

CANADIANS AGAINST U.S. WAR IN VIETNAM

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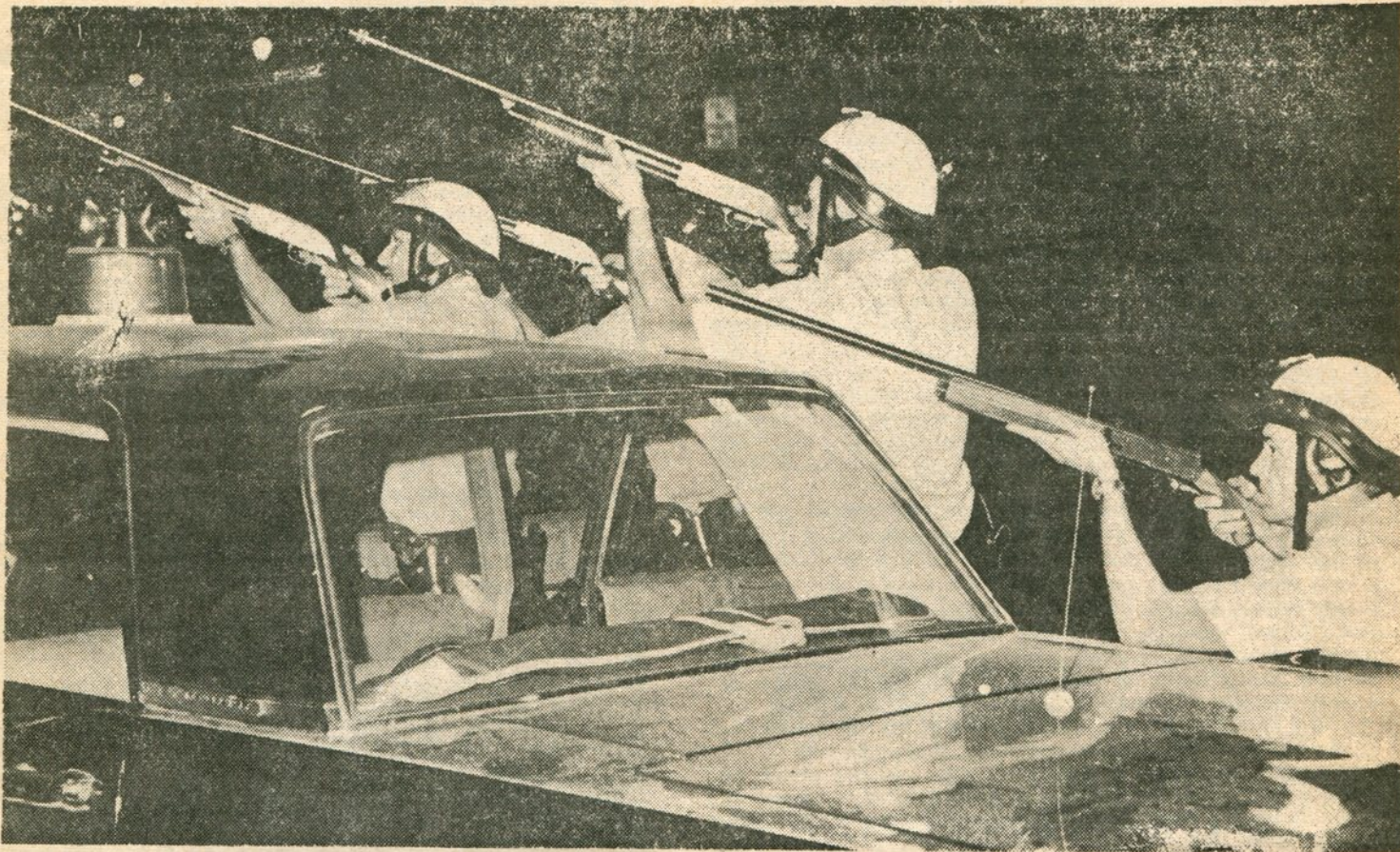
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INSURRECTION IN AMERICA



NEW CONCEPTS IN NEGRO STRUGGLE

The Negro struggle in America is moving toward new goals, which include a radical change of concept and attitudes. Already understood is the fact that Negro problems do not revolve around "Civil Rights" questions, such as the right to eat in any restaurant, the right to vote or the right to attend certain schools or universities. The most advanced section of the Negro section of the Negro peoples movement has become aware of the fact that their fight is part of the world-wide struggle of the colonized peoples for independence and that the common enemy of all is U.S. imperialism. It is on the basis of this awareness and firm resolve that the Negro masses are arising in united struggle to free themselves from alien oppression.

The Negro struggle, the struggle for "Black Power," is a many-sided one making use of the parliamentary arena as well as readying themselves for the use of revolutionary violence as a method of struggle aimed at racist violence and imperialist aggression. When attacked in their ghetto stronghold the Negro will certainly counter-attack and resort to urban guerrilla warfare as a means of hitting back at the enemy.

In these new forms and higher stage of struggle, which had their real beginning at Harlem and Watts last year, the white "liberal" adviser has no role to play. Gone, never to return, is Negro dependance on white cadres. While not denying to white militants and revolutionaries the right to participate, the Negro has learned to rely mainly on his own resources, ability and energy. The new spirit of militancy, the new feeling of confidence in his personal worth and his ability to cope with the complex problems of revolutionary, anti-imperialist struggle, is assurance that the Negro will fight with greater determination and effectiveness than ever before.

Situated as he is, in the home base of the imperialist aggressor, in the very eye of the hurricane, and under constant attack the Negro is, nevertheless, aware that he is not isolated, he knows he is part of a millions-strong world-wide

army of oppressed and exploited peoples who are rising up in armed rebellion against the imperialist oppressor. Though the struggle may be long and difficult he is now confident of ultimate victory over the foe.

One doesn't need to be a prophet to predict that, given a continuation of present U.S. imperialist policies, the urban centres of America, for the foreseeable future, will remain in a state of constant insurrection.

UP FROM SLAVERY!

For many weary years the U.S. Negro took the crack of the truncheon on his skull, suffered insults, beatings, torture and lynching, saw murderers and terrorists go free while the victims of fascist terror were imprisoned if they dared to offer the mildest resistance. How many tens of thousands of Black people have been brutally tortured and slaughtered since Negroes were "emancipated" in the Civil War more than a century ago? How many have died of hunger and deprivation in the nations ghettos and in the midst of plenty? Reckon up the cost of a century of suffering and death, and before that the centuries of slavery, and ask yourself: Is it any wonder the Negro at last rises in armed rebellion? Is it not surprising that insurrection did not happen several decades ago? Were it not for the treacherous role of the "Uncle Toms" it might have happened decades ago!

Out of the years of agony and betrayal that has attended all his days since the end of the Civil War the Negro has learned, through bitter, personal experience, that reformist leadership and policies, co-operation with white-appointed committees and with commissions of enquiry ends only in comfortable appointments for a few traitors and in a continuation and deepening of the hunger and misery of the Negro masses in the ghettos. Until now the ruling class has been able to contain the Negro masses, either directly by the armed forces of the capitalist state, or indirectly through the use of flunkies, bought stooges and hirelings who serve the interests of their white bosses. Now, however, the Negro masses are turning their backs on the flunkies, the Uncle

Toms, the reformists who urge them to practice "moderation" and 'non violence' while their heads are being beat in. But the Negro has had enough of unrequested violence and is determined to give back ten blows for one.

BLACK POWER!

New organizations, such as SNCC with its "Black Power" concept, have moved into the arena of struggle with the strong advice that the Negro movement use revolutionary violence in answer to the counter-revolutionary violence of the imperialist ruling class. Increasing numbers of Negroes are accepting the advice of the new revolutionary groups and are resorting to urban guerilla warfare as a counter to the brutal armed assaults by the state on the people of the ghettos.

Harlem and Watts last year were the opening skirmishes of a protracted people's war, and from those actions the Negroes gained much valuable experience. Spanish Harlem, Newark, Cincinnati, Detroit and over a score additional centres have carried the fight to a higher stage this year, broadening and deepening it. Many centres, like Seattle and Portland, for example, are joining in the struggle for the first time in many years. To date more than 10,000 have been imprisoned, scores have been killed and hundreds wounded. Some hundreds of thousands of Negroes have been made homeless.

Reports of the skirmishes between Black Americans and the armed forces read like despatches from the front—and many of the areas had all the appearances of a battlefield after a hard fought engagement. Detroit's 179 square miles, within which resides 600,000 Negroes, was converted into a battle zone where upwards of 18,000 troops, including highly-trained paratroopers, were deployed together with all the modern paraphernalia of war such as helicopters, tanks, bazookas, cannon, automatic weapons, etc.

The activities of the armed forces, in all the areas, but particularly in Detroit, were strikingly similar to acts of U.S. imperialist aggression abroad. That this was the actual situation can easily be learned from a reading of news reports from the battle zone. Here is a small sample of the many reports filed:

A sergeant of the 82nd Airborne Division who was quoted in the "Detroit News", declared: "The last time we did this for real was when we moved into the Dominican Republic two years ago. But we practice all the time and we're ready to go anywhere in the world anytime with only an hour's notice."

A commentator in the "Detroit Free Press" wrote: "There is no greater danger to the free world today than this breakdown of our internal security, for unless it is brought under control there is no possibility that America will survive as a major power capable of shielding others from tyranny."

Still another commentator in the "Detroit News" wrote: "With sure swift precision—perfected in scores of Vietnam battlefield landings—nearly 5,000 grim faced paratroopers landed at Selfridge Air Force Base . . . for riot duty in Detroit with . . . hundreds of Vehicles, a dozen helicopters and the supplies they would carry to a battle anywhere in the world."

—Vietnam and Santo Domingo have come to Detroit and Newark, the war on the ghettos is revealed to be part of the one war of imperialism against the oppressed. The U.S. ruling class is confronted with the necessity of having to accomplish the armed occupation of its American home base. The "Free Press" commentator in his remarks showed he clearly understood the need to pacify the ghettos before proceeding with the larger task of pacifying the world.

Some worried politicians in the United States are discussing the possible need for a permanent policing of the ghettos with detachments of armed troops. Figured on the scale that was required to occupy Detroit it will take about 50 to 60 divisions to police the American Negro communities. Obviously maintaining "law and order" in the ghettos is going to cause a serious drain on forces available for overseas aggression and it is precisely that fact the "Detroit Free Press" columnist was referring to in his phrase about "shielding others from terror".

The insurrection in the ghettos presents the U.S. ruling class with a problem of major dimensions. It is a problem

for which they have no solution other than the use of armed terror to suppress the Negro rebellion, but the Negro will not be so easily suppressed. In spite of the massive force the ruling class mustered against the Negro people, the ghetto uprisings have fully substantiated the formulation made by Mao Tse-tung that all imperialists and reactionaries are paper tigers even though they may, on occasion appear outwardly strong. Anti-imperialist fighters everywhere will take courage and inspiration from the American Negro struggle.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS!

Even when the nation's economy is at a very high level the living conditions of the Negro people are far from adequate for a minimum standard of decency. The American Negro is deprived of the opportunity of an adequate education or technical training that will equip him for the better paid occupations, where his colour alone, without the added burden of a lack of training, is impediment enough to bar him from most of the desirable jobs. Many of the unions which control the employment in skilled trades a "lily-white" and will permit a Negro to work only temporarily at times when the demand for workers exceeds the normal supply of white labour.

Only the most menial and lowest-paid work is available to the Negro worker and when the economy is in a slump even these jobs become closed to him. In a period of economic recession the white ruling class passes most of the burden of the crisis on to the shoulders of the Black workers to make it appear to be a racist rather than an economic problem.

"It could never happen here" said the corpulent, self-satisfied Civic administrators and business leaders of Detroit. But the very conditions they cited as evidence of the assurance that there would be no Negro uprising in the so-called "auto capital of the world" were definite indications of the inevitability of such an occurrence.

It was said that unemployment among Detroit's Negro population was "ONLY" ten per cent compared with 15 per cent in Cincinnati and a staggering 30 per cent in Newark. For this relatively "low" rate of unemployment the Detroit Negroes were supposed to show eternal gratitude. In addition to the fact that this so-called "low" rate of unemployment spelled misery and degradation for tens of thousands of people the Negroes could see no improvement in the foreseeable future. In fact, the situation was growing worse. Large-scale lay-offs were taking place in the auto plants due to slumping auto sales and the Negro worker, with his low seniority standing, was the first to go. (Johnson's new surtax to finance the war in Vietnam will restrict sales still further and swell the ranks of the unemployed.)

The average annual income of the Detroit Negro was reported at \$2200 which is \$300 per year higher than the \$1900 average in other communities. For this, too, the Detroit Negro was expected to be grateful and to show his gratitude by refraining from any type of militant action. The \$2200 figure is less than 25 per cent of the annual income of the Detroit auto workers and even that low figure must be adjusted downward so far as the mass of ordinary workers is concerned. Subtract the combined incomes of the top ten per cent of the Negroes and what is left for the 90 per cent remaining is an amount well below the \$2200 figure reported in statistics.

The figures of income and unemployment reported for Detroit rather than being evidence of satisfactory conditions that preclude any danger of "trouble" only help substantiate the prediction of more uprising in the ghettos in the near future.

FASCISM IN AMERICA!

The American ruling class are in considerable trouble. The war in Vietnam, costing America dearly in terms of lives, money and equipment is meeting with mounting resistance throughout the land. (Half of the U.S. military budget of \$70 billion goes directly for the war in Vietnam and a large percentage of the rest goes for the same purpose indirectly.) This resistance is destined to develop even faster as the economy becomes even more completely and exclusively geared to the war of aggression and economic crisis ensues, as casualty lists grow longer and more thousands are drafted into the armed forces. The economic crisis has

already reached such serious proportions it can no longer be passed on to the Black worker—white workers are beginning to experience the effects of unemployment and will be compelled to join the Negro in struggle against the imperialists.

The Negro, as we have seen, is delivering smashing blows at the aggressor in his home base and prevents a very serious problem for the U.S. ruling class to cope with. As time goes by the Negro struggle, the anti-imperialist movement and the fight against deteriorating economic conditions will gradually merge into one general stream of struggle against the U.S. ruling class. The situation is moving in a revolutionary direction.

The reply of the U.S. ruling class to these conditions, which are of their own making is to pass new repressive laws and suppress the peoples forces by armed action. Fascist thugs are put into uniforms, given guns and turned loose on the population. Racism is as much a part of American ruling class policy as it was in the Hitler regime in Germany. Hitler had the Jew, the Americans have the Negroes.

The National Guard, special police commando squads, specially-trained Marines and paratroopers are used against the people and are augmented by a variety of open fascist gangs. Guard units and police commandos smashed their way through the ghettos, killing, looting, burning in an orgy of violence similar to that indulged in by special marine units in Vietnam. Marine units have also been used to break up anti-war demonstrations and beat up the participants.

Ruling class spokesmen are urging that the national guard be placed under the direction of regular marine units



and given special training for use against the working people at home. Such a force will attract to its banner all the fascist and neo-fascist forces in the nation—and they will be heartily welcomed into the ranks. What will develop out of this will be an official and well-trained, heavily-armed, fascist elite not unlike Hitler's Storm Troopers and available for use against working class actions of any kind, against all working people—both Black and White.

