

**HOW THE PACIFIC TRIBUNE UPHOLDS**

**FREEDOM AND BEFRIENDS CHINA**

**plus**

**REVISIONISM AND THE TRADE UNIONS**

**Published By**

***Progressive Workers Movement***

714 East Georgia St., Vancouver 4, B. C., Canada

**15c**



Ever since the founding of the Progressive Workers Movement (P. W. M.), it has been subjected to unprincipled attacks originating in the offices of the B. C. Provincial Executive of the Communist Party and the editorial rooms of the Pacific Tribune (P. T.), both of which are housed in the Ford Building on Vancouver's Hastings St. Of late, these attacks have been gaining momentum and the intensity of their viciousness has been increasing. The Canada-China Friendship Association (C. C. F. A.) has been added to the list of groups worthy of being treated to the big smear. The Communist Party of China, due to its principled defence of Marxism-Leninism has, of course, been on the revisionist hate list for a number of years.

We would prefer not to touch the stinking sewage with which these people have besmirched the pages of a paper which owes its existence to the self-sacrifice and devotion of thousands of workers. However, the imperative need to defend basic concepts of Marxism-Leninism compels us to undertake this distasteful task.

Our task will not be an easy one. The revisionists are experts at making sweeping charges without substantiation and engaging in slanderous attacks and character assassination, but are seldom guilty of dealing in facts. We are faced with the task of turning the largely negative content of these attacks into a positive defence of basic Marxist-Leninist concepts.

McEwen, editor of the Pacific Tribune, when cornered in a debate, believes that a brilliant defence consists of calling into question the legitimacy of his adversary's birth. With him, character assassination has been, for forty years, a way of life. And there are still people who consider him something of a genius.

What McEwen's fan club need to remember is that even if all the personalities he indulges in were true, they could never decide a single point in a political debate. A man's moral character may well affect his personal contribution to the working class movement but an examination of it will solve no ideological problems for the revolutionary movement. What we need is a lot less character assassination and a great deal more attention to the facts of the political situation. Difficult as it may prove to be, in view of the way our adversaries conduct themselves, it is our intention to stick strictly to the facts.

Before proceeding to discuss some of the points raised by the Pacific Tribune and B. C. Executive Committee there is one small point we would like to comment on here.

In the Pacific Tribune issue of February 19, 1965, there is a special item detailing a story of stolen "bopping" plates that could well serve as a plot for an Ian Fleming thriller. After regaling the readers with the gruesome details of how Progressive Worker is sneaked to them in the mails, the article ends up with this stirring appeal:

"We ask the co-operation of our readers who receive such material. Please don't open it but turn it into the P. T. office as it arrives in the mail."

Our bold leaders are obviously frantic at the thought that the faithful might be treated to an overdose of truth and are taking steps to prevent such a catastrophe.

We do not intend to make any appeal to our readers and supporters not to read Pacific Tribune. On the contrary, we will advise them to read every bit of every issue, providing their stomach is strong enough to take it. We can think of no better way for honest working people to become thoroughly convinced of the complete bankruptcy of the revisionists.

#### THE C. P. LEADERS AND THE C. C. F. A.

Since the current spate of invective and inuendo, contained in statements and articles published in the P. T., were the direct outgrowth of a hysterical reaction to a picket line placed on the editorial offices of the Pacific Tribune by members of the Canada-China Friendship Association, we will start with an examination of the negative attitude of the C. P. leaders toward this organization and as reflected in their statements.

The C. C. F. A. picket line was in response to a refusal by the P. T. editors to accept a paid advertisement for a meeting to be addressed by Felix Greene, internationally known journalist, author and lecturer. An emergency joint meeting of the editorial board and provincial executive convened and a statement issued to the press within the hour. Here is the statement as it appeared in the Pacific Tribune of February 12, 1965:

## **Why PT refuses ads advancing Peking line**

In the course of 30 years continuous publication it has been well established that the PACIFIC TRIBUNE takes second place to none when it comes to upholding the right of free speech and expression of opinion. Nor have we taken second place in many years of struggle to build a solid bond of friendship between the people of China and Canada, or for the right of the People's Republic of China to its rightful seat in the United Nations.

That has been and remains our position on all issues genuinely serving the interests of Canada-China friendship and well-being.

The "picket line" in front of the PT offices Wednesday of this week (with pre-arranged televising), consisting of a number of "Progressive Workers Movement" elements together with others from the "Canada-China Friendship Society", who have

been taken over by the PWM, presumed to be protesting the Pacific Tribune's declining to publish an advertisement featuring a public meeting for Mr. Felix Greene.

Since the above speaker, together with others featured by the PWM and its adherents in the Canada-China Friendship Society, invariably put forward the "Peking line" of division and disruption, the Editorial Board of the Pacific Tribune decided that

advertising from such people could not be acceptable, since it ran counter to the policies of this paper: policies which advocate genuine Canadian - China friendship, rather than utilizing such an organization to create division and dissention—an objective alien to the purposes for which the Canada-China Friendship Society was originally created.

—Editorial Board  
February 12, 1965



(At the moment we will deal only with those points which refer to the C.C.F.A. and, leave the rest till later) The P.T. issue of Feb. 19, published a statement by the B.C. executive of the C.P. which, in addition to other things, attacked the C.C.F.A. in the following manner: "Last Wednesday, Feb. 10, a small group from the Canada-China Friendship Association, demonstrated with placards in front of the Pacific Tribune, a labour paper which has been fighting for 30 years for the peoples' interests including the cause of peace. This small group demonstrated because the Pacific Tribune closed its pages to their disruptive activities. In reality, who are these people who demonstrated under the name of the Canada-China Friendship Association? Most of them are either members of the Progressive Workers Movement or adherents of that organization's political line!... He charged that the Communist Party had tried to subvert the Association when it was first formed. The opposite is true. Jack Scott was expelled from the Communist Party for introducing into the Association issues which were designed to mislead the Association away from its stated aims and to turn it into a vehicle for expressing the opinion of Scott and others who have since formed the Progressive Workers Movement.

"The demonstration was in fact a continuation of the activities by members of the P.W.M. and its ideological associates. These activities are in contradiction to the Association's aim of peace, friendship and cultural relations with People's China!"

The general character of these statements is that of a rejection of a reasoned approach in favor of an appeal to base prejudice. The whole attack is in keeping with the traditions of what has come to be known as "red baiting!"

The C.P. leaders issue wild and unsubstantiated charges (not one of their statements contains a single shred of factual material) and, demand that everyone accept these lies and distortions without question, or face the threat of excommunication. For example; one member of the Communist Party (strange that he is not mentioned?) who participated in the picket line has been charged with factional activity and is facing expulsion.

As for their concern about the C.C.F.A., it is so great that they didn't even know the organization's correct name, continually referring to it as a Society in their article of Feb 12, By February 19th, someone had straightened them out on the name.

Of what heinous "crimes" is the C.C.F.A. charged? They are taken over- dominated by P.W.M. and, they have abandoned their original objectives.

In addition to accusing those who have worked exceptionally hard to build the Association of really trying to wreck same, they maintain that they the C.P. leaders- have been putting forth great efforts to save the association from its "builder--wreckers!"

What of the charge of domination? -- This type of accusation is not at all original with the C.P. leaders. The charge "Communist dominated" has been used by the ruling class for many years. It has been borrowed directly from the reactionaries well-stocked storehouse of red-baiting items. The charge of domination is used by the C.P. leaders in exactly the same way that it is used by reaction, it is an invitation to abandon reason, and act under the impulse of blind prejudice. It is used herein for the same reason it also has been used; to divide, and if possible destroy, a progressive organization.

We invite you to reject prejudice and adopt reason and logic to determine what course you will follow and what organization you will support.

Every organization is dominated by its membership and the membership is always restricted, in some way, by the principles and rules which they must adhere to. How broad or how narrow an organization is can easily be ascertained by acquainting oneself with the principles of the group one is interested in and no resort to prejudice is necessary.

If we were to charge the Church of Rome with being dominated by Catholics no one would be particularly excited over it. They know that anyone who wants to accept Catholic dogma, and fulfill the minimum demands of the church ritual, can also participate in dominating the Church of Rome. True, one can dominate more effectively if garbed in the red hat of a Cardinal, but even as a layman one can have a share of dominating.

High-class country clubs are dominated by millionaires, but only because millionaires are the only ones who can afford to belong. Anyone who can pay the fee will be admitted. (There are some clubs, of course, which also require a member to be a white caucasian).

In these examples, and in virtually all other cases, if a charge of domination is made people will maintain an attitude of reason in deciding whether or not they wish to participate. But let the charge of "Communist domination" be hurled at a group and reason goes flying out the window its place taken by unreasoning prejudice.

The C.P. leaders are really too modest; they should have proudly exhibited the details of their own magnificent work as an example for others to follow. Permit us to point out what their excessive modesty forbids them to boast about.



We are referring to the Canadian-Soviet Friendship Society. Now here is an organization that has no stated principles and objectives; has no known membership; never holds, so far as is known, any business meetings or elects officers; its rules, fees, etc, (if any) are quite unknown. Admission is by invitation only, and invitations are issued only by permission of the Provincial Executive.

We want it clearly understood that we are not complaining about this state of affairs. The C.P. leaders own the Moscow franchise in Canada and if that is the way they want to operate they should be perfectly free to do so. All we ask is a modicum of honesty in stating the case on domination.

And what of the C.C.F.A.? What are the true facts about "domination here?" All organizations, as we have pointed out, are dominated by the members who belong to them and membership is restricted by a demand for adherence to stated principles and objectives; financial obligations; rules of admission to membership. Even membership in the most secret of secret societies is, in the final analysis, governed by these general rules. The question we are now concerned with is: "How do these general rules apply in the specific case of the C.C.F.A.?"

The "Aims and Objectives" of the C.C.F.A. are five in all, and are as follows:

1. To develop friendship between the Canadian and Chinese people at all levels.
2. To organize and develop a campaign for Canadian diplomatic recognition of the People's Republic of China.
3. To campaign for Canada to support the demand of the People's Republic of China for her rightful place in the United Nations.
4. For unrestricted mutually beneficial trade between Canada and the People's Republic of China
5. To promote cultural, athletic, educational and other exchanges between Canada and the People's Republic of China.

We are of the opinion that a large majority of the Canadian people support these aims and objectives. Certainly no one will deny that at least a sizable number of Canadians in all walks of life, and of all political persuasions, are favorable toward them. So far as principles are concerned, therefore, a very large percentage of Canadians are eligible to participate in the "domination" of the C.C.F.A.

Perhaps financial commitments are used as a restrictive measure, as happens in so many cases. What are the obligations in this regard in the C.C.F.A.? When the organization was first set up the founding members decided that membership dues would never be sufficient to finance the work of the organization; this would have to be taken care of through the various functions and affairs sponsored by the organization and by donations from those who could afford them. It was decided, therefore, that dues should be set so low as to guarantee that not one person would be excluded from membership because of inability to pay. The decision was made to set the fees at one dollar per year. It would appear to be obvious that every single Canadian, so far as money is concerned, can participate in the "domination" of the C.C.F.A.

