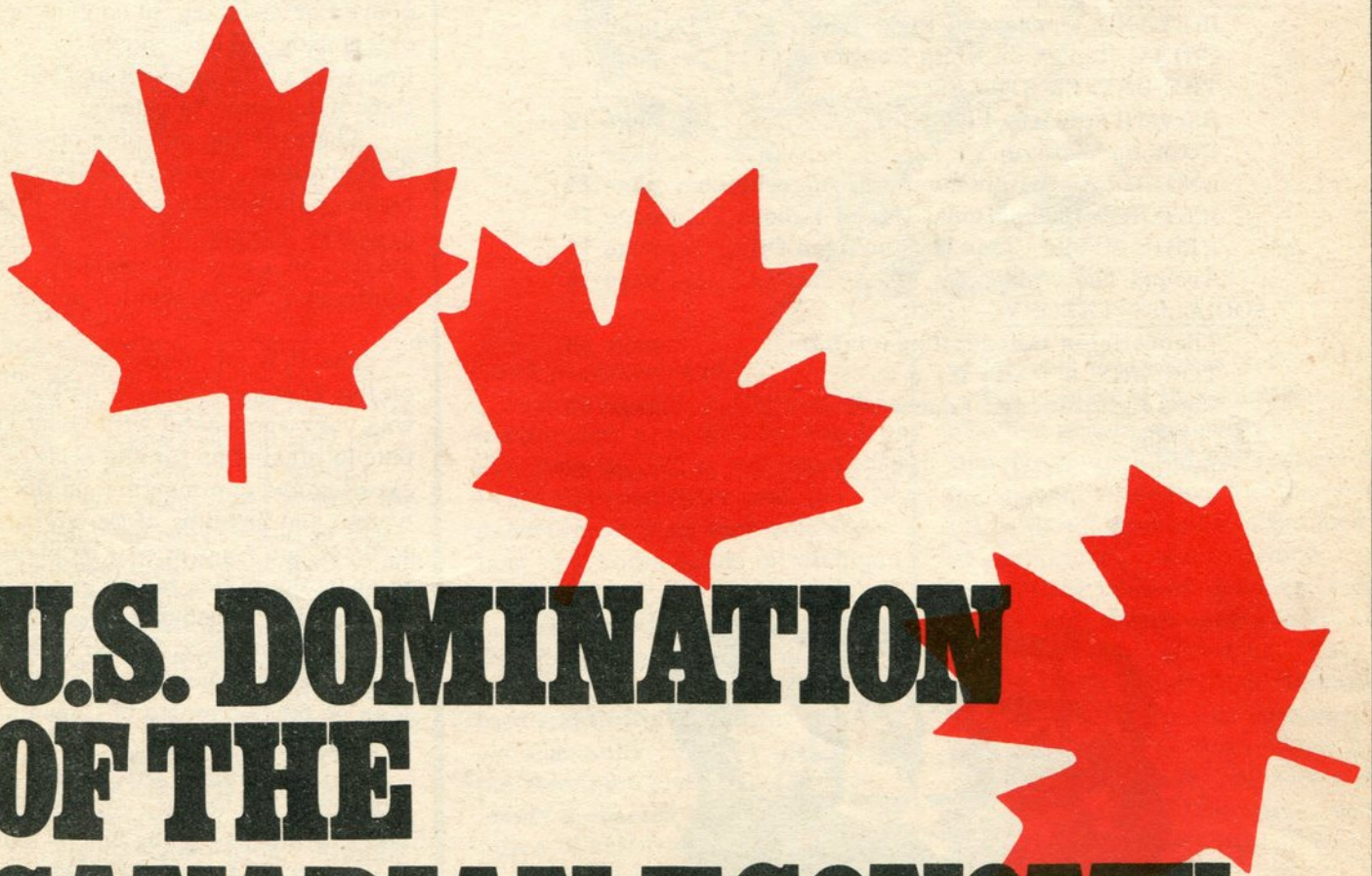


# **Progressive Worker**

MAY-JUNE 1969 VOL. 5 NO. 7-8 TEN CENTS.

**LIBERALS RUN CANADA FOR U.S.  IRISH  
FIGHT BACK  PHILLIPS WORKERS VOTE  
CANADIAN  HARVARD STUDENTS FIGHT  
C.I.A.  RUSSIAN DEFENDS IMPERIALISM  
 NIXON ON VIETNAM  AND MORE**



**U.S. DOMINATION  
OF THE  
CANADIAN ECONOMY**

# Progressive Worker

The Progressive Worker is the monthly paper of the Progressive Workers Movement (35 East Hastings St., Vancouver 4, BC). Subscriptions are \$1.00 for one year. The chairman of the editorial board is Jack Scott.

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## NOTES TO READERS:

Despite our announcement in the last issue of Progressive Worker that we would return to our regular monthly publishing schedule in May, unforeseen problems have again caused delay. We have tried to compensate for this by expanding to 28 pages for this issue, and apologize to our readers who look forward to receiving the paper as virtually the only contact they have with progressive ideas.

The near future, however, may bring significant changes in Progressive Worker. The Movement is at present reassessing the role of the paper and the priorities we should emphasize in the struggle to build national independence and socialist movements in Canada. We would urge that our readers make known to us, particularly at this time, their views on how the Progressive Worker could be improved or changed, in content or orientation, to best serve the interests of its readers and the Canadian people in general.

Whatever the outcome of our deliberations, we will advise our readers immediately and the Progressive Worker will continue to publish on a regular schedule, in whatever form is decided upon.

\* \* \*

The P. W. M. forum May 18 on the Winnipeg General Strike was very successful with about 60 people turning up for the slide showing and commentary on the events and meaning of the strike. P. W. M. on request will be pleased to show the slides to any group in the Greater Vancouver area, and we are undertaking research for slide and commentary presentations on other aspects of Canadian working class history.

Our next forum will be 8 p. m. June 15 at the Pender Auditorium, and will discuss trade unions and their current failure to meet the growing economic crisis, and the perspective for working class organization.

# CANADIAN REPORT

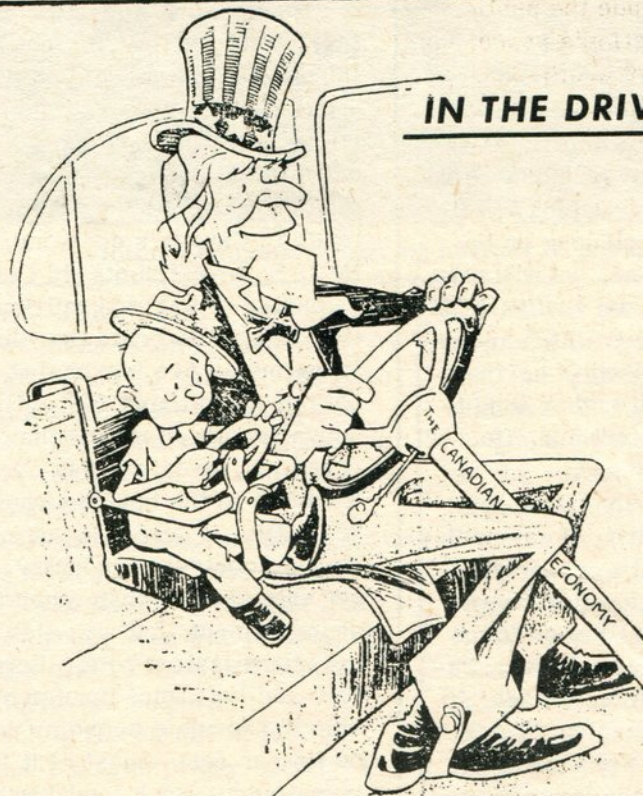
## FOREIGN CONTROL OF THE ECONOMY

(A summary of a talk given at a P. W. M. forum in Vancouver, April 20th, 1969.)

Since Europeans first arrived in North America there has never been a time when the economy of Canada has not been under the domination of one or another foreign power. For more than a century England held the pre-eminent position and then was succeeded by U. S. capitalism which won control of Canada's rich natural resources in the first quarter of the 20th century.

In an attempt to cover up their treasonable activities Canada's quislings loudly declaim the false doctrine that Canada needs foreign capital in order to survive and develop. Control over our economy is, in fact, financed by the wealth extracted from Canada through the exploitation of labour and our natural resources. From the earliest times docile, and often corrupt, legislative bodies have delivered up the land for foreign exploits to lay waste.

In 1826, John Galt, head of the Canada Company (based in England) received a grant of 3,500,000 acres of choice Ontario lands, and the British American Land Company (also English), acquired a grant of over one million acres in Lower Canada (Quebec). The vast land grants and franchises handed to the CPR and Hudsons Bay Company are too well known to require elaboration. Almost the entire 1,400,000 acres of Prince Edward Island were given away in a single day to absentee landlords like Lord Selkirk and



**IN THE DRIVER'S SEAT**

Lord Westmoreland.

John C. Rykert, a member of parliament, arranged for one John C. Adams in 1882 to purchase title to the Cypress Hills area (now in Alberta). Adams then sold the land to a Louis Sands of Michigan for \$200,000.

In Association with the Southern Pacific group of California, (Charles Crocker, Leland Stanford and Collis P Huntington) Robert Dunsmuir, in 1884, got from the Dominion and B. C. Governments a charter to construct 78 miles of rail line from Esuimalt to Wellington, together with a subsidy of \$750,000 and a grant of 1,900,000 acres of land on Vancouver Island which included most

of the coal deposits in B. C.

The details of these and scores of other grants and subsidies are important since the speculators subsequently used part of the capital realized from sale of the land at exorbitant prices to secure controlling interest in banks, railroads, cotton and woolen factories mines and other concerns. The wealth that enabled alien "Robber Barons" to control our economy was already here--not imported. Now, as in the past, our nation is impoverished and laid waste, not enriched by the activities of foreign capitalists.

In the period gone by since British capitalists first accumulated their Canadian wealth and domi-

nated the economy, there has been no fundamental change in our status of being an economic colony of a foreign power beyond the fact that the dominant role has passed from British to United States imperialism, and that with out our ever having tasted any real economic independence and only a minimum of political independence. Political puppets stand just as ready now, as they did in days past, to place the public purse and the nation's resources at the disposal of profit-hungry imperialist exploiters.

The fact of US imperialist domination of our economy is so well known that it seems hardly necessary to dwell long on the subject. However, we will cite a few details from BOURGEOIS sources --sources which are unlikely to be accused of having a radical bias, but rather tend to minimize the extent and effect of foreign domination.

Time magazine (Dec. 29, 1967) reported that US companies invested \$3.4 billion abroad in 1967, raising their foreign investments to a total of \$64.8 billion, divided as follows: Europe, \$20.2 billion; Canada, \$19.3 billion; Latin America, \$12.9 billion; Others, \$12.4 billion. Thus Canada is the largest single recipient of US foreign investment and this includes only DIRECT investment in industry. If INDIRECT investment--government and municipal bonds, etc., -- were added the picture would be even more startling. As it stands, almost one-third of U.S. foreign investment is located in Canada, with its population of 21 million, compared to a world population--exclusive of China, North Korea, North Vietnam, Cuba, the U. S. S. R. and the Eastern European countries under her control--of about two billion, meaning a per capita investment 30 times greater than the average for the rest of the world.

The Survey of Current Business (Sep. 1965) showed that the investment was mainly in mining, petroleum, and manufacturing. The DBS report on the Canadian Balance of International Investments revealed that U.S. control in such areas as rubber, automobiles, electrical manufacturing, chemicals and minerals, that is, in all of the key industries, runs between 78 and 97 per cent.

