

**VIETNAMESE PEOPLE CONDEMN CANADA**

*Progressive Worker*

*Workers of All Countries Unite!*

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**UNCLE  
SAM  
GRABS  
AGAIN!**



**Rockefeller  
and the  
Mercantile  
Bank**



# Progressive Worker

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A Pamphlet By: C. Van Lydegraf  
(Of The Progressive Labour Party, U.S.A.)  
P.O. Box 25674 Seattle Wash.

# BUILDERS OF ANSHAN

by Maire Gregory

Anshan, China's main iron and steel centre, is located in Liaoning Province in the northwest and is surrounded by rich fields of coal and iron ore. From as far back as 700 years ago digging and refining of its wealth has taken place, but this development has not always been for the benefit of the Chinese people. From 1915 on Japanese imperialists had "special rights" in the development of Anshan and they pursued a policy of exploiting its wealth for their own industrialization. Following the defeat of the Japanese in 1945 Chiang Kai-Shek, aided by the Americans, came into possession of Anshan and ransacked it for immediate gain. Much of the machinery was sold and the iron and steel works were abandoned to become overgrown with weeds. When the Chinese People's Liberation Army freed Anshan in 1948, not a single machine remained intact. Chiang Kai-shek's men declared as they fled that, "It would take the Communists twenty years to restore Anshan; let them come and grow kaoliang here."

This prophecy was to be proven false. In only a few years China's working people not only succeeded in restoring Anshan but also in expanding it. Because of their enthusiasm, their determination and their resourcefulness they overcame immense difficulties and accomplished what seemed impossible. "Builders of Anshan", a pamphlet published by the Foreign Language Press, is the story of a representative few of these people.

One story is that of Meng Tai, an unskilled worker who initiated a collection of usable parts from scrap heaps and dumps which "played a big part in the speedy restoration of three blast furnaces as well as many other construction projects in Anshan." The smooth running of the factories was a vital part of his existence and he is described as caring for his blast furnace "like a loving mother forever worrying over her baby's health."

Another story is that of Wang Chung-lun, initially a disillusioned worker who stayed away from work when he was not given a raise. He was so moved, however, by the concern shown on his account by fellow workers and party members that he returned to his job with a new awareness. He now approached his work with enthusiasm, and through earnest perseverance was able to overcome a very limited technical training to invent several time-saving devices and methods of work.

"Builders of Anshan" includes stories of unskilled workers and of technicians; of men and of women; of the young and the old; and how they all united "in the great cause of the socialist construction of . . . motherland." The unifying theme of the book is one of dedication; of the gradual breaking down of social barriers; and progress towards a classless society. These people were totally involved in their task and attained great personal satisfaction from each step forward. Individual material gain was not needed as an incentive because politics, as the motivating force retained production in its proper social perspective. The people on Anshan truly believed that they were employed in the creation of a new society and deemed no personal sacrifice too great to achieve this end. "Progressive Labor of December, 1965, quotes, Che Guevara:—"In order to construct communism we must simultaneously with the material base, make the new man." "Builders of Anshan", is a testimonial to China's growth in that direction.



# ROCKEFELLER WANTS YOU

For a time there it looked almost like the squabble the Mercantile Bank might develop into a replay of the War of 1812, with guns along the "undefended border" and battleships on the Great Lakes. Ultimatums and insults were issued forth from the results of the Rockefeller-owned First National City Bank of New York, U.S. Senators and Congressmen were threatening economic reprisals and hunting at even more dire consequences, and leading members of the Executive Branch of government were loudly and angrily instructing their Ottawa office boys to be more circumspect when addressing the senior members of the firm—especially when those senior members are of such awe-inspiring proportions as the almighty Rockefellers.

Some of the most junior of the junior partners—perhaps slightly demented as a result of indulging too freely in fermented juice of the maple—were all but telling Uncle Sam to go soak his head. Even Walter Gordon, who had horrified the Yankee Carpetbaggers with the horrendous suggestion that Canadians might be permitted to own 25 percent of their own economy, was summoned from the dog-house, restored to a precarious state of grace and installed in a specially-created Cabinet post, as a warning to the Washington crowd not to shove the pliant Canadian bourgeoisie too rudely.

Almost the only one to keep his cool amid all the turmoil and the had of paper missiles from south of the border was Canada's dull and unflappable "Mike" Pearson. "Mike", it seems, could watch the homestead go up in flames and comment only; "Well, it livens up an otherwise dull evening".

Now the tempest has suddenly calmed. The unbeatable Rockefellers appear to have admitted defeat and backed down while Canada, on the surface at least, has retained her national honour, integrity and independence. However, it seems to us there is more to this than what readily meets the eye and Canada is far from assured of emerging unscathed. The Rockefellers do not pick up and drop banks as a hobby, nor do they accept setbacks with the apparent grace displayed over this seeming defeat. Let us set a few of the salient features in proper perspective and then decide if there may not yet be some skulduggery afoot.

Let us glance here at some of the most important Rockefeller holdings in Canada and their banking connections.

Imperial oil and subsidiaries. Canadian Pratt Whitney Aircraft. The Bell Telephone and International Nickel are controlled in association with Morgan interests. Metropolitan Life—the largest insurance company in the world, is a Rockefeller concern. Investors Syndicate of Canada; Societe Generale which controls Union Minere in the Congo also controls Sugemines Ltd; Armco Steel which has a share of the Sept Isles iron ore development is Rockefeller owned; Anaconda; Trans Mtn Oil Pipeline and National Cash Register will serve to round out our picture (though an incomplete one) of Rockefeller holdings in Canada.

It is obvious that, with gigantic financial interests like this, Rockefeller had banking connections for centralization of investments and clearance of funds. These banking connections were centered mainly in the Royal Bank of Canada. Imperial deals exclusively through Royal and Rockefeller men sit on Royal's board of directors. Royal in turn controls Montreal Trust with assets said to be in excess of \$2 billion.

Why, then, would Rockefeller want to purchase a small and relatively insignificant Dutch Bank and go to the trouble of expanding it? It seems logical to assume that the main Rockefeller interests would be transferred from Royal (one of Canada's top three) and centered in Mercantile which would appear to be sufficient to cripple Royal as a leading bank.

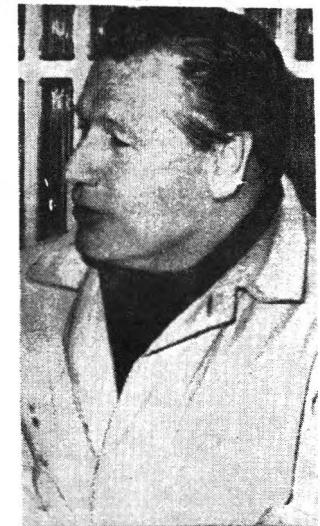
There are probably a number of factors as yet unknown to the public that leads Rockefeller to seek destruction of Royal. What these factors are will eventually become known and we will then deal with them. In the meantime here are two significant pieces of evidence that Rockefeller and the U.S. financiers are not at all happy with Royal.

Royal reached an amicable settlement on liquidation of Royal Bank interests in Cuba when Rockefeller and other powerful U.S. interests were hurt and angry over Cuban developments and refused to even speak with Castro.

Following their order to Canadian subsidiaries of U.S. drug companies not to sell any of their products to Canadian Quakers, U.S. government officials demanded that the Royal Bank of Canada refuse to cash cheques from American Quakers, as they have ordered all American banks to do. The Bank's general manager F.E. Chase, firmly rejected the demand declaring:

"We are still not the 51st State"

A spokesman for the U.S. treasury department, Stanley Sommerfield, said that the Royal Bank has become "unpopular" in the U.S. Sommerfield added: "There is possible future action we can take, but it is not in our interests to discuss what it might be." Sommerfield, as head of the Treasury Department, does not speak for himself alone, or even for the government, he is voicing the concern of American high finance.



ROCKEFELLER

The Royal Bank has considerable U.S. interests, especially in the New York area and could possibly be faced with severe restriction of operations, but even more important is the heavy dependence on Rockefeller interests.

There are, therefore, reasons stated and unstated as to why the Royal Bank is one Canadian institution that is unwelcome in circles of U.S. high finance, and it appears logical to assume that Rockefeller, who is one of the high priests of American high finance, is out to get Royal and at the same time, cinch up a tighter reign on the Canadian economy. Not unnaturally, Canadian entrepreneurs cut off from their modest share of the pie are screaming bloody murder.

At the height of the furore we are informed that a settlement has been quietly and calmly arrived at. But why a settlement at this time, and what kind of settlement?

Heading the list of reasons why a quiet agreement would be arrived at is the fact that, as the saying goes, "when thieves fall out honest men come into their own." The thieves in this case are the American financiers and



their Canadian agents; the honest men the Canadian people who were beginning to realize to what extent the nations economy is dominated by U.S. interests and liable to kick both Rockefeller and his Canadian partners out the door.

Exactly what kind of settlement will be determined only when we see what shape future developments take. It could well be that the Royal Bank boys have promised to quit acting like the juvenile delinquents of the financial set and play ball according to Rockefeller's rules. In this case Rockefeller may be content to keep Mercantile as a very small stick with which to threaten Royal.

Another possibility is the myth of "Canadian control" which calls for 75 percent Canadian ownership of banks in Canada. Does this really ensure "Canadian" control, or can Rockefeller secure control by holding a minority interest!

Rockefeller starts out by owning a solid 25 percent and needs control of just over an additional 25 percent to effectively dominate mercantile. The question is; can he find compliant Canadian figure-heads to hold that additional 25 percent plus and take his orders! Take a look at the record

Canadian merchants, and particularly those of the Liberal stripe, have had long connections with the Rockefeller family. Even the redoubtable Walter Gordon, who is held up as a warning, sat for years next to Godfrey S. Rockefeller on the board of Canadian Corporate Management Co. Ltd. The Liberal connection was originally formed by MacKenzie King as early as the turn of the century when King perfected the Company Union as part of a plan to rescue Rockefeller from bad publicity resulting from murderous attacks on hard-rock miners in the American West. King graduated from Rockefeller employee to parliamentary secretary, to Canada's first Minister of Labour and, ultimately, to Prime Minister. That Liberal connec-



John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and W. L. Mackenzie King

tion has never been broken. Among many liberal politicians who retired from public life to a position with Rockefeller concerns were one Canadian Prime Minister, St. Laurent, and one Cabinet Minister, Brooke Claxton, both of whom became directors of Rockefeller's Metropolitan Life which, has two directors on the Royal Bank board.

If it is so easy for Rockefeller to collect Canadian Prime Ministers and Cabinet Ministers as part of his stable of stooges it is obvious he will face no insurmountable problem in securing complete control on the basis of his allowable 25 percent interest. Canadian financiers express satisfaction but the Canadian people will continue to be robbed until they get rid of both sets of bandits.

## THE STRANGE CASE OF T.J. CASEY

When Thomas Joseph Casey, alias Edward Patrick O'Neal, opens his mouth it is almost invariably for the purpose of confessing to a lie that has been uncovered; or is about to be uncovered. It must be growing increasingly difficult for Casey to recognize the truth when (if ever) it is told by O'Neal. The "Vancouver Sun" story of February 7 which purports to be the true life confession of "Tommy Joe" is quite in keeping with the character of the melodrama that has been slowly unfolding—it poses far more questions than it answers.

