the Partition Plan. Our generation reached the frontiers of 1949. Now the Six Day generation have managed to reach Suez, Jordan and the Golan Heights. This is not the end. After the present cease-fire lines there will be new ones. They will extend beyond Jordan, perhaps to Lebanon and perhaps to Central Syria as well"

On the 22nd July 1973 the President of Israel told a meeting on Mount Hertzl;

"Twenty five years after the establishment of the Jewish State as envisaged by Hertzl, we are only too well aware that the task is not yet finished."

The Jewish State referred to by the Zionists is a state in which race is the only criterion of worth and full citizenship.

The Governments of South Africa and

Rhodesia are justifiably termed racist regimes. By the same standards - so is Israel.

In all three instances it is the immigrants who are oppressing the native inhabitants.

Is this too harsh? Then listen once more to Dyan as reported in the Israeli newspaper Yediot Aharnot in May 1973.

"The State of Israel was established at the expense of the Arabs - and in their place....We did not come into a void. There was an Arab settlement here. We are settling Jews into places where there were Arabs. We are turning an Arab Land into a Jewish Land".

Furthermore, the Law of Return which is a fundamental law of the State of Israel, guarantees the right of any Jew from any part of the world, to settle in Israel.

The fact that most Jews prefer to stay in the country of their birth (there are about 3 million Jews in Israel, but about 12 million outside) does not detract from the point that it means allowing and even encouraging immigration which in turn means the expulsion of still more of the indigenous population from the land which they at present occupy.

In line with this policy, Israel has used one excuse after another as a pretext for stealing more and more Arab land, a practice that was connived at by the imperialist powers, particularly America, which saw the Zionist State of Israel as a vehicle for extending its influence in the Middle East.

The United States is the biggest backer of Zionism, but of course it does not put all its eggs in one basket.

For instance, at the time when Britain and France instigated Israel to attack Egypt in 1956 in an attempt to frustrate Egypt's decision to nationalise the Suez Canal, the U.S.A. supported the Egyptians.

This succeeded in its objective of weakening the position of British and French imperialism in this area but left American imperialism facing a strong challenger in the Soviet Union which had also opposed the Israeli intervention.

Subsequently the United States lost a lot of influence in Egypt when it refused to take part in the Aswan Dam project.

The Soviet Union gained influence by financing and building it, and, having gained a foothold in the area, proceeded to draw Egypt into its political and economic and military orbit.

Whilst the Soviet Union saw its interests best served by backing the Arabs, American imperialism came to rely even more on the Zionists, although both of the superpowers "hedge their bets", with the U.S. trying to influence Saudi Arabia and the Soviet Union trying to influence the Zionists by allowing the emigration of trained Soviet scientists and technicians to Israel.

Both Israel and the Arabs are seen by the superpowers as mere vehicles for their own imperialist aims, and a permanent settlement of the Arab-Israeli dispute is not in the interests of the ruling class in either the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R.

A situation of No War - No Peace makes them indispensable to Zionist and Arab, and ensures their presence in the area.

A solution of the conflict would render

them both redundant.

The Arabs are now taking the line that they will accept Soviet assistance but not its domination, so the situation is somewhat complicated with each trying to use the other.

Breznev and Co do not like the spirit of independence thus displayed, but an Arab defeat would weaken their position in the area vis a vis the Americans.

The situation in the Middle East is an example of how the two superpowers are colluding with each other in order to dictate to the smaller states whilst at the same time using them as pawns in the struggle against each other.

Any "Peace" in the Middle East which is dictated by the superpowers will only reflect their respective strengths at this particular time, and not necessarily the interests of the countries immediately involved.

ISRAEL'S DIPLOMATIC DEFEATS

During recent months the Zionists have received one diplomatic setback after another. For instance, a total of sixteen African states have now broken off Diplomatic Relations with Israel. This is a setback to the Zionist penetration of Africa and there is a growing awareness of the community of interests between the Arab and African struggles for national liberation and independence.

Heads of state of seventy six countries who attended a conference of non-aligned states in Algeria, during September of this year, passed a resolution which amongst other things,

"Demand that the Israeli forces leave

at once and unconditionally all the Arab territories occupied in 1967. Reaffirms its full support to Egypt, Syria and Jordan in their struggle by all means to recover their lost territories."

Even in the United States, most resolute backer of Zionism, there are powerful voices being raised which question the political wisdom of a pro-Zionist foreign policy.

The Chairman of Standard Oil of California sent out a letter to its 300,000 shareholders and employees, urging support for "the aspirations of the Arab people" and their "efforts towards peace in the Middle East".

These diplomatic and political successes, great as they are, were not sufficient to make the Zionists see reason; for that the force of arms is necessary.

Whatever the outcome of this stage of the Arab peoples' struggle against Zionist aggression, one thing is widely accepted. The myth of Israeli invincibility has been shattered and the courage and fighting ability of the Arab demonstrated to a world which had been brainwashed into believing the Zionist propaganda that the Israelis were in some way inherently superior to the Arabs.

WAR AIMS

In spite of the Official statement of war aims by the Arab leaders which make it quite clear that they have no intention of trying to destroy Israel, and that the sole aim is to regain lost territories and achieve a solution to the Palestinian problem, the Zionist leaders, in order to conceal their aggressive aims, persist in their claim that they are simply defending Israel.

Fulfillment of the Zionist aim of a Jewish State extending from the Nile to the Euphrates can never be realised now that the Arab world has been awakened to the danger and started along the road of united against it.

The economic development of the Arab States surrounding Israel is tipping the balance of power more in their favour every year whilst the myth of the classless Israeli State is being demolished before our very eyes.

CLASS STRUGGLE IN ISRAEL

Class struggle as expressed in terms of the number of strikes is growing, whilst the balance of payments problem is worse than that of Britain.

The voices calling for the unity of Jewish and Arab worker to fight against capitalist exploitation are growing in strength. So much so that Hitler-like techniques are being used against Jew as well as Arab.

Members of the Revolutionary Communist alliance Struggle were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for working to unite Jewish and Arab workers against the Zionist State.

One of them, Rami Livneh, a Jewish worker, was sentenced to ten years imprisonment for this reason. In his speech to the court he made a criticism of "socialist or liberal" Israel. The full text is published in the September issue of Free Palestine, but here we quote two paragraphs:-

"The State is not a sublime value expressing the 'redemption of the Jews after 2000 years', but an instrument for assuring the political dominance of a parasite class on the shoulders

of 'this people' and at the expense of the Palestine Arab people.

The state machinery is not 'a sublime expression of the Jewish peoples' liberation', but an effective and cruel machine in the hands of the class of the owners of enterprises and capital, for the exploitation and oppression of the masses of workers and peasants, both Jew and Arab.

We, members of the Revolutionary Communist Alliance-Struggle, are fighting against the regime of exploitation and oppression. We work for the mobilisation of the masses of workers, peasants and poor - both Jews and Arabs - for a common struggle whose purpose is the establishment of a true democracy, for the establishment of a regime in which power will be in the hands of the workers and peasants, a regime putting an end to exploitation, oppression and poverty, a regime that will ensure human life for every man; a regime that will carry out the common interest of all the oppressed and exploited, both Jews and Arab".

The military and diplomatic containment, and then defeat of Zionism may initially arouse ultra-rightist forces, but in the longer term it will help strengthen the progressive forces within Israel. The removal of the Zionist threat by the creation of a secular Arab-Jewish State in Palestine will remove the excuse for imperialist intervention in that area.

There can be no lasting peace in the Middle East which does not satisfy the just needs

of the Palestinians.

The Palestine Liberation Organisation has, as its aim, the creation of a unitary, democratic, non-sectarian state for the whole of Palestine, in which Jew and Arab will have equal rights.

Time is running out for all the racist states, and Israel is no exception.

BOOMING BRITAIN.

Since the previous part of this article was written (mid October), the In Place Ceasefire imposed by the two superpowers has compelled the Arab countries to rely on the oil weapon to defeat Israel by diplomatic means.

We are told on the one hand that Britain is regarded as friendly to the Arabs, therefore assuring supplies of oil; yet petrol rationing is on the horizon. It is inferred that the Oil Companies are outside the control of Government and are diverting oil supplies to other countries, originally destined for Britain. Whatever the reason, the resultant oil shortage is adding to the difficulties of the Heath Government which is now beginning to reap the whirlwind of its own creation.