New laws of a fascist nature are being passed to "legalize" repression of the struggle in the Black ghettos and for use against all workers movements. Of such a nature is the law now being debated in Congress which relates to the arrest and prosecution of "outside agitators." Based on a new twist on the "foreign agitator" propaganda, this law provides for the arrest and trial of militant Negro leaders who move from state to state while discharging their leadership responsibilities. This is designed to deprive the people's movement of the benefits of a central and national leadership and is "justified" with the argument that "agitators from outside the state," and not the intolerable living conditions, are responsible for the ghetto uprisings. How this

argument will be sustained when the struggle eventually encompasses all fifty states is a development we are awaiting with interest.

In deep trouble at home and abroad; faced with the inevitability of a sharpening political and economic crisis; confronted with a broadening and deepening of the peoples struggle at home and with a military defeat in their war of aggression against the people, the U.S. ruling class turn more and more to armed terror as a possible solution to their difficulties. The fascisation of the American state is moving forward at a rapid rate.

But this turn toward more extreme forms of political reaction is only serving to show ever more clearly the real nature of American imperialism and is being met with increasing resistance from the growing masses of the common people. All the events and developments of recent months only confirm our confident belief that the imperialists will certainly be defeated at home and abroad — the people will win.

The Progressive Workers Movement, together with all other Canadians of like mind, condemns the U.S. government for its acts of fascist brutality against the Negro people. We hail and support the decision of the Negroes to no longer yield to the violence of the oppressor but to meet violence with violence in a fight to the finish. All those who cherish freedom should reject the anti-Negro propaganda of the ruling class and give full support to the Negro people in their fight to liberate themselves from imperialist oppression.

MOSCOW PAWNSHOPS

Hsinhua News Agency reported recently that large advertisements were being placed in the Moscow newspapers by the "Pawnshops Administration." The ads are said to be offering attractive conditions such as; transactions by telephone, goods held for as long as requested, examination of chattel pledges in homes, fair prices, etc. An all-round service for the poor! With profit the motive force in the nation's economy it is to be expected that even the Pawnshop administration will be anxious to improve its financial position by means of an increase in business.

Pawnshops are one of the most ruthless and vicious types of business operation in the capitalist world. Their business is usury, a real blood-sucking operation that feeds on the misery and degradation of the poor. Money is loaned at exorbitant rates of interest on personal property left as security. This is the business common to pawnshops everywhere and the Moscow pawnshops are no exception to this general rule. Pawnshops thrive only in a climate where poverty is plentiful.

The Soviet ruling clique are fond of talking about the imminent arrival of full-grown Communism in the Soviet Union. But what have pawnshops, these leeches feeding on the misery and hunger of the poor, got to do with Communism? Can we accept thriving pawnshops as a sign of the transition to Communism? Are the workers going to enter Communist society with wads of pawntickets in their hands as a sign of the victory of Communism?

The Moscow pawnshops in reality are evidence of the fact that the revisionists are fast reviving and perfecting the capitalist system of exploitation in the Soviet Union and are hastening the development of class differentiations. They are a clear and irrefutable confirmation of how the ruling group are proceeding with the all-round restoration of capitalism.

Since pawnshops are becoming a lucrative business in the Soviet Union, can we look forward to the day when we will see advertisements in the Moscow papers proclaiming the benefits of using the newly established stock exchange?

BUREAUCRACY IN THE UNIONS

The class-collaborationist policies pursued by the unions provide the ideological, social and economic base upon which bureaucracy thrives. Associated with these policies are specific practices, which are peculiar to the North American labour movement and have become something in the nature of sacred totems, in many cases backed by the state by means of enforcement of certain labour laws. These practices strengthen the hold of the bureaucrats over the rank and file. As a consequence, nowhere in the capitalist world is union bureaucracy so extensive and so firmly entrenched. Nowhere else is the bureaucracy in such open alliance with the ruling class against the fundamental interests of the workers.

BUREAUCRACY AND CANADIAN UNIONISM

It is not our intention to deal her with the question of an independent Canadian union movement, however there is one point that must be touched on.

There are some opponents of an independent movement, including some who masquerade as "radicals," who make a point of informing us that Canadian unions will be just as prone to bureaucracy as the United States type, therefore there is no point in fighting for independent Canadian unions. (They resort, naturally enough, to the same arguments on the question of the fight against U.S. imperialist domination and for the independence of the nation, claiming Canada is imperialist therefore there is no occasion for a struggle against United States imperialism.)

We are well aware of the fact that union bureaucracy has an existence independent of U.S. domination and can continue to exist in an independent union movement, although it must also be said that foreign domination results in a larger than average bureaucracy and strengthens the bureaucratic hold immeasurably. Bureaucracy is a constantly recurring factor in our society and must be consistently fought against under any and all conditions and forms of organization. But the fact that a Canadian union may (probably will) suffer from a bureaucratic development should not deter us from fighting for the realization of such a form of union organization. Victory in this fight will free our unions from foreign domination and enable them to be more effective participants in the fight for the nation; it will free us from the control of the U.S. labour lieutenants of imperialism who support the objectives and aggressive policies of the ruling class—including U.S. domination of Canada. The fight for independence means mobilizing the rank and file for a struggle against the EXISTING bureaucracy, whereas our opponents would stifle that struggle because of some POTENTIAL bureaucracy that might appear under different conditions at a future date. The fight for an independent Canadian trade union movement IS the fight against bureaucracy as it NOW exists as well as being an integral part of the fight for the freedom and independence of the nation.

BUREAUCRATS IN ACTION

The personal interests and aspirations of the bureaucrat are quite different, and generally in direct conflict with, those of the worker in the shop. The basic interests of the working class push them inexorably in the direction of a challenge to the structure of the capitalist system itself. But bureaucratic interests be in the direction of maintaining the existing social and economic system which provides them with a position of privilege and authority above the mass of the working people. The main objective of the paid functionary is to find an acceptable compromise without resorting to conflict, so his chief endeavour is the maintenance of class peace. These high-priced officials fear struggle and hate militant and radical elements who urge the workers to militant struggle for greater gains. Most of all they resist, by every possible means, any proposals to bring about fundamental changes in the existing social order. The bureaucrats are constantly striving for longer periods of "labor peace" with the result that most contracts, (which once lasted for 12 months only) now run for 3 years, are rapidly edging toward the 5-year mark and some are even known to run for 10 years.

Due to his special position in labour-management relations the union representative is by no means a free agent. He must pay some attention to, and take into consideration, 6

the mood and attitude of the members of his union. It is necessary for the bureaucrat to sometimes appear in the garb of a "radical" and to be a master of militant and even revolutionary phraseology. This is a condition which varies from situation to situation and from union to union. At no time does the bureaucrat sound more "revolutionary" than when he is betraying the interests of the workers he "represents." The chief complaint of the bureaucrat who finds himself in this uncomfortable position is not so much over the difficulty he encounters in selling out the workers as it is over the failure of management to recognize and appreciate these difficulties and thus make allowances for them.

These difficulties of the union official were the central point discussed in a paper which Professor John Crispo and H. W. Arthurs presented to an Ottawa meeting of the Learned Societies. In their paper the Professors spoke of union leaders as "managers of discontent" and chided "people in authority" in government, business and news media for their failure to properly assess and appreciate the role of the union leaders and "the contribution collective bargaining makes to the economic and democratic system." Crispo and Arthurs lectured the ruling class; "If union leaders are to do what is responsible in the long run, they may have to do what seems irresponsible in the short run or the membership will dispose them . . . Union leaders need a reasonable freedom from external pressure if they are not to become the mere messengers of the discontented." Crispo and Arthurs are here advising the ruling class not to make more difficult the problems which confront the union bureaucrat lest he become too much exposed and suffer removal from office.

That two distinguished spokesmen of the ruling class in the academic and business world should give attention to this problem is perfectly understandable. They made their comments to a select group and, normally, those comments would reach only those circles most vitally concerned — the ruling class and the union bureaucrats. But the bureaucrat, hungering after sympathy and understanding, wants to make certain that all concerned get the message so give the paper wider than normal distribution and voice strong support for its central theme. Typical of this type of action is the editorial comment in the July 1st edition of "Canadian Transport," official journal of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Transport and General Workers (C.L.C.).

The editorial in "Canadian Transport" accorded Crispo and Arthurs high praise for their sympathetic understanding of the dilemma in which the "labour statesmen" find themselves as they must appear to represent the interests of the workers while in the very act of betraying them. This dilemma and conflict was expressed in the editorial in this way:

"In restless times such as these, union officials have to walk a tightrope, balanced precariously over the twin chasms of membership pressure and the restrictions of labour legislation. If they submit to the members' demands for high gains, they are accused by the press and the politicians of being irresponsible. If they bow to labour laws or government pressure, they are accused by their members of being lacking in courage."

"It is not surprising, in the circumstances, that many labour leaders have chosen to heed the demands of their members."

This is a revealing and very remarkable passage to appear in a union journal. Implicit in the first part of the passage is the admission that the bureaucrats consider it a matter of prime concern to limit the demands of the workers to what will be acceptable to the employers. The last sentence contains an implied threat that the bureaucrat will really represent the interests of the members if he does not receive more sympathy from the "press and politicians."

The editorial calls for greater consideration to be given to the position of the bureaucrat when labour legislation is being enacted. Here is how "Canadian Transport" presents the tearful plea for greater understanding of the problems of the downtrodden bureaucrat:

"The danger is that politicians and the press, unmindful of the constraints under which union leaders must oper-

ate, may try to reduce industrial unrest by imposing more legal restrictions. This would be the worst thing they could do. By adding to the frustration that already exists among so many workers, it would have the opposite effect of create more conflict than it would prevent.

"Wise and knowledgeable legislators, if they had any understanding of the conflicting pressures that beset labour officials in a changing society, would act to make labour laws more flexible rather than more rigid."

No one could reasonably ask for a more clear admission of the role of the bureaucrat — to keep the membership in line and demands at a minimum. In the face of declining employment, rising cost of living, and the deterioration of living standards, such a role grows increasingly difficult. The union officials want the ruling class to appreciate this fact and make due allowances for it when they see the bureaucrat acting the unwanted part of a militant. When applying the law consideration should be given to the fact that the bureaucrat doesn't really want to act the way he is acting, he is forced into it by his members.

It is clear that the bureaucrat and the employer share a common objective — to keep the worker within bounds.

THE EXTENT OF THE BUREAUCRACY

Seymour M. Lipset, a sociologist, in a study published in a French periodical in 1961, stated there were 65,000 full-time officials in the U.S. trade union movement. This was a weight of bureaucratic officialdom far exceeding the European bureaucracy. A comparison with the English apparatus serves to show just how extensive the bureaucratic machine is. In the British trade unions there is one official for every 2700 members while in the American movement there is one for every 277. So American officials, according to this 1961 study, outnumbered their British counter-parts by a ratio of ten to one.

Canadian unionists contribute to the support of this gigantic bureaucratic machine in addition to supporting the home-grown type of bureaucrat. Since Canadian unions are both dominated by and modeled on the American organizational set-up it is safe to assume that our official apparatus is proportionately as large as the U.S. variety. We can be sure that this bureaucratic machine has not diminished since the time the 1961 study was completed — in all likelihood it has grown larger.

This bureaucracy has sectional interests that sets them apart from the workers and brings them into direct conflict with the union members as they strive to protect their privileged position. A large part of the apparatus, (lawyers, research directors, etc.) is middle class in origin and leans toward the employer class for social and cultural contacts. These full-time officials run the unions as big business, profitable ventures and exercise extreme care in maintaining union finances in investments at a high and increasing level. Some of the larger unions refuse to pay benefits from strike funds established for the purpose, limiting themselves to the issuing of loans which are repayable — with interest, just like a pawnshop with your job as collateral.

Big organizations like Steel, Auto, Teamsters, and some of the large and long established craft unions, are operated as multi-million dollar enterprises with annual income running into millions of dollars and they pay salaries to their top officials that are on a level with those paid by big business to top administrators. Some union officials receive an annual salary and expense allowance exceeding \$100,000. They travel extensively using first class accommodation, stay at the best hotels and frequent expensive night-clubs where they mingle with management on the basis of equality. Such individuals experience no difficulty in moving from a union administrative post to one with management, and they often do just that.

It is obvious that the bureaucratic machine has much in common with management and very little in common with the workers whose interests they claim to represent. In fact the entrenched bureaucrat often fears and distrusts the rank and file unionists much more than management does.

In the fight to establish an independent Canadian movement we must simultaneously, conduct a struggle to limit the numbers of paid officials, rely more on voluntary work by the rank and file and, in this way begin the important task of eliminating the bureaucracy. Salaries, expenses, and the endless cook's tours made by officials should

also be cut bringing their way of life closer to that of the average worker they claim to represent. A return to the policy of paying union officials a salary comparable to the highest rate paid in the industry would be advisable, and would go a long way toward bringing the interests of the bureau-



George Meany eating with cohorts Vice-President Humphrey and Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz.

crat closer into line with those of the average worker on the job. Shop steward movements and rank and file committees, which were an important feature in the early days of the unions, must be revived and used extensively if the bureaucracy is to be curbed.

BUREAUCRATS IN POLITICS

In the United States the bureaucracy limits political action to endorsement of one or the other of the ruling class parties — usually the Democratic Party. John L. Lewis, of the United Mine workers, was the only notable exception to the general support the bureaucracy extended to the Democrats; Lewis was a Republican except for once when he supported Roosevelt. This is what the U.S. bureaucrats call "keeping the unions out of politics" and they adopt rules and regulations prohibiting independent labour political action.

The situation is somewhat different in Canada and although there are so-called "labour leaders" taking an active part in one of the two main parties of the capitalist class, the bureaucracy was not satisfied with the results and looked for more effective means of political representation. Finally an arrangement was made whereby the bureaucracy united with the professional politicians in the social-democratic oriented Co-operative Commonwealth Federation to form the New Democratic Party. This party claimed to be broadly based on labour but each succeeding convention saw more and more top flight union bureaucrats and middle-class elements running the show. Appeals were made to disgruntled Liberals to join the N.D.P. (some did) and Party propaganda was tailor-made to suit such elements.

The 1967 Convention of the N.D.P. marked the complete victory of the bureaucracy and their middle-class allies in the Party Council. Tommy Douglas, the skillful orator with a "left" reputation, gave his usual militant speech, got a rousing ovation and was returned unopposed as National Leader. But no one is in any doubt that the anti-Communist "labour" lawyer, David Lewis, counsel for the right-wing American Steelworkers and other unions, is the real power in national leadership and has full support of the large contingent of bureaucrats on the National Executive.

Emphasizing the sharp rightward turn of the party was the announced program which was in direct contradiction to the opening address by Douglas. This program emphasized the point that there would be no nationalization of industry

except in the case where an essential enterprise may be losing money and unattractive to capitalist investment. Under bureaucratic pressure the NDP has reached the stage where it is indistinguishable from the old line capitalist parties, and might well merge with the Liberal Party at no far distant date.

THE WEAPONS OF THE BUREAUCRACY

Since most, if not all, of what has been said above is known to many trade unionists, how is it possible for the bureaucrats to retain control? Why don't the rank and file remove them from office?

It is a fact, of course, that a bureaucrat sometimes becomes so discredited that it becomes expedient, for the safety of all, to let the membership remove him. But casualties such as this are taken care of in politics, industry or given another union job. It is not uncommon for an official defeated in one union to be appointed to a paid position in another. Then, too, we have a number of unions where paid officials can not be removed from office even when the members are unanimously opposed to him. What are the weapons the bureaucracy makes use of to defend itself against the workers?

