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THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

"The supersession of the bourgeois state by the proletarian state is impossible without a violent revolution."

— STATE AND REVOLUTION

Progressive Worker

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EDITOR: JACK SCOTT
CIRCULATION: DAVE FORSYTH

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Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung

If you are a bourgeois writer or artist, you will eulogize not the proletariat but the bourgeoisie, and if you are a proletarian writer or artist, you will eulogize not the bourgeoisie but the proletariat and working people: it must be one or the other.

— Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art

Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung

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THE HOUSING CRISIS

Canada has suddenly aroused herself to the realization that we are in the midst of a housing crisis. In Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver the problem is particularly acute. Social democrats join in expressions of grave concern over the shortage of dwelling places to house the working class and they try to bring down the Liberal Government with a fine display of righteous indignation over the usurious interest rate of 8.25 per cent. Most of the commenters, including so-called "labour spokesmen", deal with the problem as though it were unprecedented; as though it was something separate from the general operation of the capitalist system.

The "experts" who analyze the problem and propose all manner of panaceas for its solution think they have found something quite new but they are mistaken, there has been a housing crisis for as long as there has been a system of oppression and exploitation and it will not be relieved by preaching moral sermons to the bourgeoisie about the wickedness of usurious interest rates. Our "experts," especially the "radicals" among them, could save themselves a great deal of trouble and perhaps a certain amount of embarrassment if they would read what Engels had to say about the housing question in a pamphlet he wrote in 1872. The following passage might have been specially written to describe our situation today:

"The so-called housing shortage, which plays such a great role in the press nowadays, does not consist in the fact that the working class lives in bad, overcrowded and unhealthy dwellings. This shortage is not something peculiar to the present; it is not even one of the sufferings to the modern proletariat in contradistinction to all earlier oppressed classes. On the contrary, all oppressed classes in all periods suffered rather uniformly from it. In order to put an end to this housing shortage there is only one means: to abolish altogether the exploitation and oppression of the working class by the ruling class. What is meant today by the housing shortage is the peculiar intensification of the bad housing conditions of the workers as a result of the sudden rush of population to the big cities; a colossal increase in rents, still greater congestion in the individual houses, and, for some, the impossibility of finding a place to live at all. And this housing shortage gets talked of so much only because it is not confined to the working class but has affected the petty bourgeoisie as well."

The conditions that lead to this situation are quite predictable. They are part of the industrial development and expansion under capitalism. Similar conditions have accompanied every large-scale expansion of capitalist industry and was just as much a part of the industrial revolution in the 1800's as it is in Canada today. This fact too was pointed out by Engels in 1872:

"The period in which a country with an old culture makes such a transition from manufacture and small-scale production to large-scale industry, a transition which is, moreover, accelerated by such favourable circumstances, is at the same time predominantly a period of 'housing shortage'. On the one hand, masses of rural workers are suddenly drawn into the big towns, which develop into industrial centres; on the other hand, the building arrangement of these old towns does not any longer conform to the conditions of the new large-scale industry and the corresponding traffic; streets are widened and new ones cut through and railways run right across. At the very time when workers are streaming into the towns in masses, workers dwellings are pulled down on a large scale."

Is this not the story of Canada's 'housing crisis'? In a relatively short period of time the proportion of urban as to rural population is reversed. Before the great industrial expansion that began during the first world war our rural population was 70 per cent of the total. Now it is our urban population that is 70 per cent of the total, and still growing. In order to make room in the large urban centres for the commercial and industrial buildings necessary to the expansion, many dwelling places of the working people were pulled

down and the population forced to the outskirts of the cities. Land values climb steadily in the town centre and workers houses built on them simply depress that value. Here is what Engels wrote about these conditions:

"... The expansion of the big modern cities gives the land in certain sections... particularly in those which are centrally situated, an artificial and often enormously increasing value; the buildings erected in these areas depress this value... They are pulled down and replaced by others... in their stead shops warehouses and public buildings are erected... The result is that the workers are forced out of the centre of the towns towards the outskirts; that workers dwellings, and small dwellings in general, become rare and expensive and often altogether unobtainable, for under these circumstances the building industry, which is offered a much better field for speculation by more expensive dwelling houses, builds workers dwellings only by way of exception.

"This housing shortage, therefore, certainly hits the worker harder than it hits any more prosperous class, but it is just as little an evil which burdens the working class exclusively as is the cheating of the shopkeeper, and, as far as the working class is concerned, when this evil reaches a certain level and attains a certain permanency, it must similarly find a certain economic adjustment."

The 'housing crisis' is no more an exclusively working-class problem today than it was in Engels day. The petty-bourgeois "socialists", however, claim it is a true and exclusively working class problem and suggest all kinds of palliatives for its solution. It is the essence of this petty bourgeois socialism to want to maintain the fundamental basis of all the evils of capitalist society and at the same time to be torn with the contradiction of wanting to abolish the evils themselves. Their desire is a redress of social grievances in order to secure the continued existence of bourgeois society; they want the capitalist class without a working class and dare not explain the housing shortage as arising from existing conditions of capitalist society. The petty-bourgeois socialist therefore, has no other way of explaining the 'housing crisis' but by moralizing that it is the result of the wickedness of man. Thus the "Pacific Tribune" indignantly proclaims:

"... the government's housing policies put profits for the rich before the housing needs of the many."

Such exhortations to the capitalists are nothing more than sermons on morality and will have no effect on them and their drive for profits. Capital does not want to abolish the housing shortage even if it could. Expenditure on workers' housing is a necessary part of the total investment of capital and a very profitable one—the capitalists wish to maintain the profitability.

There remain only two other expedients: self-help on the part of the workers, and state intervention and assistance.

Self-help in the form of co-operative housing has been tried for more than a century and proved an almost total failure. The capitalists having control of the land and materials put them to use in the way that will result in greatest profit to them and the self-help groups are unable to compete financially to any extent that will result in appreciable improvement in the situation.

State assistance is the method officially approved by the petty-bourgeois socialists who dominate the Communist Party of Canada. The "Pacific Tribune", official organ of the Party in the west, indignantly accuses the government of adopting measures (high interest rates on mortgages, for example) that make it impossible for workers to own homes. The "Pacific Tribune" proclaims:

"... almost the entire working class will be unable to afford a home under the National Housing Act".

The Communist Party puts forward the demand that the government start a "crash housing program now" in order to supply the workers with a home of their own, and attempt to make this petty-bourgeois "socialist" demand look like a "revolutionary demand in the government". If

this were to be considered the standard of revolutionary action then the Tory politicians will have to be numbered in the ranks of revolutionaries since they make substantially the same demand on the party in power.

There is nothing new in this particular demand nor can it be considered particularly progressive and certainly not revolutionary. Ever since the industrial revolution destroyed individual cottage industry and forced the workers into the large urban centers there have always been those who clamoured that every worker should have a cottage of his own and a piece of land. The idea behind this proposal is to give the worker a "stake" in capitalist society in order to have him believe his interests lie in the direction of maintaining the system of capitalist exploitation. It is a classic demand of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois "socialism" and is fundamentally reactionary. It is also impossible of attainment.

At the peak of individual home-ownership in Canada no more than 60 percent of urban families succeeded in owning a home. and then, in many cases, (especially with workers) only as a result of going deeply into debt. Actually very few workers ever succeeded in really owning a home and the "Pacific Tribune" article is misleading in this respect when it conveys the impression that there is any substantial change in this regard. As a result of conditions arising from industrial expansion land values have risen sharply narrowing still the possibilities of individual home-ownership. This type of property owning has now dropped to well below 50 percent of urban families now possessing homes, and the trend is still further downward. Now the middle class and upper sections of the working class are adversely affected which accounts for the loud outcries of anguish going up from the rank of the petty-bourgeois "socialists".

It is the excited outcries of this section that the "Pacific Tribune" joins when they demand a "crash housing program" and that housing be made a public utility. This places the Communist Party spokesmen in the ranks of

those who look upon the "housing question" as separate from the general operation of the capitalist system and the "housing situation" due to the iniquitous and usurious nature of man.

Demanding that the government do what the individual capitalist cannot or will not do shows a colossal ignorance of the class nature of the state. It is exactly as Engels stated in 1872:

"The state is nothing but the organized collective power of the possessing classes, the landowners and the capitalists... What the individual capitalists do not want, their state also does not want. If therefore the individual capitalists deplore the housing shortage, but can hardly be persuaded even superficially to palliate its most terrifying consequences, the collective capitalist, the state, will not do much more. At most it will see to it that the measure of superficial palliation which has become customary is carried into execution everywhere uniformly"

It is necessary to house workers so they will be available and fit for work. The capitalist will provide such housing to the minimum extent required of them and in ways most profitable to them, beyond this they will not go. The bourgeoisie will solve the problem the only way they know and in such a manner that the solution poses the problem anew. The most scandalous slums are made to disappear to the accompaniment of lavish self-glorification by the bourgeoisie on account of their tremendous success in this regard, but they appear again at once somewhere else, and often in the immediate neighbourhood. Capitalism has no other solution for the 'housing crisis' and never will have any other solution regardless of the outraged cries from the petty-bourgeois "socialist".

Let the middle class become excited over their housing needs, the workers should grasp firmly the idea that, for them, there is no adequate solution to the 'housing crisis' short of putting an end to the system of capitalist exploitation that is responsible for this and all other "evils".

FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN CANADA

Figures released recently by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics show the deficit in the Canadian balance of international payments in 1965 to have reached their highest peak since 1960. The year 1965 was one of six when the deficit exceeded \$1,000 million. The entire deficit is attributable to the imbalance between Canada and the U.S.

In 22 of the 39 years between 1926 and 1965 there was a deficit in the Canadian Balance of International payments, and for all but two of those years there was a deficit with the U.S. Only a favourable balance with countries other than the United States saved us from a deficit in 15 additional years and an even more serious deficit in all others. In 1965, for example, Canada showed an over-all deficit of \$1,083 million but the deficit with the United States was more than \$800 million GREATER amounting to \$1,912 million. A favourable balance of \$510 million with the United Kingdom and \$319 million with other countries redressed the imbalance with the United States to the amount of \$819 million.

Current developments tend to indicate a decline in areas where we showed a favourable balance and a consequent worsening of the situation. Trade policies of the Wilson Government in Britain will probably result in a sharp decline in British purchases from North America and it is to be expected there will be a drop in shipments of wheat to China, the U.S.S.R. and other countries. We can scarcely hope to see any improvement in the balance of payments with the United States. On the contrary, the increasing burden of payments to American investors in the form of dividends and interest, the sharply-rising prices of goods purchased by Canada in the United States, the operation of such agreements as the Auto Pact and expenditures for armed forces equipment, are sure to cause a deterioration in the situation.

Our entire problem of imbalance of payments stems directly from the fact that our economy is completely dominated by U.S. investment capital. Two things result from this economic domination: A heavy burden of payments in dividends and interest to American investors, and: Our position of producer of cheap raw materials to feed U.S. industry and purchaser of expensive finished United States manufactured products.

In 1965 Canada paid the United States a total of \$6,953 million for merchandise and dividends and interests and received from the United States \$5,197 million for the same two items leaving a deficit of \$1,756 million. Of the total Canadian exports amounting to \$8,745 million in 1965, \$5,122 million was accounted for by exports of forest products, metals and minerals, and chemicals and fertilizers and it is safe to say that the bulk of the \$4,993 million in exports of merchandise to the U.S. consisted mainly of these items.

The control of Canadian industry rests firmly in the hands of the United States monopolies and so long as that situation prevails we will remain a producer of cheap raw materials and purchaser of expensive manufactured items from the U.S. In the light of this situation we must view with alarm the figures on foreign investment in Canada recently released by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. These figures show a continuing and accelerating deterioration of conditions as they relate to the rapid increase of U.S. investment and consequent control of Canadian enterprises.

In the year 1900 total foreign investment in Canada amounted to \$1,232 million, of which a relatively modest \$168 million accounted for U.S. investment. Up to that time the Canadian economy was dominated by British investments which accounted for more than 85 per cent of all foreign investment and amounted to \$1,050 million.

By the end of the first world war foreign investment in Canada had increased almost four-fold over the 1900 figure amounting to \$1,536 million in 1918 of which just under 50 per cent (\$2,729 million) was British. U.S. investment in the same period increased 10 times to Britain's 2 and a half times and accounted for more than one third the total at \$1,630 million. The trend toward U.S. domination was already apparent.

By 1962 U.S. investments had surpassed Britain absolutely as well as percentage-wise. More than half the total foreign investment in Canada amounting to \$6,003 million was now in American hands. British investments in that year totalled \$2,637 million, a decline of almost \$100 million from the 1918 figure. From this time on the United States increased its dominant hold on the Canadian economy. By the end of 1964 foreign investment in Canada amounted to \$27,354 million with U.S. investment accounting for an astronomical \$21,443 million—more than 75 per cent of all foreign investment. Since 1964 there has been a continuing inflow of capital from the U.S. and a re-investment of profits in expansion of existing industries or in the establishment of new enterprises and U.S. investments must now be near the \$30,000 million mark. One can read regularly of more Canadian enterprises being taken over by United States investors. Profits of Canadian enterprises have also been used to invest in other countries and even in the United States itself.

American investment in Canada flows toward the largest and most highly concentrated manufacturing establishments. The major portion of this investment is centered in 1,464 foreign-controlled Canadian manufacturing establishments comprising 4 and a half per cent of the approximately 32,000 total in Canada. This 4 and a half per cent accounts for 29.4 per cent of the employment provided, 34 and a half per cent of all wages and salaries paid and 40.4 per cent of all factory shipments made by manufacturing establishments. In Ontario 48 per cent and in British Columbia 27 per cent of all shipments were from foreign-controlled plants.

Of these large, foreign-controlled, manufacturing establishments 1,104 were controlled directly from the United States—3.4 per cent of the total. These U.S. controlled concerns accounted for 33 per cent of all factory shipments in 1961 with a total value of \$7,896 million an increase of just over 50 per cent on the 1953 shipments with a value of \$5,420 million.

