

**CONFEDERATION—THE NEXT HUNDRED YEARS**

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**CANADIAN UNIONS FOR CANADIAN WORKERS**

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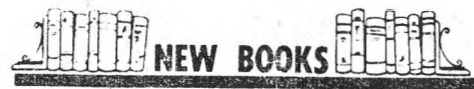
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## A MORTAL FLOWER

BOOK REVIEW by M. Gregory

The decade from 1928 to 1938 was a turbulent one in Europe, in Asia and in America. Each continent seethed with a myriad of forces, movements and concepts and each was too preoccupied with its own problems to consider the fate of the others. For Han Suyin, an Eurasian conscious of both East and West, these were adolescent years. Amidst their turmoil, she pursued her own identity and charted her own destiny. A MORTAL FLOWER, the second volume of her autobiography, is the story of these years. Unlike the first volume, A CRIPPLED TREE, which suffers from a confusing time scheme and several drab uninteresting sections, this second volume quickly captures the reader's sympathy and imagination, and retains it throughout the book.

Set mainly in China, A MORTAL FLOWER, is not only the personal story of formative years, but is also a good historical account of the evolution of those forces which have resulted in the so-called "two China situation"—the People's Republic and the farce on Taiwan. It tells of the meteoric rise to power of Chiang Kai shek and the abuse of that power which eventually leads to his kidnapping by his own men. It traces the emergence of Mao Tse-tung and the Communist Party of China from its inception as an infant force to its consolidation as the government of large sections of China. It deals with the Japanese invasion and the national feeling it sparked; the Long March; the Student Revolt of 1936; and the ever-present beggars—the millions of starving Chinese who were dying constantly, unheard of, and uncared for.

Rosalie Chou, the child to become author Han Suyin, could not forget the beggars. Their existence haunted her and she felt compelled to do something about them.

"Coming home from school, passing by the church, I saw again the blind children, standing, sitting, round the church gates. I discerned their rags tied with string. . . . The time had come to announce my decision at home. 'Mama, I am going to be a doctor.' . . . 'I don't want to go to church, I don't believe there are miracles, not with all those blind waiting, waiting, and they can never see. I am going to be a doctor and I will do something, so they won't be blind, they will see.'"

But Rosalie was a woman and a Eurasian in a society which considered women as "only fit for marriage" and Eurasians, "just good for sleeping with." However, "Rosalie-me", as the author terms her inner self, was possessed of an iron will and, by virtue of its strength had by 1938 completed three years of medical training. Her scholarship from the Belgium government was sufficient for her to complete her studies and qualify as a doctor, but she suddenly felt isolated and knew she must return to China:

"I had to go back to China; to go back against all reason, against all logic . . . going back meant giving up medicine, at least for a while, and I so much wanted to be a doctor; but I could not imagine staying six more years away from China . . . going back, going back, going back, and now I know that there is no love, that there will never be any love stronger than this, which has no name, which I did not know was in me, stronger than anything else."

A MORTAL FLOWER, by Han Suyin, is a recreation of ten years of her own personal life and that of the China she knew and loved. It is written with such great sensitivity that the reader re-experiences many of the emotions originally evoked by life itself. It is recommended reading for all who are interested in the history of China and all who simply enjoy a good story well told.

# CONFEDERATION—THE NEXT HUNDRED YEARS

This year we are being called upon to celebrate what passes for Canada's one-hundred years of existence as a nation. But what we are really celebrating is passage of the British North America Act by the Imperial Parliament in England.

This event, which is acclaimed as a great national triumph by traitors and charlatans, was in reality an act of national betrayal on the part of the cowardly bourgeoisie who trembled in mortal fright and retreated from the revolutionary task necessary to make Canada an independent nation in North America. The terms of confederation meant bartering the true interests of the nation, and selling Canada to the imperialists has been the chief commercial pursuit of the Canadian bourgeoisie ever since.

### HISTORICAL ROLE OF CANADIAN CAPITALISTS

From Confederation till the end of the First World War Imperial England was the chief exploiter on whose behalf Canadian Merchant capitalists administered the affairs of the country. Between the wars, when the decline of England and the rise of American imperialism brought the two big empires close to balance, the Canadian capitalists were able to present the appearance of being truly independent. Behind the sham of national independence what was really taking place was a transfer of the control of the Canadian economy from English to United States financial institutions with Canadian capitalists acting as transfer agents for a fee. By the end of the Second World War, United States control was virtually sowed up and is now in the process of being carried to final completion.

In 1867 the tory Family Compact joined by the so-called "Liberal" merchants willingly donned the shackles of imperialist enslavement and hailed the "British connection" as a good thing for the development of Canada. Vast areas of Canada and its natural resources were handed over to English finance-capitalists and the act justified with the plea that sprawling Canada with its sparse population needed foreign capital to develop. On hundred years later the descendants of the tory Compact of 1867 are selling the land to a new imperialist master and justifying their treachery with the plea that Canada needs American capital and "know how" in order to develop and ensure Canadians a high standard of living. The fact is that Canada's development is retarded and her natural resources are being ravished to serve the needs of U.S. imperialism. The political hacks who rule the land glory in their treachery and even speak of closer ties with U.S. monopoly capital.

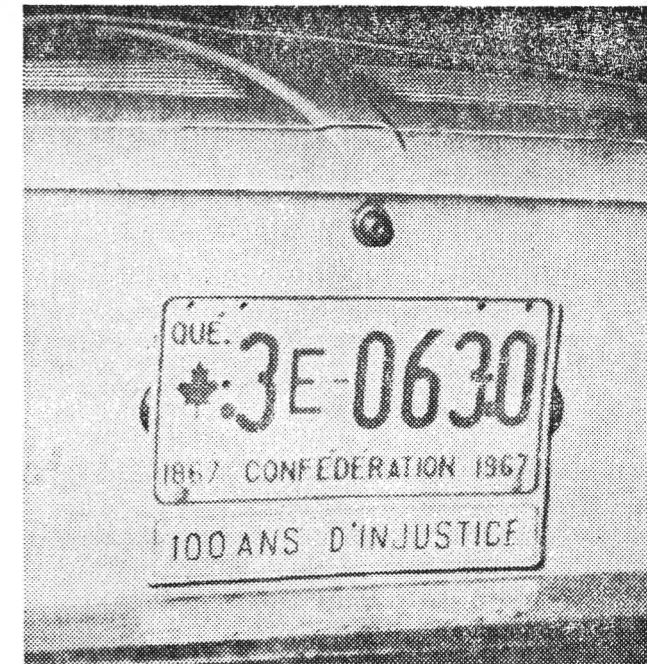
During the years of the "British Connection" Canada was called upon to supply troops for every war in which England fought. Tens of thousands of Canada's young men lie buried in foreign battle fields, victims of imperialist wars of conquest. Now the new imperialist master is demanding his quota of Canadian lives for new wars of aggression and the subservient bourgeoisie, already engaged in supplying Canadian resources to fill U.S. military requirements for aggression, are seriously contemplating calling on Canada's youth to serve in the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam.

Canada's capitalists, always willing to serve as puppets for any current dominant imperialist power, act as agents of imperialism in oppressing the Quebec nation. The B.N.A. Act of 1867 made the English-Canadian capitalists junior partners in the exploitation of Quebec and the consequent national oppression that flowed directly from the exploitation. The Durham Report, upon which Confederation was based, openly planned for the elimination of Quebec as a nation, the destruction of the French language and culture. However, our Quebec brothers have proven themselves to be a hardier breed than the English imperialists and their Canadian merchant-capitalist partners expected them to be and they still live and fight for the self-determination of their nation.

### ROLE OF CAPITALIST PARTIES

There has never been, at any time in the one hundred year period, any fundamental difference on PROGRAMME 3

between the two major capitalist parties; that is, both the Liberals and Conservatives have been in full accord on the defence of the capitalist system in the particular semi-colonial form of oppression peculiar to Canada since 1867 (probably one of the earliest experiences of SEMI-COLONIAL as op-



100 YEARS 'OF INJUSTICE

posed to COLONIAL rule). The differences between these two parties hinged on the question: "To which imperialist power, the U.S. or Britain, should Canada be subservient?" The Liberals have been traditionally U.S. oriented and, in the age of English ascendancy could put on the cloak of "progressive opposition"; the Conservatives are traditionally pro-British and now, in the period of decline for British imperialism and the emergence of aggressive U.S. imperialism, are able at times to don the cloak of militant progressivism. But neither of these parties have ever dared to raise the question of an INDEPENDENT Canadian nation. On the contrary, they have gloried in their toadying to the imperialist oppressor and proudly boast that our subservience to an alien power pays off in higher living standards.

Pearson and his gang of Liberal "continentalists" are so obvious in their treachery that only the most backward are fooled. Sharp, Winters, Liang, Martin, et al arrange sell-outs monthly, weekly, daily and hourly. Walter Gordon's utopian "Buy-Canada-Back" scheme only serves as a fig leaf deodorant to cover up the smell that emanates from the Liberal Party.

Diefenbaker played the role of fake progressive and ardent defender of national independence in his fencing with the Kennedy regime. He was able to appear as a knight in shining armour only because he emphasized the NEGATIVE anti-American aspects of his policy and left almost untouched the POSITIVE-pro-British approach that was behind it. But with British imperialism in decline—even Britain herself is playing the role of valet to dominant U.S. imperialism—Diefenbaker was doomed to defeat and ultimate oblivion. Only an anti-imperialist stand that had the positive side of Canadian independence could win the day and that line means also support for self-determination in Quebec to win a strong ally for the struggle. Obviously, Diefenbaker and his colleagues were incapable of fighting for such a programme.

The N.D.P. makes some show of being for independence but, in reality, are proposing no more than an alleviation of some of the worst features of imperialist oppression. They fall down completely on the testing point of support for

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"Are you going to be guilty of undermining the free world or will you accept a wage cut?"

self-determination in Quebec and stand firmly on the assertion that Quebec is an integral part of Canada and there can be no talk of separation. The N.D.P. is clearly in the capitalist camp and will not lead the nation in meaningful anti-imperialist struggle. In fact it is more and more lining up with American colonial unions in Canada and is opposed to Canadian workers setting up their own unions—thus they support the U.S. labour bureaucrats.

These are the parties (ably assisted by the revisionist "Communist" Party) who are drumming up sentiment for the celebration of one hundred years of Canada as a nation—one hundred years during which Canada has never, at any time, even approached independence as a nation due to the sell-out policies and cowardice of the Canadian bourgeoisie. **WHAT IS TO COME?**

The hundred years that have passed have been marked with treachery, bloodshed, misery, unemployment, hunger, exploitation and oppression. Are we to look forward to another hundred years of the same fare: or shall we change the course of national destiny and fashion for ourselves a future radically different than that planned for us by the cowardly bourgeoisie who recoil in horror from the suggestion that we should prepare to fight for the freedom and integrity of the nation?

If the next hundred years are to be radically different than the hundred just concluded it is obvious that new social and political forces must enter the arena with the determination to change things. The capitalist class has had a full century to prove their incapacity to lead the nation to independence. The easiest profit is to be realized in betrayal of our independence and the capitalist, interested only in profit, will take the cash of immediate profit and let the credit of an independent nation go.

## MALCOLM BRUCE

Members and friends of the Progressive Workers Movement have been grieved by the death in Vancouver of Malcolm Bruce at the age of 87. Malcolm was a true son of the Canadian working class and devoted his long life to its emancipation and the emancipation of the oppressed peoples the world over.

Born in Prince Edward Island and a carpenter by trade Malcolm Bruce became involved in the workers' struggle at an early age. He was active in the International Workers of the World (IWW) and also in early socialist political formations in Canada. He was a member of the old Socialist Party; but after the Russian Revolution and the establishment of the Communist International he led a struggle for the formation of a Marxist-Leninist party. Out of this struggle was founded the Workers' Party (Communist Party). He became editor of "THE WORKER", the Party newspaper in Toronto and was a member of the Central Executive Committee of the party. He was also a delegate to the Fifth Congress of the Communist International in Moscow in 1924. In 1931, Malcolm and seven other persons were arrested under Section 98 of the Criminal Code and served two and a half years in Kingston Penitentiary. His "crime", according to the bourgeoisie, was that he was "an officer of an unlawful association and party to seditious conspiracy".

To list further, and in extensive detail, the numerous battles that Malcolm participated in or the "positions" he held would serve no purpose other than to write history from a careerist and individualist point of view. Malcolm participated in a thousand battles because the working class, of which he was a part, participated in a thousand battles. Others have also participated in a thousand battles but have dropped by the way side. Some have "retired" from politics; others are still active but have embraced revisionism and now fight alongside the exploiters against the exploited. Malcolm never stopped struggling and continued to fight on the side of the oppressed. Even though he was forced out of the Communist Party after it had become

Only the working people, who have nothing to lose and everything to gain from independence, will be able to lead the nation in anti-imperialist struggle and shape a new destiny for the nation. But to be such a force the working class must become conscious of its historical mission to free the nation from bondage and set it firmly on the road to independence and socialism. The fight for an independent Canadian trade union movement is an integral part of this struggle for independence. The U.S. labour lieutenants of American imperialism are one of the most formidable stumbling blocks in the path of Canadian workers becoming an effective force in the struggle for an independent Canada.

