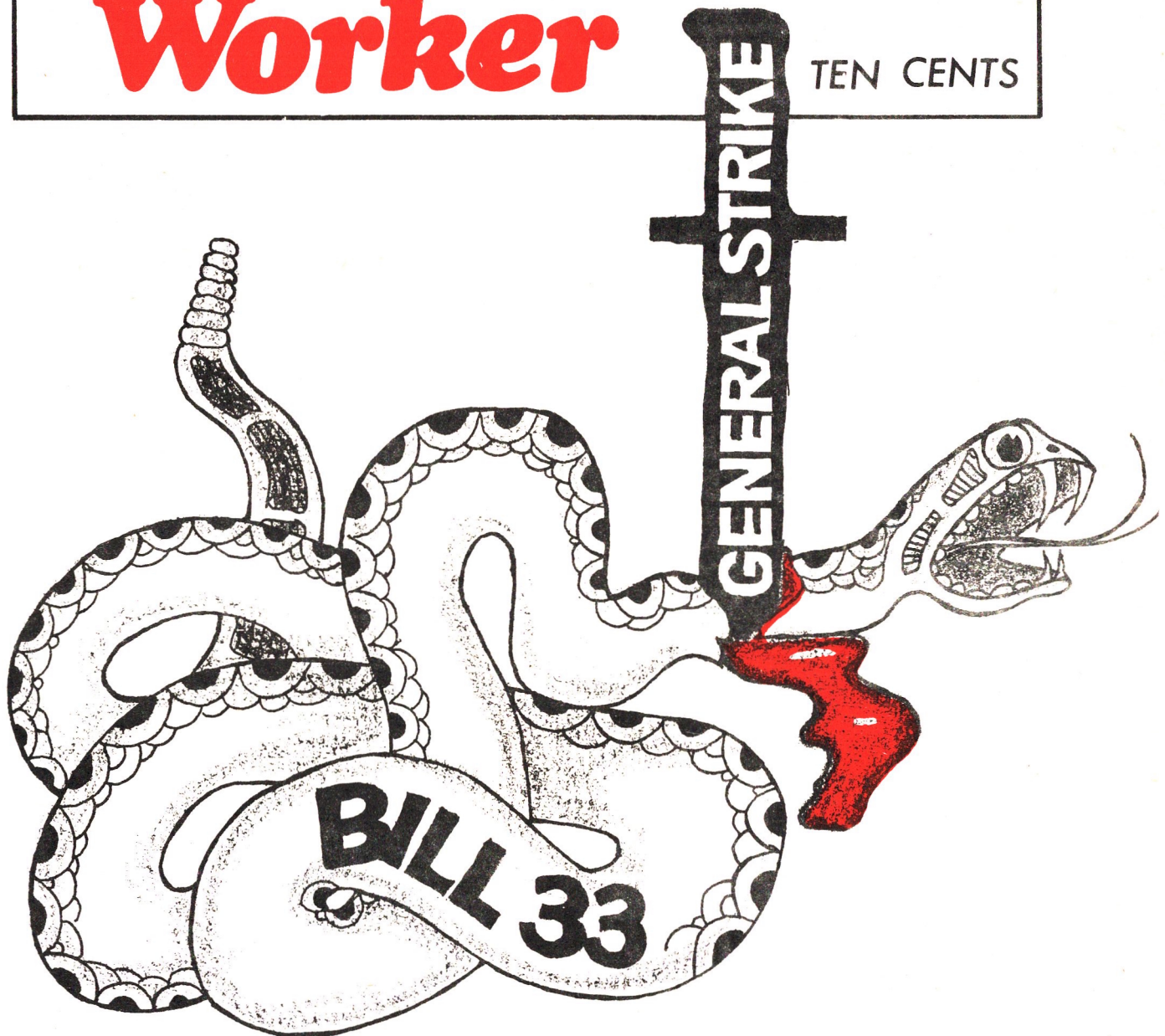


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# Progressive Worker



Published Monthly By  
PROGRESSIVE WORKERS MOVEMENT

VANCOUVER  
35 East Hastings Street, Vancouver 4, B.C.

