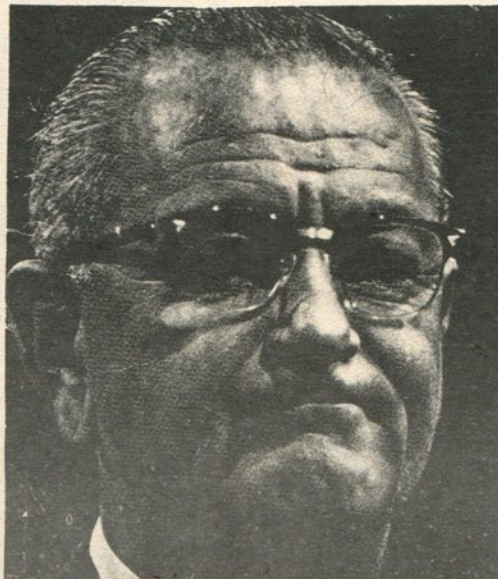


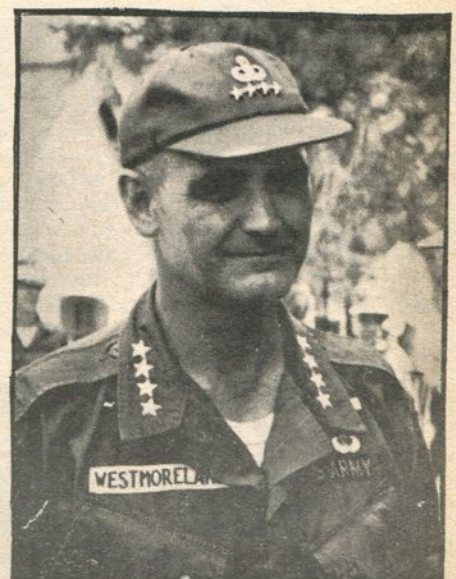
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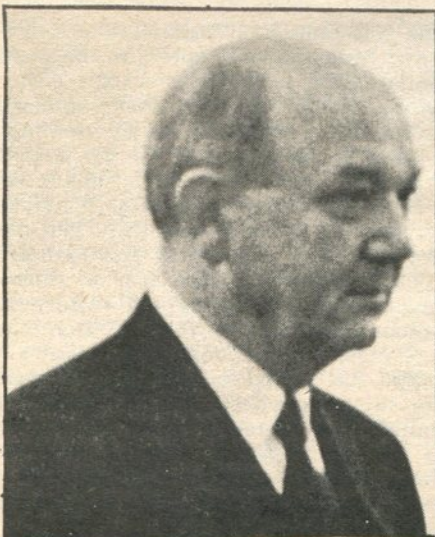
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When one reads Canadian history, it leaves the general impression of being very calm and on the whole quite "quaint." However one must consider from whose viewpoint is this history projected and why. Canada has another history; a more true and a more brutal one, one from which lessons can be drawn.

During the seventeenth century Newfoundland was being colonized by Britain. Newfoundland at this time was already inhabited by tall fair Indians who called themselves "Beothucks." They were a gentle and peaceful people, who at first welcomed the British as friends. Nevertheless, within a few years they were being hunted and shot as remorselessly as the wolves and caribou which roamed the interior barrens.

Alexander Bay, on Newfoundland's east coast, until recently was known as "Bloody Bay" because its waters once ran red with the blood of the Beothucks slain there by the British.

The Beothucks, who were never armed with any weapons deadlier than bows and arrows, were hunted first because they were considered a nuisance, and later for the sport of pursuing and killing such elusive game. A Beothuck came to be regarded as the finest "big game" prize the island of Newfoundland had to offer, and it was a common saying among the British that they would rather shoot an Indian than a caribou.

"Personal property" to Beothucks meant only clothes, firestones, and amulets. All other property was more or less public. So the Beothucks started "borrowing" gear from the British sailing vessels, just as they would borrow gear from another Indian camp. Thus the organized Beothuck hunts began. It wasn't long and the profit motive was introduced also by the British, for a raided Indian camp often yielded hundreds of caribou hides and other valuable furs. However, what started as a dispute over property soon turned into a bloody and cruel sport.

The British used to refer to the number of "head of Indian" they had killed, and the phrase "go look for Indians" became a sporting byword. Successful hunters cut notches on the butts of their guns to keep tally of the number of "head" they had killed. It was decided quite early in the game that a woman or a child counted equally with a man and deserved a full notch. It should be mentioned here also, that these hunters did not always use guns but just as often used axes. Some even had a record of killing 100 by themselves. None of these people who "hunted" the Beothucks were ever punished or even brought to trial for their part in this atrocity.

So far as is known, the Beothucks never molested any man who had not taken up arms against them first. And in the whole 200 years of their slow extermination by the British, they never harmed a white woman or child.

The story of the Newfoundland Indian-hunters is one of the most brutal and little-known chapters in the history of Canada. As stated previously, lessons can also be drawn from this story. In fact one can make somewhat of an analogy between what happened in Newfoundland 300 years ago and what is happening in the world today. Although today it is done on a much higher plane than 300 years ago. The British who were colonizing Newfoundland during the seventeenth century obviously had absolutely no regard for the people native to Newfoundland. The story of the Beothuck Indians can only be summed up by calling it mass murder. Throughout history this story is a very familiar one. Today in Vietnam, Dominican Republic, and the Congo, the U.S. imperialists also indulge in mass murder: the ruling class of the U.S. today has little regard for the people that they have colonized. The British imperialists, the French imperialists, the U.S. imperialists and in fact all imperialist nations that ever existed did not colonize countries for the interests of the people in those countries but for the interests of their imperialist class.

Now, the story of the Beothuck slaughter is not an exception to history but a rule: a rule one should not forget but seriously consider.

Education Committee P.W.M.

THE INJUNCTION BATTLE

For several years now, the trade union movement has been voicing vigorous objections to the use of injunctions against striking workers—and rightly so. The last convention of the CLC, prodded mainly by delegates from B.C., announced their readiness to fight the use of injunctions by means of some type of mass action. But the



... as you can see, the PUBLIC is pressing for tougher labour legislation.

leaders who shouted loudest about their willingness to go the limit, have proven in practice to be somewhat less heroic than vocal. The "fight" which was promised has proven to be no more than a bout of legal jousting in the law courts of the boss.

The use of injunctions, to cripple working-class action and facilitate the employers' ability to break strikes, has increased sharply in the last few years, especially in the last two or three rounds of contract negotiations. This has resulted in a widespread feeling of frustration and resentment amongst workers desperately trying to keep pace with the rapidly-rising cost of living, in a period when the monopolies are reaping fabulous profits. Union leaders, especially in the lower echelons, find it difficult to provide the kind of agreement the members expect them to come up with in a period of full employment and fat profits. Concerned about the insecurity of their own position in the face of growing resentment among the rank-and-file, these leaders become aggravated at the bosses who "fail to understand their problems" and, in a fit of anger, threaten them with all kinds of unpleasant consequences, if they do not co-operate. The trouble with this kind of activity is that the workers take it seriously and decide to make a fight of it, at which time the union leaders find themselves in a battle they neither wanted, nor expected, and suddenly are transformed from crowing fighting cocks into rather wet and bedraggled brooding hens caught in a thunderstorm.

Last winter at Oshawa, Ontario, workers took things into their own hands and formed a massive picket line of thousands around the struck plant of a newspaper. Injunctions were handed out, but rejected, and the workers demonstrated a stern determination to go to jail if necessary. The outcome of this fighting spirit and solid unity was that the strike was won, and no arrests were made or charges laid. A few months later, a like situation developed at Peterborough, Ontario, but here, after 20 some odd injunctions were handed out, the leadership elected to fight in the courts on the legal technicalities, and disbanded the picket line. The result: Months later, the plant is operating at capacity with strike-breakers, and several trade unionists have gone to jail for "contempt," while others paid fines on the same charge.

In British Columbia, the trade union movement has had a wealth of experience in the use of injunctions against strikes because of their recurrent and widespread use under the anti-labour Social Credit regime of W. A. C. Bennett. Two of the more memorable events were the Northland Navigation strike, where mass picket action prevented injunctions from being effective as a strike-breaking weapon, and the strike was won. In Allied Engineering also, mass action proved effective. While it is true that two workers were arrested and served jail sentences, it is notable that it was not the injunction laws that were used in the case.

The entire history of the struggle, and not of these few cited cases alone, shows that mass action by the workers can defeat the strike-breaking intent of injunctions; but where mass action is absent, the trade unions inevitably suffer a setback. This is an obvious lesson, but one which bureaucratic officials recoil from in horror, because it requires mass mobilization of the rank-and-file for militant action, and who knows what might develop when workers get together and realize a feeling of unconquerable power in their organized strength and action. Better by far, opine the officials, to make concessions to the employer than suffer the perils of a militant rank-and-file clamouring for action. Thus we see union officials, who were but yesterday waving the banner of revolt, now in a spineless and cowardly retreat that has all the appearances of an utter rout.

When ten officials of the Longshoremen's Union appeared in court on contempt charges, they gave the movement a fighting lead which, if followed up, could well have broken the back of the injunctions fight. These longshoremen refused to be embroiled in a debate over legalities, or try to win on the basis of resorting to arguments on technicalities, which is what happens when the fight is moved from the picket line into court and given over to the far-from-tender mercies of legal beagles. What the longshoremen did, in effect, was move the picket line into court with them, thus rejecting lawyers and legal arguments, and that is what must be done if the decision to fight is really taken seriously. Subsequent to their arrest and appearance in court, these longshoremen made a statement on their union's attitude toward injunctions. The most relevant and strongest sections we quote here:

"We were, and are, convinced that our basic rights in a free country were being usurped by the employers' position, so flagrantly, that we had no alternative but to ignore it.

"It may be said that we could have attended the Court on May 19th to give these reasons. If we had, we would have been recognizing that the Employers had a right to ask for these mandatory orders, to club us into submission with injunctions.

"The employers' use of the injunctions in labor disputes has brought us to a stage of frustration. Many times when we attempt to protect our agreements, to protect our jobs, our very livelihood, the employers seek to beat us down with injunctions.

"The cost of fighting such action in the courts is pro-

hibitive. We have a case in progress now—the Squamish case—which has cost us \$12,000 in legal fees to date. It is being appealed. The cost of the appeal, if taken to the Supreme Court of Canada will cost us another forty or fifty thousand dollars, besides the salaries of our officers and others who must be involved in the processing of such action. Five injunctions a year could cost our membership up to \$400,000 a year. This is almost as much money as is going into the Union-Employer Welfare Fund for the purpose of medical, sick benefit and insurance coverage for our people.

"An employer, by use of the injunction, can keep the union constantly in the courts and diverted from its main function . . .

"We cannot, and will not allow ourselves to be bullied by the employers into doing something which will take away the rights of the membership we represent.

"If we did allow ourselves to be bullied in this way we would be failing in our responsibility to our membership and be guilty of cowardice.

"Injunctions have frustrated our union. We feel that in order to protect ourselves, we must reluctantly engage in civil disobedience."

Note that the longshore officials stated firmly that voluntary appearance in court would have had the effect of recognizing the right of the employer to ask for, and obtain, mandatory orders with which to club the unions into submission. This act of non-co-operation was carried to its ultimate, and logical, conclusion when the accused refused to pay fines and elected to go to jail.

But alas, the courageous and correct action of a few officials was all to go for naught. The jail doors had scarcely swung shut behind them before their militant stand was betrayed by lesser figures who remained free. When the convicted went to jail, workers were waiting expectantly for longshore leaders to call day-long meetings and organize slow-down tactics on the dock in protest against the convictions and jailings. But not even an evening meeting was called, and just recently the local newspapers were boasting that ship loadings were going forward at a record pace.

The fighting tactic of the longshoremen was further undermined by the somewhat less heroic officials of the Vancouver Labour Council and B.C. Federation of Labour in their entanglement with the law, following the Lenkurt Electric fiasco. Confronted with the militant stand of the longshore officials, and the correctness of their statement that embroilment in legal technicalities over injunctions is not only costly, but also means conceding the employers' right to obtain injunctions, a decision should have been taken to dismiss the lawyers and take the same firm stand that the law is designed specifically to aid the employer in strike-breaking, and labour has no intention of co-operating in the destruction of its own organizations by obeying anti-labour laws. But those involved were incapable of responding to the challenge—there are no golf courses in prison. The payment of the fines levied against the longshoremen, and the securing of their release, we can only view as an insult to those courageous enough to refuse to capitulate, and a desperate attempt to cover up their own miserable cowardice.

Where now are all the fiery and eloquent speech-makers who were going to bring down governments before they would stand for a continuation of the injunctions situation? Where now is the mass action, the strikes, and the demonstrations these golfing heroes were going to lead? In the event, it has proven much easier to be a militant and radical in the well-appointed, comfortable sanctuary of a Winnipeg conference room than on a Vancouver picket line, and the ersatz courage of the tin-pot heroes has proven, in the heat of battle, to be no more substantial than were the snows of Winnipeg under the heat of a spring sunshine. A leading advocate of the militant course of action was one of the first to retreat under fire, and made his treachery complete by his acceptance of a well-paid commission to lead the fight to defeat the attempts of Canadian workers to establish an independent Canadian union. For Yankee gold, he will labour hard

to keep the chains of foreign domination on Canadian workers.

The main outward manifestation of the injunctions question is a display of irritation and frustration, as well as a sometimes fiery show of righteous indignation, on the part of bureaucratic union officials. These people are irritated at the fact that the employers do not show more understanding of the problems they face in trying to "keep labour in line." Obviously, if these so-called leaders are unable to produce any sizeable gains for the workers in a time of relatively high employment, increased production, and fabulous profits, then the whole matter of their alleged indispensability to labour is brought into question, and workers will arrive at the inescapable conclusion that others can do as effective a job of administering the unions—and may well do better. So, the bureaucrat officials have their own vested interests to defend, and in this defence, are caught between the devil of employer reaction, and the deep blue sea of worker militancy. This situation is mainly true of officials at the local and district level. Further up the scale, officialdom becomes more remote from the membership, closer to the class interests of the employer and, therefore, less susceptible to pressure from the ranks. The end result is a growth of resentment on the part of some local officials against the upper echelon hierarchy which they often accuse, with justice, of being inattentive to, and unappreciative of, local leadership difficulties. By and large, it is this relationship that causes local elected officials like Art O'Keefe of the IBEW to progress from a defender of international bureaucracy to a leader in the Lenkurt strike in defiance of orders from top officials.