Plant investment per employee in these U.S. controlled concerns was \$18,600 compared to an average of \$9,700 per employee for all manufacturing establishments. U.S. controlled enterprises had an average of 285 employees per establishment as against a 39 average for the entire manufacturing industry. Shipments per employee in the U.S. owned plants had a value of \$27,758 compared to an industry-wide average of \$19,165.

There is relatively little foreign capital in the industries characterized by large numbers of small and less profitable establishments that go to make up a significant part of industrial operations in Canada. Ten such industries—sawmills, bakeries, butter and cheese plants, pasteurizing plants, feed manufacturers clothing factories, printing and publishing, book binding, and household furniture—account for 40 per cent of the total number of manufacturing establishments, and it is in this area that Canadian-owned capital is mainly concentrated.

CANADIAN DIRECT INVESTMENT ABROAD

The question of Canadian direct investment abroad takes on added importance in view of the attempts in some quarters (notably the Trotskyist L.S.A.) to describe Canada as an imperialist country requiring the working class to concentrate on a struggle against Canadian imperialism and cooling off the fight against U.S. imperialism. The D.B.S. figures provide us with the information necessary to arrive at a conclusion on the extent of this form of investment and if it really constitutes an extensive or important imperialist venture on the part of Canadian capitalists.

By the end of 1964 Canadian direct investment abroad amounted to \$3,356 million—a sum which falls far short of foreign investment in Canada. Where the bulk of these investments are placed and who actually controls them are important problems requiring examination.

\$2,025 million of this investment (over 60 per cent of the total) is in the United States and can hardly be looked upon as an imperialist investment in the real sense of the term as such an investment could have little, if any effect on the

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U.S. economy. Investments in the United Kingdom, Europe and Australasia amount to \$789 million. This makes for a total investment of \$2,814 million in highly developed capitalist and imperialist nations, almost 85 per cent of all Canadian investment abroad. Only \$542 million of Canadian investments were placed in Latin America, in British, French and Dutch possessions in the Americas, in Africa and in Asia. 13 enterprises control 70 per cent of Canadian investment abroad.

Of equal importance is the question of who controls Canadian foreign investments. United States-controlled Canadian enterprises held \$1,307 million which was 39 per cent of the total. An additional 4 per cent was held by other foreign-controlled Canadian enterprises—a total of 43 per cent of all Canadian investment abroad in the hands of foreign-controlled enterprises in Canada. An idea of the trend toward increased foreign control of Canadian investment abroad can be seen from the fact that 56 per cent of increased investment during the decade from 1954 to 1964 was accounted for by Canadian enterprises under foreign control. It would appear from this that Canada's role as a foreign investor is mainly limited to that of staging point for foreign capital investment in other lands.

United States control is absolute in a number of areas vital to Canadian economy, thus putting the U.S. monopolies

M.T.C. STRIKE

Although the final outcome of the month-old MTC strike in Montreal cannot yet be known, two characteristics of the strike are evident—the good union solidarity and increasing militancy. Canadian workers are becoming more and more fed up with the lies of the politicians and the bosses as they struggle to make a living in the squeeze of rising prices and inadequate wages.

Montreal is an extremely expensive place to live, and never more so than at present. Expo has pushed rents and food prices very high within the city, and needless to say, wages have not followed. The striking bus and subway workers receive only \$2.77 an hour, and their demand for \$3.50 has been termed "ridiculous" by city officials.

The strike began on September 21, when 6,000 men from 5 unions, represented by the CNTU, walked off their jobs. The press reaction ranged from the standard anti-labour attacks ("rising wages are the cause of our economic difficulties") to charges of "treason" because of the strike's interference with Expo.

On Thursday, October 12, acting Quebec Premier, Paul Dozois, who is filling in while Premier Daniel Johnson is vacationing in Hawaii, obtained the familiar court injunction ordering the strikers back to work. For a few hours Friday night 35 buses and one subway line operated, but the unions threw heavy picket lines around the garages and hurled eggs, tomatoes, rocks and insults at the handful of scabs who crossed the lines to obey the injunction. The newspapers expressed hope that most of the buses would be running by the following day, and hundreds of off-duty policemen were called in to protect the scabs. On Saturday morning, however, out of the 6,000 men ordered back to work, only 6 bus drivers and 40 subway drivers showed up. No buses or subways moved.

Later Saturday there was a mass march of the strikers to City Hall, and Mr. Justice Francois Chevalier, a Hull Superior Court Judge who had tried to "settle" the dispute, resigned.

While the strikers continued to hold out on their strike pay of \$20.00 a week for married men and \$15.00 for bachelors, Premier Daniel Johnson was contemplating a return from Hawaii in order to call a full emergency session of the Legislature to pass a law forcing the strikers back to work. The role of bourgeois governments as consistent enemies of the working class has been well exposed under Daniel Johnson, after his handling of last year's teachers' strike in

in a strategic position to determine the direction of Canadian economic development. The extent of foreign control in some decisive sections of the Canadian economy as reported in the D.B.S. survey as follows: Rubber 97 per cent; Pulp and Paper 47 per cent; Agricultural machinery 50 per cent; Automobiles and parts 97 per cent; Transportation equipment 78 per cent; Electrical apparatus 77 per cent; Chemical 78 per cent; Petroleum and natural gas 74 per cent; Smelting and refining of non-ferrous ores 51 per cent; other mining 62 per cent.

The evidence seems clear, Canada, far from being an imperialist country in her own right, is economically dominated by foreign monopolies—chiefly by U.S. monopolies. Through control of the economy U.S. imperialism dominates the whole political, economic and cultural life of the nation, the government of Canada is reduced to the role of administrator and protector of American property and, consequently, are no better than stooges for the U.S. imperialists in all activities both at home and abroad.

Most of our current problems are traceable to this fact of U.S. domination of our affairs and no improvement will take place in our position until that domination is broken. It follows therefore that leading people up a "blind alley" of struggle against non-existent Canadian imperialism only impedes the real struggle against U.S. imperialism and serves the interests of the U.S. ruling class.

Quebec and his current fight against the striking MTC drivers and the province's radiologists.

Expo Express employees, who have a separate contract forbidding strikes for the duration of the fair which closes October 29, have threatened to close the Express down in sympathy with the MTC workers.

So far, the only proposal to meet the workers' requests has come from Lucien Saulnier, chairman of Montreal's Executive Committee. He has suggested an increase in Montreal's bus fares, already the highest in Canada at 30 cents each or 4 for a dollar. In other words, the increase in the driver's salaries is to be paid for not by the city or the company, but by other workers. Another little weight will be added to the financial burden being carried by the workers. It's a sure bet that Lucien Saulnier, Paul Dozois, Daniel Johnson and the rest of the politicians and their bosses never ride the bus.

But even they may have a higher price to pay than they like. The morale of the strikers remains high despite all the hardships facing them. On Monday, October 16, a mass meeting of 4,500 strikers roared approval of the union's decision to ignore the back-to-work injunction and to continue the strike until demands are met, regardless of any anti-strike legislation passed by the provincial government. They are determined to call the bluff of Johnson's government, and the outcome may be a significant step in the modern labour struggle.

Nancy Corbett

EDITOR'S NOTE:

Since the writing of this article the Quebec government has passed legislation to force the workers back on the job, and the press has reported that the workers have complied.

This battle has certainly been a valuable lesson to the workers of the true class nature of society.

Lessons learned through struggle are not soon forgotten. In the future struggles of the Quebec working class we are confident they will use these lessons to obtain their liberation from capitalist tyranny.

GOLDBERG AND THE UN

Never before in history has there been a war that was the target of so much consistent and widespread opposition as is the case in the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam. On every continent, in every land including the United States itself, mass movements of protest against aggression, and in support of the people of Vietnam, are drawing into anti-imperialist, anti-war activities an unprecedented number of people. Not a day passes without voices being raised in support of the Vietnamese people and in condemnation of American imperialism. British Trade unionists, at their recent National Convention voted overwhelmingly for the rejection of the Wilson Government's policy of support for U.S. aggression, and they did so in spite of the action of one bureaucrat who cast his union's large bloc of votes in favour of the administration, an act which was in open defiance of the decision of his constituents who instructed him to vote against.

In an attempt to disarm the people and "cool off" opposition the U.S. militarists talk loudly of peace, but in practice step up their aggression. While they were speaking of peace the aggressors were deploying a half-million troops in Vietnam—and the figure is mounting every day. Close to \$30 billion dollars a year is now being spent on the war. Every inhuman method of war and mass terror that can be devised is being employed by the aggressor,—Napalm, poison gas, toxic chemicals, super-bombs, are all in daily use effecting a "scorched earth" policy. Aggression was extended to the northern part of Vietnam by means of massive air raids, totalling 5,000 or more sorties per month, directed against the civilian population, schools, homes, hospitals, etc.

In the face of this increased aggression, and acting as though it never happened U.S. Ambassador Goldberg stepped up to the rostrum at the United Nations and declared that the United States had a "sincere desire for peace." The so-called "Labour Government" of Great Britain, a signatory to the Geneva Agreement, has chided Hanoi for not being able to perceive the "peaceful intentions" of the U.S. and for their failure to make a positive response to the U.S. ultimatum; "negotiate on our terms or we escalate the bombing."

Goldberg has spent a great deal of his time recently in issuing phrenetic appeals for a re-convening of the Geneva Conference, which is another way of demanding negotiations on American terms, but Goldberg is couping on lack of knowledge about the Geneva Agreement on the part of the general public to obscure his real objective; to secure by negotiations what he cannot win on the field of battle—the capitulation of the liberation forces in Vietnam.

Those who are acquainted with the Geneva Agreement know there is one clear and indisputable fact: If the United States were to abide by the terms of the agreement there would be no war in Vietnam to be "negotiated."

The U.S. is in Violation of Geneva

The terms of the Geneva agreement were clearly set out and require no re-examination; they need only to be enforced. When the U.S. and Great Britain call for a re-convening of the Geneva Conference, it can only mean that they wish to make some changes in the decisions that were arrived at in 1954. Additional evidence to bear out this contention can be found in the manner in which the United States reacted to the signing of the Agreement. Speaking for the U.S. delegation on July 21st, 1954, just one day after the Agreement had been finalized, Walter Bedell Smith stated, in part:

"The government of the United States being resolved to devote its efforts to the strengthening of peace in accordance with the principles and purposes of the United Nations takes note of the agreements concluded at Geneva... declares with regard to the aforesaid agreements... that it will refrain from the threat or the use of force to disturb them..."

In the case of nations now divided against their will, we shall continue to seek to achieve unity through free elections supervised by the United Nations..."

This statement by Ambassador Smith was an ill-concealed rejection of the Geneva Conference before the ink was even dry on the Agreement reached. In fact, the Conference

achieved success only in the face of obstruction by the U.S. delegation, which was bitterly opposed to any agreement being reached. The rejection by Smith proved too mild for the U.S. ruling class, and the then President, Eisenhower, made the position very clear when he announced that the United States was not a party to the decisions taken by the Conference and would not be bound by them. In view of this record, we are now fully justified in demanding to know what Goldberg means by calling for the re-convening of a conference which was rejected at the outset and whose agreement the U.S. has violated in a thousand ways.

Before Geneva

The Conference at Geneva was the direct outcome and consequence of the devastating defeat inflicted on the armed forces of the French Union by the people of Vietnam at Dien Bien Phu. Participants in the Conference had no other tasks than to arrange for the orderly withdrawal of the French forces and handing over the administration of Vietnam to the representative of the people. The Conference played no part in the defeat and capitulation of the French; that was accomplished by the people of Vietnam themselves and the conference was held simply to arrange the orderly transfer of power in those few areas still under French control.

But the United States was never interested in any settlement that might weaken western imperialist positions in Asia. The U.S. imperialists were determined on holding on to all areas of exploitation in Southeast Asia, and were vitally concerned with erecting military bases for use in their planned aggression against the People's Republic of China; a plan which has been at the center of U.S. foreign policy ever since the Chinese people, under the brilliant leadership Mao Tse-tung, scored their smashing triumph over imperialism, feudalism, and comprador capitalism. The U.S. looked on the Geneva Conference and victory for the people of Vietnam to be in fundamental opposition to her vital interests in Asia, and, therefore, took a firm stand against the Conference from the very beginning. They still oppose the Geneva Agreement in spite of all their loud cries for a recall of the Conference.

Before Geneva, the U.S.A. tried to interest France in playing the role of a 20th century Hessian state—a source of manpower supply for a mercenary army that would fight U.S. wars in Asia, for a price. The United States had been financing the war, and supplying advisors and air crew, for some time prior to the total collapse of the French Army. But France was no longer able to carry on the war, and signed the Geneva Agreement which provided for the evacuation of the French forces from all of Indo-China.

The United States had long been preparing for such an eventuality and had their stooge waiting, ready and anxious to serve. Former collaborator with the French, Ngo Dinh Diem, was installed in power to rule on behalf of the Americans, and with him came his brother who had served in the French special police in Vietnam. On instructions from Washington, Diem cancelled the elections scheduled for July, 1956, on the plea that "the Communists were sure to win" and he declared Vietnam permanently divided into two nations. When the people rose in struggle against the tyranny of the Diem government, the U.S. declared it to be "foreign aggression" and ordered their stooge to call on Washington for "aid". In this way, the U.S. sought to circumvent the terms of the Geneva Agreement.

VIOLATIONS OF THE AGREEMENT

If we examine some of the more important clauses of the Agreement, it will be possible to establish beyond doubt that the United States and its Saigon puppets have been violating its terms from the beginning, and are still doing so. In respect of the "two Vietnams" theme, Article 1 states: "A provisional military demarcation line shall be fixed..."

The language here is specific and easily understood. There is no permanent geographic boundary provided for here, or in any other article of the Agreement. It is a DEMARCATION line established for military reasons—the orderly withdrawal of the forces of the French Union. It

is clearly specified as being **PROVISIONAL**; therefore, to be removed when the task for which it had been installed was completed, and there were definite times set out for the various tasks to be concluded. The U.S. plot for two nations in Vietnam is obviously in violation of Article 1.