Another means of restricting membership, which is often adopted by many groups, is a requirement that prospective new members must be sponsored by one or more persons who have been members in good standing for a specified period of time. Instead of this, or perhaps accompanying it, there might be one which requires that admissions be granted only by majority vote of the existing membership. (In some cases- the Elks, for example - a single vote against admission is sufficient to bar the applicant from membership.)

But none of these disabilities are in effect in the C.C.F.A. One simply signs a declaration of support for the "Aims and Objectives" and sends it, together with the one dollar annual fee, to the Association's secretary and you forthwith become a full-pledged member with rights to participate in the organization's activities, to attend all meetings, to be nominated and run for office or to nominate others for office. In other words, to participate in the "domination" of the organization.

It seems obvious that the prospective group of "dominators" is large enough to embrace virtually the entire population of the country. If you doubt us, try an application for membership and see what happens.

So far as the P.W.M. is concerned; its members fully support the C.C.F.A. But, we have also other objectives which concern the political and economic life of our own country. Our political program and policy is in conflict with that of other groups, but we have no intention of abandoning them just because of that conflict and we see no reason why it should bar us from membership in the C.C.F.A. Neither we, nor the members of the C.C.F.A., demand acceptance of our political ideology as a condition of membership in the C.C.F.A.

The C.P. executive accuse the C.C.F.A. of having abandoned the original objectives of the Association but don't bother to give us any details of this abandonment. Apparently these lords of the earth consider that it is sufficient for them to decree that a thing is and it will be so and let no mere mortal - particularly, if he happens to be a lowly "broom pusher" - dare question their pronouncements. But we are not impressed. We demand, gentlemen,



that you itemize the points on the bill of indictment.

Pending receipt of such an itemized account perhaps we can make certain assumptions and arrive at some conclusions on the basis of the following quotation from the article of February 12th;

"the editorial board of the Pacific Tribune decided that advertising from such people could not be acceptable, since it ran counter to the policies of this paper: policies which advocate genuine Canadian-China friendship, rather than utilizing such an organization to create division and dissension - an objective alien to the purposes for which the Canada-China Friendship Society was originally created!"

The contents of this quote would appear to justify our concluding that the P.T. board and the C.P. Executive are of the opinion that the key to genuine Canada-China friendship, and the original objectives for which the association was formed, are to be found in the C.P. statements and in the columns of the Pacific Tribune. We accord them every right to make this claim, and even to go to the fantastic lengths of believing it. But we insist on our right to examine the facts before accepting such a claim. We propose to make that examination now.

We reproduce here just a few of the more mild of the thousands of choice expressions of "friendship" to be found in the Pacific Tribune and other party papers and journals.

"It is clear to all that the erroneous position of the Chinese leaders is a classical expression of dogmatism petty-bourgeois revolutionism, jingoism, total lack of responsibility for the destinies of the national revolutionary movement, lack of faith in the all-conquering teaching of Marxism-Leninism, oblivion of the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence, loss of responsibility to the peoples fighting for peace, democracy, socialism, communism" August 26, 1963.

"But in an interview with the Austrian paper Kurier not long ago, given by Foreign Minister Chen Yi and an unnamed "high-placed member of Chinese government," the latter is quoted as saying that "a war in South-east Asia would not be a bad thing." He added: "If I were in the United States, I would vote for Goldwater. Goldwater would be good for the USA and the entire world because he would aggravate the internal situation in the USA and would greatly accelerate the process of development" August 24, 1964.

"On questions of war and peace the Chinese Government had time and again "come forward in the world arena as a force opposing the peaceful foreign policy of the Socialist countries!" April 10, 1964.

"Our Party repudiates this splitting activity of the Communist Party of China. This most recent reckless attempt by the leaders of the Chinese Party to force splits, compels us to point out that it is necessary at every level of Party organization to oppose this unscrupulous attempt to divide the world communist movement. We stand firmly on the positions which we have repeatedly taken in rejecting the totally wrong and un-Marxist line of the Chinese leaders." Feb. 21, 1964

"In other words, it is all very well to talk about disarmament, but really it's a hopeless battle. No struggle was ever won, which thus admits defeat in advance. The Chinese position can have no other effect than to undermine and weaken the fight for peace" Aug. 19, 1963

"The Chinese leaders scorn this task. What they are doing, in effect, is whipping up the nuclear arms race and calling for new powers to join it. They are pursuing a line that is liable to cause an atomic war and consider the struggle for peace a secondary task, opposing it to the struggle for socialism!" April 17, 1964.

In addition to these, there are such items as the party resolution which states that the Communist Party of China is "totally wrong and un-Marxist". The slanderous accusation that China is prepared to start a world war in order to "prod the revolution". We have been treated to the sight of Canadian C.P. leaders echoing Khrushchev's monstrous charge that Chinese leaders claim it is of no account if 300 million people die in a nuclear war. The C.P. leaders lined up on the side of Indian reaction in accusing China of aggression in the China-India border dispute.

In short, every slander the imperialists hurl at China is taken up by the leaders of the C.P. of Canada and the editors of Pacific Tribune and loudly trumpeted in the ranks of the working class movement. And this, we are told, is in accordance with the original "Aims and Objectives" of the C.C.F.A. and constitutes "genuine" friendship for People's China.

With friends like this, who needs enemies!

There appears to be no limit to these "friendly gestures" which the C.P. leaders shower on the People's Republic of China; and, no restrictions on the immoderate language they will use. They not only use all the lying and slanderous attacks the imperialists direct against People's China, they manufacture many of their own and supply them, free of charge, to the imperialist enemies of mankind.

In the summer of 1963 they organized a series of affairs, disguised as banquets, in the Slavic communities across Canada and made them available as forums for attacks on China by the U.S.S.R. ambassador in Canada.

Following the C.P.S.U. Central Committee meeting, which featured Suslov's vicious diatribe against China, these "friends" of China organized special party conferences designed to spread, defend and popularize the contents of Suslov's unprincipled, lying "report: Copies of this "report" were obtained free of charge from the



U.S.S.R. embassy and distributed to party members who were urged by the leadership to read and believe.

At the same time that they enjoin members to read documents of the C.P.S.U. leaders attacking China, and these documents are always available for free distribution to members, they do everything possible to prevent anyone obtaining documents outlining China's principled defence of Marxist-Leninist concepts. The already mentioned appeal to Pacific Tribune readers not to open Marxist-Leninist material arriving by mail is only one of many instances of this censorship. An even more startling example is one which affected the Canadian Tribune and through it, of course, the Pacific Tribune and the entire party organization.

Anyone not terrorized by the bureaucratic injunction against the reading of certain political documents will already be aware of how the C.P.S.U. leaders have banned from sale in the U.S.S.R. the Marxist-Leninist journal "Akahata", organ of the C.P. of Japan, because of the refusal of its editorial board to accede to a demand of the C.P.S.U. that they publish only material acceptable to that august body. But, few Canadians will be aware of the equally startling incident which involved the Canadian Tribune and resulted in the sickening, grovelling attitude of the C.P. leaders in Canada so much in contrast to the principled stand of the Japanese Marxist-Leninists. Let us detail this momentous occurrence for you.

Several years back the C.P. leaders in Canada, emboldened by the low level of ideological development in the Canadian labor movement, became a trifle over-enthusiastic over the possibility of their scoring a telling victory in the international ideological dispute, and committed an indiscretion by adopting a "democratic" approach. They called on party members to read, study and discuss documents from "both sides" in the dispute. This clarion call for the use of "democratic practices" in the debate was accompanied by an announcement that the party journals would carry articles and statements from both sides. Indeed, that issue of the paper contained a special insert which consisted of the statement of the C.P. of China: "The Differences between Comrade Togliatti and us, and an article by Togliatti purporting to be a reply to the C.P. of China.

But alas and alack, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. had not passed the Chinese article as fit mental diet for the Communists of the U.S.S.R. and the issue of the paper was seized before reaching the news-stands. In addition to being a severe blow to the pride of the Canadian "loyalists" the confiscation posed a serious financial threat to the paper which depended on U.S.S.R. sales for upwards of one third of its total sales. Needless to say, the paper never again carried any article or report which had not already been clothed with "respectability" of acceptance in the Kremlin. The Canadian and Pacific editions of the Tribune were never again going to be caught sneaking out of the anti-China chorus for a breath of fresh air.

Rejecting the charge of having attempted to subvert the C.C.F.A. from the very beginning the C.P. leaders insist on their great concern for the Association's welfare which they consider to have been put in jeopardy by the very people who had organized it. So great was their concern in this respect that they even went to the lengths of expelling a long time member for endangering the organization's existence. With this rather novel claim before us (a trifle hard to swallow in view of the party leadership attitude toward China, perhaps we had better re-examine, even though it may be a little tedious, the party attitude toward the C.C.F.A. since the beginning.

The C.C.F.A. was formed at the beginning of 1964, and, as we have stated previously, before there was any P.W.M.

Attending the first meeting, which discussed the possibility of forming an Association, there were about a dozen people. At the second meeting, when the Association was actually founded, there were about 40 in attendance. Most of those present were either members of the New Democratic Party or were not partisans of any particular political movement. There were several present who were members of the Communist Party and, since the attack we are discussing emanates from the leading bodies of the C.P., it is on the experience of these few that we will mainly depend to establish just exactly what the attitude of the C.P. leaders really was toward the C.C.F.A.

In order to keep the record straight it should be stated here that those who were members of the Communist Party were fully aware, from the outset, of just what a devastating impact the appearance of such an organization would have on the C.P. leaders who had, long before, elected to become full members, and active participants in the anti-China chorus. The antagonistic reaction we encountered was not at all unexpected.

At the meeting of the party organization to which we were attacked the Provincial Organizer informed us we were in violation of democratic centralism and that the action we had taken in helping to form the C.C.F.A.; "is not in line with party thinking at this time!" We were instructed to withdraw from the Association and see to its early demise: a piece of advice which we quickly rejected.

A dispute over the matter raged in the organization for several weeks and then was referred to the National Committee for decision. The gist of the National Committee reply was as follows: "Had we been asked before the Association was formed we would not have consented to the setting up of an organization of this type at the present time. However, in view of the fact it has already been set up we will 'go along with it; but, if the organization engages in any activities we consider beyond the range of its Aims and Objectives we will disassociate



ourselves from it and publicly denounce it"

There should be no illusions that this decision signalled any change of heart on the part of the C.P. leadership. The word was passed to the "faithful" that membership in the C.C.F.A. was officially frowned upon and it would be a good idea to stay away from the Association and its functions.

One member (from the Provincial Executive) was detailed to join the association to "keep an eye on it". This individual paid his one dollar to join and that was the end of his "contribution" to the organization. The few functions he attended found him limiting his "participation" to the gathering of information for distorted reports to the executive.