The difference between bureaucrat and worker in the labour movement in regard to social rating and treatment—and its morale-sapping effect—is nowhere more glowing in its manifestation than in the court cases arising out of the strike at Lenkurt Electric. For some weeks both sat side by side in court with the union officials who continued to draw full salary, while the Lenkurt worker received a mere pittance, and others forced to take time off from work got no monetary compensation and had to stand he financial drain themselves. This social difference was ultimately solved by means of an unprincipled concession to the court. In the fight to defend labour rights, all must come into the struggle on the basis of equality of treatment and of sacrifice. The entire movement must be mobilized, each carrying a share of the load, whether payment is made in terms of serving a jail sentence, or in making the necessary financial contribution to ensure a minimum of support to all alike, and equally. Anyone who balks at this, just is not interested in putting up any serious defence of the freedom and integrity of the unions.

Contrary to the propaganda being spread by the bureaucrat and social-democratic-oriented Pacific Tribune, the employers have no serious intention of destroying the entrenched officialdom or the unions on whose backs they ride. The movement, in its present state of weakness and disarray, is no threat to the fundamental interests of the ruling class, whereas anything that took its place might well prove to pose such a threat. The employers have done two things: cracked the whip, to remind the officials who is boss, and probed for, and found, weakness to be put to use when the crisis sharpens. It is these obvious weaknesses in policy, and leadership and policy, that must concern the trade union militant.

In the short time that is left us before the devastating effects of the crisis of the world system of capitalism engulfs us, we must prepare our organizations so they will become the effective weapons we need. Our need is for a class policy that puts an end to the present situation, in which the unions support the maintenance and stability of the capitalist system, and of identifying labour's interests with those of the welfare of capitalism. Trade union militants must fight more sharply and more consistently for a class break with capitalism and the creation of a leadership capable of giving it leadership. Failure to fulfill this task could spell disaster (even if only temporarily) for the labour movement and for the nation.

VIET NAM-ESCALATED U.S. AGGRESSION

A SERIOUS STEP

The bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong by planes of the U.S. Tactical Air Command is a new and most serious step of escalation of the war in Vietnam, a further deliberately planned and unprovoked act of aggression on the part of the U.S. imperialists against the peoples of the world. This latest act represents a further trampling on the sovereignty and independence of the Vietnamese people and a brazen sabotage of the 1954 Geneva Agreement for the solution of the Vietnam conflict. The aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism has been further unmasked and the "peaceful negotiations" smokescreen of the bloody-handed Johnson gang is once again exposed for the hoax that it is.

This most recent criminal act is a desperate gamble to "force North Vietnam to the conference table." U.S. spokesmen themselves confess that the raids are essentially adventurous measures to save themselves from defeat and annihilation in South Vietnam. They stand fully exposed before the world for the gangsters they are. The bombing raids will fail of their purpose: the imperialists cannot escape their inevitable defeat. This point was clearly made in an article in the Hanoi journal, "Nhan Dan," which read in part:

"The Vietnamese people once again warn the U.S. aggressors that you can never attain your purpose. Even if you are going to carry on the war of aggression for decades, the Vietnamese people are determined to continue the fight until their final victory."

The article went on to state that since it was clear that the U.S. aggressors were bent on stepping up the war, the Vietnamese were determined to defeat them by means of war.

The air raids of Hanoi and Haiphong are actions of desperation and frustration growing out of the undeniable fact that the imperialists are quite unable to attain their objectives. On the contrary, they have been suffering the most serious and humiliating military and political defeats. Viewed in this context, the bombing is not a demonstration of superior strength, but of weakness. If, in 12 years, they failed miserably in their attempts to subdue and break the spirit of the ill-armed workers and peasants of South Vietnam, they will certainly not succeed in achieving it by enlarging the scope of the conflict and drawing additional millions into active anti-imperialist struggle. To quote from China's "Liberation Army Daily":

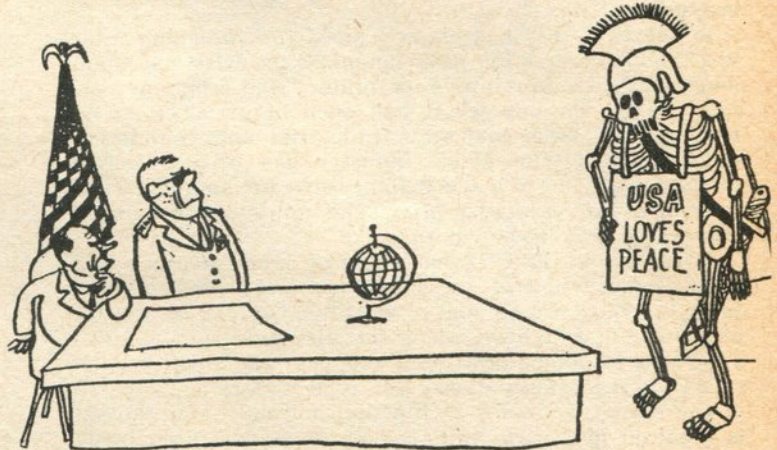
"The U.S. aggressor is the biggest scoundrel, swindler and gambler of our time. The massive air strikes on Hanoi and Haiphong do not show that imperialism is strong. They are a clear sign that under the hammering blows of the heroic Vietnamese people, it is in dire straits and engulfed by mounting difficulties both at home and abroad. This is another exposure of the paper tiger nature of imperialism."

This most recent series of bombings of the civilian population on the territory of a peaceful people is one more crime to enter in the ledger of criminal acts to be charged to the account of the Johnson clique and the U.S. ruling class. They will not be permitted to escape responsibility and the payment of just retribution for their crimes against the peoples of Vietnam and of the whole world. The just penalty that will be handed out to these depraved murderers will be even more certain, swift and devastating than that dealt out to the Nazi war criminals who stood before the international tribunal at Nuremberg. The war crimes of the U.S. ruling class equal, if they do not surpass, those of the Hitlerite Nazis in Europe. Genocide in Asia is as monstrous a crime against humanity as is genocide in Europe and the incineration of entire villages is no more palatable by virtue of the fact that it takes place in wide open spaces with napalm as the fuel instead of in the gas ovens of an Auschwitz, Belsen, or Buchenwald. Under the stars and stripes lies, not too cleverly hidden, the crooked cross of fascist murderers.

No one can claim, as many at Nuremberg claimed, "We didn't know!" The whole world has full knowledge of the foul and monstrous crimes of the U.S. imperialist brigands in Vietnam, and those who fail to speak out in vigorous protest at the outrageous performance of the bandits will share responsibility for the crimes committed by the aggressor.

TERROR RAIDS, MORALE AND PRODUCTION

U.S. military spokesmen are desperately grasping at straws in an attempt to boost the sagging morale of their own forces and that of their allies and puppet troops. It



Ruls in Siemre, Mexico City

"Nobody believes me, Mr. Johnson."

is for this reason that they mount an intensive propaganda campaign in an effort to convince the wavering and unwary that mass terror bombing of civilian areas will break the morale of the people and undermine their determination and ability to continue to offer effective resistance to the aggressor. They announce tremendous victories in securing the destruction of a large percentage of productive capacity and important transportation routes. These claims are empty boasts—a form of whistling in the dark.

As long ago as World War II, it was a well-known fact that mass-bombing raids consistently fell far short of what the strategic air command had hoped for, and even more short of the grandiose claims for their effectiveness. London, Leningrad and Moscow were all raided daily by mass flights of heavy bombers, but morale and the determination to resist was strengthened, and production at no time fell drastically, and at times even increased. What was true of World War II is true also of Vietnam, as past events have clearly demonstrated.

Long years of terror bombing has not resulted in the U.S. imperialists being able to conquer the people of South Vietnam, nor has it impaired production. On the contrary, agriculture has improved, so that local food production has greatly increased, and a local industry that is supplying a large part of the areas' needs has been established and rapidly expanded, even as the bombs, napalm and poisons were raining down. Morale has not been impaired at all, and the people are more solidly united than ever before. The Liberation Army has grown in both numbers and experience, engaging not only in small guerrilla activities, but are scoring successes also in large-scale battles. The area under control of the National Front of Liberation has expanded from small and unconnected regions, until it now covers 80 per cent of the territory and 75 per cent of the population of South Vietnam. Even in Saigon itself, there are districts under control of Liberation forces.

The bombing raids carried out against the territory

of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) over the past year have proven just as ineffective as they have in the South. In an interview given to Australian journalist Wilfred Burchett, DRV Defence Minister Vo Nguyen Giap made this point abundantly clear:

"In their attacks, the Americans aimed at breaking the morale of our people, at destroying our military and economic potential, and thus changing the situation in South Vietnam in their favour . . . The Americans, however, have not achieved their goals. The Pentagon has been forced to admit that it is dealing with an adversary that shows no sign of weakness. The construction of socialism continues. We had a marvelous harvest this year. The railroads are still running; prices have not increased. Our military and economic potential has increased, not decreased."

In the time that has elapsed since the foregoing interview was recorded, the government of the DRV has taken additional steps to improve its military and economic position against the day when just such occurrences as the bombing of Hanoi and other industrial and commercial centres would take place. Industry has been dispersed in such a way as to make it impossible for bombing raids to deliver any crippling blow. The unity and morale of the people was never more solid.

Workers in the DRV have become expert at the repair and reconstruction of transportation and communication facilities which are so vital in wartime. On a single stretch of railway and highway along the Vietnam coastline, over 2,000 tons of bombs have been dropped, and small bridges attacked 20 or more times. But road and railway traffic in the region continues to function normally and damage is repaired in record time. Stocks of standardized structural parts are maintained on site, and battle-hardened workers move into action on repairs even as the last of the bombs are still falling. According to available reports, not only have the raids not managed to put existing roads and rail systems out of action, but a whole new network has been constructed.

The imperialist aggressors have not succeeded in preventing the people of Vietnam from mounting offensives and administering defeats to United States troops and their puppets—nor will the latest criminal raids on Hanoi and Haiphong make any appreciable difference to the ability of the people to fight back.

THE SAIGON DUNGHEAP

Saigon, the very heart and administrative centre of the small piece of territory precariously occupied by U.S. forces, is a stink-hole of corruption, where every U.S. soldier has his own private "deal." Prostitution, traffic in dope, and all forms of decadence common to a social order in the process of decaying, are openly practised in this seat of bourgeois democracy. Armed representatives of the "American way of life" are doing their utmost to turn Saigon into a gigantic brothel and saloon. Whole truck-loads of goods disappear from the open streets only to turn up later on the black market, and one group of dealers are known to specialize in the sale of brand-new U.S. army uniforms.

Jailings, tortures and physical destruction of the person are common every-day practices indulged in by the "glorious defenders of the Free World." Nevertheless, opposition intensifies and daily becomes more formidable. The U.S. base, never large, grows smaller by the hour, and only by the most brutal methods of oppression are they able to maintain a minimum show of control. All the power and wealth of imperialist America cannot produce even the faintest shadow of unity or the shadow of what might pass for morale.

The loudly hailed "elections" for a Constituent Assembly are being recognized as the greatest farce of the age, and U.S. propagandists are unable to discover in it anything of value to use in their attempts to win friends and influence people. The puppet regime of Cao Ky is enforcing rules that ensure the perpetuation of the military dictatorship. Ky has the right to make recommendations to the Assembly, and these have the effect of constitutional authority unless voted down by a full two-thirds of the

delegates. The U.S. puppets, therefore, need only to have one-third of the delegates in order to ensure complete control of the Assembly. Armed terror over the population, full control of the electoral machinery, open corruption, mass imprisonment of oppositionists and, if all this should still fail to produce a ready-made majority, constitutional right to control the assembly with a minority of one-third of the delegates who manage to get through the screening process.

But recent events that have occurred in the U.S. "strong points" of Saigon, Da Nang and Hue are proof of the fact that even here U.S. authority is about to be obliterated. If the U.S. is unable to impress the people in the occupied territory with all their wealth and power, it is obvious that long-range air raids will not prove any more effective in achieving that end.

WORLD PROTEST

Under the impact of the ruthless bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong, world protests of the peoples against the criminal activities of U.S. imperialists in Vietnam are growing larger and more militant. The anti-imperialist struggle is taking on new strength.

In Japan thousands of workers, peasants and students have been demonstrating against the complicity of the Japanese government in allowing the U.S. to use the nation as a base for aggression. Dean Rusk, leading spokesman for the U.S. ruling class and one of the architects of their aggressive policy, on a visit to Japan was greeted by large, militant demonstrations of protest.

French government spokesmen have spoken out forcefully against the criminal actions of the U.S. militarists and mass demonstrations of protest are taking place. In Bucharest tens of thousands demonstrated at the U.S. embassy, burned the U.S. flag, and scaled the locked gates to deliver a resolution of protest. In every country of the world, not excluding the United States itself, the protest movement embraced large masses of people incensed at this latest U.S. act of aggression.

On July 3, the government of the People's Republic of China issued a statement strongly condemning U.S. imperialism's continued brazen acts of aggression against Vietnam. "The Chinese government and people," reads the statement, "express their boundless indignation at, and their strongest condemnation of, this barbarous, wanton and criminal act." The statement goes on to point out that, having extended the flames of war to the capital of the DRV, the U.S. aggressors have raised the war to a "new and still graver stage." And further, that "Johnson's order to bomb Hanoi reflects the predicament of U.S. imperialism, beset as it is with internal and external difficulties, and is the desperate act of a cornered beast."

The government statement calls to mind the fact that the U.S. long ago completely violated the Geneva agreements, and has now further violated them by the bombing of Hanoi. These acts of the United States have now caused to be removed all restrictions hitherto binding signatories to the agreements, and the U.S. must now decide how the war should be fought next. "Since the U.S. imperialists have come from the sky and the sea, why can't others fight back on the ground?"

In its concluding paragraphs, the statement made absolutely clear once again the decision of the Chinese government and people in respect to their support for the people of Vietnam: "China has consistently and unreservedly done its utmost to support and aid Vietnam politically, morally and materially, and in other fields. The development by U.S. imperialism of its war of aggression to a new and still graver stage has now further freed us from any bounds or restrictions in rendering such support and aid. In accordance with the interests and demands of the Vietnamese people, we will at any time take such actions as we deem necessary. This is our unshirkable proletarian internationalist duty."

"... China is prepared and once war breaks out, it will have no boundaries. We must tell the U.S. imperialists in all seriousness: wherever you extend the war, and however heavy the price, we will unswervingly support the fraternal Vietnamese people in fighting through to the

end, till they thoroughly and completely drive the U.S. aggressors out of Vietnam and win final victory. U.S. imperialism is sure to be defeated! The Vietnamese people are sure to win!"

