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# *Progressive Worker*

*Workers of All Countries, Unite!*

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A POLITICAL ANALYSIS

## AMERICAN NEGRO



REVOLT

*Photo Above Shows Police Brutality in Los Angeles - Story page 12*



# Progressive Worker

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## CONTENTS

"A Verdade".....	2
One Man Peace Demonstration	
Protest in Detroit.....	3
What India Wants.....	4
What a G. I. Thinks About the War.....	5
On the Question of War and Peace... 6, 7, 8 & 9	
Militants Fired at Brittain Steel	
Beer Strike.....	10
Books and Periodicals	
Letters to the Editor.....	11
Revolt in the City of the Angelss.....	12
China's 16th Anniversary.....	13
Jemmy Hope: Irish Working Class Rebel....	14
On Social Democracy.....	15
Social Democracy - A Crutch for Capitalism..	16
McNevin and The Province.....	17
Vietnam Solidarity Meeting.....	18
Foul Play at Ford.....	19
Two Poems.....	20

# Progressive Worker

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## "A VERDADE"

The Portugese-Canadian Democratic Association circulates a publication under the title "A VERDADE" (The Truth). The Association and its journal are anti-fascist and, therefore, opposed to dictator Salazar, whose regime they denounce in forceful terms.

In issue number 5, the editors disclose the fact that West Germany is to supply the dictatorship with 60 modern jets. France is building 4 frigates and 4 submarines. A Salazar decree of March 16th authorized the army to spend \$16 1/4 million for the purchase of military equipment abroad. An "A VERDADE" editorial points out that Salazar intends to use these arms against his own people and against the people of the Portugese colonies. A call has been issued through the bulletin for world protest and boycott against the dictatorship.

"World public opinion", says the editors, "must be roused to persuade all democratic governments to stop these supplies of arms".

"Your help is needed to demand in your own country that all military, economic and political help to the Salazar government be stopped. Your help is needed to demand in your country that West Germany, France, the United States, Britain and other countries cease helping Salazar".

The journal contains complete reports on the vicious jail sentences being handed out to workers, students, intellectuals, farmers and to a growing number of army personell, of all ranks, who are beginning to revolt against the Salazar tyranny in Portugal and the colonies.

Censorship of literature, theatre and film has been reduced to a fine art and a comprehensive article reveals some of the wondrous workings of Salazar's board of censors.

There is a report on the composition of an Anglo-Portugese parliamentary group formed in London. According to "A VERDADE", the President of the group is F. J. Bellenger, a Labour M. P., and the secretary is another Labour M. P., - W. H. Aldrit. A Tory M. P. is vice-President, and the treasurer a Tory member of the House of Lords. Thus we see Social-Democrat and Tory joining hands to boost Salazar's stock in Britain.

When Salazar's Foreign Minister attended the NATO meeting in London, the Anglo-Portugese group made it possible for him to visit parliament and the House of Lords. A dinner arranged by the Foreign Minister in the Portugese Embassy was attended by a member of the Labour Cabinet - Walter Padley, Minister for Foreign Affairs. The editors of "A VERDADE" ask:

"Are the members of the Anglo-Portugese Parliamentary group not ashamed to undertake the defence of colonialist, terroristic and fascist regime inside a democratic parliament? Have they no scruples in shaking hands that are stained with the blood of so many murdered African and Portugese patriots and still fresh with the blood of General Delgado and his secretary, Mrs. Campos".

"A VERDADE" is published by the Portugese-Canadian Democratic Association at 10 Eden Place, Toronto 2B, Ontario.





# ONE MAN PEACE DEMONSTRATION



Edward Elliott, a 27 year old steelworker of Hamilton, Ontario decided it was time to do something about the "dirty war" in Vietnam so he headed out into the streets of downtown Hamilton wearing a sandwich board denouncing the war and armed with petitions for the local citizens to sign. Elliott's efforts were no more revolutionary than an attempt to have people support a request for Pearson to use his influence to have the U. S. withdraw its troops from Vietnam.

Mr. Elliott's activities on the question of the bloody slaughter in Vietnam were quite mild and certainly pursued in a calm and orderly manner. Nevertheless, these activities drove the local gendarmes into a frenzy of action in an effort to halt such "subversive" work. It would never do for Canadian youth to get the idea that they had any right to protest against the plans being cooked up to have them go forth to fight and die for the greater profit and glory of the ruling class and it would certainly never do for us to allow the impression to get abroad that Canada's youth

were not exactly clamouring to lay down their lives helping kindly old Uncle Sam plant Old Glory on more conquered dominions across the sea.

The guardians of "law and order" carried out a flanking operation surrounded Mr. Elliott and confiscated his deadly weapons - the sandwich board and petitions. However, Elliott was not so easily intimidated and later returned to the fray supported by vigorous and indignant protests of Hamilton citizens who resented the high-handed actions of the police. The local minions of the law were forced to beat a hasty retreat and Elliott is back at his post protesting against the slaughter of the Vietnamese people.

The experience of Mr. Pearson, the Prime Minister, is very much in contrast with that of Edward Elliott, the steelworker.

It was accidentally revealed that Pearson had been carrying on a very friendly and intimate correspondence with Johnson, the main content of which has been the problem of how to get young people like Elliott to volunteer to die in Vietnam. We have yet to hear of Pearson being harrassed by police for plotting against the youth of Canada. Instead of a wave of protest in the big business press, Pearson is congratulated for his great statesmanship.

Elliott works openly and in clear view of everyone for the principles in which he believes. Pearson skulks in the dark corners with his plots against the people and when the light accidentally falls on him, he tells us it is none of our business and that Mr. Johnson wouldn't like it if the Canadian people were informed about the contents of the letter which proposes such drastic plans for their future.

Foreign affairs is very much the business of the Canadian people. This is true at any time and it is even more true now when the rulers of the earth are plotting new and deadlier conflicts designed to slaughter more people than ever before in the history of warfare.

There appears to be a feeling in some circles that; if the contents of the letter to Pearson are revealed, we will be cut off the White House mailing list and receive no more communications from Washington. We can't think of a better fate to befall our country than to have Johnson stop writing to us.



## PROTEST IN DETROIT

There are a great many organizations springing into life across the United States. These groups are made up of people impelled into action as a result of the stepped-up campaign in the ruling class drive to war as a solution to the critical problems besetting them.

One of these groups which has recently come into existence is the Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam. Centering its activities in the area of the great auto city, the committee's work has proved effective enough for it to be honoured with harassment by the local "law enforcement" agents. In a recent demonstration in downtown Detroit, three of the committee's members, (including a local leader of the Civil Liberties Union and an employee of a U. S. Congressman), were arrested for daring to protest against Johnson's drive to war.

But the young people who make up the committee are not about to yield to intimidation; they are planning more activities to push the fight against the aggressive policies being pursued by the Johnson regime.

Plans are now in hand for a March on September 11th which will begin at the university campus and end in a rally on Cadillac Square. An all-night vigil will follow this demonstration.

If any of our readers feel the urge to drop a note of support and encouragement in the mail, the address is: Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam, 1101 West Warren, Detroit 1, Michigan, U. S. A.





# WHAT INDIA WANTS

In 1944, long before India's proclamation of independence, there was published a book by Nehru under the title: "The Discovery of India". In this book, Nehru disclosed the aims of the Indian capitalist class, even before they yet held in their hands the reins of state power. In the following revealing passage, the author outlined the extent of the vast empire coveted by the Indian bourgeoisie.

".....though not directly a Pacific state, India will inevitably exercise an important influence there. India will also develop as the centre of economic and political activity in the Indian Ocean area, in Southeast Asia and right up to the Middle East. Her position gives an economic and strategic importance in part of the world which is going to develop rapidly in the future....If there is a regional grouping of the countries bordering on the Indian Ocean on either side of India - Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, India, Ceylon, Burma, Malaya, Siam, Java, etc. - present day minority problems will disappear, or at any rate, will have to be considered in an entirely different context,

".....the small national state is doomed. It may survive as a culturally autonomous area but not as an independent political unit."

Nehru, and the Indian bourgeoisie, saw the Indian revolution as the means of grasping control of a vastly greater empire than anything ever achieved by England in that area.

It was to this bourgeoisie, with their dreams of empire, that the British imperialists - prodded by their fear of a Socialist Revolution - negotiated the transfer of political power. The Indian masses, far from achieving their liberation, found themselves saddled with additional burdens. The Indian capitalist class undertook to rule, not only on their own behalf, but also in the interests of British imperialism and for the protection and guarantee of British monopoly profits. In addition to bearing the burden of greed of Indian monopoly, the workers and peasants had to carry on their backs the U. S. monopolists who began to intrude on the nation's economy.

In a nation as exploited and poverty-stricken as India, it was imperative that the entire resources of the country and the initiative and enthusiasm of the masses be mobilized for a rapid expansion of agricultural and industrial production. But to achieve this would require that the main sections of the economy be organized on Socialist principles. This task was impossible to carry out under capitalist rule and the working masses failed to press on and take power in their own hands.

A continuing upward spiral of profits and not the welfare of the working people was what motivated the Indian capitalists and their imperialist masters. Obviously, the impoverished nation could not meet the demands of the profit hungry Indian ruling class and the foreign monopoly investors and, at the same time, adequately provide for the basic needs of the mass of the people. The wealth and power of the capitalist class increased in direct ratio to the increased misery, hunger and degradation of the common people.

Mass resistance grew against the capitalist class and their rule. The problems of the Indian ruling class became greater. In an attempt to find some solution to their problems, the ruling class placed themselves still more completely at the disposal of the imperialists and especially of U. S. imperialism.

It was in this way that India became the spearhead of imperialist attack on the Socialist revolution in Asia; and the willing tool of U. S. imperialist aggression against the People's Republic of China.

India has not solved a single one of her border problems with her neighbours. In every single case, the Indian ruling class has insisted on the right to determine where the border line shall run, unilaterally and without any negotiations.

Indian aggression against peaceful neighbours in Asia is a result of attempts to solve internal problems by external aggression; to earn her wages as the gendarme of imperialism in Asia; and to expand the base of the ruling class by means of conquest and the subjugation and oppression of the peoples of other lands. The Indian ruling class has not agreed to the existence of an independent Pakistan or the proposal for self-determination for the people of Kashmir. To do so would mean renouncing the dream of a great Asian empire and turning the attention toward solving the problem of providing for the elementary needs of the Indian masses. It is much easier and more profitable to jail progressives, viciously attack the protesting working people, build factories to produce MIG fighters and bombers to be used against People's China, organize aggression against peaceful neighbours and receive regular subsidies from the U. S., Britain and the U. S. S. R. in return for services rendered in Asia.

Through it all the revisionist traitors to Socialism give active assistance to the aggressive Indian bourgeoisie and their plans of imperialist conquest. While revolutionaries are herded into jails and concentration camps, revisionist agitators wander the globe in search of support for the tottering Shastri regime. Just a few weeks ago, Darshan Singh, member of the C. P. of India and ex-member of the C. P. of Canada, concluded a three month visit to Canada, a visit which was arranged for the purpose of rounding up support for India's hard-pressed ruling class. There can be no doubt that this tour was arranged by the Indian government and agreed to by Pearson. Just before leaving Canada, Darshan Singh, in an interview with the Canadian Tribune, left no room for doubt as to his loyal and active support for the imperialist aims of conquest of the reactionary Shastri clique. Never was betrayal more complete.

A successful campaign of imperial conquest will bring more profit and greater power and glory to the Indian ruling class. But to the working masses of India, it will bring only an increase in hunger and degradation. The fundamental cause of India's troubles is the unfinished revolution and those who advise strengthening and defending the revolution at its present stage of the realization of capitalist state power are going contrary to the basic interests of the people and serving the cause of imperialist reaction in Asia. The working people need to push on toward new revolutionary objectives, rout neo-colonialism and its Indian supporters and reconstruct Indian economy on a Socialist basis. Only in this way will India's problems be solved, an end be put to the regime of hunger and war and India be put on the road toward providing for the needs of the many and not for the profit of the few, and the institution of policies of peace and friendship with her neighbours.