Government statistics showed that, as of 1964, U.S. investment in Canada totalled \$12.9 billion--a spectacular increase from the \$1.4 billion in 1926, when the U.S. first began to replace England as the dominant force in Canada's economy. Total U.S. investments in Canada amounted to \$21,443 million 1965 figures indicate that these investments are increasing at a rate of more than \$400 million annually, which means that current U.S. investment in Canada would be in the neighbourhood of \$25 billion. Direct investment, that is, control of industry, was not only greater than other forms of investment, but was also growing at the fastest rate. Between 1954 and 1964 total foreign ownership in Canada's economy rose by 116 per cent--most of it U.S. investment. Such investment in our banks, insurance and finance companies reached \$1.5 billion



by 1966.

U.S.-owned companies are significantly larger than their Canadian counterparts, employing an average of eight or nine times the number of workers per company. Of the 85 largest companies in 1965, 37 were known to be controlled in the U.S.

An Alberta report on service station operation published this year shows that subsidiaries of four international companies which dominate the world industry--Standard, Gulf, Royal Dutch Shell and Texaco--own 100 per cent of Alberta refineries and outlets tied to these four distribute 86 per cent of all retail gasoline in the province. In view of the highly monopolized character of the petroleum industry, it is certain that conditions would be similar in other provinces.

The countryside is to be devastated by strip mining so Yankee carpetbaggers can reap a profit on the sale of our coal and iron ore while we finance the cost of docks and railroads to facilitate the removal of these minerals. Ex-radicals, betrayers of the working class and the nation, like Harvey Murphy for example, hail such developments as a boon to the community, creating jobs and "emancipating" the miner from underground work. Left unmentioned is the fact that most of the miners have been "emancipated" from their jobs, and the country is still further "emancipated" from economic independence.

Foreign investors have always been attracted to fast and high profits to be won in basic industries, especially in the exploitation of our natural resources. Service industries were, as a rule, left for Canadian capital investment. The fact that these hitherto ignored service industries are now attracting U.S. investment surely indicates that

CONTINUED ON PAGE 23

# LEGAL FARCE CONVICTS PROTESTORS



Victoria demonstrators sit in front of chained gate

Nine Victoria adults have been fined \$50 each, and three juveniles \$15 each over charges of obstruction arising from a protest demonstration March 9 at the entrance to the Esquimalt naval base.

Sixteen demonstrators had sat outside the dockyard gates for 2½ hours protesting the visit to Victoria of the U. S. submarine Barbel and the U. S. economic domination of Canada, then had left of their own accord.

Later the group had received summonses charging them with committing mischief, but the charges were later reduced to less serious ones of "Unlawfully and wilfully obstructing the use of property by preventing entry to Her Majesty's Canadian Dockyard - charges still punishable by up to 14 years imprisonment.

That the original charges were made purely to intimidate anti-imperialist demonstrators and, even under bourgeois law, were

totally without basis, was proven by pictures taken at the time clearly showing gates to the base chained and locked from the inside - if anyone were obstructing entry to the base, it was the government itself.

Further evidence as to the farcical nature of the government case was shown by the fact that three young men who pleaded not guilty (the 12 fined had pleaded guilty) were acquitted!

Such is the nature of justice under the laws of our society. 12 people, intimidated by the 'magnanimous' gesture of the authorities in reducing the charges, pleaded guilty and were fined on charges that even the ruling class' own courts judged unfounded.

By its actions, the government of Canada has served notice that it will spare no effort and invent any excuse to suppress and intimidate patriotic Canadians who seek

to point out the truth about the nature of the government of Canada, one which exists to serve the wishes of U. S imperialists.

A group spokesman had pointed out the reason for the protest: "It is obvious that the U. S submarine that was in port is part of the military machine being used to dominate the people of Vietnam. Obviously too, the constant use of Canadian ports by the U. S Navy is a symptom of U. S continental expansion, and the foreign domination of the Canadian people."

Despite the actions of the government, patriotic Canadians are increasing their determination to expose the nature of U. S domination of our country, and are organizing to oppose it. Despite the efforts of the Lackey Canadian government to protect U. S. interests, it is a fight that can only end in victory.

## LIBERALS RUN CANADA FOR U.S.

Robert H. Winters, former Liberal Cabinet Minister who lost out to Trudeau in a close contest for leader of the Liberal Party, soon landed himself another post. Rebuffed in his attempt to become chairman of the Ottawa board

overseeing and protecting U. S corporate investment, Mr Winters was forced to settle for the relatively minor post of president in a single U. S-controlled corporation - Brazilian Light and Power. In the few months he has been head

of Brazilian Winters has declared himself in a manner that should go far in the enlightenment of the Canadian people as to the real political line of the governing Liberal Party, in which the ex-Minister carries so much weight and influ-

ence.

Brazilian is one of a number of foreign-controlled corporations that locate in Canada for purposes of investment. The reason for this is because of government policy which allows such companies to collect and dispense dividends tax free. In a possible belated effort to grab a share of the loot for Canadian capitalists, there has been a tentative suggestion from Ottawa that a tax may now be imposed. First to register sharp protest against the proposal were spokesmen for Brazilian, who threatened to move their base to New York if a tax were instituted. No doubt the Winters appointment, bringing inside knowledge of political huckstering, is part of an effort to combat the tax proposal. Winters has let it be known that he would be most unhappy should his erstwhile comrades of the Liberal Party be so unkind as to tax the U. S. investors whose interests he represents.

While he is unhappy about the suggestion for a tax in Canada Mr Winters is able to balance off his emotions with expressions of great joy over conditions in Brazil and, incidentally, makes some revealing statements on the political situation in Brazil. Commenting on the military seizure of power in the Latin American nation, Winters stated:

"The military government is dedicated to the principles of private enterprise. They realized they needed to create a climate friendly to foreign capital and they did so."

The government thus lauded by the man who aspires to leadership of the government of Canada is the very one that destroyed the last tattered remnants of democratic government, suspended Congress, imposed martial law and packed off to jail the most vocal of the oppositionists. Mr Winters makes clear his reasons for heaping fulsome praise on such a government. The military dictatorship allowed the company to set a new rate base that converted a 1964 loss of \$443,000 into a 1968 profit of \$59,000.

000(U S), plus a payment of \$11 million. The allowable profit on this public utility is 10 per cent on investment, the value of which is grossly inflated. In case of inflation the rate base can be adjusted to maintain the level of profit. A happy situation indeed for the foreign investors.

In view of his standing in the political and economic life of the country, Mr Winters declared stand on the Brazilian dictatorship is of extreme importance to the people of Canada. The government overthrown by the militarists, and branded as "communist" by Winters, was nothing more radical than a mild Latin American edition of the New Democratic Party and the reforms introduced were no more "socialistic" than any proposed by N D P politicians. This brings up the all-important question as to what plans Winters and the Liberals are cooking up for a military dictatorship in Canada in the event that some mild reforms may threaten to reduce, however slightly, the earning power of the foreign companies served by Winters and the Liberals. Obviously Winters would be in favour of calling on the U. S. Marines to head off any such "threat of Communism", after the fashion of the Saigon puppets in Vietnam.

This question is of more than academic interest. Brazilian is in the process of changing its name



"We have the situation well in hand."

to Brascan to keep pace with a decision to invest in other countries besides Brazil- including Canada (with dividends tax free). The company already has an interest in Labatt Breweries in excess of 23 per cent- sufficient to exercise effective control -and additional investments are under active consideration. If it should be deemed necessary for protection of these investments that a dictatorship must be set up in Canada, there is no question about where the sympathies of Mr Winters will lie. He will undoubtedly favour the overthrow of the detested government by force and violence when the rate of profit is endangered.

Robert H. Winters is a classic example of a compradore capitalist who serves the interests of the foreign imperialists to the detriment of the nation and its people.

Yet another item of interest on this question of using Canada as a base for imperialist investment is the recent tentative proposal for a government insurance scheme to guarantee the safety of overseas investments. Since the vast majority of these investments are made by U S-controlled corporations, this simply means that Canadians will be called upon to make good the losses suffered by U S imperialists as a result of actions that may be taken by local governments. Brazilian Light would have been insured against the losses sustained under the pre-dictatorship regime and the losses claimed by Standard Oil in Peru would also be underwritten since the investments were made by a company based in Canada.

Trudeau has made clear his intention to abandon health insurance because, as he says, "we cannot afford it!" We cannot afford to protect the health of our own citizens, but we CAN afford to insure foreign corporations against loss of profits. Can there yet remain any lingering doubts as to whose interests are served by Trudeau and the Liberal Party.

# PHILLIPS WORKERS VOTE CANADIAN

Workers at the Phillips Cables plants at Blairmore, Alberta, and Vancouver have recently beaten off raiding attempts by a U. S. union and voted in favour of the Canadian Electrical Workers Union, an independent union dedicated to restoring rank and file democracy in the electrical industry and to ending the domination of U. S. unions over Canadian workers.

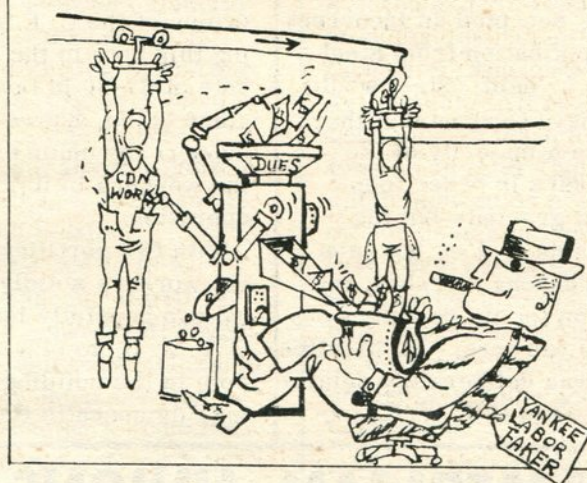
The Progressive Worker has commented on the struggles of the C. E. W. U. in the past, and we will briefly bring our readers up to date on the recent history of this union, because we feel it holds many important lessons for Canadian workers in their fight for democratic unions.

The C. E. W. U. began its bid for jurisdiction at the unorganized Blairmore plant in November 1968. Seeing that this democratic Canadian union was gaining increasing support among the working class, various U. S. union bureaucrats forgot their pig-pen rivalry over who was to get the biggest share of Canadian workers' dues and united in an attempt to smash the C. E. W. U. In an unprecedented move the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, knowing they could not count on any support at Blairmore, withdrew and invited the reactionary United Steelworkers of America to come in and raid their industry.

The giant U. S. A. brought four full-time organizers into the area for two months, setting up a temporary office in the town. They spent tens of thousands of dollars in their bid to stop the C. E. W. U., and offered thousands more in bribes of car payments, mortgage payments, and the like if only the workers would vote for Steel. Against this the C. E. W. U. had one part-time union official and the determination of the workers for union democracy.

The Steelworkers also called in

YANKEE LABOUR LEADER'S PREOCCUPATION



well-known International yes-man John McNiven (recently appointed secretary of the Alberta Federation of Labour), to speak to the workers along with officials of the Canadian Labour Council, the International Woodworkers of America, and a representative of the U. S. unions' political tool, the New Democratic Party. They even went so far as to bring old revisionist and ex-militant sell-out Harvey Murphey out of mothballs to attend a Phillips employees' meeting to urge the workers to join the U. S. union. McNiven went one better, advising the workers to remain unorganized rather than join the C. E. W. U.

The Alberta Labour Relations Board did their best to harass the Canadian union and give the Steelworkers as much time as they needed, rejecting the C. E. W. U.'s applications for certification on the flimsiest technicalities. At the board hearing the C. E. W. U. appeared without a lawyer, one executive member commenting: "If we are going to get shafted a lawyer would only hinder some rude comments we might make about justice."