### PERJURY?

High on the list of queries demanding an answer is this: "How much of the testimony given by Casey-O'Neal to the Royal Commission on the Invasion of Privacy can really be believed?" It is not only that the witness has consistently and insistently demonstrated his almost unlimited capacity for barefaced lying, on the evidence of his published confession we are forced to arrive at the inescapable conclusion that he lied to the commission under oath in at least one detail. He swore on oath before the commission that his name was Edward Patrick O'Neal and then proceeded to inform the press that his real name was Thomas Joseph Casey—not, however, before the fact was about to be made public. If he lied about this under oath then it must be assumed he could lie about other matters.

Will Casey-O'Neal now be prosecuted for perjury or will he escape the consequences of perjury as easily as he escaped the consequences of "illegal entry".

### THE MAYO MARVEL!

Entirely aside from his apparent uncanny ability to casually step in and out of "important posts" at will this son of an Irish county policeman tells a tale of his youth



PAT O'NEAL

have seduced some local immigration inspector. A likely story!

Seamen who jump ship in Canada rarely escape detection for more than a few months and are almost always unceremoniously hustled aboard the first available ship. 16 years avoiding detection is an implausible tale without taking into consideration the easily obtained permission to stay.

We have no information on how the Mounties make out with the "fair sex"—that part of their operations is kept decently veiled from public view. But where the male type of miscreant is concerned the horseman are not so reticent about their exploits—we are constantly reminded: "The Mountie always gets his man!" Yet here we are told that an Irish country boy who could have been traced in months, if not weeks, by any intelligent kindergarten pupil armed with nothing more formidable than a Rover Boy's Amateur Detective Kit led the indomitable mounties a merry dance for 16 years. Let us glance at a few of the salient features in this incredible saga.

The R.C.M.P. would have known within hours that a seaman had jumped ship. Unless Casey-O'Neal failed to communicate with any of his relatives for 16 years the mails alone would have been sufficient to indicate his whereabouts.

Before he had been in Canada our man had quit one job and obtained another in a mine where he became shop steward in a Mine-Mill local. The following year he served

## LET'S RUN OUR OWN AFFAIRS

It seems that American control of our economy, trade unions and resources isn't enough. They're even trying to run the affairs of organizations in Canada concerned with the problem of overweight women.

An article in the Feb. 13, 1967 issue of the Vancouver Sun entitled "Battlers of Bulge in Battle" by way of the Canadian Press (Toronto) dealt with attempt by the Milwaukee-based Take Off Pounds Inc., or TOPS to run the affairs of the Ontario section. TOPS has 160,000 people formed into groups "to discuss and face up to their problem". There are six clubs in Ontario with a membership of 3,000.

The six clubs held a meeting with 450 in attendance "to discuss a crisis in Canadian nationalism". Esther Mantz, head of TOPS in Milwaukee, said before the meeting that there were "forces at work" trying to convince overweight Ontarians to leave TOPS and join an ALL-CANADIAN club.

Imagine, people wanting to decide their own affairs

as secretary of the same union's local at Torbritt. Before joining the International Pulp and Sulphite Union where he began his dizzy climb to success as a labour bureaucrat, he put in a stint as an active member of United Fishermen and Allied Workers' Union.

Keeping track of unions and union activists has always been a top priority pursuit of the scarlet-coated coppers—particularly when the unions were alleged to be "Communist dominated", which was the case in respect of both Mine-Mill and the Fishermen when the fugitive was a member. Anyone holding even a minor position in one of these unions would have been thoroughly checked by the Security and Intelligence branch. At approximately the same time Casey-O'Neal took office in Mine-Mill the editor of P.W., elected delegate from the Trail local to the San Francisco Convention made the surprising discovery that a United States district immigration officer was fully informed on his activities.

The burden of this argument is that as soon as the Mayo Marvel surfaced as a minor official in any union, and particularly so in Mine-Mill, he would have been subjected to an exhaustive investigation as to his background and antecedents. Unless the R.C.M.P. were willing to accept the unlikely story that their quarry was "just a little bit of heaven that fell from out of the sky one day", they would have traced him to his origin in County Mayo.

### POLICE AGENT?

The evidence forces us to conclude that Security and Intelligence had a complete dossier on Casey-O'Neal within a few months after he jumped ship. Why, then, the 16 year lapse between landing and legalization of status? Could it be that the R.C.M.P. for 16 years held his illegal position over his head? And if so, for what purpose?

An additional item that has an aura of peculiarity about it is Casey-O'Neal's familiarity with members of the R.C.M.P. Security and Intelligence Branch. It is claimed that this familiarity grew out of a complaint of threats and harassment in an inter-union conflict. But everyone knows that such matters come under the heading of routine police business and the cloak and dagger boys who are cautious about revealing their identity do not concern themselves with routine matters. The question arises: "Did the familiarity really develop over 16 years and more of contact with the S. and I. boys?" Did the R.C.M.P. keep Casey-O'Neal dangling on the hook for 16 years? Was the ever-present threat of deportation used as a weapon to keep him in line as a police agent in the labour movement?

The slick operator from County Mayo has done a lot of talking lately but he still has a lot of questions to answer.

in their own country! What next? Well it is of no great surprise to me when one looks at the situation in the world today and the struggle of people, be it in Vietnam, Santo Domingo or Canada to decide their own affairs. Exaggeration? Not a bit. To prove my point, lets examine some events in the not too distant past: the violation of the Geneva Agreements and the subsequent invasion of Vietnam, Panamanian students shot down in the streets of their own country for hoisting their national flag, and the expulsion of Canadian workers from American unions which means the loss of livelihood in our own country. All this in the defense of U.S. economic interests.

How does this tie in with the first part of this article? Simply this, wherever one nation interferes in the affairs of another people invariably will resist.

As the lead paragraph in the Vancouver Sun reads "Fat Yankee go Home"; let me just add, "whether they be fat from stealing our resources or from our worker's pay cheques in the form of dues."

Ed Charles



# CANADA FOR CANADIANS

The furore around Pat O'Neal, representative of the International (American) Pulp and Sulphite Workers, and his testimony before the Royal Commission on the invasion of privacy is continuing to have repercussions in the trade union movement in B.C.

To quote Syd Thompson, Pres., Local 1-217, I.W.A.: "The bugging of the Ritz Hotel, hiring of a private detective for this purpose, paid for by union cheque, and the ADMITTED ASSOCIATION between Pat O'Neal and members of the Security and Intelligence branch of the R.C.M.P., is the worst piece of skullduggery that has come to light in the labour movement in recent years". Also in an editorial in the same issue of the "Barker", organ of the I.W.A. Local is a denunciation of bureaucratic tendencies of certain International (American) Trade Unions. To quote the "Barker": "O'Neal in recent months, as an example has done more harm to International Unions than the Canadian Pulp Workers leadership will accomplish in the next 20 years."

In recent months, it has become more and more apparent to the working class WHO these U.S. appointed labour fakers support and work with. For example, Ed Lawson, head of the "Teamsters", was appointed by the U.S. leadership, and then condemned by the Vancouver Labour Council for allegedly pointing out militant workers on a picket line to the R.C.M.P.

As there have been many rumours of other deals between the so-called law enforcement agencies, and the leadership of some of the International (American) Un-

ions. These two bodies have often worked together on strikes to stop actions by militant rank and file workers.

Fifth columnists like Joe Morris a "C.L.C." official and former head of the I.W.A. on the west coast, comes to Vancouver and states that Canada needs International Unions just as it needs American Investment (Which means American Control) to help our country grow.

Officials of the Trade Union movement and officials of the government who call for U.S. control of our country, seems to be becoming more and more frantic in their calling for U.S. domination. A person can sit down and see how the labour officials are saying tie into what the political parties are saying. Pat O'Neal and many other U.S. appointed labour fakers hold high positions in the N.D.P. (the role of the social democrats is well documented as to whose side they are on). Ed Lawson is a well known supporter of the Liberal Party. Leading members of all the bourgeois political parties have also been quite vocal in defending U.S. domination of our country and the takeover of our natural resources.

The trend is becoming apparent to all workers. These people have their vested interests in making Canada a colony of the U.S.A. and are therefore not prepared to support militant action by the people for better conditions and independence.

The "Barker's" editorial misses one historical fact people will not allow oppression to continue indefinitely. The demand for Canadian Unions and Canadian Independence will be steam rolling over those who stand in their way. The Canadian people are beginning to stand up.

# WHO LIVES IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

In reply to Gordon M. Freeman's statement in the December 10th issue of Labour, an organ of the A.F. of L. C.I.O. with headquarters in Washington. Freeman (President of I.B.E.W.) was answering a letter from Nguyen-con-Hoa, Vice President of the North Vietnam Federation of Trade Unions in Hanoi. Mr. Hoa expressed "admiration" over strikes-waged at G.E. factories producing military aircraft, ammunitions, weapons, radar apparatus, etc., to be used in the U.S. aggressive war in Vietnam.

Freeman in reply said, "Nothing could be farther from the truth", he wrote, "the I.B.E.W. fully supports the war in Vietnam."

Freeman is right when he says, "Nothing could be farther from the truth", because Freeman doesn't speak for the electrical workers he is supposed to represent when he says, "The I.B.E.W. fully supports the war." He speaks for his masters in the State Department and the Pentagon—who by the way, pay him and his flunkies well for their services. The resolution on the Vietnam war at the Yankee convention in St. Louis last year was railroaded through the convention in the usual Yankee democratic manner.

Freeman goes on further to say that, "Only in a free and democratic society such as ours are workers guaranteed the right to withhold their labour as they see fit." Again nothing could be farther from the truth as Canadian electrical workers know full well.

If Canadian electrical workers want to go on strike (so-called) legally, they have to write to International headquarters in Washington to get permission to do so and by the time permission does come, the boss (in manufacturing especially) has had time to move his equipment to some scab location.

(With Canada's economy controlled by the U.S. imperialists—they also need Yankee unions to further dominate Canadian workers as a whole.)

Canadian electrical workers also know of Canadians wearing Uncle Sam's uniform and carrying his hatchets in their hands. Two of the most noted hatchet men for Uncle Sam (Freeman) are International Vice President William (25,000) Ladyman and International Representative of B.C. Jack Ross (the sell-out artist). One doesn't have to go into any details on whose side these Yankee traitors are on because that is very well known, nor will one have to go into details on some of the sell-outs these honourable gentlemen are responsible for. (Such as the case for all Canadian workers in Canada who belong to Yankee Unions, U.S. Imperialism has many such flunkies who work for "Yankee Gold.")

How Freeman could make the statement "that workers have the right to withhold their labour when they see fit," in view of what had happened when the workers at Lenkurt Electric went on a justified "wildcat" strike is beyond reason.

Lenkurt Electric is a subsidiary of A.T. and T. (American Telephone and Telegraph)—this combine monopoly also controls B.C. Telephone Co. A.T. and T. was the number one profit maker on the charts last year.

Now then, the question arises, "Who lives in a democratic society?" Maybe Freeman and his paid flunkies do, maybe they have the right to sell-out workers or maybe they have the right to dictate to Canadian workers how they should or shouldn't think, Mr. Freeman, the workers in Canada certainly don't think so.