"Hampered by bureaucratic meddling, strangled by government controls and union wage demands, our net earnings have soared to a new high peak!"



# WHAT A G.I. THINKS ABOUT THE WAR

The journal "SPARK", western states publication of the Progressive Labour Party, recently printed the contents of a tape-recorded interview with a Staff-Sergeant of the U. S. Air Commandos just back from Vietnam.

This serviceman is obviously not politically developed, nor does he see the class nature of the conflict but this has not prevented him from developing a deep hatred for the slaughter being conducted in the name of freedom in Vietnam, while millions of his own fellow-Americans, live a life of hunger and misery under conditions of extreme terror. We reprint here a few of the highlights of the interview which was a question and answer session.

Q. You read statistics that less than 400 have been killed in action, how many Americans have you seen killed in combat?

A. I saw at least that many killed in the time I was over there.

Q. Let's talk about your encounters with the Vietnamese people?

A. They couldn't seem to figure out what we were doing there and why we wanted to come there in the first place. They were doing better before we came. All they know is there are some people coming out there, running through their village, burning it, killing their people, for no obvious reason whatsoever. And the war is not just confined to the jungle, you go into Saigon, the taxi drivers might just cut your throat because you are an American. The South and North Vietnamese both seem to be fighting the Americans. They're sure not helping.

Q. Why do they think we are there?

A. They feel that we are trying to take over their country for a bigger empire.

Q. Do they want the U. S. troops to withdraw?

A. This was the main idea that I could draw. What their officials want and what the people want are more than likely two different things. But they don't even have a solid government to count on.

Q. Do you hear anything of the Liberation Front, the "enemy", from the people?

A. No, usually the people themselves are the enemy. You can't tell the enemy from the people. So we usually steer clear of the people.

Q. Describe some of your missions?

A. Well, most of our mission was concerned with harassment, cutting telegraph wires. When we encountered the enemy, we killed them. This was just the policy. You couldn't take a prisoner back. It's just a burden.

Q. Did the troops want to come home?

A. Oh, definitely! No two ways about that. Offer 'em a plane ticket and watch them jump.

Q. Is it different than other wars?

A. It's a hard, dirty war.

Q. If the people were hostile what would transpire? Relate an incident.

A. We went into one village. We were out of supplies - lost them in the jump. They were kind of anti-American - "Yankee go home", this bit. All we wanted was to buy or trade for food. Just plain couldn't have it. So we declared martial law, looted the city of the chow we needed and moved on.

Q. What would you like to see happen in Vietnam?

A. I would like to see the U. S. pull out.

Q. Do you think it makes any difference on what terms, whether we should insist on negotiating?

A. I don't see what there is to negotiate, it's not our country. Give it back to the people.



Demoralized men of the S. Vietnam puppet army. No American gold or guns can make these Vietnamese conscripts enthusiastic in a war to enslave their own people.



Morale of S. Vietnamese liberation fighters is sky-high, as this photo shows. Most of these men are armed with U.S.-made weapons captured in battle.





# ON THE QUESTION OF WAR AND PEACE

When the leaders speak of peace,  
"The common folk know  
that war is coming  
"When the leaders curse war  
The mobilization order is already written out".  
- Bertold Brecht

Johnson's peace hoax, in spite of all the exposure of its hollowness is still going the rounds. The near-corpse is being kept just barely alive with massive injections of plasma donated by friends of the U. S. imperialists - some of them to be found in the most strange and unexpected places.

It is not surprising, of course, that this campaign to "stop fighting and negotiate" is being pushed so vigorously just now. The American ruling class is in deep trouble and badly in need of help as they get mauled by People's Liberation forces everywhere, and particularly in Vietnam. Johnson and his ruling group are desperately seeking a way out of their dilemma - not in the sense of abandoning their plans for world conquest, but only in order to shift the battle to new ground more favourable to themselves. It is in the light of these well-known facts that we must weigh Johnson's offer to "negotiate" - an offer that would leave U. S. positions intact and place the People's revolutionary forces at a decided disadvantage.

The problems of struggle against imperialist aggression require continuous examination and careful study and analysis of every shift in tactics adopted by the aggressor. The enemy is suffering serious blows and stunning defeats but he still retains a large reserve of strength and is skillful and able to manoeuvre.

When it suits their purpose, the war makers will talk long and flowingly of the wonders and beauties of peace in the abstract; but only when they are being routed on the battlefield - never when they are scoring victories.

It is essential for revolutionaries to be absolutely clear on questions of war and peace at all times; and particularly in this period of history when there is a rapid growth of people's revolutionary wars for national liberation from the yoke of the oppressor. We are required to counteract the enemy's attempt to confuse and to exert all our energies to arm the working people with knowledge so they will be able to play an effective role in the anti-imperialist struggle and in the fight for Socialism.

## CANADA'S STAKE

This is by no means an academic problem for Canadians, nor is it a simple exercise in philosophical discussion and debate.

Our country suffers as much from U. S. imperialist domination as does South Vietnam - even more so for the people of South Vietnam are in the process of liberating their land from U. S. clutches while we, as a people and a nation, have not yet begun to seriously tackle the problem of launching a meaningful anti-imperialist struggle. When we do, (and we surely will), we must prepare ourselves for as long and arduous a struggle as that experienced by the people of Southeast Asia. We must master the lessons taught by that struggle so we will be the better equipped to face and defeat the enemy.

Let us have no illusions about the friendliness of Uncle Sam and our surface similarities of language

and culture. To the Yankee monopolist, we are just a source of essential raw materials, cheap power, cheap labour and a profitable dumping ground for surplus products. If we step out of line, we will receive no more consideration from the star-spangled gentleman than do the peasants of Southeast Asia and Latin America - or the Negroes of Harlem and Los Angeles.

The future well-being of our nation; our right to determine our own destiny, dictates the necessity for us to take over all foreign-owned industry and this is, for the most part, U. S.-owned industry. But when we move to carry out this task, which is so vital for our future and our independence, we will be in a confrontation with American imperialist interests as critical as any faced by Africans, Asians or Latin Americans.

## THE PSEUDO-RADICALS

There is in our midst some who seek to pass themselves off as radicals and who make militant noises as a cover-up. But they are really engaged in promoting the programme and ideology of the imperialist enemies of mankind. These renegades are promoting policies designed to confuse and mislead the working people and in this way they render vital service to the imperialist cause.

A recent article in World Marxist Review entitled "Halt the Drift Toward War", co-authored by Norman Freed, a leading figure in the Communist Party of Canada, indicates clearly the direction in which the pseudo-radicals are travelling. Even the title has incorrect connotations. It refers to the "drift toward war as though wars just happened by accident. (A thesis which was advanced in more comprehensive terms by Kruschov in 1962.)

This concept is more clearly defined when the authors undertake to defend the discredited idea that, in the imperialist nations, there are parties "in favour of war" and parties "in favour of negotiations". The authors try to cover themselves with a rag of respectability by stating both parties want the same thing but then go on to say it is better to have them negotiate for it than to fight for it.

There is no mention, not to speak of critical analysis, that this was the concept that led C. P. leaders to support the election of Kennedy followed by Johnson. The whole world now knows how these two stopped at nothing in the service of their class. The "negotiators" have involved the U. S. in more armed conflict than any president since World War Two.

What these self-styled theoreticians fail to understand is that war is a means to an end, or, as Clausewitz put it, "war is an extension of politics". Wars have their roots in class society and political and economic motivations. The ruling class resort to armed conflict as a means of expanding their area of exploitation when such tactics are the most advantageous for the realization of their objectives. The oppressed people have recourse to revolutionary war to destroy the oppressor when all the conditions are ripe for such action. The attitude of the revolutionary has to be determined by the class nature of the conflict and not by some vague generalizations about war in general.

## THE CLASS NATURE OF PEACE

The pseudo-radicals are panic stricken at the



thought of engaging in a debate on the class nature of war and in a desperate endeavour to avoid such debate, they attempt to terrorize people with the atomic bomb. They say the existence of nuclear weapons has changed the nature of war.

Their desperate anxiety to side-step this area of debate is because they know if they are forced to discuss the class nature of war, they will also be forced to recognize the class nature of peace. The house of cards they have built about "war" parties and "peace" parties would then come tumbling down. They would have to face up to the fact that peace is also an "extension of politics"; that it is not an end in itself, but a means to an end.

The basic fact that we need to understand is that, in an imperialist world torn asunder by antagonistic class conflict, peace is just another form of warfare - it is war by other means. Whether we have a condition of peace, or armed conflict, the imperialists will still pursue their objective of subjugating and oppressing the peoples. They will use whichever of these conditions are most favourable for their purpose at a given moment.

If anyone has any doubts about this point of peace in the capitalist world being war by other means, let him but look at the home territory of the United States where a condition of "peace" prevails. Let him look toward the Southern States, toward Harlem, or toward Los Angeles where almost 40 negroes were killed in the space of a few days - a casualty list longer than the U. S. Marines will admit to in many major battles in Vietnam.

The American ruling class take advantage of the condition of "peace" existing on the territory of the United States to wage virtual warfare on its own people. It is utter nonsense and a despicable crime to urge upon the working people that such a peace is something to be fervently sought after and treasured. We are being advised to do nothing that will disturb the status quo because action against the enemy is dangerous and somehow immoral.

This kind of advice, which urges the victim to remain docile under oppression and not to take up arms in an effort to destroy the oppressor, is nothing but stinking pacifism and has nothing in common with a revolutionary outlook.

A policy such as this will never put an end to violence. On the contrary, it will only encourage the imperialist perpetrations of violence who will consider themselves safe from retaliation and with nothing to fear from their victims. The imperialist violators of peace and liberty are not impressed by humanitarian arguments about justice, fair play, and brotherhood. They are concerned only with the attainment of objectives and will adopt any means that appear to them to be most suitable for the realization of their dreams of world conquest.

The imperialists are fully cognizant of the fact that power and armed power above all, is the only thing that really counts in a world divided by antagonistic class contradictions. They are impressed only when confronted by an armed power superior to their own and it is then they talk of peace in an effort to shift the battleground to an area more favourable to themselves and to win in conditions of "peace" what they could not gain by armed conflict. If the situation should change and armed conflict appear once more to be the most suitable means, they will show no hesitation whatever

in returning to that state of affairs. It is the question of advantage and the most suitable tactics - not humanitarianism and high moral principle that are the deciding factors which determine imperialist policy. Humanitarianism and high moral principle are slogans which the bourgeoisie find it possible to inscribe on their banners in conditions of either "peace" or war. The Congo and Vietnam both stand witness to that. The struggle of the American negro is evidence of the fact that non-violence simply induces more ruling-class violence and that determined resistance reduces the amount of that violence.

#### "PEACE" PROPOSALS AND VIETNAM

It is in the light of this understanding of the CLASS nature of war and peace - of peace as an extension of imperialist war - that we must view the situation in Vietnam and determine our attitude toward the proposals of Johnson and others for "negotiations without prior conditions". We must see the American proposals in their true light and not from some utopian and pacifist point.

Norman Freed and his colleagues utter loud cries about getting the U. S. out of Vietnam, but they go on to qualify this with the proposal to "negotiate for withdrawal of U. S. troops" or, to put it another way, "it is better to negotiate than fight". Proceeding from this concept, these self-styled militants work hand-in-hand with Tito, Shastri and all the other agents of the imperialist powers who conspire together and hatch plots to put an end to the struggle in Vietnam short of a victory for the people. The "Pacific Tribune", not many months ago, made this point crystal clear when the editors "accused" the Progressive Workers Movement of desiring victory in Vietnam instead of wanting to put a stop to the fighting.

"Negotiations" that leave the U. S. imperialists in command of their strategic strongpoints can only act to the detriment of the people's forces and for the advantage of the aggressors. Peace, as we have already stated, is not just the absence of armed conflict, it is a means to an end, in the imperialist world "peace" is war carried on by other means. We must see clearly what the proposals for a suspension of hostilities mean to the struggle of the people and not through blinders of pacifist illusions.