TORONTO  
MAY 1st BRANCH..  
P.O. Box 1151, Adelaide St. Postal Station  
Toronto 26, Ontario

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## JOHNSON IS NOT THE ISSUE

On Sunday, March 30, President Johnson, at the end of a speech on the situation in Vietnam, declared: "... I have concluded that I should not permit the presidency to become involved in the partisan divisions that are developing in this political year."

With this declaration Johnson attempted the impossible — he proposed to make the presidency of the United States a non-political office freed from the vicious in-fighting which is a characteristic of American politics. Especially characteristic of the quadrennial struggle for the nation's top political office, the Presidency.

The chief — if not the only — reason for Johnson's totally unexpected announcement was the rapidly deteriorating position of the imperialists in Vietnam following the magnificent Tet offensive of the National Liberation Front and the fact that the contest for the presidency was being turned into a forum for critical reviews of U.S. foreign policy and, in many respects, into a massive demonstration of opposition against current policies represented by the presidential office and the administration. The fact that Johnson would have been a very likely winner of the nomination for president at the Democratic convention in August, in spite of the primaries; the fact that a possible change of president in November would make no substantial difference in the basic objectives of the U.S. imperialists although there might be some changes in the tactics used to achieve the objectives; are beside the point. The point is that the contest for the presidency had become an avenue by which significant numbers of the American people were registering their opposition to U.S. aggression abroad and to the policies leading to increased unemployment, poverty and hunger at home. Johnson's decision, therefore, was prompted by the desire of the ruling class to "defuse" the campaign for the nomination for President of the United States by removing the most contentious candidate from the active participants. The confusion into which the "opposition" camps were precipitated is a highly dramatic demonstration of the temporary success of Johnson's manoeuvre. Having made Johnson the issue the various so-called "peace candidates," confronted with the tactic of Johnson's retreat from the contest, were reduced to fighting among themselves over the nomination.

It should be emphasized here that Johnson is by no means out of the race for president despite his seemingly unequivocal declaration:

"... I shall not seek — and will not accept — the nomination of my party for another term as your president ..."

In American politics being a "non-candidate" is

an oft-chosen method of obtaining a nomination for office. Johnson is by no means ruled out as a possible candidate and has, in fact, set the stage for himself to become the leading contestant at the August convention.

No opposition candidate is now directing his fire at Johnson. Indeed to do so would be considered by many Americans as a very unpatriotic and selfish gesture for has not Johnson demonstrated a great spirit of patriotism and self-sacrifice in renouncing the highest office in the land in the interest of national unity. This leaves the initiative firmly in the hands of Johnson in relation to the other contestants for the Democratic nomination. Also, if the Johnson administration should achieve the near-impossible and make a deal that would stop, or even limit, the fighting in Vietnam he would be in a position to assume the role of "peace-maker" at the Democratic convention. On the other hand, if serious fighting should continue, and if he succeeded in convincing a substantial number of the American people that "Communist intransigence" was to blame for the failure to achieve a 'peaceful solution,' he would be in a position of being hailed as the "strong man" needed to give leadership in a period of crisis. As of now Johnson is in the strongest position despite his announced withdrawal.

Johnson's tactic certainly had the effect of reducing the serious splits over tactics that had become evident in the ranks of the ruling class. But that was not the only, nor even the main reason for the dramatic gesture by the president. What was of infinitely more important than the division over tactics among the ruling class—in fact, the cause of the division—was the mass movement of the people in opposition to administration policies; a movement reaching overwhelming proportions and receiving further encouragement from the open evidence of differences among the imperialists. Any measure which would blunt the sharp edge of the mass movement would automatically contribute toward healing the divisions and improve America's relations with her imperialist allies. Even a temporary success would at least ensure a breathing space and allow time to attempt measures that might be more permanent. That the Johnson move encountered some initial success is due primarily to certain weaknesses in the mass anti-war movement.

The chief shortcoming of the anti-war campaign is the fact that it is not a conscious anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist movement, thereby failing to come to grips with the fundamental fact of imperialist aggression as the natural result of the system of capitalist exploitation. The responsibility for crisis and war are

# U.S. AGGRESSORS: GET OUT OF VIETNAM

laid at the door of individuals who occupy positions of power and authority and of the administrations they direct instead of being attributed to the objectives and the aggressive aims of the ruling class. We have at hand two recent examples of this type of fatal error from groups pretending to a position of leadership in the anti-war mass movement.