Phase I and II of its so-called anti-inflation policy were carried through without serious opposition, but phase III, already facing a serious challenge from the power engineers and the miners, is showing signs of running into rough weather with other, though less powerful sections of workers.

The idea that Phase III can and should be challenged is gaining ground; and although the bulk of trade union officialdom do not appear to have any intentions of attempting to reinforce the miners struggle, they are no doubt hoping that the miners will make a break-through which they will be able to exploit.

The news media are pulling out all the stops in an attempt to isolate the miners,

but at the time of writing it does not appear to be meeting with much success.

Irritation with rising food prices and rents is pushing people in the direction of favouring some kind of direct action. A sharp confrontation between Miners and Government may well provide the necessary spark to start a widespread fire, because apart from the psychological impact of such an event on the rest of the working class, there is the distinct possibility that the combination of an oil shortage, a coal shortage, and the non-cooperation of the power engineers who normally control the distribution of available power, could lead to a volatile industrial situation with thousands of workers becoming involved in struggles to compel the employers to implement a Guaranteed Week and similar agreement.

A feature of the political scene during recent years has been the involvement in industrial forms of struggle of sections of the working class who had rarely, if ever, been so involved previously.

The dustmen, Hospital ancillary workers, Post Office workers, Firmen, Civil servants, and others have all learnt that direct action is the only way to get results.

Not all of these struggles were successful. Some, such as the Dustmen, won striking victories, but others failed for a number of reasons. Bad leadership, lack of experience of struggle, unfavourable circumstances, or simply lack of strike power.

Disillusionment due to inability to win a particular battle may temporarily hold back these comparative newcomers to direct action, but like the rest of the working class, they will join such struggle as a matter of necessity, rather than choice, and the fight will be resumed.

Their conditions of labour do not permit them to be the pacemakers or the leading

force, but their involvement in struggle broadens the base of the active opposition to ruling class policies, and such a broadening is absolutely necessary for political advance. A particular Government may be forced into a tactical retreat by a relatively small but influential section of workers, but a successful challenge to ruling class power can only be made on a broad front, which in British conditions must embrace sections of the population outside the ranks of the working class.

THE MIDDLE AND PROFESSIONAL CLASSES.

Most of these are at the stage of either hoping for crumbs from the big boys table, or getting fed up with waiting, express their dissatisfaction by voting Liberal.

Whilst some of the upper strata are still receiving favourable treatment in the form of tax concessions etc; some of the lower strata are being depressed, not to the economic level of the majority of the working class, but comparatively in terms of previous standards.

For example, the inflation of property values is now making it impossible for them to go in for buying their own home with the result that they are now being forced to join the queue for council accommodation at a time when there is a reduction in building for local authorities.

Their current pet hate are the Property Developers, who are making millions out of cornering land on the basis of inside information from Government Departments, influencing Government and Local Authority policies, and downright trickery whereby tenants are inveigled into waiving their legal rights and allowing themselves to be pushed out onto the streets or into much more highly rented accommodation.

In this field at least, some, within the middle and professional classes, share recognition of a common enemy with the working class. They waffle, but are extremely vocal when their interests are seen to be threatened, and a campaign the Property Developers could help increase the instability of the Heath Government which has put limitations on the activities of workers, and, to a lesser extent, on manufacturers, but has left the extremely profitable field of property speculation completely untouched.

CONTRACTIONS WITHIN THE CAPITALIST CLASS

The colossal defeat in the Balance of Payments has added to the ranks of those in the Conservative Party who are demanding cuts in Government expenditure and increases in taxation to further reduce the purchasing power of the people.

Further, the President of the Confederation of British Industry has stated that many industrialists are not too happy with the way in which Phase III places obstacles in the way of practical solutions to some immediate labour problems.

From the point of view of the financiers who are reaping in the profits, they are onto a good thing, but the manager who must deal with the very practical problem of getting the right kind of labour at the right time, and in the right place, is finding life very difficult at the moment.

All in all there are several powerful factors that are coming together which will make it very difficult for the Government to continue with its present policies, and a breakthrough for the miners is on the cards, which will be followed by others. If this happens it will be a victory for the working class inasmuch that it will signify the defeat of an

CHILE. The peaceful road to slaughter

M. Hickey

To attempt to analyse the events in Chile over the last three years must present a daunting task to a communist living in Britain. One must try and avoid the traps into which the revisionists and trotskyists have plunged.

THE C.P.G.B. LINE.

On the one hand, the Communist Party offers no criticism of the strategy used by Allende's Popular Unity Coalition. Its commentary is limited to recounting the bravery of Allende in his final hours and in attacking U.S. imperialism and its machinations within Chile. It stresses first, that the 'parliamentary road' was the right one for Chile. Any attempt to mobilise the people militarily would have precipitated the coup at an earlier date. Hence the compromises made by Allende were "essentially tactical, because the armed forces were in the last analysis determined to prevent him and he knew it"

Secondly, the C.P. says that Allende was on the right road. The general secretary of the Chilean C.P., Corvalan, said in 1970:-

"What we have started is not irreversible, we must make it so".

The progressive forces lost when the balance was overturned by the reactionaries at home in league with imperialism. But as this was expected, why was so little done to prepare for it? As one can see, it's a case of 'the chicken or the egg?'. The events in Chile have made a nonsense of the "peaceful

transition to socialism" theory, and the revisionists have, by their own analysis, tacitly accepted that their programme for conquest of power is unworkable.

THE TROTSKYIST LINE.

The Trotskyists, on the other hand, stress quite correctly that the Allende regime should have armed the workers. But they fail to answer the C.P.'s bone of contention that this would have triggered the coup. They add that the independent workers' and peasants organisations should have been encouraged, not dismantled. But in fact it was not the central, but the municipal and provincial authorities, (evidently having some administrative power within the state), which were responsible for prohibiting privately held arms.

And the provincial authorities were represented in the congress, which soon after the nationalisation of the copper resources prov itself hostile to almost every measure proposed by Popular Unity.

Finally, the Trotskyists declare that they would have sacked the generals and called upon the rank and file in the army to arrest their officers. But this would almost certainly have been a disastrous move. Nowhere within the armed services were the cadres who had infiltrated, in a strong enough position to make such a challenge. A general can be "sacked" - but who is to remove him from his post? If the rank and file had not responded, what then? Generally, the Trotskyists

have confined their analysis to attacking Allende for "Stalinism". In their final analysis Allende was effectively an agent of the ruling class. To quote from the Manifesto of the trotskyist Socialist Labour League:-

"The purpose of the Stalinist Popular Front is to virtually tie the hands of the working class behind its back and physically disarm it while the ruling class prepares the real conspiracies against it".

The conclusion that Allende was no Marxist-Leninist is a fair one. But to infer that he connived with the ruling class is plainly absurd. It denies that there were other contradictions within the Chilean State other than that between the bourgeoisie and proletariat. As such it must be rejected.

It is in submitting proposals - which might have been attainable within Chile - that one must take caution not to be presumptive. Only the Chilean comrades can decide tactics for their struggle. However, one must be just as cautious not to mouth rhetorical slogans.

The Popular Unity Coalition was overthrown on September 11th, 1973, by a putsch carried out by the three armed services and much of the Civil Police. The formation of the Junta was announced immediately. The coup was the culmination of the policies pursued over three years by the monopoly capitalist and landowning class in Chile and financed covertly by U.S. imperialism. It was engineered at this time not only because of Allende's economic policies; perhaps more importantly it was his inability to implement these policies constitutionally that triggered the coup. This failure was leading to the real-

isation by many working people in Chile that to advance at all they would have to be in effective power. The ruling class was witnessing this development, and its choice of action now limited. It was the growth of independent organisations as a parallel power - still a weak one - to the bourgeois state, that prompted the army to step in.

There is strong evidence the U.S. imperialism had since the 1960's noticed the development of political consciousness among the Chilean People. Under President Frei, Chile was receiving the most "aid" in Latin America from U.S. imperialism, yet this "aid" failed to stabilise the economy. When Frei left office there was 18% unemployment; the rate of inflation was second in the world only to South Vietnam; many foodstuffs were in short supply and the infant mortality rate stood at 40.0 a year.

When subversion undertaken by the C.I.A. directly on behalf of U.S. monopoly capital failed to prevent Allende coming to power, the tactics changed.

Allende was elected in September 1970, but did not take office until November. In the two months, there was a crippling flight of capital from Chile. During the following years imperialist subversion of the economy intensified. The U.S. imposed a complete embargo on trade with Chile. Not only was "aid" withdrawn but also all capital which they suspected would be nationalised.