U.S. PROTESTS

The United States itself, the very heartland of imperialism, is by no means immune to the massive demonstrations encircling the globe. Reports of drafted soldiers

REVISIONISTS IN THE SERVICE OF IMPELIALISM

In every crisis, revisionists come forward to aid in shoring up the tottering imperialist system. Bernstein, Kautsky and Browder in their time all entered the service of imperialism in time of crisis, spreading defeatist bourgeois ideology in the people's forces. In the present world crisis of the imperialist system, the Khrushchevist modern revisionists, with the CPSU in the lead, are especially



"When the new Nuremburg trials begin some day, we don't want to be among the defendants. This war is illegal, immoral and unjust. Unlike Eichmann, we are not 'just following orders'."

Guardain photo by Robert Joyce

FOUR SOLDIERS READY TO DISOBEY ARMY ORDERS TO EMBARK FOR WAR DUTY IN VIETNAM

From left to right: Privates David Samas, Joel Turtel, James Johnson and Dennis Mora

refusing to serve in Vietnam are on the increase, despite the fact that long jail sentences have been handed out to those protesting in this manner. The students and working youth who are most affected by the consequences of the war are particularly militant in their protests.

Negro and Puerto Rican peoples who are involved in struggles for civil rights and national liberation, and against the most vicious forms of racial discrimination, play a very active part in the anti-war, anti-imperialist movement in the U.S. Two Negro organizations active in the civil rights movement, the Congress for Racial Equality, and Student Non-Violent Co-ordination Committee, recently called on American Negroes to refuse to serve in the "dirty war." It has been conservatively estimated that Negroes, who constitute 11 per cent of the U.S. population, account for 18 per cent of the forces serving in Vietnam. The United States draft laws are so designed as to ensure that it will be Negroes, Puerto Ricans and poor whites who will provide the bulk of the troops needed for war. An expression often heard now in the streets of U.S. cities is the one, "This is a rich man's war, but the poor are the ones who are fighting and dying." These are the ones being dragooned into service in a war that is not theirs, and they are beginning to rise in mass opposition to it.

Government officials, including President Johnson himself, wherever they go, are greeted with masses of protesting and angry demonstrators. There is no corner of the nation to which these gentlemen can flee to escape the rapidly increasing crescendo of protest. These movements of protest are sure to grow, and will undoubtedly bring down to defeat the Johnson war machine.

fervent in their collusion with, and defence of, aggressive U.S. imperialism. The modern revisionists set up a noisy clamour about "unity against imperialism," but in fact unite WITH the imperialists: They threaten nuclear destruction if their line of "peaceful co-existence" with imperialism is rejected, and assiduously promote the Johnson "peace hoax" and "unconditional negotiations." Even now, the leaders of the CPSU are preparing to extend a warm welcome to Harold Wilson, foremost Social Democratic supporter of U.S. war aims, who is travelling to Moscow on a special trip to consult with the revisionists on the best way to delude the people into accepting proposals that will give the aggressors what they cannot win on the field of battle.

The collusion of the revisionists has made it possible for the U.S. to remove armed forces from Europe and direct them to Vietnam. A New York Times article of June 26 reported that U.S. army strength in Europe was being drained off at a much more rapid rate than had previously been officially conceded. Reductions were particularly high in those units whose personnel, skills and equipment were vital to the prosecution of the war in Vietnam. Some detachments, notably aviation units, were operating at less than 50 per cent of strength, and one officer stated that while pilots were being transferred to Vietnam at a rapid rate, not a single replacement had been received in over a year.

The United States is only able to remove trained forces from Europe, because the Soviet revisionists are following a conciliationist and collusionist policy in relation to U.S. imperialism, and are assuring them that the status quo will not be threatened while the aggressors pursue

their aims in Vietnam. At a Geneva peace conference, the representative of the USSR assured the U.S. delegate that U.S. aggression in Vietnam would not affect the decision of the USSR to reach agreement with them.

Speaking for the government Paul Martin, minister of foreign affairs, declared that, while he "regretted" the bombing of Hanoi, the Canadian government supported U.S. objectives in Vietnam. This clearly meant that the government of which Mr. Martin is a member was in full agreement with U.S. aggression in Vietnam. Yet, at a banquet tendered to this same foreign minister at the Rideau Club in Ottawa, Mr. Dmitry Polyansky, vice-premier of the USSR, according to a report in the Soviet News Bulletin of the USSR Embassy in Canada, stated: "... there is nothing that could hinder the development of friendly relations between our two countries. On the contrary, there are many things that draw us together... **The state interests of the USSR and Canada do not collide anywhere...** There have broader contacts between statesmen and politicians of the Soviet Union and Canada. There has taken shape the rather good practice of discussing certain international problems through exchanges of messages. We proceed from the fact that such co-operation between the USSR and Canada would not only meet the interests of the Soviet and Canadian people, it would also help the cause of achieving an international detente and consolidating world peace... We want all issues between states to be resolved **only through negotiation**, not by war... see to it that foreign interference in Vietnam be halted... in our profound conviction there exist no new fields in international relations where the USSR and Canada could fruitfully co-operate to the good of peace and to the benefit of all peoples."

The whole tone and impression of this address is that there is full agreement between Canada and the USSR on all important questions, and since the Canadian government admittedly supports U.S. objectives and works tirelessly to promote the Johnson "peace hoax," it follows the USSR must have the same policy, and this is further underlined in the statement that all issues (Vietnam?) must be resolved "only through negotiation." While the Vice-Premier touched lightly on some vague evidence of "foreign intervention," he nowhere condemned U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam.

Of interest also is the reference to discussing international problems through exchanges of messages, for on June 29 Marshal Wright, U.S. State Department spokesman, said in a press statement that the United States had "informed key interested governments" of the decision to bomb Hanoi and Haiphong, and that the Soviet Union was one such "key interested government." It is also significant that Bucharest, Romania was the only point in Eastern Europe where it was reported protest demonstrations against the bombing had taken place.

This is the kind of policy around which the CPSU calls on us to unite. A policy of TALKING anti-imperialism but in fact colluding with imperialism. A policy of pretending to criticize the aggressor, but in fact facilitating his aggression and making possible the strengthening of his forces at critical points. Such a policy can only result in strengthening the imperialist aggressor and weakening the anti-imperialist front of the people. Appeals for unity on this basis are fake appeals designed for the purpose of deceiving the people. In order to offer effective resistance to imperialism and render all possible aid to Vietnam, one must fight the deception and treachery of the revisionists with the CPSU as their centre.

CANADA'S ROLE

Canada, a signatory of the Geneva agreements, has a special responsibility as a member of the International Control Commission set up to check on the implementation of the terms of the agreement. In discharging her responsibilities, Canada has played a part that is considerably short of glorious, and one that is, in fact, in direct contradiction to the duty assumed as a member of the ICC.

—The Geneva Agreement divided Vietnam at the 17th parallel as a TEMPORARY measure. Canada, in

response to the needs of the aggressor, has declared it a PERMANENT division.

—The build-up of U.S. forces and their interference in the internal affairs of Vietnam are in direct defiance of the terms of the agreement; yet, Canada accuses the Vietnamese people of aggression in their own land, and supports U.S. aims there.

—Certain planes and weapons are expressly forbidden by the Geneva Agreements, not to speak of the use of chemicals and poison gas, which Canada is committed to oppose, in protocols signed more than 40 years ago, plus the crimes of genocide and torture practised by U.S. forces and their puppets, actions which are expressly condemned in the Nuremberg decisions.

—The bombing of targets in the DRV are further acts of open, flagrant aggression which Canada merely "regrets," but does not condemn. The shelling of the territory of Laos was an occurrence of similar criminal character, but one which Canadian representatives on the ICC cannot see happening, even though the criminal has at last been forced to admit his crime.

—Canada is directly involved in this aggression to the extent that we, in exchange for the profits paid in blood-money, are supplying vast quantities of the material needed to provide U.S. requirements to prosecute aggression in Vietnam.

—Conservative estimates place opposition in Canada to U.S. aggression at 34 per cent of the population. No one questions the fact that this figure has risen sharply with the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong, and many of those who previously stood neutral, now oppose the war. Only a tiny minority, those who stand to reap huge profits, actually support the war, and it is on behalf of this group that the Pearson government speaks and acts when they announce "support for U.S. objectives in Vietnam." We must take action to see that this situation changes by entering more actively into the anti-imperialist struggle. This course is in the interests not only of Vietnam, but of Canada also, which is equally dominated by U.S. imperialism.

—Demonstrate, by all possible means, opposition to U.S. aggression in Vietnam, and demand a reversal of Canada's shameful role, and a fulfillment of our obligations and responsibilities as a member of the ICC.

—Demand that the Canadian government condemn U.S. aggression, and call for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops.

—Put an end to our complicity by halting shipment of materials that aid the U.S. in prosecuting the war.

—Give all possible aid to the people of Vietnam in the resistance to U.S. aggression.

—Let the organized labour movement declare its intention to refuse to work on contracts for supplies designed for use in the Vietnam war—including even the Green Berets worn by the special forces, which are manufactured in Canada.

The criminal acts of the U.S. aggressor are sharpening the world crisis and bringing us closer to all-out war. This aggression must be halted NOW in Vietnam by compelling the aggressor to withdraw and leave the people of Vietnam to solve their own internal problems. This is a gigantic task which requires all the active support and energy of our people. We must pass from passive to active opposition, so we can make that opposition felt in a practical way. NOW is the time to act. Let Canada voice the unequivocal demand U.S. aggressors get out of Vietnam!

WE WILL WIN

The statement of the government and people of the People's Republic of China on the criminal act of the aggressor in bombing Hanoi and Haiphong sharply underlined the fact that if the U.S. imperialists intend to launch a full-scale war, they better realize the fighting will know no boundaries. There are many complacent and self-satisfied people on this continent who look on war as a remote and romantic, as well as profitable, adventure, and they would be well advised to pause and give serious consideration to what this part of the statement could mean to them.

The United States ruling class built their wealth and power on the blood and agony of two world wars. Both of these wars they entered when the outcome was already no longer in doubt, and then, only, to have a seat at the conference table and to protect their winnings in the sweepstakes of war. United States monopoly corporations expanded on the basis of fat war contracts, the seizure of world markets which had belonged to their hard-pressed "allies," and the supply of goods and equipment for the war-devastated nations after the conflict had ended. The wealth accumulated by United States enterprise is soaked in the blood of millions. In these conflicts nothing but profits and more profits fell to the lot of the U.S. ruling class. No shots were fired on American soil, no destruction was wrought as a result of war, and none of the dirt and misery of war was seen by U.S. citizens, who suffered largely under the illusion that war was not so unpleasant, and certainly profitable. Only those who were

directly engaged realized the full truth.

But the situation is much different now. If the U.S. aggressors decide to widen the scope of conflict, they will soon realize that imperialism's home base is not immune to attack. There exists now in the Americas a great and growing people's army of national liberation which extends into the U.S. itself, particularly among the Negro people, and this army, in the event of war, will certainly strike at the very heart of the imperialist aggressor. We warn the U.S. war-makers, grown fat and complacent in more than a century, during which their territory has been free from armed action, and they grew rich on war, that the U.S. will by no means be free from conflict if it should be their decision to begin a general conflict. Canadian workers, too, have some accounts to settle with the U.S. imperialists. The aggressor can, and well might, start a war, but the people will end it—and will win it.

U.S. CRIMES IN VIET NAM

In eleven years of aggression against Vietnam, the U.S. war criminals accumulated a massive list of crimes against humanity, and these are being entered to their account against the day when they shall be summoned to the bar of people's justice and retribution exacted for all the misery and suffering they have inflicted on the people. We present here a partial list of the crimes committed.

To the end of December 1965, 150,000 persons poisoned by chemicals and combat gases in South Vietnam. This branch under the command of U.S. specialists stationed at special headquarters at Kanawaga, Japan.

From June to December 1965, 118 bombing raids against populated areas in South Vietnam. About 500 tons of bombs per raid.

Bombardment of civilian population by ships of the U.S. Seventh Fleet.

Hundreds arrested, brutally tortured, and executed for taking part in peaceful demonstrations protesting the presence of U.S. troops on the territory of Vietnam.

More than 170,000 have been slaughtered; 400,000 are held without trial in over 1,000 prisons; 800,000 invalidated

and crippled owing to tortures and bombings. Millions herded into concentration camps disguised as "strategic villages," "agro towns," "prosperity zones," etc.

In North Vietnam, hundreds of schools, hospitals and sanatoria have been indiscriminately bombed—some as many as 14 times. From August 1964 to November 1965 alone, over 120 schools of all grades were bombed.

Hydraulic and irrigation works vital to the welfare of the people have been bombed many times. Vietnam Pictorial had the following to say on this list of criminal acts:

"Should the bloody hands of Hitler's counterparts not be stayed in time, they would certainly intensify their criminal activities and resort to new means of destruction because they use Vietnam as a ground on which to test their methods of war against freedom and peace-loving people in the world.

"We are deeply convinced that with our own unity and struggle and the vigorous and effective sympathy, support and assistance of the peace-and-justice-loving countries and peoples of the whole world, we will defeat the U.S. war of aggression and win complete victory.

x x x

On July 10, 1964, Canada's finance minister seized advantage of a lull in the debate on a flag design for Canada to secure parliamentary approval for the financial arrangements covering cost of construction of dams on the Columbia River. These arrangements have resulted not only in Canada giving the U.S. monopolies control over the vast power potential on the Columbia, but actually saddled the Canadian people with the responsibility of subsidizing the cost of controlling the flow of the Columbia water to the tune of millions of dollars annually for the next 30 years.

The name of the finance minister who wrapped up this bountiful gift for Uncle Sam was Walter Gordon—the same Walter Gordon who now masquerades as a "left-wing" Liberal and loudly declaims on Canadian independence. Perhaps the Hon. Walter could be induced to take time out to explain to Canada just what contribution he considers the Columbia River deal made to the independence of the nation?

Meanwhile, back on Bennett's ranch in British Columbia, there is little hope that the highest home electric rates in Canada will be reduced, and they may even have to go up to pay the difference between cost of construction and what the U.S. is paying us to build the Columbia River dams. This is also the key to understanding why Bennett is so concerned about keeping down wages and working conditions on both the Peace and Columbia proj-

ects. British Columbia workers are being asked to subsidize United States power supply by accepting low wages and sub-standard working conditions; although Bennett will not state it in exactly those terms.