A second, and equally formidable barrier to arousing the workers' political consciousness, is the influence of the revisionists in the unions. This influence serves to strengthen the U.S. domination over the unions and, consequently, over Canada's economy, by leading the workers up blind alleys and chasing the willow-the-wisp of "autonomy". It is vitally necessary to break the revisionist influence and then we will be a long way on the road to breaking the hold of the U.S. bureaucracy and making the labour movement a vital force in the fight for independence.

What the future, the next hundred years, holds in store for Canada depends entirely on our ability to create a strong revolutionary party of the working class; a party with correct programme and tactics and prepared and able to lead the Canadian people in the fight for an independent Canada, an independent Quebec nation, for the overthrow of the existing system of exploitation of man by man and the building of a new social system without exploitation—a socialist system.

revisionist, he kept hammering away, he kept searching for the road that would lead to the rebirth of a Marxist-Leninist movement in Canada. Of course, Malcolm made mistakes—as everyone and everything that lives and develops makes mistakes. But Malcolm was no quitter, he never gave up and in this he set us an example.

In spite of poor health during his last years, Comrade Malcolm did manage to make significant contributions. He spoke at PWM forums and wrote articles for "PROGRESSIVE WORKER"—the last being an exposure of Wilson's "Labour" Government in Britain. Malcolm was always willing to give advice concerning tactics and strategy based on his long experience in the working-class movement. He inspired those he talked to with his indestructible belief that victory will be achieved.

Lenin said that after a working-class leader dies, the bourgeoisie try to adopt him and emasculate the revolutionary essence and content of his thought; they attempt to turn him into a harmless icon. Just two days after Malcolm's death, the Vancouver Province ran a story under the heading "Canadian Red Party's Stormy Founder Dies". In this article it is stated that, "Malcolm Bruce saw the necessity for the development of the human element and he departed more and more from the violent revolutionary principles of Communism." The latter part of this statement is an out and out lie—a complete fabrication. Malcolm never had any illusions whatsoever that the ruling class would voluntarily do away with their privileged position and peacefully turn over power to the workers. This attempt to falsify Malcolm's role must be set right.

Comrade Malcolm was not a Canadian Marx, Lenin, or Mao. Nevertheless, he was an important forerunner and contributor to the revolution that is to come.

Roger Perkins

# THE FOREST INDUSTRY-ONE UNION?

The I.W.A., particularly the Vancouver local, has been pressing for a single union in the forest industry. One union in any industry is a very laudable idea but when it is accompanied by a proposal for tightening U.S. domination the laudability of the idea is somewhat diminished.

The Pulp and Sulphite union, which is alleged to be infested with corruption at the top, was willing enough to talk merger with the I.W.A. but resisted taking the necessary organizational steps to achieve a single union in the industry. Latterly the I.W.A. in British Columbia sharply attacked Pulp and Sulphite for their dilatory attitude toward unification and launched an organizing drive of its own to take over newly constructed plants. Things were shaping up for a real battle in the woods.

However, there were certain complications which affected the security of the U.S. unions in the Paper industry. A Canadian union had risen to challenge the American organization for the jurisdiction and had rapidly expanded in spite of opposition from all quarters. The U.S.-appointed bureaucrats began to fear for their position and decided that jurisdictional warfare between the U.S. unions must cease and unity established to destroy the Canadian union.

It is for this reason that the U.S. headquarters of the unions involved ordered a halt to the strife and enforced an agreement that meant, in reality, reserving jurisdiction in the pulp mills for the Pulp and Sulphite Union and ensuring the continued existence of two unions in the industry. Thus we have two U.S. controlled unions that were never able to achieve unity of action to advance the welfare of their membership now coming together for the sole purpose of fighting Canadian unionism.

Syd Thompson of the I.W.A. Vancouver Local, who was a leading figure in the fight to have the I.W.A. extend its jurisdiction to the paper industry, maintained that it was possible to achieve one union under the so-called "International" banner, defeat the Canadian union and secure Canadian autonomy. But the International officers have handed down their ruling and Mr. Thompson is stuck with two unions and damn little autonomy.

### THE DILEMMA OF THE C.P.

The revisionist Communist Party's position is to give all out support for the U.S. unions (so-called "Internationals") over an independent Canadian movement. The disgusting display of this revisionist leadership is exemplified by the sell out of the independent Mine Mill Union to the Yankee bureaucrats in the notoriously corrupt American Steel Union. This policy of sell out conveniently serves U.S. monopoly interests which are daily bringing larger and larger areas of the Canadian economy under their control. What a beautiful set up for these Yankee money men—control of industry as well as control of Canadian workers through these corrupt American unions.

There are two things that determine the tactics and policy of U.S. union leaders. The top bureaucrats are committed to defend capitalism and support the domestic and international program of the U.S. ruling class. Secondly, insofar as they are interested in securing an improvement in workers living standards that interests concerns mainly if not solely the interests of the U.S. workers and then only the minority organized group. U.S. unionists have worked overtime to supply the Canadian market when Canadian members of the same union have been out on strike. U.S. workers constitute the overwhelming majority of the membership in these so-called "Internationals" and Canadian influence in making policy is negligible.

U.S. monopoly industry, with its world-wide ramifications, shifts its operations to high profit areas either in the U.S. or in other world areas. U.S. workers are concerned with keeping industry at home. Recently some of the large U.S. unions—notably the U.A.W.—have come to the conclusion that low wages are an important factor in convincing U.S. monopolists to move to new areas of operation. In

order to off-set this "advantage" the U.S. unionists are demanding a determined fight for "parity" of wages and conditions in the various industries. This demand, as is clearly stated in U.S. unionist's public statements, is not raised for the purpose of improving the living standards of non U.S. workers but for the purpose of providing a deterrent to U.S. monopolists planning a move to new areas. In other words the U.S. unionists want workers in other countries to assist them in forcing U.S. industrialists to remain at home.

This policy provides material for Canadian politicians and agents of U.S. monopoly to claim that "parity" means less jobs for Canadian workers, that U.S. industry will not be attracted to invest in Canada.

Rae Murphy, C.P. spokesman on trade union questions, finds himself in somewhat of a dilemma in trying to answer anti-union arguments because of his commitment to support of the U.S. unions and the idea of "big internationals" controlled by U.S. bureaucrats negotiating with U.S. industry on behalf of workers in all countries and motivated



"I like the way you negotiate, mac, but while you're down there you might as well give my shoes a shine."

by the desire to look after U.S. workers even at the expense of workers of other lands. This dilemma of Murphy's is clearly clearly evident in his article on parity in the TRIBUNE of March 31 where he fails miserably in his dispute with anti-parity politicians. What Murphy fails to see or talk about is that "parity" is not a Canadian demand, it is a demand raised by American workers ostensibly FOR Canadian workers but actually in their own interests.

Murphy in his article in the TRIBUNE was giving reasons why parity would be a good thing. In answering C.M. Drury, Industry Minister in the Liberal government, who maintains that the U.S. wouldn't invest here if parity came about.

Murphy says:

"Of all the arguments against wage parity, this one is most specious for it seeks to set up a cut-throat competition between American and Canadian workers of each others jobs. This line of reasoning would make it wrong for the workers in Quebec, for example, to strive for wage parity with Ontario workers because this would make the investment climate in Quebec discouraging."

What is needed is concentration on the fight for an independent Canadian union that will raise CANADIAN demands regardless of whether it is "parity" or something less or something more. Along with this goes the fight for control of the Canadian economy by the people of Canada. It is Murphy's desire to accommodate the U.S. labour bureaucrats and through them the U.S. monopolists, that leads him into a blind alley.

# POWER AND THE UNIVERSITIES

by Peter Cameron



The past five years have seen the emergence of sharp political struggles at universities throughout North America. In most of these struggles, the most clearly antagonistic forces have been the students on one side and the governing board and administration on the other. Faculty members have generally vacillated with a few militantly supporting the students, a few (usually from the science faculty) supporting the governing board, and the majority looking for a "realistic" and "responsible" compromise. In order to understand these reactions, and in order to relate the political struggles in the university to those of the working class, it is necessary to determine what group controls the university, and how they exercise their power.

Ultimate control of any capitalist university lies in its governing board. This control is usually exercised through the president and his administrative group. Generally, the Board of Governors (or 'Regents' in the U.S.) make the policy decisions while the day to day operating decisions are made by the Administration. The degree of autonomy given to the administrators varies, but the general principle is that the administrators do what the Board wants them to—whether or not they are acting on specific instructions from the Board. This point is made quite clear by the following quote from Clark Kerr (former President of the University of California chain):

"Historically, the University of California had been run on an almost day-to-day basis by the regents. It wasn't until the early 1890's for example, that the president was literally allowed to hire a janitor. The regents did this. During the period that I was president, the regents became a policy board rather than a managerial board. This meant more authority, particularly for the chancellors of the nine campuses of the university, but also to some extent for the president. There were regents who very much opposed this development. I think there is a tendency now within the board of regents to try once again to make more detailed decisions. Just how much freedom they might give my successor depends a bit on him and his policies. If the regents agree with his policies, they will obviously give him more freedom than if they don't." (Newsweek, Feb 6, 1967)

Since the regents hire the president, it isn't likely that they would disagree with him on any fundamentals.

The reason the Board prefers to use people who are not

on the Board to carry out its decisions is only partly that this relieves Board members of a lot of trivial work. Often it is politically expedient to use a sort of quisling group drawn from the faculty to partly conceal the crude fact of the Board's absolute power. For example, a dean (who is part of the administrative group and is under the direct influence of the Board) will implement the Board's decision in his faculty. Since the Dean is a former faculty member, he is able to argue in a way that is plausible to the faculty. But behind his arguments, there is always the power of the Board—and it is this power that the Dean refers to when he asks a stubborn faculty member to be "realistic".

The Board's power can be documented by the legislative acts that define the responsibilities of the various groups in the university. The following examples are from the B.C. Universities Act:

1) The Board of Governors is appointed before a university is even built and creates the whole context in which later academic decisions are made. The Board "in addition to exercising all powers and duties of the Board as provided in this Act, may also exercise all the powers and duties of the Senate until the Senate is constituted". (Universities Act: 1963, Chapter 52, Section 98.)

2) The Board has the power "to appoint the President of the university, Deans of all faculties the Librarian, the Registrar, the Bursar, the Professors, Lecturers, Instructors and other members of the Teaching Staff in the university . . . and to fix their salaries or remuneration, and to define their duties and the tenure of office or employment . . ." (Chapter 52, Section 46).

3) In addition to these and many other specified powers, the Board can "do and perform all other matters and things which may be necessary for the well-ordering and advancement of the university" (Chapter 52, Section 46).

What kind of men are represented on Boards of Governors? The Duff, Berdahl Report, putting it very mildly, says that the Boards are "somewhat too homogenous in membership". In a study of the 30 main U.S. universities, Hubert P. Beck noted: "Altogether the evidence of major university business connections at higher levels seems overwhelming. The numerous high positions of power in industry commerce and finance held by at least two thirds of the members of the governing Boards of these 30 leading uni-

versities would appear to give a decisive majority more than ample grounds for identifying their personal interests with those of business."

The same pattern prevails in Canada. The "biographies" of many Board members from any Canadian university can be found in the DIRECTORY OF DIRECTORS, published annually by the FINANCIAL POST. Here is the biography of Cyrus McLean of the S.F.U. Board of Governors:

According to the FINANCIAL POST'S DIRECTORY OF DIRECTORS (1965) Mr. McLean is: Chairman of the Board of B.C. Telephone Co. President of Point Roberts and Gulf Telephone Co., Compania Dominicana De Telefonos, General Telephone Co. of Alaska, and West Indies Telephone Co. Director of Canadian Western Pipe Mills, The Bank of Nova Scotia (there's a branch on the SFU campus), Inland Natural Gas Co., Anglo-Canadian Telephone Co., and Dillingham Corporation. International Operators, Director of General Telephone and Electronics Service Corporation.

Member of The Advisory Council of National Trust Co. Ltd.

In short, people on Boards of Governors either are, or represent, the people who own the major corporations in the area "served" by the university. Although it is fashionable among university radicals to refer to these people by New Left terms like "Power Elite" or "Establishment", the Marxist term "bourgeoisie" is more accurate. "Power Elite" etc. seem to refer not only to the owners of the means of production but also to the upper management and various other groups that serve the bourgeoisie. Apparently the university is important enough to require direct bourgeois control. Of the Board members who are not actually from the bourgeoisie the majority are their most trusted functionaries, the corporation lawyers. (Occasionally there is a token "distinguished citizen" appointed to the Board, but it rarely attends the Board's meetings.)