This was the full extent of "party" participation. Any other members were present "illegally" and would ultimately suffer expulsion.

To the party members the threat was obvious. The first time that any officer made a favorable remark about the People's Republic of China that appeared to be in contradiction to the hate-China attitude of the C.P. leaders, there would be trouble in the wind.

Around the time of the Association's founding there was a great deal of discussion about the recent flare-up on China's border with India. By early March the C.C.F.A. had come into possession of a China produced film "China-India Border Dispute" - and the executive decided on an early showing for two reasons: 1- As a mean of launching the organization on a mass scale. 2- To put forward China's position in the border-dispute; a position which, when referred to at all, was badly distorted in the Western Press.

The executive requested Jack Scott, the then vice-president of the C.C.F.A. and a veteran Communist, to speak on the border dispute prior to the showing of the film.

We were of the opinion then, and we are of the opinion now, that activities such as this were fully in line with the Association's objectives of developing understanding and friendship between the people's of Canada and China, and all the more so since we're convinced that China's stand in the dispute with India was eminently just.

Several days prior to the scheduled date of the film showing the Provincial Organizer of the Party visited Scott and instructed him that he was not to speak on the China-India Border Dispute and to see, to it that the film and subject was changed for a less controversial one, such as raising a demand for China to be invited to attend the Montreal World's Fair in 1967.

The meeting, an overflow one with many unable to gain admission, was held as scheduled. The immediate reaction of the leadership of the party to this event consisted of attacks in the Pacific Tribune for two consecutive weeks. These attacks were penned by Vancouver City Secretary William Stewart who had attended the meeting at the direction of the provincial executive.

The gist of the articles (later to form the basis for charges being laid in the party) was to the effect that Scott had "come down flatfooted on the side of China" had narrowed down the breadth of the C.C.F.A. by propagating the idea that Socialism was superior to Capitalism and had "rejected the concept of neutrality in the struggle between Socialism and imperialism".

By May the Party Leadership decided on taking action. Being aware that they could never secure a vote against Scott they dissolved the Party organization to which he belonged (an action which was in flagrant violation of the party constitution) and then dragged him before a select committee of the Provincial Executive charged with violating a party decision and with speaking at a meeting on the China-India border dispute in a most "provocative way".

Because of the furore over the proposed subject the speech was written out and the text carefully adhered to a few mimeographed copies are still available for those who wish to judge of its provocativeness. In view of the despicable action of the C.P.S.U. leadership in arming Indian reaction, the servant of U.S. and British imperialism, against People's China it might be thought that the charge of being provocative indicated an attack on the Soviet Union but the fact is that, due to the situation prevailing at the time, there was not a single mention of the U.S.S.R. in the entire speech. As pointed out at Scott's trial; no such restraint would ever again be practiced.

The information pertaining to the trial and expulsion of Scott is fully documented and still available so we will not delve further into the matter here. However the party statements now say that Scott was expelled for misleading the C.C.F.A. away from its original objectives and out of concern for the good and welfare of the Association. We insert here a copy of the letter informing Scott of his expulsion and of the reasons for that action.





# COMMUNIST PARTY of Canada

(PARTI COMMUNISTE CANADIEN)

August 11, 1964

502 FORD BUILDING - 193 E. HASTINGS  
VANCOUVER 4, B.C.  
PHONE MUTUAL 4-1451

Dear Jack:

The Trial Committee established by the Provincial Executive to investigate charges against you has reported its findings.

After carefully weighing all available evidence, the Trial Committee has found you guilty of the charges of deliberately violating decisions of leading Party bodies, and subsequently of causing to be published and distributed appeals and statements in a manner as to constitute factional activities.

The Trial Committee has found you guilty (on the charge of violating Article 4, Section 2, and Article 8, Section 2, of the Constitution) of "knowingly and deliberately violating a decision that was made by a competent Party body, the Provincial Executive, and that was binding upon you subject to appeal as provided in the Party Constitution (Article 4, Section 3).

ACCORDINGLY, UNDER ARTICLE 8, SECTION 2, OF THE CONSTITUTION, THE TRIAL COMMITTEE RECOMMENDED CENSURE AND REMOVAL FROM ALL RESPONSIBLE POSTS.

Additionally, in connection with information placed before the hearing in the form of a mimeographed circular relating to the charges preferred against you, and which the Provincial Executive directed the Trial Committee to include in its investigation, the Committee reported:

"J. Scott admitted that it was indeed his signature and appeal, but refused to give any information as to how many were produced or to whom they were distributed.

" The provisions of the Constitution for reserving an opinion and for appealing a decision are clearly and carefully stated both in the preamble and Article 4. It was a special concern of the Trial Committee to provide every opportunity for J. Scott to present whatever witnesses, materials and opinions he wished. J. Scott however, has chosen (on his own admission) to go outside the channels of appeal provided by the Constitution, and open to him.

" The circulation of appeals and statements while hearings are in progress constitutes factional activity, and factional activities are expressly condemned in 'Principles of Organization' and Article 4, Section 2 of the Party Constitution.

" In the matter of international solidarity J. Scott sets himself above the collectively arrived at opinions of the Party, endeavouring to create the erroneous impression that our Party is lacking in solidarity with the heroic struggles of the Chinese workers and peasants.

" J. Scott makes it clear in his (signed) statement that he speaks for a faction and intends to fight the Convention decisions, among others the 'Three-Point Program'."

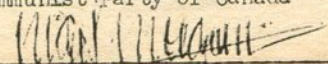
The Trial Committee concluded its report:

"YOUR COMMITTEE WAS RELUCTANT TO RECOMMEND THE FULL DISCIPLINARY ACTION POSSIBLE UNDER THE CONSTITUTION FOR FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH A DECISION. IN VIEW OF THE ADDITIONAL CONTEMPT OF THE PARTY AND ITS CONSTITUTION BY ENGAGING IN FACTIONAL ACTIVITY AND THE DECLARATION TO FIGHT THE CONVENTION DECISIONS PUBLICLY, THE COMMITTEE HAS NO CHOICE BUT TO RECOMMEND THE EXPULSION OF J. SCOTT, AND DOES SO RECOMMEND."

This letter is to advise you that the Provincial Executive voted to accept the report of the Trial Committee, and by unanimous vote endorsed the recommendation of censure and expulsion from the Communist Party of Canada.

You are hereby notified of your expulsion as of this date. The right of appeal is of course provided in the Party Constitution in the event you wish to exercise it.

For the B.C. Provincial Executive  
Communist Party of Canada

  
Nigel Morgan  
Provincial Secretary.



It will be noted that Scott not only was not expelled for actions endangering the organization's existence - he was not even charged with such actions. The part of the statement issued by the Provincial Executive which deals with this question is therefore shown to be a deliberate falsehood.

Scott was charged with violating a party decision by speaking at a public meeting (the China-India border meeting) but, he was not even expelled for this. The decision was for "censure and removal from party posts. But the trial committee proceeded with a mock trial on a charge which was never formally laid but simply on the basis of information laid before it by the provincial executive. This information related to the fact that Scott insisted on informing the party membership of the betrayal that was taking place, it concerned fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles and the party program for Canada. It will be seen then that matters are quite different than the party leaders try to make them out to have been.

Another "proof" of the party leader's "concern" for the welfare of the C.C.F.A. is to be found in a letter sent to some members who were protesting the attacks on the Association. This letter went out over the signature of the provincial organizer Charles Caron and was sent long BEFORE any charges were laid and while Scott was still a member of the party.

The letter, after an apologetic "explanation" of the party executive's position, went on to charge that "Scott and his followers have joined up with the remnants of the Trotskyite League for Socialist Action in the C.C.F.A." The intent of this is obvious to all who know anything of party history. Although the letter was in existence and available at the time of the trial it was never brought forward by Caron.

It has been necessary for us to deal at quite some length with the attitude of the C.P. leaders toward the C.C.F.A. since its inception. This has been forced on us because it has been made necessary for us to expose the lies and slander they are using in a most vicious and unprincipled way for the sole purpose of rendering the organization ineffective, and they are the people who are applying themselves, in a most brazen fashion, to the task of wrecking the C.C.F.A. They are also preventing a number of progressive people from actively assisting in the affairs of the Association.

There is no possible way in which an organization such as the C.C.F.A. can avoid conflict with these pseudo-radicals who have betrayed the labor movement - unless the members agree to lead a thoroughly innocuous and impotent existence. When the imperialists slander and lie about China it is the duty of the C.C.F.A. to refute their slanders by letting the people of Canada know the truth about People's China. But when the C.C.F.A. exposes the imperialists' lies about China and show the people the truth, they are, at the same time, exposing the revisionists who are lying about China in the very same way that the imperialists are lying. On occasion even more viciously.

So when the C.C.F.A. exposes imperialist slanders the revisionists naturally take it as directed at them personally and so make unjust accusations against the C.C.F.A. that they are interfering in the international ideological dispute. But, this is not at all the fault of the members of the C.C.F.A.; nor does it signify any departure from their stated aims and objectives; on the contrary, it shows that the Association's members have a serious attitude toward their obligations. The fault rests entirely on the shoulders of the party leaders who have aligned themselves on the side of the imperialist aggressors and against People's China, instead of standing with the C.C.F.A. in solidarity with the working people of China.

#### FREEDOM OF SPEECH - BUT!

"The Editorial Board of the Pacific Tribune" runs the February 12, statement, decided that advertising from such people could not be acceptable, since it ran counter to the policies of this paper!"

The Editors have gone a long way indeed, in this instance, in the establishment of a new principle to guide the newspapers policy on acceptance of paid notices. They cannot now complain if they should become the victims of their own policy. If the party leaders are now informed by bourgeois journals, radio and T.V. stations that their announcements are un-acceptable "since it runs counter to the policies" etc. they will have no possible grounds for protest since they themselves made the rules. They are now captives of their own stupid policy.

Indeed, having set the principle they should not request advertising space in journals other than those with whose policies they are in accord. This leads to a very interesting area of speculation since, on the very day the issue of the Pacific Tribune containing the above statement hit the street, ads appeared in the local big business papers announcing a meeting sponsored by the party and to be addressed by the National Chairman of the party. Are we to conclude that the "Sun" and the "Province", organs of big business, do not run counter to the policies of the party leadership? The very fact that they even offered the announcement for publication would seem to indicate, in view of their stated principle, that the executive indeed consider the policies of these journals to be in line with their own.

The very same issue of the P.T. which announced this new "principle" of freedom of the press carried an interesting editorial. After outlining the disgraceful way in which the Attorney-General had brow-beat one of the



back-benchers of his own party the editorial concluded with this very interesting paragraph:

It would appear that Sacred back-benchers have the "right" to say what they think, providing what they think doesn't run counter to what the Bennett-Bonner hierarchy thinks. When that happens "democracy" takes a back seat — well back.

February 12, 1965 EDITORIAL

May we add a postscript: It would appear that the members of the C.C.F.A. have a "right" to say what they think, providing what they think doesn't run counter to what the McEwen-Morgan-Rush hierarchy thinks".