Behind this queer-look deal one can catch a glimpse of the destiny the U.S. and Canadian monopolists are planning for British Columbia. A huge dam for the generation of power and storage of fresh water which is now in drastically short supply in the United States. A source of vast supplies of minerals, raw materials and forest products to feed the manufacturing industries of the United States. Western Canadians are being slated for the menial tasks of digging up the ore and cutting down the timber and shipping them to the U.S. Bennett's bubble is about to burst and leave us holding nothing but a handful of wet suds. Already firms such as H. R. MacMillan are exporting large chunks of capital for investment in U.S. and other markets that appear more lucrative than does British Columbia's future. If the present trend in the economy is not quickly changed, Canada will celebrate a century of confederation as a U.S. colonial possession, in fact if not in name.

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The Communist Party of Finland has joined a coalition government with the Social Democratic Party and three Communists have accepted posts in the cabinet. By this means the leadership has committed the Communist Party to the maintenance and defence of the capitalist system in Finland.

TRADE UNIONS-A MEANS OR AN END?

Charting the course of a new socialist movement is no easy matter. Ask anyone who has been in such a grouping from its founding! There are pitfalls into which it is all too easy to step. There are ambushes where snipers who expect a perfect organization from the outset lay in wait: sometimes in all sincerity, at others out of the pique of a frustrated ambition for leadership position. There are side trails which appear to offer short-cuts, but which end in culs-de-sac with lost time in an age when it is already later than we think. There are agents, and the more insidious stools of agents, who must be watched with vigilance by an alert executive at the risk of losing a sincere but insufficiently grounded worker for the cause.

We have to deal with the case of a movement openly dedicated to a turnover (since revolution is considered a dirty word) to a socialist form of government by whatever tactics. It may be the gradualist approach of the Fabians—the naive “you can eventually tax a nation into socialism” of G. B. Shaw; or the reformist pragmatic measures advocated by the social democrats—a contradiction in terms if ever there was one, for how can a system be tested unless it is tried? Or the more realistic open struggle for the rights of the workers whose labors built this country and whose industry cannot survive without their help.

But in any movement which has declared itself for the objective of socialism, it would appear that one of the major traps laid by the “other side,” and too readily followed by militant workers, is over-dedication to the struggles of organized labor in the trade union field. Before any reader throws this down in disgust, I assure him that the writer was an active trade unionist in Local No. 1 of her industry, and during two years was its secretary; that she still believes that every union member should attend the meetings of his local; and that a union is still, in the long run, only as good as its members.

The point I wish to make is that it is the business of a highly organized trade union movement to take care of this struggle, which is essentially for a larger slice of the economic pie. He or she should take part in this as a trade union member rather than as a member of a socialist oriented movement.

As I see it, the over-emphasis on the problems of organized labor under our present system is one of the pitfalls which have led successive socialist parties away from the strategic objective for socialist control of their country.

This is how it has come about. In the forties the workers did an outstanding job of organization in this field. They safeguarded the jobs of returning service men; broke down old taboos and outdated anti-labor “permits” which permitted inhuman hours of work without possibility of refusal or hope of overtime rates (Fruit and Vegetable Workers Union up to 1945). All this without prejudice to the standard of living in so far as this was within their power. (Inflation is not caused by workers’ demands, whatever propaganda may be fed the general public to imply that it is: pay raises can come out of profits as easily as out of the pockets of the general public, and more emphasis should be placed on this fact.) The result has been an immense improvement in the status and economic position of Labor. The potential is there, and it is up to the trade unions, with their highly-paid top executives, to see to these considerations in the lives of their members.

Unfortunately the result has also been that an apathetic generation, unschooled by the depression and benefitting from the post-war boom, is not impelled to study the long-range implication of today’s society. They figure they can get what they want through the unions, so socialism as an aim does not interest them—a view that is furthered by interested parties. This is a pitfall into which so-called socialist parties of the past 25 years have

always fallen. Witness the present reformist generalities of the NDP which, at the time of the Regina Manifesto had avowedly socialist objectives. Witness too the organs of once communist papers which today contain little but news of strikes and the business of organized labor.



Millet in Epoca, Montevideo

To want socialism, workers must understand its implications. We have one or two outstanding examples in the world today, even though these cannot be equated with the situation as it would apply to Canada. As the people of China are ready to admit, we here have the advantages won over a century of struggle and technological progress, whereas they have only recently emerged from feudalism. But they are moving, vigilant, active, insistent on the rights they have so hardly won; whereas we appear to have become static—and any student knows that this is not a situation which endures. We go forward or we go back!

The danger is that we can drift into economism. We are, I believe, already drifting that way. The multiple strikes could bring down the economy before the workers have decided on the direction in which they must go. A revolution below the line, not by any means to be ruled out at this juncture, would compound its problems when faced by a mass intent only on pulling down the old wall for selfish causes without an informed group of workers with clear plans for the new construction that must follow.

The prime aim of a socialist-oriented party is to educate to this end; not in a dry fashion with terminology which only long-time revolutionaries can understand; not with that fanaticism which defeats its own ends by parroting out-dated clichés about the prisoners of starvation—in Canada, at least. In spite of the decadence of a North American society conditioned by propaganda commercials extolling sex, violence, and the dollar, the great majority of our people have still the better instincts. Appeals should be made to parents to consider the future of their children and grandchildren in an economy which fattens on wars; to look at conditions prevalent for their brothers and sisters in less fortunate lands still struggling to raise up from under the burden left them by colonial powers which did nothing to prepare them for control of their own economy—the writing on the wall was there—but to profit by its message, one must know how to read! We should not regard Marx as a Bible to be spoken of in hallowed terms and questioned never. His was the mind which showed us what was possible, and how. But like all others he had his limitations; he could not possibly foresee certain developments in distant lands which have made a different route to our mutual goal imperative. We have more recent teachers, each with his outstanding contribution to the workers of his day: Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse-tung, and Liu Shao Shi. At this date we have the inspiration of successful revolution to bring us encouragement with the challenge required. The end is clear to see. Let us not wander astray and confuse the means for the end!

M. CHESMAY,
Vancouver Island.

ANNIVERSARY OF C.P. OF CHINA

The people of China, and revolutionaries around the world were celebrating and greeting the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China.



MAO TSE-TUNG

The First National Congress was opened secretly in a house in Shanghai but, due to police surveillance in the then French Concession, was forced to leave the city and convene on a tiny wooden boat on South Lake near Shanghai.

There were but 12 delegates, representing a total of 57 members, in attendance at that first congress, and the Second Congress, which also convened at Shanghai one year later, showed a membership registration of only 123. But by the time of the Seventh Congress, membership had risen to almost one and a quarter million; population in areas already liberated totalled close to 100 million; and the Party led a Liberation Army and a People's militia whose combined strength was over three million; and at the Eighth Congress, held in 1956, the strength of the Party was close to 11 million, and all the territory of China, except the Island of Taiwan, forcibly occupied by the U.S. aggressor, had been liberated and the people well launched on the road toward the building of a Socialist society.

The victorious march of the Chinese revolution, from its small beginning of 12 delegates and 57 members in 1921, to the liberation of the vast territory of China 28 years later, is irrefutable proof of the all-consuming power of Marxism-Leninism, and its correct interpretation and application to conditions in China by the great Communist Party of China under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung, whose guiding hand on the helm has assured the tremendous victory of the Chinese people.

The celebration of this anniversary is of interest not only to China, but to the revolutionary and national liberation forces all over the world. The experience of the Communist Party of China proves to all of us that, no matter how small and seemingly weak the beginnings, given correct application of Marxist-Leninist thought and tactics, and correct leadership of the Party and revolutionary people, such as that imparted by Mao Tse-tung to the Party and people of China, the victory of the revolution is assured.

Steeled in battle, and rich in the experience of the most protracted struggle ever before known in the history of revolution, the Communist Party of China, and its chairman, Mao Tse-tung, has made outstanding contributions to Marxist-Leninist theory and tested them in practical work. Those contributions have universal meaning and application. At no time have the revolutionary cadres lowered their vigilance in guarding the victories of the revolution. Even today, long after the conquest of state power, the people of China, under the leadership of their great and tested Communist Party, are hard at work on the great Socialist Cultural Revolution, rooting out the remnants of bourgeois influence, and ideologists represented by revisionist elements that had infiltrated themselves into important positions.

The outstanding importance of the victory of the Communist Party of China, and its vast experience gained in struggle under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung, was clearly shown after the leaders of the CPSU betrayed Marxism-Leninism and became the world centre of revisionist ideology in the service of imperialist reaction and aggression. It is due to the firm stand of the C.P. of China that the Marxist-Leninists around the world have been able to quickly regroup their forces and offer effective resistance to both the revisionists and their imperial-



Liu Shao-chi

ist masters.

The peoples of the world owe an immeasurable debt to the Communist Party of China, to the revolutionary people of China, who have stood firm in the face of all threats and attacks from the combined forces of revisionism and imperialism, and to their great leader and foremost thinker, Mao Tse-tung. The Progressive Workers Movement of Canada, and the editorial board of Progressive Worker join with the people of China and Marxist-Leninists around the world in joyful celebration of this anniversary, and extend grateful thanks to the C.P. of China and Chairman Mao Tse-tung for the great revolutionary example they have set us. Our revolutionary greetings of solidarity go forward to the glorious Communist Party of China. Long live the Communist Party of China and Chairman Mao Tse-tung! Long live the great Socialist Cultural Revolution!

BLACK POWER-A NEW STAGE

One of the important features of the Meredith Mississippi march, especially after the shooting of Meredith, was the way in which it brought sharply to the fore the slogan of "Black Power" which is growing in popularity among Negro militants who have had more than enough of being kicked around without hitting back. But "Black Power," as one might expect, is being greeted with a varied assortment of emotions extending from outright panic, on the part of loyal defenders of the status quo, to a feeling of elation among those seriously committed to the fight for Negro rights.

The "Uncle Toms" and the Negro bourgeoisie, whose fundamental CLASS interests are similar to those of the white bourgeois, are stricken with alarm at the call for "Black Power," which carries the clear suggestion that the common people in the Negro community might seize destiny in their own hands and shape it to their liking. Martin Luther King and his counterparts in various sections of the civil rights movement, who have been acting as a brake on the Negro Liberation struggle, are striving to dampen down the flames of revolt now fanning up in the black communities; some of the activities indulged in to this end contain many of the elements of low comedy. Could there be anything more incongruous than the sight of an Uncle Tom sharing the same platform with the white "liberal" Humphrey to decry alleged efforts of "misguided militants" to establish a racist regime of the Negro-11-per-cent over the white-89-per-cent? Yet, that is exactly what happened at the NAACP convention.

What does the Negro militant really mean when he calls for "Black Power"? Put in its simplest terms, he means that Negro communities should be governed by Negro administrators, in the interests of the Negro residents, instead of being a minority and badly neglected district in the midst of a much larger white majority community, run by whites in the interests of the white business community. Stokely Carmichael, chairman of the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee (SNCC), had this to say about the meaning of the demand for "Black Power":

"The goal of our program is indeed 'Black Power.' What does this mean? It means, for example, that in Lowndes County, if a Negro is elected tax assessor, he will be able to collect and channel funds for the building of better roads and schools—things which determine the quality of daily life . . . It means, ultimately, the freeing of colonies—which is what the ghettos of the country, North and South, really are. If, for example, the Negroes of Watts had organized their political power, Los Angeles Police Chief Parker might not remain in office today . . . SNCC will therefore be working for freedom through the acquisition of economic and political power on the local level . . . As we work toward organizing black power, we intend also to help build a base of poor whites—not moderates, but militants—with whom poor Negroes may eventually combine their strength. This is the only form of coalition we can accept . . . We are, therefore, encouraging the development of 'black consciousness': pride in black history, culture, institutions . . . 'pro-black' never meant 'anti-white'—unless whites chose to make it so . . . The heart of our present program is our belief that the key to basic change is power, and it must be the power of group strength—as every oppressed people in history has learned. The Black Belt of America, which extends from the Southern U.S. to Brazil, has been the home of an absolutely powerless black mass for nearly two centuries. In Africa today, millions remain powerless because they are black and because they are property-less. Black people in this country must use their weight to voice the needs of black people wherever they are. We understand that Lowndes County cannot be free independently of black people everywhere, for the struggle is one of a people."

After reading this stirring call for unity in struggle

of the poor, both Negro and white, one can well understand why the white ruling class and their Uncle Toms would become hysterical over the slogan "Black Power." It is not because of some alleged "racial" sentiments in the Negro community or fear that the Negro, on achieving power, will do unto the whites what the whites have done unto him for a couple of centuries. The fears of the ruling elite have deeper and different roots than that.

It is clear that the objectives stated so eloquently by Carmichael, could never begin to be realized within the limits of the present white power structure. The struggle for these objectives demands the full mobilization of the Negro people, a sharp break with the established policy of working for reforms through the agency of one of the two capitalist parties (traditionally, the Democratic Party) and the development of an independent political movement. Some advance has already been made in the direction of independent political action through such groups as the Black Panther Party. Having witnessed the mounting concern of the ruling class and their Uncle Toms over growing militancy of the civil rights movement, and the increasing sentiment in favour of abandoning non-violence and organizing armed Negro self-defence units, we can well appreciate their hysteria over the emergence of a political movement and ideology, the final result of which could only be to challenge the very foundations of the class rule of the bourgeoisie.

One could very well become involved in an academic discussion and completely overlook the essential point in what Carmichael is proposing. The white working class, like the majority of the Negro people, have been ideologically trapped and severely restricted in their political activity, by reason of the policy of limiting themselves to working through the "progressive" wing of the Democratic Party for the realization of political and economic reforms. Initial, even though limited, success for the Negro as a result of a break with traditional policy, would effectively demonstrate to the white working class, especially the poorest sections, the wisdom of following suit and adopting a policy of independent political action and organization. Such a development of parallel independent political action on the part of both Negro and white would, ultimately, lead to that coalition of poor Negro and poor white Carmichael speaks of. This is the important feature of the demand for "Black Power," and it is this suggestion of the forthcoming political and class unity of Negroes and poor whites (militants, not moderates, as Carmichael says) that strikes fear into the hearts of the white ruling class and the subservient Uncle Toms and labour bureaucrats, who have staked their personal fate on the stability and strength of the dying capitalist system.