But the subversion was not just in the economic field; the Allende regime at all times faced terrorism from armed fascist organisations within the country. In October 1970, General Schneider, Commander in Chief of the army, was murdered by a right-wing terrorist. The assassin received two years imprisonment.

Throughout a great part of his term of office there was incessant rioting from extremists. It remains a criticism of Allende that he failed to suppress such disturbances. During this summer, when the owners of transport and of the communications industry halted operations, all communications between the provinces were cut, creating chaos within the country. It remains another criticism that Allende failed to halt this internal economic subversion. To enforce a socialist change on society, where one part of the population imposes its will by force on another part, authoritarian means are unavoidable.

It is too early to say whether the strikes that took place amongst Chile's industrial working class represented mere sectional interests or were engineered and funded by foreign agents, (as Allende's widow maintains). According to the revisionists, the Chilean miners formed the labour aristocracy; apart from the miners there existed the lumpen proletariat. But this definition would apply to many countries on the sub-continent. It is, I believe, an over-simplification. Miners have played a very positive part, on the whole, in the armed struggles that have shaped recent Latin American history.

The declared task of the C.P. of Chile was to mobilise the masses, but politically, rather than militarily. Allende had been elected with 36% of the vote; in the mid-term elections this increased to 44%. How long would he have waited before mobilising the people for the coming armed struggle? The Chilean industrial working class is one of the most organised in the world, and the regime enjoyed its solid electoral support. The urban middle-classes - in particular the owners of small scale means of distribution, were not won over to Popular Unity's policies. Neither were the middle strata of

farmers and peasants in the countryside. It was precisely this that Allende set out to do but failed. The trotskyist approach is to ignore the middle strata in society. It states that, on the verge of civil war, the armed working class should say to all other classes, "You're either with us or against us. You may join us, but if you stand in our way, you've had it". But the Chilean working class was too small to win a revolution on its own. Whilst it must always lead the struggle, the working class must have the widest possible alliance of forces on its side. This is achieved by exploiting the antagonistic contradictions between these other classes and the owners of land and monopoly capital, whilst weakening the ideology of these classes. It is not achieved by denying the nature of the coming struggle and renouncing the control that the industrial working class must have - as modern revisionism has done; nor is it done simply by issuing an ultimatum at the point of no return - as Trotskyism proposes.

To give a few examples where Popular Unity failed to achieve this alliance. Whilst the Government controlled the provision of food, there is evidence that a black market arose as some workers were retailing part of their rations back to the middle class at inflated prices. This created an antagonistic contradiction between the small owners of distribution and the working class. That it should have been rigorously controlled can be seen from the fact that the shopowners eventually joined the side of reaction when they closed down all their premises in Santiago this year, contributing to the existing chaos in the food supply.

In the countryside, only 7% of the land was distributed by the Government. This provided a situation where bands of peasants and farm

labourers took the initiative. Seizing the land themselves in an uncoordinated manner, especially in the south, they seem to have left the wealthier peasant strata in doubt of its own security whilst the major landowners would be expropriated.

So in the countryside, the regime faced opposition not only from the great landowners but from many small farmers, worried about the activities of revolutionary groups who may often have proceeded in too undisciplined a fashion. It should be stressed that the fault lay chiefly with the regime in providing a vacuum where this could occur.

MARXISM REVISED, A FIELD DEMONSTRATION.

It is undeniable that to remain in power, Allende should have operated outside the constitution. Just by looking at the parliamentary set-up in Chile one can see this. Popular Unity was always in a minority, in the congress, which from 1971 exercised its right to veto almost every reform proposed by the coalition. The Chilean Communist Party, in its efforts to isolate its enemies, compromised with the Christian Democrats to a point where it was the most moderate faction in the coalition. But class struggle transcends all parliamentary manoeuvring. As Chou-en-Lai said of Chile in 1970, socialism cannot be mid-wifed by parliament. This is accepted now by the Chilean C.P. On Oct 15th U. Teitelboim of the Central Committee recognised that the bourgeoisie "to preserve their domination and their control of the means of production do not hesitate to drown in blood every manifestation of democracy". He admits that they controlled the Army, Parliament, the judiciary, the civil service, municipal administration, the Press, and most of the mass media. Why then, if this was so obvious, did not the C.P. in power undertake the clan-

destine arms training of cadres in the countryside, and the arming and organising of cadres in the towns to prepare for such an emergency ?

There is evidence that they began the latter only in his last month. The point is that, if it was possible in the last month, why not before ? From news of the resistance it appears that some comrades retained possession of their arms. Yet Allende's widow says that when the women approached her husband with requests to distribute arms, he refused. Without a peoples' army, the people have nothing, and an army cannot be built in a short space of time.

THE BETRAYAL IS EVIDENT.

The coup was inevitable. This was plain to all. In the film "When the People Awake", made in Chile in 1972, the workers and peasants interviewed, revealed their knowledge of what was to occur one year later. It is a tragic document.

Time and again they stressed that to build socialism they would have to control the state. Time and again they reject the notion of peaceful transition. One may accept that the pronouncements on "the professional and constitutionalist tradition of our armed forces" made by the C.P. leaders right until their fall were tactical denials of the real situation, in order to stall for time. But where were these denials counterbalanced by the creation of an armed force amongst the people who would remain loyal ? They were followed through by the admission into the Cabinet of Generals from the Forces, whose underlings were already preventing factory occupations in the provinces, and conducting a purge of progressive elements of the rank and file in the armed services. And why was

General Prats not given the necessary authority to commandeer the road transport vehicles during the Stoppage this summer? It would hardly have been a revolutionary act on Allende's part, but it may well have split the army on the question of loyalty.

THE POSITIVE ASPECTS.

It is true however, that agitation within the armed was undertaken by a number of organisations, including the C.P., the Socialist Party, and the M.I.R. There is also evidence that this propaganda, which is of tremendous importance in affecting the balance of forces, was taking effect. In the June revolt in the Navy, one regiment from Concepcion was decimated following a purge of elements sympathetic to the regime. In Santiago, at the time of the coup, regiments of civil police were fired on by the Putschists, when they refused to take part in the suppression of resistance. The work which had been done proved insufficient, although this is no attack on the comrades directly involved.

Now the Chilean people are faced with an immensely more difficult task. From a position of potential strength, from which, with the correct leadership they could have advanced, they have moved to one of weakness, where their fight is one for survival. Yet the resistance continues and according to some reports, is intensifying. We hear that the toughest fight occurred in Santiago's suburbs, and in the south in Chillan and Puerte Alto, where a state of seige existed. In Valparaiso, in the provinces of Nuble and Antofagasta, police stations and army installations have been attacked. That the struggle has been sustained in the face of the bestial cruelty of the Junta is a tribute not only to the heroism of the activists, but a tribute to their correct strategy. The

Junta now has little political support within the country. By suspending Congress and dissolving all political parties, it has alienated much of its potential support among the Christian Democrats. Many have publicly dissociated themselves from the military authorities. If they are moved to a position of neutrality, this would represent an improvement in the relation of forces.

EXPERIENCES - LESSONS - FUTURE TACTICS .

Since the military have taken power, they have imposed an increase in many food prices of nearly 600%. The working week has been increased by 8 to 10 hours. Regiments stationed in areas of tension are moved frequently to prevent any communication with the people. Even tunic colours are regularly altered so that rebels will be indetifiable when they do not report back for duty.

To aggravate the contradiction between the military and the broad mass of the people the attacks must be maintained. The junta must be prevented from legalising itself by passing nominal reforms, as has happened after the countless coups that have taken place in Latin America, and as happened in Greece, the interpretation of the struggle ahead is made purely as suggestion in the light of recent armed struggle on the continent and elsewhere, and not as a solution to be posed from outside.

It is to be remembered that all the guiding principles of military operations grow out of the one basic principle; to strive to the utmost to preserve one's strength and destroy that of the enemy. So it is not enough that the workers are in control of small arms; these present a weak answer to a central army, well equipped, well trained and highly disciplined. One can look back to Bolivia, in

1970, where the industrial workers, large contingents of whom were armed, did not prevent General Banzer marching into La Paz with his troops. If the Trotskyists now call for Bolshevik-type insurrections within the cities under military control, the result will undoubtedly be a massacre of what popular forces exist. The Trotskyists believe that the development of a "people's war", by organising armed insurrection in stages, is 'formalist, bureaucratic and militarist'. But the struggle undertaken by the people must now principally be waged in the countryside. It necessitates the creation of mobile strategic forces - the nuclei of a people's army - which can work amongst the people, whilst at present retaining their organic and operational independence from them.