Article 14, Section (B), reads:

"...adequate notice shall be given by the withdrawing party to the other party, which shall make the necessary arrangements, in particular by sending administrative and police detachments to prepare for the assumption of administrative responsibility."

In case of final withdrawal from Vietnam the "withdrawing party" was the forces of the French Union, and the "other party" was the Democratic Republic, the only legitimate representative of the people of Vietnam. It was incumbent therefore on the responsible French officials, under the terms of the Article, to give adequate warning to the Government of the Democratic Republic in order that they might assume "administrative responsibility". However, when the French forces suddenly withdrew in April, 1956, a full three months before the date set in the Agreement for elections, no such adequate warning was given. France, therefore acted in violation of this article.

From what developed later it became apparent that the Americans had "adequate notice" and prepared to fill the vacuum left by the departing French. The Americans placed in power their chosen stooge, Ngo Dinh Diem, and sent "advisers" to assist him and also arms for his puppet, fascist army. This action was deliberate violation of Article 16, which reads:

"...the introduction into Vietnam of any troop reinforcements and additional military personnel is prohibited."

From this starting point the U.S. went on to act in gross violation of Articles 17, 18 and 19, the terms of which are so clear as not to allow any mistaken interpretation. They read as follows, in part:

Article 17: "... the introduction into Vietnam reinforcements in the form of all types of arms munitions and other war materials, such as combat aircraft, naval craft, pieces of ordinance, jet engines and jet weapons and armoured vehicles is prohibited"

Article 18: "... the establishment of new military bases is prohibited throughout Vietnam territory."

Article 19: "... no military base under control of a foreign state may be established in the regrouping zone of either party; the two parties shall ensure that the zones assigned to them do not adhere to any military alliance and are not used for the resumption of hostilities or to further an aggressive policy."

It is the United States aggressors, and no one else, who have grossly violated the terms of these articles. The Americans have introduced upwards of a half-million troops into Vietnam, established military bases at a number of strategic locations, made use of every type of weapon expressly prohibited in the Articles of the Geneva Agreement, and have recently expanded their aggressive actions to include the northern portion of Vietnam.

Canada, a responsible member of the International Control Commission, has done nothing to prevent or protest these aggressive acts and violations of the Agreement it is sworn to enforce. On the contrary, the Pearson Government has acted in a manner calculated to cover up or justify U.S. aggression in Vietnam. Pearson, who so vigorously resists the Quebecois self-determination movement on the grounds that it would divide Canada, defends with equal vigor the American plan to divide Vietnam and make of it two nations under U.S. domination. Canada's role in Vietnam is one reason why this country is derided throughout the world as a tool of U.S. imperialism and a tool of Uncle Sam.

In Article 24 we read:

"The armed forces of each party shall respect the territory under the military control of the other party, and shall commit no act and undertake no operation against the other party and shall not engage in blockade of any kind in Vietnam."

For the purposes of the present Article, the word "territory" includes territorial waters and air space."

This article has been violated by the U.S. and puppet forces in every single respect. At the very moment Gold-

berg was mouthing his platitudes before the U.N. Assembly McNamara was proposing the ultimate in blockades efforts, a fence to stretch across Vietnam. Speculation is rife also about mining of the harbour at Haiphong while U.S. naval units patrol the waters off Vietnam coast and air armadas fly their deadly missions daily in the air space over both zones of Vietnam. Even if the Geneva Agreements had never existed these activities would still constitute flagrant acts of aggression. But we have yet to hear any effective words of protest from Pearson and the Canadian representative of the International Control Commission. The final declaration of the Geneva Conference issued on July 21, 1954, in which the United States participated, summarizes the general accomplishments of the deliberations and further emphasizes some of its more important aspects. Among a number of points clearly and unequivocally stated is that which has to do with the supposed existence of "two Vietnams" divided at the 17th parallel. Paragraph 6 of the final declaration makes it clear that the participants in the Geneva Conference recognized only one Vietnam and stated it in forthright terms incapable of any other interpretation. Paragraph 6 states:

"The Conference recognizes that the essential purpose of the agreement relating to Vietnam is to settle military questions with a view to ending hostilities and that the military demarcation line is provisional and should not in any way be interpreted as constituting a political or territorial boundary . . ."

There is no possible way in which the point could be more clearly stated — the signatories of this Declaration recognized the existence of ONE Vietnam. When the United States insists on making two Vietnams out of one they are unquestionably in violation of Paragraph 6 of the Final Declaration — and the entire agreement. There is, then, no basis for their claim that they are defending the South from invasion originating from the North.

In paragraph 7, we read:

"In order to ensure that sufficient progress in the restoration of peace has been made, and that all the necessary conditions obtained for free expression of the national will, general elections shall be held in July 1956. . ."

And paragraph 12:

"In their relations with Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam, each member of the Geneva Conference undertakes to respect the sovereignty, the independence, the unity and the territorial integrity of the above-mentioned states, and to refrain from any interference in their national affairs."

Note that paragraph 7 states **SHALL** be held. These elections were cancelled by the U.S. on the claim that "the Communists were sure to win" and Ngo Dinh Diem was imposed as military dictator over the protests of the mass of the people, and was maintained in power on the strength of American arms. These acts constitute flagrant interference in the internal affairs of Vietnam and, as the situation deteriorated for the U.S., interference was extended to include Laos and Cambodia, both of whom were protected by the terms of the Geneva Agreement. Canada, by supplying war materials, planes and shipping to the U.S. aggressor is also in violation of these Paragraphs.

The United States aggressors make it quite clear they have no intention of ending these violations. On the contrary, American spokesmen openly state they intend to continue these violations and serve ultimatums on the people of Vietnam to negotiate on U.S. terms or suffer an increase of the violations.

BRITAIN WAIVES THE RULES!

Britain, co-chairman of the Geneva Conference along with the Soviet Union, shares the chief responsibility in making sure that the Agreement is enforced. But Britain's Social Democrats give their full support to the aggressor rather than demanding acceptance of the settlement she helped to make.

Speaking at the United Nations after Goldberg's proposal for re-convening of the Geneva Conference the British Foreign Secretary, George Brown, declared:

"I see no reason why a balanced settlement embracing these principles should not be achieved on the basis of the Geneva Agreements."

Brown completely disregards the fact that the Geneva Agreement itself constitutes a settlement in Vietnam and

it is Britain's responsibility to see that it is enforced. But Brown now declares that the Geneva Agreement is a BASIS for settlement. In other words, the Geneva agreement is to be amended in line with the demands of the United States. This would no doubt entail the permanent division of Vietnam and "legalization" of the American bases in the South, both of which are expressly prohibited in the Agreement as it now stands.

Brown at the U.N. stated:

"I regret that the leaders of North Vietnam have never said what they will do or refrain from doing to help the process of peace . . ."

And Wilson in London declared:

"I disagree with the war . . . But you will only end it when you get people around the conference table . . ."

and went on to state that Britain had been associated with a number of moves which had been accepted by the United States but not by North Vietnam.

Now these Social-Democratic agents of imperialism know the record very well — they helped make it. They can scarcely be in doubt when they associate themselves with the call for amending the Geneva agreement or when they defy an overwhelming weight of opinion among their political supporters who have vigorously condemned the British Governments support for U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

The people of Vietnam, relying on their own resources administered a resounding defeat to the forces of the French Union. The Geneva Conference was not called to secure freedom for Indo-China, the people had already achieved that — it was called primarily to save the French Colonial Army from complete annihilation.

The United States was active in securing for herself a foothold in Southeast Asia long before the Geneva Conference was convened, and used that Conference as a screen to further her aims there. For that reason the United States denounced the Conference from the beginning and refused to state their adherence to the agreement.

It is plain, therefore, that the failure of the principle signatories to compel the U.S. to abide by the terms of the Agreement resulted in a partial loss for the Vietnamese of the gains that had been won at great cost, on the field of battle.

The Social-Democrats are well aware of all this but, steeped in treachery as they are, they believe the Vietnamese leaders, at a time when Vietnam is scoring smashing victories over the aggressor, should once more come to the conference table to "negotiate" what is not negotiable. This is a plot to save the Americans who are hard-pressed and suffering great losses on the field of battle.

The Vietnamese are a thousands times right when they defy the ultimatum of the imperialists, and in their defiance they will receive the support of the peoples of the world.

THE U.S. IS BEING DEFEATED!

One fact is emerging more clearly than ever before — the U.S. aggressor is being thoroughly beaten in Vietnam. Up to mid-September 2300 U.S. aircraft had been downed over the Northern part of Vietnam. About 4500 planes have been destroyed on the ground and in the air by the South Vietnam National Front of Liberation. American casualties have reached such astronomical proportions that the administration can no longer minimize or hide them.

The election farce which Washington staged in Saigon in the hope of providing a "legal" and "democratic" cover for their aggression has turned out to be a resounding flop. In spite of holding all the strings, disqualifying the majority of the population from running for election or voting and fraudulent voting, Washington's boys obtained less than one in three of the ballots.

The election has only heightened the contradictions between the various factions. The strongest "civilian" candidate and most potent threat to the Thieu-Ky junta, was arrested and fined \$6,000 for an alleged "illegal money transfer." Most of the defeated candidates have charged fraudulent practices and demanded that the elections be nullified.

Fraudulent balloting has resulted in the election of an almost complete Catholic administration in an area that is more than 90 per cent Buddhist.

One notable fact of this so-called "election" is that al-

most all the administration, including Nguyen Cao Ky himself and most of the "qualified" electorate, are natives of the Northern part of Vietnam and that makes them aliens according to United States reckoning. It follows, therefore that if the idea of "two Vietnams" were accepted then the United States must be automatically judged guilty of imposing on South Vietnam a foreign dictatorship and a foreign army of occupation.



In the mire of Vietnam

by Ali Frzaf

When everything is put together it all adds up to a lot of trouble for the U.S. aggressors. Not only do they face a mounting tide of protest around the world, resistance in the United States itself is widespread and growing rapidly and as the truth of what is happening in Vietnam becomes more generally known resistance will become overwhelming.

The aggressors need time: time to recuperate, time to recover lost ground at home. For this they need a halt in the fighting so they talk "peace" and "negotiations" in the hope that they can obtain at the conference table what they can never win in battle. "Negotiations" or a recall of the Geneva Conference, both have the same end in view, and U.S. puppets like Britain's Social-Democratic government rush to their master's aid.

THE PATRIOTS REPLY!

The Vietnamese patriots reply to the schemes of the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen with increased determination to defeat the imperialists and drive them from the soil of Vietnam. The concluding paragraph of the recently published political statement of the South Vietnam National Front of Liberation emphasizes the people's determination to fight on until complete victory is won. The paragraph reads as follows:

"In their serious predicament and stalemate, at present, the U.S. imperialists are trying their best to seek a way out and retrieve their setbacks in both North and South Vietnam. The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation and the South Vietnamese people once again solemnly declare that they are determined to uphold their just stand, persistently carry out their patriotic struggle and, whatever sacrifices and hardships they may have to endure, and whatever the development of the war, are resolved to defeat the aggressive war of the U.S. imperialists so as to bring to complete victory their cause of liberating the South, defending the North and reunifying their fatherland."

Echoing this statement is the declaration of the government and people in the North of Vietnam:

"... the North is resolved to live up to its pledge to fight side by side with the 14 million compatriots in the South in order to liberate the South and defend the North with a view to the reunification of the Fatherland. . . "As two inalienable parts of heroic Vietnam, both the North and the

South are resolved to fight and defeat the U.S. aggressors. Our anti U.S. stand for independence and freedom accords with the fundamental spirit of the Geneva Agreements, with justice and human conscience, and with the common interests of the nations and world peace.



Regular NFL troops with captured US weapons.

“... the Vietnamese people cherish peace, a genuine peace, a peace in independence and freedom, not an American peace.”

The only road to peace in Vietnam and Southeast Asia is for the U.S. aggressors to withdraw and leave the people to determine their destiny. This would also be according to the terms of the Geneva Agreement which the United States is presently violating. The fight for peace demands a stand in opposition to U.S. imperialist aggression and in support of the just war of the people of Vietnam.

There is nothing to negotiate: the U.S. aggressors must get out of Vietnam now! We must end Canadian support for U.S. aggression and demand our government publicly condemn the American war in Vietnam!

WHAT ARE THE REVISIONISTS PLOTTING?

Precisely at this time when the U.S. is suffering defeat at the hands of the Vietnamese people the Soviet revisionists rush forward with a declaration of increased “aid” for Vietnam. Why this sudden activity? Why do the Soviet revisionists make a show of differences over Vietnam when they lean over backwards to accommodate the U.S. imperialists on every major question?

First of all it needs to be pointed out that the Soviet declaration of “increased aid” is tantamount to an admission that this so-called “aid” has been something less than total in the past. Yet, in the past, the Soviet revisionists have claimed their “aid” was complete. On the basis of their own declaration the Soviet revisionists have lied in the past, why should we believe them now?

Secondly, the revisionists have made it clear that “aid” will be limited to defensive weapons and exclusive to the North. The South, where the decisive ground fighting takes place, is scarcely considered at all by the Soviet ruling clique.

The key to victory in Vietnam lies in the direction of a continuation of the tactics of People’s War and reliance on their own resources. But the revisionists, in common with all reactionaries, hate and fear People’s War and will exert every effort to eliminate it from the people’s arsenal. The plot here is to have Vietnam become dependent on Soviet supplies of heavy weapons thus abandoning the

tactic of People’s War and putting them at the mercy of the Soviet revisionists. In this way they seek to render important service to the U.S. imperialists.

We will cite two of the many examples of where this revisionist treachery leads the people. In Cuba in 1962 the revisionists capitulated to the imperialists and made a deal with Kennedy that compromised the sovereignty of Cuba. In the Middle East revisionist policies led to defeat of the Arab peoples and the Soviet ruling clique is still exerting every effort to discourage the Arabs from resorting to the only tactic that can guarantee victory — People’s War.