U.S. Imperialism has many Canadian flunkies as well, these are the International Reps. of different Yankee Unions or organizers or any tag they want to put on them. These are the Pat O'Neals (Thomas Joseph Casey), the Lawsons, Claude Jodoin, Joe Morris' and many many other Yankee agents. The greatest majority of these types are either agents for the C.I.A. or F.B.I. and keep big brother well informed on the situation in the Canadian labour movement. The most recent agent of U.S. imperialism, Pat O'Neal was caught with his stars and (yellow) stripes showing over an incident of bugging the Canadian Pulp and Paper Workers convention at the Ritz Hotel. These agents are easily exposed and their masks torn off, but the U.S. Imperialists have another type of agent, an agent who isn't quite so easily exposed to all honest workers. These agents pose as militants in Yankee International unions and they tell workers to stay in these rotten and corrupt unions to fight for Canadian autonomy. The greatest majority of these agents belong to the Communist Party of Canada, to make the front of a militant even more convincing. The "Trade Union" policy of this organization specifically states that, "Efforts to get a more effective and united trade union movement revolves around the demand for Canadian trade union autonomy."

Now then, Canadian trade union autonomy, if achieved, is nothing more than letting the chains of domination out a little farther.

The U.S. Imperialists can't even afford to allow Canadian workers in all unions autonomy, because of their tight economic hold in Canada—they also need a tight hold on Canadian workers. These Yankee agents also advocate that every union should belong to the C.L.C. (Canadian Labour Congress) to achieve unity. If one looks at the leadership of the C.L.C. one can see that it is controlled by Yankee labour fakers who work for Yankee gold. The only difference between the C.L.C. and other Yankee unions is that the people who control the C.L.C. are bigger and fatter labour fakers than the others.

To advocate affiliation with the C.L.C. these agents are serving U.S. Imperialism well, because the U.S. Imperialists also control the C.L.C. These agents as a reward for boot licking and apple polishing receive hand outs in the form of jobs as appointed assistant business agents in the offices of local unions across Canada. Such is the reward for serving a Yankee master.

Despite these stumbling blocks Canadian workers will determine their own destiny, for they will surely free themselves from U.S. bureaucratic control and form their own Canadian trade union movement.

Canadian Unions For Canadian Workers!  
Art Shaw

## LATEST ARRIVAL FROM VIETNAM

# AMERICAN CRIMES in VIETNAM

20c

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM  
COMMISSION FOR INVESTIGATION ON THE  
AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS' WAR CRIMES IN VIETNAM

October 1966



Mrs Le Thi Keo and all of her four children were killed in a raid against Phuxa hamlet in Hanoi outskirts, August 3, 1966

## PROGRESSIVE WORKER FORUMS

With events unfolding in today's rapidly changing world it is increasingly hard to keep on top of things so to speak. With this in mind the Progressive Workers Movement instituted a series of Forums which have been very successful both in attendance and in lively discussion.

The past three forums have dealt with events international and in Canada. Several weeks ago the subject was

"Quebec and the Right to Self-Determination" with Jack Scott of the P.W.M. and Daniel LaTouche a student of Quebec.

The week following, John Harris, a former S.N.C.C. worker and presently Watts organizer of the Progressive Labor Party, spoke about the charge of "Criminal Syndicalism" which rose out of the "riots" in Watts last year. This charge has only been used once before since its en-

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actment. Its main target was the Industrial Workers of the World Wobblies just after the Russian Revolution in 1919. His "crime" was handing out a leaflet on two separate occasions which the prosecution alleges, "advocates the change in industrial ownership" a charge which Harris dismisses with the statement "it's the state we're after not only the factories". These charges (and there are two charges in view of the fact that the leaflet was handed out on two separate occasions, about 3 months before he was charged) arise out of the increasing persecution against the black people in the U.S. stated Harris.

John had special criticism for the "liberals" and he included the revisionist Communist Party of the U.S.A. when he said, "the black people must fight and then unite with white workers thereby meeting each other as equals in a common struggle not the reverse". He felt that in this way only could the black people achieve their aims and would be folly to wait until the white working class were in motion. A collection was taken at the meeting and at subsequent meetings for his defense. He also achieved good radio, T.V. and press coverage during his three day stay here in Vancouver.

The last forum "The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China", was one of the best attended forums to date. There were coloured slides taken by a worker recently returned from China showing the Red Guards, National Day Celebrations, etc.

Jack Scott, chairman of the Central Committee of the Progressive Workers Movement, spoke on the history of the Soviet Union and China bringing events up to date. He traced events which led up to the start of the Cultural Revolution and how revolutionaries must view what is happening in China today. Jack stated, "that the struggle in China was to change man's ideology from that of serving oneself to that of serving the masses" and quoted from Mao Tse-tung's article "Serve the People", which was a tribute to the Canadian, Dr. Norman Bethune, and from the Decisions of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the 16 points contained therein.

This is just a brief resume of what goes on at the forums. There is a question period which gives everyone a chance to participate. We urge everyone to attend the upcoming forums to keep informed on the many topics to be discussed. All subscribers receive notices so if you don't subscribe as yet send in your \$1.00 today.

Ed Charles

## 'SWEETHEART' DEAL

Charges of "unethical conduct" filed by the C.B.R.T. against the U.S. controlled Hotel and Restaurant and Bartenders International Union has brought to light yet another in a long and growing list of "Sweetheart" agreements between the so-called "International Union" and the employers. It has been no secret for some years now that big business in Canada (virtually all U.S. owned) prefers to deal with "responsible and dependable" unions run by their labour lieutenants in Washington. Every effort is being made to discourage and prevent workers in Canada from "going Canadian" and bureaucrat and employer are co-operating in an attempt to head off the rising tide of sentiment for Canadian unions.

The latest manoeuvre involves the Restaurant Union, the C.P.R. and an Alberta construction company-not to speak of apparent collusion on the part of the Alberta Labour Relations Board.

The C.B.R.T. was well on the way to signing a substantial majority and applying for certification when informed by the Labour Relations Board that an agreement had already been signed long before the hotel was opened and a staff hired. Although the hotel, Chateau Lacombe, is advertised as C.P.R. owned the agreement was signed by Dr. Charles Allard, principal shareholder in the Mayfair Leaseholders Ltd.

Most of the workers on the job have never seen the agreement and do not know what it contains. There is nothing known of seniority rights (if any), no grievance procedure is in operation and there is no evidence of the existence of any of the conditions usually provided for in union agreements. Many of the employees are afraid to protest in fear of losing their job, a not unnatural reaction in view of the obvious collusion between the labour fakers and the employers.

This is additional evidence to prove the existence of a conspiracy between Labour Boards, employers and the bureaucrats in the so-called "Internationals;" a conspiracy aimed at preventing the workers from reaching their objective-Canadian Unions for Canadian workers.

## VIETNAMESE PEOPLE CONDEMN CANADA

Hanoi, VNA, Jan. 28.- The Hanoi daily Nhan Dan in a commentary on Thursday, vehemently condemned the Canadian government for lending a hand to U.S. imperialists in their aggressive war in Vietnam.

According to U.P.I. (January 19) Prime Minister Lester Pearson declared that Canada would continue selling weapons to the U.S.

Commenting on Pearson's brazen declaration, Nhan Dan noted that it was made just after 360 university professors in Canada had demanded that the Canadian government stop selling weapons to the U.S. imperialists for use in their aggressive war in Vietnam, and at a time when public opinion in Canada was protesting more and more strongly against the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam.

The paper pointed out: "Not only has the Canadian government not lived up to its obligation as a member of the International Commission in Vietnam having the responsibility of preventing the aggressive acts of the U.S. and ensuring respect for and strict implementation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam but has also lent a hand to the U.S. imperialists in their aggressive war".

The paper continued: "The Canadian government's deeds have given the lie to its assertion that it is observing an attitude of neutrality concerning the Vietnam ques-

tion and is deeply concerned about how to bring an end to the war in Vietnam".

Progressive public opinion in Canada has rightly remarked that the Pearson government had let itself bribed and gagged by the U.S. orders and that it had kept a criminal silence before the war escalation of the U.S. in Vietnam.

According to foreign reports, Canada has supplied the U.S. with aircraft, weapons, radio equipment and missile parts worth about a billion dollars.

Nhan Dan went on: "The Vietnamese people know full well that the Canadian government has all along shielded and connived at the acts of intervention and aggression of the U.S. in both South and North Vietnam.

In February 1965, after the U.S. imperialists began their air war of destruction against North Vietnam, the Canadian government hastened to defend the criminal acts of the U.S. and repeated the latter's slanders against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The brazen declaration of the Canadian Prime Minister to continue selling arms to the U.S. is obviously a hostile act against the Vietnamese people which runs counter to the role of a member of the International Commission.

The Vietnamese people resolutely demand that the Canadian government put an end to its unjustifiable acts."

## THE F.L.Q. ON C.N.T.U. EXPANSION

At its last Congress the C.N.T.U. decided to expand its area of activity to Canada. Since then this Central Union has begun to recruit members in Ontario. The frog wishes to become larger than the bull.

In the memorandum presented to the Committee on the Constitution, the three Central Syndicates of Quebec (C.S.N.-F.T.Q.-V.C.C.) speak of the Canadian Nation and what could be done at the federal level. Our attitudes on this conception of the nation are well known so we will limit ourselves to reiterating that such a definition of the nation is un-scientific, and was no doubt derived from an English point of view. According to the Shorter Oxford Dictionary "the nation is an entire group of people living under a separate state". According to this definition the decision of the C.N.T.U. to extend its activities to Canada is justified by the memorandum and is also justified (they declare) by the fact that the workers of Quebec did not vote en bloc for the R.I.N. in the last elections. Oh yes, its as simple as that!

In our view it is much too simple—even silly. The memorandum was drafted by the top echelon of the three Central Syndicates without consultation with the membership. The C.N.T.U. which takes pride, in their attacks on the F.L.Q., on having achieved a democratic union, did not consult the membership on this most important question.

C.N.T.U. members repudiated this memorandum when, at their last convention, they endorsed a resolution claiming the right to self-determination for the Quebec nation.

C.N.T.U. expansion plays right into the hands of the Canadian Bourgeoisie who are the servants of American

imperialism. While 70 percent of Quebec's workers do not belong to unions the C.N.T.U. is recruiting members in Ontario who already belong to unions. It is not that we are in favour of Canadian workers remaining in American Unions (see "La Cogne", union edition, vol. 1 no. 12, on American Unions, agents of imperialism) We believe Canadian Unions must be built by Canadian workers. (Quebec Unions for workers of Quebec: Canadian Unions for Canadian workers) Friendship between Quebec and Canadian workers will flourish only if both enjoy equal rights, a relationship based on equality, with two separate Central Unions, genuinely national, and representing two peoples.

Judging from the memorandum issued by the Committee on the Constitution, we believe we are justified in assuming that C.N.T.U. expansion can only harm the struggle of the Quebec people for National self-determination. The memorandum does not recognize the existence of two nations and, consequently, Quebec workers will eventually discover they are a minority in their own union. According to Porter in the Vertical Mosaic, the Quebecois represents only 6.7 percent of the powerful ruling elite although they are a third of the population of the Canadian state. This should indicate how far a minority can go.