Independent and militant political action of the sort envisioned here, once begun, will probably result in a drastic re-alignment of forces in America. "Liberals," Uncle Toms, and the labour lieutenants of U.S. imperialism who defend the fundamental class basis of society, as well as the faint of heart, can be expected to resign from the struggle and rightists, reformists and revisionists will no doubt use this defection to turn back the movement with false cries of "unity." But out of the battle for independent action, and out of the split will come unity on a much higher level and with a content much more politically and class conscious. A most serious problem for the U.S. aggressor to contend with and lose sleep over is the impact that "Black Power" will have on the Negro 18 per cent of the forces in Vietnam.

The united strength and influence demonstrated by the Black Power movement is a development that all anti-imperialists should welcome and rejoice over. The way in which the Negro movement in America is maturing is something the working class the world over can view with enthusiasm—let the ruling class fear and tremble!

ENGELS ON AUTHORITY



F. Engels

A number of Socialists have latterly launched a regular crusade against what they call the **principle of authority**. It suffices to tell them that this or that act is **authoritarian** for it to be condemned. This summary mode of procedure is being abused to such an extent that it has become necessary to look into the matter somewhat more closely. Authority, in the sense in which the word is used here, means: the imposition of the will of another upon ours; on the other hand, authority presupposes subordination. Now, since these two words sound bad and the relationship which they represent is disagreeable to the subordinated party, the question is to ascertain whether there is any way of dispensing with it, whether—given the conditions of present-day society—we could not create another social system, in which this authority would be given no scope any longer and would consequently have to disappear. On examining the economic, industrial and agricultural conditions which form the basis of present-day bourgeois society, we find that they tend more and more to replace isolated action by combined action of individuals. Modern industry with its big factories and mills, where hundreds of workers supervise complicated machines driven by steam, has superseded small workshops of the separate producers; the carriages and wagons of the highways have been substituted by railway trains, just as the small schooners and sailing feluccas have been by steam-boats. Even agriculture falls increasingly under the dominion of the machine and of steam, which slowly but relentlessly put in the place of small proprietors big capitalists, who with the aid of hired workers cultivate vast stretches of land. Everywhere combined action, the complication of processes dependent upon each other, displaces independent action by individuals. But whoever mentions combined action speaks of organization; now, is it possible to have organization without authority?

Supposing a social revolution dethroned the capital-

ists, who now exercise their authority over the production and circulation of wealth. Supposing, to adopt entirely the point of view of the anti-authoritarians, that the land and the instruments of labour had become the collective property of the workers who use them. Will authority have disappeared or will it only have changed its form? Let us see.

Let us take by way of example a cotton spinning mill. The cotton must pass through at least six successive operations before it is reduced to the state of thread, and these operations take place for the most part in different rooms. Furthermore, keeping the machines going requires an engineer to look after the steam engine, mechanics to make the current repairs, and many other labourers whose business it is to transfer the products from one room to another, and so forth. All these workers, men, women and children, are obliged to begin and finish their work at the hours fixed by the authority of the steam, which cares nothing for individual autonomy. The workers must, therefore, first come to an understanding on the hours of work; and these hours, once they are fixed, must be observed by all, without any exception. Thereafter particular questions arise in each room and at every moment concerning the mode of production, distribution of materials, etc., which must be settled at once on pain of seeing all production immediately stopped; whether they are settled by decision of a delegate placed at the head of each branch of labour or, if possible, by a majority vote, the will of the single individual will always have to subordinate itself, which means that questions are settled in an authoritarian way. The automatic machinery of a big factory is much more despotic than the small capitalists who employ workers ever have been. At least with regard to the hours of work one may write upon the portals of these factories: *Lasciate ogni autonomia, voi che entrate!* If man, by dint of his knowledge and inventive genius, has subdued the forces of nature, the latter avenge themselves upon him by subjecting him, in so far as he employs them, to a veritable despotism independent of all social organization. Wanting to abolish authority in large-scale industry is tantamount to wanting to abolish industry itself, to destroy the power loom in order to return to the spinning wheel.

Let us take another example—the railway. Here too the co-operation of an infinite number of individuals is absolutely necessary, and this co-operation must be practised during precisely fixed hours so that no accidents may happen. Here, too, the first condition of the job is a dominant will that settles all subordinate questions, whether this will is represented by a single delegate or a committee charged with the execution of the resolutions of the majority of persons interested. In either case there is very pronounced authority. Moreover, what would happen to the first train dispatched if the authority of the railway employees over the Hon. passengers were abolished?

But the necessity of authority, and of imperious authority at that, will nowhere be found more evident than on board a ship on the high seas. There, in time of danger, the lives of all depend on the instantaneous and absolute obedience of all to the will of one.

When I submitted arguments like these to the most rabid authoritarians the only answer they were able to give me was the following: Yes, that's true, but here it is not a case of authority which we confer on our delegates, **but of a commission entrusted!** These gentlemen think that when they have changed the names of things they have changed the things themselves. This is how these profound thinkers mock at the whole world.

We have thus seen that, on the one hand, a certain authority, no matter how delegated, and, on the other hand, a certain subordination, are things which, independently of all social organization, are imposed upon us

together with the material conditions under which we produce and make products circulate.

We have seen, besides, that the material conditions of production and circulation inevitably develop with large-scale industry and large-scale agriculture, and increasingly tend to enlarge the scope of this authority. Hence it is absurd to speak of the principle of autonomy as being absolutely good. Authority and autonomy are relative things whose spheres vary with the various phases of the development of society. If the autonomists confined themselves to saying that the social organization of the future would restrict authority solely to the limits within which the conditions of production render it inevitable, we could understand each other; but they are blind to all facts that make the thing necessary and they passionately fight the word.

Why do the anti-authoritarians not confine themselves to crying out against political authority, the state? All Socialists are agreed that the political state, and with it political authority, will disappear as a result of the coming social revolution, that is, the public functions will lose their political character and be transformed into the simple administrative functions of watching over the true interests of society. But the anti-authoritarians demand that the authoritarian political state be abolished at one stroke, even before the social conditions that gave birth to it

have been destroyed. They demand that the first act of the social revolution shall be the abolition of authority. Have these gentlemen ever seen a revolution? A revolution is certainly the most authoritarian thing there is; it is the whereby one part of the population imposes its will upon the other part by means of rifles, bayonets and cannon—authoritarian means, if such there be at all; and if the victorious party does not want to have fought in vain, it must maintain this rule by means of the terror which its arms inspire in the reactionaries. Would the Paris Commune have lasted a single day if it had not made use of this authority of the armed people against the bourgeois? Should we not, on the contrary, reproach it for not having used it freely enough?

Therefore, either one of two things: either the anti-authoritarians don't know what they are talking about, in which case they are creating nothing but confusion; or they do know, and in that case they are betraying the movement of the proletariat. In either case they serve the reaction.

Frederico Engels

(Written by Engels in October 1872. Published in the miscellany *Almanacco Repubblicano* for 1874. Printed according to the text of the miscellany. Translated from the Italian.)

EMERGENCY LAWS IN GUYANA

The Burnham government in Guyana—like the reactionary government of India—has retained many of the laws and regulations originated by the former imperial British regimes for the purpose of oppressing the people and destroying the progressive and democratic movement. The Emergency Powers Act, enacted by the British in former British Guiana (now Guyana) has been retained in just this manner.

Delegates attending the West Coast conference of the Progressive Workers Movement took note of the retention of this act by the Burnham government and passed the following resolution:

To Prime Minister Burnham,
Government of Guyana,
Georgetown, Guyana.

(As adopted at the second west coast conference of the Progressive Workers Movement of Canada.)

WHEREAS, the Guyana emergency laws are designed for the sole purpose of brutal suppression of all forms of labour and democratic expression;

WHEREAS, these vicious laws were initiated and used by the former British imperialist rulers and were taken over bodily from the imperialists by the present supposedly independent government;

WHEREAS, many Guyanese citizens are being held in jail without trial under the aforesaid reactionary laws, and there is every indication that the existing regime intends to continue using these laws as a means of insuring its own continuation in power;

THEREFORE LET IT BE RESOLVED that this conference of the Progressive Workers Movement expresses its solidarity with those Guyanese citizens who are demanding immediate repeal of the vicious emergency laws and for the immediate release of all those being held in jail under the provision of the emergency laws.

Under the authority of the Central Committee of the Progressive Workers Movement of Canada.

SALUTE TO SPANISH-CANADIAN DEMOCRATIC ASSOCIATION !

Recently, a most interesting bulletin has reached our offices. It is put out by the Spanish-Canadian Democratic Association (Asociacion Democratica Espanola Canadiense), and a fine job it is indeed, both as to presentation and content. One article especially attracted our attention on the antics of the Chief (Franco, that is) backstage, in Spain. In fact, all articles in this leaflet are worth reading and digesting. There must be quite a number of comrades from Spain in Canada to warrant such a publication. Anyone who would like to enjoy reading this Bulletin (in Spanish), or get in communication with its publishers, may do so by writing to:

Spanish Canadian Democratic Association,
322 Bathurst Street,
Toronto 28, Ontario.
Well done, Comrades!

NOTICE

THE JACK WOOD CLUB
of the
Progressive Workers Movement

will show the film

"RED BLOSSOMS OF THE TIENSHAN MOUNTAINS"
at the PWM Headquarters

ON AUGUST 6, AT 8 P.M.

All Friends of the Movement are Welcome!

DONATIONS TO THE VIETNAM LIBERATION FRONT

Since our last acknowledgement of money donated for the National Front of Liberation, an additional \$40 has been received in the office: \$30 from Quebec, and \$10 from other sources.

These donations have now been forwarded to the Vietnam Liberation Front representative, in Peking.

THE WORLD GOES FORWARD

CHINA FEATURES

By HO BIEN

Looking at recent world events, some people say the international situation is bad and others that it is good. Who is right?

In fact, of course, the international situation today is marked by upheavals and divisions and a great process of re-alignment. To appraise it one needs a compass—the compass of Marxist-Leninist class analysis—for what is happening represents class struggle on a world scale. The class struggle is sweeping forward in great waves.

Particularly striking is the spread of the people's revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the desperate efforts of the imperialists and other reactionary forces to hold on to power. Chairman Mao Tse-tung put it in this way. "The present world situation is such," he said, "that the two major forces, revolution and counter-revolution, are locked in final struggle."

The main arena of the world revolution today is Asia, Africa and Latin America. Its focus is Vietnam, for it is there that a striking trial of strength is taking place between revolution and counter-revolution.

The heroic Vietnamese people are at the forefront of the whole world struggle of the people against U.S. imperialism. In South Vietnam the people are fighting and winning a war against the forces of aggression, which include 275,000 U.S. troops. In North Vietnam the people have shattered the myth of U.S. "air supremacy." North and South Vietnamese people have dealt U.S. imperialism a most telling blow and have upset its counter-revolutionary global strategy. This represents a tremendous contribution to the revolutionary struggle of the people all over the world.

To stave off its approaching defeat, Washington has transferred to the vicinity of Vietnam warships from the Atlantic area and is withdrawing U.S. troops from Western Europe to increase its military build-up in Vietnam. Continual U.S. reinforcements in South Vietnam have reduced the strength and combat readiness of the "Strategic Reserve Force" in the United States, the armed forces reserved for "emergencies," for the suppression of the people's movements and revolutions in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Laos is another Indo-Chinese battlefield. The people there are hitting back against the armed raids launched by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, and have won one victory after another. One half of the population is now living in the liberated areas, which amount to two-thirds of the area of the country.

The national liberation movements are growing in Thailand, Malaya, the Philippines, North Kalimantan, South Korea, South Yemen, Oman, and many other countries and regions. In many cases, the people have taken to arms in their struggle for liberation and independence.

In Japan, the people have launched one united action after another against the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression and war, which is involving their country, and against the reactionary rule of Japanese monopoly capital, which is servilely collaborating with U.S. imperialism and suppressing the people.

Cambodia, a small country of only six million people, is courageously standing up to U.S. imperialism and giving it tit-for-tat, repulsing the repeated intrusions of the U.S.-supported Thai and Saigon puppet troops.

There is a very favourable revolutionary situation in Africa. Of the over 50 countries and regions on that continent, 36 have proclaimed independence. The people there are increasingly aware of the imperialist and colonialist nature of the aggression and subversion which is being practised on their continent and are heightening their vigilance. They are learning to draw a correct line between friends and enemies. They are strengthening their unity in the struggle against the imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists and are working to consolidate their independence and develop their national economy.

The revolutionary movement of the Congolese (Leopoldville) people has entered a new stage. Fighting against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, the small units of patriots have come together and grown into forces totalling tens of thousands. They have established rural bases.

In "Portuguese" Guinea, Mozambique and Angola, the armed struggle is snowballing. The Portuguese colonialists are meeting defeat after defeat at the hands of the liberation fighters. The people's armed forces in "Portuguese" Guinea control nearly half the territory.

In Equatorial Guinea the people have taken up positions in the mountains and in February of this year started armed struggle for independence. In the short period since then they have gained control of an area measuring 4,000 square kilometres.

The Zimbabwe people have also declared their determination to take up arms to overthrow the colonialist rule.

In Latin America, the people's armed struggle is spreading like a prairie fire. In Colombia, Venezuela, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Honduras and other places the people are intensifying their armed struggle against U.S. imperialism and dictatorial rule. Armed struggle broke out in Peru, the Dominican Republic and Paraguay in 1965.

At the same time, there is an awakening among the people of North America, Europe and Oceania. There is wave after wave of protest and struggle against U.S. domination, interference and aggression.

In the United States itself, the people's movement against the U.S. war in Vietnam is on a scale and of a character unprecedented in American history. This popular movement, linked with the struggle of the Negro people of the U.S., has become a powerful force pounding at the very foundations of U.S. imperialism.

Never have the U.S. imperialists been so isolated. The contradictions between the U.S. and its allies, especially France, are growing in acuteness. Cracks and fissures have appeared in the imperialist camp.

In this situation, the modern revisionists are rendering valuable and willing service to the U.S. imperialists, but they have lost the respect and allegiance of the people of the world. The Soviet leaders are pretending to support the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression, but in fact they are desperately striving to strike a bargain with U.S. imperialism at the expense of the Vietnamese people. They have spared no efforts in peddling the "peace talks" fraud of U.S. imperialism, which would allow it to remain in occupation of South Vietnam.

With the leadership of the CPSU as their core and centre, the modern revisionists continue to talk nonsense about "peaceful coexistence." They talk as though colonialism has disappeared and spread the view that "a tiny spark can start a world war." They are collaborating with the U.S. for world domination and cover up the acute contradiction between U.S.-led imperialism and new and old colonialism on the one hand and the oppressed nations on the other. Their efforts are directed at cooling down the revolutionary ardour of the Afro-Asian peoples and at persuading the oppressed nations to abandon revolution and remain under the oppression and enslavement of imperialism and its lackeys. By and large, the people have seen through these notions of theirs. The modern revisionists have met with vigorous resistance.