In "World Outlook," organ of the Trotskyist Fourth International, we find this statement:

"The alarm that Johnson's course has produced within the ruling circles is evident by the opposition to its disastrous consequences expressed by publications ranging from the Wall Street Journal to the San Francisco newspapers. These sober heads have been unable to persuade or pressure the man in the White House



Cartoon from the Caracas periodical "Tal-Cual"

to reassess or revise his reckless policy . . ." (Mar. 26)

In this passage, written just prior to Johnson's public act of political immolation, the pundits of the Fourth International cast Johnson in the role of supreme dictator who defies, and treats with equal insolence and contempt both the ruling class and the masses. He is that most impossible of all phenomena; a ruler without a class base. "The man in the White House," says World Outlook, will not be persuaded or pressured into reassessing or revising his reckless policy.

We find this viewpoint echoed in a public statement released by Gus Hall, spokesman for the Communist Party USA, just after the Johnson speech. Mr. Hall declared: "The step taken towards the de-escalation of the criminal war of aggression which the Johnson government wages in Vietnam can only be appraised as a welcome turn of events . . .

" . . . this can be the beginning of a chain of events that can end the disastrous war that the Johnson government escalated to such dangerous heights . . ."

Here we have iterated and reiterated the viewpoint that Johnson's removal from office will substantially advance, if not fully realize, the cause of peace in Southeast Asia. This is not fundamentally different to the claims of McCarthy and Kennedy who are vying for the president's mantle. What this incorrect approach does is to make Johnson, and not the imperialist ruling class, the focal point of the anti-war movement, and when Johnson is removed the focal point is re-

moved and the movement becomes disoriented.

With the compliance of some so-called "leaders" of the anti-war movement the stage is being set for a replay of the election of 1964 with only a slight alteration in the cast of characters. Instead of Johnson it could be Kennedy or McCarthy appearing as "advocates of peace" in opposition to Nixon as the war advocate and we would experience a repeat of the developments that occurred in the post 1964-election years—an increase in imperialist aggression.

The only way to give a keen edge to the struggle and consistency of action to the anti-war movement is to raise the political consciousness of the participants and give the movement an anti-imperialist character. Johnson must be seen as the servant of the imperialists and the administrator of their policies—not as their master and the originator of imperialist policies of aggression.

Johnson is not the issue and his removal, while it may result in some tactical maneuvering, will not produce any real change in U.S. imperialist policies of aggression. It is the imperialist ruling class and their aims of world conquest that is the real issue and must be made the focal point of attack.

#### THE AMERICAN DILEMMA

The United States is caught in a massive three-front crisis, the war in Vietnam being but one of the fronts. The other two fronts are the struggle for Black Liberation and the mounting economic crisis characterized by the spectacular world currency crisis. No one of these problems can be solved, or even slightly diminished, by anything so simple as the removal of Johnson from the presidential contest. So long as the American system of imperialism remains the crisis will intensify no matter who is elected president.

The ruling class have accepted the certainty of a vast expansion in the Black struggle during the coming summer. They have prepared plans for the virtual occupation of the United States to meet such an eventuality.

Simultaneous with the expectation of a sharpening of the struggle of Black Americans there is an intensification of the crisis of the war in Vietnam induced by the victorious Tet offensive. This spells even greater involvement for American youth and a consequent increase in anti-war activity—the area of struggle which embraces white America.

The possibility of the anti-war struggle reaching a peak this summer at the same time the fight for the liberation of Black America becomes more intense was not a pleasing prospect for the U.S. ruling class to contemplate. There was no hope that a confrontation with the Black Americans could be avoided—all signs

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pointed to an eruption of unprecedented proportions in the ghettos. The very real indications of a possible merging of the anti-war struggle with the Black lib-



Photo: Mr. Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the South Viet Nam N.F.L. among the heroes of the P.L.A.F.

eration movement was a constant nightmare to the ruling class. Since it appeared unlikely that a confrontation with the Black movement could be avoided it became necessary to find a way to postpone conflict with the anti-war movement at least until the state had an opportunity to suppress, and bring under control, the expected uprising in the ghettos. Hence Johnson's dramatic move designed to blunt and head off the anti-war struggle at least until August or perhaps November.