### IN THE SERVICE OF IMPERIALISM

The fairy-tale world of fantasy and make-believe in which some of these pseudoradicals move and have their being is possibly nowhere more plainly evident than in their position on the U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam. Here the revisionists are unable to hide their treachery and betrayal behind a facade of "ideological dispute". Under pressure of world crises the role of the revisionists in the service of imperialism is daily becoming more clear.

In the B.C. Executive statement, published on the P.T. of February 19, 1965, the references to the situation in Vietnam, when linked to other acts, presents us with some very definite clues as to just what brand of betrayal these gentlemen have in mind.

Having first quoted from the statement of the National Executive which paid the usual quota of lip-service to the demand for U.S. forces to get out of Vietnam, the B.C. Executive then goes on to say:

"In contrast to this stand for united action to preserve world peace as a condition for social progress there are those who ignore or minimize the danger of thermonuclear war; who emphasize winning instead of ending the war in Vietnam".

In order to ensure that there will be no misunderstanding their position, meaning the end of the statement they return to the theme in this way:

"Greene's (Felix Greene-J.S.) approach to the war in Vietnam was to emphasize who would win the war instead of HOW TO STOP IT. When asked whether the war could develop into a thermonuclear war, his only comment was "Yes it is quite possible". Then he immediately returned to the subject of who would win in Vietnam. The omission was very obvious".

We will not presume to defend statements made by Mr. Greene in the course of a television interview. Mr. Greene is a very capable gentleman and well equipped to defend himself. We will concern ourselves with the statement as it is applied to criticism of the P.W.M. and will reply for the P.W.M. There is one reference to the Greene's interview however that intrigues and the meaning of which completely eludes us: What was the "obvious omission" in Greene's comment during the interview? We would appreciate clarification on this point.

We would first like to point out that we neither minimize nor ignore the danger of thermonuclear war. We are fully cognizant of this danger and also of the fact that its roots are in the nature of the imperialist system. We realize that, in order to put an end to all threats of war-thermonuclear or otherwise—it will be necessary to disarm the imperialists and put an end to their system of exploitation and their aggressive policies. We demand the total destruction, and outlawing of all nuclear weapons. We do not sign, nor do we support the signing of, pacts that are designed to legalize the testing, manufacture and ownership of nuclear weapons by aggressive imperialist forces; nor do we consent to, or participate in, the making of policies directed toward efforts aimed at sabotaging the ability of the working people to arm themselves for defence against aggression.

Spreading the myth (as the revisionists do) about "good" and "bad" capitalists, and of the peaceful intentions of "some" imperialist circles is tantamount to minimizing the danger of thermonuclear war and constitutes activities that are calculated to increase that danger by introducing confusion and division into the peoples anti-imperialist struggle thus weakening that struggle and so aiding the aggressive designs of the imperialists.

We are "accused" of desiring victory for the National Liberation Front instead of an end to the war. So far as we are concerned victory for the people and an end to the war are synonymous. The only possible alternative that we can envisage is for the people to accept imperialist enslavement in a properly docile manner — the peace of the graveyard, and one which is not likely to find favor with the people of Vietnam. Instead of their negative criticism of P.W.M. support for the Liberation Front let the revisionists take up a positive attitude and inform us in clear terms as to how they propose to end conflict in Vietnam sort of victory.

Everyone is aware that the territory of Vietnam is being occupied by the armed forces of U.S. imperialism who create puppet governments at will, and almost daily, to provide a facade of doubtful "legality" for their mur-



derous oppression of the people. Faced with this situation the Vietnamese, united under the leadership of the National Liberation Front, determined on a policy of armed resistance against the puppets and their imperialist masters.

The decision to struggle against imperialist aggression in Vietnam was made, not by P.W.M., but, by the working people and intellectuals of Vietnam and the objectives of that struggle - and the terms upon which it will end- can only be determined by those who are directly involved in it.

It is not for us to instruct the Vietnamese how to conduct their fight against imperialism or set conditions for our support. Our international obligation is clear: unqualified support for the people in their struggle and the rendering of all possible and by whatever means are available to us.

The revisionists say they demand that U.S. forces get out of Vietnam; and still they criticize P.W.M for wanting to "win the war". But the National Liberation Front controls 80% of Vietnam territory and no puppet government could exist a single hour without the presence of U.S. armed forces to sustain them. It is obvious that withdrawal of the U.S. would mean victory for the people and defeat for the imperialists and their puppets. How then can the revisionists reconcile their pretended demand for U.S. withdrawal with their criticism of P.W.M. for desiring a people's victory? The revisionists should check with their imperialist mentors and they will soon be informed that withdrawal means victory for the people.

Without U.S. occupation in one form or another the people of Vietnam are sure to be victorious. The revisionists cannot support open U.S. occupation since such a course would expose them and render them ineffective in the service of imperialism. They must adopt some other tactic that will achieve the same end while leaving them free to continue their pretence of demanding U.S. withdrawal - and it appears that they have settled on a course of action.

At a recent demonstration ostensibly called in "support" of Vietnam, by the revisionists, some members of P.W.M. turned out with slogans demanding that U.S. imperialists get out of Vietnam. The revisionists exhibited extreme hostility toward these slogans exposing U.S. imperialism and demanded that they be removed from the demonstration. Amongst the slogans carried by revisionist supporters was one calling for "Peace through the United Nations".

The tactic becomes obvious. U.S. imperialism, discredited throughout the world and being assailed on all sides by the anti-imperialist movement, is finding it impossible to return a foothold in Vietnam by open occupation so the revisionists come forward with a proposal for a solution to their dilemma; cover the occupation under the flag of the U.S. controlled U.N.

This is the "world" organization that underwrote U.S. aggression in Korea: presided over the murder of Lumumba in the Congo; aids British imperialism maintain its control over Cyprus; has given aid to the United States in attacking Cuba and summoned Vietnam to face a charge of aggression preferred by the U.S. imperialist aggressors. The U.N. recently demonstrated its complete subservience to imperialist interests by giving a security council seat to the puppet state of Malaysia an action which parallels its maintenance of U.S. puppet Chiang Kai Shek in the council seat that rightfully belongs to the People's Republic of China.

So in the case of Vietnam, as in the case of the People's Republic of China, the revisionists enlist themselves in the service of imperialism and against the interests of the people. The U.N. is to undertake the occupation of Vietnam on behalf of the U.S. imperialists and no doubt the revisionists will demand of the people of Vietnam that they submit themselves to this occupation "in the interests of the peace of the world".

We will continue to stand on the side of the National Liberation Front and demand that the U.S. imperialists withdraw from Vietnam and leave the people to determine their own destiny without interference from anyone - including the United Nations.

### THE DOVES AND THE HAWKS

In an attempt to provide an "ideological" basis for their betrayal the revisionists come out with a new "theory" of imperialism that has nothing in common with Marxist-Leninist concepts.

This so-called theory obscures the class basis of imperialism and propagates the idea of two groups, "good imperialists and "bad" imperialists- the "doves" and the "Hawks" - a theory which has nothing in common with the reality of U.S. imperialism, the most reactionary, force in the world today.

According to this theory the "good" imperialists (doves) are in favor of peaceful coexistence, freedom and human dignity and will even be in favor of passing over to Communism when they realize its great success in the Soviet Union.

The "bad" imperialists (hawks) on the other hand, are for the suppression of the people, against social pro-



gress and in favor of nuclear war.

Out of this comes the ridiculous proposal that the main enemy of the people is not imperialism after all, the "good" imperialists are even suggested as allies of the people's movement; the fight is not against the capitalist class but against a group of "madmen" who refuse to recognize the terrible power of nuclear weapons and who refuse to treat the owners of nuclear weapons with proper respect.

It is on the basis of this "theory" together with their lies and slanders placing China in the ranks of so-called madmen, that they justify their policy of aligning themselves with the imperialists against the People's Republic of China, the people's anti-imperialist struggle and the Marxist-Leninists everywhere. When anyone questions their "ideology of betrayal" they threaten them with nuclear disaster.

As the price of saving themselves from nuclear destructions the revisionists demand of the people that they abandon the anti-imperialist struggle and accept the "concept of neutrality in the struggle between imperialism and socialism". Everything will work out fine they tell us; just wait a century or so for the building of Communism in the U.S.S.R. and even the imperialists will become so enthusiastic they too will favor socialism and the transition from capitalism to socialism will be achieved painlessly-with the imperialists assisting in the transition instead of obstructing it.

It was this fantasy which led to the acclaiming of Johnson's success in the U.S. presidential elections as a "landslide victory for peace and civil liberty". The P.W.M. said at the time that Johnson was already doing what Goldwater SAID he would do if elected and we received a lecture on our inability to properly assess the relationship of forces in the world. Hariem, Selma and Vietnam are tragic proof as to who properly understood the class forces at work.

War is already a reality for tens of millions of people and there is indeed grave danger that this war will be expanded. It is not impossible that the U.S. imperialists will even resort again now, as they have before, to the use of nuclear weapons in a desperate attempt to suppress the people's movement.

In the face of this critical situation it is vital for the people (and the Marxists-Leninists in the first place) to reject the illusions propagated by the revisionists and unite their ranks in struggle AGAINST the imperialists and not WITH them - against U.S. imperialism in the first place. We must stand always prepared to render every possible assistance to people wherever and whenever they rise in struggle against oppression. It is only by this means that we will succeed in defeating the imperialist aggressors, halt war and oppression and put an end to the threat of nuclear war.

#### WHO IS ANTI-SOVIET?

In their statement of February 19, the party executive in B.C. expressed approval and support for the following quote from a national committee statement:

"The Progressive Workers Movement is a divisive element in the labour movement; an anti-party, anti-Soviet grouping whose aims and activities are harmful to labour and to the people's movements in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism!"

And there, friends, is about as total an abandonment of reason, as as complete an appeal to prejudice as one could possibly find in one small paragraph. Once one of these party "leaders" has made up his mind he is very unlikely to risk confusing the issue through the admission of any facts.

Even a cursory examination of the above paragraph the most dull-witted would quickly recognize that it is signally lacking a very important ingredient; a single detail of fact to substantiate the list of crimes on the bill of indictment. If one reads the quotation with even a minimum of cool and critical reasoning it will be readily apparent that, if the crimes charged against the P.W.M. are of any substance whatever, there must exist evidence to support the charges and those who made the charges would have to be in possession of that evidence. Why then, since they consider the charges to be of such gravity, don't they give the details to their readers and followers so there will be no lingering of doubt? But not a detail is given. The "leaders" have spoken and a docile membership is expected to read and implicitly believe without ever a question or a doubt about the authenticity of the pronouncement. But we are neither overawed nor impressed; we intend to question.

On being a divisive element: We fight to unite the people in struggle against the oppressor, against imperialism and, in the first place against U.S. imperialism. Since it is inevitable that the people will struggle against oppression this is the only basis on which they can be united.