Khrushchev was given the sack, but the new leaders of CPSU are desperately pursuing the same policy, though in a less obvious form.

The prevailing trend in the world is expressed in the Chinese phrase: "The east wind prevails over the west wind." The world is going forward. The prospects are bright. The wheel of history can never be turned back.

This does not mean there are no twists and turns, no detours, along the road of progress. Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said: "Like every other activity in the world,

revolution always follows a tortuous road and never a straight one." No reactionary force in history has ever left the political scene of its own will. And today the imperialists and modern revisionists are working hand in glove to disrupt the people's revolution. U.S.-led imperialism is engaged in a last-ditch struggle. It is carrying out subversion and engineering military coups especially against the national-democratic movements in Asia and Africa. Indeed, its conspiracies have come off in Indonesia, Ghana and several other countries.

In Indonesia, for example, the right-wing generals seized state power through a coup d'etat in which the main plotters were the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. The military fascist dictatorship of generals Nasution and Suharto has butchered hundreds of thousands of patriots and thrown hundreds of thousands more into jail. Even the most elementary democratic rights have been abolished. However, already there are the stirrings of resistance among the people, and sooner or later it will spread to the whole of Indonesia. It is absolutely certain that Indonesia will return to the anti-imperialist fold. The prospects for the struggle there are bright and the final victory is sure.

When China faced what seemed like insuperable difficulties to some people, Chairman Mao Tse-tung said on

one occasion: "The unbridled violence of all the forces of darkness, whether domestic or foreign, has brought disaster to our nation; but this very violence indicates that while the forces of darkness still have some strength left, they are already in their death throes, and that the people are gradually approaching victory. This is true of China, of the whole East and of the entire world."

As for the viciousness of the reactionaries, he said: "Their persecution of the revolutionary people will only end in rousing the people to broader and fiercer revolution."

The main current in the international situation, despite all the twists and turns, is the revolutionary movement of the people. The upheavals, divisions and re-alignment that is now going on reflect the deepening of the people's anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle. In essence the situation is fine, especially when viewed from the angle of growth and development. The present world events demonstrate not the strength but the weakness of the forces of counter-revolution.

As between revolution and counter-revolution, today the balance of forces is clearly in favour of the world proletariat and the revolutionary people, and unfavourable to the imperialists, modern revisionists and reactionaries of all countries. The world revolution of the people is moving ahead irresistibly.

BILL OF RIGHTS FOR WHOM?

By JIM MARKHAM

The Canadian Bill of Rights supposedly guarantees that every Canadian citizen enjoys the right for free political expression.

It appears, however, this basic "right" is not accorded to some government employees, and indeed is effectively denied them through subtle references of losses of employment.

Employees living in Deep River and Pembroke, Ont., who work at the government's Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd. installation at Chalk River, Ont., each received notices in the mail instructing them not to openly engage in political partisanship during provincial or federal elections, but merely confine their political expression to the secrecy of the ballot box. The letter specifically stated that no employee working at AECL shall organize, or help to organize, any political meeting or demonstration designed for political persuasion, and those doing so shall be severely reprimanded, resulting with possible dismissal.

The demands in the letter instructed the recipient to refrain from open participation in political affairs, but in actual practice, if you were a supporter of the Conservative Party or, more importantly, an advocate of the Liberal Party, the instructions and the threats were mysteriously unfulfilled. But it was a different matter if you wished to overtly support the New Democratic Party, or radical groups: then the terms of the letter were thought to be enforceable. For among the workers, it was common knowledge, because of past experiences, that the letter really only applied to those who were working class adherents.

Although no actual dismissals took place, this written coercion was sufficient to reduce the NDP campaign in the area to a veritable voice in the wilderness.

As intended, the letter had its positive effects. Some employees who had previously worked as campaigners, and some who had held executive positions in local NDP clubs during previous elections, declined to openly aid the NDP for fear of reprisals by their superiors. Nobody thought a man's job would be directly taken from him for his announced and active support of the mild reforms of the NDP, but they also knew a man could be fired for any arbitrarily alleged excuse.

Similar circumstances occurred at Camp Petawawa, a military training establishment situated between Chalk River and the village of Camp Petawawa. There was a growing interest among the soldiers for the policies of

the NDP, partly due to their dissatisfaction with the old-line parties, and an increased advertising campaign of the local NDP club of Renfrew North constituency. While their numbers represented a minority of the camp population, their presence was felt by a few staunch supporters and their wives.

All three political parties chose to extend their campaigns within the confines of the Camp boundary, and it was here free political expression was halted. The Conservatives, and especially the Liberals, held house gatherings and conducted literature distribution campaigns freely within the Camp periphery. The NDP candidates, however, was stopped at the entrance to the Camp and was ordered to remove his campaign stickers from his car, and was allowed to enter only if he promised to restrict his visit to his business as an insurance agent. The Liberal candidate, conversely, was not only permitted to enter with campaign stickers emblazoned on his car, but to openly campaign and distribute Liberal literature in the Camp shopping plaza.

Some soldiers were warned by their officers to refrain from NDP activity on the grounds that no political campaign is allowed on Camp property. One soldier who was asked if he could do some "quiet organizing" inside the Camp replied, "I sure would like to help you guys, but, gosh, I don't want to be sent to Vietnam!" He wasn't sent to Vietnam, of course, but just a month later he received orders that his required duty in Cyprus had become effective.

Finally, the soldiers were not afforded the same benefit of secrecy to vote for the party of their choice, as other Canadians. Their ballot not only contained a provision for his vote, but also space was allotted for his name, rank and unit to be written in. The inference is obvious here—a record was being kept of how he voted. So, you can offer your life for your country, but don't be caught voting for the wrong party.

x x x

Another way to win was demonstrated in Santo Domingo where U.S. Marines, under the banner of the Organization of American States, used shootings, jailings and mass terror as a means of providing conditions conducive to the election of Balaguer, darling of the late and unlamented dictator Trujillo.

A VISIT TO PEOPLE'S CHINA

By GENE CRAVEN

Last month I was one of eight Canada-China Friendship Association members picked to spend a month in China. We were guests of the Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations and Friendship with Foreign Countries.

We left Vancouver on April 22 and spent the next day and night in Hong Kong before proceeding to the mainland of China.

Hong Kong is an island of devastating contrasts—a small elite of filthy-rich in a vast sea of immeasurable poverty. Beggars, prostitutes, pick-pockets, etc. are everywhere in evidence. A relatively new addition to the Hong Kong scenery is large numbers of drunken American servicemen on leave from their mission of "spreading freedom" in Vietnam.

On our train trip from Hong Kong to the Chinese border we passed by many shack towns, contrasted periodically by large mansions high on the hillsides, owned mainly by overseas businessmen.

We crossed the Chinese border on the 25th after a short delay on the British side.

My first impression was how amazingly clean and green the country was. I remember thinking that the people back home would never believe me. Indeed, after the squalor of Hong Kong, the contrast with the clean, green atmosphere throughout socialist China became almost unbelievable. The streets and the people's homes, most of which are old, were kept absolutely spotless. The people seem to work very conscientiously, and nowhere did I find that rat-race atmosphere that exists in our society.

We proceeded from the border to Canton, about four hours by train. The Chinese trains, which are pulled mainly by steam locomotives, were kept remarkably clean and tidy. This also was quite a contrast to the Hong Kong trains which were old and in dire need of proper maintenance.

During our visit we toured the cities of Canton, Shanghai and Peking, as well as trips to the countryside. I was particularly impressed with Shanghai which, before liberation, was one of the worst cities in the world for crime, opium-smoking, prostitution, etc., but now, 16 years later, all of this has been totally eliminated.

We had the opportunity to see the most backward and the most modern section of Chinese society. We met and talked with workers, peasants, teachers, doctors, government officials, university students, even kindergarten children. There were also visits to many workers' and peasants' homes, factories, communes, hospitals, prisons, schools, parks and museums.

One of the high points of our trip was, of course, the May Day celebrations. May Day is a national holiday in China and is truly a day for the laboring peoples. Throughout the celebration there were no speeches or government officials playing any dominant roles. It seemed to be a day organized by the people and celebrated by the people. In Peking we witnessed the gathering of countless thousands of people in parks and other public places, all engaged in singing, dancing and other cultural activities.

The main theme of these performances was the Chinese Revolution. Songs and dances acknowledging the tremendous advances in both industry and agriculture. Equally on the program was the Chinese people's sincere internationalist spirit. This was portrayed in their songs and dances in support of the oppressed peoples of the world, and in particular the just struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism.

In the evening we gathered in Tien An Min Square. With us were over a thousand friends from more than 60 countries. The celebrations had also moved from the parks to the Square to witness the fireworks display. This was indeed a fantastic sight. There were people as far as the eye could see (over one million). The Chinese lived up to history by producing a most spectacular display of fireworks which lasted over an hour.

The main highlight of our visit was a three-hour discussion with Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen-Yi.

Vice-Premier Chen-Yi explained China's foreign policy, from relations with the Soviet Union to their struggle against U.S. imperialism. He also explained China's internal policy on such matters as the struggle to prevent bureaucracy, the closing of the gap between mental and physical labour, between workers and peasants and between city and country life. This interview was very enlightening because the reports we get in our press completely distort China's positions.

We visited the University of Peking and were warmly welcomed by the students and teachers. We ate lunch with the students and professors, and found the food to be plentiful and nourishing.

The vice-dean of Peking University was a woman and, like in all walks of Chinese life, women are completely equal and occupy many high and important positions.

While in Peking, I was very anxious to visit the Foreign Languages Press: this is where the Chinese books and periodicals are printed. Being a printer, I was always impressed by the beautiful color work in their magazines, and I am sure those of you who have seen them will certainly agree. When I arrived there, I was expecting to see some new printing method, or perhaps some newly invented machinery. But to my surprise the equipment and methods were similar to those here in Canada. The contributing factor was the conscientious spirit of the workers, who put quality ahead of quantity.

We also visited the Peking Workers Stadium, which has a seating capacity of 100,000. This project is composed of three parts: the stadium, a swimming pool, and a gymnasium.

The stadium has 350 rooms, located under the seats. Some of these are exercise rooms, some are living quarters (housing for 1,500 athletes); there is also a barber shop and laundry.

The Chinese are very proud of these structures, as they were designed in Peking, and all building materials and sports equipment were produced in China. Some 1,500 people use the stadium daily for sports activities.

This project was financed by the trade unions for the purpose of promoting physical culture. Of course the trade union movement under socialism is completely different: there, they take part in planning production, and educating the workers in socialist thought.

About four hours by train outside of Peking we toured a people's commune. This commune before the revolution was nothing but barren mountainous hills. The people in this commune, under the spirit of self-reliance, had transformed this barren land into 60 acres of orchards, and were in the process of cultivating 100 more. All of this had been done by hand. They first had to chip away the rock in a terraced fashion and bring earth and water from two miles away. This was a most unbelievable feat showing the unbreakable spirit of the Chinese people.

Wages in China are almost standard, the average being 60 yuan (about \$30) a month. Average rents are about seven yuan, and food is very cheap. Prices since liberation have also stayed stable. Most people have savings accounts at their local factory or commune.

Aside from the many great advances made by China since the revolution, I was impressed most by the high standard of the people's morality. In China, crimes that seem almost normal under our society have been totally eliminated. Moral degeneration such as sex perversion, homosexuality, molestings, etc., are unheard of; even the pettiest of crimes are non-existent.

Many people have asked me what was my greatest impression of China. I think my greatest impression would be that communism works, and it works very good. The only people hurt by this system are the landowners, capitalists, foreign imperialists, and other exploiting elements. These are the same people responsible for keeping China backward for hundreds of years.

AFL-CIO INTRIGUE IN GUYANA

By B.H.B.

P.W. Guyana Correspondent

On May 25, 1966, on the eve of Guyana's independence, the minister of labour in the coalition government performed the ground-breaking ceremony for the construction of a building for the Free Technical Labour Institute under the auspices of the American Institute of Free Labour Development. Among the delegates to the Independence celebrations and present at this ceremony were Joseph Beirne, vice-president of the AFL-CIO, Jack Heberle, programme director of AIFLD, and Ambassador Lincoln Gordon, of the Alliance for Progress. At the same time, the U.S. government announced in Washington that "it would be inclined to co-operate with London and Guyana governments to preserve peace should a situation similar to 1964 racial rioting arise." These three separate incidents on the political and trade union fronts underline the deep involvement of the U.S. government in the political life of Guyana, and the vanguard role of the local trade union in counter-revolution.

When the Constitution of the country was suspended in 1953, the Trade Union Council which comprised many progressives in the leadership was broken up, and replaced with one subservient to the British Trades Union Council. The British TUC pumped money into local TUC, mainly into one union, the Manpower Citizen Association, led by Richard Ishmael. That union operates in the sugar industry, and was to be the bulwark against the encroachment of the more militant Guyana Industrial Workers Union, later the Guyana Agricultural Workers Union, which is supported by the majority of sugar workers. Sugar belongs to the British, hence their aid to the MPCA.

But as the "wind of change" appeared to blow in Guyana, and the British seemed likely to leave, the U.S. government thought that they might ensure that the direction of the wind was in keeping with their wishes. Besides the need to preserve this hemisphere from any further left-wing "take-over," the U.S. has interests in the Demerara Bauxite Company, the Reyonlds Metal Company, and the African Manganese Company.

The trade union movement, fairly well organized among the highly literate workers of Guyana, was pulled in, as one of their principal weapons for the counter-revolutionary campaign. The AFL-CIO of the United States was to provide it with experience in this.

It ought to be remembered that the People's Progressive Party had been leading the struggle for independence and national liberation. The party, which formed the government with limited powers, developed strong ties with China, Cuba, Soviet Union, and other socialist countries.

When the party won elections again in 1960 on the eve of independence, the State Department decided to step up its campaign. Many of the 24 affiliates of the Guyana TUC, which it itself affiliated to ICFTU, have direct links with internationals or unions based in the USA. These contacts result in exchange of visits, training programmes and financial assistance. For the first 12 months after the 1961 PPP victory, more than 12 prominent U.S. trade unionists visited their contacts in Guyana. Several trade union courses were held by these men. In addition nearly 20 local leaders were trained, many of whom were subsequently contracted to work in Guyana and paid with funds from the Institute of Free Labour Development. The salary has been (U.S.) \$250 per month.