There are two main weapons which the bureaucrat uses with the assistance of the ruling class. These two weapons are in the nature of "sacred totems" in the North American trade union movement and must not be violated by anyone on pain of excommunication. They are: 1) Compulsory dues check-off, and: 2) Closed shop and compulsory union membership.

The compulsory dues check-off is a dues payment system where the worker pays dues as a condition of employment—no dues, no work. These dues are collected by management and handed over to the paid officials. In many cases collection of fines and special assessments is included in the dues check-off arrangement. This system provides the bureaucracy with an assured income which, in many cases, can be increased at will without consulting the members. Income of the United Steelworkers of America in Canada will be running close to one million dollars per month—an amount any bureaucrat would consider worth fighting for. The financial stake in the Inco and Falconbridge jurisdiction at Sudbury, over which Mine Mill and Steel battled for years, would run about \$100,000 per month. The annual income of the Steel union would put it in the category of some of the largest enterprises in Canada.

The closed shop and compulsory union membership are a sharp break with the tradition of voluntary membership which was always the main strength of the unions. The bureaucrats insist that this has now become an inviolable principle without which the unions would disintegrate. What they are really saying is; "Give the membership the opportunity and they will quit en masse." This principle does not bring a single bit of security to the worker but it does put in the hands of the bureaucracy a potent weapon to use against the members.

Joining a union will not necessarily provide one with work unless work is available in the union's jurisdiction.

But getting out of a union could be followed quickly with loss of employment. In cases where the closed shop is in effect expulsion from the union means automatic and immediate discharge from employment. The bureaucrat is in a position of being able to discipline workers, terrorize them and get rid of militants by the simple expedient of rigging his expulsion or by holding up despatch to a job from the hiring hall.

The bureaucracy is sustained in these actions by the ruling class and their actions are given the stamp of legality under the labour laws. Once a union is awarded a jurisdiction in a plant the workers are compelled to pay tribute and it is extremely difficult to make any change. Even the act of attempting a change can bring expulsion and consequent loss of employment. Labour Board rulings are almost invariably in favour of the U.S. union bureaucracy, to such an extent that standing up for a Canadian union can almost be classed as an act of supreme heroism.

Thus we see that the bureaucracy, and mainly the U.S. bureaucracy, is strengthened and maintained with the support and collusion of the employers and their government. The bureaucrats depend on this support and do everything possible to maintain good relations with the employers. This is one more area where interests of bureaucrat and management merge.

CURB THE BUREAUCRAT

Together with the fight for an independent Canadian union movement we must conduct a struggle to give back control of the unions to the rank and file. A worker must be able to exercise the unrestricted right to join, and encourage others to join, the union he thinks best able to serve the workers interests and must not suffer the loss, or threat of loss, of employment for so doing.

The number of paid officials must be cut sharply and no attention should be paid to the pleas of the bureaucrats that the workers need "experts" to tell them what wages to ask for and how to fight for them. Any average worker can become an "expert" in negotiations in one easy lesson, if he is not already an expert. Wages for paid officials should be pegged at the highest rate in the industry where the union holds bargaining rights.

All positions in the unions must be elective and be held for a term of one year. No paid official should be allowed to hold office longer than 3 consecutive years at which time he should return to work in the industry for not less than 2 years before being eligible to once more contest for a salaried position.

The fight to break up the entrenched bureaucracy will not be an easy one, nor will it be won overnight. To win victory in this struggle we will have to engage in battle not only the bureaucrat, but the employer and the state as well. If we link the struggle against bureaucracy with the fight for an independent Canadian labour movement we will have every reason to hope for an early realization of our objectives.

EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW

When two Quebecois and a Toronto member of the P.W.M. hurled the charge of "butcher" at President Johnson on his sneak visit to Expo 67 the presiding judge in a Montreal court took a dim view of the protest and levied fines on a charge of "disturbing the peace." There is no record of his views on how Johnson disturbs the peace but a subsequent incident would seem to indicate quite clearly where the sympathies of the Montreal courts lie.

A few days after the disposition of the charge against the two Quebecois and the Torontonian, French President Charles de Gaulle also visited the city of Montreal and was greeted with shouts of "assassin" from an Algerian-born French rightist who was promptly arrested on a charge of "disturbing the peace." But any similarity with the previous case abruptly ends at this point. On his appearance in court the Algerian-born rightist was acquitted by an understanding judge.

The three who called Johnson "butcher" were undoubtedly expressing the sentiments of the vast majority of others present at the scene so any danger of a "disturbance of the peace" was minimal, if not entirely non-existent. On the other hand, the Algerian-born rightist was going contrary to the sentiments of the overwhelming majority of Quebecois present at the time.

It is clearly obvious that the court was giving expression to the outlook of Canada's ruling class who support—and profit from—the U.S. imperialists war of aggression and are quite hostile to de Gaulle's expression of sympathy for the Quebec people's aspirations toward independence.

Equality before the law — if you support ruling class objectives.

"CANADA IS FREE"--PEARSON

Reacting angrily to French President Charles de Gaulle's "Viva Quebec Libre", Prime Minister Pearson declared; "Canada is free, every province is free." But if freedom is so obvious in Canada why the atmosphere of national crisis when a foreign guest harangues a Montreal audience with the cry: "Long live free Quebec." Freedom being as self-evident as Pearson claims it to be de Gaulle's exclamation should be taken as recognition of the fact and a fervent wish that Quebec may long remain free. The self-evident, the obvious, should require no defence.

The tactics of Pearson and his Cabinet leads one to conclude that there is some doubt about the solidity of freedom in Canada — and particularly in Quebec. It is precisely because such doubts exist, and because increasing numbers of Quebecois are joining in the struggle for self-determination, that de Gaulle's remarks take on crisis proportions. If this were not the case the incident would have been ignored.

FRENCH PRESIDENT VERSUS ENGLISH QUEEN

Confederation 100 years ago marked the launching of an attempt to liquidate French language and culture in Canada. That attempt has been notably unsuccessful; the language and culture of the Quebecois has not only survived but developed and grown stronger. One hundred years after Confederation Quebec's determination to survive and to realize national self-determination is stronger than ever.

In this centennial year the Anglo-Saxon ruling class have engaged in a variety of activities calculated to insult the national sentiments and dignity of the Quebecois. Shamelessly parading their own subservience before the world the ruling class put on public display that outworn relic of a bygone age, the Queen of England. Not content with accomplishing their own humiliation they sought to humiliate the Quebecois by having their Queen pay a sneak visit to Quebec (only President Johnson's lightning tour could equal this for comedy).

One thing that obviously riles our red-blooded Anglo-Saxons is the fact that their English Queen trod the soil of Quebec as an unwanted alien while de Gaulle made a tri-



—William Hubbell Photo

umphant tour to the plaudits of multitudes along the route. The Quebecois, in the person of Charles de Gaulle, had their hour of vengeance on the Anglo-Saxon ruling class. The humiliation of the Anglophobes was complete.

The crisis arising from this situation was not the creation of de Gaulle. It was here before de Gaulle's arrival and it has not decreased with his departure, it remains with us and grows sharper. The crisis is due entirely to internal conditions; to the colonial position of Quebec and to Canada's position of subservience to the U.S. ruling class. The Canadian bourgeoisie which once played puppet for British imperialist interests now plays a similar role for U.S. imperial-

ism and administers Canadian affairs on behalf of the U.S. monopolies.

THE SUPER-PATRIOTS

The furor over de Gaulle has brought out the super-patriots and flag wavers (Union Jacks!) Among these are two Vancouver aldermen who strutted through Montreal like conquerors and one of whom called for the suppression of the French language and culture by military action — a declaration of war on 40 per cent of the population. These stout patriots of the "bulldog breed" are residents of a province — British Columbia — that is more completely dominated by U.S. monopoly control than any other part of the country, but neither one is noted for opposition to this state of affairs.

One other individual whose indignation could scarcely be contained was John Diefenbaker, leader of the Conservative opposition, who claimed that Canada was grievously insulted by the actions of President de Gaulle. It would seem that Diefenbaker reserves his righteous indignation for special occasions. Certainly he was singularly unmoved in the 1963 election campaign when the U.S. ruling class flagrantly intruded into the internal affairs of Canada for the purpose of securing the defeat of the Diefenbaker government and the late President Kennedy referred to Diefenbaker as a son of a bitch. The only response of the indignant Mr. Diefenbaker to this supreme insult was to show even more subservience to U.S. imperialism and its acts of aggression.

Behind the indignation of Pearson, Diefenbaker and the rest, and back of their frantic flag waving lies the consistent sell-out of Canada's interests to the U.S. ruling class which is the dominating force in the capitalist world today. Neither France nor Britain are any longer important elements in the exploitation of Canada. Parading the Queen of England, and cursing the President of France, are smoke-screens hiding the real power served by the Canadian bourgeoisie — U.S. imperialism.

IS CANADA FREE?

Is Canada really free? Even some of Pearson's Cabinet Ministers appear to have some doubts on this point. Jean Marchand, Cabinet Minister and one-time separatist sympathizer, commenting on the de Gaulle implication that Quebec is not free, far from denying the General's implication appeared to confirm it when he complained that President de Gaulle had failed to advise Quebec on where to get the 10 billion dollars required to purchase United States investments in Quebec. In other words this member of the government admitted that Quebec was mortgaged to the U.S. monopolies to the tune of 10 billion dollars and could not be considered free while that condition existed. This condition affects not only Quebec but English-speaking Canada as well. Recently-published material on Canada's largest companies easily confirms this fact.

In 1913, before the start of the first world war when Britain was still a leading world power and the main investor in Canadian business, foreign investment totalled three and one-half billion dollars which represented 23 per cent of all business investment and 22 per cent of this foreign investment (\$770 million) was U.S. capital.

Following the war Britain's power began to wane and the U.S. monopolies occupied the field, and with the changing circumstances the Canadian capitalist class, who had rendered loyal service to British imperialism, shifted their loyalty to the new master of the house and became willing puppets of bellicose American imperialism.

By 1926 foreign investment had risen to 6 billion dollars (30 per cent of the Canadian total) with United States capital investments now accounting for 53 per cent of the total (3.18 billion — a four-fold increase). The trend in this 13-year period was to continue over the years, gaining momentum following the close of world war two, until today when United States capital dominates all facets of the Canadian economy and manipulates the destiny of the nation.

By 1963 foreign investment in Canada had soared to 26.2 billion dollars, almost 8 times what it had been 50 years earlier. By this time foreign capital accounted for 59 per

cent of total investment in Canada and 78 per cent of this amount (20 1/2 billion dollars) was in the hands of the U.S. monopolists. From a relatively modest \$770 million in 1913 the U.S. investment in Canada had climbed to the fabulous sum of 20 1/2 billion dollars in 1963 and by now it is coming very close to the 30 billion mark. This represents virtually total control of the economy and a stranglehold on the destiny of the nation. Far from representing a capital inflow most of the money for this investment was realized from the exploitation of our country and our people and was in addition to the billions paid in dividends to the U.S. ruling class. We are paying a high price for the privilege of being dominated by the U.S. monopolists.

A study of the "Financial Post" list of the 100 largest investor-owned manufacturing, resource and utility companies in Canada easily establishes the fact of U.S. control of the economy. These 100, plus 35 others not included for various reasons, are either owned outright by foreign investors or have substantial foreign investment sufficient to guarantee control. Considerably more than 60 per cent of the total productive capacity of the country is under the control of foreign (chiefly U.S.) capitalists. The true picture could well be far worse than anyone yet suspects but the real facts are hard to get at due to the reluctance of the responsible government agencies to collect and publish the necessary information.

The "Financial Post" list confirms the trend toward absolute U.S. control of the economy that has been in evidence for more than 50 years. This list, limited as to scope and distorted by the lack of essential information, shows that one-half the companies listed were either owned outright by foreign investors or had substantial foreign investment which ensured control. This investment control was in the most vital areas of the economy — oil, manufacturing, metals, natural resources. Oil, aluminum, auto and electrical enterprises are completely in the hands of the U.S. monopolists. Pulp and paper, farm machinery, chemical, tobacco, rubber, nickel and communications have investments and other entanglements which makes control absolute.

Even the areas of nominal Canadian control give no cause for rejoicing. Aside from the fact of their general weakness there are other disabilities affecting these industries. Such "Canadian" companies as the Argus Corporation or the George Weston Co., of example, are thoroughly integrated with the international circles of high finance which are dominated by the U.S. imperialists. Other areas of Canadian investment exist as suppliers of parts or service to the basic section of industry which is U.S. owned and controlled. These so-called "Canadian" companies, therefore, owe their existence to the patronage of U.S. companies and can have no independent existence nor are they capable of taking any independent action.

The cold, hard, economic facts of life clearly indicate that the direction of our economy, whether it will expand or decline, is entirely dependent on decisions taken by foreign monopolists who are beyond our control. Evidence of this can be seen in the refusal of Canadian-based U.S. companies to do business with countries on the official "do not patronize" list of the United States. For example, the rejection of Chinese orders for autos and trucks and the Cuban orders for flour.

Safarian in his "Foreign Ownership of Canadian Industry" comments on this particular facet of U.S. domination, as follows:

"... In the context of the export of direct investment firms the most significant example arises from the extra-territorial application of the United States law.

"... The officers of the parent firms are subject to prosecution if the regulations are thwarted by their foreign subsidiaries. It is equally clear that the Canadian interest in the matter is different from that of the United States... An economic issue is involved, particularly since the matter was first raised publicly in an industry suffering considerable unemployment at a time of weak general demand in the economy. The most fundamental issue is that firms domiciled in Canada must avoid commercial activity which is not illegal under Canadian law and regulations.

"... The issue involves, fundamentally, the question of sovereignty over the operations of firms which are legal 10

residents of Canada and which are assumed to conform to Canadian law and regulations. Put thus, it is easy to see that the reticence of Canadian governments to clarify the issue sharply and fully with American authorities has contributed to the confusion surrounding the issue... There is no way, however, in which a Canadian government can shirk its obligations to continue to insist on Canadian sovereignty in these situations, consistent with a carefully determined position on what serves Canada's long-term interests. Only if Canadian foreign policy were to be always identical with American — a quite untenable position for a nation — would the issue be avoidable. It is surely no part of the understanding of the liabilities involved when direct investment takes place that firms will serve, however unwilling, as vehicles of the policies of foreign governments."

Safarian certainly states the problem exactly but we differ on several fundamental points. It is avowedly, as Canadian experience will confirm, one of the "liabilities involved" that firms which are foreign controlled will "serve (and not unwillingly) as vehicles of the implementation of the policies of foreign governments." They will do this most willingly because such firms are imperialist in character and have a vested interest in acting in such a manner—it is the policies of THEIR government they are implementing.

We further disagree with the proposed solution for this problem which Safarian states in this way: "The issue needs to be resolved by a clear and firm agreement between the two countries." It is obvious that Canada, economically dominated as she is by U.S. monopoly, could not enter such an agreement as an equal or a free agent, aside from the fact that the Canadian government, representing the interests of the Canadian bourgeoisie, have no real desire to secure a fundamental solution to the problem. Canadian foreign policy is always identical with that of the U.S. because the objectives of Canada's ruling class are identical with those of the U.S. monopolists.

It is not a "firm agreement between the two countries" that is needed. The vital need is for Canada to unreservedly and unqualifiedly assert her national sovereignty and, further, to consolidate this by putting an end to the domination of our economy by the U.S. imperialist investors. Anything short of this will not solve the problem and could even complicate the situation further.