The U. S. aggressors have a large, well-trained, standing army in Vietnam. This is a well-equipped force of mercenaries which stands ready at all times, in peace or war, to go into action. Conditions of peace by no means bring about the automatic dissolution of such an army and scarcely affects its basic strength. An imperialist army will utilize conditions of peace for intense training and to perfect tactics. Peace, to such an army, is just a pause in hostilities and an opportunity to prepare for a new round of conflict. When conditions are advantageous, the imperialist army will be sent into action without preliminaries, without hesitation.

So long, therefore, as U. S. forces remain on the soil of Vietnam they are in a state of war with the people and the absence of open armed conflict would not alter that fact in any appreciable way. The U. S. aggressors will switch from tactics of "peace" to tactics of armed conflict as the situation demands and "humanitarian" considerations about slaughter and destruction will not be permitted to affect their decision. It is the advantage and the drive to realize objectives of world conquest that will determine imperialist strategy and tactics.



It is from this viewpoint that the People's Liberation Army must consider Johnson's proposals for negotiations which are so ardently supported by the imperialist stooges and the pseudo-radicals. They cannot have their decision influenced solely by the desirability of putting an end to conflict but also determine what action is necessary to put an end to violence and secure the liberty of the people.

A people's army is in a very different situation than the imperialist army of mercenaries. This point was touched on by Cathal Brugha in our last issue, when he wrote:

"A revolutionary offensive, such as is now in progress in Vietnam, is a finely balanced movement of diverse elements and unlike a conventional military offensive, it cannot be halted and then resumed again without major disruptive effects both to its efficiency and its forcefulness. This is no great secret; and considering the amounts of money the Washington imperialists have spent in research on revolutionary war and guerrilla warfare, it would indeed be a surprise if they failed to be aware of its implications and its advantages to themselves in the present situation. In a word then, Washington wants a temporary halt in the war so as to gain time to repair its defences".

In this quoted passage is contained the key to understanding Washington's overwhelming desire for "peace" when it is on the verge of complete rout.

The Vietnam Liberation Army has been built up over almost a quarter of a century of revolutionary struggle against Japanese, French and now American imperialism. The only reason for the existence of this army is the struggle to rid the land of the aggressor - it has no aims of imperialist conquest. When the conflict ceases, even if only temporarily, this army loses its reason for being and will rapidly disintegrate. It is not a permanent standing army - like that of the imperialists - which can be kept on the alert and in a state of preparation for some future possible action. This is what the passage by Brugha is based on and it is what we must keep in mind if we are to adopt the correct stand on Johnson's overtures for "unconditional negotiations".

The significant point in Johnson's proposals for "negotiations without prior conditions" is that it contains the very important condition that the army of the aggressor will remain in occupation of Vietnam territory while "negotiations" proceed. This fact, plus the well-known fact that the U. S. can move additional troops from the American mainland and deploy them in Vietnam within 48 hours, places the conventional army of imperialist mercenaries at an advantage over the Liberation forces which would be disrupted and have begun to disintegrate as a result of the halting of the offensive.

The imperialists would continue the negotiations for as long as was necessary in order to achieve the strengthening of their own forces, advance the dissolution and disruption of the revolutionary army and disperse the world-wide movement of support for Vietnam. Once having achieved this, the imperialists would launch a massive, well-prepared offensive designed to recapture all the positions they had lost. Anyone who disputes this and tries to argue that the aggressors would never be guilty of such treachery is either incredibly naive, or in the service of the imperialists.

An imperialist attack under such conditions would

undoubtedly meet with initial success and result in the re-taking of most of the ground won by the people's forces at such great cost. The People's Liberation forces would then be faced with the task of beginning anew the long, difficult and costly campaign to rebuild the people's army and to re-conquer the territory they had already held and then lost. Then, after more years of bloody conflict, the people would find themselves just back to the positions they now hold and still faced with the necessity of inflicting final defeat and destruction on the forces of aggression and, no doubt, again faced with proposals for a new round of "negotiations". It is more sensible and will be infinitely less costly to carry on the fight to the end from positions they now hold.

It should not prove difficult for honest people to understand that acceptance and active promotion of Johnson's proposals for "unconditional negotiations", or that support for the alternative way in which it is put by pseudo-radicals; "negotiate the withdrawal of U. S. troops", is playing the imperialist's game and acting against the fundamental interests of the people.

There is only one correct slogan around which to mobilize the working people - only ONE road to peace in Vietnam: "GET THE U. S. AGGRESSORS OUT OF VIETNAM".

#### IT IS OUR FIGHT TOO

This, as we have said above, is no mere academic question for Canada. We are dominated economically, politically and culturally by the same U. S. ruling class and governed directly by the Canadian junior partners and representatives of that class. Even our trade union movement is controlled by the labour representatives of the U. S. State Department.

To free our country from this domination, it will be necessary for us to put an end to U. S. exploitation of our people and our natural resources. In doing so, we will be trespassing on a very important area of American monopoly interests. We have already been warned by one of Johnson's statements that the adoption of any such measures as are necessary to end U. S. domination will result in counter-action by the U. S. militarists. In order to be ready for any eventuality, we must prepare ourselves to meet the worst possible situation that could develop.

Those who work now to convince us that it is possible to negotiate with the imperialists for the independence of Vietnam are disarming our own people in the face of serious anti-imperialist battles now looming on the horizon. They are busy promoting the idea that the Canadians will be able to talk things over quietly with the U. S. monopolists who will see the logic of our argument and make reasonable adjustments to meet our demands. Such ideas leave out of consideration the CLASS nature of imperialism and its aggressive character. As President Wilson once said: "The U. S. has no friends, it only has interests". Canada is one of the most important and strategic of America's interests - they will not willingly let us depart from their sphere of domination.

To break the U. S. domination of our country, we will have to act economically by seizing all foreign controlled industry - we will have to act politically by driving out of the power the agents of the monopolies and setting up a state that will mobilize and arm the people to deal effectively and decisively with all external and internal enemies who seek to block the road



to independence - we will have to act militarily by organizing an army of the people which will be capable of defending our independence and the right of our people to labour in peace and enjoy the fruits of their labour.

In this struggle, the working people, the men and women in the mills, in the mines and on the land will be the decisive force. It is they who will be able to seize hold of the factories and workshops and organize armed detachments to defend their right to possess them. It is only the working people who are consistently revolutionary and only they are capable of winning and upholding true independence for our nation. The middle class have no demands that cannot be met within the framework of a society based on exploitation and, therefore, although they are often dissatisfied, they are not revolutionary. But they have nothing to gain from a continuation of imperialist domination and so, faced with decisive action by the working class, they

can be prodded into support for the struggle or forced to remain neutral.

It is in this light - in the light of our own struggle for independence that we must view the situation in Vietnam and on which we must base our attitude toward that and all other struggles for national liberation. If we do not adopt a correct attitude of support for other peoples, it is very unlikely we will be correct in formulating a program suitable to the solution of our own problems.

Let us not be confused by the imperialist propagandists or misled by the gyrations of pseudo-radicals who have long ago openly abandoned the people's movement and betrayed it to the enemy. Let us hold fast to the demand: "U. S. aggressors get out of Vietnam - and out of Canada".



## THE HEINZ STRIKE

A water tower in the shape of a bright red tomato looms high over the town of Leamington, 30 miles southwest of Windsor, Ontario. This town of 12,000 population is the centre of one of the richest fruit and vegetable areas in all of Canada. The tomato symbol is an appropriate one, for during some two months of every year, (August and September), the Heinz plant operates on a two-shift, 10 hour day and 6 day week, processing the rich red fruit of the tomato vine.

Wage rates ranged from \$1.78 for women to \$2.40 for a grade "A" electrician and this, particularly amongst the tradesmen was an important issue. But most important of all was the question of overtime during tomato season.

The contract in effect at the start of the strike provided for no overtime rates up to 60 hours per week and only time and one-quarter for all hours over 60. The strikers' demand was for time and one-half for all hours over 40 per week.

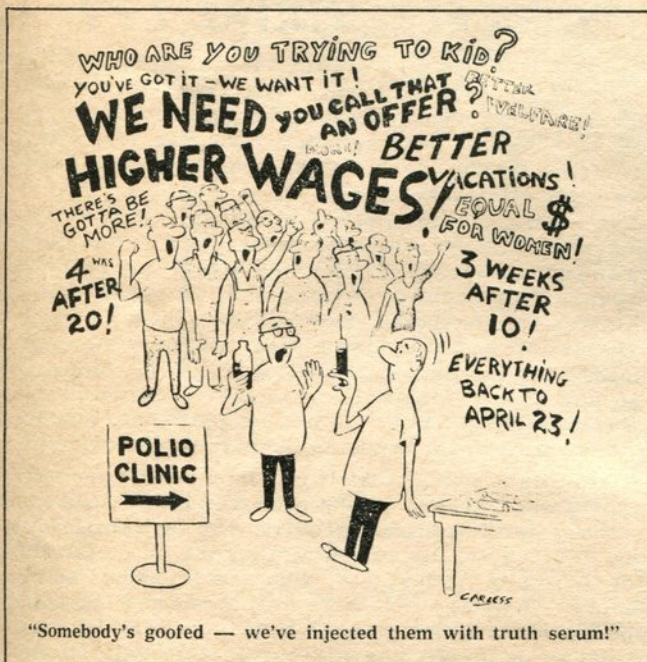
Settlement terms were finally arrived at on August 14th but only after the strikers had decisively rebuffed an Ontario government threat to come down with an order for compulsory arbitration.

The new contract is for a three-year period and provides for a total wage increase of 34¢ per hour with a \$125.00 payment to cover retroactive wage claims. There are to be nine paid statutory holidays, three weeks vacation after 10 years and four weeks after 20 years. On the all-important question of overtime, time and one-half will be paid for all hours over 50 in the first year; over 45 hours in the second year; and over 40 hours in the third year. The vote to accept the contract was 556 for, 187 against.

The farmers who grow the tomatoes were an important factor in the strike. These growers depend on the tomatoes for a substantial part of their annual income and failure to market could be financially disastrous. The company contract with the growers contains a clause that releases H. J. Heinz company from responsibility to purchase in the event of a strike. The company made use of this clause to threaten the farmers with serious loss and no hope of recompense, in an effort to turn farmer against workers and, at the same time, make out a case for compulsory arbitration. Efforts of the company in this respect were notably unsuccessful.

The growers, in a meeting attended by some 400, unanimously endorsed a resolution to the H. J. Heinz Company that if they did not assume responsibility for any crop loss, there would be no tomatoes grown for the company in the Leamington area next year. This threw the onus directly on the company and labour-farmer solidarity paid off in important advances for both groups.

by Ron Dearing



The year 1965, however, was an exception. The workers at Heinz, incensed at long hours of overtime inadequately rewarded and six months of company stalling on negotiations brought production to a complete halt for several weeks of militant strike action that ended in victory for the workers on a number of points.

One grievance concerned seniority. No employee has seniority rights until employed a total of 65 days and it is not uncommon for workers to be laid off on the 64th day. One picketer made the caustic remark: "Buy the boss a beer and you move up."



# MILITANTS FIRED AT BRITTAIN STEEL

The ever-widening struggle of Canadian workers against the reactionary leadership of "International" unions flared up in a new place last month. At Brittain Steel, a fabricating plant on Lulu Island, workers were goaded by their boss and the leadership of their union, Local 712 of the International Association Bridge Structural and Ornamental Ironworkers into taking steps towards establishing a new bargaining agency. They had it in mind to join forces with Canadian Ironworkers Union Local No. 1 and took action that would lead to this. The explosion that resulted and the panic created deserves to be recorded at this time.

With negotiations for a new contract scheduled for October, the boss is naturally concerned about the attitude of his crew. Their solidarity could have a decisive effect on the outcome. A new foreman undertook to "pacify" the work force. His methods reflected his mentality and he soon had the workers aroused to antagonistic opposition. Grievances were frequent and when referred to the union, they were either ignored or decided in the bosses favour. Finally the job steward elected by the workers and who was trying to get some action was replaced by one, appointed by the union leadership. The last straw was the appearance on the job of the union paper "The Ironworker" which featured an editorial by the General President in support of the U. S. Government in its aggressive war against the people of Vietnam and the Dominican Republic.