An examination of Johnson's speech will prove beyond doubt that the U.S. imperialists have no intention of ending the war in Asia. The only way the war in Vietnam can be ended is for the forces of aggression to withdraw and Johnson has made it clear that the ruling class have no intention of doing that. Stopping the bombing of the North will not end the struggle of the Vietnamese for national liberation and for the reunification of their homeland. Offers of negotiation are a meaningless gesture when the U.S. imperialists refuse to take the only possible action that can end the war—immediate withdrawal. They are approaching the negotiating table with empty hands.

How empty Johnson's gesture is can be seen in the debate over a negotiating site. Having once said he was prepared to go anywhere, anytime, to have talks with Hanoi, Johnson now balks at the proposed sites of the Vietnamese. He counters with proposals for a meeting in Indonesia, ruled by the fascist murders of more than one million people, or Burma or India, with their reactionary and rabid anti-China governments and calls these stooges of imperialism "neutral countries."

Johnson's speech contains much additional evidence pointing to the fact that U.S. imperialism has no intention of ending its aggression in Vietnam short

of being soundly defeated in the field of battle. Some of the points in Johnson's speech underlining U.S. aggressive intentions were as follows:

—to increase direct expenditure on the Vietnam war by \$5.1 billion during 1968 and 1969, thus raising financial commitments to the war to over \$30 billion per year,

—to activate further reserve forces and deploy them in Southeast Asia,

—to re-equip the South Vietnamese (puppet) forces.

The kind of peace that Johnson proposes for Vietnam—the peace of the grave—is made clear in the following passage from the speech:

"A number of nations have shown what can be accomplished under conditions of security. Since 1966 Indonesia, the fifth largest nation in the world, has had a government dedicated to peace with its neighbours and improved conditions for its own people."

A million humans slaughtered; deteriorating living conditions and mass hunger; natural resources and industries, and the right to merciless exploitation of the people handed over to the American monopolies; that is the condition of affairs in Indonesia, a condition which Johnson and the U.S. ruling class would duplicate in Vietnam if they have their way. A desirable solution for the imperialists, but hardly one to be tolerated by a proud and heroic people.

Let us have no illusions about Johnson's highly dramatised declaration. This was no declaration of peace; it was a declaration of wider and more vicious conflict unless the people of Vietnam capitulate to U.S. imperialist demands—and that they will not do. Neither should we entertain illusions about Kennedy or McCarthy, the possible replacements for Johnson as president. Predictably, both rushed in to pledge their loyal support and unity with Johnson and the aims of the ruling class as enunciated by Johnson.

We repeat; the issue is not over the question of what individual occupies the office of president. The real issue is U.S. imperialist aggression and the only road to peace is to put an end to that aggression. The anti-



Stretchers at Khe Sanh

war movement must not be led up blind alleys. Now is the time to increase support for the Victory of the people of Vietnam led by the National Liberation Front: now is the time to step up activities in opposition to U.S. imperialist aggression.

# SUPPORT THE NLF!

# UPROAR IN GERMANY

Student protests in West Germany are approaching the stage of civil war and state forces are resorting more and more to Nazi-like tactics to suppress demonstrations. All state authorities, including Social-democrats in administrative posts, are threatening even stronger action against the protesting students.

Conditions in the universities is one reason for student action. Much of the atmosphere in the colleges is barrack-like and the work and attitude of professors falls far short of what the students demand from them. Aside from the fact that virtually the entire teaching staff is thoroughly reactionary due to a policy of discriminating against know leftists in making academic appointments, the staff, in the opinion of the students lacks proper academic standards. One student claimed that a professor could spend a lifetime lecturing on the use of toilet paper in 15th century England and that they can arrive for their lectures drunk without fear of serious disciplinary measures.

Important political and ideological questions are also in dispute. Central to this area of dispute is the

position of arch-reactionary Axel Springer, the one-man fascist propaganda machine that controls directly 70 per cent of the West German press.

Springer supports the most extreme reactionary political movements in Germany, advocates foreign policies that could only end in war and instigates fascist attacks against even mildly progressive groups. The students accused Springer of being responsible for the attempted assassination of Rudi Dutschke. Springer printing plants are constructed like fortresses and manned by para-military and pro-fascist bands dedicated to upholding Springer's policies.