FREEDOM AND THE DE GAULLE INCIDENT

The most important thing about the de Gaulle incident is not the General's alleged "meddling" in Canada's internal affairs by pledging support for Quebec's separatists. The essential thing about it is how it has revealed the underlying crisis in Canadian affairs. Pearson is clearly hindered in the effectiveness of his protests because; A) there is a dynamic Quebec Liberation movement which results from internal conditions of national oppression and not from any act or word of de Gaulle, and; B) because Canada as a whole is dominated and exploited by U.S. imperialism and de Gaulle's statements were basically anti U.S.

In this situation the Pearson government, which administers Canada as the private preserve of U.S. imperialism, is clearly at a disadvantage in the heated exchange. Marchand, who has his Montreal constituents to contend with, is well aware of this and gives expression to his embarrassment and anger in the peevish complaint about President de Gaulle's failure to reveal a source where Quebec can get 10 billion dollars to purchase her freedom. It is further revealed in U.S. official reaction to the de Gaulle visit, which was much more sharp than reaction in Canada. After all, the U.S. monopolists have a very big stake in the game.

Obviously, the problem is not French interference in our internal affairs. This is not the issue and no amount of indignant protests from Ottawa will make it the issue. The only solution to Canada's problem is freedom from U.S. economic control, reassertion of our national sovereignty and the right of self-determination for Quebec. This, and not de Gaulle, is the real problem confronting Canadians. It is a problem the Pearson government cannot solve.

VIETNAM--THE NEGOTIATIONS HOAX

During the month of July U.S. censorship of news from Vietnam was finally breached in a big way and the American public at last had confirmation of what they had long suspected — the U.S. war was experiencing disastrous defeat for the first time in the history of the Republic and extensive casualties were being inflicted on American forces in Vietnam. News such as this has the effect of strengthening the anti-war movement through the hitherto silent opposition became articulate and active in opposing the war. At such a time the state administration is hard-pressed to maintain a semblance of morale, hold the active opposition down to a minimum and gain breathing space to consider and try new tactics.

One method is to instill hope of greater support from reluctant allies. In this summer of catastrophe for U.S. imperialism it did not take long for the "helpful allies" balloon to burst. Some allies had previously been considered most dependable refused to even discuss the matter, saying it would be a waste of time. No boost for a sagging morale in that direction.

Another, and favored, scheme is to fall back on the "negotiations" myth, with Johnson claiming the Vietnamese are about to capitulate and come to the conference table where the U.S. imperialists will get everything they want without further bloodshed. Millions who are sick of the war but stand silent on the sidelines hoping for a miracle, are urged to wait just a little longer and there will be an American victory and an end to the slaughter. This was the main propaganda line used to keep the American people in line as reports of disastrous defeats and enormous casualties began to filter through the military and government censorship. Every means of mass communication was used to convince the American people that "private reports from Moscow," "secret documents captured in Vietnam," etc., all pointed conclusively to the fact that the Vietnamese were preparing to capitulate — just a few more bombs, a few more battles, and victory for U.S. arms would be assured.

In this situation the Soviet ruling clique render vital aid to the U.S. imperialists. Certainly the Soviet revisionists would be delighted to render even greater assistance to their imperialist friends and allies by dragging Vietnam to the conference table, and they put heavy pressure on the Vietnamese with a view to achieving that objective. In this they have been quite unsuccessful. But even in failure they are aiding the imperialists by putting some flesh on the bare bones of the "negotiations" skeleton, thus causing some to believe that there is substance for Johnson's claim that the Vietnamese will "negotiate" and so millions remain on the sidelines praying and waiting for negotiations and an end to the war.

These millions of Americans standing on the sidelines must be made to understand that there will be no negotiations, no peace short of an end to U.S. aggression and that this end can be more quickly reached if they take active part in the struggle to force U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. This point is sharply outlined in the Hanoi journal "Nhan Dan" on June 1st, in a reply to the "Plea for Realism" published by 16 U.S. Senators who had been masquerading as partisans of peace and liberty. Here, in part, is what "Nhan Dan" had to say to the 16 Senators and the American people:

"The cause of the war in Vietnam lies in the aggression by the United States. The war drags on not because the people do not want peace or misunderstand 'the dissension in the United States' but because the U.S. imperialists obdurately pursue their policy of aggression, obdurately oppose the fundamental interests of the Vietnamese people and the American people's aspirations for liberty and peace. To settle the war in Vietnam it is necessary to remove its source, that is the U.S. must end its aggression. The U.S. which sent an expeditionary army to South Vietnam must withdraw it therefrom. The U.S. which has been bombing and strafing the Democratic Republic of Vietnam . . . must end definitively that illegal action. The U.S. must give up its scheme to impose its domination on the South Vietnamese people and let them decide themselves their own affairs. If the U.S. government really wants to settle peacefully the Vietnam problem

it must recognize and settle these fundamental problems instead of making talks about 'peace negotiations' while unceasingly intensifying and expanding its war . . .

"Those Americans who have issued a 'Plea for Realism' must recognize the realities mentioned above and actively contribute to an end to the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam. Such a course is a genuine patriotic act on the part of any American" . . .

QUOTED IN "VIETNAM COURIER" JUNE 26)

This is a clear and unequivocal statement of the case. There is no peace, no negotiations, short of an absolute end



to the U.S. aggressive war. All those who genuinely desire an end to the war must abandon their unfounded hopes for capitulation by Vietnam and in the imminence of "negotiations." They must support the people of Vietnam in their just war against the aggressor and compel the U.S. aggressor to withdraw from Vietnam.

While on the subject of Vietnam we must comment on the recent expulsion of a Canadian member of the International Control Commission from Hanoi for activities against the security of Vietnam. Without even waiting to get the facts of the case Prime Minister Pearson denied the charge. We are not at all impressed with Pearson's indignant and injured air. We are all too well aware of the fact that Canada has earned notorious reputation as an errand boy and Jack-of-all-trades for Uncle Sam.

We herewith register our protest against activities of members of the I.C.C. which endanger the security of Vietnam and aid the U.S. imperialist aggressor who is as much an enemy of the Canadian people as of the Vietnamese. We reiterate our support for and solidarity with the people of Vietnam, North and South, in their just war against imperialist aggression and in defence of their homeland. Once again we demand an end to Canadian support for U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

RUSSIAN ROULETTE

There is a mounting accumulation of evidence indicating that some people in Havana are playing a Cuban version of "Russian Roulette"—with the Russians, of all people. Items keep turning up in Cuban journals which take the Russians to task for certain sins of omission and commission, especially over relations with the various reactionary regimes in Latin America. The Cubans still are not demonstrating any willingness to oppose the Moscow clique for their betrayal of the Revolutionary Marxism-Leninism and the return to the capitalist road in the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, the Cuban jabbing at the revisionist weak spots must be making Moscow feel very unhappy as it tends to expose the treachery of the revisionists no matter what Havana's intentions may be.

In January the Havana English journal "Granma" reported a commercial agreement between the U.S.S.R. and Chile, which provided for extensive Soviet credits to be extended to Chile under advantageous conditions. Included in the agreement are Soviet contracts to build industrial enterprises and supply machinery and equipment. "Trade relations between Chile and the U.S.S.R. will be increased," according to the "Granma" report.

On the same page which carried the above report there appeared another on Chile, headed with a question; "What is the Frei Government?" which is answered in this way: "Frei's government represents the oligarchic, and pro-imperialist interests that oppose revolution and social-political transformation." The report goes on to say that Frei has unleashed a "wave of savage repression against strikes and protest movements" and that he "maintains a policy of subservience to the dictates of the United States government." The Chilean government, according to "Granma" is "considered one of the principal allies of imperialism" and defends the interests that oppose the working classes. The report then winds up with a blistering denunciation: "Frei is . . . an accomplice to the criminal imperialist blockade against our economy . . . he is repudiated by every sincere revolutionary on this Continent."

This statement could hardly be mistaken for a message of congratulations to the U.S.S.R. or an endorsement of their relations with Eduardo Frei and his government. In fact, its appearance simultaneous to the report of the U.S.S.R.-Chile economic agreement and in close proximity to that report can only be looked upon as outright condemnation of Soviet trade policy. It is also a biting criticism of the pro-Frei revisionist Communist Party of Chile whose leaders protested to Cuba (from Moscow) and, somewhat less than politely, invited Castro to stay out of Chilean affairs.

The Latin-America Solidarity Conference, which was held in Havana, was also an open act of defiance against Moscow when a large number of delegates who are at odds with the revisionist parties (some of them expelled from these parties) in the Americas. The delegate of the pro-Moscow Communist Party of the U.S.A. was studiously ignored while Stokely Carmichael, of "Black Power" fame and fervently disliked by the leaders of the C.P.U.S.A., was conducted on a personal guided tour of Cuba by Fidel himself.

At the end of July Havana continued its apparent feud with Moscow in a full-page "Granma" article on Yugoslavia. According to the ruling clique in the U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia is a socialist nation, applying economic rules to production substantially the same as those being followed in the Soviet Union — incentives, profits, etc. It follows, therefore, that what one says in praise or criticism regarding Yugoslav development will be looked on in Moscow as having been said also of the U.S.S.R. Considering that fact it would be very interesting indeed to know that Brezhnev, Kosygin and company thought of the "Granma" article headed with the declaration; "The So-Called Yugoslav Way is the Way of Opportunism and Treason." It is not likely there would be much joy in Moscow over that.

The article itself points to the fact that Yugoslavia recently passed laws authorizing foreign capital investment and has given guarantees that there will be no nationalization of expropriation of foreign interests. This item has added interest in view of Russian negotiations designed to attract

foreign investment in Soviet enterprises. Along with this, according to "Granma," "There is no longer room for doubt that Yugoslavia is returning to the bourgeois political system. All economic and political steps point to a resurrection of the bourgeois parliamentary system and free enterprise."

Yugoslavia received aid from the U.S. to the amount of \$1945 million between 1945 and 1965, almost half of it in the last 7 years of the period and this does not include the Food for Peace Program totalling over \$600 million to 1963. In addition Yugoslav foreign trade depends heavily on the U.S. market increasing from \$88 million in 1960 to \$200 million in 1966. In 1967 the trend to complete dependence on U.S. imperialism was continuing at an accelerating rate.

Unemployment in Yugoslavia is on the increase despite large scale export of manpower to various European countries. The Yugoslav Youth Federation placed the question high on their Conference agenda because "80 per cent of those seeking employment are young people."

The Yugoslav journal "Svet" reported; "There are 250,000 unemployed in Yugoslavia, but what is really alarming is the rate at which the number of unemployed skilled workers is increasing . . . the number of unemployed . . . reaches 6 or



7 per cent. If we add to this some 150,000 Yugoslavs who have left the country to seek employment, then this figure reaches an alarming 1 per cent." Close to 2,000 university graduates, 617 with diplomas in the natural sciences and technology, were unemployed.

In a concluding paragraph which is an obvious, even though undeclared, criticism of Soviet revisionism, "Granma" declares: The experience of the Yugoslav people should serve as a lesson to revolutionaries. Not through approaching the United States or making concessions to imperialism can the construction of Socialism be achieved. Not with the penetration of foreign capital is Communism constructed. Not by means of clumsy economic measures is the awareness of a people formed. This poses the question: is it possible to arrive at Communism, to build a new society without first having developed the revolutionary awareness of a people? Can a Socialist, Communist revolution be carried out by employing capitalist methods?"

On the Middle East crisis, also, Cuba is at variance with Moscow. "Granma" castigates the U.N. "cease fire" resolution for which the Soviet Union voted and supports the Arab proposals which the Soviet delegates opposed.

The question now is: How long will the Soviet ruling clique tolerate the sharp stings from the Havana wasp before taking action in an effort to end it? It seems to us either Cuba will capitulate or there will be a real shouting match between Havana and Moscow. It doesn't appear likely that the status quo can be much longer maintained.

WHICH SIDE ARE YOU ON

August 11 1967—PACIFIC TRIBUNE

Parity in auto

WITH negotiations opening this week in the auto industry in Canada, the drive is on for parity with the United States.

The pledge has been made to the 25,000 Canadian workers involved that there will be strike action in the U.S. if parity is not won.

The companies argue, understandably, that the place to discuss wage parity is in Canada and hope to get settlement in the States even before the Canadian contracts expire late this fall. All the journalistic hacks and the economic "experts" are going to be in there pitching against parity, proving once again that liars can figure.

So the fighting through of this issue by the UAW will receive wide support from the whole labor movement as they lead the way to important advances for workers on both sides of the border.

The editorial from the "Tribune" reproduced above deals with a subject which PW has touched upon in previous issues; the subject of wage "parity" for Canadian Auto workers. We reiterate now what we said before — "parity" is not a Canadian demand, it is a demand made in America by Americans and for their own particular purpose. Do the "Tribune" editors really believe what they appear to intimate, that workers of the world should unite to win "parity" with U.S. workers? Why not parity with Japan, South Africa, India, or anyone of a hundred other countries?

A particularly notable part of the editorial is that point where the editors indignantly reject the auto companies suggestion that Canadian workers should do their own negotiating. The idea that workers in Canada can bargain for themselves is just too ridiculous for words as far as the "Tribune" is concerned.

Parity is a subject which has been much discussed in past years but nothing of a practical nature ever attempted to achieve it. However, the last convention of the auto workers in the United States decided that parity must be achieved this year even if a strike was required to secure the demand. Why has the issue reached such monumental proportions precisely this year? The "Tribune" staff insists that the reason is a brotherly concern of the U.S. unionists for their fellow unionists in Canada. "The pledge has been made" declares the "Tribune," "that there will be strike action if parity is not won." But is this really what is back of the U.S. demand for parity which the "Tribune" calls on 25,000 Canadian auto workers to fight for?

The real facts are to be found in the rapidly changing conditions in the Auto industry, particularly since the Canada-U.S. Auto Pact was passed. The trend is toward increased efficiency and greater concentration of the industry. The U.S. auto workers have made it quite clear that they fear a lower wage level in Canada may induce some companies to expand on this side of the border and they wish to discourage this by establishing wage parity. This is the real reason why parity has become such an important issue in 1967 and the U.S. auto workers made the point quite clear in the convention of the union. Brotherly love has nothing to do with it. Under cover of a demand for "parity" the "Tribune" is calling on Canadian workers to help stop expansion of the auto industry in Canada and at the same time they are conceding the right of U.S. monopolies to control Canadian industry stipulating only that we be exploited on a basis of equality with U.S. workers.

Canadian workers should not lend themselves to a cam-13

paign to block industrial expansion in Canada nor should they engage in a suicidal struggle with American workers over which group is going to have possession of the diminishing number of jobs available in auto manufacturing. The worker in Canada should advance their own demands based on Canadian conditions and at the top of the list should be a demand for nationalization of the auto industry in Canada, and a plan for the production of Canadian automobiles for the home and foreign market. Let Canada's 25,000 auto workers advance a demand like this and then we will see how serious Reuther and Company are about their concern for Canadian workers. Will Reuther and the "Tribune" call for strike action for the realization of that kind of program? We think not!

HAMILTON DRAFTSMEN

We are in receipt of a circular distributed by the Draftsmen and Tracers local which just concluded a strike at Westinghouse Electric in Hamilton, Ontario. The circular sharply criticizes the top leadership of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America for instructing U.E. members to cross the Draftsmen picket line. The circular says:

"Our main grievance is that the top paid leadership of U.E., who could have taken a principled trade union position in action, instead launched an all-out campaign to persuade Local 501 members to cross the Draftsmen's picket lines. Other unionists, were under pressure to do the same.