There are already, in the province of Arauco independent groups of guerrilla fighters in operation. It is up to the comrades in the towns to consolidate what little they have at present, undertaking actions which would keep the forces of repression occupied in guarding installations and suchlike.

"We were not prepared for the bombings", said Allende's widow after the coup. It is precisely these well defined areas, the cities, and especially the shanty towns outside the metropolitan areas, that would be the most vulnerable to heavy attacks, particularly from the air, resulting in slaughter suffered for no gain.

It is for this reason that, as a direct assault on power would be unsuccessful at this stage, the protracted nature of the struggle should become clear. The object must be the gradual encirclement of the cities from the countryside.

Any attempt, at present, at creating 'zones

of self-defence', outside which the Junta's army would have freedom of action, would likewise prove disastrous. It is only as long as the struggle is extended beyond 'safe base areas' as it was in China, and Cuba and as it is being done throughout Indo-china, that 'self-defence zones' acquire significance.

Otherwise they will be crushed, as were the peasants in the Colombian province of Marquetalia in 1964, and the tin miners in Bolivia in the summer of 1965.

The necessity of a people's army is plain, as is the inevitability of a people's war. To build an army is a long process requiring people, armaments, training and discipline. But whatever military line will be taken will be the expression of a political line. If the political line is wrong, then the military line will fail. The success of the military strategy will depend upon whether the ideology is rooted in Marxism-Leninism. If the Chilean people can build a Marxist-Leninist party as the vanguard in their struggle, they will fight with history on their side. Without such a party, the present resistance will at best remain resistance. It will never be transformed into a successful revolutionary struggle.

SOME CONCLUSIONS FOR BRITAIN.

The chief lesson for us here in Britain is that there can be no peaceful road to Socialism. Given that the economics of Britain and Chile are far from identical, the main contradictions in both countries are the same. We should not be led to think that if a similar situation occurs here, the ruling class will "play the game" and behave more gentlemanly. For almost three years the C.P.G.B. pointed to similarities between Chile and

Britain; constitutional government for over 100 years; a well organised industrial working class:- etc;. Chile was the shining example that vindicated their policy.

Now, following the coup, they maximise the differences. "Chile had an economy perverted by imperialism" - in other words, it would be different here.

If the theory does not fit historical experience, then the theory must be wrong. Do the revisionists accept this? Not at all. If the reality does not fit the theory, they distort the reality. A recent article by Jack Woddis, head of the C.P.G.B.'s International Department explains:-

"It is essential, now, to campaign for fundamental democratic changes in the State, and especially in the army in order to lessen the chances of the ruling class using the army against the people or a left wing Government..It is vital to campaign now, even before we have a Socialist Government for essential changes in the State."

This demonstrates more clearly than anything we can say, that the leaders of the C.P.G.B. are not capable of learning from history. They still think in terms of changing the state by peaceful pressures. Not only does Woddis tell us there can be fundamental changes in the state before we have a socialist government, but that if we obtain these democratic changes, there will be less chance of the ruling class using its own machine against us. As long as the C.P.G.B. peddles this lie, it will do nothing but sow confusion amongst the ranks.

As long as it puts 'Parliamentary Struggle' first, it is weakening the working class by

making concessions to the enemy. The ruling class will not make that same mistake. They know the meaning and value of State power based ultimately on force; and they will not hesitate to use it.

COMMENT (continued from page 6)

attack by the ruling class, but it would be foolish to assume that such a defeat will compel them to change course.

Renewed attacks using different methods will continue to be made and they will always have the whip hand as long as they hold state power.

The French workers won a victory in 1967 in terms of wage increases obtained, but the capitalist class, because it occupies state power, was able to make changes in prices, taxation etc; which nullified those gains.

The point that we are trying to make is that struggles for higher wages are both necessary and unavoidable if we are to try to keep our heads above water, but as long as the capitalist class holds state power this will be a never ending battle, with the working class using its industrial strength to wrest better wages and conditions from the employing class, and they in turn using their control of the State machine to make changes in taxation etc; for the purpose of redressing the economic balance in their favour once more, and also to bring about changes in the law (such as the Industrial Relations Act), aimed at weakening our ability to wage industrial struggles.

Sooner or later we must take State power into our own hands so that we can dictate to them.

Revisionism and party building in Germany

H. Schneider

Hans Schneider is a member of the KABD (Communist Workers League of Germany). In the years after 1933 he illegally continued his fight as a Communist and for two years was placed in prison and in a concentration camp. In 1944 he went underground and was persecuted as a public enemy. From 1945 on he participated in the reconstruction of the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) in Baden-Wurttemberg. From 1951 until 1956 he was the County Chairman of the KPD in Stuttgart. After 1963 he was no longer a member of the KPD. Below are some passages from his speech at an International Discussion Forum in Stuttgart in June 1973. We feel that the experience of a German worker will be of value to British workers faced with similar problems.

Dear Friends and Comrades,

It fills me with deep satisfaction to be able to speak here today as an old Communist. In the more than four decades in which I have been fighting in the Communist Movement, I have experienced all the ups and downs of revolutionary struggle which befell us, the German working class. But today is a great day.

It was in 1928 when we, the KJVD (Communist Youth Organisation of Germany), successfully defended Ernst Thälmann's KPD against the first major attack of rightist opportunism, against the Brandler-fraction. Thus I became a member of the KPD. I followed Thälmann's Central Committee and took part in innumerable workers' struggles against German Imperialism.

The prohibition of our party, the KPD, in 1956, the illegalisation of the struggle for socialism, prevented the necessary ideological-political controversy with revisionism which had grown stronger since 1956.

The Khrushchevian revisionism also won the upper hand in the organisation of the KPD. Inconsistency and pessimism spread among the ranks of the communists. Now everything dep-

ended upon courageous forces in the Communist world movement to draw a line at revisionism and to begin a Marxist-Leninist controversy which could not immediately be stopped by the bureaucratic centralism in the parties contaminated by revisionism.

Today, when young communists ask how it was possible for the old battle-tryed revolutionary party to be able to become undermined by revisionism in such a manner, my answer is ; there are many reasons, but the main reason was that the principles of democratic centralism were seriously violated for many years: rigorous centralism from the head and pseudo-democracy at the base.

Well, the open controversy which became inevitable began in full strength in 1963. The letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, published ten years ago and titled "A Proposal to the General Course of the International Communist Movement ", brought the discussion up to the scientific niveau of Marxism-Leninism. Now the revisionists had to follow suit. They let their masks fall and pledged loyalty to Khrushchevism, thus betraying Marxism-Leninism. With that it was also possible for the struggle between two courses in the communist

movement of West Germany to be led in a more conscious, concrete, and, new manner.

The Chinese comrades concisely set down in 25 points the General Course of the international struggle of the proletariat and the people, and laid the foundation for the world-wide united front against imperialism, for national independence and socialism.

The bureaucrats at the head of the KPD, who were up to their necks in the swamps of revisionism, completely liquidated the party by rejecting the "Proposal to the General Course"; anyone who tried to realise the unity of the party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism was bureaucratically checkmated or ousted; discussions were throttled; modern revisionism was rushed. Thus the revolutionary workers' party was more than illegalised, it was extinguished. Ernst Thälmann's party, which even survived through fascism under Hitler, lost to an inner enemy, modern revisionism. That is the most disgraceful betrayal in the 125 year old German Marxist Movement.

I would like to address a word to my fellow combatants from the days of the old revolutionary KPD! Don't allow the red banner of revolution to be dragged into the swamps of revisionism. Gather new courage, again take up your experience in the class struggle, concentrated in the scientific knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and the ideas of Mao-tse-Tung.

Step in line again with all Marxist-Leninists! Again, learn and fight, fight and learn! This is how the unity of Communists, the guarantee for the construction of the unity of action of the working class can be achieved.

Marxist-Leninist voices were raised against

modern revisionism, encouraged by the revolutionary spirit of the "Proposal to the General Course". We must say that there weren't very many in the beginning, in 1963/64/65. And chaff was also found among this promising seed. Why was the beginning so terribly difficult? Why did modern revisionism win the majority?

Comrades, we must regard the fact that in these years of the great world-wide controversy, West Germany was in the phase of relative stabilisation of the capitalist system, the climax of the Arneuer reaction and imperialist restoration.