In this situation it is most unfortunate that East Germany lacks a dynamic program of action that could aid in consolidating and uniting the entire left movement in Germany. This is all the more critical in that the student movement, failing the early development of an advanced political leadership, could yet be used for reactionary purposes. Past experience in Germany is bitter evidence of that present danger.

# CANADA WHEAT DECLINE

In the 8-month period from July 1, 1967 to February 29, 1968 Canadian exports of wheat and flour dropped by half to 188 million bushels from 380 million bushels in the corresponding period a year earlier. It would be a serious enough problem in itself if this loss were due entirely to the declining world market for wheat and flour, but what adds to the critical aspect of the situation is the fact that Canada's share of the declining market dropped to 20.5 from 33.7 per cent.

Of the four exporting only Australia showed an increase — 183 million bushels compared to a previous 145 million bushels. Argentina fell from 68 million to 17 million. The United States with its aggressive selling policy virtually held its own — 527 million compared to 530 million — but sharply increased its market to 57.6 from 47.2 per cent.

The U.S. is determined to export 750 million bushels in this crop year, an increase over the 742 million bushels exported in 1966-67, and it is freely predicted this target will be surpassed. With a further decline expected in the volume of world wheat trade some country has to be the loser and Canada looks like the one. U.S. government policies of subsidizing grain exports makes it possible for American grain dealers to increase their share of the market.

Given the continued absence of Canadian policies that would encourage wheat sales, grain growers are going to suffer a drastic cut in income. A falling income for farmers means a declining market for autos, for machinery, household appliances, and similar items. This in turn means a downturn in industrial production and a further increase in unemployment — already a serious problem.

We can remember how the first big sales of wheat to China and Eastern Europe helped improve a critical situation in the field of industrial production at the time by putting considerable sums of money at the disposal of the farmers who spent it on needed goods.

machinery and appliances. Now the trend is reversed and there will be a tightening of the money situation.

Of no particular help in the situation is the refusal of U.S. mills to accept Cuban orders for flour and other grain products. The question now is, in view of the seriousness of the problem, will the Canadian government compel these mills to comply with Canadian needs and Canadian foreign policy and fill the orders? Also, will the government shake off its fear of U.S. reprisals long enough to go out in search of expanded markets in areas that are on the U.S. blacklist? We will be watching developments.

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## CLC CONVENTION

When the Canadian Labour Congress convention is called to order in Toronto on May 6th there will be at least two issues on the agenda that should generate a lot of heat in the debates and one of them should set off a veritable explosion that will be heard across the land. The bureaucratic officials in the American unions are marshalling their force in preparation for battle against a challenge to their domination, the like of which may not have been seen in Canada for almost 50 years. The fake leftists in the unions who have been belly-crawling for years in an all-out effort to prove their loyalty to the U.S. bureaucracy are going to have to stand up and be counted at this convention and thereby thoroughly expose themselves to the rank and file trade unionists.

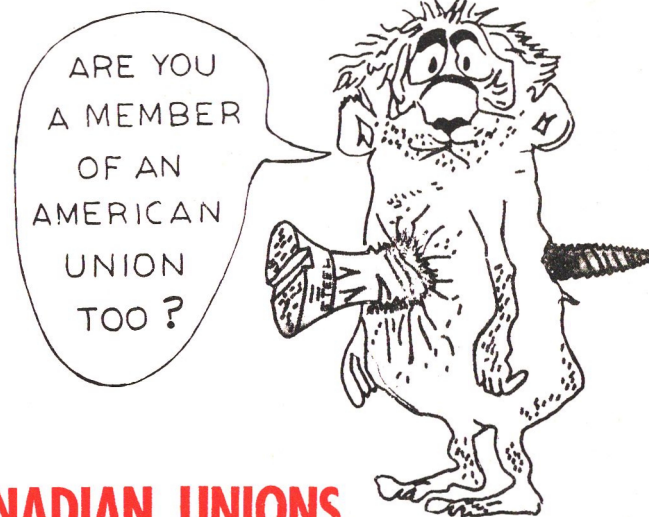
An issue which should prove contentious is that concerning union structure, left over from the last convention and due to be introduced via a report from the special committee which was set up to investigate and report on the question.