"This left the Draftsmen and Tracers in the position of being trampled on by those with whom we had been jointly picketing up to then . . . The long-term principle of labour unity in action was cast aside in favour of short-term manoeuvres . . . U.E. officials . . . promised that U.E. members would not handle any scab work . . . But we doubt that U.E. officials were serious in their promise . . .

"Draftsmen were being asked to believe that U.E. officials would sanction illegal strikes AFTER their settlement when they had already opposed honoring LEGAL picket lines! Would they undertake an illegal confrontation with the Company in a few days, when they were not prepared to continue confronting the Company when it was still legal?"

This appears to be another case of one union signing an agreement while another group of workers is still on strike at the same plant. A common complaint in the Ontario labour movement.

U.E. IN VANCOUVER

Meanwhile George Gee, National Representative of U.E. on the West Coast, is busy trying to con the electrical workers of B.C. into believing U.E. is a "Canadian Union." Without any formality or reference to the members George has arbitrarily dropped "of America" from the title of the union in a desperate effort to make his claim of "Canadianism" stick. He also seizes every possible opportunity to call attention to the fact that the union's U.S. headquarters granted the U.E. members in Canada a licence to be "Canadian" within certain limits. If George really believes everything he says about the wonders of being Canadian then why maintain any U.S. connection at all?

Of course Gee is only playing games. Electrical workers are fed up with the I.B.E.W. and the sentiment is for a Canadian union so George plays at being Canadian in order to side-track the workers from joining a real Canadian union that is on the scene. Gee's Canadianism is bogus.

Gee and John Morrison are out on an orgy of promises which can only be compared to the activities of two-bit politicians running for public office. Each is trying to win the loyalties of a group of workers in an electrical manufacturing plant in Vancouver and holding out as being a glowing picture of the wonderful wages and working conditions the workers will get if they join "my" union. It seems the workers only have to take out a union card to gain a seat in paradise — no need to struggle just sign the card.

It will be interesting to see how the winner of this popularity contest reneges on his promises. We will keep our readers informed of the outcome.

BURMESE PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE

(Following are excerpts from a speech made by Thakin Ba Thein Tin, the First Vice-Chairman of the Communist Party of Burma at a Peking rally in memory of Chinese expert Liu Yi who had worked in Burma to assist that country in its construction and was killed by Burmese thugs instigated by the reactionary Ne Win Military government)

(China Features)

Our Communist Party of Burma wholeheartedly supports the just struggle of the overseas Chinese in Burma, and vehemently protests the fascist atrocities of the Ne Win military government in persecuting them.

Burma's anti China incident is not divorced from the anti China drive of Indonesia, India, Hongkong and in other countries and areas; it is part of the adverse current of the opposition to the communist parties, the people, the revolution and China. All this shows that class struggle throughout the whole world is very sharp and that the world revolutionary movement has entered a new stage and reached a new height.

This incident was planned beforehand, arranged and carried out in collusion with the U.S. imperialists, Soviet revisionists, reactionaries of all countries and the Kuomintang bandit gang.

The anti China outrage instigated by the Ne Win military government is an outcome of the anti Communist, anti popular policy of war at home which it has followed for a long time, an outcome of its foreign policy of further dependence on and collusion with imperialism, revisionism and the reactionaries in all countries, and has been decided by its class nature.

The Ne Win military government has carried out this massacre at a time when it is facing total bankruptcy, militarily, politically and economically.

The armed struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party of Burma headed by Chairman Thakin Than Tun has been going on for 19 to 20 years.

Ne Win and company are the chief culprits who started the reactionary civil war. They set off the unjust war, and have burnt down thousands of villages.

They have turned a large number of villages into concentration camps like those in south Vietnam. Tens of thousands of peasants have been killed and arrested, many women raped and many communists massacred.

Aided by U.S. imperialism and assisted by Britain, Israel, West Germany, Japan, India and other imperialists and reactionaries, the Ne Win military government has launched wild attacks on the Burmese people's democratic revolution.

They have received much aid from Khrushchov, Kosygin, Brezhnev, Tito and other modern revisionists. Ne Win also received great help from China's Khrushchov.

Nevertheless, the Burmese armed struggle has not collapsed. At present, we are dealing the Ne Win military government harsh blows. Under the banner of the National Democratic United Front, the armed units have scored victory after victory. The revolutionary armed forces have now grown so strong that they are capable of taking medium sized and small towns and have occupied them for a time. According to incomplete statistics, more than 400 battles were fought in 1966. Our Party's armed forces have increased by half. Our guerilla bases have been expanded and consolidated. The area in which we are fighting accounts for more than 60 per cent of the country's total area.

Last October, our armed units attacked a position only two miles from Ne Win's mansion. In November, they captured the goods of a cooperative shop on the outskirts of Rangoon. This fighting gave the Ne Win government a shock. U.S. imperialism is worried that Burma may become a second Vietnam within two or three years.

Now that Ne Win has fired the first shot at China, the armed struggle in Burma will certainly develop by leaps and bounds and reach a still higher stage. This is because in the present situation the Burmese armed struggle is enjoying

the full sympathy and support of the 700 million Chinese people and the overwhelming majority of the Burmese people who are against Ne Win, will close ranks. The Burmese armed struggle will display greater might and spread further, and more troops of the Ne Win government will be wiped out. This is how Ne Win is digging his own grave.

It is because we have established in our minds Chairman Mao's idea that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" that we have been able to persevere in struggle. We have been able to do so because we have used guns and opposed the ideas and programme of the revisionists who urge us to cooperate with Ne Win and be his disciple.

We have not only accepted the guidance of the completely correct idea, namely, "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun," but we also carry on our fight in accordance with Chairman Mao's theory on protracted war, relying on the countryside as our base area and encircling the cities from the countryside. Our practice has proved that, given a Party armed with the thought of Chairman Mao, and given that this Party is able to rely first of all on the peasants, protracted war can be carried on even in a small country like Burma.

China's Khrushchov has a soft spot for Ne Win, but harbours no such good intention towards the Communist Party of Burma. This is not fortuitous; there is a reason. As far back as 20 years ago, our Party was a Party loyal to Marxism Leninism, Mao Tse-tung thought. It is only natural that China's Khrushchov, who is opposed to Marxism Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, should treat us badly.

Burma's revolution has proved that as long as the people of various countries really act according to Chairman Mao's teachings on self reliance, then the oppressed people of these countries can decide their own destiny. Our Party is now undertaking a vigorous study of Chairman Mao's works. It has also been stressed that everyone undertake a living study and application in the course of struggle by studying "Long Live the Victory of People's War!", written by our respected and beloved Vice Chairman Lin Biao.

We regard Chairman Mao's works as an invaluable treasure.

Even now the Soviet revisionists still proclaim that the road Ne Win takes is a non capitalist one. China's Khrushchov also directly told Ne Win that it was necessary to learn from Ne Win's programme for socialism.

But the Burmese people have a real understanding of their own. They see with their own eyes that Ne Win's "Burma Socialist Programme" has brought about the massacre of tens of thousands of people.

Under the Ne Win military government, even bourgeois democracy was got rid of. Four months after the military government came to power, more than 100 university students were killed and over 300 students injured on July 7, in Rangoon, the capital of Burma.

In November 1963, after shamelessly sabotaging peaceful negotiations, the Ne Win military government abolished all legitimate parties and arrested more than 1,000 well-known progressive people. From that time to now, it has continued to arrest workers, peasants, students, writers and owners of enterprises. What do all these facts show? They show that Ne Win, who is carrying out military dictatorship in the country, is Burma's Chiang Kai-shek.

Ne Win's "Programme for Socialism" in Burma long ago plunged the whole country into a serious economic crisis. At present, there is an extreme lack of food and medicine, the price of commodities is very high and speculating merchant cliques and black markets are so numerous that Ne Win has been helpless in dealing with them. The reason is that his officers and officials have all taken part in black market activities.

With regard to the situation of the material shortages, I would like to cite a few examples to explain it.

At present, Burma is extremely short of cooking oil and there has been none for use in preparing dishes. The ordinary people call those dishes with no cooking oil, or very little, "Ne Win dishes." Famine in Burma is now extremely serious. Burma is one of the world's biggest rice producing countries.

Even during the Second World War, when the whole country had been turned into a battlefield, there was no famine in Burma because of the self-reliant efforts of the Burmese people.

In pre-war days, apart from domestic consumption, three million tons of rice were exported annually. But now the amount exported has been only 600,000 tons, and the sale of rice domestically has to be measured by the milk bottle.

Famine has been brought on under Ne Win's rule. The government has declared that Burma will possibly be without grain before November of this year. It therefore asks the people to practice economy in grain consumption. However, famine has already begun. Workers have left the factories because they have nothing to eat; peasants are unable to work in the fields because they have insufficient food. People are eating roots and bark. Diseases are spreading because of malnutrition.

Demonstrations and struggles have occurred aimed at securing a solution to the grain problem. In some places there have been occurrences of seizure of rice. In Rangoon, it is only possible for a person to buy one milk bottle full of rice daily. Over 1,000 residents in the Thaketa quarter held a demonstration in front of a grain shop because they had no rice for their evening meal. In Rangoon some restaurants have no rice to serve.

The people of the whole country are highly indignant at the Ne Win military government. In order to shake itself of political, military and economic crises and consolidate its rule, the Ne Win military government has adopted despicable measures. It has stirred up a conflict between China and Burma in an attempt to divert into a national conflict the fierce anger of the Burmese people that has burst forth like a volcano.

Together with the Chinese people, we will certainly carry the struggle against the Ne Win military government, the struggle against revisionism and the struggle against the reactionaries of all countries through to the very end.

However great the sacrifices we have to suffer, no matter how long the struggle continues, we will certainly carry on our fight. We have waged a military struggle over a period of nearly 20 years. We say that we are not afraid of any kind of enemy, because we have Chairman Mao's thought as our guide.

We will overthrow the Ne Win military government and bring about a lasting peace, a happy and completely independent Burma and set up a people's democratic united government conforming to the people's wishes.

WORLD NEWS BRIEFS

CANADA: Voting in the referendum to approve proposals for merger with the United Steelworkers of America indicated a solid opposition to the idea by upwards of 30 per cent of the members of the Mine Mill and Smelter Workers Union in spite of the enthusiastic backing of the top and local leadership for the merger.

The large local at Falconbridge Nickel, led by a rank and file opposition, voted 2 to 1 against the merger and have announced their intention to become an independent Canadian union. The Quebec-based CNTU has pledged support for the Falconbridge workers.

Results of the referendum have confirmed the P.W. contention that there was widespread sentiment in Mine Mill in favour of an independent Canadian union. It is clear that proper leadership and a real Canadian outlook rather than one made in Washington by the labour lieutenants of U.S. imperialism, would have resulted in an outcome which would have strengthened immeasurably the Canadian Union movement. However, the fundamental interests of the Canadian workers was sacrificed in the selfish, personal interests of the bureaucratic leadership and the Communist Party policy of unity with right-wing U.S. labour leaders.

ADEN AND HONG KONG: The British imperialists, assisted by U.S. imperialism, continue to carry out brutal fascist attacks against the working people of Aden and Hong Kong.

In Aden the British use overwhelming military force in support of a puppet monarchist regime in opposition to

the expressed desires of almost all the people. Guerilla activity against the British and the monarchists is intensifying and many local victories are being won.

Fascist attacks are also continuing in Hong Kong where naval units, helicopters, special trained army units including Gurka mercenaries, are being used in an all-out attempt to suppress the Chinese working people in the British Colonial possession. Inspired and encouraged by the support of more than 700 million strong Peoples Republic of China the workers of Hong Kong refuse to be intimidated and are fighting back courageously.

Events in Aden and Hong Kong expose the hollowness of the Wilson Labour Government announcement of "withdrawal from East of Suez".

MIDDLE EAST: The Arab people are adopting new methods of struggle against U.S.-British-Israeli imperialism in the Middle East. A strike has taken place in occupied Jerusalem and People's War methods are being used in the anti-imperialist struggle in the areas on the west bank of the Jordan and the Suez Canal. There is going to be no willing acceptance of Israeli occupation of Arab territory.

The revisionists are making frantic efforts to "contain" the Arab struggle and assist the imperialists. The Soviet ruling clique have been experiencing considerable difficulty in convincing the Arab people to accept a United Nations fabricated "settlement" including occupation of their country by a U.S.-dominated so-called "U.N. peace-keeping force" which the Canadian government—already once kicked out of Egypt for pro-imperialist activities—is expressing keen interest in taking part in.

The arch-revisionist traitor Tito of Yugoslavia is rushing to Egypt in an emergent effort to assist the hard-pressed Soviet revisionists to put over their program of betrayal. However, it begins to look like the Arab people have had enough of betrayal and are determined to carry out the anti-imperialist struggle based mainly on their own resources and efforts.

IRELAND: The people of Cork—a port city in the South of Ireland—demonstrated in force against the visit of a U.S. naval vessel that had seen service off the coast of Vietnam. The demonstrators picketed the ship around the clock and succeeded in preventing the crew from enjoying shore leave.

ENGLAND: The British Labour Government, pursuing social-democracy's policy of support for imperialist objectives under cover of a pretended concern for the welfare of the people, is continuing to attack the living standards of the workers and strengthen capitalism. Steel industry has been "nationalized" in a manner calculated to guarantee capit-



alist profits for all time at a level based on the years of highest returns and this occurs precisely when steel production was declining sharply and profits falling sharply. Millions are to be spent in modernizing and rationalizing the industry, some plants will be closed, other operations merged, and it is estimated that at least 250,000 steelworkers will become unemployed as a result. The Labour Government is proposing to do what the private owners would not even attempt knowing they would be confronted with determined opposition from the unions. As in the "nationalization" of coal and railways the social-democrats are doing for the capitalists what they cannot do for themselves. This gives the lie to the revisionist and Trotskyite claims that nationalization is an automatic step in the direction of socialism.

Unemployment is mounting, taxes increasing, welfare benefits declining. Living standards of the workers are being attacked on all fronts while profits for capitalists achieve record levels.

The Wilson Government's concern for the safety and well-being of Ian Smith's Rhodesian fascist government—whom Wilson once accused of treason—stands in glaring contrast to their all-out efforts to suppress peoples' liberation movements. There is none more loyal in support of U.S. imperialist objectives than the social-democrat, Wilson.

The expatriate Canadian, Garfield Weston, has expanded his empire of food with the purchase of a chain of supermarkets in England. The chain previously was owned by a group of racist capitalists in South Africa with whom Weston is on the friendliest terms.

ASIA-AUSTRALIA: U.S. representatives have met with complete failure in attempts to have their puppets supply greater quantities of cannon fodder for the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. New Zealand and Australia, where anti-war movements are becoming stronger, have claimed inability to provide additional support. Even Thailand, completely under U.S. domination, refused to attend a conference called to discuss more help for the aggressor.

LATIN AMERICA: Nearly 50 per cent of the land in Latin America is held by foreign and local landlords who constitute 1.5 per cent of the rural population. 2,000 big plantation owners in Brazil possess land that is larger than the combined territories of Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium and Denmark. Agricultural workers in the Parna s district of Brazil where some starving peasants have been living on

300 CHILEAN peasants occupied plantation lands with the assistance of other peasants in the district. 15,000 agricultural workers in Chile staged a strike for wage increases.