All the Internationals' deals were to m avail. Blairmore workers would not be bought with Yankee dollars and voted 57 to 42 for joining the C. E. W. U. Most of

the workers who had voted for Steel immediately said they would back the C. E. W. U.

So confident of victory had been the Steelworkers that McNiven, before the vote, sent the following wire to Ray Haynes of the B. C. Federation of Labour: "Steelworkers made application Feb. 5th., hearing Feb. 10. Expect early vote, Steelworkers will sweep the poll."

Union struggles at Blairmore are far from over but the fact that they now have a democratic Canadian union is a tremendous advance for the workers.

To keep the C. E. W. U. from further expanding its certifications, the U. S. unions began to move against the Canadian union's local no. 1 in Vancouver, in a bid to keep organizers and finances tied up. The C. E. W. U. had founded this first local at Phillips in Vancouver in May, 1967, after employees voted to switch over from the I. B. E. W.

Steelworker organizers visited every worker to tell of the great benefits and massive strike funds of the International unions, compared to the C. E. W. U. --neglecting to mention that at this very same time striking workers at Lenkurt Electric were being told by their I. B. E. W. bureaucrats that no

strike funds were available for them.

The B. C. Labour Relations Board so tough on technicalities when Canadian unions apply for certification votes, accepted an incorrectly-worded application from Steel for a vote to be held. Steel would supposedly have to show that they had signed up a majority of the Phillips workers in order to get their request granted--but the board maintains it does not have to give any reasons nor show any documentation for its decisions--especially to workers. Notification of the vote was deliberately delayed and mailed to the C. E. W. U. too

late for a protest to be filed.

The vote, however, clearly showed the manipulation of the Steelworkers and their collusion with the board--a resounding 92-23 in favour of the C. E. W. U. Comparing this vote to the original 1967 vote of 57-50 in favour of the Canadian union, shows the respect and support the union has gained among the workers in its two years of operation.

With two certifications secure and the workers solidly behind them, we can hopefully look to the C. E. W. U. to play an increasing role in the building of an independent, democratic Canadian labour

movement free of U. S. imperialist domination.

The role of socialists in the trade union movement is clearly that of continually urging trade unions to expand their base to include all sections of the working class and to militantly press class demands against the capitalist structure. But a prerequisite for success in this struggle is independent and democratic unions, which in Canada's case means ridding her workers of the yoke of U. S. labour's imperialist domination. For this reason we hail the C. E. W. U. victories as a step in that direction.

## AMERICAN UNIONS CHOOSE BERGER

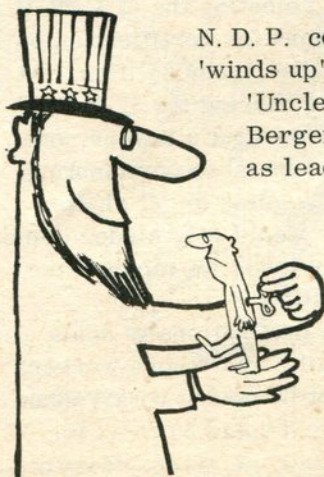
The New Democratic Party in British Columbia had held its leadership convention and the result is increased influence in the party by U. S.-dominated unions. Passing from the scene was the Vancouver Island carpenter, Bob Strachen, for whom some of the alleged "intellectuals" in the Party had been gunning for several years. Tom Berger, "labour" lawyer, has taken over the reins and is already seeing himself in the role of premier.

Berger was the clear choice of the international union officials and no secret was made of the fact. During the 3 or 4 months immediately preceding the convention trade union affiliations took a sharp jump and everyone knew that this was Berger country. Direct trade union representation at last year's convention was 42 delegates but increased almost threefold this year to 118. The fact that Berger won by only 35 votes in a total of 787 cast indicates just how important the union delegate vote became. There were, of course, other trade union delegates from the constituency clubs in addition to the direct representation, but without the sharp increase in union affili-

ation Berger could not have won.

Since the trade union movement is under U. S. domination it is to be expected that U. S. right-wing labour influence, working through the union bureaucrats in B. C., will now be considerably strengthened in the NDP. This is not a particularly pleasing prospect and since the other main political party in B. C., Social Credit, is so pro-U. S. imperialist, it leaves the B. C. voters who are looking for a political program that calls for the placing of the Canadian economy under direct Canadian control, no electoral choice at all.

Berger is trying hard to cast himself in the unfamiliar role of "left winger" and talks glibly a-



N. D. P. convention 'winds up' with 'Uncle' Tom Berger as leader.

bout "socialism." It seems his "socialism" consists mainly of a threat to take over a public utility, the B. C. Telephone, plus higher taxes on big business. No doubt Berger will negotiate a "fair price" for the telephone company with the U. S. owners, a price which will saddle the people of B. C. with payments for many years to come. It is quite possible for telephone bill to be reduced, but we will pay more than the difference in added taxation. Similarly, further taxing of big businesses like the lumber industry simply means that the consumer will be forced to pay more so that profit is maintained. Berger's "socialism" is just a small dose of state capitalism which costs the capitalists nothing at all.

However rank and file dissent, within trade unions and the NDP, is growing over the role of these bodies as collaborators with U. S. imperialism. Progressive people in all areas of the country should start considering the formation of a political movement free from control of these well-known agents of U. S. imperialism, and dedicated to winning control of the Canadian economy for the Canadian people.



# CANADIAN BRIEFS

## BRITAIN EXPLOITS

The story of Lornex Mines received major treatment in the New York Times but, perhaps in deference to the rising tide of opinion in favour of economic independence, Lornex has drawn only a minimum of comment in the Canadian press.

Lornex, situated at Ashcroft B. C. is 36 per cent (soon to be 51 per cent) owned by Rio Algom, which in turn is controlled by the British-owned Rio Tinto Metals group. The mine is composed of a low-grade copper ore, according to experts the lowest-grade copper ore deposit ever developed. Using open-pit methods, an extensive use of machinery and minimum use of manpower, Lornex owners are confident of being able to continue operations - scheduled to start in 1972 - even if the price of copper drops.

Japanese buyers from six smelters and three trading companies have agreed to purchase the entire copper-concentrate output for a 12-year period and will advance at low interest rates \$26½ million of the \$110 million development

cost. Trade sources calculate the 12-year contract will involve sales totalling \$1½ billion. The Canadian-Imperial Bank of Commerce, the Toronto-Dominion Bank and the Bank of Montreal will advance loans to a total of \$60 million.

None of the ore is to be smelted in Canada. It will be delivered as concentrates and refined in smelters in Japan. In other words, Japanese buyers will be purchasing a copper-concentrate, not refined copper, which means an absolute minimum of jobs for Canadian workers.

In this instance, as in so many others, foreign companies are given Carte Blanche to exploit our natural resources at a profit to themselves and, as usual, most of the financing will be done in Canada. Present plans for the handling of 38,000 tons of ore per day will mean that the 283 million ton body of ore will be more than half depleted by the end of the 12-year period. Lornex will also join with the Bethlehem Copper Corporation (U. S. - owned) in the exploitation of yet another B. C. deposit for sale to Japan.

AUTO PRODUCTION is starting to show the adverse effects of the Canada-U. S. Automotive Products Agreement. All companies have been closing down for varying periods. Chrysler Canada, for example scheduled a week-long lay-off for 3600 employees preceded just a few weeks earlier by a similar decision affecting 5700 employees. Chrysler sales are dropping disastrously and looks as if the situation there may soon become permanent.

The Canadian plants of the U. S. - owned companies are planning to go over to the production of a single model which will automatically cause a decline in employment in in tool and die making, and some other sections as well. Other aspects of the plan are also causing some concern. In a brief to the federal government, union spokesmen declared that the single model plan could prove to be disastrous for the Canadian plants if sales for that particular model should fall.

The only proposal the union brief put forward was for an indefinite extension of the government financed Transitional Assistance Benefits Plan, which guarantees 75% of straight time earnings to auto workers for limited periods of unemployment. Obviously this is no real solution to the problem. At the very least the union should be mounting a fighting campaign for a government take-over of the plants and the establishment of a Canadian auto industry. Controlled as they are by the U. S. auto union, which ardently defends American ownership, the Canadian workers are in no position to make such a fight. They need to free themselves of their U. S. union masters first.



Strip-mining (like the Phoenix copper mine) devastates B. C. to feed profits to foreign companies.

# WORLD STRUGGLE

## IRELAND

### OPPRESSED FIGHT BACK

Apparently tired of being pushed around by reactionaries without making any retaliation, the Ulster Civil Rights Movement has started to fight back. The rank and file have given practical evidence of their ability to struggle by routing reactionaries and armed police in several battles, succeeding in asserting control over working class areas in some cities. CP and liberal leaders of the civil rights campaign are seriously alarmed by the rising tide of rank and file militancy and the broad popular response of the masses to the call for militant action. At the time of writing the distraught "non-violent" leaders were making frantic efforts to stop street demonstrations until they re-establish control and turn the movement back to "non-violence." However the people have learned from experience that they are now able to win local battles and defend themselves against reactionary violence so they are unlikely to respond again to calls for "non-violent" action.

A demand has been advanced for disbandment of the "Special" police. These "B Specials" consists of over 25,000 armed civilians deputized as special police and permanently on call. The force is one hundred per cent Protestant and members of the Orange Order. Its main social composition is

small businessmen and petty landowners whose conservative attitude toward property rights and fear and hatred for the working people is notorious. The "Specials" have been used exclusively against Catholic workers and the Catholic poor. It has been the good fortune of the Ulster bourgeoisie that they have never had to use the "Specials" against striking Protestant workers, for that would certainly unite Protestant and Catholic workers against them and put an end to the "B Specials!"

But even with their armed "Specials" Ulster reaction has not been able to mobilize sufficient force to cope with the situation. Once again "labourite" Harold Wilson, who found it impossible to take action against Smith in Rhodesia, has answered a call for help from extreme right-wing reaction. British troops are deployed in force in Ulster for the protection of the Orange Unionist rulers. However, the development has its positive side; for the first time in almost 50 years it has made abundantly clear that the Unionist Government can exist only because it is propped up by British power--a power which is becoming less reliable with each passing day.

The introduction of British troops into the struggle will raise some interesting problems. Wilson will want desperately to tread

on "middle ground," but there is no middle ground in Ulster. The claim of the British Prime Minister that troops will be used to guard vital installations, and will not participate directly in the struggle, is patent nonsense. Even if they are restricted to guard duty--and they will not be--they are still participating by releasing armed police from this task to be used against the people. A particular problem which Wilson will face is the fact that Ulster Protestants will not welcome the intrusion of British troops.

The Dublin government, which has been betraying Republican interests to the British imperialists for years, are also going to be confronted with some problems. Dublin, which claims to represent the national interests of all Ireland, is going to have to make an open declaration on its attitude toward the open armed occupation of a part of Ireland by troops of the nation's traditional imperialist enemy. Not for long will Lynch and his Ministers be able to hide behind empty appeals to U Thant and the United Nations, the Irish people will demand more positive action in defence of Ireland's independence.

The peoples' movement in Ulster is certainly going to win some important concessions which will make for a far-reaching qualita-

tive change in the political situation. For over 50 years Ulster reaction has been able to stay in the saddle with the use of divisive tactics. The Protestant workers have been corrupted with special consideration on jobs, housing, electoral rights, welfare benefits,

etc. But when the Catholic workers win some important concessions--such as the vote in municipal elections--the privileged position of the Protestant workers will become badly eroded and it will become clear that workers, both Protestant and Catholic, have

common problems which they can solve only through united action.

It is possible that out of this crisis the Irish people will once more become united in the fight for a common objective, without regard for religious beliefs.