The revisionists, in the name of peaceful coexistence and the prevention of thermonuclear war, seek to unite the people WITH their oppressors in a search for some Utopian "State of the whole people". But the struggle against oppression being an inevitability this can only result in sowing confusion, misleading a section of the people away from the correct path of struggle and so dividing the people, and firstly the working class, in the face.



of oppression and imperialist aggression.

It is our revisionist accusers, and not us, who are responsible for dividing the labor movement.

As for the charge of being anti-party: if they mean by this that we have decided on an implacable and un-re-lenting struggle against revisionist confusion and betrayal, then they have arrived at the right conclusion in this respect. This struggle we intend to carry through to the very end. To those who look on revisionism as a policy of treachery and betrayal the fight against it is not an anti-party struggle but a fight for the party and for a correct Marxist-Leninist party.

As for the charge of being anti-Soviet: we find the same negative approach to this accusation, the same lack of detailed facts that were the hallmark of the other charges. If there were any substance to the charge of anti-Sovietism it would have been a comparatively simple matter to briefly state the essence of anti-Sovietism and then list the P.W.M. acts that are supposed to have taken place in order for us to be accused of the crime. We propose to examine this matter in some detail and see if it can be established whether anyone is, in fact, guilty of being anti-Soviet.

In order to determine the facts we must first agree on what constitutes anti-Sovietism and that involves getting an understanding of what a Marxist-Leninist means by the term "Soviet".

The Russian word "Soviet" when literally translated into English means "Council" a form of administration and control. But to the world at large, and to the Marxist-Leninist in particular, the word "Soviet" has come to mean a great deal more than is contained in this literal translation into English.

True, the Soviet is a form of political administration. But it is political administration of a particular and special type. The Soviet is the dictatorship of the proletariat: the state power of the working class. It is the state power of the working class in the form which developed out of the specific conditions that existed in Russia in the period of the victory of the proletarian revolution.

The essence of the Soviet therefore is this: it is the political power of the working class, the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is the political power wielded by the working class to suppress the exploiters and effect the transition from capitalism to socialism.

To be anti-Soviet, therefore, means to be opposed to working-class power. opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat. And it doesn't mean just opposition to Soviet power in the U.S.S.R. Anti-Sovietism is reflected in opposition to working class power in any place it may be established and is not to be judged solely on the basis of ones attitude toward the Soviet Union.

For example: the People's Republic of China is the form of proletarian power that arose out of the specific conditions that existed in China. It is the state power used for the suppression of the oppressors and exploiters and to mobilize the people to effect the transition from capitalist to socialist society. It could be said it is the form of "Soviet" power that has arisen out of Chinese conditions, culture and traditions. It follows therefore that when one arms reactionary agents of imperialism to attack the People's Republic of China then there is being demonstrated an extreme form of anti-Sovietism which is in no way mitigated by reason of the fact that it is directed against China and not against the U.S.S.R.

So far as the P.W.M. is concerned, we support the working-class state wherever it manifests itself and without regard to the geographical area where that state crises or the nationality of the people who form it. Furthermore, we have clearly stated that, while it may show certain superficial differences in the various countries, the dictatorship of the proletariat still remains the only correct and effective way in which the working class can exercise political power and suppress their enemies.

It seems obvious that the P.W.M. is by no means anti-Soviet. Quite the contrary we are very much pro-Soviet.

But what of our accusers, where do they stand in relation to proletarian dictatorship-the essence of Soviet power?

The late Leslie Morris, when he presented the revisionist line to the National Committee meeting held in June 1964, had this to say on the question of proletarian dictatorship:

"It has been said in many classics, and written in many articles that what stands between Social-Democrats and Communists is the acceptance by the Communists of the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the non-acceptance of that basic principle by Socialists, that this is the dividing line between the Communists and the Socialists.

We've never re-examined that point, never devoted study and articles to it. I would submit that this is



not the dividing line at this time. I would submit that the use of the phrase "proletarian dictatorship" as we have debated before, should be set to one side. It is a scientific phrase that has its own special significance. We should move over to concepts of working-class power, people's power, which would win agreement on the part of those who are not willing to accept that scientific term and who might read into that term their own conceptions, because of past events, of the predominant and exclusive role of the Communist Party in the period of working-class power.

"We should establish a new set of points of contact and not establish a whole number of rigid and almost unsurmountable obstacles between us and socialist-minded people.

"Now you might say that we do not put these obstacles forward: you might say we have not been active in raising such obstacles. I would submit that the very fact that we haven't discussed questions of this kind as it concerns the Socialist Left indicates that within us there is a strong reluctance and a fear of committing revisionist errors which inhibit us from engaging in that free relationship with Socialist-minded Canadians which could be established on the basis, for example, of general agreement about the propositions we're advancing in our 3--point program, about the paramount nature of peace at the present time, about the necessity for coalition governments to build socialism; about the inevitability in our conditions, of the existence of a multiplicity of parties in the period of transition, and a readiness to say that we don't know now and we cannot foresee in detail precisely how the political situation will develop under socialism!"

Particular note should be taken of how the Social-Democrats, by a fine piece of sleight-of-hand, are transformed into "Socialists".

It is quite obvious from this quotation that the revisionists have discarded the concept "dictatorship of the whole people".

We read that the dictatorship of the proletariat is no longer the dividing line between Communists and Social-Democrats, and since we know that the Social-Democrats still cling to their "Democratic Socialist" class-collaboration formula, and vigorously oppose proletarian dictatorship, it is clear that it is the revisionists who have abandoned Marxism-Leninism and crossed the dividing line.

Proletarian dictatorship, we are informed, is a "phrase" a "scientific term" that should be set to one side.

Kautsky, when he launched his attack against the newly-established proletarian state almost half a century ago also dismissed the proletarian State as a "phrase" a "little word"; we recommend a re-reading of Lenin's reply to Kautsky on this point.

At the same meeting Kashtan, who took over as party leader on the death of Morris, had this to say on the subject:

"With respect to guarantees against the abrogation of democracy for the people, such guarantees lie in the prospects of multi-party governments. We need to come at this question, explain it and make clear that our party is for a multi-party government"

So according to Kashtan proletarian dictatorship is undemocratic and we must have multi-party governments to guarantee democracy "for the people".

Proletarian dictatorship never pretended to guarantee democracy for the "people". It was democracy for the working people, but it represented a dictatorship over the exploiters the former ruling class who are a part of the "people". Now this is to be discarded in favor of "multi-party" governments that will guarantee democracy-not to the working people to the "people" in general. Kashtan needs to explain what great social discovery he has made that enables him to "guarantee" democracy to exploiter and exploited alike. Until that explanation is forthcoming we will have to conclude that Kashtan's multi-party nonsense is nothing but the old bourgeois trick of "coalition" government, with the possible added feature of one or two revisionists in the cabinet to protect the "people's" interests.

The evidence seems to be conclusive! those who are shouting so loudly about anti-Sovietism are themselves the ones who are anti-Soviet.

It is to be expected that the revisionists will indignantly deny that they are anti-Soviet and will proudly point to their long record of loyalty to the leaders of the C.P.S.U. as proof that they are not guilty. In doing this they will be completely ignoring the whole point of our argument.

However, let us anticipate their reply and take a look at what they might consider to be "pro-Soviet"; it might aid in making the point more clear.

The victory of the Proletarian Revolution in Russia, and the subsequent consolidation of working-class power



there, coupled with the defeat of the revolutionary forces elsewhere, left the Soviet Union alone as a Socialist land and in the position of being surrounded by hostile forces seeking its destruction.

The existence of this situation presented the revolutionary working class with the primary internationalist duty of defending Soviet power against the imperialist enemy, who was the enemy of all mankind.

The slogan advanced to rally the people to this historic and just task was "Defend the U.S.S.R."

In this sharp and simple slogan was summed up the proletarian internationalist position of the world Communist movement.

At the time of coining the slogan, and for some years following, the meaning was clear. In the slogan was summed up the call for the defence of the Socialist Revolution of the Proletarian power and the call to arm against the imperialist enemies of Socialism and social progress. It was never intended to mean the defence of any particular piece of land except insofar as that territory was the location of the Socialist State. What we were defending was the revolutionary socialist principles of the Soviet power which, for the moment, was confined and restricted to a single area - the U.S.S.R.

But with the passing of time and the influx of large numbers of new members unacquainted with Marxist theory, the failure to instruct them properly in that theory, and our own failure to continue the fight to master the fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist theory while we carried on the practical struggle, led to a deterioration where we became disoriented and the stage was set for a monumental blunder.

A subtle and largely undected change began to take place in our thinking and attitude. Whereas previously we had correctly understood the meaning of the slogan "Defend the U.S.S.R.", as the defence of the Socialist Revolution wherever it manifested itself and a mandatory obligation under the concept of Proletarian Internationalism it began to take on the meaning not of a defence of Socialist principles but of a specific geographical area in Eastern Europe. From Proletarian Internationalists we had degenerated into patriotic defenders of the "Soviet Motherland"

This situation led to some more or less serious distortions and sectarian practices in our work in Canada. But so long as the U.S.S.R. remained the only proletarian state in the world and its defence a first obligation under the concept of proletarian internationalism: so long as the C.P.S.U. maintained a fundamentally correct revolutionary and internationalist outlook and suppressed revisionist pressures, no serious distortions arose in our international connections or around the question of our obligations to Proletarian internationalism.

But with the defeat of the main imperialist powers and the extension of the Socialist revolution to wide additional areas of the world our incorrect attitude on proletarian internationalism began to affect our work in a serious way.

Instead of applying proletarian internationalism alike to all areas where the Socialist Revolution manifested itself we continued to advance the slogan, now incorrect: "Defend the U.S.S.R." and failed to see that we were obligated to treat all the Socialist nations alike. Any criticism of C.P.S.U. policy was branded "anti-Soviet" and the critics hounded out of the movement as traitors. With the development of the international dispute around fundamental questions of Marxist-Leninist ideology the slogan "Defend the U.S.S.R." for all practical purposes, was turned into a call to uphold and defend the Khrushchev revisionists who had seized control of the C.P.S.U. This has now led the Canadian revisionists to the ultimate treachery of uniting with the imperialists against the People's Republic of China, the firm bastion of the Socialist Revolution in Asia.

The revisionists are making exception of every revisionist betrayal of the C.P.S.U. leaders mandatory for the revolutionary movement in Canada. Because of this, and in spite of all their "proofs" of friendly relations with the leaders of the C.P.S.U., it is these revisionists who are anti-Soviet while we of the P.W.M. still stand firmly in defence of all those things that constituted the main essence of the slogan: "Defend the U.S.S.R." We uphold the concept of proletarian internationalism and the defence of the gains of the Socialist Revolution wherever those gains are registered and without regard to their geographical location.

#### REVISIONISM AND THE TRADE UNIONS

The Pacific Tribune, in the issue of February 26, 1965, published a statement which had been released by the B.C. provincial executive of the Communist Party (the second such statement to appear in consecutive issues). The main content of the statement consisted of a sharp attack on the Confederation of National Trade Unions, a somewhat milder attack on the Canadian Labor Congress and a fanciful account of alleged splitting activities of the P.W.M. in the trade unions; a lurid tale that had all the earmarks of the product of the diseased mind of some occupant of the Ford Building.