Furthermore, the leading clique of the KPD was completely dependant upon the revisionist centre in Moscow and its offspring in the GDR. Reimann, Kaplück, Bachman and whatever the other names are, threw themselves at Khrushchev's feet and then at those of the new bourgeois, Brezhnev; financially bought, degenerated to a petty-bourgeois band of the working class aristocracy, ideologically phlegmatic, demoralised by illegality. As early as 1949 the following was stated in the resolution of the party's executive committee of the KPD:-

"One of the most decisive weaknesses of our party is the fact that not enough attention is paid to the question of ideological education and instruction of the party members. It neglects the experiences of the international workers movement, especially the studies in the history of the victorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It failed to draw satisfying practical conclusions from the resolution of the party's executive committee about the lessons of the deterioration of the Tito clique. In its practical politics it doesn't

give enough consideration to the lessons of the German workers' movement".

So then already the opportunism shown in the question of the unity of theory and practice was a phenomenon in the party. The theory was a creed - not a guidance for action. Only because this mistake could not be completely eliminated was it possible for most of the members of the KPD to be led astray.

The upright communists who consented to the "Proposal to the General Course" had great difficulties in applying the revolutionary lessons effectively and conclusively to the specific situation in West Germany. Especially they often lapsed into a doctrinaire line, making it easy for rightist opportunists to stamp them as dogmatists - sick with the "Chinese disease". Well comrades, each and every beginning is difficult. Today we know much better who is ill. The revisionists are deadly ill, especially because they, the rearguard of social democracy, want to play doctor at the sick bed of capitalism. They are infected with the bourgeois disease. And the so-called "Chinese Disease", comrades, is a damned healthy thing. Look at the Chinese comrades. They are ideologically thoroughly healthy and are thriving splendidly, because they made a diagnosis in the "General Course" from which they have wiped out every revisionist infection in their country. In the "General Course", the principles of the revolutionary party are given greatest importance. We have experienced how the KPD was eroded by opportunism, how it was poisoned by revisionism. Our main task is thus to build up the communist party again. We German Communists realise how difficult the struggle is when the party has not yet been completely built

up; when it is still forming. This party, comrades, which we all build together, which will lead to great heights, this party, in all its parts, will live up to the guiding principles of the "General Course".

We hold fast, against all revisionist influences, that during the building of the Marxist-Leninist Party the following fundamental aspects must be heeded, and that none of these aspects may be neglected:-

1. Marxism-Leninism, the ideological foundation of the party.
2. The program, the political course of the party.
3. The organisation, the instrument of practical activity of the party.
4. Democratic Centralism, the principle of organisation of the party.
5. Criticism and self criticism, the principle of development of the party.

We have the unshakable confidence that we will be able to solve all these problems and finally, through an even stronger unity of the Communist movement, to build our party. The party will rise through the struggle of the masses against the attacks of the imperialists on the conditions of life of the working people, in the struggle against the bourgeois ideology in the working class movement, reformism and revisionism.

Ultra-leftist elements - mostly petty-bourgeois gone wild - maintain West Germany to be on the verge of revolution; they don't want to admit that the phase of relative stability is continuing and declare from above the "building up of the party", isolated from the masses. We know that this is dangerous idiocy which is completely

contradictory to the " General Course ".

Today, because we are in the era of tedious preparations of the revolution, it is important to form all the struggles of the working class into a revolutionary school for the final overthrowing of imperialism. Unity in thinking, solidarity in action and the taking of a strong line in the unity of action against the attacks of the monopolies; these are the foundations for the building of an invincible front of the working class and the masses. The Communist Party must have the leadership in this front and must hold high the banner of the " General Course ". Then doomsday will have come for the imperialist exploiters and oppressors.

Comrades, let us read the signs of time properly. The main tendency in the world today is revolution. This is Mao-tse-Tung's thorough analysis of the world situation. Even though the situation in West Germany at the moment is different, we are confident. We have faith in the strength of the working class. Also in our country the working class is stirring stronger as time goes by. The ascertainment of the " General Course ", that a new awakening of the working class and of the other working people in capitalist countries is taking place is no empty phrase; we are experiencing it here too. In the past years and in this year millions of German workers have been on strike for better pay and against unbearable working conditions. May Day is advancing more and more and has a strong political influence in the working class and in the masses.

Comrades, those are the signs of the time; workers' offensive, the independent, offensive struggle of the working class against imperialist attacks; the unity of action and the fusion of socialism and proletariat. Our

efforts in this would not be very effective, though, if we weren't at the same time fighters for proletarian internationalism.

The workers of the world are brothers. The masses in every other country are relatives. We proletarian revolutionaries are one large world-encompassing family. Our family code; that is Marxism-Leninism and the ideas of Mao tse-Tung.

Today's event shows that the proletarian internationalism is alive and strengthening. Friends from the third world, small countries and imperialist fortresses have come together. New bonds of brotherly affection have been formed. This is good and of most importance for the future. I am strongly convinced that in this spirit of world-wide solidarity and standing on the sound foundation of the " General Course ", the time will soon come when the banner of the renewed Lenin-Stalin international will again be raised. Then we will come together with many voices and languages in an international world party, the international of Mao-tse-Tung. With historical necessity, this international will deal the deathly hammer blow to imperialism.

COMRADES ! LONG LIVE THE "GENERAL COURSE" !

LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM AND THE IDEAS OF MAO-TSE-TUNG !

THREE CHEERS FOR PROLETARIAN
INTERNATIONALISM !

PEOPLE. China's most precious resource

F. Huscroft

China was a semi-feudal, semi-colonial country for more than a century prior to liberation. The imperialist powers plundered its raw material and turned the country into a market for dumping their manufactured goods. They grabbed fabulous profits by unequal exchanges and controlled all the important parts of the country; also the customs, foreign trade, banking, insurance and maritime transport, through unequal treaties which they compelled China to sign by force.

All this made it impossible for China to develop her economy. (HSIHUA, Oct 1st)

The history of China between the years 1840-1949 is one of occupation and oppression by the Western Imperialist powers, Britain, France and America, and latterly by Japan. It is a story of the ruthless exploitation of people and resources that is the hall-mark of capitalism in general, and imperialism in particular. To read it is to experience a sense of shame and revulsion.

It gives rise to the thought that the traditional "inscrutability" of the Chinese people may well contain an element of politeness, even compassion, and a corresponding desire not to embarrass us by betraying their innermost thoughts.

When the Peoples' Republic was founded in 1949, China was a semi-feudal, semi-colonial country. There was very little heavy industry, and she was dependant upon imports, even for such light industrial products as matches and sewing needles.

The classic solution for a nation in this situation is to secure loans from the wealthier countries in order to import machines and technology and thereby develop a national industry and economy.

But this is merely to transfer the custody

of one's future from the armed robber to the pawnbroker.

The alternative is to rely upon the limitless resources, initiative and wisdom of the people, and, pursuing a policy of self-reliance, to build a new country and develop a socialist economy.

In the initial stages, it was contended by some that outside assistance was indispensable to accelerate the process and reduce the transitional period.

Experience quickly demonstrated which was the correct road, and the successes achieved in China have been the result of more than two decades of work by the Chinese people following the principle propounded by Mao-tse-Tung;

"Maintain independence, keep the initiative, and rely on our own efforts."

The general principle that has been followed in the speeding up of China's industrial expansion, has been to make agriculture the foundation with industry as the leading factor.

For example, by achieving increases in

crops of grain, cotton, sugar, tobacco and other industrial crops, raw material is provided for light industry and, at the same time a market is created for the goods produced by that industry.

As agriculture and light industry develop, heavy industry is assured of funds and of a market, and is able to grow faster.

In turn, the expansion of heavy industry provides increasing quantities of equipment for the mechanisation of agriculture therefore increasing crop yields.

Initial funds with which to finance "lift off" were obtained by confiscating businesses owned by imperialists and bureaucrat-capitalists without compensation and making them the property of the people.

HOW NOW ?

Statistics must always be approached with caution if not suspicion. Even at their best they quickly induce a state known as "glazed-eye torpor". However, the following brief selection may serve as a pointer to the success of that policy.

Steel production has increased from 160,000 tons in 1949 to 23 million tons in 1972, whilst grain production has moved from 110 to 240 million tons in the same period.