In GUYANA also agricultural workers were striking to enforce economic demands.

In COLOMBIA more than 300 peasant families seized land from the Church and declared that no force in the country could take the land from them again.

PERU also experienced landless peasant movements against church and landlord. One Peruvian Senator gave warning of a possible uprising.

The peasant and agricultural workers movements in Latin America are growing in size and militancy and are merging with the armed actions of the Guerilla movement in revolutionary action against the U.S. imperialists and the local puppet governments. These worker peasant movements form an important front in the fight against reaction. The development of these movements will give great impetus to the revolutionary struggle of the Latin American people.

INDIA: Hsinhua News reports peasant uprisings in various parts of India and peasant seizure of land from wealthy landowners. Hunger is rampant all over the Indian sub continent and it is expected that hundreds of thousands—perhaps millions—will die of starvation this year. After 20 years of so called "independence," where the capitalists and feudal landlords rule the nation on behalf of foreign imperialists, the Indian masses see their condition worsening, hunger, misery, starvation and degradation their daily fare. The people are not disposed to suffer longer in silence and are launching a revolutionary struggle against the oppressors of the Indian masses.

The Indian ruling class are seizing advantage of the centenary of Gandhi's birth to propagate "non-violence" among the people. Representatives of the Congress Party, together with other reactionary groups and assisted by the revisionists, preach the doctrine of non-violence even as they carry out the massive campaign of arming the reactionary military forces and practice the ultimate in violence in suppressing the revolutionary movement. But the people are casting off all illusions about non-violence and are resorting to armed struggle against the regime of counter revolutionary violence.

Letters to the Editor

Dear Comrades:

It is about time I was renewing my subscription to your militant little paper. I am now 86 years of age and my memory is very erratic. I enclose a money order for five bucks for sixty issues.

If I should go West before time to renew again, please accept any balance as a donation to your publication.

I am living here alone since my wife passed on in Oct. 1963, and can no longer concentrate on what I read in the class struggle. I have had my War Veteran's allowance cut down as of May 1st from \$72 per month to \$20 per month, since I had my security pension raised by the full \$30 supplement.

It seems they have over-paid me since Jan. 1st, 1967, and this reduction will apply until Oct. 31st, 1967, when to \$147 per month.

When one department of the government gives an increase; another department takes it away, in order that we may not exceed their set maximum for us under-dogs.

Yours sincerely,

Allan G. Grant

BOYCOTT U.S. GOODS

The hideous war in Vietnam makes me feel we must do something positive to stop it

I am doing this and put it forward for women. Boycott U.S. goods.

If you make note you will find U.S. goods are inferior and more expensive.

The anti-dumping laws have been relaxed but the U.S. wants high profits.

Help stop the war in Vietnam withdraw our purchasing power from U.S. junk.

Hilda Scott



rats and ants, went on strike in protest against management withholding pay since August 1966. Strikes, demonstrations, the occupation of plantation lands and guerilla warfare are the order of the day in most Latin American countries.

In ECUADOR peasants in more than 40 rural communes struck for government recognition of their ownership to the land now occupied by foreign landlords. A strike was launched by agricultural workers employed on coffee plantations owned by the Rockefellers.

In the DOMINICAN REPUBLIC large scale land seizing movements erupted in spite of tight U.S. imperialist control. Peasants sternly resisted government attempts to suppress the movement.

CRISIS IN THE EUROPEAN ECONOMY

Editors note: this article is a translation from the July 28, 1967 edition of *La Voix du Peuple*, the publication of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of Belgium.

The initial purpose of the Marshall plan was to give the European bourgeoisie, which had compromised with the Nazis, the economic means to recover their political power when Hitler was defeated; then, as soon as the apparatus of their class power was firmly back in place, to provide better conditions for capitalist profits and for an ever-increasing exploitation of the masses of working people. The present outgrowth of the Marshall Plan is the Common Market, which is also an instrument of American imperialism.

The investments of American trusts and monopolies in Europe are the source of important superprofits and the European "Market" utilizes the labour force to provide a better market for the United States. The powerful American capitalists with their constant political intervention force the European bourgeoisie to submit to American imperialism. These investments were to be the origin of a euphoric period of economic "development" called the "European economic miracle." The use of the word "miracle" shows plainly how much confidence the capitalist economists have in the system they try to extol.

But the capitalist economy of the states of the Common Market have been suffering a general recession for the past several months. Decreases of industrial production, a fall in sales, controls on manufactured goods, reduction of investments, commercial deficits, budgetary impasses, and large increases of unemployment have appeared in all the states of the Common Market with the exception of Italy, where the pressure of the economic difficulties of the other capitalist states will bring on a rapid setback, since the Italian economy will be unable to withstand the effects of the recession because of the weakness of its possibilities for investment and its budget deficit. Added to the economic difficulties of Western Germany, the Netherlands, France and Belgium is the grave economic and financial crisis of England. All this shows that the pretended "European economic miracle" could last only the amount of time required to return to reality by the proof of facts.

The capitalist system is inherently incapable of developing harmoniously. The politics of profit create the means of production anarchically toward competitive ends, and not needs; they force an ever-increasing exploitation of the working class, those "beasts of profit" who are exploited and then thrown out of work at the whim of capitalist interests.

The End of the German "Economic Miracle"

For several years now, of all the "miracles" which surround us, the "German economic miracle" has been the most publicized. Adenauer and Erhard have been presented as the magicians, assuring the permanence of capitalism. Today the illusions are disappearing and the Kiesinger government is having to face up to the grave economic problems and a rapid deterioration of the financial situation. One can see this in recent statistics: Economic production fell by 60 per cent in the first six months of 1967, while in 1966, the country produced at only 70 per cent of its capacity. Spending for machinery was 12 per cent lower than in 1966, when the country suffered a recession graver than any since 1945. The government has budgeted for a deficit of seven billion marks in 1968, the national debt now stands at 36 1/2 billion marks, and at the beginning of 1967 there were 600,000 unemployed workers in West Germany. Once again the working class is suffering the consequences of capitalist anarchy.

The "Süddeutsche Zeitung" wrote that the government's finances are "on the verge of bankruptcy" and Kiesinger is threatening to resign if the 1968 budget that his government is presenting is refused, declaring that "the domestic situation has never been as serious as it is today;" "the state of the country has never been so difficult since the creation of the German Republic;" and if a way is not found to re-establish the country's finances on a more solid base, "it will inevitably result in internal breakdown" and "chaos will threaten." It is because of these problems that Kiesinger

had to call off his visit to Johnson on July 7 and stay home. Once again the heaviest weight falls on the workers' backs. The budget for social security was cut by 1.2 billion marks, and will seriously cut into both old age pensions and unemployment relief for the workers. The social security cut-back was the main one in the budget, and constituted a further attack against the welfare of the working people.

These decisions showed once again the class nature of capitalist power, in the service of monopoly capital. At the same time that Strauss, the Financial Minister, was telling the workers to "be ready to make sacrifices and pull in your belts," Economics Minister Schiller was increasing the national debt by generously distributing credits to the trusts and monopolies to enable them to maintain their customary profits.

Because of the gravity of the economic crisis, the West German government, after long discussion, decided to cut the National Defence budget by 1 to 2 billion marks. The Johnson administration immediately addressed strong criticisms to the German government which was then forced to state very quickly and clearly that it had no intention of doing such a thing, showing its complete submission to the orders of the Pentagon. Although the workers were assured that the government would not go back on its promise to raise taxes and cut social security, the decision to cut defence spending was hastily dropped.

The economic crisis of West Germany is just as important as its economic expansion, which originated in the billions of dollars poured in by the United States to save capitalism in Western Europe at the end of World War II. This massive "aid" affected the economy of all of Western Europe, and, in return, the inevitable recession upsets the economy of the entire area.

Contradictions Between the Imperialists

If the German political economy had for its theme the apology of "free enterprise," the French economy affirmed the superiority of technocratic solutions and "capitalist state planning." But today the general recession is hurting France equally with Germany. The French government is alarmed at the fall in production, the inflation of the stock market, the increase of the commercial deficit, and the figure of 200,000 unemployed which does not include the increasingly large numbers of young people who have never been able to get a job at all.

One of the causes of the actual recession is the stranglehold of American imperialism on the European economies. Certain classes of the European monopoly bourgeoisie are fighting against that stranglehold. During his visit to Bonn, in 1963, de Gaulle called for a union with the directors of the French-German Accords, saying that, without such a union, "it will not be possible to avoid the American preponderance. On the other hand, if we remain united, we can safeguard our independence." This did not fail to alarm the Johnson administration, to whom this call for unity represented an intolerable menace to the total hegemony of American imperialism over the capitalist world. The United States keeps trying to break up the present structures of the Common Market in order to enlarge it into a zone of "free enterprise." The entry of Great Britain, for which the U.S. continues to fight, would be the first stage of such a plan.

It is this same objective of resistance to total American domination which makes de Gaulle oppose the entrance of Great Britain into the Common Market by setting up unacceptable preconditions for that country's admission. It is very obvious to everyone these days that Wilson is no more than a puppet of the American imperialists and that U.S. capitalists dominate the English economy.

If you compare the great economic difficulties of West Germany, of France, of England (which is in a state of permanent financial crisis with 2.2 per cent unemployment) and of the United States (where 3,600,000 or 4 per cent of the work force is unemployed) it becomes clear that the great bastions of capitalism are, economically speaking, paper tigers; apparently powerful, but in fact weak and vulnerable.

The Balance of Survival for Imperialism

This general crisis in the capitalist world is taking place at a time when conditions for profits are "favourable," the price of exports is rising while the cost of imports is low, (a condition brought about by an ever more cruel exploitation of Asia, Africa and Latin America, who provide raw materials. Through their increasingly inhumane exploitation of the peoples still suffering under the colonial and neo-colonial yoke, the imperialists demonstrate once more the unchanging nature of the capitalist system, which carries within it the seeds of its own destruction.

Once the "miracles" have been swept away by the facts, the capitalist economy is incapable of finding any real equilibrium and swings continually from periods of inflation to periods of recession. This is one of the principal aspects of the class struggle, in which monopoly capitalism strives desperately to preserve an equilibrium, permitting it to maintain its class power. All major disturbances of this equilibrium, as well as the revolutionary struggle attained by the peoples of the world, and the strong anti-imperialist front, hasten the inevitable end of the reign of imperialist exploitation and oppression.

The consequences of this rivalry among the imperialists, for the workers, are pay cuts, break-ups of their unions, unemployment and reduction of their hard-won social reforms such as pensions, social security etc. At the same time, the

superstructure of the bourgeois repression is strengthened and the march toward fascism accelerates. This is the time when the working people must organize and mobilize to strongly counter the aggressions which the class in power is preparing in order to preserve its privileges.

The stage of world history we are witnessing now shows the correctness of Lenin's thesis of the double nature of capitalist development. It manifests tendencies toward the internationalization of capital, but at the same time, the privileged interests are concentrated into national groups. A true understanding of this double nature is fundamental to the development of a correct revolutionary line against capitalism in the imperialist stage, and not falling into the trap of devoting all our energies to fighting the ruling class of our own country and our own imperialism, removed from the general development of the world revolutionary movement. An even greater error, however, is to fall into the mistake of imagining that imperialism will be defeated by a general collapse of the capitalist system, and, imagining that, to sit back and happily await that event. It is the revolutionary struggle of the people which will defeat imperialism. It will never disappear until it is chased from history by the people taking their destiny into their own hands and guided by the party of the proletariat, the communist party which is armed with the revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism.

DR. BETHUNE IN CHINA

This month, as temporary substitute for the series of letters by Norman Bethune, we publish references to his work made by Brigadier Evans F. Carlson of the U.S. marine Corps, in his book "Twin Stars of China." Brigadier Carlson, who was very friendly toward the Chinese revolutionary movement, died suddenly and unexpectedly in a U.S. Army hospital.

Carlson's reference's to Bethune follow below:

Jean Ewen had spent five years nursing in a Catholic mission in Shantung, and spoke Chinese with great facility. She had returned to China a few months before with Dr. Norman Bethune, as a volunteer for medical work with the Eighth Route Army. Sent to Shansi, she arrived at Linfeng three days after I had left, in February, and one day before the Japanese arrived. Forced to flee with an army detachment towards the Yellow River, to the west, she had had a gruelling experience, for the column had been bombed and machine gunned by planes daily, and one occasion a bomb had exploded so close that she was partially covered by earth. But the experience had not dampened her ardor, and now she was returning to Yen-an with needed supplies. During the three days of the truck trip she proved her mettle by being always cheerful and never complaining of the interminable dust or the lack of comfortable accommodations...

In front of the post office we were hailed by Doctor Wentzler, of the League of Nations Anti-Epidemic Commission, who led us to his office and relieved us of the medical supplies. Jean had her own cave, and I was parked for the night in the cave recently vacated by Doctors Norman Bethune and Richard Brown, the latter of the Canadian Church Mission. Both had departed for Wu T'ai Shan to work in the hospital I had visited last winter.

Doctors Norman Bethune and Richard Brown, the Canadian medical men whose cave I had occupied one night at Yen-an, had preceded me here a few days, and were working in a hospital twenty miles away. Nieh had notified them that I was here, and the following day Doctor Brown came up for a visit. Bethune was delayed by the critical condition of a patient whose leg he had just amputated.

Doctor Bethune was at headquarters when we returned. Tall, thin, with gray hair and mustache, he looked tired. He had made a reputation in Spain by his success in giving blood transfusions on the battle field. I had heard that he was irascible, and if true it was probably due to his boundless energy and desire to get things done. My impression was of a man of great courage and deep conviction.

Although he had brought a large quantity of medical supplies with him, these were already nearly exhausted, and he was concerned with getting more. He gave me a list which I later delivered to the International Red Cross in Hankow.

"I feel that my life mission is here," he told me. "There are twenty thousand wounded in this area, divided among seven hospitals. I intend to visit each hospital and aid in establishing the best method of treatment possible. Then I will organize a field hospital unit which will follow the army during its major operations."

Norman Bethune fulfilled his mission faithfully. Eighteen months later he died in this region, victim of the lack of medical supplies which he was now so concerned in getting for the army.



CANADIANS AGAINST U.S. WAR IN VIETNAM

by Barry Lord

July 1, 1967 was another day of demonstration against the war in Vietnam, this time in Montreal. The Toronto branch of the Progressive Workers Movement—while disagreeing with the choice of day and place, and opposing the campaign which announced the demonstration—took the opportunity to declare dramatically its solidarity with the struggle for Quebec national independence. This was expressed more strongly and clearly than ever before; in this sense—and in this sense only—the demonstration was a success. Otherwise, the demonstration pointed up more clearly than ever the crossroads which the movement against the war in Vietnam now faces in Canada, and the danger that it will be drawn down the wrong path.

The day was ill-chosen. It was a day for Canadians to demonstrate against the pseudo-Centennial of their non-independence—"Dependence Day" not "Dominion Day." And it was a day for Quebecers to assert their independence from Ottawa. A joint demonstration on the issue of Vietnam suited only those who are really the opponents of the Quebec liberation struggle and true Canadian independence, notably in Toronto the so-called League for Socialist Action (Trotskyites). This group of counter-revolutionaries masquerading as "socialists" has momentarily gained control of the Toronto Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, by loading the committee with Trotskyist "delegates" from regional and student organizations consisting almost entirely of a hyper-active fellow-Trots and a mailing list of inactive supposed "members". By mid-summer 1967, no fewer than ten such Trotskyists are regularly attending T.C.C. meetings, and attempting to control its decisions by bloc voting. This bloc chose the day and the place for the demonstration.