In their "discussion" of trade union questions the C.P. leaders adopt the same approach they use in their comments on any other matter; a negative criticism (usually based on a distorted viewpoint) of the work of others.



They are more than willing to point out the alleged errors and shortenings of others, but never offer to make, in a positive way, any comprehensive statement on their own position.

However, if we examine their negative attitude, take a close look at some snatches of comment they have made elsewhere and take some of their actions into consideration, we will be able to come up with some idea as to what their position is, ascertain what is wrong and offer counter proposals.

The revisionist group do a lot of loud talking about the need for autonomy of the Canadian trade union movement; but when a group of workers become incensed at the intolerable conditions in the international unions dominated by the U.S. bureaucrats and take practical steps to break their ties with them they are berated for "splitting" the movement and lectured on the need to maintain the "unity of the working class" by remaining tied to the internationals until the labor brass permits them to leave.

\*This contradictory position of being FOR and AGAINST autonomy simultaneously has been known to lead to a situation where strikes called by local unions that have broken with the international were labeled "phony strikes" and embarrassing for the left in the "legitimate" unions.

So far as P.W.M. is concerned there is no such thing as a phony strike that is called for the purpose of enforcing demands on an employer. The decision to strike is the sole prerogative of the workers involved in the dispute and it is a prime task of communist workers to rally support for striking workers and to expose and resist scabbing; not promote it.

The C.P. leaders also make a pretense of being opposed to trusteeships imposed on local unions by international officers. This pretense is made necessary by the just indignation of the workers against such high-handed methods of control. But when the Canadian government imposed trusteeship on the maritime unions the revisionists hailed it as a measure that would contribute to Canadian trade union autonomy and to the political and economic independence of the nation.

The P.W.M. is of the opinion that a trusteeship imposed by the Canadian government is no more acceptable than one imposed by US officers of the international unions and is no more likely to lead to autonomy and democratic control by the membership, as the revisionists contend it will.

Having decided to abandon Marxist-Leninist principles as a necessary step preliminary to being judged socially acceptable by the Social-Democrats the revisionists are now in the second stage of their campaign: a shameless and passionate public wooing to convince the Social-Democrats of the benefits to be obtained from a contract of holy wedlock between the two groups of opportunists. Every utterance of the right wing is respectfully echoed as though it were the expression of some rare genius, and anyone who takes issue with such nonsense is damned as a splitter.

It is from their dizzy perch on the pinnacle of this so called policy of trade union unity that the revisionists controlled B.C. executive level their attack against the P.W.M. We reproduce here all of that section of the statement that is germane to the discussion in hand and which constitutes more than half of the entire text. The quotation is as follows:

"In the face of the big business offensive, labor's position can only be weakened by displays of disunity such as the sharp exchange between the Canadian Labor Congress president Claude Jodoin and Jean Marchand of the Canadian National Trade Unions. Refusal by the C.L.C. to recognize the right of French Canadians in Quebec to their own national union movement can only lead to discord. On the other hand, the rejection by the C.N.T.U. of an anti-raiding pact with the C.L.C. only lends to discord.

"Both the C.L.C. and C.N.T.U. are at present engaged in furthering disunity. The C.L.C. continues to support raids against the C.N.T.U. in Quebec. In retaliation, the C.N.T.U. is also raiding and spreading disunity across the country.

It was revealed last week that a meeting was held in Maillardville, B.C. under the joint sponsorship of the C.N.T.U. and the "Canadian General Workers' Union" a creature of the "Progressive Workers' Movement." The actual purpose of this meeting was to further dual unionism under the pretext of promoting French Canadian Unionism.

What is this "Canadian General Workers' Union"? In the Feb. 6th issue of the magazine section of the Toronto Globe and Mail, Jack Scott boasted that the "Progressive Workers," organ of the PWM had printed hundreds of membership cards for the "Canadian General Workers' Union," a union founded to rejuvenate the labor movement, which he claims, has "fallen into the hands of the bourgeoisie."

In the same article Scott accused "both the Communist and New Democratic Parties of being gutless." The conclusion to be drawn from the line and actions of Scott and his followers is that most unions and the



working class parties are instruments of the capitalist class, must be destroyed and replaced by them, the "Saviour" of the labor movement.

It is regrettable that the C.N.T.U. should be associated with the line that those disrupters are following. Let us hope that this error will be quickly corrected by the C.N.T.U.

We require to distinguish between workers that take divisive action because they are frustrated in their attempts to achieve their aims and a rump group like the "General Workers" Union."

The international unions' bureaucracy, ably assisted by right wing leadership, has created deep resentment among Canadian workers. At one time, seven unions in B.C. were under "administration" of their internationals. It is no wonder that workers should resent and wish to put an end to such relationships.

But the question is: how can this be done and at the same time preserve the unity of the workers? Certainly not by having two unions in the same industry engaged in a jurisdictional war. Unfortunately, this is the situation that prevails today among the iron, pulp and sulphite workers. There is no short cut in the struggle for bi-national Canadian union organizations. Short cuts will lead to further splits in the labor movement.

The P.W.M. rump union of Jack Scott and Jerry Lebourdais was brought into existence for no other purpose than to split all the unions for narrow political considerations.

This literary masterpiece is another classic example of the agile footwork of the revisionists. When it suits their purpose the big business press is an ogre, quite incapable of telling the truth, even by accident. However, when they are in need of "evidence" to bolster their attack on Marxist-Leninists this same damned press is suddenly transformed into a repository of pure truth and dependable facts and is accordingly quoted to substantiate lies and distortions. And it means nothing to them that the main source of their evidence is not only the big business press but, in addition, is prepared behind a picket line.

(Incidentally this is another strike classed as "phony" by some in the inner circles in order to justify the actions of members who cross the picket line.)

The article which was quoted as evidence in the statement is so inaccurate that not even the most non-controversial items, such as age and color of eyes, are truthfully reported. The quoted article contains lies so obvious if they were known to PT readers the entire article would be thoroughly discredited and the "evidence" would quickly evaporate.

The story about the alleged printing of cards, referred to in the above statement, was not quite suitable in the form in which it appeared in the Globe and Mail so the B.C. leaders "improved" on it in their version. The original attributed the card printing to Scott, but under the careful management of Morgan & Co; it was expanded to include also the P.W.M. and Progressive Workers as the culprits who "printed hundreds of membership cards. This is a deliberately concocted falsehood: but it is in no danger of dying from loneliness, the revisionists have fathered lots of other lies to keep it company.

"It was revealed", reads the statement, "that a joint meeting was held in Maillardville, B.C. sponsored by the C.N.T.U. and the Canadian General Workers Union". This "revealed" is close kin to the "reliable sources" of the bourgeois press. We are left entirely in the dark as to how the revelation took place. Perhaps something in the style of god calling Moses into the mountain to receive the commandments.

The revisionists are going to find it a bit difficult to extricate themselves from this situation. The plain truth is; no such meeting was ever held so there can be no logical explanation of how the revelation took place.

There is a much more disturbing aspect to this piece of chicanery than just the mere lying about the activities of an opponent the revisionists are trying to destroy. This carefully manufactured fabrication contains a not-too-subtle piece of racist propaganda (an indication of how low the revisionists have sunk).

The statement claims that this mythical meeting was held for the purpose of furthering dual unionism under the pretext of promoting French Canadian unionism, and the site chosen to house this alleged gathering is the well-known French Canadian community, Maillardville.

The inference is quite clear and unmistakable: French Canadian nationalists are assailed in the English language press for endangering the unity of the nation and the Pacific Tribune unearths a conspiracy between the P.W.M. and French Canadian Nationalists from Quebec and locates the hatching of the plot in a B.C. French Canadian community. The objective of the conspiracy? To divide and weaken the unions of the English speaking workers to aiding the employers' attacks on them. The Remedy? Unity of the English speaking workers with the international bureaucrats in opposing an independent trade union movement in French Canada.

The non-Marxist and opportunist line of the revisionists, which is modeled on the right Social-Democratic



line of betrayal, makes it impossible for their "theoreticians" to properly analyse the contradictions and conflicts encountered in the trade union movements in both English and French Canada. They are unable to correctly detect and estimate the forces that are divisive and those that are unifying in each area separately and in the situation as a whole. It is not without significance that they confine themselves to citing the words and deeds of Jean Marchand, President and leading spokesman of the C.N.T.U., as justification for their policy. (we will deal later with the role of Marchand).

Marchand was the only C.N.T.U. leader specifically referred to in the B.C. executive statement and he was the only one mentioned in a longer article by Kashtan published in the Pacific Tribune of June 5, 1964, which dealt with the same question of division and raiding in C.L.C. versus C.N.T.U. contest.

In the June 5th article Kashtan reduced the C.N.T.U. campaign for the organization of an independent trade union movement in Quebec to the level of the notorious cannibal tactics of the Steelworkers Union in raiding Mine - Mill and goes on to question the logic of the C.N.T.U. in raiding the C.B.R.T.; a "Canadian" Union. Mr. Kashtan simply chooses to ignore the impact of the French Canadian struggle for self-determination and the vital fact that, to French Canadian workers, unions under the control of forces based in English speaking Canada are just as much foreign dominated as are the internationals.

The C.N.T.U. is taken to task for having rejected a no-raid pact which had no other purpose than to achieve the abandonment of the struggle for the independent movement. This advice to agree to a pact is rooted in the idea that the master and the servant can reach an agreement that is satisfactory to both and infringes on the rights and privileges of neither party. Ignored is the basic fact that the master is still master and the servant continues to revel in his menial role. The "ideology" which is the basis for this policy is in no way different to that which proposes a "peace with no winners" in Vietnam.

A Marxist, if he remains true to his principle, must take as his starting point the fact that French Canada is a Nation with the right of self-determination up to and including secession.

It is within this nation of French Canada that the C.N.T.U. has its base. An independent Confederation embracing approximately 165,000 Quebec workers it is the ONLY French Canadian based union movement.

These are the basis facts that determine our attitude toward the C.N.T.U. and shape our policy in relation to the fact of its existence.

From our point of view it is the U.S. controlled C.L.C. that is guilty of raiding French Canada. The Quebec workers are "guilty" of no more than asserting their right to a trade union movement free from foreign domination.

This brings us to a conclusion that is a far cry from that arrived at by the Hastings Street "theoreticians."

It now becomes clear that it is mandatory for class conscious workers in English speaking Canada to stand in solidarity with their brothers and sisters in French Canada. The fact that we are of the dominant nation increases the importance of our need to have a correct attitude toward the workers in the oppressed nation. It is not for us to join with those who are attempting to force a "no-raid pact" on the C.N.T.U. Our prime task is to raise the demand that the C.L.C. get out of Quebec and encourage and assist the French Canadian workers to create an effective and independent, French Canadian based movement.