It is not surprising that the university in a capitalist society would be controlled by the bourgeoisie. Universities have always been controlled by the most powerful group in the society of the time.

The first great age for the university was the late medieval period when Salerno, Bologna, Paris, Oxford and Cambridge were all founded. Subjects studied were law and medicine, the classics, theology and philosophy. The universities were under the control and influence of the church and the feudal aristocracy that the church represented. An example of a service rendered by the university to the feudal power structure was the organization, by the theological faculties, of the heavenly beings into strict hierarchy which reflected and helped justify the feudal order.

Universities were unable to play as important a role in the age when national states were being consolidated. They became reactionary institutions and the revolutions that swept in the industrial age (especially the French Revolution) almost swept the universities out.

But they were able to adapt to the new requirements of the new groups controlling modern society. Much emphasis was put on science, which replaced moral philosophy in importance, as factory owners became aware of the usefulness of scientific research. It was during the nineteenth century that Boards of Governors, in their present form, were created (e.g. University of London, founded in 1836).

What does the bourgeoisie want from the university? Business men are interested in efficiency of production and that is how they and their administrators talk of the university. Example: "According to our present rate of production the number of graduates in mathematics and the physical sciences produced annually by 1975 will not exceed 100." (SFU's Shrum, quoted in 'Industrial Canada' January 1957.) Since the bourgeoisie has complete control of the university, you wouldn't expect to find them tolerating a large section of it that was unproductive in terms of their own interests. Therefore, it has to be assumed that the whole university—not just the science and engineering faculties, but arts and education as well—basically serves bourgeois interests.

The requirements of the bourgeoisie seem to fall under three general headings:

1) Research Scientists -- The importance of research scien-

tists to industry and (especially in the U.S.) to the development of military technology, is too obvious to require much elaboration. But it should be pointed out that, from the point of view of the bourgeoisie, the ideal scientist is completely "objective" and doesn't allow any moral considerations to interfere with his work. A good example of this can be found



HERMAN KAHN

at Herman Kahn's Hudson Institute, where most of the scientists claim to be against the Vietnamese war, while the Institute does contract work for the U.S. Defence Department. (See RAMPARTS "The Defense Intellectuals")

Even in the social sciences, where you would expect that moral judgements were almost inevitable, the same amorality prevails. To take an example: suppose a social scientist is interested in the nature of the state. He does various studies in his post graduate years and comes more or less to the Leninist conclusion that all states are instruments of control. But he doesn't make any moral judgement as to whether proletarian control is better or worse than bourgeois control; he remains engrossed in the form that the control takes, various kinds of "control mechanisms", and whatnot. He thinks he is being non-political, but his students get the very political message that one state is as bad as another and that anarchism would be nice but you can't fight the system because even if you were successful you'd get another one just as bad.

The most vicious examples of the amoral scientist come, of course, from the United States. There the scientists and social scientists have become what Clark Kerr called "faculty entrepreneurs". These entrepreneurs bring their scientific objectivity to bear on any problem that someone will pay them to investigate. Wesly Fishel and a team of professors from Michigan State University helped design in detail President Diem's police state in Vietnam, and Fishel had one of the largest villas in Saigon.

2) Management - Management has two main functions, both of which are important to the bourgeoisie. The first is management of things—arranging production schedules, ordering materials and equipment, and so forth. This part of the manager's job is straight forward, and necessary in any industrial society. If this were all there was to it, the best managers would be workers experienced at various jobs on the production line.

But there is a second function of management—management of people. Again, in every industrial society there has to be people to co-ordinate production activities, but this in itself is a simple administrative function that flows naturally from the management of things. Under capitalism, however, the management of people goes much further and takes on a political character.

The sole motive for productive activity in a capitalist society is supposed to be individual self-advancement. Since the only way the worker serves his own interest on the job is by collecting a pay cheque, the bourgeoisie has the political problem of getting some work out of him. The workers

have to be watched, sometimes rewarded and more often (since it costs less) penalized—in short, they have to be managed.

Most workers take at least some pride in productive activity, but this is essentially a socialist impulse and the more that workers take pride in what they collectively are doing, and hence in their class, the more the bourgeoisie has to face the political problem of organized struggle on the plant



Cops, pickets and Police agent at Lenkurt Electric in B.C.

floor and the picket line. On the other hand, if a worker accepts the bourgeois ideology of self-advancement, the bourgeoisie still needs management to reward the worker by acknowledging his efforts and suggesting to him that he may someday make a good foreman.

A clear example of the political role of management can be seen from the strike at Lenkurt Electric. Lenkurt is owned by General Telephone and Electronics, a big American company. (The interests of SFU governor Cyrus McLean in G.T. and E. can be clearly seen from the biography above.) Last summer the Lenkurt workers went on strike and over 250 of them were immediately fired. While the picket line was up, the Lenkurt management (which could, a few years from now, include SFU graduates) ran around with cameras getting pictures of the men. The pictures were used to identify the militants so the company would know who not to rehire, and as evidence in the injunction trial which sent four men to jail.

The political functions of management don't require any special skill, but they require a very special kind of attitude. Management has to feel fundamentally superior to the worker, and not identify at all with his struggle. This attitude is vicious for the same reason that racism is vicious. In times of relative industrial stability, the viciousness is not always obvious (just as racism could hide behind a mask of paternalism when the Afro-American's struggle was less advanced.) But when the struggle is sharp, the viciousness of managerial attitudes is fully revealed as managers are required to acquiesce and play a part in the brutal suppression of workers by company cops and the state police.

Managerial attitudes are very largely a product of university education. The following is an outline of the assumptions that lie behind the courses, particularly the arts and education courses, at a bourgeois university: Society is made up of individuals who are all seeking their own self-interest. Exploitation and greed are basic to human nature and most people are further "brutalized" by the drudgery of the work that they do. A few of the smarter ones have the ability to lead the others, and these go to university. At university people acquire all kinds of knowledge and are "refined" by exposure to art and literature. They soon become too good for ordinary work—after all, it would be "a shame to waste your education by digging ditches". The majority of mankind

can put up with the routine and drudgery of their jobs because they are more stupid and less sensitive than those who go to university. When workers go on strike for "as much money as someone who's had four year's of university" (gasp!) it just shows how greedy and "materialistic" they are.

Not everybody at university thinks this way. But this set of attitudes (or some more sophisticated version of it) runs through the social fabric of the middle-class like so many black threads. It allows the management to work effectively for the bourgeoisie in the factories and the same attitudes allow the politicians (most of whom have been to university) to serve the bourgeoisie—who finance their political parties—in the city halls and parliament buildings.

3) **Ideologies** - The bourgeoisie needs ideologies to elaborate and sophisticate the crude 'mystique' described above. The academic version of bourgeois ideology is usually implicit rather than spelled out, and the ideologies are rarely conscious that they are creating the ideological basis of bourgeois rule. (An exception to this would be Prof. Scalpino of Berkeley, whose imaginative work as a State Department apologist could only have been undertaken as a conscious deception.)

The implicit ideology behind the sociologists "moral objectivity" has been discussed above. But what about cultural fields like English and Fine Arts? A professor who is working away at the study of 17th Century Mannerist painting, can hardly be expected to realize that he is helping to train a managerial elite. But under capitalism when a student finds out something about Mannerist art he feels that, at least to some degree, it makes him better than people who don't know anything about it.

A word must be said, too, about contemporary art. Art today is just as fully under the control of the ruling class as it was in the days of the Medici. An artist sitting in a room in Toronto may think he's looking into himself and discovering an "original iconography" (or some such thing) but somehow his paintings look more like a provincial version of something New York real estate man Robert C. Scull bought five years ago than anything a worker would be interested in. Art is big business. Most galleries and art magazines are financed by members of the bourgeoisie and all the big private collections are owned by the only people with enough money to buy them.

The net result of this, as pop-journalist Tom Wolfe has commented, is that art helps to legitimize wealth for "the



Kerr (standing) at conference with Reagan

educated classes in America". After all, the bourgeoisie creates the taste that the managers study to acquire. And as for the workers—they don't even like the stuff.

In conclusion, how do the various groups in the university line up in terms of bourgeois interests?

The Board of Governors is made up of members of the

bourgeoisie, or people who represent them directly like corporation lawyers. They have ultimate control of the university in the same way that they have ultimate control of the factories, and they are only interested in the university insofar as it serves their interests.

The Administration consists of the people who are hired by the bourgeoisie to make day to day decisions in line with the general direction from the Board. Normally, the role of the Administration in the university is the same as that of management in a factory, and administrators are carefully chosen to make sure that they will NEVER oppose the Board. In the rare cases where an administrator (like Dean Bottomore at SFU) goes as far as to disassociate himself from a Board these will be all hell to pay (although how the Board will ultimately deal with Bottomore remains a little uncertain at the time this is being written).

The Faculty are somewhat removed from direct bourgeois control. If the administrator's position in the university can be compared to that of management in the factory, the faculty member's position is similar to the foreman's. He was once a student himself, and the occasional faculty member who demonstrates his potential usefulness to the bourgeoisie can make it into the administration as a Department Head or Dean. The faculty member has either absorbed, or pretended to absorb, enough of the middle class mystique to get his MA or PhD. The faculty is given a little parliament, the Senate, in which it can pretend that it's making decisions. Actually, the Senate is controlled by the Board via the administrative group which "is predominant, and tends to speak with one voice". (Duff, Behrdahl Report, page 9)

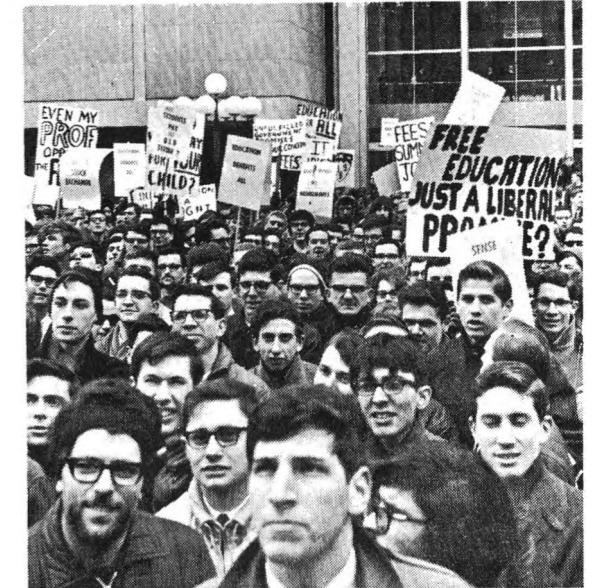
The Students, like factory workers, play almost no part in making the decisions that affect them. (In the 92 page Duff, Behrdahl Report on University Government, only 2 and a half pages are devoted to students—and they are referred to more as a potential source of administrative problems than an actual factor in the way decisions are made.) Students have their union, as do workers, but the Student Union is usually as bureaucratized as the worst industrial union. (Membership is involuntary, and the Administration collects the dues via a "check-off" at the time tuition fees are paid.) Consequently, during any political crisis the Student Union often plays a negative role and is used by the Administration to confuse the issue.

In spite of the alienation which the student has in common with the worker, the student's day to day experiences do not usually lead him to identify with the working class. Quite the opposite, the student is being trained to manage the working class. But as the contradictions in the imperialist system (e.g. between U.S. imperialism and the Vietnamese people) become sharper, more and more students are



becoming critical of the kind of society they live in. Gradually, and usually unconsciously, they are beginning to take positions in opposition to the bourgeoisie. This objectively brings them closer to the working class, although many

students—including radical students—have difficulty breaking with the elitism of managerial attitudes. Even this is changing however, and today many radical students are moving towards alliance with radical workers, supporting working class strikes, etc.



MCGILL TUITION FEE PROTEST

The advances that have been made by students (and progressive people generally) can be seen by comparing the present situation with the situation a few years ago. Consider the following news item (from the Washington Post and Times Herald, May 10, 1959):

Commenting on the "tendency" of today's college students to be conformists, President Clark Kerr of the University of California characterized them as "a kind of pre-Organization man".

"I can see . . . that the employers will love this generation," Kerr said, "that they are not going to press very many grievances, there won't be much trouble, they are going to do their jobs, they are going to be easy to handle."

"There aren't going to be riots. There aren't going to be revolutions. There aren't going to be many strikes."

Clark Kerr is no longer president of the University of California chain. He was released because he couldn't handle the students at Berkeley who have had two strikes in the last couple of years.

More university presidents will be facing the same problems that Kerr did. The Berkeley student's strike was in response to an Administration ban on campus organizing for the support of off-campus political activities. As the bourgeoisie sees its universities being used more and more as a base to organize opposition to its power, the velvet gloves will have to come off at the university. This will only expose the nature of bourgeois rule to more and more students, and cause more of them to come out consciously in opposition to it. The problems of the bourgeoisie with the university are just beginning.