But the real aim of the Soviet ruling clique is clearly discernible and it differs in no essential point from the aim of the U.S. aggressors and their Social-Democratic stooge, Wilson. This fact is plain from two incidents of increased hard on the heels of the Soviet declaration of increased “aid” to Vietnam.

At a ceremony of reception for representatives of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation in Moscow the spokesman for the Soviet ruling clique, Brezhnev, in the course of his address made it clearly understood he accepted the U.S. position on “two Vietnams.” Brezhnev’s reference to the revisionist desire to see an “independent and neutral” South Vietnam was an open unmistakable rejection of the Vietnamese stand that Vietnam is one nation and that the people are determined to fight to complete victory for the “independence and re-unification of the Fatherland.” It was an equally unmistakable acceptance of the imperialist position on Vietnam, a fact which imperialist spokesmen were quick to note.

A second incident underlining the revisionist position was noted in Kosygin’s address of welcome to the President of Pakistan. Kosygin pointed to the so-called “Tashkent Conference” which sold out the Kashmiri struggle for independence, left Kashmir divided with one-half the nation under control of the reactionary Indian Congress. In reference to Vietnam, Kosygin stated Tashkent was an example of how peace could be achieved. This can only mean that the Soviet revisionists are openly declaring for a permanent division of Vietnam with the southern half under U.S. domination and the northern half under Soviet revisionist domination — an agreement on spheres of influence and a common front against China.

Kosygin further declared: it is “especially important for all peace-loving countries to facilitate the preservation and consolidation of peace by co-operating with one another in achieving this goal.”

We find here no word on the vital necessity for the defeat of the imperialist aggressor as the road to peace, only talk of peace in general and a rejection of all war as though the peoples anti-imperialist war were to be judged and condemned on the same basis as the war of imperialist aggression. The language that Brezhnev and Kosygin use may be different but the basic content and the aims are the same as those of Johnson, Goldberg and Wilson — an end to people’s war and defeat for the people.

That the U.S. aggressors understand very well the position of the Soviet ruling clique, and realize the real meaning of their promise of massive “aid” is plain from the friendly dinners and talks that Gromyko is having with Goldberg, George Brown, U Thant and others in New York. The Soviet revisionists are the imperialist’s trojan horse in the anti-imperialist camp.

THE PEOPLE WILL WIN!

The people of Vietnam have been conducting a continuous and constant struggle against imperialism for more than a quarter-century. They have scored magnificent victories against great odds, have mastered the art of people’s war and raised that art to higher levels of accomplishment. The people, North and South, are united as one in their determination to rout the aggressor and re-unify their country. We are confident their determination will not weaken and they will press on to total victory. The people will not surrender either to the imperialists tough talk and ultimatums or to the soft words of the revisionists. The people will fight, and the people will win! Down with revisionist treachery. U.S. aggressors get out of Vietnam now!

PROGRESSIVE WORKERS MOVEMENT FORUM:

VIETNAM — A NEW STAGE IN THE STRUGGLE

A DISCUSSION ON THE NLF POLITICAL PROGRAM AS PRINTED BELOW.

875 East HASTINGS.

SPEAKERS.

8:00 pm SUNDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1967.

TWO NEW FILMS FROM VIETNAM

The Political Programme of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation

(Excerpts)

— Adopted at its recent extraordinary congress

- Resolutely intensify the people’s war, wipe out the U.S. aggressors and seize final victory.
- The current tasks and objectives of the south Vietnamese people for national salvation are: to unite the entire people, resolutely defeat the U.S. imperialist war of aggression, overthrow the puppet regime, establish a national union democratic state power, build an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous south Vietnam and proceed towards the peaceful reunification of the fatherland.

IN 1960, the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation came into being with its 10-point programme aimed at uniting the entire people against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys.

Since then, the Front has united the broad sections of the people, political parties, organizations, nationalities, religious communities and patriotic personalities in a joint struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

The Front has always enjoyed wholehearted encouragement and assistance from our compatriots in the north and abroad.

Under the leadership of the National Front for Liberation, our people in the south have been going from victory to victory. The prestige of the Front has been unceasingly enhanced at home and abroad. The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation has become the sole genuine representative of the heroic south Vietnamese people.

These great achievements have proved that the line and policy of the Front are correct, and that the strength of our people’s united struggle is invincible.

At present, despite their heavy defeats, the U.S. imperialists are still unwilling to give up their aggressive designs against Vietnam. They are stepping up the war, trampling upon the south, and intensifying the bombing of the northern part of our country. These monstrous crimes of the U.S. imperialists, however,

have served only to deepen our people’s hatred and increase their indomitable will.

Never before in the history of our nation has the mettle of our entire people, united in the fight to wipe out the enemy and save the country, been so strong as now. Our people are in a superior position of winning victories and taking the initiative and offensive. The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have been driven into ever greater passivity and embarrassment. They are in an impasse and are sustaining defeats.

At this juncture, in a spirit of developing its former programme, the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation has worked out this political programme, with a view to further broadening the great national unity and encouraging and stimulating the entire people to forge ahead to fight with resolve to defeat the U.S. aggressors, and build an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous south Vietnam.

Unite the Entire People to Fight the U.S. Aggressors and Save the Country

The U.S. imperialists have wrecked the Geneva agreements, set up in south Vietnam an extremely cruel puppet regime, and are trying to turn the southern part of Vietnam into a new-type colony and a military base in an attempt to prolong the partition of our country, and further to conquer the whole of Vietnam and dominate all Indo-China and Southeast Asia.

The U.S. imperialists are shrinking from no cruel methods to carry out their sinister designs. Defeated in their "special war," they have switched on to a "local war," using over half a million U.S. and satellite troops, in addition to more than half a million puppet soldiers, for aggression against south Vietnam. At the same time, they have carried on a war of destruction against the northern part of our country.

The U.S. imperialists have used all kinds of modern war means and weapons, including strategic aircraft, napalm bombs, toxic chemicals and poison gas, to massacre our fellow countrymen. They have launched endless operations, carrying out the "kill all, burn all, destroy all" policy.

Obviously the U.S. imperialists are the most savage aggressor in history, the saboteur of the 1954 Geneva agreements, the saboteur of the peace and security of the peoples in Indo-China, Southeast Asia and the world, and the No. 1 enemy of our people and of mankind.

Over the past few years, the U.S. imperialists have continuously escalated the war, yet they have unceasingly clamoured about "peace negotiations" in an attempt to fool the American and other peoples of the world.

The U.S. aggressors and their lackeys think that they can intimidate our people by the use of force and deceive them by means of tricks. But they are grossly mistaken. Our people definitely will never submit to force, never allow themselves to be deceived!

Bringing into play our nation's traditional undaunted spirit, our 31 million compatriots from the south to the north, united as one man, have resolutely risen up to fight against the U.S. aggressors and save the country.

Since 1965, although the U.S. aggressors have brought in hundreds of thousands of U.S. expeditionary troops for direct aggression against south Vietnam, our armed forces and people have won one big victory after another, smashed the two successive U.S. dry-season strategic counter-offensives, and defeated over one million enemy troops (U.S., puppet, and satellite). The liberated areas have continuously expanded, and now already cover four-fifths of the territory and embrace two-thirds of the population of south Vietnam. In the liberated areas, a national and democratic power is taking shape and a new life is blossoming.

In the beloved northern part of the fatherland, our 17 million compatriots are heroically defeating the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction, maintaining and boosting production, and wholeheartedly encouraging and helping the cause of liberating the south, thus fulfilling the obligations of the great rear towards the great front.

The people of all lands, including the progressive people of the United States, are sternly condemning the U.S. imperialist war of aggression and are in sympathy with, lending support to and helping our

people's cause of resistance to U.S. aggression and saving the country.

The most dangerous enemies of our people at present are the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their lackeys — the traitorous puppet administration.

The tasks and objectives of the south Vietnamese people in their struggle for national salvation are now as follows: to unite the entire people, resolutely defeat the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression, overthrow the puppet administration formed by their lackeys, establish a broad national union democratic administration, and build an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous south Vietnam and proceed towards the peaceful reunification of the fatherland.

The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation pledges itself to strive, shoulder to shoulder with the Vietnam Fatherland Front, to fulfil the common glorious task of fighting against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, to liberate the south, defend the north and proceed towards the peaceful reunification of the fatherland.

While fighting for their sacred national rights, the people of south Vietnam are making every effort to accomplish their internationalist obligations. Their war of resistance against U.S. aggression is an integral part of the revolutionary struggle of all people of the world.

The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation is determined to take an active part in the common struggle of the people of the world against U.S.-headed imperialism which is bellicose and aggressive by nature, and for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

The ferocious and brutal U.S. aggressors are trampling upon our homeland. We, people of south Vietnam, must stand up to make revolution and wage a people's war to annihilate them, drive them out of our borders, and wrest back our national independence and sovereignty.

Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom. Genuine peace can be had only when there is genuine independence.

The enemy of our nation is cruel and obdurate. But our entire people are determined to fight and to defeat the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys. Our people will fight on unswervingly until complete victory so long as the U.S. imperialists refuse to end their war of aggression, withdraw all U.S. and satellite troops from our country, and to allow the south Vietnamese people to settle the internal affairs of south Vietnam by themselves without foreign intervention. The south Vietnamese people's liberation war is a long and hard one, but it is sure to end in victory.

Our people rely mainly on our own forces, and at the same time strive to win the sympathy, support and assistance of other peoples of the world.

To defeat the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys, our people will not hesitate to make any sacrifice.

They are enthusiastically contributing manpower, material resources and their talent to the national liberation war in the spirit of doing everything for the front and everything for victory.

The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation undertakes to expand the liberation armed forces, comprising the main force units, the regional troops and the militia and guerrilla units, so as to intensify people's war, combine guerrilla with regular warfare, wipe out as many enemy effectives as possible, crush the enemy's sinister designs for aggression, and win final victory.

The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation undertakes to build and develop the political forces of the masses, promote the movement of political struggle, and combine armed struggle with political struggle and agitation among enemy troops to form thus three converging prongs to defeat the enemy.

The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation undertakes to encourage all strata of the population in the towns and rural areas still under enemy control to unite and struggle in every possible form to break the grip of the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys.

At the same time, the Front undertakes to encourage all strata of people in the liberated areas to unite closely to build a people's self-management system, to form step by step a local national-democratic administration, to build base areas, to make every effort in production and in fighting against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, to go on solving the agrarian question satisfactorily, to build a new economy and culture in the liberated areas, and to strengthen the people's physical constitution with a view to ensuring supplies for the front and carrying the resistance war through to complete victory.

Build an Independent, Democratic, Peaceful, Neutral and Prosperous South Vietnam

The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation lays down the following specific policies:

(1) To set up a broad democratic and progressive regime.

— To abolish the disguised colonial regime established in south Vietnam by the U.S. imperialists, overthrow the puppet administration formed by the hirelings of the United States, repudiate the puppet "national assembly" rigged up by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, and abolish all anti-national and anti-democratic laws, including the "constitution," enacted by the U.S. imperialists and the puppet administration.

— To hold free general elections and elect the national assembly in a really democratic way in accordance with the principle of universal, equal, direct suffrage and secret ballot.

— To set up a national union democratic government including the most representative persons among the various social strata, nationalities, religious com-

munities, patriotic and democratic parties, patriotic personalities, and forces which have contributed to the cause of national liberation.

(2) To build an independent and self-supporting economy and improve the people's living conditions.

— To abolish the U.S. imperialists' policy of economic enslavement and monopoly. To confiscate the property of the U.S. imperialists and their diehard cruel agents and turn it into state property.

— To build an independent and self-supporting economy, rapidly heal the wounds of war and restore and develop the economy.

(3) To enforce the land policy and carry out the slogan: land to the tillers.

— To confiscate the lands of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys — the diehard cruel landlords, and allot those lands to the landless or land-poor peasants.

— To confirm and protect the ownership of the lands allotted to peasants by the revolution.

— The state will negotiate the purchase of lands from landlords who possess land upward of a certain amount varying with the situation in each locality, and allot these lands to the landless or land-poor peasants. The recipients will receive the lands free of charge, and will not be bound by any condition whatsoever. In areas where the required conditions for land reform do not yet obtain, land-rent reduction will be carried out.

(4) To build a national democratic culture and education, develop science and technology, and promote public health.

(5) To guarantee the rights of workers, labourers and civil servants and care for their livelihood.

(6) To build up the South Vietnam Liberation Armed Forces into a powerful strength for liberating the people and defending the fatherland.

— The South Vietnam Liberation Armed Forces (comprising the main force units, the regional troops, and the militia and guerrilla units) are the sons of the people, boundlessly loyal to the interests of the fatherland and the people, and duty-bound to fight shoulder to shoulder with the entire people to liberate the south, defend the fatherland and make positive contributions to the defence of peace in Asia and the world.

— To pay due attention to the building of the Liberation Armed Forces. Efforts must be made to raise their quality and increase their fighting capacity so as to step up people's war, defeat the U.S., satellite and puppet troops, and bring the fight against U.S. aggression and for national salvation to complete victory.

— To strengthen the political work so as to enhance the patriotism of the Liberation Armed Forces and their determination to fight and to win, enhance their sense of discipline and continuously tighten the fish-and-water relations between the armed forces and the people.

(7) To show gratitude to the martyrs, look after the disabled servicemen, and reward the fighters and compatriots who have an outstanding record in the fight against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

(8) To organize social relief.

(9) To put into practice equality between man and woman, and protect mothers and children.

(10) To strengthen the unity of nationalities and promote equality and mutual assistance among them.

(11) To respect freedom of creed, and achieve unity and equality among different religious communities.

(12) To welcome puppet officers and men and puppet officials back to the just cause, and show leniency and give humane treatment to enemy army people who cross over and prisoners-of-war.

— To severely punish the diehard thugs who act as efficient agents of the U.S. imperialists.