The workers were so sickened by this arrogant betrayal of basic trade union principles and the mounting evidence of boss and International Union collaboration that they signed a petition to have the union decertified and forwarded it to the Department of Labour. At the same time, discussions took place which indicated that the Canadian Ironworker's Union might find a warm welcome at the plant.

Consternation and panic was the immediate response and it is hard to say who was most alarmed, the boss or the union brass. In any case, they worked as a team to establish the fact that, should these workers desert the International Union, Brittain Steel would be out of business because their product would not be handled by the building trades who in the main are still controlled by "International" unions.

Faced with these conclusions, the workers decided a strategic retreat was in order and again petitioned the Labour Relations Board. This time to rescind the first petition. Some "explanations" for the action went with the second petition and no doubt it was this that sent the union brass down to the plant in a hurry to have a third petition signed, this time without the explanation. Pressure was applied by the business agent of Local 712 who was ably assisted by President Patterson of Local 97 which handles steel erection. Both the boss and the union officials shed crocodile tears for the "poor abused International Unions which had done so much for Canadian workers and were now being rejected by a bunch of ungrateful, selfish, turncoats." Everyone had pretty well made up their minds anyway so the petition was signed without protest or mention even, of other characteristics of some International Unions.

Shortly after all this, on Wednesday, September 1st, a regular union meeting of Local 712 was held, at which some interesting developments are reported to have taken place. First of these was the keen interest of union members in other plants under certification by the union, in the necessary steps for getting rid of a union that no longer represents the workers. Another

was the scramble by the union brass to try and appear as militants to a group of workers who are finding it necessary to fight not only the boss but the union leadership as well.

Sensing the insecurity of their position, some more steps were taken at the Brittain Steel plant on Wednesday, September 8th. With the sanction of the appointed shop steward, some departmental changes were arranged which allowed the company to lay off eight workers considered to be "key men" in the union struggle without breaking the seniority clause in the contract. This was unprincipled collusion and the workers all know it.

Next morning some of those who were laid off and some who were not, established a picket line to protest the discrimination. All workers at the plant respected the picket line and the plant was down until court injunctions removed the pickets. During the afternoon, the President of Local 712 exposed himself by appearing at the plant gate and ordering the workers to go through the picket line, a request that was scornfully rejected.

On Thursday morning work resumed at the shop and who should be on hand to assist the boss but President Patterson of Local 97. It is reported that charges are to be laid by the union against some of the workers who participated in the picketing. If this develops, it is certain that some more exposures of phoney leadership are imminent.

## THE BEER STRIKE ???

At the time of this writing the Brewery strike is still dragging its weary way along what appears to be a prearranged path. Six large breweries which normally provide the workingman's favourite beverage in this area are shut down as the result of a breakdown in wage negotiations.

Most strikes consist of a struggle between the workers on one hand and the employer on the other. This one appears to involve a struggle that is a bit more obscure. The brewery bosses are not satisfied with the bloated profits they already receive from an industry that is automated to the point where wage increases would not cut too deeply in any case. They want even more and there is no doubt that they see this dispute as a way to put the squeeze on. A price increase for beer and blame on the workers seem to be the objective.

Capitalism being what it is, this we are prepared to expect but workers on the picket line are wondering why there isn't a louder protest. So far, the load is being carried by the brewery workers on strike plus all of the other trades, etc. who are dependent on this industry. Why are the facts in this matter not being exposed and the blame placed where it properly belongs? The question is who is playing footsie with whom?

In spite of the strike in progress, the union leadership maintains excellent relations with the brewery bosses. Great care is taken of company property and equipment by union workers who pass through the picket line daily to perform these tasks. Good relations of this type may be important but from the workers' point of view, the most important issues are those for which the strike was called.

The union leadership needs to speak out plainly and soon or many suffering people are going to suspect collusion in the background.

by Jack Greenall



# *Progressive Worker*

*Workers of All Countries, Unite!*

# *Special Supplement*

## *The Shellburn Story*



### **Piping Out the Sit-Down Strikers**

Beginning July 5th, the Shellburn Refinery of the Shell Oil Co. (one of the most powerful capitalist enterprises in the world) was the locale of a four-day militant demonstration of protest against company intimidation. This giant blood-stained industrial octopus was challenged by 150 courageous workers who dared to stand up to a company that had overthrown governments and sent thrones toppling in their rise to a position of power in the world of imperialist intrigue and power politics.

Royal Dutch/Shell is second largest (Standard, New Jersey, first) of the seven companies that make up the international oil cartel that exercises virtual unchallenged control of the oil industry in the capitalist world. This gigantic cartel makes and breaks governments, starts wars, creates postage stamp sized nations ruled by blood-thirsty tyrants whose task it is to guarantee the profitable exploitation of oil, natural gas and other resources.

The seven, together with Compagnie Francoise des Petroles, control 90% of all petroleum in world commerce. Tankers hauling their products make up 37% of the total shipping in the world and they furnish the energy that drives industry and transport in Western Europe, North America and most of the world.



By the end of 1960, sales had reached a level of \$31 billion (and they have climbed steadily ever since.) This figure exceeded the combined incomes of the governments of Great Britain, France, Italy and a host of smaller countries thrown in.

British, U. S., French and Dutch government intervention brought about the downfall of the Mossadagh government in Iran, when it dared to nationalize the nations oil resources, in defiance of the oil cartel. In the division that took place after this typical bit of imperialist action, Shell received a 14% share of the spoils.

To satisfy its thirst for profit and power, Royal Dutch/Shell, in Venezuela, contrived to put in power Juan Vicente Gomez, one of the bloodiest dictators in all of the blood-soaked history of Latin-America. Royal Dutch/Shell is one of three companies that control the oil output of Venezuela, the world's third largest producer. These three determine what kind of government will rule Venezuela and the choice is invariably in favour of a tyrannical regime that oppresses the people and guarantees fabulous profits.

Shell was one of the companies that defied a Cuban government order calling for the refinement of a percentage of low-priced Soviet crude oil in place of company-controlled, high-priced production from Venezuela. This resulted in the Cuban government taking control of the industry. The local Shellburn management, by way of reprisal, placed a ban on travel to Cuba and tried to prevent Jerry LeBourdais from going there as a guest of Cuban unions. Shell took a beating on that issue.

Pricing is based on a complicated and artificial price structure that evens out quotations on delivery at New York or London and guarantees fantastic profits whether it is on Texas crude at a cost of over \$2.00 per barrel or Kuwait at a cost of only a few dimes.

This pricing system, which bears no relation whatever to cost of production and distribution, was the subject of some caustic comment by Pat O'Neal and other labour spokesmen at the recent B. C. enquiry into gasoline prices in the province.

### THE SHELLBURN DISPUTE

This giant company, with its more than half century of blood-stained history behind it, shows complete contempt for its local workers and B. C. residents as it has shown for people in several score of nations around the world. With Shell, profits came before life and human dignity, and only the calculation of profits is of any value in the scheme of things.

Just a casual glance at a very small sampling of company harassment of its employees will show clear reason and justification for the demonstration that broke out on July 5th.

- (a) Contract negotiations opened February 15th. The Shellburn unit of the Union submitted a list of 24 demands, topped by one for a 40¢ wage increase on a one year contract, plus additional substantial increases for tradesmen. The company replied with an insulting offer of 10¢. Contrast this offer with the Financial Post report that Shell of Canada profits for the first half of 1965 are up 50% over the corresponding period of 1964.

As an assist to their stalling tactics, the company asked for, and readily received from the Labour Board, an extension of the conciliation board hearings.

- (b) A company document, which fell into the hands of the workers, proved to be instructions to supervisory personnell on how to keep workers in line and dampen militancy. Here is a quote from the document:  
"Communications downward must deal with three categories of men.  
a) Company oriented men - no problem.  
b) Those who have no leaning either toward the company or toward the union - just here for 8 hours pay.  
c) The group dedicated to strong labour - union tendencies (who enjoy a fight).  
The concern here is that in crucial issues the tendency, of course, is for the (b) group to gravitate toward the (c) group and that supervisors, armed promptly with the facts might minimize this."  
The document listed a numerous variety of other ways in which the workers might be influenced, including an idea of sending letters directly to the wives of employees, the letters to contain an explanation of the company's position.
- (c) On May 15th, mystery pickets appeared at the plant gates in a dispute over the question of overtime. Shellburn employees refused to cross the line and outside contractors went home. After the pickets left, the oil workers went in. On May 18th, the company sent out a circular dealing with this situation and threatening the workers with disciplinary action, as follows:  
"The appearance of unidentified and illegal pickets does not constitute a valid reason for not reporting on the job. You should, therefore, understand that failure to do so constitutes a breach of your contract of employment and renders you liable for disciplinary action which could mean termination of your employment."  
Because of this letter of intimidation, 17 women, wives of oil workers and some children demonstrated in front of the main office. The company ordered them to leave and one of the flunkys tried to take pictures of individuals in a gesture of intimidation. (This was the same flunkey which the paper of the international officers of the union claimed was "assaulted" by a member of P. W. M.).
- (d) On December 8th, 1964, Jerry LeBourdais received a letter stating that whereas he had been involved in an "illegal" strike at Standard Oil on July 3rd, 1964 (refusal to handle steel drums made by strikebreakers at Vulcan) and again in another "Illegal" strike at Scott Transfer on October 3rd, (Teamster's Union strike where LeBourdais and others were arrested - charges dismissed) any further participation in future occurrences of this kind could affect his continued employment.
- (e) There is a report to the effect that a Shell Oil big shot by the name of Chastin had lunch



with the Oil Union's Canadian director and used the occasion to discuss a west coast problem - how to get rid of LeBourdais.

- (f) Shellburn employees were putting up resistance to working overtime hours at time and one-half. (For 10 years, the union has been fighting to have overtime paid at double-time rates).

After six weeks of failure in attempts to get men to work overtime, company officials called nine men into the office and ordered them to work the next day, Saturday. All nine refused to work. Company officials threatened the workers in a statement to the effect that they would have to suffer the consequences of their refusal. Later, on the evening of the same day, the general foreman went to the home of a Shellburn worker, Len Mudry, who was preparing to leave with his family on a weekend trip. Mudry refused an order to report for work the following morning and was warned, in the hearing of his wife and children, that he and his three children would have to suffer the consequences. This latest and most flagrant act of intimidation convinced the workers that something more than the formal filing of a grievance had to take place - especially since the grievances are practically never won by the union side. It was at this time that the protest action of July 5th began.

Having had more than enough of the company tactics of stalling and intimidation, the night shift, coming off and the day shift going on, on July 5th, held a meeting on company property and selected a delegation, led by Le Bourdais, the unit chairman, to meet with company officials and seek a redress of their grievances. Company officers, in their usual arrogant manner, refused to meet with the delegation and took further provocative action by announcing the suspension of approximately 80 men.

The workers decided to continue their meeting in session until the officials would agree to a meeting. A few hours later, management took an additional step designed to further aggravate the situation when they announced the discharge of Le Bourdais.

Afternoon shift workers refused to sign a pledge of loyalty and unquestioned obedience and were locked out.

Staff and engineering personell were flown in from all over Canada and the U. S. in an effort to keep the plant in operation. These can undoubtedly be numbered among the highest-paid finks ever known in any labour dispute.

This international company, with its record of bloodshed and oppression in more than a score of countries and its utter contempt for people, found support readily available in high places here just as it has in other places where it operates. This industrial giant that manipulates kingdoms and armies to suit its purpose experienced no difficulty in lining up court injunctions, baliffs and state police against a handful of workers fighting to maintain at least a minimum of human dignity.

Under the threat of action by the state, the workers left the plant, on July 8th, after four days of history-

making demonstration. They left with the declaration that the fight is by no means over - it has scarcely yet begun.