The revisionist groups in the co-ordinating committee decided to boycott the demonstration, not because they are really opposed to the Trotskyist sell-out of the Canadian and Quebec independence struggles, but because they wanted to save their dwindling and aging support for demonstrations on Aug. 6, Hiroshima Day, when they can appear to support the Vietnamese struggles but actually make reference to the "threat of nuclear holocaust" as an argument against just wars like that of the Vietnamese. The revisionists temporarily withdrew from Committee activities, leaving it dominated in numbers by the Trotskyite pseudo-delegates.

The Toronto branch of the Progressive Workers Movement decided to oppose the demonstration by participating in it. The P.W.M. delegate and observers fought the Trotskyite manoeuvres at every point. Then, in the demonstration itself, the P.W.M. participated took the theme "One Enemy—One Struggle", and joined with comrades in Montreal to identify U.S. imperialism as the common enemy of the national liberation struggles of Canada, Quebec and Vietnam. In this way the negative aspects of holding the demonstration in Montreal on July 1 were made into positive aspects, and valuable use was made of the demonstration opportunity. This dialectical position, which took advantage of internal contradictions in the demonstration as they developed, was not decided *a priori*, but grew out of the Branch members' involvement with the events in process. We learn through struggle.

The Trotskyites, who controlled publicity in Toronto, advertised the demonstration with the slogan "Take Vietnam to Expo". This was a false and actually harmful slogan: false, because the demonstration was really planned for downtown Montreal, not Expo; harmful, because it popularized the lie that it was possible to take Vietnam to Expo legally, while avoiding confrontation with the very real issue of the unconstitutional Montreal by-law forbidding demonstrations on the Expo site. P.W.M. opposed this phony advertising all the more strongly because one of its Toronto members had been arrested only a few weeks before precisely for "taking Vietnam to Expo," by shouting "murderer" at LBJ when he visited the site. When it was pointed out to the Trotskyites that they should either abandon the false slogan or else really challenge the law by taking Viet-

nam to Expo, one of them replied, "You can't get a mass movement of people to break the law." The P.W.M. member observed that if you were interested in building a revolutionary consciousness you *had* to get a mass movement of people to break the law.

Meanwhile in Montreal, the demonstration plan was at first winning the support of various groups, including at one point Quebec's national independence union movement, the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU) and the **Ralliement pour l'Indépendance Nationale (RIN)**. The P.W.M. in Toronto, working in close contact with comrades in Montreal, decided to support the demonstration by encouraging participation by Montreal groups who would help to give the event a "Dependence Day" character, and by identifying U.S. imperialism as the common enemy in Quebec, Vietnam and Canada. Yet at the same time in Toronto the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites were advertising "Take Vietnam to Expo on **Canada Day!**"

By utilizing their usual tactics of committee manoeuvring and bloc voting, the L.S.A. managed to force three Trotskyite slogans on the Toronto committee. Yet only two members of the Progressive Workers Movement, by rallying all non-Trotskyite forces on the committee and by taking advantage of inconsistencies and uncertainties within the ranks of the ten L.S.A. "delegates" present, after a prolonged struggle added the slogan "Self-Determination for all Oppressed Peoples." This was not only a more meaningful and pertinent slogan than the others officially endorsed by the committee; it was also a demonstration of solidarity with Montreal demonstrators, who had agreed that "**Auto détermination pour tous les peuples opprimés**" would be their central theme. The L.S.A. bloc revealed their true nature by voting against and defeating a still stronger P.W.M. proposal for the slogan "Support National Liberation Struggles."

At the end of one meeting in which the slogans were being discussed, one of the L.S.A. pseudo-delegates was so distressed by the presence of real supporters of the Vietnamese people that he badgered the P.W.M. delegate after the meeting, insisting on tagging after him and speaking to him repeatedly, even after he had been warned away. Finally, the P.W.M. delegate, losing patience with the apparently inexhaustible tactics of verbal harassment which the Trotskyite employed, landed a punch and knocked him to the floor. The L.S.A. attempted to use this as an excuse to have the P.W.M. delegate ejected from the committee, and went so far as to have a letter written—authored by a revisionist in fact—demanding that the Progressive Workers Movement send another delegate. The letter was easily exposed—the committee's chairman had a different version of it, the committee's secretary had had nothing to do with the typing or mailing of it, the letter had been delayed because it was mailed to the wrong address although the secretary of the committee knew the correct one, it expressed the Trotskyite and revisionist wish that the P.W.M. delegate be ejected from the committee rather than understanding of the committee's executive that the matter be brought before the committee as a whole for consideration, and so forth. The L.S.A. and its revisionist ally were unable to maintain their ruse, and consideration of the matter was postponed until after the demonstration.

The day of the demonstration itself proved the correctness of the P.W.M. tactics. The CNTU had withdrawn its support, disgusted by the attempts of the Montreal Trotskyites to frustrate the "Dependence Day" theme and burden the demonstration with Trotskyite slogans. Nevertheless about 1500 people demonstrated, including five busloads from Toronto and a group from Vancouver. Of the Montreal demonstrators, the RIN made up the most vocal and recognizable large grouping, along with other elements in the struggle for Quebec independence. The Toronto branch of the Progressive Workers Movement distributed the following leaflet, in English and French:

"One Enemy—One Struggle"

This is July 1, 1967. What does it mean?

To the nation of Quebec: 100 years of injustice!
 To the people of Canada: Dependence Day
 (since the Canadian government is **not** independent, but
 a U.S. puppet)
 To the Vietnamese: another day of attack against U.S.
 aggression!
 To the oppressed people of the world, including many
 in the U.S. itself: one day closer to the final victory!
 In fact, all these struggles for national liberation and
 justice have one common enemy—U.S. imperialism, its
 agents and its friends!

The Progressive Workers Movement of Canada joins
 wholeheartedly in the movement for Canadian indepen-
 dence. But it also recognizes that this struggle is **one**
 with the struggles in Quebec, Vietnam, the world over.
 In Canada and Quebec, the U.S. uses puppets (like
 Pearson) and subsidiaries; in Vietnam, Palestine, the
 Dominican Republic or the Congo, where these tactics
 won't work, the exploiter uses guns and bombs—either
 his own or those of another puppet state.

The Vietnamese prove every day that a people united
 in just struggle can overcome the most ruthless use of
 violence and the most advanced military technology that
 U.S. imperialism can muster.

The nations of Quebec and Canada too will both defeat
 the common enemy. Then we will really have something
 to celebrate! Meanwhile, let July 1 be observed not as a
 day of celebrating pseudo-independence, but as a day of
 intensified struggle for freedom from U.S. control.

Victory for the National Front for Liberation in Vietnam!
 Victory for the National Liberation movement in Quebec!
 Independence for the Canadian people!

U.S. get out of Canada, Quebec and Vietnam!

That this leaflet took the only line which could make the
 July 1 demonstration meaningful was confirmed by the en-
 thusiastic reception given it by young fighters for Quebec in-
 dependence who read the French-language version on the re-
 verse side, and were delighted to find that an English-lan-
 guage Canadian group stated clearly the slogan "Victory
 for the national liberation movement in Quebec!"

The theme "One Enemy — One Struggle" was also car-
 ried out by P.W.M. members who sold out a large supply of
Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung, copies of **Progres-**
sive Worker and **Progressive Labour** magazines. Response
 to the **Quotations** was especially enthusiastic among the
 Montreal comrades, Toronto P.W.M. members took up the
 shouts of "Quebec oui, Ottawa non" and "Johnson assassin"
 of the Quebecois, and also added their own chant, holding
 the **Quotations** above their heads, "We've got the little red
 book that's got the bourgeoisie all shook!" Comrades from
 both cities were delighted to observe that recognition of
 "the little red book" is almost universal in Montreal, and re-
 sponse to it is very much divided on class-identification lines.

Solidarity was emphasized by P.W.M. members and
 fighters for Quebec independence during the speeches at the
 end of the march, when the P.W.M. comrades held the flag
 of the National Liberation Front of Vietnam on one side of
 the stage, while a young Quebecois held the flag of the na-
 tion of Quebec on the other. One of the leaders in the Quebec
 independence struggle at one point relieved a P.W.M. com-
 rade by holding the N.L.F. flag. This showed clearly to all
 demonstration participants the meaning of "One Enemy—
 One Struggle."

In reporting the demonstration, the *Toronto Star* drew
 attention to only one of the hundreds of placards carried
 on the march — one carried by the Progressive Workers
 Movement, reading "Fight U.S. imperialism and Soviet Re-
 visionism Everywhere!" The *Star* reporter serving the bour-
 geois interests he represents, recognized that this sweeping
 and uncompromising statement of the "One Enemy — One
 Struggle" theme was more significant than all the Trot-
 skyite and pacifist slogans on view.

On the busses from Toronto travelling to and from the
 demonstration, P.W.M. members deliberately engaged Trot-
 skyites in argument, exposing them as traitors to the Viet-
 namese struggles, and thereby drawing the interest and sup-
 port of the many uncommitted demonstrators also on the
 busses. Again, many copies of the **Quotations from Chairman**

Mao Tse-tung were sold, and issues of **Progressive Worker**
 distributed to start discussion. Having read the leaflet,
 looked at the magazine, and seen the copies of "the little
 red book," all the demonstrators, both in Montreal and on
 the buses to and from Toronto, learned by their words and
 deeds the position taken by the Progressive Workers Move-
 ment comrades.

Back in Toronto, the P.W.M. delegates to the Coordina-
 ting Committee, again by employing dialectical tactics in
 practice, managed to defeat the Trotskyite attempts to have



Obviously Impossible

By Van Binh (South Vietnam
 National Front for Liberation)

the P.W.M. representative expelled for having lost patience
 with one of their members. The letter of expulsion had by
 now been so thoroughly discredited that it could not be dis-
 cussed. The P.W.M. delegate refused to apologize to the
 Trotskyite in question and in apologizing to the committee
 for the fact that the incident had occurred, went on to place
 the blame exactly where it lay, with the badgering, philibus-
 tering and bloc-voting tactics of the Trotskyites which were
 exemplified in this and every committee meeting. Refusing
 to be put on the defensive, the P.W.M. delegate went over
 to the offensive by moving that the committee, far from
 ejecting him as a delegate, accept his apology for the occur-
 rence of the incident (not for the attack itself) **only on the**
condition that the Trotskyite agree to stop his verbal harass-
 ment as a means of forcing his views on other committee
 delegates. Although this motion was defeated by the L.S.A.
 bloc, discussion of it successfully united all the non-Trotsky-
 ite forces on the committee. A pacifist motion was then pas-
 sed that in future members should not use violence to set-
 tle disputes; although recognizing this motion as a virtually
 meaningless paper resolution against the use of force, in-
 applicable in any concrete situation, the Progressive Work-
 ers Movement delegate united with it by strengthening it
 with the amendment that delegates should settle disputes
 only by free and **voluntary** discussion." In making the amend-
 ment, he observed that prolonged discussion after meetings
 with Trotskyites were seldom voluntary. This amendment
 was also passed — and although the committee chairman

pointed out that a vote against it was simply a vote against free and voluntary discussion, two or three of the L.S.A. pseudo-delegates raised their hands to vote "no"; most of the Trotskyites abstained.

All the events around and during the demonstration indicate valuable lessons in practice for Canadian Marxist-Leninists in the anti-war movement, and dramatically outlined the choices of direction which now faces that movement. The lessons in practice were essentially "unite with and struggle against": this is the tactical position Marxists must take with regard to the movement to end the war. The P.W.M. comrades did not simply allow the Trotskyites to manipulate the Toronto Coordinating Committee, as the pacifists did; nor did they simply boycott the demonstration as the revisionist group did. They struggled against L.S.A. manoeuvres, criticized the basic errors of the demonstration's place and timing, criticized the weaker official slogans and managed to add one stronger slogan; on the day of the demonstration itself they not only united with but strengthened the line of the event by leaflets, placards, slogans and flags on the only theme that could give meaning to a July 1 Vietnam demonstration in Montreal — One Enemy One Struggle. They applied the same tactics in the smaller compass of the Toronto Coordinating Committee. Faced with an attempt to expel their representative, they neither capitulated (for example, agreeing to send another delegate or making an apology to the felled Trotskyite) nor withdrew from the committee. Instead, they united with the non-Trotskyite elements by going over to the offensive, using the occasion to expose and isolate the L.S.A. pseudo-delegates.

It is worth stressing the tactics of the Progressive Workers Movement in the anti-war movement just now, because as has been suggested, the anti-war movement is at a crucial stage. Its immediate future lies on either one of two paths: one is the petit-bourgeois path which will eventually betray the aims of the movement; the other is the path which will fulfill its aims and at the same time increase class-consciousness, revolutionary consciousness and the awareness of U.S. imperialism as the enemy in Canada as well as Vietnam. Petit-bourgeois elements in the anti-war movement — pacifists, anarchists, and some social-democrats — will encourage the movement to develop in the first direction, and counter-revolutionary forces — Trotskyites and revisionists — will cooperate to that end. It is the immediate task of Marxists in the anti-war movement to utilize dialectical tactics to the full, in order to turn the movement on to the second path and thus make of it a valuable stage in the development of a revolutionary Canadian independence struggle.

The first path, the petit-bourgeois path, is most clearly illustrated by NDP and other liberal elements who "deplore" the war and call for negotiations to end it, selling out the Vietnamese people's struggle by conceding that there is something to negotiate with the U.S. imperialist aggressors — something like the very independence of the Vietnamese! At the July 1 demonstration this element was prominently represented by none other than sometime TV star Laurier LaPierre, who delivered two speeches of a "pox-on-both-your-houses" variety, lamenting the "battle for men's minds" that was raging at the expense of Vietnamese women and children; LaPierre felt that we in Canada "had to do what we could" but didn't think we could do very much. This crocodile-tears speech, which might as well have come from Pearson Martin and Co., or from LBJ himself, showed the very great extent to which the leading lights of the NDP will go in order to accommodate themselves to "liberal" thinking. On the issue of Vietnam, this liberal thinking pretends that the Vietnamese are unwilling pawns of a great-power struggle (U.S. vs USSR, or U.S. vs. China, depending on the liberal's degree of sophistication) rather than being themselves vitally involved with the protection of their own sovereignty, unity, independence and self-determination from U.S. aggression.

This LaPierre line is directly supported by the pacifist groups in the anti-war movement, which advocate peace at any price, and have no concern for the just struggle of the Vietnamese people. The revisionists, slightly less openly, also support it; their slogan, "Stop the Bombing", focuses on cessation of U.S. bombing as a condition for negotiations, again expecting the Vietnamese people to bring their inde-

pendance and unity to the bargaining table as a ransom for peace.

It is equally important however to recognize that the Trotskyites as well as the advocates of building a petit-bourgeois, gradually less meaningful movement out of the anti-war forces in Canada. Under the pretext of "broadening the movement" and "building a mass base" they dilute the substance of the movement until its petit-bourgeois character is entirely acceptable to the Canadian government. Since they applauded LaPierre and welcomed the paper-statement support of Tommy Douglas, why not applaud the same words and welcome the same support from Pearson and Martin? With enough "broadening of the movement" and "building of mass support" the anti-war movement can deplore the violence and seek a peaceful resolution of differences along with our Ottawa quiet-diplomacists. The next direct step in this petit-bourgeois path will be open support of the NDP, offered on the condition that the movement's demands officially take a form not antagonistic to the stated position of the New Democrats: this will be a broad movement indeed, but it will no longer be a movement which can by any means be called a movement to end the war in Vietnam.