(13) To protect the rights and interests of overseas Vietnamese.

(14) To protect the legitimate rights and interests of foreign residents in south Vietnam.

To Restore Normal Relations Between North and South Vietnam and Proceed Towards Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland

Vietnam is an integral whole and the Vietnamese people are a single nation. No force can divide our fatherland and the reunification of the country is the sacred aspiration of our entire people. Vietnam must be reunified.

The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation holds:

(1) The reunification of Vietnam will be realized step by step through peaceful means and on the principle of negotiation between the two zones with neither side using pressure against the other and without foreign interference.

(2) Pending the reunification of the country, the people in both zones will make joint efforts to oppose foreign invasion and defend the fatherland, and at the same time endeavour to expand economic and cultural exchanges. The people in both zones are free to exchange letters, to go from one zone to the other and to choose their place of residence.

To Apply a Foreign Policy of Peace and Neutrality

The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation applies a foreign policy of peace and neutrality, a foreign policy which guarantees the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the country and helps safeguard world peace. This policy consists in the following points:

(1) To establish diplomatic relations with all countries regardless of their social and political system, on the principle of mutual respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-

infringement upon each other's territory, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality, mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence.

To abolish all unequal treaties which the puppet administrations have signed with the United States or any other country.

To join no military alliance and accept no military personnel or military bases of foreign countries in south Vietnam.

(2) To strengthen the friendly relations with all countries which sympathize with, support or assist the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

(3) Actively support the national-liberation movement of the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

(4) Actively struggle to contribute to the safeguarding of world peace and combating the bellicose and aggressive imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism.

* * *

Our people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is an extremely hard but glorious cause. It concerns not only the destiny of our people at present and all our future generations but also the interests of the peoples in the world who are struggling for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. In order to accomplish this glorious cause, our people, already united, must unite still more closely and on a broader basis!

Our people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is a just cause. The people throughout our country are united in their determination to fight and defeat the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen. We are winning victories and will surely win complete victory.

No matter how frenzied, brutal and obdurate and perfidious the U.S. imperialists may be, they will inevitably meet with utter failure in their criminal schemes.

In the supreme interests of the fatherland, let our entire people in south Vietnam strengthen their solidarity, millions as one, and march forward shoulder to shoulder in the impetus of our victories to completely defeat the U.S. aggressors and their stooge administration, and together with our northern compatriots to fulfil the great and glorious cause of liberating the south, defending the north and proceeding towards the peaceful reunification of the fatherland.

The Vietnamese people will surely be victorious!

The U.S. aggressors and their henchmen will certainly be defeated!

The programme of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation is sure to materialize!

Fighters and compatriots throughout south Vietnam, march forward heroically under the glorious banner of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation!

TWO ANNIVERSARIES

Once again we are at that time of year when we celebrate two great historical events of world shaking importance in a period of little more than a month. These two events are the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the great Chinese Revolution of 1949. These two events have changed the course of history, and the Chinese Revolution in particular with the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, is making an enormous contribution to shaping the future of mankind. Studying the pattern of development of these two revolutions the working class of the world will learn important lessons in the strategy and tactics of the proletarian socialist revolution. The two revolutions have not had an even course of development and lessons must be learned from the errors made as well as from the great victories achieved.

1917—AND AFTER

The Russia Revolution, under the leadership of Lenin and the Russian Bolsheviks, pioneered the seizure and consolidation of state power by the working class. It was preceded only by the very limited successes of the Paris Commune of 1871 which made a great historic contribution to the fight for socialism by exposing the shortcomings of socialist theory and tactics.

The revolution of 1917 was a source of inspiration to the working people of the world and clearly demonstrated to them the course to follow in the seizure of power. In Canada, the Western Labour Conference convened at Calgary on March 13, 1919, pronounced support for the Russian Revolution, demanded an end to imperialist intervention, and proclaimed acceptance of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat as the state form necessary to the transition from capitalism to socialism.

In the face of powerful opposition from local and international reaction and supported by the working people of the world, the Russian Revolution rolled on to victory. Their economy wrecked by war, intervention and civil war, and isolated by imperialist blockade, the workers of the Soviet Union took up the challenge and, relying on their own resources, began the great and difficult task of constructing large-scale Soviet industry.

The achievements of Soviet workers in consolidating political power and in constructing basic industry were subjected to a supreme test in the imperialist war of aggression initiated by the German Nazis with the co-operation of world imperialist reaction. It was the Soviet workers who broke the back of Nazi aggression at Moscow, Stalingrad and Leningrad, thus contributing mightily to the set-back of world fascist reaction.

Following the war the Soviet working class began anew the task of re-constructing a devastated economy and again was confronted with sabotage and blockade from the camp of world imperialism now led and dominated by the U.S. imperialists armed with the atom bomb. In spite of all difficulties and many formidable obstacles the Soviet working people recorded new advances in the rebuilding and expansion of Soviet industry and agriculture. Undeterred by the atomic blackmail of the imperialist powers the Soviet people pressed on to new victories and soon overtook and surpassed the imperialists in the production of weapons to be used as a deterrent against imperialist aggression. In these years also the Soviets laid the foundations for the flight into space—a great scientific and technical success for which the revisionists now try to take the credit.

It would be fairly accurate to say that the working people of the Soviet Union had scored outstanding victories over their external, imperialist enemies who had made many desperate attempts to bring down the Soviet government. The working class had in their control the main organs of state power under the dictatorship of the proletariat and were in an excellent position to destroy the class enemy internally.

However, there were many complex problems in relation to the conduct of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat that Soviet Marxist-Leninists were unable to solve and this proved to be a fatal weakness. The bourgeoisie, as a class, were not in a position themselves to overthrow the



1920 V. I. Lenin speaking on the international situation at the Second Congress of the Comintern in the Taurida Palace in Petrograd.

proletarian dictatorship by direct methods. But because of the fatal flaws that existed in Marxist-Leninist theory and practice in the Soviet Union the bourgeoisie were able to place their agents, the revisionists and social democrats, in positions of authority from which points they were able to launch attacks and carry out sabotage against the proletarian state.

On the death of Stalin the revisionist agents of the bourgeoisie, led by Krushchev, were able to take the initiative and with the aid of elements of the army under the command of Zhukov, overthrew the dictatorship of the proletariat and seized state power in the interests of the bourgeoisie—re-established the bourgeois dictatorship. Since then, and particularly since the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1956, the work of transforming Soviet industry into private capitalist industry and the collective farms into capitalist agricultural enterprises, has gone steadily forward.

Due to the determined opposition of Soviet revolutionaries, the revisionists, in carrying out their program of handing the Soviet economy over to private ownership, are compelled to follow a devious course which is not always easy to follow. But the fundamental fact remains that state power is in the hands of the representatives of the new Soviet bourgeoisie, the proletarian dictatorship has been transformed into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and until a new revolutionary uprising overthrows the newly established bourgeois dictatorship the revisionist ruling clique will proceed inexorably toward the complete transformation of the economy to private capitalist ownership.

In spite of all the double-talk of the Soviet revisionists and their apologists abroad the evidence of capitalist restoration is undeniable and can even be found in Soviet records. For example; a specialist study on banking in the U.S.S.R. reads like a prospective for any capitalist bank in North America. The greater the amount of capital permanently banked, the greater the interest rate and the consideration extended

the depositor. According to this official, authoritative study Soviet banking is expressly designed to accommodate a privileged few in their drive to accumulate private capital—the same service which any capitalist bank renders to its select group of investors.

In an article entitled "The Socialist Industrial Enterprise" written by two professors of economics, S. Kamenitser and B. Milner, to commemorate 50 years of the Soviet state, evidence of capitalist operation of Soviet enterprises is clearly discernible in a chain of command and authority no different than that which exists in any North American capitalist enterprise. The two writers pose the question:

"How then are the industrial enterprises run, how and who administers them?" They then proceed to answer their own question in this way:

"The general management of an enterprise and its units is effected by the director, shop superintendents and foremen. The director . . . is the sole executive responsible for the proper functioning of the enterprise . . . The director is responsible for the obligations assumed by the enterprise. . .

"On October 4, 1965, the government approved "The Statute of a Socialist Industrial Enterprise", which provides for a considerable extension of its powers. Accordingly, the powers of the directors are extended . . ."

"The shop superintendents are subordinate to the director of the enterprise. . . The shop superintendents have wide powers: hire and dismiss, encourage or punish personnel, specify their gradings . . . is personally responsible for the fulfillment of all indices of the plan. . . "At the head of every section stands the production foreman. "The foreman . . . organises production, sees to rationalisation, the observance of proper technology and quality of output, for the condition and working of machinery, for improving quality of output and labour conditions in the shop . . . helps to promote rationalisation and invention . . . He deals with such matters as hire and dismissals . . . labour discipline . . . nominates workers for premiums and other rewards . . . is responsible for keeping the wage fund in his section within the established limits . . . the posts of foremen in industry are now filled by engineers, technologists or highly skilled workers."

The two eminent Doctors of Economics quote statistics of 1963 to show that of all those employed in industry 10 per cent belonged to the privileged strata of engineers and technicians which provides the personnel to fill the positions of director, superintendent and foreman—the class that runs Soviet industry and who receive the major benefits from its operation; just like private capitalists. And the writers make clear the reasons for this capitalist type of management in the following observations on "economic reform":

" . . . The economic standing of an enterprise is now dependent on sales and the profits obtained therefrom. Now **PROFIT** (their emphasis) is the source for extension of production . . ."

Any Canadian worker will easily recognize that there is here nothing that differs fundamentally from capitalist private enterprises as practised in North America. Even the "profit sharing" schemes which receive high praise as a work stimulant are in no way different from similar schemes favoured by sharp American capitalists as a means to divide and defraud the workers.

The authors also reveal that there is no substantial difference between North America and the USSR in union-management relations. Unions conclude agreements with management and, just as in America, Soviet trade union bureaucrats show more concern with disciplining workers than they do about their welfare. This fact was further attested to by Ben Swankey, west coast leader of the C.P., who proudly boasted on his return from a visit to East Germany that the trade unions in Eastern Europe had the same functions and responsibilities as unions in Canada. In other words, unions were based on a worker-capitalist relationship.

Internal developments naturally determine the external policy of the Soviet ruling clique. The Soviet revisionists need international assistance from the capitalist class—especially the U.S. imperialists—to aid them in supporting the Soviet workers and transforming industry into private capitalist enterprise. The imperialists are invited to invest in Soviet economy and to participate in the exploitation, of Soviet

workers. Under the guise of "aid" the revisionists engage in imperialist exploitation, especially in India and other parts of Asia. They also hire themselves out as running dogs for the U.S. imperialists, exert every effort to prevent the people from rising in struggle for national liberation and work to sabotage such struggles when they erupt in defiance of all their efforts to the contrary.

Now, 50 years after the proletarian victory in Russia, the bourgeoisie have seized power from the working class and Soviet workers are confronted with the task of making a revolution for the second time. We are confident that revolution will come and that the Soviet working people will never again be misled by the revisionist agents of the bourgeoisie. **China—18 Years**

The other anniversary we celebrate at this period of the year is the Chinese Revolution of 1949, which ended in victory for the People's Republic of China and opened the road to historic advances for the working people of the whole world—advances that have changed the face of the world and done much to shape the destiny of mankind.

Victory in China came after almost three decades of struggle, under the brilliant leadership of Mao Tse-tung. During these years of protracted armed struggle the Chinese People's Army perfected the tactic of people's war which ensures victory for the people over all the combined forces of reaction in spite of the imperialists' superiority in weapons. The lessons learned in these years have enabled revolutionary forces in many places to challenge the imperialists.

The lessons learned from the rich experiences of these long years of struggle are of inestimable importance. But even more important are the lessons to be learned from the Chinese Revolution AFTER the seizure of state power and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We can see that the complex problems of how to conduct revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat were not solved in the Soviet Union, with the result that the bourgeoisie were able to return to power through the revisionist's treachery. The solution of these problems became the prime task of the Chinese Revolution; and the Chinese people, led by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era are proving themselves equal to the responsibility that history has placed upon them.

Although Marxists, and particularly Lenin, had a general understanding of the fact that the class struggle did not end with the seizure of power by the proletariat, up until the victory of the Chinese Revolution no one had been able to solve the problem of how to make revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Mao Tse-tung quite early turned his attention to the solution of this complex problem and wrote such outstanding works as "On Contradiction" and "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" which clearly pointed the way to such a solution. It is because Chairman Mao has made such a brilliant analysis of these problems and outlined practical solutions that his works are of such supreme importance precisely in this period of the victory of the forces of socialism over imperialism—the works of Mao Tse-tung is Marxism-Leninism in the present era.

This question of class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat is the fundamental point at issue between those who follow the proletarian revolutionary line of Mao Tse-tung and the Central Committee on the one hand and those few persons in positions of authority who defend the bourgeois reactionary line of China's Kruschov, on the other hand. An example of this fundamental difference is cited by Shanghai revolutionaries who quote a warning sounded by Chairman Mao when speaking to workers in Shanghai in February, 1957. Chairman Mao said:

"There are still remnants of the overthrown landlord and comprador classes, there is still a bourgeoisie, and the remoulding of the petty bourgeoisie has only just started. The class struggle is by no means over."

Just two months later the Kruschov of China stated his opposition to this correct line of Mao Tse-tung and advised the Shanghai revolutionaries:

"The domestic enemies have in the main been wiped out. The landlord class was wiped out long ago. The bourgeoisie is basically wiped out. This can be said, too, of the counter-

revolutionaries. We say that the main class struggle at home is basically over."