## SOLIDARITY

A factor noticeably lacking during the days of this protest demonstration was other groups and workers organizations on the picket line. What was the reason behind the failure to rally a greater degree of support.

An editorial in "Labour Statesman" - organ of the B. C. Federation and Vancouver Labour Council, was correct in its approach and placed the responsibility where it belonged; on the shoulders of the company. The editorial warned that a continuation of the attitude and policies of the oil companies could lead only to more such demonstrations.

In the leadership of the Oil Union itself, there was hesitancy and confusion. The (appointed) International Representative, like all too many of his ilk, was much more concerned with putting an end to the worker's protest than with bringing management to terms. He did everything possible to restrict and isolate the struggle and keep it from spreading. This attitude brought the representative much closer to management than to the workers.

The local president, Geddes, showed his lack of experience and of knowledge of the background of the labour movement. He appeared to place an inordinate amount of faith in the readiness of the company officials to listen to reason and act in a "fair" manner. He seemed to be unaware of the company's history, or, if he was aware, he failed to understand that a company which sets up murderous tyrants to rule over people and directs armies in the conquest of nations all in defence of the sacred cause of profits, is not likely to be impressed by an approach of sweet reasonableness and appeals for a proper recognition for the dignity and democratic rights of its Canadian employees.

However, Geddes at least made an attempt to secure assistance from a source where he imagined such assistance might be easily available - from pseudo-radical members of the Communist Party who hold official positions in the labour movement. The results he got were graphic proof of why no communist party member was seen at the demonstration in the entire four days it lasted - they had orders to stay away. Every single request made by Geddes met with refusal. A typical case and the one we will cite, is that of Craig Pritchett of the Longshoremen's Union.

Geddes called on Pritchett for assistance and got the reply from him that he wanted "nothing to do with that super-leftist LeBourdais", after which Pritchett called the Longshore Locals and instructed them to have nothing to do with the demonstration at Shellburn.

Pritchett seems to be either unaware or just doesn't care that you don't settle ideological differences on the picket line. When the battle is engaged you stand solidly on the side of the workers; any other course is tantamount to lining up on the side of the boss.

There were clear indications that the top leadership of the Communist Party and their errand boys in the unions, engaged in an organized effort to withhold support and thus sabotage the fight.



This is, of course, no new departure. It is a continuation of the policy these same people put into effect in a strike of the Canadian Ironworkers and in their relations with the Canadian Pulp and Paper Workers. Their game is completely exposed; they are playing the role of radicals the better to serve the employer's cause in the trade union movement. It is time workers put an end to their game.

#### SOME LESSONS

The demonstration showed clearly on whose side the forces of the state are aligned. Wealth is power and the big monopolies have a corner on the money market, so the heavy battalions of the state line up on the side of the international money men. To offset this might the workers require firm organization, a clear understanding of their class position, working-class solidarity and an incorruptible, able and militant leadership. Achieve these and the workers will surely win; but until they do achieve them, they will experience defeats.

We have already dealt with some of the shortcomings of local leadership and the need for strengthening there is all too obvious to need comment.

Some attention needs to be drawn to the stand taken by the Yankee officers of this International Union who seem to be intent on exporting to the Canadian locals their devious and psychopathic anti-Communist line. The details can be gleaned from stories and comments in Vol. 21, No. 6 of the journal of the international, "Union News".

A revealing statement is printed below a front-page photograph showing the Shellburn workers marching out of the plant. This reads, in part, as follows: "Members of British Columbia local 9-601 were persuaded by O.C.A.W. leaders, management, a court writ, and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to leave the plant."

Oil workers in B. C., we feel sure, will be interested to learn that the union leaders, and we have their own words to prove it, stand loyally on the side of management, courts and state police. But where does that leave the oil workers whom they are paid to represent. With hard bargaining for a contract still in progress, the management adamant in its refusal to grant adequate improvements, the possibility of a bitter battle in the offing and the unblemished history of state intervention on the side of the employers, the rank-and-file oil workers need to ask the question: "Are the union leaders, even now, preparing to line up on the same side to "persuade" them to accept the mouldy crumbs management is prepared to throw their way. The experience of their attitude toward the Shellburn demonstration holds little promise that the leaders are adequately prepared or equipped to lead an effective struggle. Rank-and-file action is imperative if any real gains are to be made.

Another and longer story on page 11 of "Union News" develops further the outlook of the international officers.

"A bystander", reads the story, "later identified as a member of the radical Progressive Workers Movement assaulted a Shell supervisor at the main entrance. An unidentified bystander smashed a camera being used to take pictures of the pickets. U.C.A.W. did not welcome this free and uninvited assistance."

And at the end of the article this: "The membership made clear they did not want to be involved with the radical leftists who appeared on the scene but were ordered away from the picket line."

The writer seems to be unaware of some very important unanswered questions in his article. For example: What was a supervisor doing so close to the picket line as to get "assaulted". (Strange there were no charges of assault even though the writer claims the belligerent one was identified). Was this point not of sufficient importance for the writer to query the possibility of the supervisor interfering with and attacking pickets? The fact that the supervisors were all helping to keep the plant in operation (Union News admits this) while a dispute was in progress, should be enough to swing the balance of sympathy and support on the side of the picket - regardless of the colour of his politics.

The story-teller mourns also for a broken camera. This same broken camera was the one used to take pictures of oil worker's wives in an attempt at intimidation. The camera, in this instance, was again being used for purposes of intimidation and on both occasions was being handled by a company official.

Let us remind this mourner for a broken camera that sticking a camera in the face of an unwilling subject is an invasion of privacy and when the photographer ceases to desist on request then one has a right to defend his privacy.

The statement that radical leftists were ordered away is an outright lie. There were only two identified members of P. W. M. there - one a former oil worker and the other, Jerry Le Bourdais, unit chairman, who was inside the plant with the workers, not outside writing tall tales. We would like to ask the editor of Union News a question: "Was Le Bourdais, a well-known "radical leftist" ordered away?

The clear inference to be drawn from the "Union News" is that the top union officers are more concerned with fighting "Reds" than they are with bringing the boss to terms. Well, they are going to have a few thousand "Reds" to fight in their own union. The companies consider any attempt to cut into their bloated profits to be a "Red plot" and the oil workers, almost to a man, (with the exception of the top leaders) aim to do just that.

It should now be evident to the Oil Workers that they need to stand united in this fight to bring the giant oil companies into line. Tactics of striking isolated units will only play into the hands of management. Every possible support must be obtained from all other unions, labour groups and the general public and all such support should be welcomed and accepted without any demand for a certificate of "political purity". Radicals are also workers and union men and have a contribution to make.

If you stand united and don't let red-baiting break you up, you will win, brother, you will win!

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## Letters to the Editor

What is the Feminine Mystique? It is that mysterious malady which robs woman of her individuality, wastes her talents in advancing society, cloaks her in slushy weak femininity in which she loses her identity and becomes a mere extension of her husband and a product of this capitalist system.

Where does the Feminine Mystique live? It lives in that haven of unhappiness often called suburbia. The houses are lined up like match boxes on a mirror and these houses are filled with frustrated women who if they are to conform to the Feminine Mystique whistles merrily along, wearing a crisp apron, pushing buttons of busy machines and making a challenge of her daily household chores. One of her greatest challenges is in being able to remember to make a dentist appointment or to remember to present her tired husband with his pipe and slippers. She receives little or no respect and becomes man's tool instead of his equal.

What does the Feminine Mystique do? It produces such feelings of uselessness in woman that she strikes back. How? She turns often against her husband,

using him for a scapegoat for her feelings of suppression. Divorce is rampant. She could and quite often becomes a hypochondriac and a doctor chaser and ever concerned with her state of health. She overprotects her children.

Does the Feminine Mystique advance the aims of the world we live in? No! It does not! It destroys the true value of women. Women are becoming clothes horses of fashion, pursuers of prestige symbols, poor mothers and altogether wasted to the world. Women are expected to be nothing more than pretty, feminine, useless and very adept at feeding the male ego from her perch on the pedestal of femininity.

Bourgeois society has created the feminine mystique. Let it struggle to free itself. Let us beware of it and respect it's subtle power. Women - BE FREE! You have your body, your mind and your talents to offer to the world. Will the feminine mystique smother you too? Let us hope not.

La Femme

Betty Friedman



# REVOLT IN THE CITY OF THE ANGELS

America was rocked to its foundations by the Negro revolt on Los Angeles. And while it may be, for the revolt had on it a great deal more significance than the pundits of press and radio care to contemplate on.

AUSCHWITZ...



DA NANG.



LOS ANGELES...



The smug and self-satisfied gentlemen of the mass news media applied all their skill and wiles to the task of convincing their audience that the affair was a

"riot", and unreasoned orgy of "arson and looting", a bloody outbreak of contempt for the "rule of law". The hired scribes of the ruling class are exercising to the fullest all their varied talents in an all-out effort to obscure the real issues, and the true meaning of the revolt. The "Uncle Toms" are most vociferous in their condemnation of the revolt for they see in Los Angeles, the graveyard of all their dreams to inherit from the white master the rights of exploitation of the Negro people. The "liberals", and their pseudo-radical supporters, who reduce the Negro struggle to a simple question of "civil rights", are left without a programme and virtually without a following.

The Los Angeles revolt has made it very clear that the fundamental problem confronting the Negro people is not "civil rights" in the fashion of Martin Luther King, the coddled spokesman for bourgeoisie, both black and white - who are equally concerned to keep the "mob" under control. The Negroes of Los Angeles can vote, run for public office, eat in any restaurant, ride busses, use parks and swimming pools, and enjoy all the rest of the "democratic" bunkum that the block upper and middle classes claim is the main objective of the Negro struggle.

The "Negro question" is not one of civil rights or the breakdown of the democratic processes, as some would have us believe - it is a crisis of the capitalist system itself, the failure of the "free enterprise" system to provide adequately for the citizens of the wealthiest nation on earth. Fully one third of the people in the U. S. are living on incomes well below the level of poverty and an additional one third are on, or just above, the poverty line. These families live in slums and ghettos that are among the worst in the world. This is a situation that is endemic to a system based on the exploitation of man by man, and would still be a fact of life in America if there were not a single black man in the entire United States. To change these conditions requires actions that have as their objective aims much more fundamental than securing the right to vote. The white worker who is unemployed and lives in the slums that are everywhere the ghettos of the poor, has "enjoyed" the privilege of the vote for more than a century, but it has made no substantial difference to his condition of poverty. The root cause of the Negro problem is the same as for all workers - it is the capitalist system of exploitation, and only the eradication of that system and its replacement by a socialist system, can solve it.

The U. S. monopolists use the Negro 10% of the population as a reserve army of unemployed and as a source of super exploitation. They leap upon the backs of the black people a major portion of the hunger and misery generated by the profit system and, at the same time, subject them to the most foul acts of racist persecution and terror as a means of obscuring the rottenness of their social system. The Negro, although a citizen of the ruling nation, is treated as though he were a member of a conquered, colonial nation.

The reason for this special treatment of the Negro is not because of anything so simple as a desire of the capitalists to get greater profit returns from black workers than he does from white. The capitalist will always strive for the greatest possible profit and he is not at all particular about the colour of his victims skin. The fact of the matter is that the highly organ-



ized, articulate section of the white working class, instead of using their strength to combat this evil actually connive in it and are not averse to obtaining personal gain from it. A number of A.F.L. unions have a Jim Crow, segregationist policy every bit as reactionary as anything encountered in southern communities. This is entirely in line with the policy of all-out, unqualified support for U. S. imperialist objectives. The man who will go on strike for higher pay and danger money to work at producing napalm which will be used to burn peaceful people in Vietnam is not likely to express any strong objections to the lynching of a couple of Negroes. The tragedy of the Negro is even more the tragedy of the U. S. working class that has permitted itself to be shackled to the American war chariot. The Negro may suffer persecution, but he at least, by his heroic resistance, has retained his manhood and his honour.