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—Devon Commission, 1870.

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# END OF 'WHITE MAN'S BURDEN' IN ADEN

N. Corbett

In many countries of the world today, people are engaged in the struggle for liberation. Many of their stories are as yet unknown to us. But lately, the newspapers have given us a glimpse into one of the oldest and least known outposts of the British Empire—the tiny colony of Aden, in South Yemen.

In many ways, the history of Aden is a classic example of "old style" Western European colonialism. For more than four centuries the British took from the land what they wished, using force when necessary. Even the final outcome with the British being forced out at rifle-point, fits a pattern which is recurring around the world—at Dienbienphu, Algeria and other places like Aden, of which we hear little or nothing.

Aden has a long history of oppression. The important port was part of the Turkish Empire when British ships first arrived in 1609. The British immediately began trading in coffee and other luxury items, and by 1770 had the major share of the coffee trade and a great deal of power in Aden. An illustration of their power is given by Harold Ingrams in his 1963 book, "The Yemen".

In 1770 a captain of a British merchant ship from India corrected a boy for some fault. The boy ran away in Aden and became a Muslim. The captain managed to catch him one day near the British factory at Mocha and thrashed him. An angry mob then pursued the captain who escaped to his ship. From this safe refuge he complained to the governor, but, getting no redress, took his complaint to the Bombay government which sent two warships. The governor was forced to pay \$4,000 compensation. p.49

Throughout the 18th Century the English and Dutch had control of all Yemen's foreign trade. At the end of the century, in 1798, Napoleon invaded Egypt, threatening the British hold on India if he succeeded in reaching the Indian Ocean. To "protect their interests" British troops were sent to occupy the island of Perim, and shortly afterwards were stationed in Aden. Soon a British naval hospital was constructed at Mocha, and the British were there to stay.

The acquisition of Aden as an outright colony was not accomplished until after the introduction of steam navigation, which greatly increased the ability of Britain to back up its demands by force. The pretext for the formal seizure of Aden in 1839 was an attack on an Indian ship (under British colours, of course,) in the harbour at Aden. At that time, Aden was taken and declared to be a "dependency of India".

In 1869 the Suez Canal opened and Britain pushed further and further into the Middle East. In 1878 Disraeli acquired Cyprus; in 1882 Britain occupied Egypt. Relations between Britain and the Arabs grew less friendly. In 1928 King Yahya, attempting to reunite Aden with the rest of Yemen, raided "British" territory. In reprisal, Britain bombed the city of Taiz.

In 1934, Britain forced Yahya to accept the Treaty of Sana, which stated that the British were to occupy southern Yemen without interference from the rest of Yemen for "at least forty years".

Frontier "incidents" continued to occur, however.

In 1945 the Imam or ruler of Yemen made close ties with Egypt, in 1946 with Iraq and also joined the Arab League. In 1947 Yemen joined the United Nations.

Afraid of losing control, the British stepped up oppression under a new "advisory regime" which required the local leaders of the people to accept the dictates of the Governor of Aden as what was best "for their welfare". "Advisors" were established in all of Aden's states, and supported by British "guards" they set up and ran all local administrations.

In April 1946 a movement named the Free Yemenis became active in Aden, demanding a constitutional assembly

publishing the influential "Voice of the Yemen" press in Aden. The king's son was a leader of the Free Yemenis. In 1948 the old king was assassinated and a legislative assembly was set up, but quickly crushed. Ahmed became king.

His definite anti-British stand led to British intervention outside Aden's borders. A British deputy was appointed to rule his territory. From this time on the British openly propped up the most reactionary tribal leaders, bombing dissenting villages into submission.

In 1950 an Anglo-Yemeni Conference was held in London. One of its results was to forbid the Yemenis to occupy their own forts any longer. After this, most of the people of the Yemeni "Western Protectorate" were in open opposition to the British.

The British meanwhile continued to expand their control—in 1952 they seized six further tribal districts and showed no sign of stopping there. One of their projects was to build a pipeline from northern Yemen to carry its oil to Aden, where they could collect it more conveniently.

In 1951 the British Governor of Aden proposed a Federation of Western Yemeni chiefs, with himself as head, and members to be appointed by him. This proposal provoked a violently nationalist, anti-British reaction throughout the country. The rulers completely boycotted the "Federation" and strengthened their alliances with Egypt.

By late 1954 much of the "Protectorate" was in open revolt. Government posts and forts were attacked, and British troops and officials ambushed. Casualties were high and many Aden Government officers and men deserted to the nationalists.

In 1955, Britain stated that it would make no concessions to the people. In 1956 the Suez "crisis" further unified Arabia against the British. Nasser sent arms to the deposed King Ahmed, who continued to fight against the British. Unions were organized for the first time in the cities and the Aden Trade Union Congress grew. Diplomatic relations were established with Russia and China, and Russia began supplying arms to Aden nationalists, including tanks and anti-aircraft guns. In 1958 Yemen joined the United Arab Republic on a federal basis, calling itself the United Arab States.

The British could buy or force very little support even in Aden by this time, and none at all in the rest of Yemen. In 1958 the British "Advisor" at Dhala was captured; the Aden troops refused to rescue him and the RAF finally had to be called in to bring him back safely, after a heavy battle.

In 1962 a British White Paper demanded the retention of the colony of Aden as a "base necessary to free-world defence". Strikes, demonstrations and police brutality grew more frequent. Demonstrations were banned by the British, but on September 24, 1962 thousands of supporters of the People's Socialist Party protested British brutality in the



British "tommy" kicks Adenese

streets. The police opened fire on them and several were killed; that night, thousands of black flags were flown defiantly from the housetops. On September 26, two days later, the puppet-king's palace was shelled and Sallal became president of the new Yemeni Arab Republic, strongly supported by Nasser.



Dying demonstrator, victim of British justice



Anti-British Aden demonstrators hold up picture of Nasser

As late as 1963 the British maintained the position that they would remain in Aden. As Ingrams says in his book,

Aden's greatest value to us then (1839) was its geographical situation as a bunkering station on the short route to India. Now it is an important oil-bunkering station and also has a great oil refinery. In 1963 its geographical situation still makes it strategically valuable as an army and air force base to defend vital Western interests in the oil-fields of the Persian Gulf, makes it important as a base for the defence of the free world. p. 3

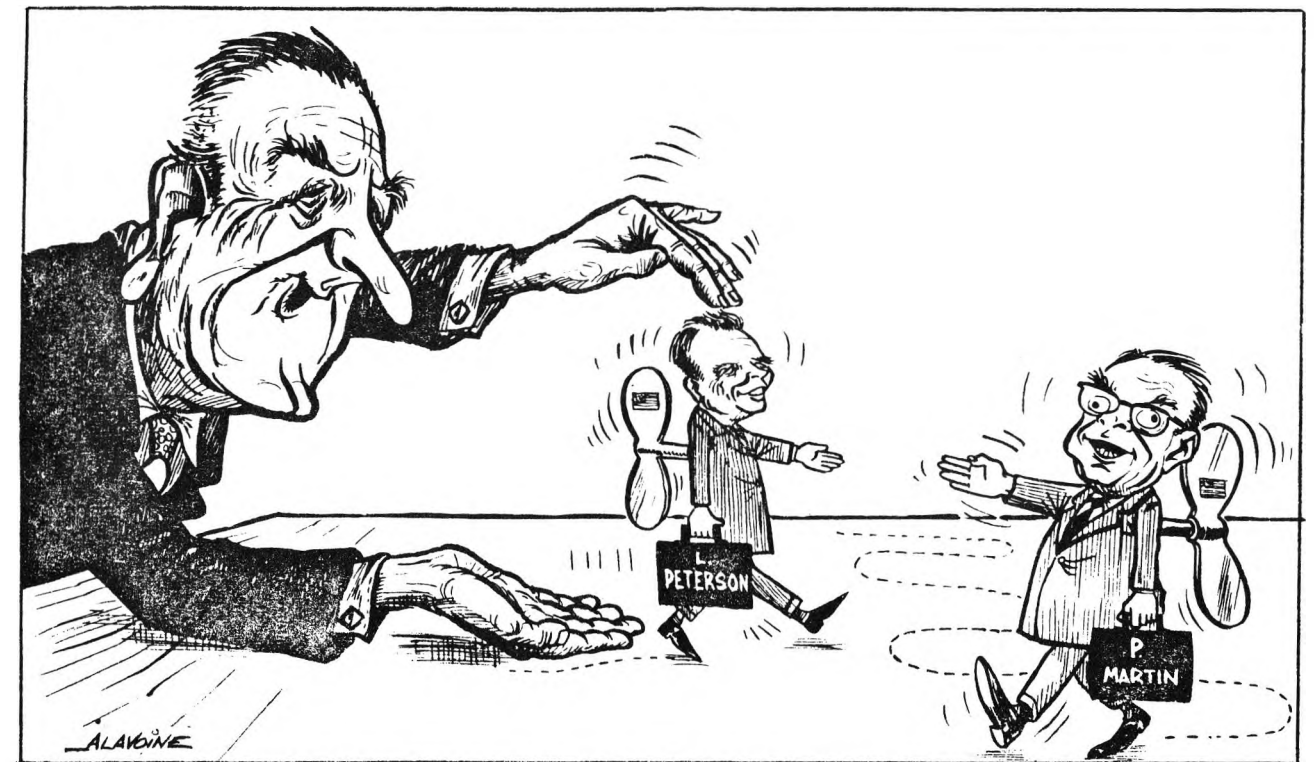
However, the people of Aden had different ideas. The British found it increasingly difficult to suppress the people's demonstrations, supported by the National Liberation Front and the Front For The Liberation of Occupied South Yemen, and began to realize that they might not have much choice in the matter of leaving.

A "mission" from the United Nations arrived in Aden last month after the conclusion of an agreement between Britain and the U.N. Britain promised Aden "independent elections" (guaranteed by U.N. troops) in 1968.

The people of Aden met the U.N. mission (April 2, 67) with a general strike that brought the entire port to a standstill, and anti-British demonstrations in which the British troops opened fire on the crowds. The people responded with bullets and hand grenades. On April 7 the U.N. "mission" fled, although it had originally planned to stay and "study the situation" for several weeks.

Last week the wives and children of the British officials, troops and "advisors" began to be hastily evacuated, soon to be followed by the rest of the British. The doors of one more "colonial paradise" have been slammed in the face of imperialism.

All over the world the people are rising and throwing off the parasites who have drained their resources and suppressed their aspirations for so long. The peoples of the world will no longer accept the arrogant demands of their former owners. Instead, they refuse to tolerate any longer the presence of the old and weakened "colonial masters" whose lies and threats have been exposed. The British are not "leaving" Aden—they have been kicked out and are running home with their tail between their legs, forced to leave Aden with its rich resources of oil behind them.



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10  
MAY 1955

Progressive Worker  
Volume 1, Number 7  
10  
APRIL 1955



**HIS MASTER'S VOICE**  
STORY PAGE 8

**ALSO in this issue** THE A. F. L. - C. I. O.'S FOREIGN POLICY Page 8  
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# CHINA'S MASS DEMOCRACY

Israel Epstein, an American journalist of long experience author and historian, who lived in China for many years was interviewed by Hsinhua on the question of mass democracy, which is a feature of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The first thing I want to say is that this is real democracy. It is class struggle conducted by the mass of the people expressing themselves on real problems in relation to their real needs, the real needs of the situation. There are many, many aspects you see and hear.

Everywhere in Peking, in factories, schools, offices and so on, there is discussion—in small and big meetings, through debate on big national issues and issues within each organization and within each department of the organization. All discuss what their work is for, how to do the work, what is the relation of the particular work to the whole socialist and communist objective. There is criticism of wrong ways of



Israel Epstein (right), formerly of New York

work and of leaders who have taken the wrong direction. There is control of new leaders, of leaders who are taking a good direction. Everybody participates. This happens within each organization.

On the streets you see the same thing on a much larger scale. With the big-character posters the whole street is in a sense like a newspaper. People "read the streets". In Peking, since the beginning of the cultural revolution, I should say there have been many millions of these big-character posters put up by groups or by individuals. Some are small, some are large, some are the size of a sheet of writing paper. Some are huge slogans that take up the whole front of a building. Some are really like long pamphlets. I saw one the other day with a 116 big newspaper-size panels. All are surrounded by knots of people, reading and discussing.

Then there are always parades in the streets. There are meetings in the streets. There are sound trucks out on the streets. This is another aspect.

Still another aspect is the printed word. There are great numbers of small newspapers coming out. I don't know how many there are in Peking, but from just the ones I happened to buy on the streets these weeks, I have a list of 20 titles. I won't mention the names of the papers, I will just give an idea of who puts them out.