# CHINA

## REPORT ON NINTH CONGRESS



The Communist Party of China recently held its Ninth National Congress (April 1 to April 24). The Congress reflected the fact that the Cultural Revolution has been successfully consolidated. Many of the more than 1500 delegates were cadre who emerged in the course of the Cultural Revolution, and there were more industrial workers, more poor and lower-middle peasants, and more women delegates than at any previous Congress.

The Congress had three items on the agenda: 1) the Political Report by Lin Piao on behalf of the Central Committee 2) revision of the Constitution of the Communist Party and 3) the election of a new Central Committee for the Party.

Lin Piao's Report and the revised

New Communist Party of China presidium: (from left) Chu Teh, Chou En-lai, Mao Tse-tung, Lin Piao, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Chiang Ching, Chang Chun-chiao, and Yao Wen-yuan.

Constitution have been received only recently by PW, and we will discuss them at more length in a future issue. Basically, the Report sums up Mao's theory on continuing the revolution under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to prevent the restoration of capitalism (as happened in the Soviet Union) and advance the country towards communism. The Report outlines the experience and lessons of the Cultural Revolution, analyses the present situation in China and internationally, and gives a perspective for the future work of the Party. After a good deal of discussion, and many additions and

modifications of the Report, the Congress unanimously adopted it on April 14.

The Congress then went on to discuss, amend, and adopt a new Constitution for the Party. Finally, on the last day of the Congress, a new Central Committee was elected, with Mao as Chairman and Lin Piao as Vice-Chairman.

Throughout China the Ninth Congress was seen as a symbol of the victories that have been achieved in the Cultural Revolution. There was tremendous enthusiasm throughout the country, with huge demonstrations and meetings in support of the Congress.

# THE UNITED STATES

## HARVARD STUDENTS FIGHT C.I.A.

The student rebellion in the U. S finally struck at Harvard, an Ivy League fortress at Cambridge, where the sons of the elite among the ruling class receive their training. The Kennedys, and most of their royal retinue, were educated at Harvard and were prepared to play their part in the ruling political and economic circles, by Harvard Dons.

Student rebels at Harvard "liberated" a number of documents that show clearly just how closely Harvard is bound to the machinery of the imperialist state, including the Central Intelligence Agency which directs most of the traffic in U. S. foreign military ventures. The students exposed the links with the administration in a special supplement to their radical bi-weekly, "Old Mole". Under a heading "Reading the Mail of the Ruling Class", the editors of "Old Mole" comment editorially in this vein:

"... Harvard is first and finally an institution of the higher classes a plaything of the interlocking government-Pentagon-Foundation world which makes American foreign policy. It is an exclusive club, employment agency, and training center for the jet-setting intellectual elite who swing deals for the fate of the starved nations in just the way businessmen and generals do.

"The common style of corporate chieftans, war-makers and Harvard's elite is no accident; many prestigious Harvard professors and administrators are deacons of the church of American empire. Their hands are bloody. The work they do ends in the murder of millions and the looting of the resources of the world. Official Harvard

is a dynamo in the imperialist machine."

A number of liberated documents substantiating the above accusations are published as exhibits in the Supplement, and the editors promise more in coming issues. One of these documents, dealing with "The Nature and Objectives of the Center for International Studies" says of the center's origin:

"... The Center... had its origin in a number of attempts to mobilize the academic and intellectual resources of the Cambridge community around certain problems of the cold war. In the summer of 1950 M. I. T. (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)... on behalf of the U. S. military establishment was asked by the civilian wing of the government to put together a team of the best research minds available to work intensively on how to penetrate the Iron Curtain with ideas...

"As the original project drew to a close those who had participated in it became convinced that there was a real need for continuing effort by a more permanent organization.

"Initiative for the establishment of the center came from members of the Harvard faculty... the board of advisors consists of the Provost of Harvard, the Dean of the Littauer School of Public Administration at Harvard, the Vice-President of M. I. T. and the President of Brown University..."

Two references in the above document to take note of: One; the ruling class recognition of the importance of struggle on the ideological front, to "penetrate the Iron Curtain with ideas", as the document puts it. Two; the revealing phrase which speaks of the "civilian wing of the govern-

ment". This statement clearly discloses the fundamental philosophy of the U. S. ruling class; that the military is equal with and not subservient to the civilian administration, which is supposed to be a basic requirement of "democratic government."

Gustave Papanek, who moved from Harvard to Ghana after the fall of Nkrumah, reporting on his progress in that country wrote:

"... It seems to be that the chances for another success story are as good or better in Ghana than with respect to any other project when we decided to undertake it. It would obviously be useful as well as pleasant, to be able to work with another country where one can find examples of policies that worked".

The "success story" entailed handing back to private ownership the industries that had been nationalized under Nkrumah. One of the chief beneficiaries of Papanek's work was Kaiser Aluminum, a section of the vast Kaiser empire which is presently laying waste extensive areas of British Columbia by the use of strip mining in the exploitation of rich coal fields and ore bodies.

Included in the supplement are several documents showing the direct and very friendly connection between the Harvard administration and faculty on the one hand and the C. I. A. on the other. A telegram from Harriman in Manila thanks Dean Franklin Ford of Harvard for having made Henry Kissinger available for a mission of "great importance" in South Vietnam.

The daily press, which raised a clamour about the "rough handling" of members of the faculty by the rebellious students, failed to men-

tion the facts about how these same professors had for years been members of a conspiracy aimed at subverting the student body and turning them into efficient killers in the interest of imperialist object-

ives. There is little doubt that it was the publication of these documents, offering unquestionable evidence of the existence of the conspiracy, that caused large numbers of students to actively participate

in the struggle demanding an end to officer training and involvement with the C. I. A. as well as greater student participation in the administration.

The sum total of the experience gained in struggle and the documentary evidence turned up through student activities and such actions as the raid on the offices of Dow Chemical, add up to telling proof that the administration of the imperialist state is nowhere left to chance. No longer do we have the "free play of the market" and the laissez faire attitudes that marked the early years of capitalist development. Every step is carefully and clearly charted by skilled administrators who know exactly the class interests they serve, where they want to go and how to get there. The primary function of the university in the imperialist state is to train the people who will serve loyally, and without doubts or hesitations, the imperialist ruling class, doing their loyal best for the cause in whatever sector of the administration they may be called upon to serve.

Opposition to this basic aim of the imperialist ruling class at the university and college level is really what the student rebellion is all about. The vast majority of students want to have the opportunity to participate in building a world - not prepare its destruction in the interests of imperialist exploitation.



Created and produced by striking students at Harvard's Graduate School of Design.

## NIXON ON VIETNAM

Nixon's recent address to the nation was loudly hailed as "a new departure in search of peace" However, a close examination of the content will show that the imperialist spokesman is still intent on attempting to snatch victory from the jaws of defeat.

The president's speech still held to the unacceptable formula that Vietnam is two nations and repeats a many-times rejected proposal

that those people in the South who resisted imperialist aggression must be deported to the North. The Yankee hope is for a "Korean settlement" - permanent division of Vietnam with the U. S occupying the Southern section.

In all his propaganda about "return to the North" it is significant that Nixon says nothing about his Saigon puppets. Most of the puppet administrators and armed services

officers, and many of the Saigon puppet troops, are northerners who served with the French imperialists, retreating with them in defeat and then enlisting in the service of U S imperialism. Why do we not have a proposal that these northerners return home? Why does Nixon insist that these particular northerners be upheld as the "democratic government of Vietnam?" The Liberation Front is indigenous

to the Southern zone and is the only legitimate government in the South. On this point alone Nixon's real intentions stand exposed.

The aggressor is now becoming desperate for some sort of "settlement" short of outright expulsion from the territory of Vietnam. The cost of the war to the imperialists is rising sharply in terms of money, manpower and materiel. The recent offensive by the Liberation forces has hit hard at U.S. and puppet bases with heavy cost to the imperialists. Destruction of aircraft, on the ground and in the air, is at an all-time high. Casualties are mounting and can no longer be covered up. U.S. generals are frantically trying to register "victories" in newspaper columns while being defeated in the field. Unable to hide their own heavy casualties they attempt to minimize them with claims of "Viet Cong" casualties which add up to the population being killed several times over.

Resistance to the war, and the

effects of the war, is sharpening on the home front, and in the armed services. More and more drafted servicemen are resisting being shipped to Vietnam and are joining with other sections of the population, particularly with the youth and the Black Liberation movement, in opposition to the war. Many U.S. communities are under virtual armed occupation, and jails are becoming so crowded with resisters that one now hears calls, emanating from U.S. Congress, for the opening of "detention" (concentration) camps. The position of the aggressor is desperate indeed.

Like every wild beast driven into a corner, the aggressor wreaks vengeance on whoever is within reach. One story of atrocities organized by the aggressor comes to us through the Vietnam News Agency.

The Quang Ngai Committee of the National Front for Liberation released a report on the massacre

of the people in Ba Lang by puppet troops. Thousands of people, mostly old and children, had been herded into camps, guarded by puppet troops. Resistance against persecution by savage jailers intensified.

As a reprisal, 4,000 camp inmates were transferred to the wharf at Co Luy where 1,000 were transferred to junks, dragged to sea behind motor launches and drowned. For several days after, hundreds of corpses were being washed ashore along the coast.

These are the desperate and murderous actions of an enemy facing the certainty of defeat. The imperialist aggressor is twisting and turning in an effort to maintain a foothold for aggression in Asia, but faces hammer blows in every direction. There is only one way out: The U.S. aggressor must get out of Vietnam.

# ANGUILLA

## BRITAIN COMMITS AGGRESSION

Black Star, a journal published in Bridgetown, Barbados, offers some biting comment on Britain's "glorious conquest" of the island of Anguilla, with its population of 6,000 Black people. Black Star comments, in part:

"Behind all the eyewash coming from Earl Barrow and his white masters in Britain, one thing is clear -- British action against the 6,000 people of Anguilla is racist. We don't need Constitutional niceties to explain away a rabid piratical act against a small, defenceless group of black men, women and children who have been humiliated and

degraded for centuries by British colonialists.

"How come, we must ask, that British military might has descended so quickly to drown the people of Anguilla in blood, when for the last 4 years the same British in the face of world opinion refused to bring down a bloody, satanic regime of gangsters and murderers in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia)?"

"How come that the British want to save 6,000 black people in Anguilla from gangsters, and not four million living in a nest of the most ruthless bandits to be met with anywhere in the so-

called free world?"

"The answer lies in the kith and kin argument advanced first by Sir Alec Douglas-Hume... (who) was the first to warn that whatever might happen in "Rhodesia", Smith and his cut-throats are their "kith and kin". And Wilson declared immediately after Smith seized "independence" that no force would be used against the white men..."

"What is so pathetic about Anguilla and Rhodesia is the fact that very few blacks seem to have got the message. Some are still plugging the line that the British believe in freedom."

# HISTORY

## INTERNATIONAL DAY OF LABOUR

A recent issue of Time magazine informs us that May Day has always been a nature holiday, dating back to ancient times, and that it was appropriated by the Communists in the nineteenth century. It is to be expected, of course, that Time would like to belittle the significance of May Day in the struggles of the international working class; the people Time represents would wish that these struggles had never taken place.

But workers everywhere remember and cherish the sacred tradition of May Day. Traditionally, great numbers of workers in Canada, as well as in every other country in the world, observed May Day as the international day for the demonstration of the power and solidarity of labour.

Temporarily, the observance of May Day has lost the wide support it once enjoyed amongst the Canadian working class, reflecting the temporary lull in the progress of the labour movement in this country. But groups across Canada kept alive the tradition in the sure knowledge that in the not too distant future the growing militancy of the labour movement will be reflected in the widespread renewal of the May Day tradition.