The Negro movement is in something of a dilemma which has been underlined by the Los Angeles revolt. Because of their position as a race and the object of special exploitation that Negro people feel themselves, quite understandably, to be an integral part of the struggles for national liberation. But the American Negro is a citizen of the metropolitan country and he lacks one of the bare requirements for such a struggle of national liberation - a national territory - so every move he makes on the direction of national liberation leads to frustration and is mainly of value only to the black bourgeoisie who seek personal gain from nationalist sentiments.

The Los Angeles revolt has underlined the fact that the essence of the Negro movement is that it is

a challenge to the capitalist class in its home territory - and a formidable challenge it is. This aspect of the struggle is somewhat clouded and distorted because of the almost total exclusion of the Negro from industry, and from the established labour movement to which he rightfully belongs. The Negro (and it makes no difference if he is not fully conscious of it) is fighting for the realization of Socialist objectives, for nothing short of this can satisfy his needs. But this fight is being conducted at a time when the white majority of the working class, not only is not prepared to settle accounts with the capitalists, but, through his established organizations, is lending support to the imperialist objectives of the ruling class.

As the contradictions of the capitalist system sharpen and the world crisis of imperialism deepens the U. S. working class will be forced to enter the area of struggle and challenge the rule of the monopolists. At that stage the struggle of the Negro and the white worker will merge and the experiences of Harlem and Los Angeles show that the Negro will play an important part in the leadership of that struggle.

The Los Angeles revolt set the stage for an important qualitative advance on the Negro movement and the beginning of the end for the petty-bourgeois reformist leadership. It is no wonder that the establishment is going all-out to slander it and consign it to obscurity. In this they will fail for the Negro struggle will surely go on.



## CHINA'S 16TH ANNIVERSARY

On October 1st the people of all nationalities of China will celebrate the 16th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. Joining together with them on this joyous celebration of the triumphant march toward socialism will be the revolutionary peoples in many nations around the world.

The 16 years that have passed have been years of moving from victory to victory under the leadership of the Communist Party of China.

During the past year China has extended encouragement and aid to the many peoples fighting to cast off the chains of imperialist enslavement. The Chinese people struck a mighty blow for peace, and restored the fight for nuclear disarmament to its proper place, by the testing of two atomic devices.

China's tremendous political and economic victories, and the correct position of the Communist Party of China have been a source of great strength and encouragement to the world Marxist-Leninist movement in the ideological struggle against the revisionists who are treacherously betraying the revolutionary movement and the people in the fight against aggressive imperialism.

The Progressive Workers Movement joins together with the Chinese people in their celebration of this 16th anniversary of the Chinese revolution. We pay tribute to them for the great contributions they have made, and will make, to the struggle for national independence, the defence of world peace and the fight against imperialism.

The revolutionary people will certainly be successful in all lands and the victories of the Chinese Revolution are a sure guarantee of revolutionary victory.

Our greetings of support and solidarity go out to the people and revolutionary Communist Party of China.

Long live the People's Republic of China.

For many years, the people of Canada and the world have celebrated the founding of the People's Republic of China. The Vancouver Committee for the Celebration of the 16th Anniversary of the People's Republic of China has arranged an impressive Banquet for Saturday, October 2nd.

The Progressive Workers Movement extends greetings to the Committee and wishes them every success.

### PEOPLE'S CHINA BANQUET

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Republic of China (Advertisement)



# JEMMY HOPE: AN IRISH WORKING CLASS REBEL

Revolutionary aspirations in contemporary Ireland possess a heritage of at least 200 years of struggle. Throughout this protracted war of liberation which has varied in its intensity but never in its ultimate objects, the most consistent contributors, the greatest source of strength and resoluteness, has been the urban and rural working classes. Organizations such as the Society of United Irishmen, the I. R. B. and the I. R. A. were drawn almost exclusively from the working class.

However, due to a preponderance of bourgeois influence in the recording of Irish history, much significant data relating to the working class has been obliterated; and this is especially true of the French revolutionary era, when the Society of United Irishmen was the functioning revolutionary movement. Working class leaders played a conspicuous role both in the insurrection of 1798 and in the abortive rising of 1803. Indeed, Emmet's conspiracy of 1803 was practically devoid of all influence other than that of the labouring classes; the bourgeoisie having withdrawn from the movement either prior to, or as a consequence of, the insurrection of 1798. And yet, when James Connolly - Ireland's foremost Marxist to date wrote his classic on "Labour in Irish History", he was unaware of the formidable labours during this period by a man who was in many respects his predecessor in recognizing the fundamentals of the class struggle, its pertinence to Ireland's war of liberation and the great necessity for developing it into a revolutionary effort. This man was James Hope.

"Jemmy" Hope, born August 25, 1764 in Templepatrick, Co. Antrim, known as "The Spartan" to his comrades was a self-educated working man and one of the most perspicuous and vigorous intellects the United Irish movement produced. A linen weaver by trade, he joined the Society of United Irishmen in 1794. Two years later, when the movement discarded its constitutional robes to become a truly revolutionary effort, Jemmy Hope was despatched to Dublin to organize the city's working class. At that time, the weavers were the most militant and it was amongst them, in the area called the Liberties that Hope settled. Having completed his task in the capital, Jemmy turned his attention to the provinces, especially the countries of the Northwest and here too he is credited with considerable success.

Prior to the insurrection of 1798, Hope returned to Antrim to take a command under Henry Joy McCracken. But the large scale defection of bourgeois leaders and the arrests of others thwarted the effort in the North. Its flame was quickly quenched, forcing Hope, McCracken and others to go on the "run". After the arrest and execution of McCracken, Jemmy Hope returned to Dublin to find sanctuary in the working class district of the Coombe.

When Robert Emmet returned from France in 1802 to revitalize the revolutionary movement, he immediately sought Hope's help and Jemmy was soon his chief organizer. Once again he went about the organization of Dublin's working class and having done so, he set off for the Ulster in pursuit of a like mission. He was still in Ulster when Emmet's abortive rising took place in Dublin.

Such a brief sketch can hardly pretend to give a true picture of the magnitude of Jemmy Hope's labours between 1794 and 1803. However, although his work as an organizer was great, it is in his ideas and writings that we can more readily trace that power of

independent thought which gave force and conviction to his actions.

Describing how in his early years, his tutor "turned my attention to the nature of the relations between the different classes of society", he commented:

"There were three parties - those whose industry produced the necessities of life, those who circulated them and those whose subsistence depended on fictitious claims and capital and lived and acted as if men and cattle were created solely for their own use and benefit and to whom a sycophantic clergy were ready to bow with the most profound respect".

His appreciations of the French Revolution and of the upheavals in general which were inspired by it, strike at the root of the matter. He clearly perceived the bourgeois nature of the revolution:

"The struggle at that period, as at the present (1843) was merely between commercial and aristocratic interests to determine which should have the people as its property, or its prey".

"The war commenced between the claims of the plough and the sword, fiction became arrayed against reality, the interests of capital against those of labour, and the rich lost sight of their dependence on the poor".

Jemmy Hope goes on to analyse the effects on the Irish revolutionary scene:

"The progress of the Revolution in France had excited the mass of the people and had put the aristocrats to their shifts....

The appearance of a French fleet in Bantry Bay brought the rich farmers and shop keepers into the societies and with them, all the corruption essential to the objects of the British Ministry. McCracken, who was by far the most deserving of all our northern leaders, observed that what we had gained in numbers, we had lost in worth... The aristocrats rushed into the societies and their... plausible pretensions soon lulled the people into confidence".

Personal experience was a great teacher to Hope; he was never slow to learn. His convictions on the futility of the working class relying on the bourgeoisie to lead them to freedom and justice are aptly expressed:

"So long as men of rank and fortune lead a people, they will modify abuses, reform to a certain extent, but they will never remove any real grievances that press down on the people".

He then goes on to say:

"It is my settled opinion that the condition of the labouring class was the fundamental question at issue between the rulers and the people and there could be no solid foundation for liberty till measures were adopted that went to the root of the evil".

Jemmy Hope was a pioneer revolutionary of the Irish proletariat. He was a man very conscious of the rights of his class and very proud of belonging to that class - the Irish working class. "When I speak of myself," he wrote later, "I mean the survivors of the working classes who struggled from 1794 to 1806".

Jemmy Hope was a socialist; there can be little doubt on that. And it is paradoxical that Ireland's



present day socialists - men who have a vast revolutionary experience at their avail - should fail to appreciate such revolutionary principles as he so clearly understood.

Today, Irish communists have divided into two functioning parties so as to complement the imperialist partition of the country. Furthermore, they have categorically denied the applicability of force as a means of realizing Irish freedom. Like all good social democrats, they now hold that such freedom can be readily attained via the bourgeois parliamentary system. They are reverting to an acceptance of "men of rank

and fortune to lead the people". And in their revisionism, they have even at this stage bypassed Jemmy Hope in their mad rush backwards into history. Where they will end nobody knows as yet. But one thing is sure: if Ireland is ever to be freed, it will have to be done by someone other than its Communist parties. It will have to be done by men such as Jemmy Hope; men who believe in the rights of the people and in the necessity of totally destroying the existing bourgeois and neo-colonial system so as to realize those rights.

by Cathal Brugha

## ON SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

For the past decade, pseudo-radicals have been deafening Canadian workers with loud and strident claims that Social-Democracy is firmly planted on the road to Socialism.

The League for Socialist Action insists that the N. D. P. is a working-class party and sums its entire programme up in a call for unqualified support for the New Democrats and in the slogan: "Win the N. D. P. for Socialism". The logical conclusion emanating from this piece of sage advice being to the effect that you need only elect the N. D. P. to power and Socialism will naturally follow.

The late Leslie Morris, speaking for the Communist Party leadership at a national committee meeting last year said that the Social Democrats were not the same now as they had been 30 years ago and that they had become "firm and durable allies" in the fight for Socialism.

These "theoreticians" who are trying to breathe new life into the corpse of Social-Democracy and render it capable of further service in the interests of capitalism, ignore completely the latter-day record of these parties in the classic lands of Social-Democracy - Germany and Great Britain.

In West Germany, the Social-Democratic politicians seek to outdo the right-wing Christian Democrats in their professions of loyalty to the capitalist system and the defence of private ownership of industry. The leading figures in the S. P. D., from Willy Brandt on down, no longer even talk in vague terms about nationalization and Socialism. All pretence of an advance to Socialism has been dropped in favour of the status quo and the defence of Western Europe against the evils of Communism.

In Great Britain, where the Labour Party is in power under the leadership of a "left-wing" labourite, the fact of Social-Democratic treachery and betrayal is even more clear. Not since the days of Social Democratic betrayal of the 1919 German revolution has Social-Democratic perfidy been so sharply etched and its service to imperialism so clearly discernible.

In the short space of six months, the Wilson government rigged elections against a majority party in British Guiana, joined with Belgian and U. S. imperialists in the repression of a popular uprising in the Congo, helped to hunt down, and deliver to the executioners, bands of oppositionists to the reactionary regime in Nyasaland, used the British air force to strafe protesting students and striking workers in Bahrain, reinforced military occupation of South Arabia to ensure the continued upward spiral of record profits for the oil companies, engaged in a neo-colonial

war against Indonesia and gave unqualified support to U. S. aggression in Vietnam.

In every major under-developed zone in the world today - in South America, in Africa, in the Middle East, in Southeast Asia, British troops are in the firing line, imposing neo-imperialist rule on the majority of dispossessed and coloured peoples of the earth. The racist regime of terror and tyranny in South Africa is receiving British arms and the white settler regime in Rhodesia has received assurances that Britain will not intervene if an oppressive regime of white terror is set up to rule the native peoples.

Imperialism remains at the centre of the British situation, whether under Tory or Labour Party rule and the experience of the present Labour administration stands witness to that fact.

In face of Social-Democracy's long and unbroken history of treachery, anyone who sets out to confuse and mislead the working class with claims that the Social Democrats will lead us to Socialism is either a fool or worse. Even the Social-Democratic leaders themselves have abandoned that claim and announce only that they will "make capitalism work better". But what is needed is for an end to be put to capitalism's regime of exploitation and violence. Only the revolutionary advance to Socialism can achieve that.



PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S "HAND OF FRIENDSHIP"



# SOCIAL DEMOCRACY A CRUTCH FOR CAPITALISM

It is generally recognized that the world is in perilous condition today. Despite the tremendous growth of the ability to produce wealth, poverty and insecurity plague a majority of the working people, including those of the most highly industrialized areas. The profit system (capitalism) being the cause; the great problem facing the working class is how to remove the cause.

In England, the most advanced industrial country of that time, the oppressed workers launched the great Chartist movement in the 1830's. Its program was faulty, for the prevailing thinking of that time was that by a series of reforms, capitalism could be transformed into socialism. Of course many believed that capitalism was the "ultima thula" of social evolution. Therefore the task was to "persuade" some "good" capitalist, to assist in bettering the conditions of the oppressed class.

Breaking through that fog of bourgeois idealism and humanitarianism, came to the penetrating and enlightening discoveries in the domain of sociology by Marx and Engels, to counter the utopian-socialism of such well-meaning reformers as Robert Owen, St. Simon, Fourier and others. Science replaced utopianism, just as in mankind's struggle upward and onward, alchemy gave way to chemistry, astrology to astronomy, and witch-doctors to the science of medicine; albeit many of those who blazed the trail to knowledge suffered martyrdom; some burned at the stake; some forced to drink the hemlock; while all were subjected to calumny; as was Charles Darwin, Marx and others, who held to the truth of science.

In the 1880's it was beginning to dawn on the workers of Britain that political organization and action was necessary; that trade unions alone were not sufficient. At the beginning, leaders made existing labor bodies, the tail of the Liberal Party. Later the Fabian society was created to bring about what they conceived to be socialism; all to be done through Parliament and the exercise of the franchise.

But the Fabian's great purpose was to combat the spread of Marxism in Britain. The Fabian historian, Pease, in the official "History of the Fabian Society" (1916) declared:-

"The first achievement was to break the shell of Marxism in England. The Fabian Society freed English Socialism from this intellectual bondage. It accepted economic science as taught by the accredited British professors; it built up the edifices of Socialism on the foundations of our existing political and social institutions".

That is, on the foundations of capitalism. How like the Social-Democrats of Germany are the N. D. P. free-enterprisers of today and the British Labor Party. All of these, like the Fabians, accept economic science as taught by the accredited British professors, and build their type of socialism (capitalist welfare station) on "our existing political and social institutions".

Even the wretched Ramsay MacDonald joined in the cat's chorus, declaring that "Neither Marx, nor Engels saw deep enough to discover the possibilities of peaceful advance which lay hidden beneath the surface". And another Fabian, H. G. Wells stated that, "there was a growing sense of social duty in the owners of capital and land which may do much to mask the antagonism of class interests", and he, as a servile tool of the War Office demanded that the little beast of a Bolshevik, Lenin, "be killed" by some moral sanitary method. "Labor Leader", (July 25/1918).

The British workers were led by the traitorous middle-class Fabian and other fakers into putting four Labor Party Governments in power; all of which carried on imperialist policies, both domestic and foreign; but not socialism.

Even the Fabians themselves, as well as the other reformists, were compelled to admit their political bankruptcy. Historian Pease in his history admits in his "Review of Thirty Years" that "It must be confessed that we have not made progress along the road to socialism. Private ownership of capital and land flourishes (sic) as vigorously as it did thirty years ago. Time alone will tell if progress is to be along existing lines".

That-after thirty years! In 1931 a new edition of "Fabian Essays Forty Years Later" was published. In a chapter headed "What was Overlooked" we learn:-

The distinctive mark of the Fabian Society among rival bodies of Socialism, was its resolute constitutionalism. When William Morris told the workers that there was no hope for them save in revolution" we said that, "if that were true: there was no hope at all for them, and urged them to save themselves through parliament and the franchise. It is not so certain today, as it seemed in the eighties, that Morris was not right".

George Lansbury, one-time leader of the Labor Party, confessed that he had lived to see "all that Aveling and Eleanor Marx had personally taught him come true". If we turn to Left Reformism we find a similar confession. James Maxton M.P. (member of parliament), one of the most honest of the reformist lot, said:-

"so far as achievement of our major purpose, the creation of a new social order is concerned; I say frankly that twenty-seven years of effort on my part in the working-class movement, seems to have ended in failure, and this applies to every section of our movement".

Since the time of the expressions of failure, disappointment and frustration quoted above, the British Labor Party has sunk deeper in the mire of parliamentary cretinism. Their leaders have learned nothing from history, or, if they did, they rejected its lessons. But the labor party and reactionary trade union leaders have had many personal successes. Many have been knighted and sent to the House of Lords for their services to capitalism; for their holding the workers from struggle, and, for their strike-breaking. And the present British Labor Party government is the most cynical of all previous ones.

Anti-Marxism has been tested in the crucible of history and found wanting; whereas, whenever Marxism was adhered to, the power of the exploiting class was shattered; their lands and means of production confiscated (Russia, China etc.). Reformist policies have been a dismal failure. Scientific-socialism, i. e. Marxism, has been, and will be triumphant.

Malcolm Bruce



## Money Makes Nothing

THE FIRST THING to grasp in the study of finance is that men make everything and that money makes nothing.

Man grows corn, builds houses and ships, weaves cloth, builds roads and bridges; money makes none of these things.

Did you ever see a gold sovereign ploughing, or a pound note planting potatoes, or a cheque for \$2500 building a house?



# McNEVIN AND THE "PROVINCE"

Commenting on a Vietnam solidarity meeting sponsored by Progressive Workers Movement, "The Province" of Tuesday, August 31st, resorted to a favourite trick of big business journalism, disguising editorial comment as a news item.

The opinions expressed by "The Province" in this editorial are, of course, neither surprising nor unexpected. When anyone makes so bold as to advance a progressive idea, the doddering old journal of conservative reaction inevitably goes into convulsions. Apologist for the U. S. State Department and loyal supporter of the American imperialists in their drive toward world conquest, "The Province" editors are ever ready to grovel at the feet of the U. S. monopolists who dominate our economy and trample on the independence of our nation. The columns of this so-called newspaper are always at the disposal of every pro-fascist element that wants to make use of them as a medium for propagating the festering ideas that emanate from their sick minds.

In view of the well-known fact of "The Province" editors' unflinching record of support for the most reactionary causes, it is not our intention to take issue with them for doing what, to them, comes naturally. We do, however, propose to take issue with Mr. John McNevin who rises up out of nowhere to announce himself as the official spokesman for the whole labour movement of British Columbia. We suggest that McNevin, before he presents himself as spokesman for labour, first consult with the men and women who pay his salary to serve them - and who have no wish to be dictated to as to what causes they shall support and in what manner they may support them.

Before lending himself to be used as a sounding board for the anti-labour bias of "The Province" owners and editors, McNevin would have been better advised to have first read the front page of the Labour Statesman for September. It could well be that the garrulous assistant secretary of the B. C. Fed might then have obtained a more balanced and accurate view of the extreme reactionary role of the morning rag. Here are a few quotes to indicate the Labour Statesman opinion of the so-called newspaper that McNevin uses to attack P. W. M. and their efforts to organize support for the people of Vietnam:

"More than once critics have pointed to the Vancouver Province, the morning half of the Pacific Press as one glaring example of a paper which consistently ignores the duties implicit in the right to publish in a free society".

"....the alleged facts just happened to be in line with the Province's recognized anti-labour, anti-N. D. P. prejudice, a coincidence which would bring joy to any hot-eyed Birchite in full-blooded pursuit of a victim". "If newspapers were subject to the same rigid standards as hospitals, The Province might well be closed down as a source of contagion".

Perhaps the B. C. Fed will find it necessary to send Mr. McNevin to a clinic to be passed through the decontamination and delousing process. Mr. McNevin's support of right-wing causes in the ranks of labour is so well-known as to make it something of a joke for anyone (and especially The Province) to offer his opinions as an unbiased reflection of labour's views.

Before going on to comment on some points raised by McNevin, we would like to point out to both him and The Province that P. W. M. members are also trade

unionists and have every right to express their opinion on all questions inside and outside the trade unions and they do not consider it necessary to submit those opinions to McNevin and The Province for censorship.

In a move designed to achieve, for McNevin's prattling, a synthetic atmosphere of god handing down the law from the mountain top, The Province editorialist prefaced the interview with the comment:

"The move has drawn fire from the B. C. Federation of Labour".

But Mr. McNevin is not god. He is but the humble, hired (not elected) secretary of the Federation and no constitutional convention has ever accorded him the right to act as the official spokesman of the B. C. labour movement. The views expressed by McNevin are entirely his own and in this case, as in most cases, they are generously coated with his own right-wing outlook. We reject the claim of The Province that it and McNevin, speak for labour.

According to McNevin, the few dollars collected for the Liberation Front "shows the lack of sincerity in the P. W. M.'s statement about seeking peace". The P. W. M. takes a back seat to no one in the fight for peace. We are carrying on an unrelenting and many-sided struggle to end the system of imperialist exploitation that is the root cause of all wars and violence. Vietnam is a vital front in that struggle and by supporting the fight to put an end to U. S. aggression, we are giving practical assistance to the fight for world peace.

McNevin, on the other hand, uses his official post in the labour movement as a position of strength from which to defend and prolong the life of the vicious and violent system of capitalist exploitation, the breeding ground for war. McNevin's diatribe in The Province is just one more of his many services to the ruling class who make war on the people.

The assistant secretary is not at all selective when it comes to associating with anyone who will afford him a vantage point from which to thunder recriminations against the progressive movement and declare his loyalty to the powers that be. In his anxiety to establish his "purity", he over-reaches himself when he states: "we have always dissociated ourselves from P. W. M."

We wish to make it clear that it is quite impossible for McNevin to dissociate himself from us since he has never had even the remotest association with our political movement. If he should ever make claim of association, we will be the first to deny it. We have no desire to be linked in any way to McNevin's reactionary outlook.

Mr. McNevin expressed great concern over the \$140.00 (less expenses) which is to be forwarded to the Liberation Front; "to help carry on a state of war". This agitation would seem to be a rather grim jest in face of the \$7 billion appropriated by the U. S. Congress to finance the war of aggression in Vietnam. Our "labour spokesman" did not seem to think it necessary to even mention this massive appropriation. Also not important enough to rate attention is the fact that the Liberal government is using money extracted by way of tax levies, from the Canadian people, including hundreds of thousands opposed to U. S. aggression, to given material support to the aggressors and their puppets. The very same newspaper that McNevin uses as a mouthpiece has been campaigning, openly and



consistently, for an increase in Canadian assistance to U. S. imperialists, including a proposal for the sacrifice of Canadian youth in the interests of American war aims. The tone of the interview and the use of The Province as his propaganda medium, places McNevin solidly in The Province camp and in support of their pro-war, pro-fascist programme. The question that is crying out for an answer is this: Is McNevin fit to be a member of the labour movement, much less an official spokesman?

In view of his abject failure to take any steps to protest and oppose the massive assistance being rendered aggressive imperialism, McNevin's attitude can only be construed as a deliberate act in support of aggressive imperialism and against the people.

McNevin finds many ways to further the aims of the aggressor. Included in his bag of tricks is the shackling of Canadian working people to the U. S. chariot through domination of their affairs by the A.F.L. -C.I.O. bureaucrats, agents of the U. S. State Department. McNevin forwards to this group that supports U. S. war aims, dues collected from Canadian trade unionists. He actively and vigorously opposes any and all attempts of Canadian workers to release themselves from U. S. domination and estab-

lish an independent labour movement in Canada. In this way, he not only renders direct support to U. S. imperialist objectives in Vietnam and throughout the world but, at the same time, helps to strengthen American monopoly domination over Canada and drag our land into the imperialist war camp.

In this same interview, reference was made to "constant surveillance" of the R. C. M. P. over the P. W. M. In view of the fact that McNevin made printed (and unnecessary) reference to his "dissociation" from P. W. M. but did not dissociate himself from state police surveillance of an open political movement, we are forced to assume that he is fully in favour of such political police tactics of spying and intimidation.