The Canadian Tribune of October 31, 1964, carried an article by Kashtan which dealt with the question of "Unity and Autonomy". Included in his comments was a reference to elements in the U.S. unions that he claimed were opposed to the dominant conservative group and to these he undertook to deliver a lecture on solidarity, as follows:

It is high time these forces in the U.S. spoke up and stated: Canadian brothers, we are with you in your efforts to protect your sovereign rights, including the right to decide on all questions affecting the interests of Canada and Canadian workers!"

Kashtan and his colleagues are unwilling or unable to learn from the lectures they gratuitously hand out to others. We suggest that it is also incumbent upon U.S. to inform the Quebec workers that we are with them in THEIR fight to protect their sovereign rights.

This is a question which is of more than academic interest to the workers in English Canada; solidarity is by no means a one-way street. This struggle for understanding of, and solidarity with the workers of Quebec will have the effect of arousing the awareness of our own members to the fact of U.S. domination; both direct and through the medium of the Canadian bureaucracy.

The combination of increasing awareness and of solidarity with the workers in the C.N.T.U. could well provide the impetus and strength necessary to weaken the hold of the bureaucracy and open the road for an advance



toward an independent trade union centre in both nations and provide the basis for real unity in the struggle for a common cause.

This correct approach will be neither understood by nor acceptable to the C.P. leaders. That would require of them that they abandon their opportunistic striving for office and a share of the spoils. This they are not likely to do.

These opportunists have no program for the realization of an independent Canadian movement. In all their discussions of the issue they never use the word "independent" but refer exclusively to the word "autonomy which, regardless of any dictionary meaning, has come to mean in practice something less than independence. It conveys the impression of an arrangement between two groups, the dominant of which cedes a certain limited measure of control to the other. And it is precisely this type of restricted independence that the C.P. leadership is proposing.

They suggest that the internationals and the A.F.L.-C.I.O. concede to the C.L.C. the right to rule on all questions that are "exclusively Canadian" It is in the light of this proposal that their "no-raid pact" demand on the Quebec workers to sacrifice any more rights than they themselves are prepared to concede.

If we have a clear understanding of this fact that the revisionists are not promoting INDEPENDENCE for the Canadian movement (as so many mistakenly believe they are) but that they are seeking and "arrangement" with the bureaucracy under cover of the euphemistic term "autonomy" we will then readily understand their hysterical response to the decision of such groups as Canadian Ironworkers and Pulp and Sulphite to break with the internationals and "go it alone!"

The revisionists have committed themselves to the support of the bureaucracy asking in return only their fair share of the lucrative offices to be filled. This point was made rather clear in the literary debate between Sefton of the Steelworkers on the one side and Kashtan on the other. In this debate Kashtan reduced the whole question of union democracy to the right of party members to run for office.

This overwhelming desire for acceptance into the "respectable" circles of right-wing Social Democracy and a share of administrative control leads to some rather unbelievable acts in the name of "Communism!"

Revisionist spokesmen in some unions that are outside of the C.L.C. reject, as a matter of principle, the demand that they resign from office as a condition for their re-admission to Congress affiliation. They claim (and rightly so) that their members have a right to elect whom they wish to office. But these same gentlemen do not hesitate to issue a leaflet calling on officers of the Canadian Ironworkers Union to resign from office and submit to being blackballed from the industry they depend on for a living as a condition for their members right to place their necks on the internationals block.

A caucus of unionists being organized to aid a strike that had been in progress for two and a half years was wrecked by a party member on the grounds that officials who had sat out the two and a half years should be "given an opportunity to do something"

A proposal is mooted for a system of fishing licenses that would turn the Pacific Ocean into a private lake to be exploited by a bunch of petty entrepreneurs and it has even been suggested that these licenses be hereditary to be passed on from father to son. The more correct proposal of public ownership from the fishing grounds through packing to marketing might be unpopular and result in loss of office for those suggesting it.

The revisionist policy of reaching agreement with the right wing Social-Democrats determines their attitude toward the tens of thousands of workers who are not affiliated to the C.L.C.

The drawing together of these groups into a second trade union centre in English Canada could result in some important changes in the movement. Such a centre could have close working relations with the C.N.T.U. and provide workers with an alternative to the U.S. dominated C.L.C. and give added impetus to the struggle for an independent movement. It might well be joined by the several national unions that are presently affiliated to the C.L.C. but have no connection with the internationals. The whole relationship of forces and consequently the tempo and direction of the struggle could be quickly changed.

From this centre could be launched a determined drive to organize the more than 70% of the labor force still outside the trade union movement and working for sub-standard wages and conditions. A rapid influx of tens of thousands of these workers who are forced to work under exceptionally bad conditions would introduce into the movement a radical content and spirit of militancy that has been missing for many years.

But such a policy would require taking up the difficult and financially un-rewarding task of rallying the rank and-file for struggle. It would entail abandoning the effort to reach an agreement with right wing social-democracy and any arrangements for shoving the spoils of office. To date the revisionists have been working overtime, to PREVENT such a development and we are not at all optimistic about the chances for a change.



Having adopted the principle that socialism will be achieved only through parliamentary debate, and by force of example, the holding of office becomes a necessity for the revisionists, and it is only from the vantage point of official positions that socialism can be fought for and won. Given this point of view any tactic is permissible that results in the winning and retaining of office. In essence the ideology of this brand of opportunism is no different than that of any other brand of right opportunism, except that they use the proud title of Communist to cover their treachery.

We contend that the trade unions are a voluntary association of workers and it is precisely in this voluntary aspect that the real strength of the unions are to be found. Union members have the undeniable right to elect to office anyone they wish; or to remove them from office; they have the right to affiliate to or disaffiliate from any or all central bodies in whatever manner the members themselves shall determine. No person, and no group of persons, should be permitted to take unto themselves the authority to alienate these rights.

The principle of compulsory membership and payment of tribute to a specific group of bureaucrats as a condition of employment is a product of the age of bureaucracy and in turn fosters bureaucracy. The worker who only yesterday found himself being threatened with dismissal by an anti union employer if he were caught joining a union, now sees the same employer telling him he can't work unless he joins a union. We are hedged on with laws and regulations and are neatly lied with long term contracts that are getting longer all the time.

It is high time labor broke out of this rat race. The achievement of that will depend on the re-organization of the revolutionary working class movement and its readiness and ability to inject some militancy and class consciousness into the trade unions.

At this point we propose to return to the question of the C.N.T.U. and an examination of the incorrect approach of the revisionists to this problem.

The revisionists, in their attack on the C.N.T.U. demonstrate a total lack of understanding of what is taking place in Quebec and the effect of those events on the trade union movement. They look on the C.N.T.U. as some particularly evil form of dual unionism which makes use of nationalism and tries to spread to all areas by appealing mainly to French Canadian groups (thus Maillardville as the site of a conspiracy in B.C.) This is not much different than Jodoin's accusation that the C.N.T.U. is purely nationalistic.

Such a superficial analysis of the C.N.T.U. will get us nothing but trouble. A Marxist must correctly estimate what is progressive in the movement so he can emphasize and encourage, and must be aware of what is retrogressive so it can be combatted. This understanding will certainly not be gained by an out-of-hand condemnation of the movement as dual unionism; splitting the Canadian trade unions; and using nationalist sentiment as a weapon in union raiding. The issue is not quite that simple nor can it be likened to intra-union strife in Sudbury.

The C.N.T.U. is in, part, an expression of the widespread desire of Canadian workers to put an end to the domination of their unions by the labor lieutenants of U.S. imperialism. But this factor alone cannot explain the spectacular rise of an independent union movement in Quebec. If this were the only motivating force then the movement would have seen comparable results in English Canada, where the U.S. internationals have been just as dominant and just as arrogant in the use of their control.

The special impetus given to the movement in Quebec is the result of the added ingredient of French Canadian nationalism; the struggle for national INDEPENDENCE. The French Canadian worker, thanks to his status as a citizen of an oppressed NATION, is not blinded or confused by any illusions about Jodoin and the other "Canadian" representatives who front for the real bosses in Washington. The French Canadians clearly recognize these minions for what they really are; agents acting in the interests of the oppressor nation.

If this catalyst, the struggle for national self-determination, were added to the situation in English Canada then the rise of an independent trade union movement would be just as meteoric here as it has been in Quebec.

The B.C. executive statement, and Kashtan's earlier article, convey the impression that the C.N.T.U. is a completely homogeneous group, with French Canadian nationalism as the centripetal force holding the movement together. This over-simplification takes no account of the contradictions and conflicts within the C.N.T.U. It is precisely this over-simplification that makes it impossible for the revisionists to understand and explain the motivations and desires of certain leading forces in the C.N.T.U. to expand the organization beyond the borders of Quebec. It is the failure to take note of, and understand these forces that prompts the B.C. Executive to advance the ridiculous proposition that the C.N.T.U. is attempting to spread French Canadian Unionism across the land and has entered into a conspiracy with P.W.M., with this objective in mind.

It is quite obvious, to anyone in their right mind, that French Canadian nationalism could never become an important factor in the struggle to achieve an independent trade union movement outside Quebec. It could never succeed in convincing any decisive number of French Canadian unionists in English Canada to break away from and split the unions to which they now belong although it definitely could provide the basis for such groups to be-



come a solid force that would strengthen immeasurably the fight for an independent movement. In fact, the whole proposition, as advanced by the revisionists is just too, ridiculous for any extensive comment and, as we remarked earlier, can have only one purpose: an appeal to racist sentiments.

It is not without significance that Jean Marchand, President and leading spokesman of the C.N.T.U. is the one the revisionists present as representative of the movement for an independent union movement in Quebec. It is by means of this onesided point of view that they are able to give an air of creditability to their distorted conclusions.

Marchand is a French Canadian nationalist only in the narrowest sense of the word. He takes no firm stand for the self-determination of French Canada. Marchand is an adherent of the Quebec Liberal Party of Jean Lesage and represents, in the labor movement the ideology of the French Canadian liberal bourgeoisie who are not at all in favor of rallying the French Canadian people in any struggle against imperialism, whether it be of the U.S. or English Canadian variety. The objectives of the forces that are represented by Marchand are confined to the demand for a share in the profits of exploitation of labor.

Marchand's objective is for a strong centralised movement, embracing both English and French Canada; accepting the fact of capitalism and working within the framework of that system; and making allowances for French Canadians as a MINORITY, but not as a NATION. This outlook is the basis for his opportunistic desire to spread the C.N.T.U. and take in greater numbers of workers. It is this which makes Marchand particularly vulnerable to the sharp attacks of Kashtan, and makes the Kashtan proposal for a merger of the C.N.T.U. with the C.L.C. in a "fully autonomous and united trade union centre", appear as the correct policy. It is from this also that Kashtan and the others get their ammunition with which to attack Marchand and the C.N.T.U. of splitting the unions and engaging in raiding.