The objective of this kind of deception and opposition to the revolutionary line of Mao Tse-tung is perfectly obvious—China's Kruschov was seeking to disarm and deceive the working masses of China and prepare the way for a return to power by the capitalists and landlords. The deliberate intent of this counter-revolutionary line becomes crystal clear when one remembers that it came some months after the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. which marked the bourgeois seizure of power in the Soviet Union through the agency of the Kruschovite revisionists who promoted a similar theory of no class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat and prattled about the "state of the entire people" and the "Party of the whole People". China's Kruschov even succeeded in having a number of capitalists appointed to important positions in Shanghai factories on the assertion that "the agents of the capitalists, as well as the capitalists themselves, have given up their property. They are no longer capitalists." He also advocated that specialists and technicians should run the economy with authority over millions of workers.

It was to combat this pernicious influence, and to make revolution against the handful of capitalist roaders in positions of authority, that Chairman Mao personally initiated and led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. This Proletarian Cultural Revolution, led by Mao Tse-tung is the most thoroughgoing and fundamental revolution ever experienced by mankind. This revolution is solving the complex problem of how to carry on the class struggle and make revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Chinese masses under the guiding genius of Mao Tse-tung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era, are blazing new and hitherto uncharted paths on the road to communism—paths that will ultimately be travelled by hundreds of millions of working people

FORD STRIKE - IMPACT ON CANADA

Several years ago when the workers in Chrysler of Canada were on strike for an improvement in wages and working conditions American workers employed by the same company benefited financially by working overtime producing automobiles to supply the markets served by the Canadian branch of the company. The current strike in Ford serves to underline the subservient position of the Canadian economy to U.S. monopoly and of Canadian workers to U.S. union brass. Instead of benefiting from the strike now in progress in the United States Canadian workers find themselves unemployed.

Although not themselves on strike Ford employees in Canada are laid off because shortage of parts make production in the Canadian plants impossible. This makes clear the subservient position of Canadian industry and how vulnerable it is to any dislocation by the American economy. In the event of a crisis of the highly volatile and war-wracked United States economy Canada's position of vulnerability would result in a crisis of devastating proportions. As the Auto Agreement gradually becomes more effective, and the opportunity for more efficiency in production resulting from greater concentration of the industry, takes effect unemployment in the Canadian section of the industry will increase even without the benefit of a crisis.

The warning to Canada is clear: we must cut ourselves loose from United States domination or suffer the inevitable devastating consequences that are bound to result from a continuation of foreign domination.

"PROGRESSIVES" IN AUTO

The Ford strike has also served to burst a balloon floated by both U.S. and Canadian revisionists to the effect that leaders of the Auto Union are "progressives". The Reuthers are touted as leaders of the "progressive" wing in the A.F.L. C.I.O. and Emil Mazey, a vice-President of the United Auto Workers, plays at being an opponent of the war in Vietnam. But the strike has thoroughly exposed Mazey and the Reuthers.

around the world whose journey will be easier because Chairman Mao and the revolutionaries of China have blazed the trail ahead.

On this anniversary we can joyfully record the fact that the proletarian revolutionary line of Mao Tse-tung has occupied the dominant position in China for the past 18 years and that the Proletarian Cultural Revolution is guaranteeing that the line of Mao Tse-tung will stay dominant and that China will remain forever Red.

We once again express our confidence in the ultimate victory of the revolutionary line of Mao Tse-tung and the total defeat of the imperialists, revisionists and all reactionaries. The Proletarian Cultural Revolution is doing fine and advancing to a new and higher stages of struggle and mass criticism. Great advances have been recorded in industry, agriculture and in the development of a revolutionary proletarian culture.

The fight is by no means over. The capitalists and landlords will never voluntarily vacate the stage. Sharp battles will still be ahead. Revisionists and imperialists frantically seek out small comforts in the difficulties that the revolution inevitably encounters. But armed with the invincible Thought of Mao Tse-tung the Chinese people—and the people of the world—will overcome all difficulties, surmount all obstacles, and press onward to victory.

The political and economic situations in China are good. The revolution is doing just fine. The Chinese people will hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung and carry the Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end. China will remain forever Red.

**LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA!
LONG LIVE THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL
REVOLUTION!**

LONG LIVE CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG!

The strike in the Ford plants caught some supplies needed for the war in Vietnam behind the picket lines. The pentagon entered the picture through the medium of McNamara, with a request for co-operation in the release and shipment of the supplies and the Reuther administration hastened to comply even to the point of offering to re-commence production of anything considered necessary to carrying on the war in Vietnam. After this development a whole ocean of crocodile tears will not be enough to cover the hypocrisy of the Reuthers and their supporters.

This is the second blow dealt the rapidly-fading reputation of fake radicals in the recent past. During a strike conducted by Bridge's union, the I.L.W.U., in California supplies for Vietnam locked behind the picket line were similarly released on orders of the union leaders who promised to do nothing that would hinder U.S. aggressive aims in Asia. The "radicalism" of these bureaucrats does not extend beyond a minimum demand for a share of the spoils of imperialism and they are quite prepared to offer in exchange a guarantee of support for the existing social system and its imperialist objectives. These so-called radicals have no aims that are substantially different than those of Johnson and the U.S. ruling class.

THE P.W.M. IS HOLDING A DINNER TO COMMEMORATE THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION AT 875 EAST HASTINGS, NOVEMBER 4TH, 6 P.M.

SPEAKER — JACK SCOTT

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ON TROTSKYISM

The article printed here is not by any means an exhaustive discussion on the role of Trotsky and Trotskyism. It was originally prepared as an educational given in one of the Progressive Workers Movement's clubs.—Editor

Trotsky started his political career around the turn of the century. In 1903, when the Bolshevik fraction was formed and Lenin fought for separation between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, (that is, for the formation of a Bolshevik Party) Trotsky allied himself with the Mensheviks and opposed Lenin with one of the "leftist" declarations for which he became famous. He declared: "Lenin is cutting pieces out of the flesh of the working class." Since that time Trotsky and Trotskyism have established a record of consistently uniting with all types of unprincipled elements and enemy agents. Trotsky united with the Bolsheviks for only two brief periods in his career.

Trotsky never was in the thick of working class battles nor was he a builder of workers' organizations. He never succeeded in rallying to his banner any large number of workers. He always was, and to the end remained, a writer and speaker only, and enjoyed great popularity among middle-class intellectuals. In the early years a man like Trotsky with a sharp pen and a flair for oratory could easily attract attention. It was because of these qualities that Trotsky became a member of the First Soviet of Workers' Deputies established in the Revolution of 1905. The Soviets of the period were a broad fighting union of Socialists and revolutionary democrats. The first chairman of the Soviet, Chrustalev-Nosar, was not even a Socialist, and it was only after his arrest that Trotsky became chairman. Pokrosky, a historian of that time, wrote of Trotsky:

"The Petersburg Soviet had at its head a very intelligent Menshevik, an adept in the art of combining Menshevik substance with revolutionary phrases. The name of that Menshevik was Trotsky. He was a genuine, full-blown Menshevik who had no desire whatever for armed insurrection and was altogether averse to bringing the revolution to its completion."

Trotsky developed his Menshevik program in 1905 in opposition to Lenin's call for a "Democratic Dictatorship of Workers and Peasants". Trotsky's opposition was, as usual, from the "left". He advocated a split with the peasantry and "permanent revolution"—What could possibly sound more "revolutionary" than "permanent revolution"?

Trotsky's "revolutionary impatience" also expressed itself in the slogan: "Down with the Czar, up with a labour government," a fine revolutionary-sounding slogan. But as Lenin pointed out, it left out the peasants and it left out the bourgeois democratic tasks of the transition period. It was just another of Trotsky's "revolutionary short-cuts" that escaped the difficulties and problems of the revolution by never even starting to tackle them.

A similar attitude can be observed today in the Trotskyist position in Latin America and other places. The two-part article on Guatemala and other writings by Adolfo Gilley on Latin America, published mainly in the "Monthly Review", spells out this theory very lucidly, and sounds quite revolutionary in the process.

This is true also of Regis Debray who, although he takes pains to formally reject the Trotskyists, still on this and other points clearly reflects a Trotskyist position. Possibly because he is a middle-class intellectual who has no real contacts with the working class and it is to that type that Trotskyism appeals most strongly.

The Trotskyists have this same position in relation to Vietnam, rejecting any kind of broad national front to resist imperialist aggression. Here is a quotation from the Spartacist faction of Trotskyism on the Vietnam National Front:

"Ho's group and their political trainees, to face a few facts, now control the FLN. A few years ago there was added to this group a shadow nationalist element to make things look broader and more 'progressive'. These bourgeois nationalist elements have no social base of any consequence, and serve only as an 'ersatz bloc of four classes'. The Vietnamese Stalinists have

won the support of the vast majority of the peasantry, and that plus their foreign connections make them bosses of the show."

This passage clearly places both the national bourgeoisie and the peasantry in the camp of the counter-revolution, a theory squarely in the traditional Trotskyist line. And the whole thing is given a very "revolutionary tinge when the Trotskyist Spartacist group call for the overthrow of capitalism, Stalinism and a few other isms, as the only way to defeat imperialism.

Seeing the Spartacist extolling such an "ultra-revolutionary" program for Vietnam, one might expect to hear them call for instant revolution against capitalism in America, the arena in which they operate. Here, in their own words is the "revolutionary" program the Spartacists recommend for America:

"An alternative to Democratic bondage is a Labour Party, broadly based, with members from the unions and ghettos, employed and unemployed, from all strata of the labouring population. It must be open to all working-class political tendencies. It would be the political party through which working people could finally fight in their own interests."

The Trotskyists remain true to their tradition of being able to run a revolution in every place except where they happen to be at a given moment. They have no responsibility for solving complex and difficult problems of the anti-imperialist people's struggle in Vietnam, but they can offer all the answers from the safety and remoteness of North America. But in the heart of the camp of aggression they can offer as a solution no more than the creation of that final prop of the capitalist system — a Social-Democratic Party.

Following the defeat of the 1905 Revolution Trotsky went into exile in Europe until 1915 when he left France for America via Spain, returning to Russia on the outbreak of the revolution in March 1917. During most of the period from 1905 to 1917 Trotsky fought Lenin and the Bolsheviks on almost all fundamental questions. Nearly every issue of consequence found him lined up with the Right against the Left, and it was he who made the program of the rights seem more palatable by dressing it up in left-sounding language.

Following his course of conciliating the Right and attacking the Left in the name of unity, Trotsky wrote articles for the Menshevik press in 1910 in which he attacked Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg for their uncompromising attitude toward the Rights and conciliators. Lenin commented on these activities of Trotsky in these words:

"What a pity Kautsky and Wurm do not see the vileness and meanness of Martov and Trotsky . . . It is simply scandalous that Martov and Trotsky are lying with impunity and write libels under the guise of 'scientific articles'."

The Leninist Bolsheviks began the preparation of a conference which Trotsky and the Mensheviks opposed. In a letter to Luise Kautsky, Rosa Luxemburg commented on Trotsky's opposition as follows:

"Trotsky brags in 'strictly confidential' letters that HE is the big man who will get everything back on the right track. The Mensheviks who stick to him have taken courage and are boycotting the general Party conference."

The Bolshevik Conference was held in Prague in January 1912. Trotsky called an opposition conference in Paris in March 1912 and secured the passage of a resolution denouncing the Prague Conference. Out of the Paris Conference came the so-called "August Bloc," an unprincipled organization of Rightists and Trotskyists held together on the sole basis of anti-Bolshevism. The bloc, lacking any principled unity, soon split into factions, and Trotsky was one of the first to leave. Factional splits were a feature of Trotskyism from the beginning, and factionalism is the one thing on which they have remained consistent.

A considerable amount of data on Trotsky's support for the right in the guise of fighting for the "unity of the Party" can be obtained from a reading of Lenin on "The Unity Crisis In Our Party" in Volume 16, Collected Works.

During the period of the imperialist war Lenin advocated a policy of turning the imperialist war into a civil war. He advanced the slogan: "We must fight for the defeat of our own master class" and he said; "It is obvious that anyone who does not fight for the defeat of his own master class cannot make a genuine struggle to turn the imperialist war into a civil war or revolution."

Trotsky opposed this policy and, in his usual manner, promised more than Lenin—sounding more "left." "Lenin," Trotsky declared, was "following the path of least resistance and suffered from national narrowness. Not defeat for one's own master class, but a revolutionary struggle against war," was the position Trotsky advanced.

This has the APPEARANCE of being more "left" than Lenin but take away from the proposal for civil war the idea of defeat for one's own master class and what is left? Nothing! A completely empty phrase with a revolutionary sound and a counter-revolutionary objective. Accepting this position of Trotsky one can make fine speeches — and do nothing.

Coupled with this incorrect position was Trotsky's demand: "Not socialism in a single country but the United States of Europe." But the revolution, as we very well know, does not start everywhere at once. The crisis is sharp first in one country, then in another. Every revolutionist must be prepared, in his own country, to defeat first his own ruling class. To propose otherwise is to propose doing nothing. And that is precisely what our Trotskyists in The League for Socialist Action do—nothing! You see, they are internationalists, not nationalists, and they are waiting for the beginning of international revolution — the United States of the world. That way you can sound very revolutionary, but never make a move to organize the forces for revolutionary struggle.

On the national revolution in the colonial countries the heirs of Trotsky adhere strictly to the position of; "No colonial nationalist revolutions — we want the world proletarian revolution;" Objectively this means no struggle against imperialism, no alliance between the victims of imperialism in the colonies and its victims in the imperialist countries. Here in Canada the L.S.A. has no position on the Quebec struggle for self-determination because, they say, it is nationalist.

The counter-revolutionary content of this revolutionary-appearing internationalism was made clear in a critical period for the Russian Revolution. Under massive attack by the German imperial army Lenin advocated the signing of the Treaty of Brest Litovsk in order to get, in Lenin's words; "A breathing space for the revolution."

But again Trotsky came out with a far more "revolutionary" line than Lenin. Peace! A breathing space! not for him. He said: "No peace but a revolutionary war." In the meantime the German army advanced and the Treaty was signed under more harsh conditions. Trotsky's "revolutionary" line aided the enemies of the revolution.