Lastly, a comment on McNevin's remark: "It's a pretty small, irresponsible group". The gentleman is whistling in the dark to keep his courage up and in the hopes that the frightening shadows will disappear. We have no intention of helping to allay his alarm. We are far from small and certainly not irresponsible. There are over 800 million of us and our numbers are increasing daily. It will take a lot of whistling to dispel those shadows.

## VIETNAM SOLIDARITY MEETING

Ed Charles

On Sunday evening, the 29th of August the Jack Wood Club of the Progressive Workers Movement held a meeting at the Pender Auditorium, Vancouver, to raise funds for the National Liberation Front of Vietnam.

The hall was packed and the audience of 300 odd heard 3 speakers demand that U.S. troops get out of Vietnam.

Bob Edwards, who spoke as an interested individual, gave some background material of the war in Vietnam. He told of the task facing those of us who are aware of, and incensed against the U.S. war, as that being, to "go back to the plants, workshops and factories of our country and mobilize the people whose needs and aspirations are diametrically opposed to U.S. troops in Vietnam" He concluded by saying "when we the people of Canada and the U.S. disarm those who profit from war, the capitalist class, and end forever the system of exploitation of man by man there will be no U.S. troops in Vietnam or anywhere else".

John Wood Chairman of Youth Against War and Fascism spoke of the lessons of history on how fascism rose in Germany during the '30's and how fascism is coming to the fore in the U.S. today. John stated "terror weapons do not determine the course of history and people have struggled against tyranny and oppression in spite of superior weapons in the hands of those who would try to subjugate people by force. The American, Russian, Chinese and Cuban revolutions were carried out in face of tremendous odds by people who were firm in their desire to determine their own destiny".

Chairman Jack Greenall, in introducing Jack East of the Progressive Workers Movement said "it is encouraging to see many dedicated, energetic young people attracted to the P.W.M. a communist movement dedicated to the fight for socialism. Our speaker is a representative of the sincere youth of our movement and it gives me great pleasure to introduce Jack East".

In a truly inspiring speech, Jack told of the record of the U.S. government around the world. He stated "the U.S. government has become the most feared

and hated government in the world. In literally every country of Asia, Africa, and Latin, America people are taking up arms because oppression entails struggle against oppression. Intervention, and aggression by the U.S. government in Panama, Brazil, the Congo, Vietnam etc. has not and is not going unpunished. In Vietnam the people through the National Liberation Front control 80% of the territory and have the active support of 70% of the people and are daily raining blows on U.S. Imperialism. There is today on the world scene a new anti-imperialist movement which encompasses the American negro movement, the National Liberation movements, student movements, etc. which will defeat the U.S. Imperialists on every front".

A film was shown from Vietnam made by the National Liberation Front.

Also, a film from China entitled "U.S. Aggressors Get Out of Vietnam". The Norman Bethune singers entertained during the changing of reels with some rousing songs.

A collection of over \$140.00 was taken to be sent to the people of Vietnam to aid them in their just struggle against U. S. aggression. In spite of the "coverage" given in our daily press trying to depict the P.W.M. as an organization trying to further the slaughter, money has been coming in by mail. If you are sincere in helping please send your contribution and we will see that it is sent on.

The Pacific Tribune, the weekly organ of the Communist Party of Canada (B.C. section) refused to accept a \$10.00 paid advertisement of the meeting. If they are sincere in their "support" the question may well be raised, where was this support? The ideological differences which divide us must never stand in the way of our "proletarian internationalism". When a "class war" or a "war of aggression" is raging we must take a class position irrespective of differences of opinion. This type of support can better be described as sabotage.

We will be showing these films again in the near future. If you are not now a subscriber to our paper, subscribe and keep informed, not only on the situation in Vietnam but on local and national issues.



# FOUL PLAY AT FORD

Canada's auto industry has always been affected, more than any of the other large enterprises, from the "boom and bust" operations of capitalist production. This situation has now been further aggravated by the policies of the Pearson government which is handing the giant U. S. monopolies in this field an annual gift of some \$50 million to carry out integration of auto production and so eliminate the jobs of thousands of Canadian workers. The anarchy of production has reached such proportions that, while thousands are unemployed, large numbers are working up to 70 hours per week and skilled tradesmen earning more than \$7.00 per hour on overtime work can often be seen sweeping floors.

Much of the unemployment which Canada's auto workers suffer from is being caused by the importation of parts and equipment from the industry's plants in other countries. The generosity of the liberal government has made it possible for the big auto manufacturers to concentrate production processes and also take advantage of low wage levels in some areas. An example of this policy can be seen in the Ford plant at Oakville and its repercussions in the Windsor tool room.

In the Oakville plant, welding frames used in assembly processes are being imported from the Ford plant in Mexico. In the Windsor tool room where these frames have previously been made and where they should now be made, unemployment has struck even harder than it has in other sections of the crisis-ridden industry.

From a high of 800 skilled tradesmen employed in 1952 - 56, the tool room work force has now dropped to a low of 200. In the same period, the total work force in Ford's production centres dropped from 12,000 to 4,500. In spite of the fact that unemployment is so severe in general production, it has managed to strike with even more devastating force among the most highly skilled of the workers. As can be seen from the figures, the drop in tool room employment is much more severe than in other areas. From this experience, it would seem that all the talk of plans for retraining the work force is designed to reduce the number of unemployed labourers and increase the supply of out-of-work tool makers.

The reason for this importation of welding frames is not due solely to the management desire to take advantage of lower wage rates. Mexican law demands an 80% Mexican content in auto production. The importation of equipment, therefore, besides being advantageous from the low wage viewpoint, helps Ford keep plants in production where they are forced by law to maintain a high level of employment. The question that arises is: if the 80% quota is good for Mexico, why not for Canada? Better still: why not 100% Canadian content and CANADIAN OWNERSHIP?

There is every indication that the tool room employment situation will get still worse in the near future. Integration is making it possible for the company to sharply reduce the number of production models designed in Canada. Whereas the tooling division used to tool up for 14 different models, they have been reduced to two this year and will go down to one model next year. The reduction to one model had been scheduled for this year but protests about unemployment caused the company to hold at two.

Production of 14 models meant, of course, 14 separate tooling programmes and a reduction to one

model means a single tooling programme for the entire production year. The devastating effect on employment of skilled tradesmen as a result of the introduction of this policy can easily be imagined.

There is good reason to believe that even this may not be the end. As automation of the tooling process develops, it can be expected that the tooling programme will be centred in a single location and the previously mentioned generosity of the liberal government makes it possible for the operation to be located in the U. S. and so wipe out the Canadian tooling division entirely. There is a foretaste of this already in evidence at Oakville.

An entire division was recently transferred from Canada to the U. S. and left a number of engineers and draughtsmen without employment. These men were not laid off immediately as such action would have made it abundantly clear that the reason for lay-off was the removal of the division. The company placed the affected personnel on jobs they were not familiar with and where they were not really needed in the obvious hope that the passage of time would obscure the real cause of job loss. Now the temporary jobs are coming to an end and the entire group is facing an early prospect of unemployment. It is expected that the newly-created unemployed will forget that their jobs were exported across the border and accept the tall tale that they are being discharged because their jobs have petered out.

The prospect in view for Fords (and the entire Canadian section of the industry) seems to be for the plants to be turned into assembly stations which will take advantage of lower Canadian wage levels for operations not yet scheduled for automation and requiring a relatively large amount of manual labour. Plans appear to be for the automated and computer-controlled sections of the industry to be located in the U. S. Canadian workers are to be cast in the role of ditch diggers and manual labourers waiting breathlessly to do the bidding of the more favoured master race.

Indications are that the integration policies that have led to the present deplorable conditions in auto industries will soon spread to other industries. Already U. S. monopoly interests in other areas of manufacturing are suggesting that they should receive equal treatment with the auto industry.

The bleak future which the U. S. monopolies (and their Canadian partners) have in mind for our people consists of the task of digging up and shipping our tremendous wealth of natural resources to feed U. S. based industries and harnessing the might of our rivers to supply cheap power to sustain the industrial giants of America. We are to be reduced to a situation not unlike that of the children of Israel making bricks to build pyramids for the Pharaohs.

If we are to prevent our country from being turned into a wasteland by the exploiting despoilers, labour must be roused to decisive political action for revolutionary objectives. The disinherited will have to rise and repossess the heritage of which they have been robbed. We will have to expell the alien who has robbed us of our birthright and drive into obscurity the traitors who have conspired with him and sold our nation's independence in return for personal gain.

The sooner we tackle the task, the easier it will be.





# TWO POEMS

by Rewi Alley

Born in 1897 in Canterbury, New Zealand, Rewi Alley has lived in China for 35 years. His last anthology of Chinese poems in English translation was "The People Sing", published in 1958. Before that, he published "The People Speak Out" (1954) and "Peace Through the Ages" earlier in the same year, selections for these being made from both historical and modern Chinese poetry. He is also the author of many books about China. The following poems are his own.

## Fighters for Peace

It was so nice, a bright day  
and we had a parade; people  
came out to welcome us; even  
the police were nice, smiling kindly, we  
had put the words "coexistence"  
in big letters on our jerseys  
and everyone had little blue flags  
with doves on them; our parson  
—withal somewhat warily—held  
a banner inscribed, "Total Disarmament."

Then we went home, waiting  
for world-shattering events  
to follow; to hear warmongers  
tremble in their shoes.  
In Venezuela, fighters for  
liberation, burnt out an expensive

enemy hideout; in Vietnam they  
brought down enemy helicopters  
arming themselves with guns from  
their oppressors; in Laos, simple  
folk of hill villages and jungle  
fight back at the old enemy they  
have fought for decades; in Africa  
the people arm, so that a whole  
continent is full of struggle; one  
leader succumbs to silver bullets,  
another arises; deep in the heart  
of monopoly territory school children  
brave the teeth of wolf hounds and  
the enemy backs down before these  
who fight for the peace they need.



## On Traitors

Traitor! They say;  
but who are the traitors  
in a world where words  
are slung like mud by  
the thoughtless?

Surely traitors are those  
who to increase their image,  
knowingly betray the real  
makers of wealth into the hands  
of thieving monopoly.

Traitors can fool  
the stupid ones who  
do not want to understand;  
scare the comfortable  
frightened ones who  
passively await a destiny  
others fashion for them;  
cringing around traitors  
are the arrogant, greedy ones  
who lust to dominate.

All these the enemy  
tabulates, appraises  
uses, discards, deceives  
at will; a leader out  
of step, and they  
shoot him down, ruthlessly,  
the one they most  
appreciate, he who is able  
to fool good simple folk  
with big words; do the dirty  
stab in the back for him.

So comes the need for care  
when you hear the great  
booming voice of counter-revolution  
pouring out slime on him  
who is loyal to the cause

of the common man of our  
one world; who fights for him  
daily in all he does; struggles  
with him careless of skin  
customs, habit.

Real traitors serve criminal  
monopoly which coolly steals  
raw material at a buyer's price  
dumps consumer goods at the sellers,  
ever contemptuous of those  
fleeced and deprived of the right  
to stand on their own feet; which  
employs the best paid advertisers  
with the most cunning, subtle  
approach... which conscripts  
soldiers from the ranks of  
working people, then with the blare  
of bugles, the roll of drums  
fluttering banners, fools them  
into dying or being maimed for  
profiteers, even as did  
the old opium merchants on  
the China coast who took  
the lives of redcoats and Chinese  
peasants, so that they might  
amass vast Tory fortunes; then too  
the Harrimans, the Hardings<sup>1</sup>  
and all the rest who stole  
ruthlessly leaving the stench  
of corpses in their wake.

Today there are few traitors  
amongst the hills and glens  
of fighting Vietnam, though  
traitor decadence lies heavily  
in many an East Asian  
night club; in swanky cars  
super streamlined hotels  
pretty resorts where the good  
folk who make barren hillsides  
produce more corn each year  
never go, nor will to go; whose  
struggle is clean and wholesome  
who will never be traitors  
to others of their kind.