The Progressive Workers Movement held a banquet in celebration of May Day, attended by a good number of comrades and friends. After the meal a brief history of May Day was given by the chairman. A comrade from the United States discussed the current development of the anti-racist, anti-imperialist, and anti-capitalist struggle in that country. A very moving talk was given by a representative of the Native Alliance for Red Power,



The Haymarket Incident: Police agent sets off bomb at workers' rally, giving the police an excuse to arrest labour leaders.

who pointed out the need for the independence of the movement for the self-determination of the Canadian natives, even as that struggle is linked with the struggles of labour. After a program of labour and freedom songs, the banquet ended with the singing of the International.

Here is a summary of the history of May Day given at the banquet.

May Day had its beginning in the fight for the 8-hour working day. The first of many organizations for the limitation of the working day, the Grand Eight-Hour League of Massachusetts, was founded in 1866 as a special propagandist organization for the 8-hour idea. The League was a secret organization with passwords and an oath of obligation.

The 8-hour principle was immediately taken up by the International

Workingmen's Association (the First International), and raised to a demand of international importance. In 1871 the New York section of the International joined with the New York building trades unions and black workers in a demonstration for the 8-hour day. During the 1870's there were 8-hour strikes in various parts of the U. S., the state militias being often employed in their suppression.

The financial panic and mass unemployment of 1873 halted temporarily the 8-hour struggle.

At its last convention held in 1875, the Industrial Brotherhood which had existed for a couple of years, left behind as its most important legacy a decision that set July 4, 1876, as the date for the 8-hour day to be introduced by a "united movement on the part of

the working masses of the United States."

The Federation of Organized Trades and Labour Unions of America and Canada took up the issue at its inaugural convention in 1881, and at the Chicago convention of 1884 put teeth into the decision by resolving that: "8 hours shall constitute a legal day's work from and after May 1st, 1886."

On this first-ever May Day demonstration, May 1st, 1886, about 340,000 in the U.S. took part, about 200,000 of them on strike for the shorter work day, the remainder having already won some limitation on the hours of work. This was also the year of the famous "Haymarket Affair" in Chicago, when a bomb was exploded at a meeting on May 4, touching off mass arrests. The meeting had been called to protest the police murder of four strikers at the McCormack Reaper works, during a strike that began on May Day.

The 1888 convention of the AFL set May 1st, 1890, as the date for the second general strike for the limitation of the working day and

the delegates to the 1889 conference in Paris, called to form the Second International, after listening to U.S. representatives presenting an AFL appeal for support in the 8-hour fight, voted May 1st, 1890, as a day for international demonstrations around the 8-hour demand. However, the AFL bureaucrats had no stomach for the 8-hour day fight itself and persuaded the delegates to the 1889 convention to modify the program with a new plan to strike one industry at a time, the carpenters being the first in line.

At first the tactic seemed to hold the promise of good results, but ultimately it slowed down the movement, cooled down its militancy, and stripped it of much of its class consciousness and fighting solidarity.

The anti-militarist struggle during World War I and especially the October Revolution in Russia gave new impetus to May Day as the international day of labour. In the crisis of the '30s, May Day was always a day of great mass demonstrations, especially of un-

employed workers.

The spirit of May Day has always been much too militant, too class-conscious for the liking of the conservative and class collaborationist bureaucrats of the trade union hierarchy. The inauguration of the September "Labour Day" was deliberately designed to replace May Day with something safer and more 'respectable.' But tens of millions of workers around the world still mark May Day with strikes and demonstrations. As the crisis of capitalism sharpens and struggles against U.S. imperialism gather strength, we can look forward to the revival of May Day as the international day for demonstrating the power and unity of workers throughout the world, and in North America where the tradition was first initiated. The workers will thrust aside the bureaucrats and come out in militant demonstrations for new demands to meet the needs of today.

Long live May Day: the International Day of Labour.

# PERU

## MIDDLE CLASS NATIONALIZES OIL

On October 3, Peru's president Belaunde Terry was overthrown in a bloodless military coup by "pro-nationalist" officers angered by his refusal to nationalize Standard Oil's International Petroleum Company. The military then seized the I. P. C. holdings and demanded from the United States \$1 billion worth of profits taken from the country by the I. P. C. over the past 40 years.

Behind the move lies the fact of more than four decades of robbery by Rockefeller's Standard Oil. The oilfields which the militarists

have recently moved to nationalize were grabbed off by Standard in the 1920's. In the years following, Rockefeller acquired title to 135,000 acres of choice Peruvian land in the name of the Cerro de Pasco Corporation, and in 1964, through the agency of Chase-Manhattan Bank, bought up the 38-branch Banco Continental of Peru.

Subsoil rights to the oil-bearing area of Peru were originally held by British capitalists who acquired them from a corrupt government in violation of a law prohibiting the alienation of such

rights from the nation. Title was transferred to an English-owned company in Canada, International Petroleum, whose stock was later bought up by Standard Oil of New Jersey.

Once before, in 1963, the Peruvian Congress moved to nationalize the oilfields but retreated when the British government, on the grounds that it had been party to the original award, and the Canadian government, on the ground that the company was "Canadian", resisted nationalization. With Britain and Canada



ready and willing to run interference for the Yankee billions the United States government was able to remain discretely in the background, stating only that they would accept any settlement satisfactory to the company. Now Washington finds it necessary to take direct charge, claiming that the Canadian incorporation of the company is meaningless, that the United States is the aggrieved party.

(This is an interesting development in view of the claim advanced in some quarters that Canada is an imperialist country in her own right because some U. S. -owned subsidiaries handle a certain amount of overseas investments from here. When a push comes to shove, the Yankees are quick to show who is the real boss of the show.)

When Belaunde Terry made some quite modest demands on Standard and other interests, amounting to no more than a request for payment of back taxes, the United States, aided by Britain, put pressure on his government. Belaunde finally capitulated to the pressure and exonerated the company completely from paying any back debts to Peru.

Just as in all Latin American countries, living conditions for the Peruvian working people are absolutely deplorable. Unemployment, starvation, "homes" constructed of cardboard and tin, tens of thousands of sick and hungry people huddled into the poverty ghettos, known as "barrios", than rim the cities like Lima, and landless peasants who own not even a patch of soil on which to grow a few vegetables, even as Yankee land-grabbers carve out virtual kingdoms for themselves. The already unbelievably horrible conditions of the people grow daily worse while a few foreign investors reap untold wealth from the tortured land.

A relative handful of traitor



Oil companies dominate building in Lima--and rest of the country.

puppets have been content to sell-out the country's natural resources and act as overseers and hangmen for U. S. imperialists. The payments made to this traitor class are invested abroad, against the day when they will have to flee the wrath of the people.

Resentment against these conditions, arising from foreign domination and exploitation, has been intensifying over the years to the point where workers and peasants have mounted sharp struggle against the imperialist exploiters and the regime of national betrayal. The only response of the imperialists to date has been a demand for more repressive measures and an increase of taxes on the Peruvian people to provide still more facilities for the exploiters and to pay the expenses of the state bureaucracy.

Given the conditions that exist in Peru it is inevitable that the middle class and the lower ranks of the national bourgeoisie would be squeezed economically and become resentful toward the regime, particularly since they are not allowed a share of the profits of national betrayal. These groups entertain desires to transform the administration into one that more closely represents their class interests. But they carefully avoid mobilization of the masses and revolution. Rather than chance an appeal to the working people, they

will seek means to achieve their ends by "peaceful and orderly methods" if the opportunity should present itself. And in Peru the opportunity did, indeed, come to hand.

The officer corp of the armed forces is manned mainly by members of these dissatisfied elements and when the crisis in the semi-colonial economy becomes sharp enough they tend to side with the class group from which they sprang—especially if there appears to be real hope of success. In Peru conditions were ripe for this type of action and the army was able to organize a coup that completely avoided any appeal to the mass of the people.

Instead, the militarists use the visit of some Russian warships and hastily-signed trade agreements with Russia's eastern European colonies to try to bolster their image of "national independence" from U. S. imperialism. But without a mass base the army administration cannot last. The internal contradictions that tear apart the various elements that support the dictatorship will cause it to break up from within, and U. S. pressure from without—including armed intervention if deemed necessary—will hasten the development of the internal factors. The army administration will quite soon be confronted with the choice of mobilizing the masses for revolutionary anti-imperialist resistance, or of coming to terms with the foreign exploiters, which will mean capitulation.

Being exploiters themselves, and panic-stricken at the idea of armed revolution, it is a foregone conclusion that this administration as presently constituted, will choose the path of capitulation to the imperialists. The fight for national independence in Peru will make real advances only when the working people take over the leadership of the anti-imperialist forces.

# AROUND THE WORLD

## U S IN EUROPE

The many attempts at achieving "economic unity" in Europe - which are constantly foundering on the rock of contradictions inherent in imperialist competition - are due mainly to the rapidly-growing U. S. penetration of the European economy which has absorbed from that source investments totaling more than \$20 billion. Fear of England's subservience to U. S. monopoly and her suspected role as a fifth column in the service of the American imperialists, is the chief reason for French resistance to British membership in the Common Market.

Information on the extent of U. S. penetration is starting to come to light and it reveals a pattern of control in the basic industries similar to the Canadian experience with U. S. monopoly. Electronic computers are a vitally important component in the modern world of business and industry and three-fourths of these machines in Western Europe are manufactured in U. S. -owned factories. Fifty percent of oil refining in Britain and West Germany is in U. S. hands. General Motors, Ford and Chrysler have a stranglehold on the automobile industry. Agricultural machinery, synthetic rubber and sewing machines are produced mainly in U. S. monopoly plants. The entrenchment of U. S. capital in the economy of Western Europe is further strengthened through U. S. monopoly control of the raw materials required for the operation of the basic industries.

Annually the United States acquires up to seven per cent of the scientific and technological personnel trained in West Europe. Even larger numbers are absorbed into U. S. -controlled plants

on the continent. These highly trained technicians and scientists contribute to the high degree of technology in U. S. industry which gives imperialism the ability to exploit workers at home and abroad.

## MIDDLE EAST

Representatives of the powerful oil industry are anxiously pressing for a four-power conference to impose an unjust peace on the Arab people. The Moscow privileged ruling group, which capitulated to the imperialists on the Mideast cease fire in June 1967, are exhibiting an unseemly haste to accommodate the oil monopolists in their plots against the Arab people. It is safe to say that any so-called "peace" the oil companies agree to would be one in which their interests are made secure, and therefore the interests of the working people ignored.

The joint efforts of the U. S. and U. S. S. R., each with their own interests and objectives in the oil-rich Mideast, to reach a compromise, and the readiness of the U. S. to provide arms and planes for some of the Arab opponents of chief-puppet Israel, may appear somewhat confusing. It is not so confusing when one realizes that the underlying reason for the urgency in reaching a negotiated settlement is fear of

the fast-developing Arab revolution. The fast-developing influence and efficiency of the revolutionary resistance movement has not only driven fear of revolution deep into the ranks of the four powers, but has also got the Zionists and the Arab bourgeoisie scared out of their wits. The selective arming of Arab reactionaries is not against Israel; it is against the Arab revolution which cannot be negotiated with whereas Hussein of Jordan and Nasser of the United Arab Republic offer at least some hope of reaching a negotiated settlement and the safeguarding of imperialist interests. The New York Times, an authoritative voice of the U. S. administration, commenting on the Mideast situation, declared: "The Nixon administration seems to be concerned not so much by any present threat to Israel's security from the Arab states, as by the revolutionary potential of the Arab commandos and frustrated populaces against leaders such as King Hussein of Jordan. . ."