Many delegates to the last convention held in Winnipeg two years ago were clamouring for structural changes and system which would permit workers to change affiliation without undue difficulty. Also under discussion was the problem of a code of ethics designed to keep American-style gangsterism out of the Canadian labour movement.

These were points which most of the so-called "grass-roots delegates" were strongly in favour of. But the bureaucrats were unhappy at the thought of larger and more efficient units that might force some of them out of their swivel chairs and back into the mills and mines for a taste of capitalist exploitation at the point of production. Not a happy outlook at all for many whose most strenuous activity for the last 25 years has been swinging a golf club and lifting a whiskey glass, so they stalled debate on the issue by setting up the committee to investigate and report.

the investigation is completed and the report about to be delivered. Although the report is not yet made public, sufficient is known about its contents to forecast a collection of cliches and bromides that will attempt to set the stage for a graceful side-stepping of the issue or, at the very least, another two-year stay in the deep freeze while an inflated army of bureaucrats continue to enjoy the easy life at the expense of the trade unionists. If rank and file delegates really want to make some changes they better arrive prepared to offer some definite proposals — and to fight for them — for there will be nothing of any account come out of the committee.

A more explosive issue, and one likely to rock the convention and take up a major portion of the time, will concern the situation in Quebec which, to put it mildly, is very volatile. The prevailing situation presents pro-Canadian independence forces with a golden opportunity to line up with the Quebec delegation and



## CANADIAN UNIONS FOR CANADIAN WORKERS

administer a smashing defeat to the pro-U.S. bureaucracy.

The impending crisis, which could conceivably split the Congress, centers around the attempts of the Congress-affiliated Quebec Federation of Labour (QFL) and the Quebec-based Canadian National Trade Unions (CNTU) to reach an agreement that would end years of internecine struggle and unite the working class of Quebec in the fight for social, organizational and political gains. Negotiations between the QFL and the CNTU have already reached the stage where the president of the QFL, Louis Laberge, has informed Congress officials that the Federation plans to proceed with the forging of a no-raiding agreement with the

The **Canadian Worker** is published monthly by The **Progressive Workers' Movement**. It is distributed as complementary copies, but also appears as a supplement to the magazine **Progressive Worker**.

The PWM is a revolutionary communist party dedicated to serving the interests of the Canadian working class. It is the only political group that supports the slogan "Canadian Unions for Canadian Workers," for further information or subscriptions to the **Progressive Worker** (\$1.00 per year) write to: PWM, 35 East Hastings St., Vancouver 4, B.C.

CNTU. This has made Congress officials and leaders of American unions most unhappy.

Congress has informed its Quebec affiliate that it has no authority to conclude an agreement without permission of Congress officers and without Congress participation. Canadian domiciled officers of American unions have announced they will refuse to abide by any agreement arrived at between the QFL and the CNTU. The president of the QFL, Laberge, has resigned his post as a vice-president of the Congress and has given every indication he is prepared to fight to the finish on the issue of Quebec rights. This decision by Laberge is significant since he had earlier agreed, albeit reluctantly, to accept the Congress decision that the federation should turn over to them the task of negotiating with the CNTU. The about-face on this question by Laberge is a reflection of the violent opposition of the Quebec Federation executive to abandoning the agreement already reached with the CNTU.

A sure result of the Quebec issue will be a confrontation between high-level union officers in Quebec and the heads of American unions in Canada. For example, Mahoney, Canadian director of the United Steel workers of America, is opposed to the QFL-CNTU pact, but it is supported by Jean Gerin-Lejoie, Quebec director of the Steelworkers and along with Mahoney, a member of the Congress executive. An interesting development to watch for will be how Harvey Murphy and his fellow-members of the Communist Party from the now-defunct Mine-Mill union line up in the battle between Mahoney, defending U.S. domination, and Gerin-Lejoie, fighting for Quebec rights. Our guess is that Murphy and his cohorts will line up on the side of Mahoney — in the interests of "a united labour movement", of course.

The QFL has summoned a meeting of all staff officers of CLC unions in Quebec and of Labour Council officers to discuss the crisis in relations with the Congress. It is expected that the meeting will resoundingly endorse the stand taken by the Federation and will discuss strategy and tactics for the expected battle in Toronto.