But Marxists must not confine themselves to a recognition of those forces which happen to be dominant at a given historical moment and in a particular situation. We must reject the proposition that the strivings of an opportunist after power and glory represent the fundamental objectives of a great movement. We must give proper consideration to the objective factors and growing forces that are impelling that movement toward its ultimate goal. If we restrict ourselves to a consideration of those who represent the present condition and outlook of the movement and fail to take account of those who represent its future we are bound to arrive at incorrect conclusions.

It is not Marchand, with his narrow bourgeois outlook and his dreams of a great trade union centre from sea to sea, who properly represents the future of the movement or the force that will unite the workers of both nations.

For this we must look to men like Pierre Vallieres, a leader of the Journalists Syndicate of the C.N.T.U. and editor of *Revolution Quebecoise*, who sharply challenges Marchand's declaration of opposition to the organization of a 'class party' (although Marchand exhibits no hesitation in attacking himself to the class party of the bourgeoisie, it is to a class party of the workers that he opposes himself). Vallieres points out, and let us take note of this, that it is not sufficient for the C.N.T.U. to confine itself to demands for reforms within the framework of the present social system, but that it needs to make a break with the capitalist system and propose an alternative to it. Here are a few pertinent remarks by Vallieres, from his article: *Quebec: Nationalism and the Working Class*:

"Faced with the policies of the bourgeoisie, the working class has no other choice than to mobilize all its energy for a wide attack on the capitalist system. Workers do not have to support the "nationalist" demands of the middle class, demands which are intended to lull the masses and to mobilize popular sentiment for the achievement of ends radically opposed to the worker's interests. Nevertheless, the independence movement is awakening a people who have been long cut off and asleep; it is obliging workers, as well as others, to examine their position; it is forcing the whole of the population to question their society.

"But the bourgeoisie and the proletariat see the question from opposite points of view. Whereas, for the bourgeoisie, nationalism is a means of increasing the privileges of a minority, for the workers it is but a part of the development of the revolution in Quebec.

....."For the local bourgeoisie it is a matter of bringing Quebec into the modern capitalist era, and a matter of using the state so that they may hold their own against their Anglo-Saxon neighbors in Ontario. For the working class this objective holds no interest whatever. For it, what matters is true liberation through a radical change in the relations of production. But if it cannot count on the local bourgeoisie to help it make a proletarian revolution, the working class can freely support the middle classes of Quebec in the struggle against economic and political discrimination practised by the Anglo-Saxon bourgeoisie, because that struggle as Lenin said, has "a general democratic content directed against oppression!"

"The danger in Quebec now is that the working class does not yet realize sufficiently clearly that it is the only true national class, and it has not yet really decided to form a revolutionary party aimed at a-



achieving truly national objectives. The present unions must bear a large measure of blame for this state of affairs, by their refusal to act politically and by their unconditional acceptance of capitalism, they contribute to the reinforcement among workers of that feeling of powerlessness, of uselessness and humiliation. No party, no movement represents, at the present time, the Quebec workers. The unions, dominated for the most part by the American internationals, no longer have any vitality. As for the Confederation of National Unions, the only workers' organization authentically based in Quebec, claiming 140,000 workers, it needs a house-cleaning and it needs to be steered toward radical action by militants who are politically sophisticated." (end of quote)

Vallieres goes to the root of the matter and, understandably comes up with a solution radically different to that advanced by the revisionists. The revisionist and Social-Democratic opportunist calls for "unity" under the leadership of the self-perpetuating bureaucracy will get no response from French Canadian workers, not will it generate any spirit of enthusiasm among English speaking workers.

We too often allow ourselves to be overwhelmed by the propaganda of Social-Democracy, loyally and loudly repeated by the revisionists, that the fight for this or that piece of legislation designed to mitigate obvious abuses, and applied within the framework of the capitalist system, constitutes the essence of working class political action. We should never permit the opportunists to pass off the introduction of minimum reforms of the most glaring abuses and the patching up of the system as maximum political objectives of the workers.

The only fundamental political action for the working class is that which rejects the capitalist system and poses an alternative to it. It is to the accomplishment of this task that revolutionaries must bend all their efforts. Advantage must be taken of every struggle to point out the political lessons to be learned. We must arouse the workers, make them aware that the destiny of the nation- of the world- is in their hands and that it is for them to determine the course of history. We must make them conscious of the power and dignity of the class to which they belong. Imbue them with the self-confidence necessary to impel them toward the great goal of destroying the old and building a new society.

A realization that challenging the capitalist system is the only worthwhile and effective political action for the working class, makes it clear that the revisionists opposition to this type of activity on the excuse that it is "divisive" is, for all their bold talk about political action, tantamount to insisting on keeping politics out of the unions.

A struggle for minimum aims can only result in temporary unity lasting until the demand is won or nearly won. Minimum demands affecting a particular group can achieve unity only among the members of the affected group.

A break with capitalism and the struggle for a new social order is the only single unifying factor and the one which embraces all sectional demands. It is this challenge to capitalism that can succeed in drawing into the struggle the more than 70% of the labor force still unorganized. It is the force that will transcend national boundaries and unite the workers of both nations in the fight for a common cause.

Those who say that the fight for this policy constitutes splitting the labor movement are themselves responsible for division by removing from the struggle this all-embracing unifying idea and substituting for it narrow sectional and group demands, instead of using these demands as a means of setting forces in motion to tackle the main task; putting an end to exploitation. We agree with Vallieres, that militants must steer the trade unions toward radical action.

We have by no means here exhausted the discussion on what should be the role of the trade unions and the basic tasks of revolutionaries in those unions. We believe, however, that we have made a contribution to that discussion and have aided in giving it the right tone and direction. It is our hope that the discussion will join it, toward the end of working out a program of action that will put an end to the aimless and unfruitful wandering in limbo that has been the hallmark of Canadian union activity for more than two decades.

### WORDS AND IDEAS!

Words, spoken or written, are a vehicle for the conveying of ideas among people, they are the means for a free interplay of ideas and opinions. Words are a weapon in the fight for ideas. Marxists have always insisted on the correct and careful use of words that they should be properly applied in the critical examination of advanced ideas and to present, for the same critical examination the ideas they themselves advance.

But words, like all weapons, can be distorted and bent to the use of forces having evil designs against the mass of humanity. Words can be used for the noble purpose of advancing the cause of freedom for all mankind from exploitation and tyranny; or they can be used by those who have a vested interest in the system of exploitation of man by man and for the purpose of deflecting people from the path of struggle for freedom.

During the past half century this use of words in the interests of tyranny has reached new heights of sophistication; it verges on the application and use of genius in the cause of evil.



In North America this use of words is so highly organized and has reached such gigantic proportions as to call for special terms of reference; the "Madison Avenue Boys" or, the "Men in the Grey Flannel Suits."

These special terms apply to those people who are specially trained in the use of words and who manipulate words for a living. They are full participants in the "affluent life" and dedicate themselves exclusively to advancing the interests of the imperialist monopolists. Their high-priced services are available only to those who can afford to purchase them, the multi-millionaire bandits of the business world. On the instructions of their masters they will sell you anything from a roll of toilet paper to the idea that mass slaughter and destruction in Congo and Vietnam is for "humanitarian" purposes and in the interests of "freedom". They will, for a price, undertake to convince people that war and tyranny are really "peace and freedom" and that the hungry and downtrodden people who take up arms against these things are the bearers of all evil.

In the hands of these people words have become instruments of terror. There is now abroad in the land a great fear of words; a fear of what words have come to mean. The use of words to form certain phrases can now result in the terrorization of entire communities, especially in the United States. American imperialists have raised the use and manipulation of words to a new stage of refinement in the service of imperialist and capitalist oppression and exploitation.

In this situation a very obvious task of everyone interested in a calm and reasoned approach to all problems and situations (and the task of revolutionaries in the first place) is to expose this distorted use of words and insist on the proper use of words as a means of communication between peoples and for the purpose of discussion and reasoning in the interchange of opinions.

But our pseudo-revolutionaries of the B.C. Provincial Executive and the Pacific Tribune having abandoned Marxism-Leninism, and embraced the ideology of the class enemy, are inexorably driven to the use of the weapons of the enemy. Instead of a reasoned and critical examination of the opinions of an opponent, and the offering of a counter proposal, these people resort to the use of words in a manner calculated to promote fear, hysteria and prejudice. Such epithets as: "Anti-Soviet" "anti-party" "Peking Line" "Peking Pirate"; are used as a means of avoiding serious discussion of programs and ideas; to avoid discussing, in an intelligent way, the ideological differences that exist between groups.

We, in our polemic, have attempted, first of all, to be positive rather than negative; we have made a serious effort to deal strictly with the issues, and our differences, and to avoid the name calling and character assassination that is so characteristic of the material emanating from the Ford Building. If we have faltered in any respect we are confident our readers will understand (and offer critical comment to set us straight), the provocation has been great and the temptation to treat our opponents to some of their own medicine almost overpowering. Our desire to refrain from the method of "debate" popularised by the Pacific Tribune does not spring from any false hopes of being able to convince the tenants of the Ford Building den of treachery and deceit to change their ways. We are not at all optimistic on that score.

There are many honest workers and intellectuals who are misled and confused by the fact that the revisionists are still using the proud title of Communist to cover their betrayal. It is to these people we address ourselves and call on to reject fear and prejudice and hold firmly to reason and logic in determining what is right and what is wrong. We say that all propositions and actions must be examined and analysed in the most critical way. We have no intention of joining the P.T. Staff calling on people not to read material received in the mail, we urge our readers to carefully examine our opponents position as well as ours and determine for themselves who follow the correct path of action.

We are not at all deterred by the formidable appearance of our enemy nor by the hysterical screaming and invective in which he indulges. We march firmly on in the certain knowledge that the road we have chosen to follow is the correct one, that we are moving forward with history and that the people will be victorious. We are fortified in the fight by our confidence in the great power, and ultimate certainty of success of Marxist-Leninist principles.

Prepared under the direction of the Political Committee  
Progressive Workers Movement (Marxist-Leninist)



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## THE INTERNATIONALE

Arise, ye prisoners of starvation!  
 Arise, ye wretched of the earth,  
 For justice thunders condemnation,  
 A better world's in birth.  
 No more tradition's chains shall bind us,  
 Arise, ye slaves; no more in thrall!  
 The earth shall rise on new foundations,  
 We have been naught, we shall be all.

REFRAIN:

**Tis the final conflict,  
 Let each stand in his place  
 The Internationale Soviet  
 Shall be the human race.**

We want no condescending saviors,  
 To rule us from a judgement hall;  
 We workers ask not for their favors;  
 Let us consult for all.  
 To make the thief disgorge his booty  
 To free the spirit from its cell,  
 We must ourselves decide our duty,  
 We must decide and do it well.

Toilers from shops and fields united,  
 The union we of all who work;  
 The earth belongs to us, the workers,  
 No room here for the shirk.  
 How many on our flesh have fattened!  
 But if the noisome birds of prey  
 Shall vanish from the sky some morning,  
 The blessed sunlight still will stay.

# Progressive Worker

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