For example, there are newspapers put out by revolutionary groups of workers, in particular factories or on a bigger scale. Three are published by students in different middle schools. Some are put out by the revolutionary groups in various large organizations, such as the ministry of health and related organizations in Peking. There is a cartoon paper

jointly put out by revolutionary groups. There is a paper put out by the workers in the state scientific committee, and another that is put out by workers of the financial and commercial system. The different universities have their own very lively papers, some put out by different groups within the universities. In the organization in which I myself work, the foreign languages press, there are two printed newspapers. And, of course, countless mimeographed papers and broadsheets are handed out.

The material facilities for these things are supplied free of charge. They include paper, paste, ink, and brushes for the posters. They also include making printing presses available to the revolutionary groups. For meetings, halls are made available. There is freedom of the microphone, and of the use of public address systems. So one can say there is every facility for the expression of opinion, and for criticism and for suggestion. I am convinced that nothing like this has ever before been seen in the world.

Out of this discussion and contention comes the truth and the direction of advance. Arguments are often very hot. Suppression of differences of opinion is specifically forbidden. Indeed, the essence of the whole thing is that differences of opinion among the working people must be expressed. If they are not expressed, you cannot arrive at the truth. There is only one truth, objectively, but it cannot be grasped unless its different aspects are fully brought out. These may first be reflected in the form of very hot and even angry differences in debate. But if the goal is the same, then ultimately the arguments sort themselves out into agreement. If the goals differ, that too is brought out in debates, and wrong ideas can be condemned or criticised as anti-socialist.

There is one common element in all these different forms of mass democracy, that is, the people are discussing how to make socialism work better, how to ensure the advance to communism, how to bring this down to the concrete terms of every field of work.

So the freedom of expression in China today is not only much more extensive, but also entirely different, from the so-called freedom of the press in capitalist countries. For instance, it is said that in the United States you need several million dollars, or in Britain an equivalent amount in pounds, to start a big newspaper to really influence public opinion. Well, in China the one thing you cannot do is start a paper simply because you are in possession of funds privately or as a group. If a newspaper were to appear advocating the return to capitalism, or in the interests of a privileged group, it would very quickly be closed down. If the government was not quick enough, the people themselves would close it down.

In recent months, in fact, when some of the papers proved to be under the control of a few persons in authority in the party taking the capitalist road, that is, in the control of those who were trying to push China towards revisionism and finally bourgeois restoration, these papers were taken over by the revolutionary people, including revolutionaries on their own staffs.

In short, the working people in China have the kind of freedom that working people in Capitalist countries do not have. And exploiters, or would be exploiters, in China do not have the freedom that exploiters in Capitalist countries do have.

Finally, another aspect of China's mass democracy is the freedom of revolutionary contact. People go about from organization to organization, from city to city, exchanging experience as to how to advance their common objectives. Again, material facilities, such as fares and stopovers, are provided. This is a very important feature.

All the constitutions of socialist countries, so far as I know, have a clause of one kind or another, stemming from Lenin and Marx, that the working people have freedom of speech, of the press, of demonstration, of meetings and free-

dom of the streets. What we see in China today is the most direct and fullest application of this principle that has ever been seen anywhere.

Let us try to summarize some differences between China's mass democracy and bourgeois democracy. I have mentioned one difference, money doesn't count. I think that is a very big difference.

Secondly, this democracy is real while the other is a fake. True, all kinds of people can and do express themselves in different ways under bourgeois democracy. But, so far as the intent and practical function of that whole system is concerned, they boil down to the question of choice between which representatives of the bourgeoisie the people are going to be bamboozled into handing the government to. The one thing the people cannot do—and this is prevented both by the class nature of the state and the fact that the people do not own the printing presses and other means of mass communication—is to call effectively for a change to a system in which the working people rule and throw the exploiters off their backs.

To illustrate, take the kind of demonstrations we see here in China, the kind of criticism we have here on various levels, big and small. If you tried to call for the overthrow of the man who is your boss in a capitalist country he would give you the sack or call the police. If you try to carry the action into the streets on a wider scale they would read the riot act and get out the mounted police and finally the armed forces. If you tried to write the kind of things that are written here they would have you up for advocating the overthrow of this or that by force and violence or incitement to violence or some such charge. Of course, in China, it is not incitement to violence. It is incitement to revolution, to the removal of all obstacles in the way of the revolution. All the forces of the state are mobilized to protect your right to do this, not to prevent you from exercising that right.

To put the whole thing in political, theoretical terms, what exists in Capitalist countries is so-called democracy under the dictatorship of the Capitalist class, a democratic cloak over its dictatorship. By contrast, what exists in China is democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat, which itself is an instrument of the revolution. The mass democracy is an instrument of revolution and the state also is an instrument of revolution. And the mass democracy is there to see that the state remains and continues to be an instrument of revolution. That is my understanding of the main difference.

What makes such mass democracy possible? Here we return again to the dictatorship of the proletariat. In China the working people long ago took over the machinery of the state. They took over the ownership of the means of production. The army is their army. The means of repression are in their hands to repress their enemies, and the means of building a new life are also in their hands. The question is how best to build the new, how to prevent anybody from stopping it and how to prevent old concepts and people who want to restore the old order from getting in the way.

What goes on in China now is the consolidation of this dictatorship of the proletariat. The consolidation is proceeding not simply by solidifying something but by spreading it out, by making it everybody's business.

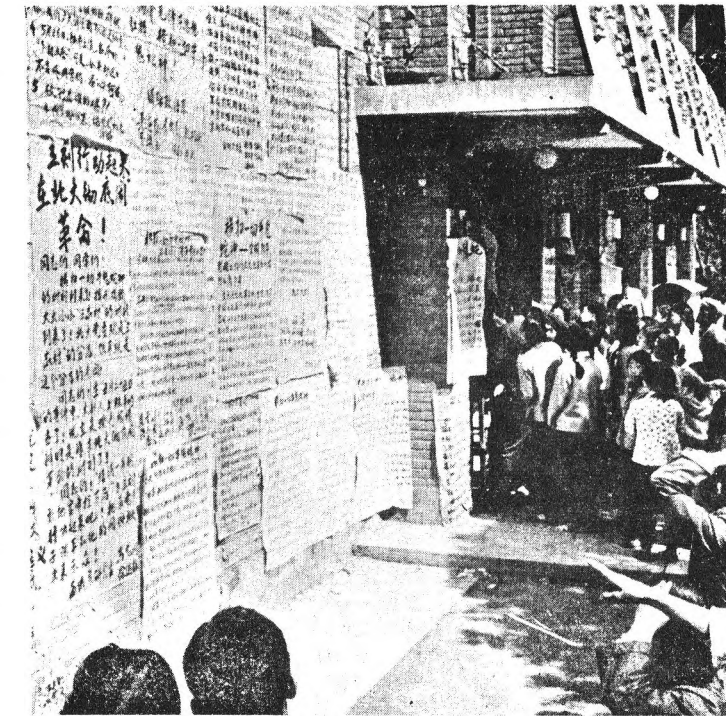
In Marxist-Leninist theory, which has been developed to its highest point by comrade Mao Tse-tung, the idea that the masses are the makers of history—not just leaders, not even the leaders of the masses, but the masses—is a basic idea. If the masses can make history consciously, if everybody knows which way they must go and what is the way to go, then the power of this system is multiplied many many times and its potentialities can really show themselves.

The building of a socialist system is something new. Since the October Revolution in the Soviet Union the time is only 49 years which is a very short time historically, and things have gone very seriously wrong there. Since the Chinese Revolution 17 years have passed. The question is to know how to run this new system.

Here we come to another point of theory, that is, not only are the masses the makers of history but knowledge

resides in the masses.

The masses are the people who work, who engage in the struggle with nature—in material production—and they are the people who engage in social struggle, the class struggle. So to concentrate the knowledge of these processes, to summarize the knowledge of these processes, so that one can move forward, means summarizing the knowledge that exists among the masses in fragments, among different groups and different individuals. This knowledge cannot be



Proletarian revolutionary students in Peking University put up big-character posters

summarized unless people express it, unless people express themselves. And a full summary cannot be made unless people also try to summarize it for themselves, express their ideas and conclusions.

This is a very important aspect of all these millions of posters and trillions of words and hundreds of small newspapers. They rake over what has gone before to see what was right and what was wrong. They give their ideas on the way to move forward, their ideas of how things can be done better. For example, this system may be bureaucratic, that system may be run very much in the old way. Even though there is a new society people may still work in the wrong way. Habit is strong, often with deep roots in the past. The young people particularly have a very sharp idea of how things should be under Socialism and Communism. Older people have a great deal of experience but perhaps not so much freedom from habit, not so much boldness. People of different functions in society, people in positions of leadership, people in the position of working under leadership, all have their own views and their own very accurate estimation of different aspects of the truth, of the way things really are and the way they should be. And in this mass democracy all these views are brought together, sifted, compared.

At the same time, there is a standard, the standard of Marxism Leninism. The standard is Mao tse Tung's thought. The standard is what helps society to move forward and how to overcome the things that are holding it back. And with this kind of activity, with this kind of full expression, people below know what they are doing and persons entrusted with leadership have more opportunity to serve the whole mass of the people by summarizing and organizing on the basis of this knowledge.

If those in authority fail to do so, if they fail to have this revolutionary urge and the necessary wisdom, the people can criticise them and replace them.

So in a sense all this tremendous debate, all this tremendous contention, is for the purpose of forming a new



community of views, a new unity of all levels which really conforms to the tasks of the people at this time, to what really has to be done.

Without the socialist system, without the dictatorship of the proletariat, there are no conditions for this kind of democracy. At the same time, without this kind of democracy, the system cannot really move forward at full steam.

These are the conditions that make it possible. Not only make it possible, but require it, because without this mass democracy, the system would congeal, would be held back, and could be rolled back by the wrong kind of leaders who were not under mass control.

For a long time in the world, there has been talk about socialist democracy and the revisionists have tried to appropriate this term by trying to bring back the forms of bourgeois democracy into their countries. But that is counter-revolution, because bourgeois democracy is really democracy for the very few to mislead the many. Only proletarian democracy, now developed to a new height in China, is real socialist democracy. It is the democracy of the many to make sure that no selfish few can take away from the people what they have created and the hope they have for the future.

It is of a great significance that this great development of socialist democracy in China comes during the cultural revolution 17 years after the liberation. The first step was to take power from imperialism and its domestic allies, the exploiting classes within China. This was done by armed struggle which is the only way that it can be done. In a sense one can say that was done from above, that is, by armed seizure of the commanding positions in the political life of the country and in the economy from the exploiting classes.

Then followed the systematic transformation of the whole economy along Socialist lines. In the meantime, there was tremendous spread of education. In 1949, the masses of the people in China were largely illiterate. Now the masses of the people can read, write and are imbued with Socialist ideas, with the ideas of Chairman Mao. A new generation has grown up. So the time has come for the people to turn these ideas into their own conscious action on a truly mass scale.

In this Cultural Revolution there is not only the expression of opinion. As we all know, public opinion only means anything in so far as it is preparation for action. In Bourgeois countries the formation of public opinion has the special function of paralysing the people and preventing them from acting in their own interests, and so giving their exploiters full freedom to act. In China public opinion is formed to prompt the people, to take power from below at any time from those who prevent them from going forward, to make sure of continued advance. China's mass democracy is the preparation of people for effective rebellion against anything, at any time, at any rung, at any step, at any level, of the state structure or the economic structure that becomes an obstruction to Socialism and Communism.

This brings us to the question of revisionism, of how to prevent revisionism. This is a key political question for all mankind. It is the question of whether the result of the proletarian revolution, with all the sacrifices, all the heroism that went into it, is ultimately to be a reversion to some



form of exploiting society, to some form of Capitalism, to counter-revolution. This is what has happened in Yugoslavia, this is what is happening in the Soviet Union.

This is a key question for the people of the world. On it depends the general fate of the struggle and of the revolution. In relation to China (the most populous Socialist coun-

try), the question is whether China will remain on the road to Socialism and Communism, will be a firm and reliable base for the revolution all over the world.

China, to her great honour, has expressed herself against revisionism ever since it manifested itself in the international Communist Movement and in a number of Socialist countries. But I think it is a measure of Chairman Mao's greatness that he is not content to criticise revisionism elsewhere. That could even be a form of national selfishness. Chairman Mao is resolved to dig up the roots of revisionism, to abolish all ground for it in China itself, in Chinese society, and show the people of the world the way in which this can be done.

Now who is to do this? Again, the masses are the makers of history. Without the masses no leadership can be effective. There must be a combination of clear-sighted leadership and the action of the masses. And the masses must act not only at command but because they themselves know the issues, have debated the issues, they must create their own ocean of experience of such struggle, not only on a major scale but also on the scale of each of their working places and working posts, and, ideologically, by fighting these ideas, the influence of revisionist ideas, in their own heads.

This is why this mass democracy is such a basic remedy for revisionism, and this is why it frightens all revisionists to death. After all, the Imperialists and the Capitalists have been frightened of revolution for a long time. This frightens them even more, but it does not scare them at this moment, as directly as it panics the revisionists who try to use the cloak of Marxism and Communism to oppose revolution. That is why the revisionists are so frantic in denunciation, and supply material even for the Imperialist press.