For a true Canadian Union!  
For a Quebec Independent, Democratic and Socialist!  
Honour to the Progressive Workers Movement!  
Honour to the Front de Liberation du Quebec!  
Victory or Death  
Central Committee F.L.Q.

## ON THE C.N.T.U.

In this issue we publish an F.L.Q. criticism of the C.N.T.U. leadership decision to move into Ontario. We want, at this time, to make clear the attitude of the Progressive Workers Movement on this development.

In line with our principled position of firm and unqualified support for the right of the people of Quebec to national self-determination we find ourselves in complete agreement with the F.L.Q. statement. Quebec workers must be the leading force in the fight for self-determination and they cannot properly fulfill that role as a minority group in a general Canadian union movement, and the F.L.Q. is quite correct in warning this is what the C.N.T.U. must become if the present leadership plans for expansion should prove successful.

There is a vital need for close continuing fraternal relations between workers of Quebec and of Canada, for the prime enemy of both is the same—U.S. domination. But such relations can find a firm foundation only in mutual respect and confidence of one for the other and, in the first place, in English speaking workers extending support and solidarity to Quebec in the fight for self-determination. A paternal and patronising attitude is no substitute for correct fraternal relations. English-speaking workers cannot liberate Quebec nor can Quebec workers free English speaking unionists from U.S. domination; each must determine their own destiny in their own way. The C.N.T.U. expansion move could well do serious damage to the Quebec Liberation Movement by further alienating a section of Canadian workers whose understanding of the Quebec situation is already not too well developed.

The C.N.T.U. should, and quite properly could, offer advice and support to any move on the part of English speaking workers to break from U.S. domination. In view of the rich experience and success of the C.N.T.U. in

Quebec such advice and support could prove invaluable. However, they should tell the Canadian workers; "Our hands are full in Quebec and we cannot do FOR you what you are not prepared to do for yourself."

To those English speaking unionists who think freedom from U.S. domination lies through the back door of the C.N.T.U. we would point out there is no substitute for struggle and no easy road to freedom. Breaking the U.S. hold on Canadian unions requires the full mobilization of an alert rank and file to take control from the bureaucrats and lodge it in the hands of those to whom it rightfully belongs—the membership. Lessons already learned in the struggle (especially in British Columbia) show that an early victory is entirely possible if sufficient boldness of leadership is displayed. There already exists sufficient independent Canadian, or quasi-independent groups, to create an alternative T.U. center in opposition to the U.S. controlled C.L.C. If these groups would but unite their forces in a common center they would introduce an important element that could quickly change the relationship of forces, inspire the rank and file and speed up the struggle to end U.S. domination. The C.N.T.U. will not be able to take the place of such a necessary development.

The P.W.M., however, has no intention of engaging the C.N.T.U. in mortal combat. The enemy of both ourselves and the C.N.T.U. is still U.S. domination and ways must be found to unite our forces in common struggle against the common enemy and not array ourselves in battle against each other. Such unity must, of course, be based on equality, mutual respect of one for the other full support for Quebec's right to self-determination, and for an end to U.S. domination of our unions and our economy. This is what Progressive Workers will fight for in all sections of the trade union movement.



# KEEP THE RECORD STRAIGHT

The revisionist ruling clique of the C.P.S.U., assisted by their kept stooges in a number of countries including Canada, are intensifying their campaign of slander and vilification against China. In the current spate of calumny there has been resurrected the already debunked accusation that China is responsible for "splitting the camp of world socialism" and is sabotaging "united support for Vietnam". Under cover of these false accusations the Khrushovites are preparing a new "World Conference" of betrayal. C.P.S.U. representatives touted this line at several Congresses in Eastern Europe over the past several months and responsive stooges in a number of countries have echoed the master's call.

Obedient to the sound of the revisionist rallying cry the Central Committee of the C.P. of Canada (Revisionist) has endorsed a resolution in support of the so-called "World Conference" and also has once again joined in beating the anti-China drum. Bert Whyte, "Tribune" correspondent in Moscow (one time resident correspondent in Peking) has written an article date-lined Moscow which even the most reactionary, pro-fascist, sections of the imperialist press cannot out-do for, distortions, scurrility and outright fabrications. His follow up to this collection of muck was a dispatch of world-shaking significance—the glories of a ride in a Troika during a Russian winter.

What about all this furore over the question of "unity against U.S. imperialism" which is cited as justification for a Moscow-sponsored "World Conference"? Who is uniting WITH U.S. imperialism, and who AGAINST it? Let us examine a few well-known facts that will help keep the record straight.

The record of China is clear to all. The Peoples Republic of China is at no point in collusion with U.S. imperialism: has reached no agreements, signed no pacts, with the American aggressor. In all places where people are in struggle for liberty China extends all possible aid and principled support, standing shoulder to shoulder with them in solidarity against imperialism and reaction. In the face of enormous difficulties the Chinese people are carrying forward their Revolution to a new and higher stage; rooting out from posts of authority capitalist and reactionary elements, thus making the greatest contribution of all by ensuring the stability and security of Revolutionary China as the firm and unshakable base of anti-imperialist struggle and the world Socialist Revolution.

The main thrust of imperialist aggression led by the United States is, not un-naturally, directed against the Peoples Republic of China and the Chinese Revolution. On the periphery of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, on the other hand, there is a significant and noticeable lessening of tension and an almost total absence of pressure of any sort; a condition that facilitates the revisionist efforts of betrayal and, at the same time, allows the American aggressors to siphon off sophisticated equipment and highly trained personnel for redeployment in Asia, and against China.

The only "evidence" that the revisionists are able to conjure up against China is the charge that exposing revisionist collusion with the imperialists is "splitting the world camp of Socialism and aiding U.S. imperialism". We subscribe to the opinion that this kind of expose AIDS the anti-imperialist struggle and contributes to the world unity of revolutionary forces.

What of the role of the Soviet Union? Let us cite but a few of the better known facts.

The Soviet Union has reached agreement with the U.S. aggressor on monopoly control of nuclear weapons, the "peaceful" use of atomic energy and the "peaceful" use of outer space, thus conveying the impression that U.S. imperialism is really "peaceful" in nature and can be trusted by the people. Is this not confusing and dividing

the anti-imperialist front?

Soviet artists like the poet Yevtushenko tour the United States lauding Soviet-American friendship, slandering



mounted police charge anti-American demonstrators in Moscow

ering China and speaking not a word of protest against aggression. The French writer, Jean-Paul Sartre, refused a similiar invitation refusing to visit the U.S. while aggression against Vietnam continued. Is this not prettifying the aggressor?

The Soviet leading clique joins with U.S. imperialism in shoring up India's reactionary Congress government against the opposition of the Indian masses. The Soviet Union supplies India with planes, tanks and guns to be used against China, the National Liberation Movement in Kashmir and to suppress India's starving millions fighting to improve conditions. Is this not colluding with imperialism?

Loan payments due from Indonesia are suspended, new loans extended and diplomatic relations established with the C.I.A.-spawned fascist dictatorship of the right-wing generals, the murderers of hundreds of thousands of Indonesian revolutionaries and patriots while, at the same moment, they expel from Moscow the representative of the revolutionary people of Indonesia. Is this not assisting the cause of fascist reaction?

Deals are being made with leading imperialist nations providing them with rights of exploitation in the Soviet Union. An agreement is in process of negotiation with the U.S.-based Rockefeller-Cleveland (Cyrus Eaton) consortium and one with Japan-based interests (mostly U.S. dominated) for a multi-billion dollar investment for joint exploitation of Siberia. Is this not taking the Capitalist road in the Soviet Union?

Soviet support and collusion with U. Thant and the Pope are well known and both are ardent supporters of the "Johnson peace hoax" as is another firm friend of the revisionists, Wilson of Britain. Soviet ships entering the port of Haiphong exchange "friendly greetings" with ships of the U.S. aggressor that are being used against Vietnam. Should one not label this as aid to the cause of aggression in Vietnam?

When the Soviet leading group issue a call for a "World Conference to promote unity" they are speaking of "unity" around THEIR program—a program of peaceful co-existence and collusion with the imperialist aggressor and opposition to the liberation struggle of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America. "Unity" such as this can only be of service to imperialist aggression and China's rejection of that call to "unity" is not, as the Soviet leaders and their apologists in other countries charge, weakening the front of anti-imperialist struggle.



BANKER ROCKEFELLER, DAUGHTER NEVA & KHRUSHCHEV LAYING THE BASIS FOR U.S.-SOVIET COLLUSION

The Canadian revisionists' endorsement of the C.P.S.U. call for a so-called "World Conference" and their resolution villifying China, issued in the name of "unity" is in opposition to the fundamental interests of the Canadian



LENIN: WHAT WOULD HE SAY?

people, a measure which can only facilitate further U.S. imperialist penetration of Canada and should be firmly rejected. Once again the Kashtan group have shown themselves to be no more than a sorry collection of apologists for Moscow's beleaguered and demoralized revisionists.

## DIALOGUE WITH GARAUDY

A favourite diversion among revisionists over the past several years has consisted of making a loud uproar over "dialogue". Dialogue is promoted as a substitute for revolutionary action—they are going to talk capitalism out of existence.

This proposed "dialogue" it seems, is to be confined mostly to discussions between "catholics and communists" with, perhaps, an occasional excursion into other sections of the Christian community. One never hears proposals for "dialogue" with Buddhists, Moslems or the like, but only with Catholics and other Christians who constitute but a small fraction of the world's peoples and are an insignificant minority in the main centers of revolutionary struggle—Asia and Africa. It is no doubt significant that it is precisely this "Christian Church" that provides one of the main pillars of support for the social order of capitalism and imperialism—particularly U.S. imperialism—with whom the revisionists are trying to establish a working agreement as they discard revolutionary struggle.

Last year there came to Canada's christian shores in search of this Holy Grail of "dialogue" one Roger Garaudy, France's revisionist expert on culture and a leading spokesman in the dialogue with the church. Included among the places where Garaudy spoke was St. Michael's College, the Catholic section of the University of Toronto (where Professor Dewart, who writes on Cuba and Christianity, is located).

At the time Garaudy delivered his address at St. Michaels there was a notable gap in the ranks of the assembled audience. Father A. Gibson, of the Vatican Secretariat for Non-Believers was absent in Rome on church business. When Father Gibson returned he read an account of the Garaudy address and several other pieces authored by him. After perusing the contents of these masterpieces Father Gibson apparently felt compelled to offer comment and has addressed an open letter to Garaudy.

A copy of this letter, which has not yet been published, has come into possession of the editor of P.W. Our information is that it has been submitted for publication in the revisionist journal "World Marxist Review", an interesting event if it should ever occur since what we would consider the most important section of the "Open

Letter" is openly and frankly condemnatory of Soviet and revisionist attitudes toward China.

In fairness to Father Gibson (since we do not intend to publish the entire document) we will refrain from comment on the general contents with which we have many fundamental disagreements. We will limit ourselves at this time to publication of the section on China since we consider it to be a significant contribution on the subject and also indicative of the attitude of an important body of Canadian opinion on developments in China.