From being dependant upon imports of oil, China has now started to export this commodity. Big increases have been achieved in the output of coal, electricity, machinery and chemicals. Annual state revenue is now eleven times the figure for the years immediately following 1949.

By 1965 all external debts were cleared

and by 1968 the principal and interest of all internal bonds had been repaid.

Foreign trade, an integral part of any attempt to develop a national economy, has expanded. The total volume has increased by 48% between 1965 and 1972. The nature of those exports has also changed.

Prior to liberation they were mainly farm produce or textiles. Now they include machine tools, hardware, instruments, medicines and medical apparatus, bicycles and sewing machines.

With neither internal nor external debts, foreign trade can be developed on the principle of equality and mutual benefit, free from the distortions that affect trade relations and precipitate currency crises between the capitalist nations.

Imports and exports are in balance and it is the intention that they should remain so, the volume increasing step by step as China's national economy grows.

The rapid expansion of production in agriculture and industry has enabled supply to meet the growing demand. Immediately following liberation, steps were taken to eliminate speculative practices and the hoarding of goods by profiteers.

The maintaining of a good relationship between the amount of currency and the amount of goods in circulation and the policy of relating import prices to domestic prices, thus protecting the home market from the fluctuations of international markets; all this has resulted in stable prices and an absence of inflation since 1949.

Consumer goods are cheap, there is no

income tax and house rents are generally 3% to 5% of the workers income.

"China is a developing country and living standards are still fairly low. But there is no unemployment and everyone has enough to eat and is decently clad. Facts have given the lie to the old fallacy that China could not solve the problem of feeding its large population".

(HSINHUA, Oct 1st 73)

The task facing Mao-tse-Tung, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people in 1949 was immense. The imperialist predators had concentrated in the coastal areas, in and around ports, and such industry as existed was concentrated in those regions. It bore no relation either to sources of raw material or to China's internal markets. It faced outwards, designed only to serve the interests of the exploiters.

For the majority of peasants, the yield from their land was not sufficient to keep them alive. Their survival depended upon the ability to engage in one of the many handicrafts such as basket work, weaving, pottery, etc;

The dumping of manufactured goods from the industrial countries of the West destroyed the local industries, reducing the peasants to starvation. Millions moved to the cities in a desperate attempt to find work.

On the industrial front, much has been done to achieve a more rational distribution of industry. Whilst large scale modern plants have been built, constituting the main-stay of China's industry, great numbers of medium and small scale enterprises have been built throughout the country. These enable maximum use to be made of local labour, finance, and

natural resources and effect substantial saving in transportation.

As a result of the development and distribution of local industries, urban unemployment was eliminated in 1957.

By 1952, a land reform programme had been completed, distributing land to many millions of peasants. Assisting this endeavour was a tremendous afforestation drive in which countless millions of trees have been planted, reclaiming belts of land in North and North West China previous rendered barren by sand storms.

In addition, the creation of forestry belts in other areas allied to extensive irrigation schemes, has increased the yield from the land several fold.

Rural unemployment ceased to exist in 1952.

"People, the most precious thing in the world, are the decisive factor in the in the social productive forces. Man is in the first instance, a producer, and secondly, a consumer.

(HSINHUA Oct 1st)

It is a generally held opinion that the Chinese suffer a low standard of living as a result of over-population. An "often repeated fact" has it that if the population of China walked past a given point in a column X deep, the end of the column would never arrive.

Like most "often repeated facts", its connection with reality is of a very superficial nature indeed.

The poverty and deprivation in China prior to liberation arose from the confinement of productive forces; "over population" was

relative to the appalling economic circumstances - the direct consequence of policies pursued by the ruling forces, both national and imperialist.

Of the many differences existing in China today, it is the attitude towards people that is perhaps the most marked, and this is illustrated in the approach adopted towards family planning.

The issue of national population planning must, and does, take into account both aspects, the lowering of the death rate and the provision of birth control education and facilities.

The use of these factors has enabled positive results to be achieved. In some areas the rate of increase in population has fallen by 50% or more. In others where the population was on the decline attention has been paid to agricultural and industrial production with aim of encouraging and assisting a considerable increase in the population.

Two examples of this approach where declining national minorities are concerned.... the first the Uighur nationality in Sinkiang, where total population has increased by 42% since 1949, and the second, the Mongolians in the Silingal league of inner Mongolia who have increased by 50% over the same period.

Over the country as a whole, whilst the grain yield has more than doubled since 1949, the total population has only increased by 50%.

The intention is to continue efforts to improve the understanding and application in this field of endeavour in order that China may increase her population in a planned way.

Environmental hygiene occupies a high pos-

ition in the list of priorities. The problem of industrial waste is dealt with in a number of ways. Any new industrial development must incorporate facilities adequate to deal with any resulting waste. Old industry is being adapted, sometimes resited to meet the problem.

Research is going ahead, examining methods of utilising such waste materials, and into alternative methods of working that eliminate the sources of pollution.

The rapid development of new housing schemes is proceeding in the drive to abolish slum dwellings. Swamp lands have been filled in and major sewage projects undertaken. Rivers that occasionally flooded vast areas of land have been controlled and harnessed.

All these are factors that have contributed to the ending of diseases, such as smallpox, cholera and black fever, that once ravaged the countryside, and have brought about an overall improvement in the water, air and land which together constitute the basic ingredients essential for Man's very existence.

Traditional Chinese medicine, knowledge accumulated through the experience of several thousand years, is part of a rich cultural heritage. The guiding principle underlying all work in the field of medicine has been the combining of this knowledge with the latest developments in Western medicine.

In working together, the two schools have been able to overcome the mutual distrust that existed between them. As a result of parallel research and exchange in experience, many good forms of co-operation have been devised in clinical practice.

Acupuncture is probably the most widely

known of the ancient Chinese medical techniques. What is not so generally understood is that the more recent developments in the use of this technique arose, and are still arising, from the continuing study of acupuncture in conjunction with the latest advances in Western medicine.

In this way, acupuncture was developed from a method of treatment of certain conditions to a means of anaesthesia not only to relieve pain in some forms of disease, but to be used instead of drugs in the process of surgery.

Working in a combined way, whether in the treatment of bone fractures or in the joint use of herbal medicines with modern drugs, the effect has been to raise the level of practice in both surgery and pharmacology.

LEARNING TO SERVE THE PEOPLE

"Students should be selected from among workers and peasants with practical experience and they should return to production after a few years study"

The above directive was issued by Mao tse Tung in 1968. Since then there has been a steady development of the institutes of higher education. Most of the students enrolled in 1973 were engaged in farm work; the remainder were from factories, mines, units of the Peoples' Army etc; all had completed junior or senior middle school courses.

The method of selection for higher education rests on several criteria; voluntary application by the aspiring student....recommendation by the masses, (i.e. those the candidate has worked with....approval by the leadership and re-examination by the colleges concerned.

Qualifications required are that applicants

should have reached secondary school educational standards and that they should have more than two years work in industry, agriculture or the services to their credit.

Selection of students is based primarily on political qualities plus practical experience. The main purpose of entrance examinations is to check that practical experience and their ability to apply their basic knowledge to the analysis and solving of practical problems.

The sum total of the changes in the entire field of education may be expressed in one word....revolutionary. It provides a stark contrast with concept of education in capitalist society where the organs of education play a divisive role, breeding separation and elitism, generating and sustaining the class ideas that are a necessary adjunct to the class economy.

Of those with working class backgrounds who succeed in filtering through the fine mesh of class preference and enter universities, few leave them with any desire to be reminded of their heritage.

The priority given to book-learning and examinations, the importance attached to degrees, the accent on isolation from the hurly burly of everyday life in order that academic study should proceed undisturbed, the lengthy period of unbroken educational processes, all are factors contributing to the separation and alienation of those acquiring the bulk of the theory from those performing the bulk of the "donkey work".

In China every opportunity is seized to ensure the constant integration of education and practice. The workers and peasants have first-hand evidence that higher education is

very much a part of their world. The students are from their ranks; they have a voice in the selection process, and when the studies are completed, the students return to their ranks and make a material contribution to their common prosperity.

Students, having taken part in the day to day productive practice in factory, mine, or countryside approach their studies aware of the material application of the theory they absorb, conscious of the very real debt they owe to society - to the people who provide the material resources and make it possible for them to benefit.

It is important to note in passing that this policy does not rest upon idealism for its success, but combine the highest of political ideals, that of serving the people, with practical illustrations that underline how the practical applications of those ideals constitutes the right road to real prosperity for the mass of the people.