Let us look briefly at Trotsky's theory of the "Permanent Revolution." In 1922, in the introduction to his book, "1905," Trotsky had this to say of his "Permanent Revolution":

"It was just in the period between the 22nd of January and the October strike (1905) that the views of the present writer were formed on the character of the revolutionary development of Russia . . . the idea that the Russian Revolution, confronted by immediate bourgeois aims, cannot be content with gaining these. The revolution cannot solve its first bourgeois tasks by any other means than by the seizure of power by the proletariat.

"But after it has seized power, the proletariat cannot confine itself to the bourgeois frame-work of the revolution . . .

"This means for the proletariat hostile encounters with every group of the bourgeoisie which has supported the proletariat at the beginning of the revolutionary struggle, not only with these, but with the broad masses of the peasantry as well, whose support has enabled them to get and maintain power."

This theory, that the working class must use state power not only against the feudal aristocracy, but against "the broad masses of peasantry," is at the very heart of Trotskyist theory. From this rejection of the peasantry as an ally of the working class arise the doubts about the ability and power of the working people to make revolution in the so-called "underdeveloped countries" where the peasants

are in the vast majority — a disbelief in the ability of the workers to maintain a government, and to build socialism.

If China were to proceed on the basis of Trotsky's theory of "permanent revolution" the workers would not just be leading the struggle against the capitalist roaders — the agents of the bourgeoisie in the Party and state offices — they would be making war on tens of millions of peasants, thus ensuring their own defeat and the certain victory of the bourgeois elements.

Out of this theory of "permanent revolution" followed a second theory — that the revolution can only be successful if it spreads to other, advanced countries where the proletariat are a decisive majority. "If this does not happen," said Trotsky, "it will be hopeless to believe—as is evident from the experience of history and theoretical consideration that the revolution in Russia, for example, could remain isolated in a capitalist world.

"The contradiction in the position of a worker's government in a backward country with an overwhelming preponderance of peasant population can find their solution only on an international scale, in the arena of the world revolution."

"Without the direct state support for the European proletariat, the Russian working class cannot retain power and cannot turn their temporary rule into a permanent socialist dictatorship."

This position of Trotsky is comparable to that of the revisionists in relation to China today. Articles in the "Pacific Tribune" a short time ago pointed to the overwhelming majority of peasants in China and contended that socialism in China could be built, and the peasant-worker imbalance corrected only through maintenance of an alliance with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

"State" aid is not the only way in which workers render assistance to a socialist nation. Such assistance can be given BEFORE the workers have conquered power. The Soviet Union was aided by the mutiny of the French fleet in the Black Sea, by the revolt of the German troops, by the Mutiny of allied troops at Archangle. It was aided through the formation of Committees of Action in Britain in 1920 and 1921 when Britain threatened to attack the Soviets. It was aided by strikes of sailors and longshoremen around the world who refused to transport military supplies to Russia.

The revolution is aided by the struggles of the oppressed in every land, by every blow which weakens imperialism and capitalism. It is aided by the conflict within the imperialist camp itself.

The Trotskyists advocated an economic program that was entirely in line with their theory that the peasantry was the natural enemy of the working class and of the revolution. Lenin laid stress on the need to break down the price differential — the economic scissors — between town and country — and win the peasant as an ally for socialism.

Preobrazhensky, the economic expert for the Trotskyist opposition, maintained that the workers in a backward country must exploit the peasants in order to accumulate the wealth needed for the construction of socialist industry—the more backward the country the more intensive the exploitation. This Trotskyist "economic expert" would thus turn the proletariat into collective exploiters of the peasantry. A quick way, not to socialism but to capitalism.

What the application of this policy in China would mean to the revolution scarcely needs any elaboration. Like the "permanent revolution" theory on which it is based it would throw the peasants into the arms of the bourgeois elements and put the revolution in an impossible situation. It would guarantee the defeat of the revolution in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, where the peasantry are in the majority. The oppressed peasantry, instead of being allies of socialism would be its opponents.

The "economic expert", together with a host of other Trotskyists, also made economic proposals in respect of the working class which were as incorrect as those made in respect of the peasants.

In a socialist country needing industrialization the workers made economic sacrifices in a conscious effort to build a socialist society. In other words, they sacrifice a part of their immediate interests for the sake of the future. This kind of sacrifice is essential to any serious

attempt at socialist construction.

In the midst of the most difficult period of construction the Trotskyist opposition attempted an appeal to the most backward strata of the working class with a demand that wages be increased 30 to 40 percent. Fortunately, the workers were sufficiently class conscious to spurn them.

This same tactic was employed in the highly-concentrated industrial area of Shanghai, in attempts to defeat the Chinese Revolution.

It was once tried by Chiang Kai-Shek who gave a big boost to workers incomes on the eve of fleeing to Taiwan. It was tried a second time in December and January by the capitalist roaders in their attempt at seizure of power in the Shanghai district.

This economist line, the appeal to selfish interests, is used in Canada by both Trotskyists and revisionists as a measure to gain popular support in parliamentary contests. They talk glibly about socialism bringing in its wake the 4-hour day, giving no consideration to the fact that workers in the advanced nations have the responsibility of aiding their comrades in the former colonial and semi-colonial countries.

On the question of proletarian culture the Trotskyists advance a counter-revolutionary theory well wrapped in revolutionary phraseology. Here is how Trotsky formulated the position:

"Will the proletariat have enough time to create a 'proletarian' culture? In contrast to the regime of the slave-owners and of the feudal lords and of the bourgeoisie, the proletariat regards its dictatorship as a brief period of transition. When we wish to denounce the all-too-optimistic views about the transition to socialism, we point out that the period of the social revolution on a world scale, will last not months and not years, but decades—decades, but not centuries, and certainly not thousands of years. Can the proletariat in this time create a new culture? It is legitimate to doubt this, because the years of social revolution will be years of fierce class struggle in which destruction will occupy more room than new construction. At any rate, the energy of the proletariat itself will be spent mainly in conquering power, in retaining and strengthening it and in applying it to the most urgent needs of existence and of further struggle. The proletariat, however will reach its highest tension and the fullest manifestation of its class character during this revolutionary period and it will be within such narrow limits that the possibility of planful, cultural reconstruction will be confined. On the other hand, as the new regime will be more and more protected from political and military surprises and as the condition for cultural creation will become more favourable, the proletariat will be more and more dissolved into a Socialist community and will free itself from its class characteristics and thus cease to be a proletariat. In other words, there can be no question of the creation of a new culture, that is of construction on a large historic scale during the period of dictatorship. The cultural reconstruction which will begin the need of the iron clutch of a dictatorship unparalleled in history will have disappeared, will not have a class character. This seems to lead to the conclusion that there is no proletarian culture and that there never will be any and in fact there is no reason to regret this. The proletariat acquires power for the purpose of doing away forever with class culture and to make way for human culture. We frequently seem to forget this."

This all sounds very moving, very revolutionary, but strip it of its superfluous verbeage and what is left: A proposal to leave the field of culture and ideology to the bourgeoisie, uncontested. This, as the experience of the Soviet Union on the negative and of China on the positive side, gives the bourgeoisie a distinct and most important advantage in their struggle to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and return to the capitalist road. Here, as in other respects, Trotsky's revolutionary sounding theories serve the cause of counter revolution.

Trotsky never believed in the possibility of a single nation proceeding with the construction of a socialist society. He did not believe it was possible to maintain working class rule in one country. During the war and just prior to the Russian revolution Trotsky wrote:

... "the building of a lasting regime of proletarian

dictatorship would only be conceivable on a European scale, that is, only in the form of a federation of European republics."

"... it would be hopeless to believe that, for example, revolutionary Russia could maintain itself in the face of a conservative Europe or a socialist Germany could exist isolated in a capitalist world."

In 1923, in the course of the debate on whether or not the Soviet Union could start socialist construction, Trotsky reviewed the question and wrote:

"So long as the bourgeoisie remains in power in the rest of the European countries, we are forced to seek an understanding with them in our struggle against isolation; at the same time, it can be said definitely that this understanding can help us at best to heal this or that economic wound, to make this or that step forward, but that a real upward swing of socialist economy in Russia will only be possible after the victory of the proletariat in the most important countries of Europe."

(We would do well to remember this statement of Trotsky that socialism could not be built in the Soviet Union when the Trotskyists now dispute with us our contention that the revisionists have returned to the capitalist road and they maintain that "Russia is still socialist"—and Yugoslavia also).

The question arises: How could Trotsky hold these views and yet join the Bolsheviks and participate, even to a limited extent, in the revolution? Aside from the fact that Trotsky had his own political project to work on he also felt that the Russian revolution was but the start of a conflagration that would engulf all Europe. Hence his fundamental differences with the Bolsheviks were temporarily obscured and kept in the background only to surface again when the tide of revolution in Europe had ebbed.

Trotsky and his followers expressed pessimism and despair in the face of a temporary and partial stabilization; they exaggerated the problems and difficulties confronting the Soviet Union and gave way to panic and despair.

How was it that Trotsky became the unchallenged leader of the opposition blocs that were continually forming and disintegrating? First, because he was the most consistent opponent of Lenin's revolutionary line from 1903 on. Second, because he was not only the most experienced opposition leader, but was also the most experienced in organizing opposition blocs. Finally, because he had the gift of an eloquent phrase and could make palatable to unsuspecting workers, a counter-revolutionary program. He was a master hand at concealing a program that runs counter to the fundamental interest of the working class, covering it over with revolutionary-sounding phrases.

We have a current example of this tactic in the recent L.S.A. "discovery" that Canada is an imperialist nation. This provides our local Trotskyists with the possibility of sounding very revolutionary while they impede the struggle against U.S. imperialism, the number one enemy of the people of the world today. We are also advised by them that the Quebec movement for self-determination is petty-bourgeois and nationalist, therefore of no concern to socialists and revolutionaries. Accepting this advice would deprive the anti-imperialist movement in Canada of one of its main immediate sources of strength. To top it off they lead the workers up the social democratic garden path which leads only to betrayal and defeat.

The Trotsky bloc is in no way cohesive. It is made up of elements who have differences among themselves and unite only on the single point of opposition to a revolutionary program. Splits and factions are as natural as breathing to such an organization.

This condition is not so ridiculous as it might appear. Organization is a political question and a given policy requires a particular type of organization to put it into practice. In this regard the particular type of organization adopted by the Trotskyists serve their counter-revolutionary purposes well.

What if the Trotskyists had a strong, disciplined, democratic-centralist, type of revolutionary movement? Would they not have to accept full responsibility for the content of any program issued in their name? Is it not a fact that they would have also to be responsible for the

words and deeds of their members. But with the factional type of organization they adopt they have to accept responsibility for nothing or no one. They can, through one of their members or a faction, fly a political kite and if it is favourably received they can develop it as a "party policy". If, on the other hand, it gets shot down they can disown it with the claim that the person or faction, while they had full right to publicly state their opinion, did not speak officially for the party. This situation is favourable to the counter-revolutionary role of the Trotskyists and they are not likely to change it in the foreseeable future.

SUPPORT TO THE N.L.F.

An event of great significance for the people's anti-imperialist struggle in Canada took place recently in Vancouver. A group of students, workers and intellectuals have banded together to form the first Committee to Support the South Vietnam National Liberation Front. It is our understanding that similar committees are in the process of forming in Montreal and Toronto. This is good news, and marks a new high consciousness in the old "anti-war movement". The committee in Vancouver from its start was born out of struggle with the reactionary leaders of the old movement, the revisionist Communist Party, the Trotskyites, and right wing labour fakers. It is high time these misleaders were by-passed and a new direction taken.

The committee has already carried out its first public action and has won tremendous support from the people. The day before the October 21st demonstration against U.S. Aggression in Vietnam the committee handed out a leaflet at both universities in Vancouver and also to the 3,000 demonstrators on the march. The members of the committee also took around cans with "Support the NLF" on them and collected \$250 dollars in donations for the N.L.F. They also distributed hundreds of Vietnamese books and pamphlets.

By their actions the committee has very effectively provided a principled alternative to the phoney misleaders of the peace movement. Below we reprint the committee's leaflet. Clearly it blames the aggressor and points to victory for the Vietnamese people.

Vietnam has been regarded as a prize catch by numerous imperialistic invaders. In the past such aggressors have been the Chinese emperors, and more recently the French and the Japanese. Today the aggressor is the United States of America. The reason for the American presence in Vietnam was best explained by President Eisenhower in 1953. Speaking in defence of U.S. aid to the French in Vietnam, he said: "... When the United States votes \$400,000,000 to help the war in Indochina, we are voting for the cheapest way we can to prevent the occurrence of something that would be of the most terrible significance to the U.S.A.—the loss of our ability to get what we need from the riches of the Indonesian territory and from Southeast Asia."

In other words, America sees her fight in Vietnam as a front-line defence of her economic empire in Asia. But the French proved too weak to defend America's interests, and the Americans had to go from just involvement. Since the French left in 1954 after their defeat at Dienbienphu at the hands of the Vietnamese people, the Americans have kept the country divided by supporting in the south one corrupt dictatorship after another—and have had to increase their military presence there to over half a million men to protect these dictatorships from their own people.

In December, 1960, the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam was formed to unite all the forces in the south that would take a stand against U.S. Imperialism. Since the goal of imperialism is the military and political domination of foreign countries for the purpose of economic exploitation, and since the goal of independence from such imperialist oppression is a common aim to all Vietnamese except a handful of quislings, the National Liberation Front represents the vast majority of the people. It actually administers the liberated zones in South Vietnam—comprising most of the coun-

At one time Trotskyism was considered a legitimate trend in the working-class movement. There would be little point in arguing at this time whether, even half-a-century ago, that was a correct estimation. In any event, more than 30 years ago the Communist movement came to the conclusion that Trotskyism was no longer a legitimate trend in the labour movement but an out-and-out counter-revolutionary organization wholly in the service of reaction. The history of Trotskyism since that time proves the correctness of the position taken more than 3 decades ago—Trotskyism is organized counter-revolution.



try's area and population—and it is supported by the Vietnamese who are still in the areas occupied by U.S. and puppet troops.