Trotskyite encouragement of NDP and other petit-bourgeois support testifies to the fact that the LSA has no interest in building a revolutionary working-class movement in Canada. In the July 1 demonstration this was proved by their choice of time and place, contradictory to the independence struggles of the Quebec and Canadian peoples, and also by their deliberate masking of the unconstitutional Expo by-law with their false and misleading slogan, "Take Vietnam to Expo". The fact that the LSA really wants to build a petit-bourgeois sell-out movement, rather than a people's revolutionary force, is further proved by the official slogans they carry in Vietnam demonstrations. They have three slogans: Withdraw U.S. Troops, End Canadian Complicity, and Bring U.S. Troops Home Now. To an uncommitted demonstrator interested in ending U.S. aggression in Vietnam, these slogans might appear similar to the correct Marxist-Leninist slogans carried by Progressive Workers Movement: U.S. Get Out of Vietnam Now, End Canadian Support for U.S. Aggression, and Victory for the National Liberation Front. In fact, however, the differences between the slogans point up the differences between the petit-bourgeois counter-revolutionary character of the LSA and the revolutionary people's character of the Progressive Workers Movement. Because the LSA is today the chief force working to betray the anti-war movement by "broadening" it to include more and more liberal elements actually opposed to the Vietnamese people's struggle, the differences between these slogans are worth pointing out:

LSA: Withdraw U.S. Troops

The Trotskyites pretend that this is "as good as" support for the Vietnamese revolution. "If", they argue, "you are for the withdrawal of U.S. troops, then you are obviously for the victory of the Vietnamese". Yet in its emphasis this slogan points away from Vietnam, and is addressed as an appeal to the imperialist government in Washington. It reflects petit-bourgeois confidence in that government, and raises false hopes that LBJ and Co. will respond to such an appeal. It fosters the non-Leninist notion that the war is a tactical decision in Washington which can be reversed by withdrawal, and obscures the fundamental roots of the war in the nature of imperialism itself, which Washington must support.

P.W.M.: U.S. Get Out of Vietnam Now

The Progressive Workers Movement slogan is not an appeal to Washington but a demand. It reflects a Leninist understanding that imperialists do not withdraw from aggression, but are pushed out — at the tip of a bayonet. The word "now" is also important, in that it opposes any liberal deal of "phased withdrawal," phased to rob the Vietnamese of the fruits of their just struggle; the LSA carefully avoids adding this crucial "now", thereby "broadening the movement" to allow these liberal traitors in.

LSA: End Canadian Complicity

The word "Complicity" suggests covert, perhaps even un-

conscious, guilt. It allows the notion that Canada does not actually directly support U.S. imperialism, but is simply involved in the crime by association.

PWM: End Canadian Support for U.S. Aggression

The word "support" identifies Canada's role clearly as one of direct support for U.S. imperialism, rather than casual, unconscious or covert complicity. It clearly gives the lie to Martin's pretences to be an "honest, neutral broker" between the U.S. and the Vietnamese.

LSA: Bring U.S. Troops Home Now

This slogan most clearly reflects the petit-bourgeois consciousness of the Trotskyites. It voices a craven, self-seeking, individualistic concern with the fate of "father, brother, husband, son" in the war. It is supposed to be an appeal to everyman's "natural" concern for his own life and the lives of his family, a concern which, according to petit-bourgeois thinking, is far more pressing than any political considerations. The proletarian class interest is on the other hand expressed in the outright working-class rejection of this slogan; the workers know very well that issues more pressing than humanitarian or family concerns may make sacrifice necessary in war. A common rejoinder from the worker is that he or his family sacrificed in World War II or other wars because he believed that his freedom was at stake, and that he is willing to sacrifice again if that freedom is at stake in Vietnam. For this reason the working class of the U.S. and Canada have stayed away from the anti-war movement; for this reason the anti-war movement is overwhelmingly a petit-bourgeois movement. A Marxist-Leninist should oppose this humanitarian argument of the Trotskyites, pacifists, liberals and revisionists — this "Bring the Troops Home Now" appeal — and should support the worker in his correct conclusion that larger issues are at stake in Vietnam and any other war.

PWM: Victory for the National Liberation Front

The difference between this slogan and "Bring the Troops Home Now" is the most marked and significant difference between the two sets of slogans. It is only this identification with the cause of victory for the N.F.L. of the Vietnamese people which can answer the working-class rejection of the Trotskyite-revisionist-liberal-pacifist argument for preserving individual lives. The Marxist-Leninist task in this situation is to lead the working-class in its growing understanding that its real interests lie, not with the Washington government and its talk of "freedom," but with the Vietnamese people's struggle. The Marxist will therefore not advance the "save-our-son" line of Bring the Troops Home, but will agree with the working class that the sacrifice of human life

not with the U.S., and that therefore the interests of the working class of Canada (and the U.S.) are to be served by identification with the struggle of the Vietnamese people — by supporting the victory of the National Liberation Front, and for the defeat of U.S. forces there.

This brings us to the crucial difference between the petit-bourgeois path which all counter-revolutionary elements are beckoning the anti-war movement to follow, and the people's revolutionary path towards which Marxist-Leninists can and must direct. The former, urged on by Trotskyites, revisionists, pacifists and liberals, will steadily broaden the movement by diluting its demands down to the "single issue" of peace in Vietnam at any price, at the expense of the Vietnamese. The extent to which the anti-war movement is today a petit-bourgeois movement scorned by the working class reflects the very considerable extent to which this counter-revolutionary "concern" has come to dominate the movement. The Marxist-Leninist contribution, on the other hand, will be to broaden the movement in a real and long-range sense, by encouraging the identification of the people in it with the victorious struggle of the Vietnamese, by showing that the defeat of U.S. troops is in the best interests of the working-class here, by encouraging the parallel between the national liberation struggle of the Vietnamese and the independence struggles in Canada and Quebec, and thus building a class-conscious working-class revolutionary movement conscious of the unity of struggle with the many issues involved in Vietnam. To the extent that Marxist-Leninists succeed in this endeavour the anti-war movement will really merit the commitment in large numbers of the Canadian workers, and will become a vital building-block in the structure of a strong revolutionary Canadian-independence movement.

The present situation regarding Vietnam is not dissimilar to the issues confronting Marxist-Leninists in 1914. At that time opportunist elements, led by Karl Kautsky, decided that national allegiances were primary, and advised the proletariat of the various European warring states to fight for the preservation of their respective fatherlands, in order to be in a good position to build socialism in those countries after victory. Lenin on the other hand saw clearly that Communists should work for the defeat of the imperialist state, in order to weaken that state and strengthen the working-class forces opposing it. Similarly today, it is crucial to advance the slogan "Victory for the National Liberation Front" in order to show the Canadian working class that their real interests will be served by a defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. The working class, which has rejected the existing petit-bourgeois anti-war movement with its self-seeking individualistic "Bring the Troops Home" line, will recognize a position that agrees that loss of life may be necessary when larger issues are at stake, but identifies those larger issues with the enemy of U.S. imperialism.

There are several factors which facilitate the advancement of this line of identification with the revolutionary forces. One is the growing unrest of the Canadian proletariat: on every picket line, and in every struggle for independent Canadian unions, Marxists should not only support directly the struggle in question, but should also remind the workers that the enemy in their strike or independence struggle — U.S. imperialism — is also the enemy of the Vietnamese people, and that the victories of the Vietnamese people are weakening the enemy of the Canadian working people. The recognition of this Leninist truth that "the enemy of my enemy is my friend" will lead the working-class to support and to change the character of the movement to end the war in Vietnam. Marxists should make sure that Canadian workers are informed — as the bourgeois press will not inform them — of the great victories of the Vietnamese people, and of the continuing defeat of the U.S. aggressor. Let us add "Support the N.L.F." to the slogans of every strike committee and every group working for independent Canadian unions; let us announce and lead the cheers for the victories of the heroic Vietnamese.

Among the petit-bourgeois, the issue of Canadian national independence is the one which should be linked with the Vietnamese struggle. One encouraging development was the recent passing of a motion to support the N.L.F. by the New Democratic Youth convention in Toronto: as the statement



The heroic South Vietnam Liberation Army marching from victory to victory.

is justified when necessary to protect or advance the independence, unity, integrity and right to self-determination of a people. But the Marxist will then go on to point out that the just struggle in Vietnam is with the Vietnamese people,



of the youth wing of a petit-bourgeois party pretending to represent labour, this motion should not be overestimated; but as a sign that a group which strongly supports a truly independent Canada is able to recognize its kinship with the N.L.F. it should not be neglected either. The fact that the motion was passed indicates a decisive setback for the Trotskyite attempt to infiltrate the N.D.Y. with its single-issue "Withdraw" line, and helps to establish a climate in which "Support the N.L.F." may become a common cry around Canadian university campuses this fall. The task of Marxists in this context is to encourage the developing consciousness of the N.D.Y., to warn them that their struggle to "radicalize" the N.D.P. will inevitably be betrayed by the parent body, and to ensure that the educational aspect of their struggle is not lost. In time the best of them — those who are capable of changing their class identification to one of support for the world's exploited peoples — will come to recognize the futility of their struggle within the N.D.P. and the correctness of the Progressive Workers Movement position. The Student Union for Peace Action (SUPA) is another group which can be supported and educated in the same way in the course of their struggle for a truly independent Canada, as are the editors of *Canadian Dimension* and other groups concerned with the Canadian independence issue.

Within the ranks of the existing anti-war movement, the Progressive Workers Movement should work to expose constantly the way in which the leadership of the Trotskyites, revisionists, pacifists and liberals all leads to the betrayal of the Vietnamese just struggle. In this way P.W.M. can appeal to and rally the uncommitted, student and working-class elements already in the movement to present a new face to the Canadian proletariat. This new position will not attempt to deny the workers' understanding of the need for sacrifice by making petit-bourgeois appeals to Washington for withdrawal, by allowing calls for negotiations, or by simply deploring the loss of life; it will not underestimate the worker by presuming that all he cares about is saving the lives of his sons or brothers. Instead, it will take advantage of the growing consciousness of Vietnam to show that the N.F.L. victory is really a victory for the Canadian worker, while a defeat of U.S. forces there is equally a setback for the U.S. imperialist enemy of Canadian independence. The awareness of revolution as a means of winning and holding independence, the class-consciousness that exploited people everywhere have the same enemy, and the conviction that U.S. imperialism is not invincible but can be defeated and is being defeated daily by the Vietnamese — this growing consciousness on the part of the Canadian working class will accompany the growth of the anti-war movement as it turns from its petit-bourgeois path to this people's revolutionary direction.

The question before the Canadian anti-war movement today is "Which way?" (The same question is before the U.S. movement, where Robert Kennedy provides a focus for the petit-bourgeois elements.) The Progressive Workers Movement in the key Canadian cities of Toronto and Vancouver can and will assure that it takes the path of people's revolutionary identification. The time is at hand when we can begin to work, actively to lead the anti-war movement away from its continuing dilution, and toward a new proletarian revolutionary consciousness. In doing this, we will be building our own independence struggle, and educating its future fighters; and that is the best way we can really support the Vietnamese.

U.S. GET OUT OF VIETNAM NOW!

END CANADIAN SUPPORT FOR U.S. AGGRESSION!

VICTORY FOR THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT!

ONE STRUGGLE—ONE ENEMY: U.S. IMPERIALISM!

VATICAN AIDS U.S. IMPERIALISM

During the last year with Johnson attempting to push his "peace" offer onto the people of Vietnam, several comic figures were seen scurrying around the world's capitals in an attempt to further push this scheme.

However, some people were surprised (although they shouldn't have been) when the Pope was heard uttering the same nonsense. It is certainly no coincidence that the interests of the Pope and the U.S. rulers are identical. The world is passing through a revolutionary stage and the Catholic church like U.S. Imperialism is fighting for its life. The church therefore began seeking allies in order to combat its most deadly enemy—Socialism. The church is certainly not new to this kind of tactic, during the last war in their attempt to crush the Soviet Union they openly supported fascism and praised Mussolini as "A man sent by Divine Providence" (Pope Pius XI)

Now history is repeating itself.

The U.S. Imperialist themselves cannot fail to be impressed by the power of the church. A glance at the Catholic-backed regimes in Spain and Portugal will convince anyone that Fascism and Catholicism can go hand in hand to create states which can exploit the people with maximum efficiency.

In the U.S. Catholicism is experiencing a great upsurge and such groups as the Knights of Columbus wield great influence over public opinion. The recent creation of four American cardinals gives an indication of the great plans the Vatican has in mind for the U.S.

Although, since the last war, the church has made strong attempts to present itself as a beneficial, kindly group concerned about all people, the basic aims of the Catholic church remain the same:

1. The annihilation of communism
2. The ultimate Catholicization of the world

The church strongly hopes that with the aid of U.S. Imperialism their first aim can be achieved.

As one leading Catholic once said, "We predict that the National-Socialists of America, organized under some name, eventually will take control of the Government on this continent. We predict lastly the end of Democracy in America" (Father Coughlin in *Social Justice*)

The church must be overjoyed that, in the U.S. at least this prediction is well on its way to being realized.

by Frank Norcliffe

poems-poems-poems-poems-poems-poems

VIET-NAM



Vietnamese militia woman leads off captured U.S. pilot

Workers of the World Unite By Rewi Alley

Would that a bit of ink
 could make the millions think
 for never has there been
 so great a need to think
 clearly.
 The "haves". Who are they?
 What do they control?
 Who gets rich by sending

suckers to Vietnam
 to murder "have nots" filthily.
 Are you really a "have"?
 Exactly What do you own?
 Are you on the side
 of the great majority
 of mankind Who Work
 With their hands, or do you
 stand with devils
 in devil onslaughts
 on your own kind?
 Maybe you think
 you have done your bit
 if you say how bad the the devil is
 and comfortably call
 for some painless change
 to a better social order;
 maybe racist or nationalist
 pride-blinds you;
 maybe you just want
 to be fooled; too soft
 too lazy to think
 your own way through.
 Each home ripped to bits
 by your collective complacency
 each child left maimed
 and suffering from napalm
 because you were too weak
 too ineffectual to halt
 the devils who plan your destiny,
 each of the "have nots" killed
 by a "have" supporter, means
 class struggle on a world scale;
 battle fronts widen, with ever
 the collective poor facing
 arrogant wealth, with all
 their poisons, planes, bombs
 their "out and out war"
 against your kind, my kind.
 So now the whole world over
 all must take their stand.
 For or against! There is
 no middle road, and for each
 and everyone, struggle comes.
 Pick your side!

Kanchow, Kiangsi.
 May 1st, 1967.

From poems on Vietnam by Rewi Alley

Vietnam has become teacher
 For battles yet to come.
 Saigon's center,
 The jungle depths,
 The swamps and the rice fields
 Are classrooms.
 The roads and the railways,
 The coastlines and rivers
 Teach lessons
 Eagerly learned
 By new millions.

Even if the enemy
 Comes with big feet
 Heavily booted,
 Sandals of the people
 Can crush them.

"Imperialism must go
 If man is to survive".