In China it is precisely people like them who are being overthrown. I think the revisionists are quite right to be frightened of this.

But being frightened won't help them a bit, because I am quite certain that in every Socialist country the people will act in this way sooner or later. And in every Capitalist country, too, the people will get a new conception of how to act in a revolutionary way from this mass democracy in China.

So much for the political side. There is also the organizational side. The organizational principles of Communist parties and of Socialist countries is Democratic Centralism. But what are we to centralize if it is not the experience and the will of the working people. Without the full expression of this will and the knowledge gained from mass experience, leadership must to a certain extent hang in the air and not be connected with the real strength of the masses of the people.

So, I think that this mass democracy really strengthens centralism, it strengthens as never before the ability to concentrate the power of a Socialist system in any direction, whether it is beating back an external enemy or tackling the tasks that have to be done within the country, including the beating down of old and new internal enemies.

It is like an atomic bomb. What was once contained within small confines, and is already powerful because the masses rallied to it, and felt it was right, is now exploding and becoming the force of action of the mass of the people themselves. Political energy changes into active energy, quantity changes into quality at a new level.

So here we have, under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, a completely new dimension of revolutionary force and revolutionary energy, whether one talks of it within the confines of one country or whether one talks of it in terms of its impact on the world.

From China the new concepts are already spreading and this mass democracy shows the way that this spread is accomplished. I think that whatever is said about this mass democracy outside, whatever slanders are directed against it in the Capitalist press or by the revisionists, the people of the world cannot fail to see that this great explosion of critical power and creative power is something that they too have in themselves. They are bound to see it as something that they too will want to do, and must do in their different situations, to really destroy the old and create the new.

# THE PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

Jack Scott, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Progressive Workers Movement and Editor of the PROGRESSIVE WORKER, is currently in China, where he and John Wood, a member of the Central Committee, attended the May Day celebrations in Peking. The article following was written by Jack Scott in China from which vantage point he has observed and studied the role of the Peoples' Liberation Army in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution now unfolding in People's China.

**"WITHOUT A PEOPLES ARMY THE PEOPLE HAVE NOTHING" (Mao Tse-tung: "On Coalition Government")**

## **ALL ARMIES ARE POLITICAL**

One of the important problems around which there is a lot of confusion and misunderstanding (most of it deliberately fostered) is that concerning the role of the revolutionary army in the period AFTER the overthrow of the exploiters—the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the transition to Socialism. Why, for example, does the Peoples' Liberation Army participate in the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China and what role does it play in that historic event?

The Capitalist class work particularly hard at propagating the myth that the army is "non-political" and the bourgeois democracies, in an effort to give some substance to this myth, order the armed forces to "keep out of politics". The sole task of the army, they say, is to maintain public order and defend the peace and security of the nation. Even when the army—and its auxiliary, the armed police—break up strikes and popular mass demonstrations we are asked to believe that it is only in the interests of maintaining public order and not because of class interests.

Many workers—and even some good revolutionaries—have a one-sided view of the army in the Capitalist state observing it in its oppressor role only in a general and abstract way and not concretely in its fundamental role as a CLASS force—not in its role as defender of the class interests of the exploiters. It is this distorted outlook which makes it difficult for some to understand the role and tasks of a revolutionary army of the people in the period of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat—in such historic and world-shaking events as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, thus they become victims of the revisionist slander that participation of the Liberation Army in the Cultural Revolution means military dictatorship over the masses.

## **HISTORY AND THE REAL WORLD**

Armies do not exist in a vacuum. They have their being in a real world—in a society where there are fierce class struggles. Every army, without exception, takes part in the class battles on the side of the class whose interests it serves.

Cromwell's New Model Army overthrew the Feudal Aristocracy in the interests of the rising class of Capitalists in England. There was then no nonsense about "keeping the army out of politics". A raging political debate was one of the significant features of the New Model Army.

Contrary to the "non-political" claims of the Capitalist class the army, in the more than 3 centuries since the English revolution, has been used consistently to suppress the workers at home and abroad: in strikes and demonstrations at home, in the suppression of national liberation movements abroad.

In defiance of all the evidence of history there are still those who claim that the army is not a political force; that it should not be used in political and class struggles. That the bourgeoisie should propagate the myth of the army "keeping out of politics" and defending "democracy" and "national security" in the interests of "all the people" is perfectly understandable. But there are some in the ranks of the working class—even some who call themselves Communists—who sing the same song as the bourgeoisie and slander the heroic Peoples' Liberation Army of China for its support of the revolutionary left in the Proletarian Cul-

tural Revolution. At the head of those who hurl at China the slander of "military dictatorship" stands the Moscow revisionists and this prompts us to ask the question: "What kind of an army has the Soviet Union got that it cannot join the people in struggle; what class interests does the army of the Soviet Union serve?"

In the bourgeoisie-democratic state classes exist and sharp class battles between the opposing classes are a common occurrence. In these struggles the army invariably comes out on the side of the Capitalists and against the working people. Even the Moscow revisionists are hardly in a position to deny this truth—although it sometimes seems they would like to attempt the impossible in this regard.

In the proletarian-democratic state—the dictatorship of the proletariat—classes still exist, the question of who will win has not yet been finally settled and, consequently, there are still class battles that are sharper, and of a more profound character, than those which occurred BEFORE the seizure of power and the means of production from the control of the former ruling class.

The question then is not should the army become involved, but ON WHOSE SIDE WILL THE ARMY STAND; on the side of those who are taking the road back to Capitalism, or on the side of the revolutionary left who want to carry the revolution through to the end. It is this essential fact that the "capitalist roaders" are trying to bury in obscurity with their false cries of "military dictatorship". They too can read the works of Mao Tse-tung and grasp the

**CRITICIZING THE BOURGEOISIE.** A P.L.A. unit in east China denounces the anti-Party and anti-socialist elements in their wall and blackboard newspapers.



meaning and fundamental truth of the quotation: "Without a people's army the people have nothing".

It is not that the "capitalist roaders" really oppose the army becoming involved. What they do oppose most vigorously is the army taking the side of the revolutionary left in the Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

## **AN ARMY SEPERATE FROM THE PEOPLE?**

The true aim of these counter-revolutionary elements is to separate the revolutionary army from the people, undermine its revolutionary discipline, weaken its proletarian ideology and then use it AGAINST the workers, peasants and students, crush the rebel left and seize power for the "capitalist roaders". If anyone doubts the possibility of such a development let them look at how the Soviet army, which was born in the fire of the October Revolution and steeled in the great anti-fascist war, is now used to suppress strikes and demonstrations of the Soviet working people and to make fascist-like attacks against Chinese revolutionary students and intellectuals resident in the Soviet Union.

## UNITY OF THE ARMY AND THE PEOPLE

One thing should be made clear; the army has not been called in by any group or person to render them support in the cultural revolution. **THE ARMY IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN CHINA.**

The May Day demonstration in Peking presented us with undeniable evidence of how closely united the army is with the working people and the student Red Guards. To

Soldiers and commune members build a reservoir together.



gether these constitute an invincible force against the counter-revolutionary right a fact which those taking the capitalist road are well aware of. The reactionaries have made desperate efforts to split this unity by turning workers against Red Guards and separating the army from the people. They scored some early but limited successes in this respect but were soon routed and the firm unity of the army with working people and the Red Guards is now unshakable.

## AN ARMY TO PRODUCE AS WELL AS FIGHT

China's army was forged in the crucible of revolutionary struggle and, unlike some others that had a similar origin, this army has never pulled up its roots that are firmly anchored in the masses. There has never been at any time in history an army like this army in China; it is a working and educational as well as a fighting force. From its very beginning China's army was virtually self-sustaining and, in addition, assisted the workers and peasants in their labour—it has remained that kind of an army.

Our visit to an army division near Peking presented us with the opportunity to observe exactly how this army operates.

The Company which hosted us started its history as a revolutionary armed force with ten men and three rifles as its total strength. In the course of its struggles it grew from small to big, from weak to strong and served courageously in the anti-Japanese war, in the war against Chiang and the U.S., and in the Korean war.

This division moved on to land that had been barren because of a heavy alkali content in the soil. They now grow excellent rice and vegetables on the land that was once useless. They also raise pigs for their own use (about 800 at the time of our visit) and have their own rice cleaning plant. The division repairs its own arms and has even made some farm implements with the machines used for repair work. They also help the peasants on the Communes and the workers in the cities. There were army men helping with the subway now under construction in Peking. The division we visited is about 60 per cent self-sustaining as to food and in this respect it is approximately equal to other units.

The army in China not only learns military affairs it also carries on educational and political work, and engages in agricultural and industrial production. The workers peasants and students, learn about military affairs as well as following their main occupation. This dual role of the Chinese revolutionary army was pointed out by Mao Tse-tung in his 1943 article, "Get Organized":

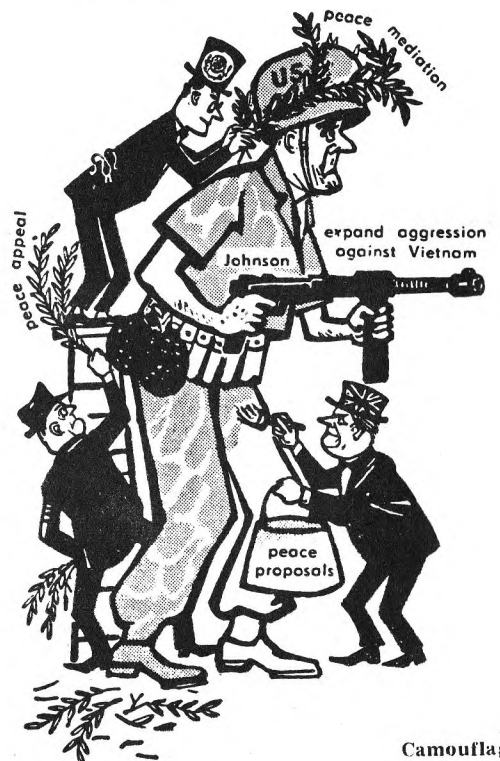
"We have an army for fighting as well as an army for labour. For fighting we have the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies; but even they do a dual job, warfare and production. With these two kinds of armies, and with the fighting armies skilled in these two tasks and in mass work, we can overcome our difficulties and defeat Japanese imperialism."

Everyone now knows just how successful these armies were in defeating Japanese imperialism and in the sharp battles that came after. It is the same type of army, built and operated on the same principles that is now united with the revolutionary left in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Clearly such an army not only has the right but the duty to stand shoulder to shoulder with the working masses and the students in the fight to defeat those who would follow the path of the Khrushchovites and take China down the capitalist road.

A passage which appears in Mao Tse-tung's work, "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party," written in 1929, could very well have been written only yesterday to cover the situation of today:

"The Chinese Red Army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution. Especially at present, the Red Army should certainly not confine itself to fighting; besides fighting to destroy the enemy's military strength, it should shoulder such important tasks as doing propaganda work among the masses, organizing the masses, arming them, helping them to establish revolutionary political power and setting up Party organizations. The Red Army fights not merely for the sake of fighting but in order to conduct propaganda among the masses, organize them, arm them, and help them to establish revolutionary political power. Without these objectives, fighting loses its meaning and the Red Army loses the reason for its existence."

The Chinese Army has not the slightest intention of losing its reason for being no matter how insistently the imperialists and revisionists may plead for it to do so. Let the dogs bark as loudly as they may, the caravan will still pass resolutely on its way.



Camouflage

# LEADERSHIP OF MINE MILL SELLS OUT

Why did the leadership of Mine Mill sell the workers out. This question can be easily answered if we take a real good look at the political nature of the people in control of Mine Mill. Some of the leadership openly say that they are Communists (Harvey Murphy for example) but are they really Communists? If we look at the Trade Union policy of the Communist Party of Canada (Revisionist) we can see what they're going to do in a given situation.

It states:

"Efforts to get a more effective and united trade union movement revolve around the demand for Canadian trade union autonomy and unity of all unions into the Canadian Labour Congress."

This theme of unity and autonomy put forward by the revisionists is ludicrous, as will be proven by the merger of Mine Mill with the Steelworkers here in Canada on July 1st, 1967.

Let's go back to the September 1966 issue of the MINE MILL HERALD, (Vol. 12, No. 120) and see what the leadership had to say then about a merger.

"Canadian workers, whether in our own or any other industry, do not need the officers of any union in the United States, whether it be Mine Mill or Steel, or anybody else, to tell them what they must do about their affairs in Canada. We stand for co-operation. We are opposed to domination."

"We in Mine Mill in Canada are absolutely determined to keep to the fore the needs of our membership based on the situation in Canada and not in any foreign country. What is done in Canada will be determined in its entirety by the membership of our union in Canada under the terms of our own Canadian constitution."