The first consequences of bureaucracy and excessive preoccupation with collectivization is the syndrome we are both showing: that there is basically only one right way to do things or at very least only one right way to articulate the truth. This symptom complex is capable of an infinite subtle variety of degrees. Within the Catholic Church today many are preening themselves on their new found freedom, not only relative dissent but above all geographically conditioned variety of solution of many problems. Within the Communist West you know as well as I that more and more independence of Moscow has been and is being shown by many national Communist Parties who nevertheless certainly feel themselves entirely devoted and loyal to Communist principles. But always comes the point when righteous indignation and fear of anarchist splits takes over from sound reasoning and a kind of panic pushes to outright condemnation as opposed to sympathetic understanding and restraint. Then suddenly the relative anarchists loudly invoke conformity and monolithic loyalty. China represents the critical point. I believe, for her present agony is being condemned by too many Communist voices as a breach of discipline and by too many Christian voices as the subhuman ranting of a dubious race.

Must China then adopt the stance fashionable with the majority of her already somewhat bourgeois comrades in the West in order to pass muster with them? Must she adopt the hypocritical mincing politeness of Western diplomacy in order to win a place in the Assembly of Nations, a place that has long been rightfully hers? Must China in other words sacrifice to a drastic extent



her peculiar individual genius in order to win acceptance from a community of man already more than a little addled by the virus of bureaucratic conformism? Shall we legislate in Pharisaical superciliousness the proper behaviour for land whose agony we have never suffered and whose radical difference from us simply cannot be papered over either by Christian animadversions of Catholicity or by Communist observations concerning the world-wide monolithic proletariat. China's conditions are not those either of Russia in 1917 or of any other Communist state today, let alone those of any of the Western capitalist states or unaligned nations. Her methods have been geared to her problems and surely only that man would object who insists there is only one right way of doing anything, including a Communist revolution against bureaucracy and revisionism. Frankly I am not nearly so concerned with the specificities of the Chinese events of these months as I am about the stark fact that 770 million human individuals are involved at this moment in an agony that should draw only sympathy from the rest of mankind and is in fact drawing mean and inhuman words, both of rejoicing and of condemnation, unthinking condemnation, from Communist and Christian alike. You are right that today the barriers are being sprung between believer and non-believer and that the battle lines today no longer run straight. The great touchstone this day of human righteousness is the attitude (and all of its practical consequences) being adopted to the challenge to today's understanding sympathy and breadth of vision: China. Far from rejoicing over a division in the Communist camp or deploring that same division, every human being outside that vast nation ought to be asking: what conditions are we individually or as members of power groups of any sort whatever, imposing on this people, before we will accept them into the family of nations or the family of peoples building a better world? It is simply intolerable that so pitifully few voices are being raised in support of China's right to decide her own destiny, to be herself. There is too much silly laughter at the vivacious precocious youngsters that are taking a hand in their country's destiny: why, I even read recently an article too contemptible to bother identifying which contrasted our own beatnik youth quite favorably with these devoted youngsters, saying that North American rebel youth is harmless because it is too disorganized:

Yes, Monsieur, I know we may feel we can do little to affect the course of events in the realm of high-level geopolitics. But I, for one, have enough faith in the individual and enough awareness of his responsibility, to feel that there are certain things that must at very least be said. I want to go on record now as deploring the facile denunciations and lack of sympathy so evident throughout the West. My more specific persuasions—and I do not hesitate to declare them: that the Red Guard is the best hope for China today; that it would be a marvelous thing if we had similar movements in every land, Communist and non-Communist alike; that they will triumph and will triumph with an enormous heritage of bitterness against the entire world if this sort of nonsense continues in the West; that I therefore am persuaded that it means something, some small plus value, if but one voice speaks out and is allowed to speak out clearly, as a Catholic priest in a Communist publication, in unreserved praise and favor of the Red Guard's ideals these more specific persuasions are certainly a matter of personal opinion, I hope not uninformed but personal for all that. But the basic attitude is not personal; it is binding on every man of good will: to take a positive and not a pussyfooting and pusillanimous attitude to a nation so huge and so anguished.

Please do not believe that I have not understood or am deliberately passing over in silence your many exciting suggestions at the level of ideology and overall insight into the human condition. I am sure you will not believe that I am raising the serious theoretical and practical problems I have here mentioned simply to embarrass. In any event, they embarrass us quite as much as they

embarrass you. And I think we ought both to be seriously embarrassed and compelled to take a second look at our deepest principles concerning man before it is too late. Otherwise our theoretical discussions may be overtaken by the brutal facts of world politics. The campaign for creative understanding of the great land of China is certainly not aided by the divisive note being sounded in Communist circles and in Communist countries.

## LEXICON OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

The U.S. ruling class, during its frenzied dance of death in Vietnam, has had occasion to greatly change the meaning of many words in the English language. For the many who have had difficulty understanding the capitalist press the following short lexicon is written.

**AGGRESSOR**- word originally popularized by Hitler in referring to Czechs, Poles, French etc. In its modern meaning it is applied to anyone who resists U.S. aggression.

**ALLIES**- term brought into popularity recently. For example: "Allied push into Mekong Delta". Word is used to denote U.S. forces with sprinkling of troops from such fascist paradises as South Korea. Word "allies" is used to try to get people to equate present U.S. aggression with the allies that fought World War Two.

**MILITARY TARGETS**- in U.S. Air Force jargon this usually refers to kindergartens, schools, hospitals, market places etc., or to any location having a concentration of civilians unable to defend themselves.

**PATRIOT**- term most recently applied to "Premier" Ky of "South" Vietnam. Means same thing as fascist murderer.

**PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT**- actually this term embraces two concepts. First it can mean outright surrender due to intimidation. Secondly, its implied meaning is the annihilation or genocide of the Vietnamese people (after which the country will be both peaceful and, of course depopulated).

**TERRORIST**- generally taken to mean patriot. A terrorist is anyone who commits an act in the interest of the Vietnamese people's freedom.

Robert O'Brien

Dear Sir:

It is with deep sorrow and regret that I write to you to tell you that Mr. Roy O'Neil passed away Dec. 18, 1966. Would you please cancell any subscriptions he may have had with you.

His health had been failing and things became too much for him—he took the world on his shoulders. His greatest wish was for peace in the world and the betterment of mankind—may some day it be so.

Yours Sincerely,  
Mrs. Dorothy O'Neil

It is with deep regret and a feeling of great loss that the Progressive Workers Movement receives the news of the death of Comrade Roy O'Neil of Hamilton, Ontario.

Roy O'Neil, a Communist for many years, was with our movement almost from the first day of its launching and did a great amount of active work in the movement, in the community and amongst his fellow workers in the electrical industry. The gap left in our ranks will not be easily filled.

We extend our heartfelt sympathies to the wife and family of Comrade O'Neil and join with them in mourning the passing of a fine Comrade.

... Progressive Workers Movement

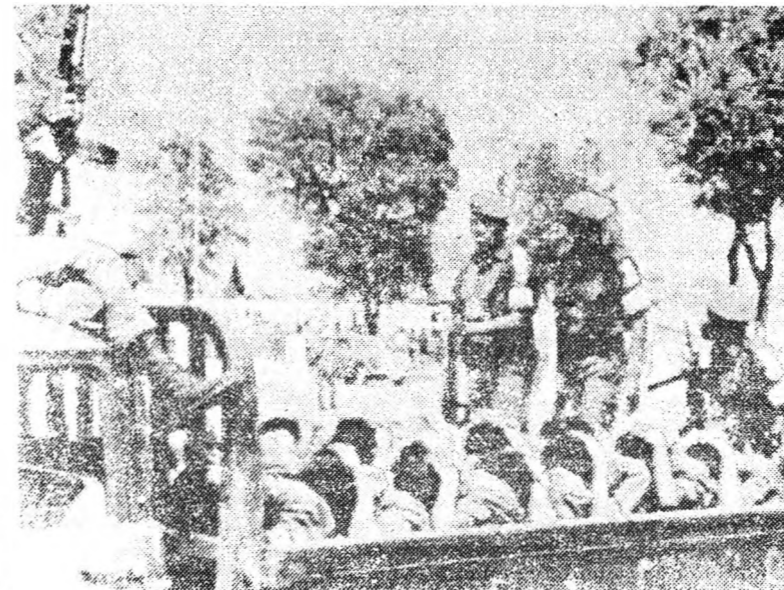
# STATEMENT OF INDONESIAN COMMUNISTS

The Political Bureau of the P.K.I. (Communist Party of Indonesia) met in Central Java on August 17, 1966. The meeting took place on the 21st anniversary of the August Revolution of 1945 and in conditions of extreme reaction under the military dictatorship of the right-wing army generals. The revolutionary and democratic organizations of the people—especially the Communist Party—are operating in a political climate of extreme violence with hundreds of thousands already dead and additional hundreds of thousands held under barbarous conditions in overcrowded jails.

The political Bureau examined the lessons of the August Revolution and the reasons for its defeat as well as the future tasks that now confront the Party and the people. A statement based on a critical analysis of the August Revolution and the current situation was issued by the Bureau at the conclusion of the meeting. We present here a summary of that statement. (Direct quotes indicated by " ", quotation marks).

"Developments in the last few months have demonstrated that the crisis, that is to say, the most difficult situation undergone by the revolutionary movement in face of the attack by counter-revolution, which was marked by the indecisiveness of the leadership, the disarray of organization, passiveness in the face of rampaging terror, etc., has in the main been overcome. Step by step, the revolutionaries and the democrats are reorganizing themselves and waging a resistance struggle against the military dictatorship of the right-wing army generals. All of this has been accomplished under the most difficult and grave conditions, under the threat of incessant terror. How unbreakable is the revolutionary spirit of the Indonesian people!"

The Party is engaged in rebuilding its organization and recovering from the serious damage inflicted on it. Practicing criticism and self-criticism the Party is returning to the correct road, the road of revolution—of Marxism-Leninism. Viewed from this aspect of historical development the August Revolution was not a bourgeois



POLICE GUARD COMMUNIST YOUTHS ARRESTED IN JAKARTA

democratic revolution of the old type whose task is liquidation of the remnants of feudalism and the development of capitalism. Taking place in the era of disintegration of the capitalist system, the era of proletarian socialism and the transition from capitalism to socialism, it is seen as part of the world proletarian revolution; a new-type bourgeois democratic revolution the complete

victory of which provides the conditions for socialist revolution.

The driving force of the revolution is the working class, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie outside the peasantry. The anti-imperialist character of the revolution made possible the mobilization of a broad strata of the population. However, that did not mean that all the classes and groups taking part in the anti-imperialist struggle had the same objectives in mind as to what to do with national independence. The objectives of the exploiting classes do not go beyond safeguarding and promoting their own interests, therefore they do not have the aim of liberating the people from all forms of exploitation.

Compradore elements and leaders of right-wing social democracy did not have the slightest aspiration toward complete independence. All such groups made reactionary compromises with the Dutch imperialists thereby sabotaging the revolution. They were, in fact, traitors to the revolution. The vacillating national bourgeoisie joined the compradore bourgeoisie when difficulties arose and the revolutionary forces suffered some setbacks. The peasantry constitute the overwhelming majority of the Indonesian population, but the peasantry can only liberate itself in alliance with and led by the working class.