Recent outbreaks in Lebanon against government attempts to restrict the movements and activities of Palestinian guerrillas indicates that there is a lot of substance behind Nixon's concern for a possible revolutionary outburst.



Palestinian refugee camps:

U. S., U. S. S. R., and Arab reactionaries seek to preserve this status quo.

# SOCIALIST THEORY

## THEORETICIAN DEFENDS IMPERIALISM

A book of essays published by the New York Times and edited by Harrison Salisbury under the title "Progress, Coexistence and Intellectual Freedom", is going the rounds in North America. Among the essays which Salisbury considers worthy of inclusion in his volume is one by Andrei Sakharov, which originally appeared as an article in that imposing journal of U. S. ruling class opinion--the New York Times. The essay is worthy of comment, not only because of its content, but also because of the man who authored it.

Sakharov is a Soviet scientist, a member of the ruling Communist Party and a person who is often entrusted with travelling abroad to propagate Moscow's line of collaboration with the United States in the name of "peaceful coexistence." By reason of his political and academic standing in Moscow and also his frequent missions abroad which are at least quasi-official, Sakharov's views, expressed in the essay, must be considered as something more than personal.

Sakharov does not write of the Socialist world and the imperialist world, he talks of "two super-powers", the US and the USSR, which, he contents, must collaborate to enforce their will on the whole world, especially on China.

Of course this Soviet academician who touts for imperialism does not speak for himself alone. He is speaking for the entire Moscow ruling clique and they are putting into practice the things he talks

about. Soviet-US collaboration is a fact of life all over the world. In the Middle-East against the national independence movement, in the Sea of Japan against Korea, in Southeast Asia against Vietnam and along the Siberian border against China as well as with reactionary ruling groups everywhere (India for example) against the common people for freedom.

Proceeding from the invasion of Czechoslovakia, Moscow has announced the "doctrine of limited sovereignty," that is, Moscow's right to intervene militarily anywhere in her "sphere of influence" to prevent developments of which the USSR does not approve. This is parallel to the U. S. doctrine of preventing "internal aggression" that is, preventing oppressed people from carrying out badly needed social change. It is logical, therefore, that the Soviet Union should seek collaboration with the United States, an agreement on the limits of "spheres of influence" and a policy of united action against those who are suspected of making preparations to disturb the status quo.

Soviet provocations on the Chinese border must be viewed within the context of this "doctrine of limited sovereignty" and the policy of collaboration for world domination between the "two super-powers" as outlined by Sakharov in his essay.

On the question of the border incident itself; China has long since drawn attention to and protested against concentrations of

Soviet troops along her Eastern border. Peking demanded that these concentrations cease and troops be pulled back, but Moscow simply replied with bellicose threats and continued the build-up.

The Soviet communiques themselves give us the key as to who is responsible for the border clashes. In an effort to put a foundation under their false accusations of Chinese responsibility the Moscow reports have spoken of "a mob of civilians including militiamen in plain clothes" on territory unjustly claimed by the USSR, as the historical record establishes. This so-called "mob of civilians" were simply peasants wanting to till the soil in peace, but prepared to defend themselves against armed provocation, on land that rightfully belongs to China.

These same Soviet communiques that could find nothing more threatening than "a mob of civilians" on the Chinese side, freely admit that tanks and heavy bombers were employed by the Soviet side. No question there of intent--one does not till the soil with tanks, planes and machine guns. And we have the further provocation of threats to use nuclear weapons against China, which put Moscow in the same league as the Pentagon on that score.

Sakharov's essay clearly states Moscow's aims in the world, and what Sakharov has written about Moscow is putting into daily practice.

# TOWARDS A PARTY

## NEED AGITATION AND EDUCATION

This contribution to the discussion on "Toward a Party" is the joint effort of three people who are members of a political group active in B. C. We welcome this, and will welcome any other submissions designed to further the aim of building a Marxist-Leninist Party in Canada. We offer a few preliminary comments on the piece in this issue.

The first part of the article contains a legitimate criticism of the "left" everywhere; their error in looking upon themselves as the whole working class and believing that the objectives must necessarily be the aims of the class. They tend to substitute themselves for the class and their demands for the demands of the class. This attitude leads to leftist mistakes and isolation from the workers.

This condition is particularly prevalent in a time and place when the crisis of capitalism has not sharpened to the point where the working people are prepared to offer a real challenge to the rule of the exploiters, and keep their demands well within the framework of the existing social system. The left is inclined to become impatient and want to press on to tackle problems that the workers are not yet prepared to deal with. In this respect, the criticisms of the left contained in the article are fundamentally sound.

We think that the article is weak in two points. First, it seems to convey the impression that a revolutionary party will arise spontaneously from the struggle. Our position is that a revolutionary party must be activ-

ly and consciously fought for by advanced elements among the workers and be prepared to give concrete direction and meaning to the spontaneous movement of the workers.

Another impression that we consider incorrect is where it appears the authors suggest a course of study for "self-improvement" of the left. In order to be able to judge the correctness of our ideas, we have to engage in practical activities using our ideas as guidelines. "Criticism-self-criticism" should be aimed at improving our practical work (by correcting mistaken ideas) and not become a substitute for other kinds of practice. In other words, we do not set out to improve ourselves first, before we take part in the struggle to change the society -- we attempt to improve ourselves in the course of the struggle. This does not mean, for instance, that bad personal attitudes should not be sharply criticized. It means that bad personal habits should be criticized not in a vacuum but in relation to the bad effect they have on that individual's social practice -- his or her personal habits and the political work of the whole group he or she is associated with.

It is necessary that we add a note here pointing out that the previous two paragraphs are a criticism of impressions we think the article conveys. We know that this is not the actual opinion of the authors whose position is closer to our own on these points. We deemed it necessary only to correct what appears to be a wrong impression conveyed which the authors themselves would pro-

bably have corrected at a later date.

\* \* \* \* \*

We must have a party! We need a Marxist-Leninist party in Canada! This is the cry of left-wing elements across the country.

What is the cry of the Canadian people?

Are 'progressive' elements really trying to assess the needs of the masses? or are we foundering in our own need for recognition and identity?

Have any of us taken the time to find out if the Canadian people need or indeed want, a revolutionary party?

Do we have enough trust in the masses to actually form a party in which THEY will play the leading role?

or Do we tend to set ourselves up as leaders because we know some high sounding phrases and are superficially acquainted with the works of Marx, Lenin, Stalin, Trotsky, Mao, Fidel, Che, Giap, and Ho?

If we, as dedicated persons to the cause, truly believe in the Canadian people and particularly, have faith in the historical role of the working class, then it is only from the latter that a revolutionary party can grow, based on their wants, needs, and desires.

Parties of the past have forgotten that they are also part of the Canadian society and not separate from it. The problem of communication has been an excuse for inaction. Correct communication will come from a correct political base. True Marxist-Leninists will overcome all difficulties. Canada is a highly tech-

nical society and has one of the most efficient and developed means of communication. Perhaps the problem isn't that we can't communicate on a national scale, but more likely we can't communicate on a personal level with the Canadian standing next to us. A possible reason for failure of communication at the personal level is that we today do not completely understand the laws of social development and how they affect each of us in our social relations.

So-called political groups have failed to realize that Marxism-Leninism is a CREATIVE plan for action, not a dogma to be mechanically applied. Are not the results of the past ample proof? Does not all knowledge stem from practice?

Criticism and self-criticism plays an important part in achieving unity. To criticize ourselves with the aim of changing ourselves by eliminating and constantly guarding against the influence of the society in which we live is a form of practice. If we do not ~~change~~ change ourselves, how can we expect our society to change? Progressive individuals and organizations practice too much criticism, especially of each other, yet really fear taking a hard objective look at themselves. As a result, we remain aloof from the masses in sectarian groups.

It is a forgone conclusion that the ideology of the ruling class is the ideology of the Canadian people. Progressive elements in Canada today are still in ideological war among themselves as well as against the ruling class. For example; many of us want to be recognized for our individual accomplishments rather than for the accomplishments of a workers collective movement. We all want to go down in history for our great leadership of the proletariat in Canada. Are we acquainted with the real conditions of the masses?

Progressives tend to think that the only revolutionaries are those who believe in the overthrow of the capitalist class, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the establishment of socialism, then communism. Belief alone will not accomplish the goal of the Canadian people. What about the people who rebel against the abhorring conditions under which they are forced to live and have yet to hear of Marx and Lenin? The correct action based on an understanding of the laws of social development is what will bring about changes in our society for the betterment of all. Capitalism breeds the seeds of its own destruction; those seeds are germinating and becoming revolutionary.

We left-wing elements in our areas of work (eg. newspapers, etc.) have been so caught up in the importance of ourselves and our indispensibility that we fail to understand; the people are the makers of history and not, as the idealists say, the great men.

Before a correct Marxist-Leninist Party can be conceived, a seed must be planted among those who are to become its members. A necessary part of the ground work is to educate ourselves and others in the laws of social development in order that we may apply them in our daily lives. From our theories, proven in practice, we will come up with a correct working analysis of the

Canadian dilemma. Before a concrete analysis of the concrete Canadian condition can be conceived we must have the tools to make the analysis. We must study the laws of social development which is Dialectical and Historical Materialism as it may be applied to our personal lives in relation to the Canadian condition.

We must become self-reliant, not Russian, Chinese, Cuban, or American stereotypes. We must have a strictly Canadian application of what is useful from the successful struggles of other nations, as well as many more tactics peculiar to the Canadian battle.

As conditions (necessity and freedom) force people to realize that there is no political party in Canada capable of leading the Canadian people to true self-determination, either as a nation or as individuals; the demand for a party will grow. From the people will come the party, and all our efforts to put the cart before the horse will be a grave error.

--Interested beginners  
in the Canadian fight  
for liberation.

P. S. - Lenin said, "Agitate, educate, and organize!" ARE WE PREPARED??? If not, let's get educated.

## **Progressive Worker**

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# LETTERS

## PROFESSOR FIRED

The Progressive Workers Movement is in receipt of a long letter dealing with some aspects of the Sir George Williams situation. We publish here that section of the letter dealing with David Orton, a sociology lecturer at Sir George, in the hope that it will explain some of the atmosphere at Sir George.

Progressive Worker,  
May 10, 1969

The Editor

Dear Sir:

Another example of bureaucratic repression was the occasion of the setting up of a closed-doors committee to "investigate" charges brought against David Orton, a progressive sociology lecturer at Sir George. The real purpose of the committee was in the final analysis to drum up non-political reasons for the firing of David Orton from his post.

On March 13, 1968, a group of progressive students along with David Orton attended a meeting on the subject of Systems analysis sponsored by the Engineering Department at Sir George Williams University. The speaker was a representative of Canadian Aviation and Electronics industries, a company which is a major supplier of crucial war materials to the U. S. military effort in Viet Nam. The purpose of the students in attending the meeting was to initiate discussion of the support by the university

for a company actively engaged in the manufacture and sale of material to serve U. S. militarism and aggression in Viet Nam. Such university support was openly declared by the fact that the company representative was introduced by Professor Callaghan of the Engineering Department. As the students rose to protest support for such companies as CAE, Professor Callaghan refused to allow the meeting to continue, and immediately called a postponement.

Some weeks later, Dean Jack Borden of Engineering brought charges against David Orton for playing a "principal role" in disrupting a "... legitimate academic seminar held by the Engineering Faculty to the point where the seminar could not continue." (Memorandum to Acting Dean Neil Compton From: Committee of Inquiry into Charges made against Professor Orton by the Dean of Engineering, June 18, 1969). Copies of the text of the charges were never made available to David Orton, although a committee was immediately set up without Orton's knowledge to investigate the charges against him. One of the first acts of the committee was to demand the appearance of David Orton to its presence. This was done only after discussions with those who had brought charges. Orton correctly and courageously refused to appear and demanded from the outset that the enquiry be made public so that the issues could be fully discussed in the open.