Since the Americans are in Vietnam for imperialistic reasons and despite what the American people are told, not for reasons of logic or morality, "reasonable" and "moral" arguments will not induce them to leave. The Vietnamese people have learned through their many struggles that no aggressor has ever left their country unless he was forced to leave. Thus the swiftest route to a just peace in Vietnam is an American retreat from Vietnam in the face of continued success for the Vietnamese people led by the NLF in their anti-imperialist struggle.

For these reasons, vague opposition to American policy and even mere demands for the withdrawal of American troops are no longer enough—clearly it is necessary that the NLF itself be directly supported by the anti-war movement in North America. The people who drew up this statement recognize this need and feel that the formation of a SUPPORT THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT COMMITTEE is the best way to fulfill it. If you agree with us, or if you would like further information, please phone 253-6180, 733-9993, 732-5835, or 732-5834.

SUPPORT THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT

**LONG LIVE
THE VICTORY OF
PEOPLE'S WAR!**

LIN PIAO

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CRISIS IN NOVA SCOTIA

A scant few weeks ago the Tory Party wound up an American-style hoop-la political convention with the election of Stanfield, a millionaire industrialist, to take over from lawyer John Diefenbaker as leader of the party. Stanfield stepped down as premier of Nova Scotia to don the mantle of Tory National leader. Now with the last convention hurrah barely finished echoing through the vast void of Maple Leaf Gardens, Nova Scotia, already crisis-ridden, is heading into one of the worst economic crisis that depressed and poverty-stricken province has ever faced. Sydney, Nova Scotia, with its 34,000 population appears to be well on the way to becoming the largest and most modern "ghost town" in Canada.

The Dominion Steel and Coal Corporation which employs 3200 of Sydney's wage earners is scheduled to close down by April 1968 thus virtually guaranteeing that the economic life of the community will be brought to a complete stand-still. This action follows closely the decision to close down the 6,000-man Cape Breton coal industry within 15 years. The end result of these activities is to make of Cape Breton a disaster area, with little hope of any kind of a future for the area under the profit-hungry capitalist system.

The Dominion Iron and Steel Company was incorporated on March 30, 1899 by an Act passed in the legislature of Nova Scotia. Iron and steel works were constructed on land made available to the company by and at the expense of the town of Sydney and free from municipal taxation for a period of 30 years—the first, but by no means the last or largest, of many subsidies granted the operation from the public purse. An agreement was made with Dominion Coal Company for a coal supply to extend over 93 years (till 1992).

In 1909 both the steel and the coal operations were amalgamated under authority of a perpetual charter granted by the Government of Nova Scotia. Again in 1920, company operations were expanded to include railroad, shipping, lumber, railroad car construction, shipyard and land speculation operations. The company was well on the way to reaping substantial profits.

These far-flung Nova Scotia industrial operations are owned by the English Hawker-Siddeley group and constitute a prime example of what happens to us under foreign ownership. Capitalists from abroad take the cream off our natural resources and leave us with run-down, bankrupt operations.

During the years the British-controlled company ran the operations there were many sharp labour battles fought in attempts to improve working conditions. It followed almost automatically that armed forces were used in the course of these labour struggles to maintain "law and order". One memorable strike in 1923 saw armed forces in occupation of Cape Breton for many months. The army was sent in to "aid the civil authority" despite the fact that the Sydney municipal council protested there was no necessity for intervention by the army, but the company obtained an order from a local judge which over-ruled the decision of the elected council and the army arrived to protect company scabs.

One of the main issues in the strike was the length of the working day. The industry was on continuous operation with a 7-day week, eleven hours on day shift and thirteen hours on night shift. Every second week a 24-hour shift was worked on change-over. Wages at the time of the strike were \$4.54 PER DAY—up from \$3.58 per day just prior to the strike. A government Commission set up to investigate the dispute, commenting on the long working day, referred to its injurious effect in terms that were amazingly restrained and unconsciously ironic:

"A twelve-hour day followed steadily by any group of men for a considerable number of years means a decrease of their efficiency and a reduction of their vigor. The question of hours of labour has to be considered from a social as well as a physical point of view. A twelve-hour day in the plant means about thirteen hours away from his home and family enjoyments and leisure."

After 68 years of operation during which time the company received a government grant of four million dollars

for the purpose of extending wharf facilities and on the basis of a promise that the company would spend an additional four million to expand production.

Politicians are making loud complaints about the company's "bad faith" in proposing to close down the mill without consideration for the devastating effect that arbitrary action will have on the community. Typical of official comment on the question are the remarks of Health Minister Allan MacEachen, a Nova Scotian, who stated: "We are deeply shocked...at this sudden and unexpected decision." MacEachen later added: Dosco has "contracted responsibilities and we think they have social responsibilities, too". Smith, Premier of Nova Scotia, added: Dosco "is completely lacking in any sense of corporate responsibility to its employees and to the community in which it has operated."

What these Ministers of the Crown fail to tell the Cape Breton workers is that capitalist enterprises have no other corporate or social responsibilities than the making of profits. The community exists for the benefit of the company—not the company for the community. When profits begin to decline the company has no further need of the community and it can die. This has been the history of capitalism everywhere for all of its existence and all the righteous indignation in the world will not hide that fact.

There have been some tentative and hesitant proposals for nationalization through the agency of the Crown Corporation which was established to close down the coal mines over a 15-year period instead of almost overnight as in the case of the steel mill. But the dedicated private enterprisers are scared to death of even this mild suggestion and say there must be another way.

One of the alternatives to the Crown Corporation which has found favour with the politicians is to transfer ownership to Japanese capitalist interests in the hope they will find it a profitable undertaking and save the community. It is evident that our "elected representatives" in parliament can think only in terms of foreign ownership of Canadian industry and are thoroughly frightened of anything that even suggests independence. They obviously intend to perpetuate the very thing that is one of the main sources of our economic problems—foreign ownership and control of our industry and natural resources. This Nova Scotia crisis is one more solid proof of that fact.

If Sydney and Cape Breton are to be saved from complete extinction the people of the area must take matters into their own hands and not leave the outcome to the political stooges of the capitalists. If the steel mill is not saved the mines must also close down as the coal for the mill will be no longer required and the 15-year phase-out operation will collapse.

The working people of Nova Scotia should make it their "centennial project" to keep the mines and mill in operation in defiance of the capitalists and politicians. Committees of workers and technical personnel could be established to maintain production with the support of virtually the entire community—businessmen as well as workers since they too have a stake in the outcome. One thing is clear: the unions of the miners and steelworkers can be the vehicle for such action.

Letters to the Editor

Progressive Worker
Vancouver, B.C.

Editor:

The theory of the two Chinas, the Peoples' Republic of China and Taiwan is not only funny as hell! but it is also tragic because it is part and parcel of the tremendous struggle taking place in Vietnam today.

Who but an idiot can dispute the Peoples' Republic of

China as being the true representative country of the Chinese people? And who but another idiot can dispute the fact that Formosa is a United States of America colony of displaced Chinese, who constitute a drop in the bucket in relation to population as compared to the Peoples' Republic of China?

This tiny little island of Formosa with a proud deposed Chinese dictator who wants to save his face, is greatly responsible for drawing world forces into conflict. And for Formosans with the United States Americans backing them to expect the United Nations and the rest of the world to recognize them as the true representatives of the Chinese people is not only assinine; they take us for idiots; on top of all this they are, both they and the Americans, pathetically naive!

If Formosa wants independence, let them have independence without outside interference such as dependency on the United States, who pump them up with this bilge that they are the real China of Asia, for their own colonial interests; but for the love of Pete stop trying to sell this farce that Formosa or Taiwan is the real representative country of the Chinese people! We just ain't that stupid!

H.B.

(LETTER FROM AN AMERICAN)

Jack Scott;
Dear Comrade;

It seems so strange to use this old, militant address, for here in these States it is frowned upon, by all and sundry.

You may recall that I, my wife, (A) and my daughter visited with you in your printing shop, August 21st. (by way of refreshing your memory)

The two hour conversation we had with you was one of the most informative and inspiring we have had in many a year in this blighted and hysterical land. It was as if you had opened a vast window to the sea and our minds were cleaned of the bourgeois garbage with which we are deluged every day of our lives here!

The Vietnam stalemate here (as they are beginning to call it) is creating a crisis within a crisis.

Gen. Wallace Green, commandant of the Marine Corps, has told the American Legion convention that the war in Vietnam is more important than correcting conditions in the nation's cities. He adds, "... unless the Communist theory of world revolution," is stopped," then our domestic problems are going to become mighty unimportant in the future."

A columnist David Lawrence says, "Civilian makers of military policy have deprived American forces of victory in Vietnam just as they did during the Korean war 16 years ago when the joint chiefs of staff recommended the bombing of Red China's supply lines north of the Yalu River, only to be overruled."

Drew Pearson (the peerless son of truth!) writes that Hanoi gets false reports, distorting the picture of the U.S. war effort in Vietnam. If the communists believe their own secret reports, they expect to wear out American patience and win the war by default."

And so the propaganda goes. The blunt reality of our severe reverses in Vietnam must be talked away at any cost.

Republican candidates are calling for ALL OUT BOMBING of North Vietnam, with no sanctuary allowed the "enemy." I wonder what these maniacs are talking about. The bombing of North Vietnam is the most intensive and powerful in the history of warfare. They have become so panicky at the thought of the most powerful force in history being contained and frustrated by such a small country that they are liable to do any crazy thing that in their desperation will, "Get it over with." This phrase has now become a national slogan of the reactionaries of this land.

The real tragedy here is that the American worker and the labor unions have become so thoroughly immersed in bourgeois ideology that they are as strongly for "victory," in Vietnam as the most rabid militarist or corporation chairman.

The peace movement is comprised mostly of students, young middle class people, and independent union members who can not get their own union to oppose the war.

As a matter of fact the unions fight for war contracts

among themselves. Last year Sec. McNamara proposed the closing of several shipyards which were obsolete and superfluous, you should have heard the unions scream that the ship yards should remain open because it meant jobs.

In their estimation, never mind what the "job" consisted of, even if it was only counting the number of worms in a can it was still work, and that is all that matters on the U.S. scene!!!!

In my estimation only a very severe crisis will ever jar the American workers out of their sickness and corruption. They will become real human beings only when they have tasted a bit of real hell.

Meanwhile we will work to do what we can to stop the imperialist aggression of the U.S. in Vietnam, Africa, South America and wherever else it may occur.

Slowly the crisis of Vietnam, the city riots, the high taxes, the inflation, aggravate more and more. U.S. citizens are awakening and participating in the struggle at every level. Though like all truly effective and decisive events in history, it is a slow and protracted struggle. But time is running out and I am convinced that the U.S. citizen will be too late to stop the drive of the American imperialists toward disaster.

To me the world scene is optimistic and dynamic. I am convinced that when the chips are down the Russian working class will force their government to follow the correct policy and resolutely oppose with military force the madman of the earth—U.S. imperialism!!!

Comradely yours

J

P.S. I am reading your literature with enthusiasm.

RED RIVER BRIDGE By REWI ALLEY

Out of Hanoi city runs the Red River bridge; Vietnamese courage, Vietnamese hands built it and now an arrogant, purse proud U.S.A. rips at it with bombs; "Submit, or else we shall rip your land to shreds" the madman yell, withal waveringly. Dearly do Vietnamese love that bridge; for them the Red River is part of their lives, their tradition; a bridge that realized early hopes; but deep in their hearts they know the main stay is the human spirit; what men have built, men can build again, and build it better; the thing to do now is to toughen the will to fight back so that no bomb can break it. You escalate into our Hanoi and on to the Red River bridge; we carry the war with our American Negro brothers right into the core of your national life; no single great base you have planted in our land and have squandered your billions on, will be safe from us; at our rear lies China; at your rear a pack of jackals; with us increasingly are the peoples of the world, while you ever become as hopeless as a policeman on a Detroit street; when it comes to building again, we shall build all right; not one bridge but a hundred; with you and your smelly gang clear of Vietnam, all can be done.

Peitaiho — August 12th, 1967.



The Internationale

A Parisian transport worker, Eugene Pottier, wrote the words to "The Internationale" in 1871, and they were set to music composed by Pierre Degeyter, a wood carver from Lille, in 1888. "The Internationale" became the anthem for radical movements throughout the world. It was the official anthem of the Soviet Union until 1944, when

the U.S.S.R. adopted a new national anthem, "The Hymn of the Soviet Union." It was translated into English by Charles Kerr, head of a cooperative socialist book publishing company in Chicago, and included in a socialist songbook published in 1901.

Arise, ye prisoners of starvation!
 Arise, ye wretched of the earth,
 For justice thunders condemnation,
 A better world's in birth.
 No more tradition's chains shall bind us,
 Arise, ye slaves! no more in thrall!
 The earth shall rise on new foundations,
 We have been naught, we shall be all.

Refrain

'Tis the final conflict,
 Let each stand in his place,
 The Industrial Union
 Shall be the human race.

We want no condescending saviors,
 To rule us from a judgment hall;
 We workers ask not for their favors;
 Let us consult for all.

To make the thief disgorge his booty
 To free the spirit from its cell,
 We must ourselves decide our duty,
 We must decide and do it well.

Refrain

The law oppresses us and tricks us,
 Wage systems drain our blood;
 The rich are free from obligations,
 The laws the poor delude.
 Too long we've languished in subjection,
 Equality has other laws;
 "No rights," says she, "without their duties,
 No claims on equals without cause."

Refrain

Behold them seated in their glory,
 The kings of mine and rail and soil!

What have you read in all their story,
 But how they plundered toil?
 Fruits of the people's work are buried
 In the strong coffers of a few;
 In working for their restitution
 The men will only ask their due.

Refrain

Toilers from shops and fields united,
 The union we of all who work;
 The earth belongs to us, the people,
 No room here for the shirk.
 How many on our flesh have fattened!
 But if the noisome birds of prey
 Shall vanish from the sky some morning,
 The blessed sunlight still will stay.

Refrain