When the strike took place in 1962, ostensibly to overthrow the government, but using the budget proposals as an excuse, almost all the unions of the TUC participated. This included Civil Service and Teachers unions. The strike failed to achieve its objective.

But clearer involvement of U.S. unions was evident in the 1963 strike. The government introduced legislation to permit secret polls for the settlement of jurisdictional

disputes. The legislation was on the lines similar to the National Labour Relations (Wagner) Act.

The MPCA, which is recognized as bargaining agent in the sugar industry and has the majority votes with TUC, does not really have the backing of the sugar workers whom it claims it represents. Hence when the strike was called in February 1962, the sugar workers stayed on their jobs, although the MPCA, whose president was chairman of the TUC, was leading the opposition to the government.

An American correspondent, Victor Reisel, exposed the U.S. plan in an article in 1963. He declared that Guyanese trainees were put in key positions to harass the government by go-slow, strikes and other subversive activities, including violence. Reisel contended that the trainees returned to Guyana "where they are working with a rather fearless chap by name Richard Ishmael, president of the Guyana Trades Union Council and general president of the anti-communist sugar workers union MPCA." He instanced Ishmael's boast that unions would stop the PPP and would picket Soviet and Cuban ships at the docks. He continued: "Ishmael made good his promise last week. There was intense fighting in the dock areas. It soon spread through the city." (This was in reference to rioting in April, 1963.)

Serafino Remualdi, head of the American Institute for Free Labour Development, in 1963 declared: "When the BGTUC decided to call a general strike in an attempt to prevent passage of Dr. Jagan's labour bill, I was asked to put the institute's six interns, who were working with various local unions, at the disposal of the council's strike committee. In agreement with the institute's secretary-treasurer, Joseph A. Beirne, I instructed the interns to fully devote their efforts to supporting the strike, and extended their internships, which were scheduled to end on June 15 to August 15 . . . I would like to say that I am proud of our graduates in Guyana."

The strike continued for 80 days, with a great deal of violence and some deaths. It ought to be noted that except for minor incidents, there was never much violence during strikes of Guyanese workers. The introduction of U.S.-type unionism was accompanied by violence on the person, and bombing of government buildings, and workers' houses.



DOWNTOWN GEORGETOWN AFTER THE '62 RIOTS

In the 1963 and the 1962 strike, the unions were supported by local and foreign big business. The sugar barons locked out their workers and so did most of the other companies. The shipping and airline companies refused to dispatch food or take passengers to Guyana. While

there was no food shortage, and this was due to the PPP government's agricultural policy, fuel was running out. The timely arrival of Cuban vessels bringing oil saved the situation.

The 1964 strike was initiated by sugar workers, who despaired of securing recognition of their union through parliamentary means, even though their own party, the PPP, headed the government.

In order to confuse the issues, and turn the efforts of the workers from their revolutionary course, business, backed by the U.S.-controlled unions, introduced violence again, using scabs and agents provocateurs. Since the strikers were in the main East Indians, the unions and the sugar barons recruited negro workers to break the strike. Many of these strike-breakers were also armed. The fighting which ensued led to country-wide racial fighting, and at the bauxite works the whole Indian population was set upon. Many were killed, many will remain maimed for life. The whole Indian population had to be evacuated on May 25, 1964, to the city of Georgetown.

The main achievement of all this union activity was to delay independence until the PPP was removed from the seat of government. Although the British were successful in tricking Dr. Jagan to give them the right to impose a settlement of the constitutional problem, they were able to use as their excuse the racial conflicts. The trade unions financed by Yankee dollars can take more credit for this.

What has been the extent of AFL-CIO aid to our trade unions?

It is really hard to discover. Richard Ishmael is reported to have said in March 1963 that the local movement received a grant of (G) \$5,000 (between 1958 and 1961) through the ICFU regional branch ORIT. It also received (G) \$8,500 from October 1961-May 1962 to assist in a special organizational crash programme. But there were other grants. The following should be noted:

(a) For the year ending 31st December, 1961 alone, out of an expenditure of \$15,429.02 by the G. Trades Union Council, the sum of approximately \$11,876 was obtained from overseas.

(b) The monthly salary of officers of the National Union of Public Service Employees has been paid by the Public Services International.

(c) Many trade unionists trained in the USA are paid a sum of (G) \$250 per month for full-time services in the trade union movement.

(d) The property purchased by the Guyana Mine Workers Union for over (G) \$25,000 was with the help of money loaned by their U.S. trade unions.

(e) (G) \$125,000 per week was sent from American sources for strike relief and other assistance connected with 1963 "General Strike," (G) \$1,000,000 was received for this operation.

In addition to the financial assistance mentioned, motor vehicles, a cabin cruiser, cinematograph projectors, films, books, and office equipment have also been given to the trade union movement in Guyana by the U.S. trade union movement.

It is noteworthy that the head of the delegation to the Guyana Independence celebration was Lincoln Gordon, successor to Thomas Mann who was responsible for the **Alliance for Progress**. To him President Johnson has ordered: "I want you to work closely with private United States groups and institutions carrying out activities in Latin America." Johnson had listed the AFL-CIO among the organizations he had in mind.

The Institute of Free Labour Development whose "school" is being set up here, is a project of the Alliance for Progress. The project was announced in 1962 by Mr. Peter Grace, president of W. R. Grace & Co., and Mr. George Meany, president of AFL-CIO.

Since the assumption to office of the coalition government, there has been the largest number of strikes in any one period. From December 1964 to December 1965, there were more than 114 stoppages. This is an indication of the disillusionment on the part of the workers who

looked forward for tremendous wage increases, and less work with the removal of the PPP.

The minister of economic affairs, Mr. J. Henry Thomas, declared that Guyanese workers had "supped too deeply from the American cup."

Mr. Thomas and other ministers of the government have threatened to legislate against strikes. Big business and their mouthpieces, the newspapers, are calling for control.

Since the whole political future is tied up with the attitude of the trades unions, the statement from Washington mentioned in our first paragraph is of special significance. It is clear that if the workers who were used for counter-revolution get out of line, the U.S. government, which is now giving aid to our police force and is training certain Guyanese in counter-revolutionary activity, will intervene to maintain "peace"—meaning to snuff out any serious opposition to their puppets in the government.

The progressive elements in Guyana, faced with this serious threat, will have to devote more time to explaining patiently these problems to the workers, and less to seeking votes on rural support alone. It is cause for deep regret that on May Day the leaders of the People's Progressive Party abandoned the city where there were demonstrations, to hold separate demonstrations and meetings in the countryside among their rural supporters.

There is no doubt that U.S. imperialism, the main enemy of the people, is very strong, but success against this can and will come only with the broad unity of the workers. As it is here, the rural workers are mainly negroes, most of whom supported the coalition puppets of Yankee imperialism.

Those who will help the people to receive power must work among them and mobilize them. The solidarity of Canadian and other workers will greatly contribute to the success of the Guyanese people.

THE HANGED MAN

The hanged man's great swat of a hand
drops from a wrist, the wrist from an arm, the arm
from a shoulder;

and all, forgetting love, stay sentinel
for all the tiny things he's turned, great things he's heaved,
while his doom trickles black into the brain of a girl.

The easy cursing tongue is silenced; all forbearances
are for nothing; the eye that flickered and never drank
the deep blue, now mocks a stare . . . death is no person
for him, but for her has hands and a dripping grey face.

They hang the just and the bewildered, they seldom hang
the wicked.

They hang the empty who flare into short desperations
seeking to balance themselves with frantic drama. They
hang for sake of the girl, for her nightly whisper with
horror.

What she has known is now cursed, and at the same time
afflicted with an answerless pity. She feels the death
ringing her life like a boundary, she'll never look at a man
without seeing him hanging. Hers is the curse.

She who should have been queen among musicians,
among the words toned towards laughter, among
the definitions
sharp and making bright angles, meets someday the
hanged man;
and unlike for him for her it never ends, the bird
of fate squats on her shoulder . . . contradicting her.

MILTON ACORN.

18-8-65.

LETTER FROM QUEBEC

Ideas, theories and programmes must always be based upon reality, not upon what we might like to be reality. Unfortunately, the forces in Quebec which should be on the Left, have to a great extent forgotten this. "Separatisme" or, more properly, "Independantisme," is the word of the year. Individuals and groups who see the injustice and rottenness of the capitalist system spend their time cursing "les Anglais" and rioting against "la Reine," rather than working for socialism.

It is hard to judge the strength of separatism from the polling, for, of the eight parties contesting the election, all but two favoured separatism in one form or another. But, before discussing the outcome of the vote, the social, economic, and emotional state of the province must be analyzed. Wages in Quebec are generally lower than in Ontario. Living costs (food, rent, taxes, etc.) are generally higher. What is more, French-Canadians make up the working classes. The rich areas of Montreal are English.

Thus, capitalism and the English are equated. It is hard for the French-Canadian to realize that his land and himself is held in bondage, not by only "les Anglais," but by Capitalism. And it is also hard for the French-Canadian to link up with workers in other provinces. There are many reasons for this. First of all, the militant workers in Quebec are in the CNTU (Confederation of National Trade Unions), whereas the CLC (Canadian Labour Congress) dominates the rest of the Canadian scene.

Indeed, the workers in Quebec who belong to the QFL (Quebec Federation of Labour), the CLC section in Quebec, are thought to have sold out ("vendu") by the workers in the CNTU. Secondly, it is difficult for the over-exploited French-Canadian to link up with a majority in other provinces for North American capitalism, indeed capitalism itself makes good use of the racial issue. The most exploited workers in the rest of Canada are Italians, Greeks, Maritimers, and Englishmen themselves. In England, the over-exploited classes are Irish, Welsh, Scots, North English and West Indians.

In all major capitalist countries the working classes are divided racially. Especially the lower working classes. Whereas these other racial groups feel like aliens in Canadian society, are threatened with deportation, real or imaginary, it matters not, and are disunited, the French-Canadian considers himself to be a nation. He knows the geographical borders of his country—larger than P.Q.—and is willing to claim them. He can sneer at the English as new-comers. He might also say that, of all people in the world, it is best that we were conquered by the English. They are good conquerors, but they are still conquerors.

In spite of this racial nature of the struggle, the working class is not totally unaware of the true cause of their exploitation. Many are the cases where the people are ahead of the left-wing parties. The strikes at the docks shout: "L'etat aux ouvriers!" The teenagers at the riot against the Queen's birthday chanted: "Re-vo-lution! Re-vo-lution!"

Why have the left-wing, neo-Marxist parties in Quebec failed to harness this mood? First, the PCQ (Parti Communiste de Quebec): It, of course, suffers from the fact that it is a Communist party, in North America—therefore, it fights a built-in anti-communist North American thing. Secondly, it faces some of the most reactionary clergy in the world, and some of the most zealous church-goers in the world. Thirdly, it is the only party in Quebec, with the exception of the PCQ (Parti Conservateur de Quebec!), a right-wing English supremacist group, with an English leadership!

It is this English leadership question which plays up the emotional difference between the Parti Communiste Marxiste-Leniniste de Quebec, and the PCQ. The PCQ is a foreign grouping in Quebec. Also, the PCQ is becoming like the Trotskyites, an arid sect. They are a society,

without even a book-store, let alone a labour-based party. The PSQ (Parti Socialiste de Quebec) is also in this bag. Included in their 350 members are some 10 to 20 Trotskyites, and the PSQ as such, is an "intellectual" party with a working-class platform. But they don't have a working-class membership. No party has moved into St-Henri-Bourget, Jeanne-Marie or Maisonneuve as the PLP has moved into Harlem or Watts.

There must be a Marxist, Labour-oriented, French-led group.

How does this explain the results? The three PCQ candidates among themselves got an aggregate of less than 1,000 votes. The five PSQ got an aggregate of less than 1,500 votes. The R.N. (Ralliement National) got 3.2 per cent of the popular vote. The U.N. (Union Nationale) polled 41 per cent. The Liberals got 47 per cent. But owing to the distribution of the votes and the unequal sizes of the ridings, the U.N. got 55 seats, and the Liberals 51, and independents 2.

Apparently, the R.N. is finished as a party (it was just created on the 26th of March), but the extreme right will reform and reappear under a new banner. It draws its support from depressed farming areas, the working class, and arch-conservative drop-outs from the Union Nationale. After four years of existence, the RIN does not seem to have progressed very far. But they do have a province-wide organization, and membership in the neighborhood of 10,000. Essentially, as well as internationally, their programme is very similar to that of the right-wing New Democrats. And their membership is middle-class. The Liberal youth from the universities is drawn to this movement in large numbers. This is a case of pure emotion cluttering up the minds of men who should be analyzing the situation here scientifically, and with special reference to the economic causes of Quebec's misfortunes. Quebec, brought to independence under the RIN will be independent like the Dominican Republic is independent.

General Lesage, it seems, will not be shot for losing the battle. Already the Liberal Party has reformed behind him. This is the party of international capital. Indeed, Daniel Johnson, leader of the U.N., noted that he got more French-Canadian votes than the Liberals, and that if it had not been "pour les Anglais et les Juifs," he would have got a majority in the province. What the future is for the Liberals, one cannot say. The U.S. individualists might back Lesage to the hilt, destroy the Quebec economy, and then pour millions of dollars into the Liberal election fund.

Union Nationale is Quebec's own party. It is nationalist, corrupt, conservative, and based upon the Quebec aristocracy. Quebec capitalists, country doctors, lawyers and priests lead, and the people follow. The Liberals had failed the working class and the farmers' strikes swept the province, and the Liberals pursued an anti-labour, union-busting policy. The price squeeze was driving the farmer from the land. They held demonstrations and tied up the highways with their tractors.

Then the Union Nationale came on with a left-wing platform. They swept the rural areas. They broke the Liberal stronghold of Montreal Island. They won five seats on the Island. These five are the five most depressed French-Canadian areas. They had the past-president of UGEP (Union Generale des Etudiants du Quebec), a Marx-influenced student union, working for them. They had men from the Montreal Labour Council working for them. Quebec now has a labour leader in the cabinet, but they are a conservative party!

Victory by a coalition of outgroups ranging from neo-feudal to neo-socialist has left international capital and the "progressive" social-democrats directionless for the moment. What does this mean?

First: Parliament can fall through the death of just one or two members. This element of insecurity is begin-

ning to pervade all Canadian forms of parliamentary democracy. It is becoming obvious that they cannot carry on the state planning recognized as a necessity by a majority of Canadians.

Second: Demonstrably, the working classes of Quebec have lost faith in the party of international capital.