He saw the issue correctly in contending that it was not one of his having "... been a principle in disrupting a legitimate academic seminar", but that the Engineering Faculty had "... prevented a public confrontation of ideas..." He argued in a letter to Compton (June 12, 1968) that the basic purpose CAE on campus was the promotion of U. S. militarism at Sir George Williams University and that the charge against himself, and the Committee of Enquiry, merely served to "... confound right and wrong and to protect the anti-people and anti-academic agents of U. S. militarism at Sir George Williams University who should instead themselves be investigated and thoroughly exposed." The real issue, Orton claimed, was not one of disruption, but one of "... which forces promote U. S. militarism, and which forces oppose this." Orton correctly pointed out that a public enquiry would make it possible to "... a) document the involvement of certain members of our Board of Governors in the production of war materials for U. S. imperialism, and b) show concretely that ever since I (Orton) started teaching at this university one year ago, I have been hounded and discriminated against for my political beliefs by people who support the status quo and crush attempts to initiate social change." In the same letter, Orton claimed that the discrimination was without doubt political because his academic credentials were excellent, as was his rela-

tionship to the students in his classes. His claims were well documented by a letter from the Sir George Administration congratulating him for his academic achievement in his undergraduate years. A report drawn up by the indignant students of his class, signed by all but a handful of the class members, is enthusiastic about the course material and the teacher's working style. The students fully denounce the administration at

St. George for their arbitrary dismissal of Orton, and for depriving him of his livelihood.

The firing of course occurred months after the initial incident, and after a summer exchange of letters between various administration watchdogs and Orton. This was obviously done to keep the issue from surfacing for public discussion.

In the meantime, however, Orton and other progressive forces have not been inactive.

Orton has been an open and active supporter of the struggle of the oppressed people of Quebec for self determination, and an open and vigorous opponent of the decadent imperialist university and society which promotes racism, prevents the development of ideas, and represses progressive activity. He has been a consistent propagator of progressive ideas.

## FOREIGN CONTROL OF THE ECONOMY

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

U. S. capital investment in the basic sectors of the economy has about reached the saturation point. Recent examples of this type of investment include the purchase of Nelson's Laundries and White Spot Restaurants in B. C. There are many other examples throughout the country.

From both Alberta and Ontario come reports that small businesses which have been in the same family for a century or more are now being swallowed up by U. S.

giants. The independent Canadian entrepreneur is rapidly disappearing from the scene. Even farming properties are disappearing into the U. S. grab-bag. In Saskatchewan U. S. purchase of farms has reached such proportions that a farmers' convention unanimously endorsed a resolution that no more land be sold to U. S. buyers.

Litton Industries, the giant conglomerate of whom a book could be written, has recently been added to the list of imperi-

alist exploiters in Canada. According to the Globe and Mail, Litton now has 1400 employees in Canada and their newly-appointed president in Canada, John Freitag, is going to push the development of the company's interests in Canada.

What is in store for us here can be seen in the fact that Litton, starting as a small electronics firm with sales of \$3 million in 1953, by 1968 had surpassed many of the better known giants when it recorded sales of \$1.8 billion. The key to Litton's political philosophy is contained in its \$800 million contract with the Greek military-fascist junta.

Litton's top men held important positions with Hughes Aircraft when it was caught cheating the U. S. government of hundreds of millions of dollars on war contracts. Much of the money had to be repayed and the two who launched Litton on its career were bounced for getting caught. A confidential memo, prepared by the highly-rated Wall Street firm of Haskins and Sills, which was presented as evidence in a legal case, said of Litton's top man, Tex Thornton:

"Good abilities along a few lines but not a good all round man; is unprincipled, ruthless and is universally disliked; cannot be trusted."



"We must have foreign investment."

In other words, an exemplary addition to our list of foreign exploiters.

Latin American countries are often called "Banana Republics" by way of emphasis on how they are completely dominated by U. S. imperialism. The disastrous conditions arising out of the extreme exploitation by both foreign capital and feudalist landowners is too obvious to miss. Hunger, misery, and death are the order of the day. In Northeast Brazil, for example, life expectancy is about twenty-five years. Direct U. S. armed intervention to prop up shaky dictatorships helps make clear where real control is centered.

A superficial examination may give the impression that Canada is relatively less exploited than Latin America. We have a large and sparsely-populated country, no feudal landlord class, and no landless peasantry congregating around urban areas and acting as a depressant on incomes and living standards. Canadians are largely employed in the low-cost, high-profit work of extracting and shipping natural resources to keep the wheels of U. S. industry turning. A few workers using modern machinery can produce large quantities of the required goods at a low cost. We are close to the dominant imperialist market; which keeps transportation costs at a minimum. Until now our docile politicians have been able to maintain "law and order" without open intervention by the imperialist master. These factors permit the foreign exploiter to pay slightly higher wages to a section of the working class without doing any damage to their profit position. The contradictions inherent in this imperialist form of exploitation take a little longer to sharpen into hostility--but sharpen they will.

Our relatively higher standards of living do not indicate that Cana-

da is less thoroughly or efficiently exploited than the Latin American countries. U. S. investment in Canada figured on a per capita basis is twenty times the Latin American figure. A comparison of Canadian incomes with those paid in the dominant imperialist country underlines our status as an economic colony. The latest figures at hand are those published by the Economic Council of Canada about two years ago. Placing the U. S. average at 100, the report showed the comparative standing to be: Ontario 83; B. C. 80; Prairies 71; Quebec 62; Maritimes 47; Seven of the eight regions in the U. S. had income averages higher than Ontario--Canada's highest--and California had an average 60 per cent higher than Ontario. Only the U. S. southeast (such states as Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi) had an average slightly lower than Ontario--and the U. S. government has declared the southeast to be a poverty zone. Particularly noticeable is the fact that Quebec, suffering under a double national exploitation, is the lowest of all the areas except the Maritimes, which is a special case.

Even these figures do not tell the whole story for there must also be taken into consideration the fact that we pay up to a third higher for a wide range of consumer goods, so that REAL incomes are still lower in comparison to those of U. S. workers. All things considered, even the U. S. poverty zone is well above Canada's top figure.

Foreign domination ultimately results in disastrous distortion of the all round development of the country. Foreign capital looks for a high and fast return on investments and that means exploiting the richest and most easily accessible natural resources. For the U. S. investor close proximity to industry and a good supply of cheap raw materials constitutes the main attraction for investment in Canada. When a zone of investment declines it is soon abandon-

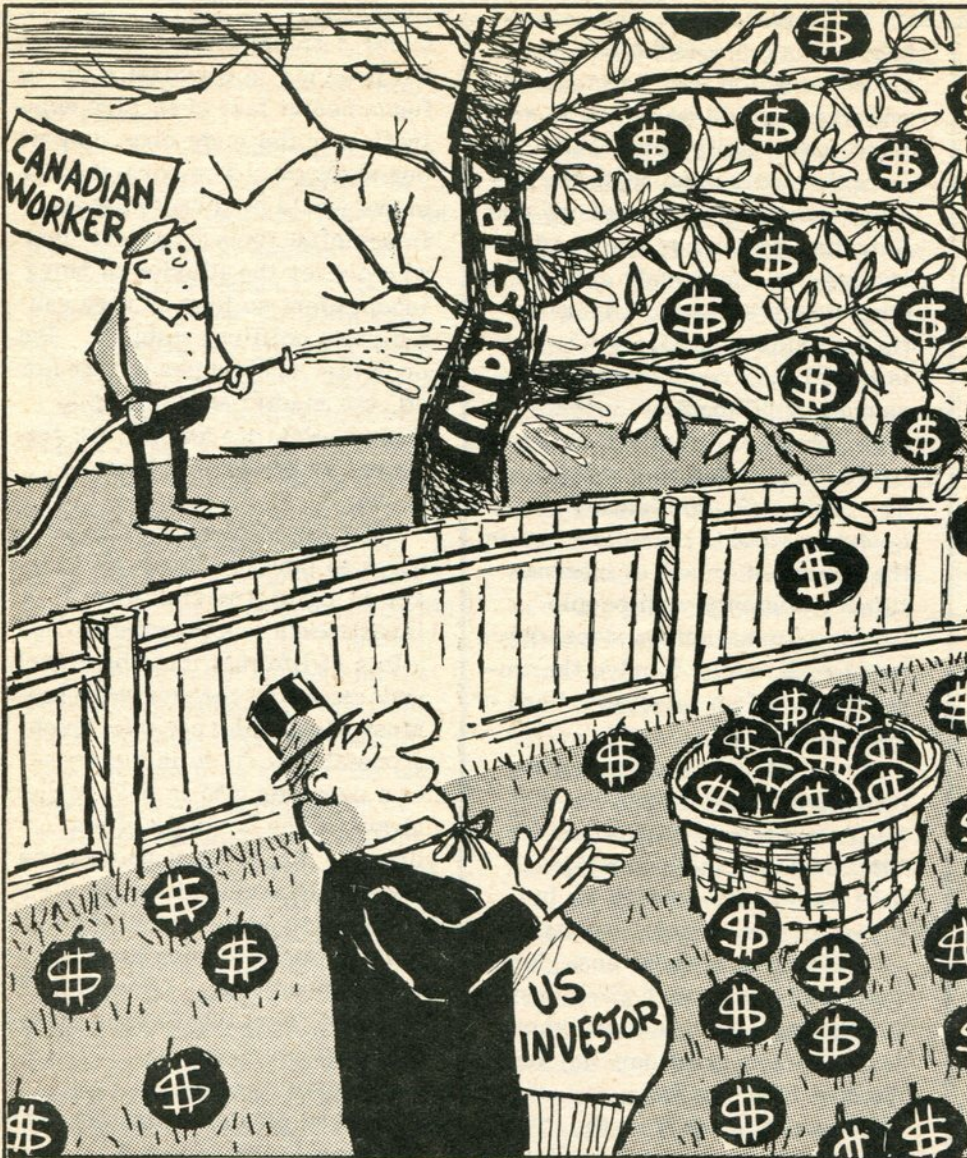
ed in favour of a more attractive area, without a thought for the fate of the surrounding community. This is when the alleged benefits of foreign investment, which the politicians never tire of acclaiming, appear in their true light. It is then we see that it was for quick and easy profit, not the building of a community, that foreign investors came in.

The Maritimes is the clearest and presently most disastrous example of a community milked by foreign investors and then abandoned. In New Brunswick, K. C. Irving and Standard Oil dominate every single aspect of the economic and cultural life of the province, keep living standards at a minimum and hold economic development at a level designed to return the greatest profit. And after decades of profitable exploitation of Maritimes resources sweetened by millions in government subsidies, Dominion Steel and Coal--an English company--took a decision to cease operations, thus wiping out thousands of jobs.

The mineral and other resources of the Maritimes are neither so plentiful nor so rich as some other areas, hence profit expectations are not so favourable. An added disadvantage is remoteness from markets and difficult transportation problems which add to costs. Foreign investors show little interest in the region, and since the main activity of government, provincial and federal, consists of safeguarding U. S. investments, little is done to stimulate Maritimes development, and any small effort in this direction is inevitably coupled with a generous serving of gravy to some U. S. monopoly.

One example of recent vintage was placing the public treasury at the disposal of B. A. OIL, which has doffed its mask to reveal its true identity as Gulf (U. S.). P. W. previously related this tale of government social assistance be-





ing dispensed to under-privileged U. S. billionaire corporations. Gulf, through its B. A. subsidiary, got \$9.5 million of federal money to finance the cost of an oil loading dock and to help in construction of a refinery at Point Tupper Nova Scotia. In addition, the federal-provincial Atlantic Development Board undertook to provide a water supply system and to join with Nova Scotia in underwriting the cost of roads and rail lines. While this deal was being worked out Royalite, a B. A. subsidiary, was negotiating purchase of other Canadian properties. Hence the government, by granting generous subsidies to Gulf in Nova Scotia, was actually helping that company to acquire more control of the Canadian economy.