It is the proletariat which must unite and lead all the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal elements and for this the working class must have a correct program and tactics—a revolutionary agrarian program which will cement the alliance of peasants and proletarians to form the core of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal united front. To accomplish these basic tasks the proletariat must create their own political party—a Communist Party firmly based on the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism and free from all kinds of opportunism.

"The experience of the 1945 August Revolution has shown that the P.K.I. as the vanguard of the Indonesian working class did not succeed as yet in taking up its place as the leader of the struggle for emancipation of the Indonesian people. The P.K.I. entered the 1945 August Revolution without adequate preparations. Its serious shortcoming in theory and its lack of understanding on the concrete conditions of Indonesian society had resulted in its inability to formulate the nature of the revolution, its tasks, its program, its tactics and slogans, as well as the correct principles and forms of organization. . .

"The theoretical shortcoming and inability to make a concrete analysis of the concrete situation of the world and of Indonesia, had resulted in that the P.K.I. was unable to make use of this highly favourable opportunity given by the August Revolution of 1945 to overcome its shortcomings. The P.K.I. did not consistently lead the struggle against Dutch imperialism, did not develop guerilla warfare that was integrated with the democratic movement of the peasants, as the only way to defeat the war of aggression launched by the Dutch imperialists. On the contrary, the P.K.I. even approved of and itself followed the policy of reactionary compromises of Sjahrir's right-wing socialists. The P.K.I. did not establish the alliance of the working class and the peasantry and, on the basis of such a worker-peasant alliance, did not establish a united front with all other democratic forces. The P.K.I. did not consolidate its strength, on the contrary, it even relegated to the background its own role. These are the reasons why the August Revolution of 1945 did not proceed as it should, did not achieve the decisive victory and finally failed in reaching its objective goal.

"The belated awareness of its shortcomings and mistakes that were followed by efforts to return the revolution to its correct path, in line with the Resolution of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the P.K.I. 'A New Road for the Republic of Indonesia' adopted in



August 1948, could no longer avert the failure of the revolution".

#### STATE POWER

Summarising the Marxist-Leninist position on the question of state power and the lessons of past struggles the statement makes clear the need for not only wresting power from the ruling class but for the need also to smash the old military-bureaucratic state machine and set up a completely new apparatus which will be used to suppress the resistance of the overthrown exploiters.

"What should the August Revolution of 1945 have done with regard to the state power?" is the question posed in the statement. And the answer:

"As a prerequisite, the August Revolution of 1945 should have smashed the colonial state machine along with all of its apparatuses that had been established to maintain colonial domination of Indonesia, and not merely TRANSFER THE POWER to the Republic of Indonesia. The August Revolution of 1945 should have established a completely new state, a state JOINTLY RULED by all the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE WORKING CLASS."

The result would have been a People's Democratic state which exercises dictatorship over the enemies of the revolution and extends the broadest democratic liberties to the forces supporting the revolution. Only such a state is capable of expelling the imperialists and liquidating the remnants of feudalism. But the leadership of the revolution was not in the hands of the proletariat so the destruction of the colonial state machine, the prerequisite for victory, was not realised as it should have been.

"The state power that came into being was not the dictatorship of the People's Democracy. The participation of Communists in the government, and even when it was led by a Communist, DID NOT give the Republic of Indonesia the nature of a people's state, because THE APPARATUSES OF COLONIAL BUREAUCRACY WERE NOT ENTIRELY SMASHED and replaced by completely new apparatuses created by and in the service of the revolution. People whose minds were rusty from long servitude to the colonial regime were not cleared away from the apparatuses of the state power. In the countryside, political power was still in the hands of feudal officials. The effort made to replace the system of personal government in the countryside by establishing Indonesian National Committees at village level met with failure. There were many examples when actions by the people to completely destroy the apparatuses of colonial bureaucracy, including the overthrow of bad officials, the democratisation of regional administration by abolishing the power of the feudalists, were suppressed violently by the Republican state power on the protest that these actions were 'anarchism', 'establishing another state within the state', etc."

Due to the absence of proletarian leadership the Indonesian Republic inevitably became a STATE RULED BY THE BOURGEOISIE despite working class participation. Voluntary resignation of the Communist-led government in 1948 opened up the way for the reactionary bourgeoisie to seize state power, betray the revolution and unleash white terror as a prelude to the restoration of Dutch imperialist interests through the conclusion of agreements which turned Indonesia into a semi-colonial semi-feudal country. The anti-popular nature of the state was clearly proven by the ruthless suppression of democratic rights, passage of anti-strike laws and by the forcible eviction of peasants who had occupied imperialist owned plantations. The armed forces were purged of Communists and other revolutionary elements and Dutch puppet troops incorporated into the ranks.

A lessening of anti-democratic character of the state was realized as a result of partial victories of a reform nature won by the people.

"The highest stage of political reforms that had ever been achieved in the struggle of the Indonesian people was the establishment of a government which, to a certain

degree, granted democratic liberties to the people, and to a certain extent suppressed counter-revolutionary rebellions and other counter-revolutionary actions by the domestic right-wing forces. . . Acting on the demands of the people, the government took restricted measures against the economic interests of imperialism, put restrictions on the penetration of imperialist cultural influence, pursued an anti-imperialist foreign policy, and gave an opportunity to the representatives of the proletariat to participate in the government without, however, holding real power."

Despite these victories, it was a mistake to assume that any fundamental change had occurred in the class character of the state. It was equally incorrect to assume the state contained a "pro-people aspect."

"Such an error that was formulated in the 'theory of two aspects in state power' led to the erroneous conclusion that within the state power of the Republic of Indonesia there existed two aspects, the anti-people aspect consisting of comprador, bureaucrat capitalist and landlord classes on the one hand, and the 'pro-people aspect' composed mainly of the national bourgeoisie and the proletariat on the other hand. According to this 'two aspect theory' a miracle could happen in Indonesia, namely that the state could cease to be an instrument of the ruling oppressor classes to subjugate other classes, but it could be made an instrument shared by both the oppressor classes and the oppressed classes. And the fundamental change in state power, that is to say the birth of a people's power, could be peacefully accomplished by developing the 'pro-people aspect' and gradually liquidating the 'anti-people aspect'."

The "theory of two aspects in state power" erred particularly on the question of contradiction; a deviation from the Marxist-Leninist teaching that the forms of the bourgeois state may vary, but its main content remains the same. In the final analysis, whatever the form, such a state is a bourgeois dictatorship.

A contradiction did exist between comprador bourgeoisie and pro-imperialist landlords on the one side and the national bourgeoisie on the other. To a certain extent it was possible for the national bourgeoisie to undermine the positions of the comprador bourgeoisie and landlords. Nevertheless the state continued to be an instrument of oppression in the hands of the ruling class. For its own purposes, and in a manner that will not endanger its own position, the national bourgeoisie will make concessions to the proletariat, even accepting participation of Communists in the government.

"It is not that in principle the Communists are not allowed to take part in a bourgeois democratic government, but should they take part in such a government, their participation must not be intended to consolidate the bourgeois dictatorship, but rather to defend the independent interests of the working class and other working people."

Participation of proletarian representatives in the government lead to contradictions between comprador bourgeoisie and landlords on the one hand and national bourgeoisie and proletariat on the other, but it must not be forgotten that there exists another contradiction. The national bourgeoisie was one side of a contradiction and the proletariat the other side in the so-called "pro-people aspect". Had the proletariat been dominant in this contradiction the true interests of the people would have been represented, but that is an impossibility within the framework of the bourgeois state. Hoping for a fundamental change in state power through the victory of the "pro-people aspect" was a pure illusion. Only the overthrow of the ruling class in a revolution led by the working class could ensure power in the hands of the people.

"The 'theory of two aspects in state power' has in practice deprived the proletariat of its independence in the united front with the national bourgeoisie, and placed the proletariat in a position as a tail-end of the national bourgeoisie.

"To return the proletariat to its position of leadership in the liberation struggle of the Indonesian people, it

is absolutely necessary to rectify the mistake of the 'theory of two aspects in state power' and to do away with the erroneous view with regard to Marxist-Leninist teaching on state and revolution."

#### ROAD TO AN INDEPENDENT INDONESIA

In the years subsequent to 1948 Indonesia ceased to be in a revolution. The revolutionary struggle still goes on, but this is not a revolution. The direct objectives are not revolutionary changes, but economic and political reforms. Some Indonesian revolutionaries erred in thinking they were still in the midst of revolution and joined in phrase-mongering that "the revolution has not been finished."

After the 1945 Revolution Indonesia ceased to be a colonial country but was not fully independent. The government take-over of imperialist enterprises did not mean the end of imperialist domination. With comprador assistance the imperialists, particularly U.S. imperialists, were able to continue the exploitation of Indonesia, and workers conditions were not improved. The take-over gave birth to bureaucrat capitalists, mainly from among the military who became the compradores of the imperialists. Only a handful of Indonesians enjoyed the fruits of independence while the workers and peasants who made the greatest sacrifices were still far from independence and liberty. The military dictatorship and the bureaucrat capitalists will intensify the exploitation of the people, not reduce it.

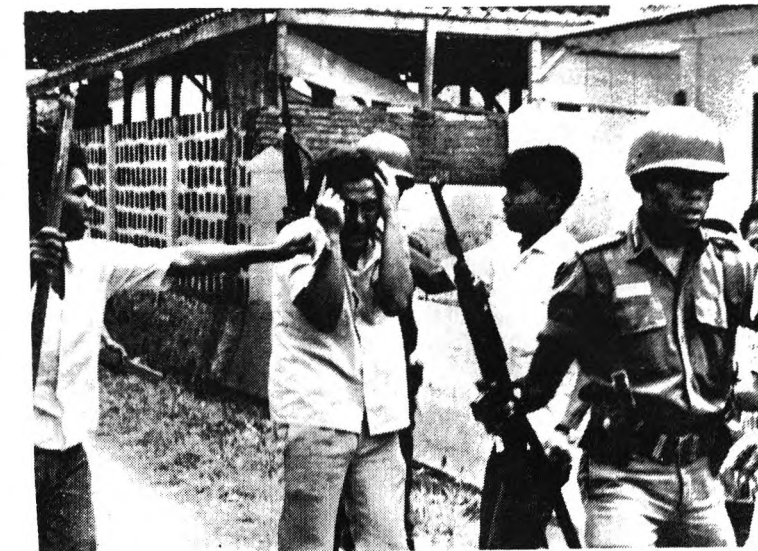
The right-wing generals rely on U.S. and other imperialist "aid" to consolidate the dictatorship. The "aid" extended by the imperialist consortium organised in the so-called "Tokyo Club" is in the interests of the "aid giving" imperialists while the workers suffer starvation wages and loss of jobs and peasants are oppressed by landlords who are under armed protection.

Indonesian society still being semi-colonial and semi-feudal and imperialist oppression not having been abolished, but actually intensified by the military dictatorship, means that the causes leading to a revolution the same in character as the 1945 Revolution, namely a new-type bourgeois democratic revolution, still exist. This means that another revolution will certainly take place by which means the Indonesian people will liberate themselves from imperialist oppression and exploitation, establish an independent and democratic new Indonesia and move toward socialism. Does this mean that the coming revolution will be entirely the same as the 1945 Revolution?