But seven short months later in the January-February 1967 issue of the MINE MILL HERALD, (Vol. 13, No. 124) under the heading of "Active Co-operation", they said,

"We recognize that rivalry between our two organizations in the non-ferrous metal and other related industries in Canada is inconsistent with our purpose, prevents unity of the employees within those industries and gives assistance to the employers within those industries. Our purpose is to create a climate conducive to exploratory discussion of possible unity between our unions."

Following this they have laid out the three point no raiding pact, as well as the ground work for a merger between the two unions. Out of the Edmonton conference in the middle of February comes another quote of "Labour Unity" (so-called).

"That this Leadership Conference recommend that the National Officers of our union continue discussions with the United Steelworkers of America and other unions in pursuit of labour unity, keeping in mind that the main concern of our members in Canada is maintaining Canadian autonomy and the rights of Canadian workers to run their own affairs. Finally, we propose that following such discussions that a convention of our union take place to discuss the officers report, arising from these discussions and to forward the matter to a referendum vote."

These last quotes from the leadership of Mine Mill have been a complete reversal of their position of September and before. They claim this is in the best interests of labour unity. To go even further, they have used the song and dance that the boss uses all the time, which is crying broke and that there is nothing left to do except to yield and merge with Steel. If these people could only remember a few years back they could see that it wasn't the first time they were broke. As far as the argument for wanting labour unity and autonomy goes, we can't and we never will see how Mine Mill workers could ever achieve autonomy in the Steelworkers union with a history of corrupt and double dealing leadership. Labour unity in Yankee controlled unions is exactly what the U.S. Imperialists want. They control the Canadian economy and therefore want a hold on Canadian

workers through their Labour Fakers in the Canadian trade union movement.

This policy of revisionists the world over, is part and parcel of outright collaboration with U.S. Imperialism. By leading the workers of Mine Mill into the Steelworkers and thereby into the C.L.C., this gives the U.S. Imperialists further control over the workers in Canada. For this little bit of boot-licking, you can bet that the Mine Mill leadership won't end up unemployed after the merger is made official.

Now the rank and file members in Mine Mill haven't even been given a chance to see if they want to merge or not. The workers will be given the chance on June 23, 1967, one week before the proposed date of the merger on July 1st, 1967. After the June 23rd conference a referendum vote will take place in all locals across Canada a few days before July 1st. Any opposition will not be given a chance to do any effective work before the first of July anyway. This is how revisionism works—very democratic, as they would say.

## MAKE UP OF STEEL

It is interesting to see what the leadership of Steel has prepared. Approval by the Steelworkers has already been authorized by a resolution passed by that union's International Convention and Executive Board. Detailed terms of the merger will be reported to the Canadian Policy Conference of the Steelworkers in Toronto on May 17-18. Notice the Steelworkers are ready to accept terms of a merger a little more than a month before Mine Mill workers ever get a chance to speak and a month and a half before July 1st when officially Mine Mill becomes non-existent. The above dates of the different conferences can be found in the PACIFIC TRIBUNE, the organ of the revisionist Communist Party of Canada.

Now let's look at the make-up of the Steelworkers union. Workers in Canada are supposed to have autonomy but as was said above any change in policy has to be passed by the International Convention and therefore the Canadian workers are under the thumb of the International. The only bit of autonomy Canadian workers have in Steel is their paper, the MINER VOICE is printed in Winnipeg, Manitoba, but that too is only superficial because again, policy is dictated from south of the border.

Workers in Hamilton, Ontario, recently wild-catted at the Stelco Steel Mill there. The strike was directed against the Steelworkers union leadership. The leadership failed to do anything about a back log of grievances the workers had and when the grievances piled too high the workers got fed up and wobbled the plant. For this action 36 rank and file leaders were suspended or discharged from the union and left by themselves. The same was true in a similar situation affecting the same Steelworkers union at Sudbury and Port Colborne in August of 1966. A sorry fate awaits workers of Canada in Mine Mill if they merge with Steel.

## U.E. HAS SAME LEADERSHIP

The United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America union also has the same leadership as does Mine Mill. When the leadership of Mine Mill released their press release in the middle of February in the above quote it talks about "other unions in pursuit of labour unity", they mean other unions like the U.E., the Fishermen etc., with revisionist control, to get this unity by going into other American unions. Wait and see what the future holds in store for these unions.

## CONCLUSIONS

Instead of leading the workers of Mine Mill into the formation of a truly Canadian union with rank and file control and forming a truly Canadian Trade Union Center with the Pulp and Paper Workers of Canada, the Canadian Ironworkers and the newly formed Canadian Electrical Workers Union, the leadership sells out to Yankee controlled unions. This dutiful collaboration with U.S. imperialism is performed by revisionists the world over. Yankee union Labour Fakers are running scared at the great onslaught of Canadian work-

ers rising to their feet and forming their own trade union movement. They've pulled out all the stops to try and hold back this surging tide and as can be seen by the struggles in B.C. and Ontario for Canadian trade unions they stop at nothing. Their revisionist allies, willing servants, who do the bidding when the strings are pulled and only accept in return, cushy life-time positions in the Yankee labour bureaucracy.

## THE PEOPLE VS. U.S. IMPERIALISM

Vietnam has shown the people of the world that only by armed struggle will they, the oppressed, be able to free themselves from the clutches of U.S. Imperialism. U.S. Imperialism is a successor to the policies of Hitler and Mussolini and is capable of stuping to mass extermination in its viscious exploitation of nations and people.

The people of the United States itself are beginning to see what has been created and what is being done in their name. By the thousands, they are beginning to reject the policies of the ruling class of the U.S. Mohammed Ali's refusal to become a mercenary and his principled statement of refusal will be an inspiration to the American people. Stokely Carmichael, leader of S.N.C.C. (Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee) has done an immense job in showing the tie-in between the oppression of the American black people and their use as cannon-fodder in Vietnam. Their slogans, "Hell no, I won't go", and "No Viet Cong ever called me nigger" are self-explanatory. The first slogan was used by Stokely Carmichael at the Vietnam protest rally of 400,000 people in New York on April 15th. From press reports of this rally, this slogan was chanted constantly by the demonstrators. On May 1st, Cleveland Sellers, another S.N.C.C. leader, refused induction into the U.S. armed forces. He stated that the ruling class was specifically and consistently inducting civil rights workers, and gave as an example of this the fact that the army doctors had ignored a document from his doctor saying that he had a defective heart.

The U.S. itself is in ferment over this unjust war and the effects that it is producing. Even relying on Bourgeois figures and without a Marxist analysis, Dr. P.A. Sorokin in *THE MINORITY OF ONE* (March 1967) says, "In lives and health, this war has so far cost this nation more than 6000 young Americans killed and more than 30,000 wounded." He further states, "From the standpoint of the nation's economy, the war has produced no profit. On the contrary, it has already cost the United States many billions and its cost continues to grow by leaps and bounds. At the present stage, it soaks up 20 to 30 billion dollars annually." Dr. Sorokin goes on to say, "The once exceptionally high American standard of living and economic affluence has already deteriorated significantly."

These problems—unemployment, inflation, lower living standards, are causing a growing disenchantment with the war and have forced the U.S. ruling class to come up with new tactics to try and convince the people to support it. This becomes readily apparent with the appearance of Gen. Westmoreland on the home front. Westmoreland was supposed to justify increased aggression to Congress and rally support from the people. Bringing Gen. Westmoreland home at a time when major changes were in motion in Vietnam shows how concerned the U.S. ruling class is. One can only come to the conclusion that the people don't trust the politicians any more and the ruling class desperately hopes that a "war hero" will be believed.

The defeat of the U.S. counter-offensive in the last six-months by the N.L.F. (National Liberation Front) has resulted in a large increase in casualties by the U.S. forces. The contradiction between the puppet troops and the U.S. aggressors has sharpened to the point where the puppet troops can no longer effectively oppress the people. U.S. troops have had to take over the "pacification" programme in South Vietnam.

But despite all obstacles and whatever strategy and tactics U.S. Imperialism may employ against the workers of Canada they can never defeat the determination of the Canadian workers to break the chains of U.S. domination and free their unions and their country.

CANADIAN UNIONS FOR CANADIAN WORKERS!  
Art Shaw

Gen. Van Tien Dung points out, "The year 1965 witnessed the introduction of 200,000 additional American officers and men but also the knocking down of 227,500 American and puppet troops. Further more, if the American Imperialists want to commit 400,000 troops in South Vietnam they will have to mobilize a much greater number of soldiers for replenishment and to this end, proceed to war mobilization. Only 20 to 25 percent of 700,000 United States and puppet troops were able to function at any time as mobile forces, either tactically or strategically." (A Bitter Dry Season for the Americans, Hanoi, 1966).

Imperialism as a world system occupies a position in contradiction to the aspirations of the people of the world. But as a world system it can only exist if it continues to expand, and unless it can it will go backwards and must inevitably be destroyed.

At this period of history the U.S. Imperialists have assumed the mantle as the major Imperialist power. They have arrived at the point of being stopped in their quest for world domination and they are doing everything in their power to reverse this position.



MAKING A CLEAN SWEEP

U.S. Imperialism can only expand, by wars of aggression against those countries that have liberated themselves from the system of exploitation. The wars of aggression and the wars of suppression of areas already under their control are

a desperate attempt to keep their empire from further diminishing. "Historically, all reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct a last desperate struggle against the revolutionary forces, and some revolutionaries are apt to be deluded for a time by this phenomenon of outward strength but inner weakness, failing to grasp the essential fact that the enemy is nearing extinction while they themselves are approaching victory." (Quotations from Mao Tse-tung, page 83)

The Vietnamese peoples' war is proof that an aroused and armed people can defeat the U.S. Imperialists. They are showing the only road open to those who wish to throw off imperialist oppression and they are exposing those who talk of Imperialists as reasonable men.

## POLITICAL CRISES IN THE MAKING

The rising struggles within Canadian bourgeois political parties at this time are a result of an awakening national consciousness, due to the domination of our country by the Yankees. Every one of the bourgeois parties has within it two opposing sides. One side consists of those who support U.S. domination: the bought-off people who are involved with the exploitation by the U.S. financial barons, and the people who control the Canadian Trade Union Movement for the U.S. Trade Union Misleaders.

The other side is growing in strength and represents those who wish to retain some of the control within Canada.

In the Liberal Party we have Walter Gordon opposing the sellout of our country by Pearson. In the Conservative Party we can see the battles between the supporters of the pro-Britain Diefenbaker wing and the pro-American Camp wing. The Conservatives split over this issue resulting in the emergence of the Social Credit Party, nationally and in the Province of British Columbia, where Premier Bennett and his lackeys are constantly advocating takeover by the Yankees. The New Democratic Party is also split on this issue, even though the Federal leadership generally is tied up completely within the framework of the U.S.-controlled Trade Union movement. In B.C. we have the pro-American Berger contesting the provincial leadership from Strachan, who is being forced to come out with support for pro-Can-

## NATURAL DEVELOPMENT

The struggle for Canadian Unions under democratic rank-and-file control is a natural outgrowth of the contradictions that exist within the old American (International) Unions. Contradictions such as: lack of democracy, control from south of the border, sweet heart deals between union officials and industry, suppression of all opposition etc., are only a few of the direct causes leading to the development of these Independent Canadian Unions.

On the other side of this struggle we can see the machinery of the established labour bureaucracy being put into action in a frantic attempt to curb this development. We see in B.C. the call for unity of the American unions in the forest industry and more recently in the form of a report issued by C.U.P.E. (Canadian Union of Public Employees) to the Canadian Labour Congress. In this report C.U.P.E. suggests a reorganization of the C.L.C. into 10 Canadian unions.

Structural changes and changes from the top will not alter the essence of this struggle and will, if anything, cause only some temporary confusion.

Canadian unions will grow more rapidly in the near future, just as the struggle to free the country completely

We are witnessing the end of the era of Imperialism and the beginning of a world that will be free from exploitation.

"Riding roughshod everywhere, U.S. Imperialism has made itself the enemy of the people of the world and has increasingly isolated itself. Those who refuse to be enslaved will never be cowed by the atom bombs and the hydrogen bombs in the hands of the U.S. Imperialists. The raging tide of the peoples of the world against the U.S. aggressors is irresistible. Their struggle against U.S. Imperialism and its lackeys will assuredly win still greater victories." (Quotations from Mao Tse-tung, page 78.)

Dave Forsyth

dian positions. The Communist Party (revisionist) has almost collapsed because of leadership support for U.S. unions and all that such a positions entails.

We can soon expect these struggles to sharpen as the domination and oppression of Canada by the U.S. Imperialists causes dislocation and economic subservience to the U.S. economy, which can only result in more unemployment and lower living standards.