Third: A Marxist party must, at this point of time, move into this political vacuum.

JEAN B.

ANOTHER SLANDER EXPOSED

On Monday July 11, the Canadian press, television and radio headlined a distorted version of a news dispatch from People's Daily, Peking, via Hsinhua News in which the press pundits purported to detect an "indication," a "hint" that the People's Republic of China was preparing to curtail aid to Vietnam. This "news" was followed up the next day with a report that the USSR was planning an increase in material aid to the DRV. Thus, revolutionary China was placed in the light of refusing aid to the national liberation struggle while the revisionists were considering an increase in such aid. If this were indeed the truth it is peculiar, to say the least, that the press did not quote the article in question, especially since this would have taken less space than was actually used to promote the version that was published. As most progressives will have already guessed, bourgeois opinion was far from the actual truth. However, we will let the reactionary bourgeois and their bought journalists obtain what little comfort they can from their lies and distortions; we will present here the main facts, so our readers will be armed to combat the effect of the lies amongst honest people.

The title of the article was "Rely on Your Own Efforts, And Your Position Is Invincible," and was dated Peking, July 10. The general content of the item covers a reiteration of China's principled stand on relying first of all, and mainly, on one's own resources; outlines China's experience on this during years of protracted struggle; and warns against the poison of revisionist "aid." It is this last point of warning against the deadliness of revisionist poison that constitutes a main feature of the article, yet it was precisely this point that received no mention at all in our capitalist news media. Here are some excerpts from the most important section of the article:

"To make revolution, one must rely mainly on one's own efforts. Mao Tse-tung advanced this great strategic idea, a major development of Marxism-Leninism, after summing up the rich experience of the Chinese Revolution and revolution in other countries. Belief in the inexhaustible creative power of the masses of the people and in their ability to liberate themselves, is a fundamental tenet of Marxism-Leninism.

"The victory of the Chinese Revolution is the victory of the policy of self-reliance. During the Second Revolutionary Civil War, the Chinese Communist Party and the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army led by the Party, encircled everywhere by the Kuomintang reactionary army, persisted in struggle when it was impossible for them to get any international material support. In the war of resistance against Japanese aggression, the liberated areas, led by the Chinese Communist Party, were subjected to tight blockade by Japanese imperialism and the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries. However, under the slogan, "Use our own hands and get ample food and clothing," the most extreme difficulties were overcome . . . we finally succeeded in defeating ferocious Japanese imperialism . . . after the victory of the war of resistance . . . we again independently carried out a people's war on a massive scale by relying on the people's own strength in the absence of any material aid from the outside, and overthrew the rule of U.S. imperialism . . .

"The people should, and can, only rely on themselves to make revolution and wage people's war in their own country, since these are their own affairs. No outside aid can replace their struggle. Whatever its amount, it is only auxiliary. To make and win revolution, the people

must unswervingly rely on themselves and be prepared to carry on the struggle by themselves should all material aid from outside be cut off. Only thus can they become invincible in any circumstances.

"Beset by innumerable difficulties, the revolutionary forces of the heroic South Vietnamese people have grown in struggle from strength to strength and have badly mauled the U.S. aggressors. How is this possible? The answer is reliance mainly on their own strength, on their people's war. The Vietnamese people are still faced with an arduous struggle. But by their continued firm reliance on their own strength, they will be able with the help of other peoples to completely defeat the U.S. aggressor and drive every American marauder from their soil.

"Self-reliance and international aid do not exclude each other. The revolutionary struggles of different peoples have always supported each other. In waging revolutionary struggle and striking at imperialism and domestic reaction, the people of a country are at the same time extending vigorous aid to the peoples of other countries.

"After the proletariat of a country has won victory, it should unreservedly support the revolutionary struggles of other peoples so that a socialist country may become a base for promoting world revolution. At the same time, the revolutionary struggles of other peoples are a powerful support for this socialist country.

"Taught by Chairman Mao, the Chinese people have always regarded the revolutionary struggle of the peoples as a powerful support for them; and as a bounden proletarian internationalist duty they have done everything possible to give positive support to all the oppressed people and nations in their revolutionary struggle.

"The Khrushchovian revisionists in vigorously attacking the policy of self-reliance are in fact opposing the revolution. They want the people of various countries to wait for the "victory" of "peaceful competition" or to rely on their "aid" for a living. They absolutely oppose the peoples rising up to make revolution. Their so-called "aid" is sugar-coated poison, entirely designed to give them a free hand in sabotaging the revolutionary struggle of the peoples and betraying their revolutionary cause. By opposing self-reliance, they have clearly exposed their true colours as renegades from Marxism-Leninism, as accomplices of U.S. imperialism and as saboteurs of the people's revolution.

Put self-reliance first and obtain foreign assistance when possible. This brilliant idea of Mao Tse-tung has pointed out to the oppressed people and nations a reliable road to victory in their revolutionary struggle. The revolutionary cause of any country, if it resolutely relies on the masses of the people in the country, will win victory in the end however tremendous the difficulties it may meet or however ferocious the enemy it may face."

This is completely different to the "news" as reported in the Canadian press and there is small comfort in it for the aggressor. It is clear that People's China has no intention of abandoning its support for the struggles of national liberation. This proletarian internationalist support added to revolutionary self-reliance of the people and the rejection of "revisionist sugar-coated poison" will bring certain victory in the just war of the people against imperialist aggression.

LA FETE DU CANADA A MONTREAL



Forger, tremper, renforcer le parti marxiste-léniniste

La Voix
du Peuple

La lutte idéologique et politique pour l'application ferme et rigoureuse de la ligne politique marxiste-léniniste

Pour tenter de maintenir leur domination de classe, les exploiters, les oppresseurs ont toujours utilisé une double tactique : d'une part la répression, l'agression violente et ouverte, la prison et l'assassinat; d'autre part la tromperie, pour amener les exploités, les opprimés à accepter l'exploitation, l'oppression, voire à s'en réjouir et à participer, à collaborer à leur mise en œuvre, à pratiquer la collaboration de classes qui est en réalité une forme prétendument « pacifique » de l'oppression de la classe ouvrière, des masses laborieuses, car il n'y a pas d'égalité entre exploiters et exploités.

Dans la lutte de classes menée à l'échelle internationale comme dans chaque pays — et nous pouvons le constater tous les jours en Belgique même — ces deux tactiques du capitalisme, de l'impérialisme, sont employées constamment et complémentaires.

A côté de la violence ouverte, le capital financier, l'impérialisme, pratique la tromperie qui s'exerce notamment par de multiples moyens d'intoxication, sous différentes formes, par la presse, les livres, les films, la radio, la télévision, dans les écoles, par le truchement de diverses organisations, de jeunesse et autres, religieuses ou non, les partis bourgeois constituant des rouages particulièrement importants de cette machinerie à tromper.

Le P.S.C. et le P.L.P. sont des partis ouvertement bourgeois.

Parce qu'il se revendique de la classe ouvrière, qu'il agit en milieu ouvrier, le P.S.B. est particulièrement utile au capitalisme, spécialement à l'impérialisme américain dont il s'est fait le laquais : c'est pourquoi le P.S.B. est en fait actuellement le principal pilier politique de l'impérialisme américain en Belgique.

Le parti khrouchtchévien, porte-parole de la coopération américano-soviétique pour la domination du monde, constitue aussi un pilier politique du capitalisme, de l'impérialisme américain.

L'U.G.S., cette petite formation à direction trotskiste, sert aussi la bourgeoisie par la diversion et la propagation d'un réformisme à étiquette « de gauche ».

La pénétration de l'idéologie bourgeoise parmi les exploités, les opprimés, s'opère par divers canaux, par l'intermédiaire aussi de couches sociales que le capitalisme utilise ou tente d'utiliser comme soutien social.

L'aristocratie ouvrière — dans laquelle se situent les caïds syndicaux intégrés au régime, — couche sociale bénéficiant des miettes que l'impérialisme lui octroie et qui proviennent notamment de la surexploitation des peuples et nations opprimés par le colonialisme et le néo-colonialisme, constitue un de ces canaux de diffusion de l'idéologie bourgeoise au sein du prolétariat, des masses laborieuses exploitées.

Telles sont, dans les grandes lignes, les diverses formes de l'oppression exercée par le grand capital contre le peuple travailleur au moyen de la violence ouverte et de la tromperie, de la pression idéologique et politique.

LA VIGILANCE REVOLUTIONNAIRE POUR ANNIHILER LES ATTAQUES DE L'IMPERIALISME CONTRE LE PARTI COMMUNISTE MARXISTE-LENINISTE

Le capitalisme, l'impérialisme s'attaque particulièrement, cela va de soi, à l'avant-garde révolutionnaire, au parti prolétarien, au parti de la révolution socialiste, qui est à notre époque le parti marxiste-léniniste. L'impérialisme veut détruire ce parti et priver ainsi la classe ouvrière, et avec elle tout le peuple travailleur, du parti qui leur est nécessaire pour résister quotidiennement aux assauts du capital et qui leur est surtout indispensable pour pouvoir abattre le régime capitaliste basé sur l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme, abattre son appareil d'Etat, pour pouvoir instaurer la démocratie populaire, la dictature du prolétariat et construire le socialisme.

Dans ce but, l'impérialisme utilise aussi divers moyens qui dérivent de ces deux tactiques fondamentales, la violence ouverte et la tromperie, la pression idéologique et politique.

Notre propos n'est pas aujourd'hui d'examiner les méthodes utilisées par la bourgeoisie contre le parti prolétarien par la répression directe et les provocations montées de l'extérieur, ou encore par l'introduction d'agents stipendiés, provocateurs policiers du régime, ni les moyens et méthodes par lesquels le Parti Communiste affronte ce genre d'attaques.

L'action de l'ennemi de classe contre le parti prolétarien, marxiste-léniniste, communiste, pour tenter de l'affaiblir et de le détruire, par la tactique du cheval de Troie, par l'intérieur, ne consiste pas seulement en l'utilisation d'agents stipendiés agissant en dénonciateurs et en provocateurs de type policier.

L'impérialisme compte aussi sur les déviations pouvant entraîner le Parti dans l'opportunisme ou encore dans le sectarisme et le dogmatisme.

Bien plus, l'ennemi espère atteindre ainsi la destruction du parti révolutionnaire, marxiste-léniniste, par sa transformation en parti révisionniste, réformiste. Cette action peut être orchestrée par des agents conscients de l'ennemi, travaillant directement pour le compte de la bourgeoisie, de sa police ou d'une de ses formations politiques. Rappelons-nous l'action d'un Doriot ou d'un Terfve au sein de partis communistes.

Cette action peut aussi provenir d'éléments agissant inconsciemment, mais porteurs de conceptions opportunistes, de l'idéologie bourgeoise.

Ces éléments, conscients ou inconscients, essayeront de s'appuyer sur les membres du Parti idéologiquement et politiquement faibles, sur ceux encore imprégnés de conceptions bourgeoises et petites-bourgeoises, sur ceux encore influencés par l'idéologie révisionniste et réformiste classique, sur ceux qui manquent de conviction révolutionnaire, sur ceux qui apprécient le mode de vie bourgeois ou petit-bourgeois et à qui répugnent la lutte révolutionnaire, les efforts, la ténacité, la fermeté et les sacrifices qu'elle implique.

Voir suite

Ceux qui ont ces faiblesses risquent de devenir une proie pour l'opportunisme, de devenir des soutiens du révisionnisme, de devenir ou de redevenir des révisionnistes.

C'est dans la lutte idéologique et politique menée d'une façon intransigeante, résolue et jusqu'au bout que le Parti démasquera les porte-parole déclarés de l'opportunisme se trouvant en son sein, les isolera, les divisera, ralliant aux positions et à la pratique marxistes-léninistes les éléments récupérables qui s'étaient trompés mais étaient de bonne foi, s'épurera en expulsant les incorrigibles.

Le Parti doit, dans cette lutte, éviter de prendre pour ami celui qui est l'ennemi ou qui l'est devenu ; il doit aussi éviter de prendre pour ennemi l'ami qui se trompe et qui peut être regagné à la cause révolutionnaire.

Au cours de cette lutte pour la sauvegarde du parti marxiste-léniniste, l'on rencontrera souvent la conciliation, le libéralisme à l'égard de l'opportunisme, du révisionnisme et de leurs porte-parole. C'est là aussi une forme de l'opportunisme. A l'égard des conciliateurs, des libéralistes, le Parti, tout en combattant fermement leur erreur, agira pour les

guérir, pour les sauver de la dégénérescence révisionniste, pour les regagner au marxisme-léninisme.

L'expérience démontre qu'il apparaît alors parfois que certains conciliateurs et libéralistes ne sont pas des communistes, qui se tromperaient de bonne foi, mais sont en réalité des complices honteux ou hypocrites des porte-parole de l'opportunisme, du révisionnisme.

Quoi qu'il en soit, s'il s'agit de communistes sincères momentanément touchés par l'opportunisme, seuls la fermeté, le débat ouvert mené dans la clarté et d'une façon intransigeante permettront de les guérir.

Il faut aussi éviter d'envenimer la discussion sur des divergences mineures : ceci ne pourrait que faire le jeu des opportunistes incorrigibles.

Jamais les communistes ne doivent oublier que « l'unité » avec les opportunistes, les révisionnistes, constitue la fin de l'unité marxiste-léniniste du Parti, condition pour qu'il puisse remplir son rôle historique : ce serait là une trahison à l'égard du Parti, de la cause révolutionnaire de la classe ouvrière, du peuple travailleur.

J. G.

*La Voix
du Peuple*

Hors du Vietnam les agresseurs américains !



La scène que l'on distingue sur ce cliché — d'après une photo de l'agence Hsin Hua — nous est retransmise d'Hanoï :

Les bombardiers américains ont lancé leur cargaison d'engins de mort sur les faubourgs de la capitale de la R.D. du Vietnam, quelques minutes auparavant. Johnson, en ce moment-là, espère sans doute avoir semé la terreur parmi la population.

Au contraire : la foule, spontanément, est sortie dans les rues et clame sa colère, sa volonté de repousser l'agression, de rejeter à la mer les nazis yankees. L'armée populaire, cette armée d'hommes et de femmes sachant qu'ils se battent pour préserver leur indépendance au Nord, la conquérir au Sud, pour unifier leur patrie, cette armée ne craint pas l'envahisseur. Celui-ci l'apprend chaque jour à ses dépens. Et la défaite totale l'attend au bout de son « escalade ».

Une seule issue : hors du Vietnam les agresseurs américains.