The main contradiction in Indonesian society at present remains the same as that in 1945. Thus the target of the revolution remains the same: imperialism and the remnants of feudalism. Class enemies of the revolution, imperialists, bureaucrat capitalists and landlords, are mainly the same. The driving forces of the revolution, too, are still the same: the working class, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie. However, the struggle will undergo certain changes.

The principle task of the 1945 Revolution was the seizure of power from Japanese imperialism and later Dutch imperialism when it tried to restore colonial domination over Indonesia and the people waged a war of independence. Then the main contradiction was that between the whole nation and Dutch imperialism while the contradictions between the various classes inside the country were subordinated to this main contradiction. At that time it was correct to say that the overthrow of imperialism was the PRIMARY of two urgent tasks—the overthrow of imperialism and the liquidation of the remnants of feudalism.

After 1945 there was no direct imperialist rule. When the August Revolution failed political power passed into the hands of the reactionary classes inside the country: the comprador bourgeoisie and landlords. Also during the last decade a new reactionary class, the bureaucrat capitalists, have come into being and from their ranks come many army officers. It is these bureaucrats who become compradores of the imperialists—particularly U.S. imperialists—and have established the dictatorship of the



right-wing generals. Under such circumstances it is INCORRECT to say that "overthrowing imperialism" is the primary of the two urgent tasks.

Since the imperialists no longer rule directly their political interests are represented by the bureaucrat capitalists and landlords who hold state power. Therefore, only by overthrowing the power of the domestic reactionary classes can the overthrow of imperialism and the remnants of feudalism be realised. This is the primary task of the present stage of the revolution.

A failure to see the difference in the objective conditions and clinging to the slogan of "overthrowing imperialism is primary", at a time when imperialism does not rule directly, is a mistake which has led to a situation in which revolutionary mass actions by workers and peasants for the realisation of their political and economic demands were not given full play, because class contradiction within the country was compelled to be subordinated to the common struggle "to overthrow imperialism", which in point of fact did not have any real objective but the liberation of West Irian, the seizure of imperialist-owned enterprises and adherence to an anti-imperialist foreign policy. All of this tended to strengthen the position of the bourgeoisie more than it did that of the driving forces of the revolution: the workers, the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie.

"Thus, the difference between the 1945 Revolution and the revolution that will again break out lies in the question of FROM WHOSE HANDS THE STATE POWER IS WRESTED BY THE PEOPLE. The 1945 Revolution wrested state power from foreign imperialism, while the coming revolution will wrest state power from the reactionary classes within the country. Therefore, the contradiction between the domestic reactionary classes. . . on the one hand, and the people on the other hand will be acute and irreconcilable. The coming revolution will still be essentially an agrarian revolution, that will liberate the peasantry from exploitation by the remnants of feudalism and abolish the landlord system. At the same time the revolution will also take anti-imperialist measures."

Under the existing fascist regime, which has deprived the people of democratic liberties and fundamental human rights, there is no possibility of conducting peaceful political and economic actions without being suppressed by armed force. This situation inevitably compels the whole people to take up arms. The people's armed struggle against the armed counter-revolution is unavoidable and constitutes the chief form of struggle in the coming revolution. Only by armed struggle will the power of the armed counter-revolution be overthrown and independence and liberation realized. This struggle must not be waged in the form of military adventurism, the form of a putsch. Revolutionaries must not for a moment deviate from the principle that it is the people who will liberate themselves—a deviation from this principle will surely end in defeat.

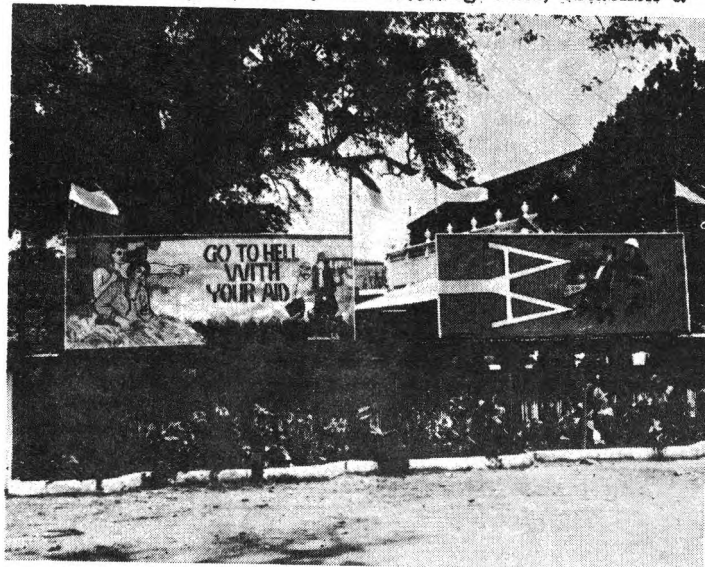


Since the present stage is essentially an agrarian revolution the armed struggle, too, will be essentially an armed struggle of the peasants to liberate themselves from the remnants of feudal oppression. This peasant armed struggle will end in complete victory only when it is waged under proletarian leadership and when it is not limited just to the overthrow of the landlords but is aimed at smashing the entire power of the internal counter-revolutionaries who are presently represented by the military dictatorship of the right-wing army generals.

#### CONCLUSIONS

By studying the problems of the 1945 Revolution we can draw conclusions that are of the greatest importance for the proletariat and its vanguard in facing future tasks for the realisation of complete independence and a democratic new Indonesia. These conclusions are as follows:

1. The Revolution would have achieved victory only if led by the proletariat. The proletariat must form an alliance with the peasantry and, on the basis of this worker-peasant alliance, led by the working class, establish a



DJAKARTA STREET SCENE

## SOVIET-INDIA TRADE

Soviet leaders have extended new loans to and completed trade agreements with the reactionary Indian government of Indira Gandhi. The sums and goods involved far exceed anything previously granted to India by the Soviet Union. Soviet commentators estimate that by 1970 Soviet-Indian trade will be double the figure reached in 1965.

High on the list of goods being shipped to India are arms, fighter planes and bombers to help the ruling, pro-U.S., monopoly clique prepare for war and carry out their expansionist plans in Asia and act as the spearhead for war on the People's Republic of China. Here we would reiterate a point we have made previously on the effect this trade in war material has on the peoples movement in India.

The program of the Congress government, designed to serve the class interests of U.S. and Indian monopolists, is resulting in mass hunger and misery in India. The masses of India are on the move and stubbornly resisting the government of the monopolists. Vast demonstrations of protest are being suppressed by Indian armed forces who do not hesitate to shoot down hungry workers and peasants expressing dissatisfaction with their lot. Many

united front with all other revolutionary masses and groups. The proletariat must have a correct program and tactics and a strong organisation to guide the revolution. As for correct tactics it is of the utmost importance to master the armed struggle as the chief form of struggle and rely on the peasantry for support. For this the proletariat must have its own party guided by the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism and free from all kinds of opportunism.

2. Instead of merely seizing state power from the foreign imperialists and transferring it to the Republic of Indonesia the whole machinery of the colonial regime must be smashed and a completely new state, the dictatorship of People's Democracy established. Since it was not the proletariat who led the 1945 Revolution this necessary pre-condition was not realised, the colonial regime was not smashed, a bourgeois republic not People's Democracy was the result.

"The erroneous application of the theory on contradiction and the deviation from Marxist-Leninist teaching on state and revolution led the leadership of the P.K.I. to the opportunist theory of two aspects of state power."

3. Emancipation from exploitation and oppression by imperialism and feudalism will be attained only through revolution which will surely take place again. The primary task of the coming revolution is the destruction of internal counter-revolutionaries achieved essentially by peasant armed struggle in the agrarian revolution and led by the proletariat.

4. Party tasks in leading the revolution to victory are:

a. Rebuild the Party on Marxist-Leninist lines and free from opportunism, consistent in fighting against subjectivism and modern revisionism at the same time arousing and mobilising the masses—especially the workers and peasants.

b. Prepare to lead a protracted armed struggle integrated with the agrarian revolution.

c. Form a united front of all forces opposed to the military dictatorship and based on the worker-peasant alliance led by the proletariat.

"We know that the task ahead of us is arduous, full of hardships and danger, but the birth of the new consciousness and the determination to return to the road of revolution, will give us an unbreakable fighting power. We cannot say how long will be the road we still have to traverse, but by returning to the road of revolution, the hope for victory is no longer an illusion."

demonstrators have been killed or wounded and there is no doubt whatever but that many of the casualties have been inflicted by Soviet made arms in the hands of Indian reactionaries. This appears to us to be a very peculiar way for the Soviet ruling clique to demonstrate their boasted sympathy and solidarity with the hungry and oppressed struggling against the effects of U.S. domination and monopoly control.

Reports from abroad indicate that, in addition to helping shore up the Indian reactionaries as an anti-China base, Soviet-India trade has the added purpose of plundering the Indian people in the interests of the Soviet ruling clique. India is reported to be purchasing Soviet goods at prices 20 percent higher than those prevailing on the world market. The Soviet government sells for cash in the western markets leather, jute, tea, textiles and other goods obtained from India under the trade agreement.

An Albanian journal in a commentary points out that Soviet aid to the Indian reactionaries, exactly like the "aid" given by the U.S. imperialists, has its dirty aims. "It is a dagger stabbed in the back of the Indian people".

# STATE POWER AND THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION



An issue of paramount importance being decided by the Chinese Cultural Revolution is who will hold state power—the revolutionary proletariat and working peasants who want to build a socialist society, or the bourgeois rightists who want to take the capitalist road.

In the period of bourgeois ascendancy the working people use many forms and methods in their struggle against the ruling class. In the course of this struggle the workers develop political class consciousness and a revolutionary party to lead them in the revolution to overthrow the rule of the exploiters and establish workers power—the dictatorship of the proletariat.

However, the political defeat of the bourgeoisie and establishment of proletarian state power does not herald the end of the revolutionary struggle; it is but a new and higher stage of that struggle with the working masses now having the advantage of possessing state power to use as a weapon to suppress the former exploiters. The workers are now the holders of state power instead of being the victims of it.

Accession of the working people to the position of authority in the state, marks the commencement of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. But it does NOT signify the end of capitalists and capitalist ideology. That these still exist throughout the transition period is a fact that has been well known to Marxists for a long time. Marx, Engels and Lenin all wrote at length on this theme. The Critique of the Gotha Program by Marx and Lenin's State and Revolution are well known classics on this question.

That contending classes and class struggle still exists in the transition period has therefore, never been a matter in contention among Marxists. During this entire period the defeated capitalists exert every effort to undermine the proletarian state, overthrow it and take back power in their own hands. For this purpose the capitalists use every available weapon—sabotage, terror, the customs, habits and culture carried over from capitalist society. The working masses must use their state power to suppress these elements, prevent a return to capitalism and continue on toward the socialist objective.

The entire period of transition is marked with fierce class conflict during which the revolutionary forces suffer occasional setbacks and reversals, but the general trend,

given adherence to the correct line, "to rebel is justified", and properly utilising the state power for the suppression of the class enemy, will be consistently toward the victory of socialism and the revolutionaries will, in the end, prove to be most powerful.