That these struggles are taking place is not an isolated or new phenomenon. For the Imperialists to make super profits it is necessary that the economies of colonies be used as suppliers of raw materials, as well as providing a market for finished products. The fantastic number of bankruptcies which have taken place among small business in the last few years, the buying up and forcing out of small independent companies by the U.S. monopolies, has left a vacuum. The small capitalists who have been further dislocated want to share in the lucrative exploitation of the Canadian people and their country. Unable to compete with the huge financial resources of the U.S. monopolies, they are forced to align themselves with the mass of the Canadian people in the struggle to free our country from U.S. domination.

D. Forsyth

from U.S. domination will increase in the near future. This is a progressive development and will certainly gain the support of the Canadian working class.

We can also expect in line with this increased resistance by the American Unions and their agents in Canada. Their plans, and formulas, will become more skillful and cunning but this struggle, led by the rank-and-file at the local level will be very difficult to corrupt.

In order for this development to serge forward a new set of tactics must be employed and a new bold leadership must be brought to the fore. Employer's, American Union bureaucrat's and Government Labour Board's resistance must be combated with strikes, slow downs, etc., for playing their game and employing their tactics will serve to disillusion the membership and retard the developments.

There is only one way to build a truly democratic Canadian Trade Union Movement under rank-and-file control and that is on the ashes of the old American ("International") Trade Unions.

CANADIAN UNIONS FOR CANADIAN WORKERS!  
Gene Craven

# SUPPORT THE N.L.F.

For the first time in Toronto, the U.S. flag has been burned and disgraced in protest against the American imperialists' war on the Vietnamese people! On April 15, four hundred people helped members of the Progressive Workers Movement tear one flag to shreds and burn another. And the chant to end that demonstration was "Up the N.F.L."

In a rally at the U.S. Consulate called by the Revisionist C.P. of Canada, P.W.M. brought the flag of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. Organizers objected to doing this: it would "endanger the United Front"! Five minutes later these same people accepted fascist counter-demonstrators carrying the American flag INTO THEIR OWN RANKS, and tried to put down opposition to the fascists, in league with the cops.

No group could so clearly typify the imperialist mentality as these reactionaries, advocates of racial genocide and counter-revolution. No flag so clearly symbolizes colonialism and the (world-wide) class enemy as the Yankee one. Yet these do not endanger the revisionists' "United Front" (of traitors and imperialists), while the N.L.F., and its supporters here, clearly do.

Later the N.L.F. banner was carried in front of the television cameras as P.W.M. began giving out shreds of the U.S. flag. One man tore it apart with his teeth. Others used it for bandanas and handkerchiefs. A smaller flag was burned with matches borrowed from the counter-demonstrators. "We do this in the name of the victims and opponents of U.S. imperialism everywhere." One man, a teacher, told reporters "I am here as an individual and as a teacher. (I do this) because I have nothing else American in my hands right now."

Revisionist signs and speeches—"Stop the War", "Stop the Bombing (of North Vietnam)", and "Negotiate NOW" (!)—were replaced at the end by "Up the N.L.F.!"

All honest and genuine revolutionaries give unconditional support to the people's representatives in Vietnam, focal point of a world-wide struggle between revolution and counter-revolution. For as long as the N.L.F., together with their Vietnamese brothers in the north continue to fight the people's war, they will continue to win, until the Americans are finally driven out of Vietnam. The call for negotiations, through stopping the bombing of the north, can only mislead; there is nothing to negotiate except the fate of the Vietnamese people.

(Also, one elderly worker told a young champion of U Thant and the U.N.—"U Thant is a Bell-hop!" In line with the "negotiations" gambit, he can only serve U.S. interests in Vietnam. The P.W.M. leaflet sums it up: "The U.N. which invaded Korea and the Congo is on twenty-four hour call for Lyndon Johnson.")



A detachment of the South Vietnam Liberation Army, which grows stronger in each battle of their struggle to resist U.S. aggression and save the country.

Genuine revolutionaries also make their best efforts at home. Most "peace" groups in Toronto played down the demonstration here in to tailgate massive mobilizations in New York and San Francisco. In spite of this, in spite of rain and hordes of cops and counter-demonstrators, in spite of the neutralist position of the "organizers", four hundred people stayed out on April 15.

Instead of a neutralist, demoralizing rehash of old pacifist slogans, the P.W.M. introduced a more militant and more effective, line. The people who bore that National Liberation flag, brought the Yank flag to be burnt and viciously torn apart, made that spirit the demonstration. Afterwards, distribution of the P.W.M. leaflet, "U.S. Get Out of Vietnam Now!" and of the Progressive Worker", went much more quickly than at the first. Young radicals also bought several copies of "Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung".

We say support the just war of the Vietnamese people. HERE! In Canada! Organize to end the American Empire in Vietnam, in Canada, EVERYWHERE!

Away with all pests!  
Up the N.L.F.!  
U.S. Get Out of Vietnam Now!

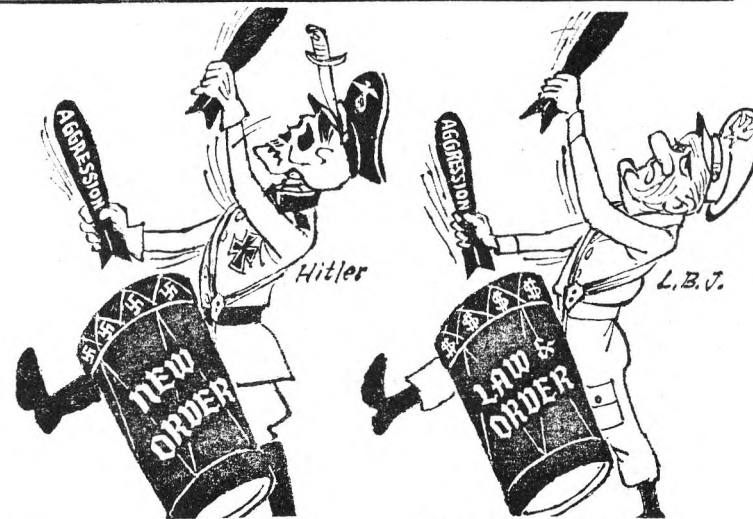
# THE NINETEEN

Nineteen members of the Steelworkers Union in Hamilton have been denied all union privileges for a period of one year. The suspensions were meted out on the grounds that the nineteen were guilty of slandering the International Union by advocating an autonomous Canadian local affiliated to the CLC rather than being controlled by the International.

The culmination of their activities came after a recent convention in Atlantic City which denied a Canadian proposal for a mandatory strike fund and also rejected an appeal for a Canadian strike fund.

It is most ironic to realize that this same Steelworkers' Union is one of the largest supporters of the NDP, a party which supposedly advocates larger measures of independence from the U.S.

Interestingly, most of the nineteen suspended held elected positions and thus will be barred from the local's forthcoming elections in June.



In His Footsteps

Cartoon by Lan Chien-an

# LEARNING THROUGH PRACTICE

Who are our friends and who are our enemies? This is a question of first importance to the working people. The Quebec workers at Expo 67 in Montreal recently were treated to a most important practical lesson on the principles of modern revisionism.

More than once workers on the Expo grounds have threatened to down their tools and strike on the inadequate facilities and poor conditions during the building of this so-called exhibition of man's progress. However, the latest protests demand further comment. It seems that all pavilions on the Expo grounds were built by militant union men, men who have fought for and won union recognition which carries with it better conditions and better wages; that is all pavilions were unionized except one. The workers therefore demanded union conditions and pay on this pavilion or they would walk out. Accordingly a meeting between the workers and "management" was called. The bosses appealed to the workers on grounds of "patriotism" etc. not to strike the project, adding that the country in question had a lot of influence and if they pulled out many countries, would leave with them and thus Expo 67 (a study of man's progress) would be ruined. Unfortunately the workers believed this line and they felt they wouldn't be responsible for ruining the show and so the strike was off.

What is the reason for this concern over a strike that didn't take place? Non other than the fact that the country in question was the Soviet Union! This may shock some and for others it will only sound reasonable (in view of the Soviet Union's practice in other parts of the globe) but for thousands of Quebec working people a very practical lesson on revisionist politics has been learned. Marxist-Leninists have been commenting on the International scabbing of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique for some time, now the Quebec people have been treated to its practical application. We know the lessons have been drawn and that the Soviet revisionist ruling clique by their practice have just placed another debt to be paid to the revolutionary people on a

long list of crimes. The Soviet working people will not long stand for the policies of these Judas' in the international working class movement.



OF COURSE I UNDERSTAND — WE HAVE THE SAME PROBLEM WITH OUR WORKERS BACK HOME.

## EDITOR'S NOTE:

From President R. Kent Rowley's report to the convention of the Canadian Textile Council.

## INDEPENDENCE OF CANADA

No one who follows events in our national life today can fail to realize that the one, single, dominant issue is the continued existence of Canada as an independent nation.

The extent of United States business control of the most important segments of our economy has been detailed so often that it is not necessary to repeat it here. Suffice it to say that no nation can retain its independence if it allows all the basic sections of its economy to be owned and controlled from outside the country.

At last it appears to have dawned upon even some of our most conservative politicians that the danger point has been reached if not, indeed, passed. The Government says it will study the matter.

To this simple Canadian, it appears that the time for study is over. The time for action has come.

Canada, in its Centennial Year, must take concrete measures to restore native control of our economic fabric, of our society.

And I am one who holds that an essential feature of our independence as a nation must be an independent trade union movement.

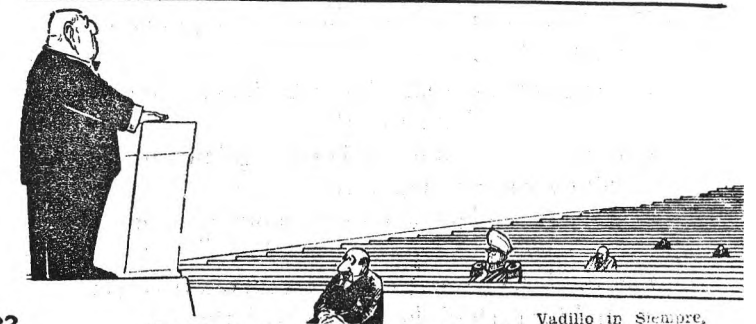
All our history has shown that the Business and Commercial interests cannot be trusted to defend our national independence. Private ownership of industry will follow the dollar wherever it leads, even to loss of our sovereignty.

Only the existence of a strong, united, independent Canadian trade union movement can supply the political muscle needed to defend our nation.

I propose that we appeal to labour across the land to join in building a united and completely independent Canadian trade union movement, totally free of any foreign domination.

I firmly believe that Canada will live and grow into one of the great nations of the world.

In 1967, let us do our part by building Canadian Labour.



Vadillo in Siempre, "Dear Latin American friends..."

# MAY DAY



## HYMN OF HATE

By HARRY McCLINTOCK

For the sailors that drown when your ill found  
ships go crashing on the shore,  
For the mangled men of your railroads, ten thousand  
a year or more,  
For the roasted men in your steel mills, and the  
starving men on your roads,  
For the miners buried by hundreds when the fire  
damp explodes,  
For our brothers maimed and slaughtered for your  
profits every day,  
While your priests chant the chorus—"God giveth  
—and God hath taken away."  
For a thousand times that you drove back when  
we struck for a living wage,  
For the dungeons and jails our men have filled  
because of your devilish rage.  
For Homestead and for Chicago, Coeur D'Alene  
and Telluride,  
For your bloody shambles at Ludlow, where the  
women and babies died,  
For our heroes you hanged on the gallows high to  
fill your slaves with awe,  
While your Judges stood in a sable row and  
croaked, "Thus saith the law."  
For all of the wrongs we have suffered from you,  
and for each of the wrongs we hate,

With a hate that is black as the deepest pit, that is  
steadfast and sure as fate.  
We hate you with hand, and heart, and head, and  
body, and mind, and brain.  
We hate at the forge, in the mine and mill, in the  
field of golden grain.  
We curse your name in the market place as the  
workman talks with his mate,  
And when you dine in your gay cafe the waiter  
spits on your plate.  
We hate you! Damn you! Hate you! We hate your  
rotten breed.  
We hate your slave religion with submission for its  
creed.  
We hate your judges. We hate your courts.  
We hate that living lie,  
That you call "Justice" and we hate with a hate  
that shall never die.  
We shall keep our hate and cherish our hate and  
our hate shall ever grow.  
We shall spread our hate and scatter our hate 'till  
all of the workers know.  
And The Day shall come with a red, red dawn;  
and you in your gilded halls,  
Shall taste the wrath and the vengeance of the  
men in overalls.  
The riches you reaped in your selfish pride we  
shall snatch with our naked hands,  
And the house ye reared to protect you shall fall  
like a castle of sand.  
For ours are the hands that govern in factory,  
mine and mill,  
And we need only to fold our arms, and the whole  
wide world stands still!  
*So go ye and study the beehive, and do not quite  
forget,*  
That we are the *workers* of the world and we have  
not spoken—yet.