Spectacular as was Dosco's abandonment of Nova Scotia there are other less publicized but more far reaching effects of the distortion caused by imperialist domination, which turns the whole of the Maritimes into a blighted and poverty-stricken zone that is slowly being deserted. The story of the disappearing farms in the east coast provinces is one not widely known. It is a process of decline which flows directly from the fact that markets are not only not growing, they are actually declining.

A report compiled by agricultural economic consultants shows that the total number of farms in the region decreased from 52,600 in 1956, to 24,700 in 1966—a decline of more than 50 per cent in

10 years, and a projection indicates a further decrease to about 18,000 by 1975. Between 1941 and 1961 the agricultural labour force fell from 95,000 to 34,000.

This disastrous situation in the Maritimes is attributable to the fact of foreign economic domination and to our government's complicity in furthering the interests of U. S. monopoly which runs counter to the national interest. A secondary industry, based on resources available in the Maritimes, coupled with the development of a ship construction program to provide a merchant marine would create thousands of much-needed jobs and a market for agricultural products which would reverse the present trend of disappearing farms. Thus a development program geared to Canada's needs could quickly change the course of events. But to achieve this goal we must change from subservience to the needs of foreign capital and start developing an economy free from U. S. domination.

Exercising control over our industries, the imperialists can limit our exports in a way that favours the U. S. parent companies and inhibit the development of a secondary industry. They can control the production and flow of strategic raw materials, price them abnormally low and import from the parent companies at prices abnormally high, thus increasing our foreign payments deficits and, consequently, strengthening their hold on the economy. The Watkins Report (a bourgeois study), states:

"While American subsidiaries operating in Canada are, in one sense, simply Canadian firms owned by individual American corporations subject to Canadian law and policy, they are also part of the American industrial state influenced by, if not directly subject to, American law and policy formulated in the pursuit of American objectives. In so far as the latter transcend economic objectives to include the objectives of

foreign policy and national security, it can be argued that Canada could become, at least indirectly, an instrument of American foreign policy and American military goals."

Not only CAN we become, we already are- and not so indirectly - instruments of U. S. imperialist policy ruled by a docile pro-imperialist government.

The United States is the most aggressive imperialist power in the world today. Our natural resources play a significant part in keeping the wheels of U. S. industry turning, thereby putting us in the position of aiding U. S. imperialist aggression and expansion. The effect on ourselves is to render us subservient to the requirements and aims of the United States and puts us at the mercy of the boom and bust of U. S. war production. Lacking our own independent secondary industry, our whole economy faces total collapse in the event of even a relatively mild economic recession in the U. S. which would close the market for our main item of production -- raw materials. It is not inconceivable that all Canada might suffer the same fate as the Maritimes. As it stands now, foreign domination is hindering the development of one of the world's great land masses and keeps the population at a ridiculously low level.

Our resources are used to feed industries abroad, instead of for the creation of new industries and jobs at home. For example: iron ore on Texada Island and coal from the Kootenays are shipped to Japan to make steel, feed coking plants and supply the by-products industry that spring up around that kind of industrial complex. And to add to the aggravation, the ships that transport these materials are built in foreign yards, manned by seamen from other lands, while Canadian shipbuilders and seamen are jobless, and university graduates fail to ob-

tain engineering and other positions for which they are trained, and which would be theirs if we were industrially developed.

Profits extracted from the exploitation of Canadian labour and Canadian resources are used to expand U. S. monopoly control in other lands -- especially in Latin America and Africa where it is hoped less resentment will be caused by "Canadian" investment which are really U. S. investments in disguise. Putting an end to U. S. domination of our economy would, therefore, be in the nature of an act of international solidarity with people fighting for national independence because it would deprive the imperialists of an important base of operations.

We, in fact, even finance our own economic domination. In 1965, when U. S. investments totalled \$405 million, \$461 million left the country as income on U. S. direct investment -- and this is without considering profits that were re-invested. In other words, the claim that U. S. dollars are financing our development, as the political pundits claim, is a myth. The imperialist exploiters are buying us with our own money.

In the light of the above facts, it should be obvious that the main characteristic of exploitation in Canada is its imperialist nature. Thus, the present stage of the struggle in Canada is one of a fight for independence from foreign economic domination, mainly centered in the United States. The fact that this domination is deliberately fostered by the dominant section of the ruling class, and by subservient administrations in Ottawa and the provinces which act as baliffs for the absentee landlords, and the fact that the governments are still able to function under normal bourgeois democratic rule, renders the situation somewhat more complex than would be the case

under outright armed occupation, but does not in the least alter the fundamental fact of foreign domination or the main direction of our struggle. Temporarily, the blows would be directed at the imperialist tools in government who convey the illusion of being independent so long as they can maintain political stability. But once they are seriously threatened, the master will hasten to their assistance and the the real source of power will become known.

That the Marines will be as quick to land in Canada as they are in Latin America when U. S. investments are threatened, is a fact of life that must be clearly understood by the working class. Most people who consider such a possibility do so in the sense of a dreamer who is only vaguely aware of the contents of his dream. Imperialist spokesmen have no illusions about the steps to be taken in the event of a serious struggle arising for Canadian independence. A recent A. P. dispatch from Washington makes this point very clear:

"Senator Russell B. Long defending oil import quotas, said Tuesday in the Senate it is conceivable that the United States and Canada may some day be at war with each other.

"Senator Proxmire had said the national defence argument for the quota program left out of account Canadian oil that would be available in case of war.

"Long asked him how he knew the U. S. might not sometime be at war with Canada.

"When Proxmire asked if he were serious, Long replied the war was entirely conceivable.

"He said that if anyone had said 20 years ago that war between the U. S. and Cuba was a possibility, he would have told him he was dreaming."

There can be no doubt as to the Senator's meaning. He was discussing steps to be taken in the

event of a Canadian people's struggle for independence being undertaken.

With the main characteristic of our struggle manifesting itself as a fight against imperialist economic domination and for national independence, it is essential that we maintain vigilance against the people's movement degenerating into bourgeois nationalism. The international aspect of the struggle must be kept to the fore by emphasizing support for the right of ALL nations to self-determination. In particular, our support for Quebec's fight for self-determination will draw a clear line of demarcation between ourselves and the bourgeois nationalists who seek their own independence only in order to use it as a base for the domination and exploitation of other classes and other nations.

Yet another important point of consideration is to ensure that the future, as well as the immediate interests of the working class are taken care of. The program of struggle must include the demand that assets taken over from the imperialist exploiters and their treasonous Canadian puppets be retained as property held in common -- property of a socialist nature which, with the working class leading the fight for the nation, will serve as a firm base from which to advance to the building of a socialist society.

In Canada, exploitation is imperialist in nature, even though POLITICAL power and repressive acts are put into effect by CANADIAN puppet-partners of the U.S. imperialists. Since, in Canada, imperialism IS exploitation, the U.S. imperialists ARE the exploiting class, there is no contradiction between the fight for the nation and the working class fight to end all exploitation of man by man for the defeat of the imperialists is the defeat of the decisive section

of the exploiting class in Canada, the section that is the mainstay of all exploiters in our country. So the fight against imperialism IS the fight against exploitation. Thus, at this stage, it is the fight for the emancipation of the class as well as of the nation.

Victory in this struggle demands that the working class constitute itself, as the most numerous and the most consistently revolutionary class, the leadership of the struggle. This is necessary in order that not only freedom from imperialist domination be secured, but also in order that the struggle will advance beyond the goal of national independence toward the final objective -- the emancipation of the working class and the building of socialism. To become such a leading force, the organized workers must free themselves from the domination of U.S. union bureaucrats who take a position in contradiction to Canadian interests by their support of U.S. foreign policy which includes domination of Canada and the exploitation of her resources and her people.

Despite all the evidence clearly outlining our status as an economic colony of U.S. imperialism, and regardless of the absolute certainty that the imperialists will act with full force, dispatch, and efficiency in protecting their investments, there are those who downgrade the imperialist presence and insist that the sole enemy confronting the working class are the Canadian capitalists and "Canadian imperialism". They contend we have only the Canadian ruling class to defeat in order to be free. If this were so, there is no doubt Canadian workers, given the desire, could end capitalist domination with an absolute minimum of struggle.

To pinpoint these weaklings as the only enemy is to disarm the working class. The enemy we

face, the real rulers of the nation, are much more formidable, and the Canadian people, when they decide to assert their independence, must be forewarned to prepare themselves for a protracted and, on the record of U.S. aggression, a bloody struggle.

It is, therefore, not as an intellectual exercise that we investigate the full meaning and extent of U.S. imperialist domination in Canada. We do this so we may clearly identify the real enemy, his strengths and his weaknesses, and in order that the working class will be fully prepared for the serious battles ahead. There is no doubt that the U.S. imperialists, hard on the heels of our decision to assert our independence, will move in with armed intervention in defence of their imperialist interests.

This is the reality of the situation and turning the attention of the people away from this fact is to act in an irresponsible way, to play the role of enemy agent in the ranks of the working class. Leading the people into struggle without clearly identifying the real enemy, and recognizing his potential for resistance, means leading our people like innocents to the slaughter.

This is why it is so essential that we make quite clear the imperialist stake in the country, the general outline of what we must expect from them and what we must do in order to prepare ourselves to cope with it.



# TWO POEMS

## ON BEING SUCCESSFUL

### SPRING OFFENSIVE

Vietnam in spring;  
 the people rise again  
 in one more great wave  
 throwing themselves  
 against U. S. fortresses  
 bases, hide outs, with  
 breathless gallantry,  
 the thud of their bare feet  
 the ripping and tearing  
 of their rockets, grenades  
 the incessant crackle  
 of their rifle fire  
 echoing around the world.

Curious that  
 few understand  
 the American Century  
 a new president still  
 advertises in his  
 synthetic, manly voice,  
 has ended.

And how now  
 down through  
 East Asia  
 a new man stands up  
 fire in his eyes  
 weapon in hand  
 armed too, with  
 better understanding  
 of how to fight  
 how to win. . . . .

No slavish mercenary  
 is this, but one  
 who knows that not  
 to fight would be  
 betrayal of his own  
 simply accepting  
 the premise of imperialism  
 that he is something  
 less than man.

Tsunghua, Kwangtung.  
 Feb. 26, 1969.

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In lands  
 that follow the pattern  
 set by the U. S. A.  
 many a parent, teacher  
 many an elder, tells  
 youth to be something--  
 a president, a millionaire  
 with fame and fortune  
 and a home with car to match.  
 Even when  
 youth thinks to do  
 something for others  
 they tell him  
 to do it as a bishop  
 or a relief organization  
 executive--stepping  
 from one plane  
 to the other on  
 the Good Lord's business  
 all mixed up with  
 schemes of reaction.

In China  
 youth is told  
 to be revolutionary,  
 which means  
 becoming part  
 of the life of  
 workers, peasants;  
 seeking the toughest  
 jobs, then doing them  
 careless of reward;  
 then and then only  
 will they have  
 succeeded.

17 August, 1968  
 Peitaiho.

Rewi Alley is a New Zealand-born engineer and poet who has lived in China since 1922. During and after the revolutionary war he assisted in the setting up of manufacturing co-operatives.

Spring Offensive was previously unpublished, and On Being Successful is from his book "Upsurge" published this year by the Caxton Press in Christchurch.