What we face, in fact, is a whole historical era of class struggle aimed at total destruction of the former ruling class and elimination of the last remnants of capitalist ideology and culture. Idealists and petty bourgeois democrats who masquerade as "socialists" abhor and fear struggle and avoid it like the plague. Instead of aligning themselves on the side of the proletariat in the struggle they propose mediation and concoct schemes for the reconciliation of the contending classes, thus actually aiding the capitalist element by weakening the workers will to struggle. It is of such stuff that the concept "the peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism is made" and serves only capitalist class interests aiding them in their struggle for power by disarming the working people.

Some pseudo revolutionaries have a mistaken idea that the theory of "peaceful transition" applies only to the struggle FOR power and not to the period AFTER seizure of state power, or else they stress only that particular aspect which concerns the dispute over parliamentary versus revolutionary struggle. But this pernicious theory is of vital importance in the transition period when the proletariat already hold state power. Indeed, in some respects, this theory is more dangerous AFTER the seizure of power than before.

In a society based on exploitation the working people are compelled to struggle even for limited reforms or just to defend gains already made, thus practical experience will force on them the recognition that there are antagonistic classes in society. But where state power has already been wrested from the bourgeoisie there is constant danger of the people being lulled into a state of false security and falling easy prey to capitalist propaganda presented as schemes for improved conditions for the "whole people", government by the "whole people" (class reconciliation) and "goulash socialism" a la Khrushchov. It is therefore necessary for the working people, students, the intelligentsia to be ever alert and in a constant state of rebellion against every appearance of sectional privilege that provides those who are taking the capitalist road



with a political, economic and ideological base of operations.

On the role of the peoples army in the struggle? The armed forces are part of the state apparatus and, naturally serve the interests of the dominant class. In the capitalist state the army serves the capitalist class and revolutionaries oppose it, not in the sense of abstract opposition to armed forces as such but as a weapon of the capitalist class for suppression of the working masses.

In the proletarian state the army is likewise a part of the state apparatus and serves proletarian interests, now the dominant force in society. The army is of the people and is one with the people, serving and defending the interests of ITS OWN CLASS—the working class. The Communists support the creation of such an army and defend not only its right but its DUTY to protect and defend the vital interests of the working masses NOT AGAINST, OR EVEN FOR THEM, BUT IN CO-OPERATION WITH THEM. Those who identify the role of the army in a proletarian state with that of an army in the

capitalist state and condemn the peoples army for intervening on the side of the revolutionary people are either fools, traitors or both.

Learning the lessons from their own rich experience in revolutionary struggle; forewarned by the disastrous consequences of revisionist betrayal in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe; and armed with the all-important theoretical contribution with which Chairman Mao Tse-tung has enriched Marxist-Leninist science in the era of proletarian state power and the transition from capitalism to socialism, the revolutionary masses in China have risen in rebellion against those in authority who are taking the capitalist road and trying to overthrow the proletarian state. The working people are unquestionably justified in their rebellion against those who try to usurp state power and use it to advance the capitalist cause. Under the leadership of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung the working masses will undoubtedly be triumphant. Proletarian state power will win over the puny attempts of the bourgeois elements to seize control.

**PEOPLE  
OF CHINA  
SUPPORT  
THE  
GREAT  
PROLETARIAN  
CULTURAL  
REVOLUTION**



# NEVER FORGET THE CLASS STRUGGLE

The Progressive Workers Movement is in possession of a document entitled "On the Events In China". This article (a reprint from Pravda) was distributed to many trade unionists and ethnic groups by the U.S.S.R. Embassy in Ottawa—this document completely distorts China's foreign policy and attempts to discredit the Great Socialist Cultural Revolution now unfolding in China.

It is not unnatural for the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party to be disturbed at China's Cultural Revolution, for it hits at the very heart of revisionism. It would do well for the Soviet Party leadership, the army officialdom, and the Intellegensia, who make many times the wages (in some cases many hundreds of times the wages) of the ordinary Soviet workers and peasants, to draw some valid lessons from this experience. The leadership in all fields in the Soviet Union (who refuse to participate in manual labour), have become highly privileged and bureaucratic and are now introducing sweeping capitalist incentive programs designed to consolidate and justify their revisionist programs.

The Soviet leaders talk about advancing into the stage of Communism. This is indeed a joke, where after fifty years of socialism strikes occur, misuse of state funds is widespread, and their youth indulge in so-called Western culture (twist dancing, jazz etc.).

The Great Socialist Cultural Revolution in China is designed to change man's ideology to suit the needs of the Socialist society. This struggle will take many years and will encounter much resistance on its arduous course.

Below are some excerpts from an article that appeared in the Chinese Liberation Army Daily:

—The publication of our editorial "Hold High the Great Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thought and Actively Participate in the Great Socialist Cultural Revolution" has evoked a great response both inside and outside our army. The broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and revolutionary cadres, showing a high degree of revolutionary enthusiasm, have sent in articles and letters; they are actively participating in the struggle and voicing their deep indignation at the black anti-party and anti-socialist line in the cultural field. They understand that the current great polemic on the cultural front is definitely not a question concerning only a few articles, plays and films, nor is it merely an academic debate. It is an extremely sharp class struggle. It is a struggle to defend Mao Tse-tung's thought, a struggle on a cardinal issue of right and wrong. It is an acute, protracted struggle on the question of which will win out in the realm of ideology, the proletariat or the bourgeoisie. We must energetically foster proletarian ideology and liquidate bourgeois ideology in academic work, education, journalism, literature and art and other spheres of culture. This is a crucial question affecting the deepening of our country's socialist revolution at the present stage, a question concerning the overall situation, and an issue of prime importance affecting the destiny and future of our Party and state as well as the world revolution. We revolutionary fighters should none of us stand aloof or be indifferent to this struggle. We must respond to the call of the Party, hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, take an active part in this class struggle and resolutely carry the great socialist cultural revolution through to the end.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung teaches us that classes and class struggle continue to exist in socialist society and that the struggle between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism still goes on. The socialist revolution on the economic front (in the ownership of the means of production) is insufficient and cannot be consolidated by itself. There must also be a thoroughgoing socialist rev-

olution on the political and ideological fronts. A very long period of time is needed to decide which will win out in the struggle between socialism and capitalism in the political and ideological fields. Several decades will not suffice; anywhere from one to several centuries will be required for success. In fact, as Chairman Mao has pointed out, there has never been a year, a month or even a day in the 16 years since liberation when the class struggle on the cultural front has halted. We have had, for instance the criticism of the film "The Life of Wu Hsun" in 1951, the criticism of the book, "Studies in the Dream of the Red Chamber" and then of the reactionary ideas of Hu Shih in 1954, the criticism of Hu Feng and the struggle against his counter-revolutionary clique in 1955, the counter-attack against the fanatical onslaught of the bourgeois Rightists on the cultural front in 1957, the emergence of numerous bourgeois and revisionist poisonous weeds in the form of films, dramas and literary works since 1959 and our struggle against them, the criticism of Yang Hsien-chen's theory of "two combining into one" in 1964, and the current great polemic which, began with the criticism of Wu Han's "Hai Jui Dismissed from Office", is now being carried to a greater depth. One struggle has followed another, each increasingly profound. After we are rid of this black line, others may appear and the struggle must go on. This shows that class struggle is independent of man's will and is inevitable. The anti-Party and anti-socialist elements will stubbornly show their bourgeois nature by every possible means. You cannot expect them to do otherwise. These people give verbal support to socialism, but in reality they are infatuated with capitalism and cling to the corpse of the bourgeoisie. They are hostile to the dictatorship of the proletariat and have a deep-seated resentment against and hatred of the Party and socialism. Whenever there is a suitable climate, they will give vent to these feelings, and whenever some wind stirs the grass, they will raise their ugly heads. After being repeatedly exposed, criticized and dealt blows by the broad masses, they will resort to more covert, crafty, round-about and zigzag tactics to continue their attacks on the Party and socialism.

Before our nation wide victory, Chairman Mao Tse-tung warned us:

"After the enemies with guns have been wiped out, there will still be enemies without guns; they are bound to struggle desperately against us; we must never regard these enemies lightly. If we do not now raise and understand the problem in this way, we shall commit very grave mistakes."

The Soviet article goes on to state that the majority of Communist and Workers' Parties also denounce the Cultural Revolution in China. The Communist Party of Canada (one of the majority) has sunk so deep into revisionism that they remain Communist in name only. They advocate a system governed by labour, management and government (democratic public control) and consistently support Yankee "International" Unions in the face of working class struggle for Canadian Unions. The dictatorship of the proletariat has been abandoned and unprincipled alliances are made with right wing Social Democrats. These policies are typical of those who call themselves "creative marxists". Just as the revolutionary leaders and the people of China resist these treacherous elements, so must the people of Canada be aware of those disguised as communists spreading their class collaborating policies. For they too will surely be swept into the ash can of history where they belong.

We would suggest that the U.S.S.R. refrain from using their Canadian Embassy as a centre for the distribution of anti-China propaganda.  
Long Live the Great Socialist Cultural Revolution!



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**poems-poems-poems-poems-poems-poems**  
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**CHRISTMAS IN SAIGON. . . Rewi Alley**

Maggots lift white heads proudly, glorying in filth and decay; Saigon soldiery look for that kick to give the holiday its festive feeling; A U.S. transport plane crashes into a "strategic hamlet" giving death, crippling and destroyed homes to Vietnamese; a scarlet capped, scarlet robed Cardinal all the way from New York, tells dumb suckers they fight for a barefooted, rebel carpenter and it is glory to kill for American Imperialism, which he thinks must win; inconceivable that his real master, U.S. monopoly could lose! Then a revivalist preacher, also brought in to butter up morale, exhorts hearers to put their thoughts on the after life, only believe and you will be saved; then for those tired of cant, there is a pop comedian, pop music, and still meatier Christmas joys; booze, red lights and a spot of dope, all to be had in this devil-held enclave of a land whose folk fight so bitterly for their own, where amid the crash of stupid great bombs, the spread set out to plant crops anew, minds of poison and death, patient hands fixed in the conviction that devils can be pitched out, their land return to its people again.

Hua Yuan, West Hunan  
 Dec. 25th, 1966.



U.S. MARINES BLASTING SUSPECTED VIET CONG HEADQUARTERS

**REPLY TO COMRADE KUO MO-JO**

—to the Melody of Man Chiang Hung

On this tiny globe  
 A few flies dash themselves against the wall,  
 Humming without cease,  
 Sometimes shrilling,  
 Sometimes moaning.  
 Ants on the locust tree assume a great nation swagger  
 And mayflies lightly plot to topple the giant tree.  
 The west wind scatters leaves over Changan,  
 And the arrows are flying, twanging.  
  
 So many deeds cry out to be done,  
 And always urgently;  
 The world rolls on,  
 Time presses.  
 Ten thousand years are too long,  
 Seize the day, seize the hour!  
 The Four Seas are rising, clouds and waters raging,  
 The Five Continents are rocking, wind and thunder roaring.  
 Away with all pests!  
 Our force is irresistible.

January 9, 1963 — Mao Tse-tung



Men of the heroic Viet Nam People's Army.