One small example is the fact that students with more than five years of practical experience continue to draw wages whilst attending college. Those with between two and five years experience receive an allowance.

The constant encouragement is for young people who have received the benefits of a higher education to return to the factories and countryside and employ their enhanced knowledge alongside the workers and peasants in a joint effort to solve the material problems associated with advancing technology and improving production.

"The Party must rely on the working class, strengthen the worker-peasant alliance and lead the people of all the nationalities of our country in

carrying on the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment" (CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA)

In the selection and training of political cadres the principle followed is that of combining the old, middle aged and young in all leading bodies. In this way veteran cadres are enabled to play an important part in the development of the necessary successors to the task of providing leadership in the continuing revolution, and the essential vigour and drive of Party work is maintained.

The second Article of the party constitution lays down the procedure for becoming a member :-

"Applicants for Party membership must go through the procedure for admission individually. An applicant must be recommended by two Party members, fill out an application form for Party membership and be examined by a Party branch which must seek the opinions of the broad masses inside and outside the Party....."

Here, and throughout the entire document, the keynote is one of integration with the people. The fourth Article specifies duties of members, and one of these is to,

"...consult with the masses when matters arise."

Article five lays it down that,

"Leading bodies of the Party at all levels shall.....constantly listen to the opinions of the masses both inside and outside the Party....."

Whilst Article six contains the following:-

"Party committees at all levels shall set up their working bodies or dis-
patch their representative organs in
accordance with the principles of
close ties with the masses and simple
and efficient structure."

Thus is an organisation, a political party, forged, with the capability of exercising leadership of the people whilst maintaining the capacity to operate as an instrument of the people.

Rightly jealous of the privilege of belonging to that organisation, entry to membership is regarded with the seriousness that it deserves. Yet at the same time the consistent and repeated admonition to the membership at all levels is to listen to and consult the masses.

We might well reflect that the extent of the division between capitalist society and the integrated society being developed in Socialist China may be gauged from the mental image conjured up by the use of the term "the masses".

In capitalist society those words are linked with "rabble" and "herd". The connotations are derogatory.

In China those words carry a feeling of pride and responsibility for there the masses are in control of their future and it is bright with promise.

The underlying theme that is to be found running through economic development, education, health, through all aspects of life in China is no hastily constructed gimmick. In his thesis on "Coalition Government", written in 1945, Mao-tse-Tung portrays the role of the Communist Party thus:-

"Our starting point is to serve the Chinese people earnestly and wholeheartedly, and never to be severed from the people; to set out always from the point of view of serving peoples' interests, not serving the interests of a small group or one-self; and to give equal responsibility to the people and the guiding organisation....."

MONTHLY REVIEW

WE CALL READERS ATTENTION TO THE OCTOBER ISSUE WHICH CONTAINS :-

SHOWDOWN IN CHILE

by A. ZIMBALIST
B. STALLINGS

AN EXCELLENT ACCOUNT OF EVENTS IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING THE MILITARY COUP.

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NOVEMBER ISSUE CONTAINS:-

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STRIKE. A live history 1887-1971

R. A. Leeson

"Strikes are as much a talking point, a social phenomenon for analysis, as crime or disease; there is usually the same idea in mind, that they ought to be eliminated....."

"Strikes are a force that runs, like an underground river, below the surface of public life, below the level at which governments claim credit for improved living standards and employers advertise higher wages, ('recently increased' as the G.P.O. once put it)."

Thus the author identifies his subject in the introduction. It is perhaps gilding the lily, but whilst reading the book I encountered on several occasions the reaction "Fancy reading a book about STRIKES." An odd fellow indeed!

Not that there is a lack of expressed opinions on the subject, pronouncements by governments and employers, statistics from economists and historians.

But for those who have provided the action, the strikers, there is a conveyed impression that confidential treatment is being arranged at appropriate clinics.

Certain it is that strikers do not find a ready market for their recollections, as the author notes, also in his introduction:

"Indeed, a literate burglar will find himself pursued by publishers waving contracts. But strikers have not been so sought after."

Moving to the other end of the spectrum, this volume contains the recollections of workers who have led or taken part in strikes. Its span is wide in several re-

spects, not only are there miners, dockers, railwaymen, engineers, but also shop assistants, weavers, furniture workers, a music hall artist and an industrial chaplain.

The variations in political commitment are as diverse and, whilst the time span is specified in the sub-title, what the figures mean in human terms only becomes clear when one reads the book. The oldest contributor was born around 1877 and recalls working a half-time stint at a jute mill in Dundee when he was ten years old, spending alternate days in the mill and at the school which was in the factory grounds. The final chapter includes strikes on the Shell Star site at Ellesmere Port, Pilkingtons and U.C.S.

Contributions are arranged into six sections: 1887-1914; 1914-1925; 1926; 1927-1945; 1945-1960 and 1960-1971. Some of the contributors continue their account through different sections and the arrangement within each section is such that a pattern is created, a kind of panoramic view developed by various contributions.

For example, Bob Stewart, a rank and file building worker of Dundee, recalls:

"All over the country, 1911 was a year of troubles, a cheapening of the price of gold, money losing its value, strikes in Leith, Liverpool; all the ports were out, big and small strikes up and down the country."

Joe Byrne, former branch official of the T. & G.W.U. at the Liverpool docks relates how:-

"In Liverpool, in the 1911 strike, the big point made was for recognition of the Dockworkers' Union and against the Cunard Company which had transferred all its work to Hull where it was half a penny cheaper per man-ton."

And Pat Murphy, rank and file seamen's leader at Cardiff, presents yet another aspect:-

"The 1911 seamen's strike started in Liverpool on June 14th when the crews of the 'Teutonic' and the 'Empress of Ireland' refused to sign articles."

In the author's words:-

"The reader will find, when accustomed to the unusual form of the book, that he is listening to a chronicle tale with one speaker after another taking up the account, then dropping out, perhaps to reappear in a new situation, sometimes from a different standpoint; in this way I hope a picture of what has changed and what has not changed in 80 years will emerge."

One thing that has not changed is the conflict of interest between the rank and file and the trade union leadership. Then, as now, workers engaged in struggle have found themselves fighting their official

leaders as well as their employers.

Looking After Their Future

It is illuminating, if sobering, to read in the contribution by Bob Stewart mentioned above, (dated about 1903):-

"You can scent trouble on a job and you can let it pass, at least it's a job. I never felt like letting things pass. But the union leader's main aim in life was conserving the funds, bettering conditions short of strikes. Generally men who rose to the top in the union were the ones well screwed down with steady jobs, wanting to conserve the funds for sick, superannuation and funeral benefits. They all wanted to be buried decently."

Or the following, contributed by another rank and file building worker, Frank Jackson, (1913):-

"The official union funds went broke after the first month and the lock-out committee carried on for six months raising money with social events, marches with banners, collecting boxes at football matches, organ grinders in the streets. Of course, the odd officials didn't like it and there were some clashes. One full time official was thrown down his own stairs by the rank and file."

To move from the general to the particular, the following excerpts are contained in the contribution by Pat Murphy (1911):-

"Havelock Wilson, union leader, offered the owners a truce for the ships carrying passengers from Belfast for the King's coronation. The seamen rejected

this and the excursions were abandoned.."

"Havelock Wilson issued a manifesto declaring that if the ship owners recognised the union he was prepared to concede more favourable terms and he threatened his members with fines for questioning his actions....."

"Years after the 1911 strike, Havelock Wilson threw cold water and ridicule on those who agitated for working improvements, better food, decent living accommodation, extra payment for Bank Holidays ,etc. Victimisation was the order of the day for those who had the temerity to protest too loudly."

In case it should appear that the foregoing is merely an expression of personal bitterness and as an example of the way in which a pattern weaves through the entire book, linking contributions and sections, the following is from Alex Robson, another rank and file seamen's leader, Middlesborough, (1927-45 section):-

"I was barred from work for years between the wars. But that was the union's doing. The National Union of Seamen broke off from the T.U.C. after the General Strike and we organised the Seamen's Minority Movement. 2,000 joined on the north east coast. Plenty of seamen had already begun to refuse to pay contributions to the union earlier on. Even before the General Strike, Havelock Wilson, leader of the N.U.S., to everyone's surprise had spoken up at a meeting of the National Maritime Board and offered a voluntary reduction of one pound in the seamen's wages, which were then £8.2.6d per month. And that, he said, was only a

start, a drop in the bucket."

If the thought has not occurred before, the realisation that this state of affairs has existed for so long brings with it an awareness that the root cause must go much deeper than a flaw in a particular individual's character.

This in turn moves the focus of attention from the superficial and time-wasting task of searching for "more trustworthy" or "genuine left" leaders to the examination of why this process occurs and what steps are possible and necessary to counteract it.

One thing is beyond question. The surest and quickest way of identifying deviations in the leadership is to be clear about policy. History is full of examples where duplicity has masqueraded in the guise of ambiguity.

A Nation Divided

The need to develop a class consciousness is fundamental and beyond question. Efforts in this direction are bedevilled by the many divisions, real and imaginary, that divide worker from worker. Whilst they have increased in number and complexity, few are as profound as the example given in his contribution by our old friend, Bob Stewart:-

"The cpaftsmen in my home town were well organised but labourers were thought to be unorganisable. Generally speaking, the labourer was regarded as an adjunct to the craftsman and wouldn't be taken into the union. They were looked down on. I remember one newspaper report: "Accident: two men and a labourer killed."

The insularity between crafts and the numerous small craft unions existing at that time is also well documented, as the following two excerpts show. The first is from -

you're right - one more time Bob:-

"Shipyard or building site, it was often the same, the masons out, the joiners working or the joiners out and the painters working. The shops would be well organised within the trades but there was no concerted action between them and a lot of jealousy about things that didn't matter a damn."

The second is from Frank Jackson, also referred to above. When an apprenticed carpenter, he was sent to a job and, on arriving, found that the bricklayers were out in the street. So he stayed out with them:-

"When my boss complained, I told him I wasn't going on a job when the brickies were outside. But when I told my father about it I got a bouncing off him. He was president of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners and he told me I should keep my nose out of other people's affairs."

As always the exceptions expose the limitations of any generalisation and the following example is a particular heartening one. It occurs in the recollections of Maurice Hann, former general secretary of the National Union of Shop Assistants.

He describes how shop assistants in several large stores in Cardiff struck in an effort to end the "living in" system. The situation was not hopeful when Hann heard that Ben Tillet, the docker's leader, was staying over Christmas at a hotel on the Mumbles.

He went to see him and asked for assistance and Ben agreed to speak at a meeting.

"We held the meeting at 2.p.m. on Boxing Day of all days and it was packed, floor, gallery and all, and then the dock-

ers rolled up. Ben was in his usual form. He referred to some police interference with pickets and declared, "I warn the police constable and his subordinates that if there is any hanky-panky the dockers will take a hand." He told the dockers, "Arm yourselves with cudgels and, if need be, use them." He struck absolute terror into the hearts of the locals and the following day I had a phone call from the firm. They were only too glad to settle."

The divisions between rank and file and the leadership of the Trade Union movement are often traced back to the betrayal that is called the General Strike.

But, as the book shows quite clearly, the rank and file have always had a healthy distrust of official leadership, an instinctive awareness that the individual who becomes a part of the machine called 'Establishment' also becomes primarily concerned with the efficient running of the machine.

Indeed, two phrases used to describe the General Strike are, in fact, applicable to a great deal of working class struggle throughout the ages.

The first from J. Withers, member of the London Machine Branch, National Society of Operative Printers' Assistants:-

"1926 was a real experience. A triumphant disaster, if you like."

And the second from Abe Moffat, President, Scottish area of the National Union of Mineworkers.

"Great hopes, great betrayal, that was 1926."

The anger and frustration arising from the sell-out by the leaders inevitably expresses

itself in the desire to form alternative organisations and there are a number of examples in the period 1927-45.

One concerns the clothing industry and is related by E. Mofshovitz, a former organiser of the United Clothing Workers' Union. This was a breakaway organisation formed by the London membership of the Tailors and Garment Workers' Union when the latter failed to provide the expected support in a dispute at "Rego Clothes" of Shoreditch.

Pressure by the established trade union movement, led by Bevin of the T.G.W.U., forced the employers to deny recognition to the newly formed union which led in turn to a strike by 600 workers, mainly girls, at "Polinoffs" factory.

Whilst marching, they sang a song which expresses adequately the attitude of workers to leaders throughout the years:-

"The T.U.C. loves Mr P.
So Mr P. loves the T.U.C.
Both combined love the T. & G.
The whole damn lot love skinning me."

The ENEMY at the gate ?

The entire book is a record of the humour, resourcefulness and sheer guts of the working class. And these qualities are not confined to the unemployed.

The unemployed have always been regarded as a potential threat to organised labour, and the employers have encouraged this fear and exploited it to their own ends.

It is true that the existence of any sizeable number of unemployed indicates economic depression, and working class struggle is that much more difficult during such a period.

Also true is the fact that within the unemployed exists a permanent "lumpen" element. But none of this justifies the belief that

the unemployed are the enemies of the working class movement.

Several contributions contain references to the unemployed between the two world wars, and to the work that was done to involve them as part of the active working class movement.

The following examples indicate the value of those efforts. The first is from Peter Kerrigan, organiser of the Minority Movement and member of the C.P.G.B.:-

"One thing needs to be said about the 1922 lockout and other disputes. The unemployed were black-leg proof. I cannot think of any significant action when the unemployed could be used to break a strike."

The second is from Sid Fineman, Branch Secretary of the National Union of Furniture Operatives, who recalls a four month strike at a furniture factory in the East End of London.

"One of the best things about that period was the way the unemployed, far from strike-breaking, would actually turn out to give a hand in a strike."

The ENEMY within!

Georgi Isaacs, General Secretary of N.A.T.S.O.P.A. and Minister of Labour in the 1945 Labour Government, makes four or five appearances in various sections. He recalls the incident which precipitated the General Strike when the men on the Daily Mail presses refused to print an editorial, regarding it as an incitement to strike breaking.

Whilst he relates, with evident pride, the fact that he obtained the galley proof of the offending article which Bevin flaunted in Churchill's face when the 45 Labour Gov

ernment repealed the Trades Disputes Act, he does not recall quite so clearly that he urged the men to resume work, a fact that is recorded more objectively in other places.

Even more illuminating is his final contribution where he relates how he was made Minister of Labour in the Atlee administration.

"Today it's different. Then all the man could lose by going on strike was a few days' pay. Now he has house, television, washing machine on hire purchase. By moving dockers out of the congested areas and rehousing them we brought down some of the belligerency.....

There were plenty of times when trouble stirrers didn't bring them out. But when they did and the Cabinet met to discuss the sending of troops into the docks, the Prime Minister insisted that it was the Minister of Labour's decision. In the Cabinet he would say, "Send them in, we have to get the food out." "

The pompous and elitist attitude displayed by George Isaacs is further illustrated in the 1960-71 section, by Simon Fraser, secretary of the Liverpool Trades Council.

"One of the Merseyside M.P.s said to me, 'You know, I'm not happy about the quality of some of the people on our local committee.' Somehow he has acquired the belief that just being up in Westminster gives him some superior quality. Yet I can show you shop stewards on any building site that could lick the pants off that man intellectually."

As with m.p.s so with trades union officials, even those with left wing views. Once they leave the factory, once they go up a grade they begin to acquire the attitude, "Just leave it to

us. We'll sort it out round the table." Almost like M.P.s. they begin to live in an ivory tower with a mystic belief in their own power to solve problems. For a while, as officials, they retain the verve and drive that got them elected. Then in the next stage you see a change. You stop seeing them at demonstrations. Then comes the next stage, they begin to wish the demonstrations would not take place."

Apart from the introduction, the author, who is literary reviewer for the 'Morning Star', makes only brief appearances, providing a short summary of developments to each section.

It would have added greatly to the value of the book had he intervened to the extent of drawing some conclusions from the wealth of material that he has collected.

For, as the sub-title makes clear, this is a "live" history, related by those who made it and the question must surely arise how far have we come ?

In our attempts to change the form of society that gives birth to this struggle we have made little progress. Indeed, some might argue that we have gone backwards.

That is not to say that this time has been wasted nor that the struggle was futile or unnecessary. But it does expose the limitations of taking action designed to alleviate the symptoms whilst neglecting the preparations necessary for applying a cure to the disease.

Nevertheless, published by George Allen & Unwin at £3.75, it is a novel and welcome addition to the history of the working class movement in Britain. Inspiring in the consistently high calibre of its cast and sobering in the realisation that so much sacrifice has been dissipated by a totally inadequate and all too easily corrupted leadership.