Coming to the fore again on the crest of this crisis will be the question of Quebec rights. There has been a conflict of long standing between the QFL and the CLC over the Federation demand for the right to

assume all powers in Quebec now held by the Congress. This demand has been bitterly resisted by the Congress and by top executive officers of the American unions.

A late effort by the Congress to ward off the explosion seems likely to go nowhere. In a last-ditch effort to avoid a split at the convention, Congress officials invited CNTU representatives to discuss the problem of a no-raiding agreement. The invitation, which ignored the QFL, only made the Federation executive even more angry at Congress and is obviously going to get a cool reception from the CNTU.

CNTU president Marcel Pepin said that Congress had tried to prevent an agreement when it drew to the attention of the Federation that the QFL had no authority to sign a no-raiding pact. After recalling that a 10-year effort to reach agreement with the CLC had proved unproductive, said that it appeared curious that the CLC has now offered to meet the CNTU.

If events proceed on their present collision course the Toronto convention could see the bulk of the Quebec unions leave the CLC and the U.S.-dominated labour bodies. What could be in the making is a solid and united body of Quebec unions that would play a significant role in the struggle for self-determination. It would also give great impetus to the fight for an independent Canadian labour movement.

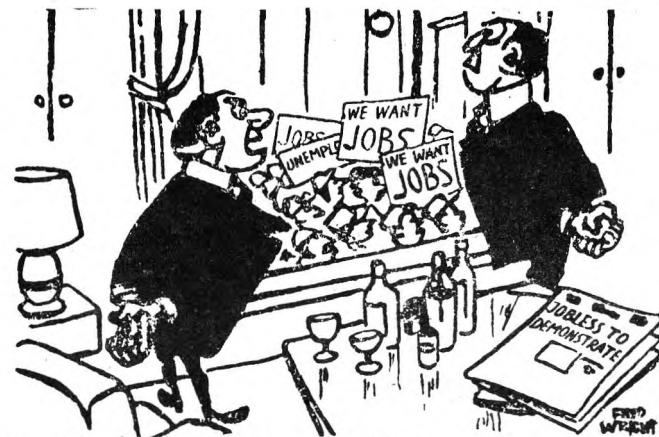
It would be a moment of great historical significance if Western Canada delegates to the convention took their traditional stand for Canadian unionism. It is just one half-century since a united Western delegation could have turned the trick at the Quebec convention if they had enjoyed just a minimum of Eastern Canada support. But the delegates credentials in the east were firmly in control of the paid officials of the American craft unions and the west was defeated. If Western delegates take a firm stand this year the Quebec delegation could provide the allies needed to ensure a victory for an independent Canadian labour movement and the beginning of the end for U.S.-dominated unions in Canada. But if this important victory is to be gained, western delegates will have to recognize the justice of the Quebec workers demands and to give full support to those demands. This is the road to defeat for the U.S. bureaucracy, for the realization of an independent Canadian union movement, and for unity and solidarity between workers of Canada and Quebec.

## UNEMPLOYMENT

According to official statistics (always on the optimistic side), unemployment has been rising steadily for six consecutive months and, despite all the rosy forecasts, appears destined to rise still higher in the coming months although the onset of summer in this northern climate is generally expected to bring a renewal of industrial activity, especially in outdoor occupations.

Adding to the seriousness of the problem, will be the influx of graduating students into the labour market with no new jobs presently in sight. Students who generally depend on summer jobs to help defray their educational expenses are being warned they have little hope of being placed this year.

The Maritimes, Quebec and British Columbia are the most depressed regions — in that order — with the Atlantic provinces having an officially-admitted unemployment rate of over 10 per cent.



"Why all the fuss about not having a job? I haven't worked a day in all my life!"

## BILL 33 RALLY A FARCE

The recent exercise in futility (rally to oppose Bill 33) held at the Vancouver Forum showed what B.C. workers can expect from the leaders of the B.C. Federation of Labour in the struggle against Bill 33. As part of their campaign against the Bill it proved to be as dismal a failure as the measures so far taken (eg. lobby of the Social Credit backbenchers) and as useless as future actions such as protests to the Canadian government will be.

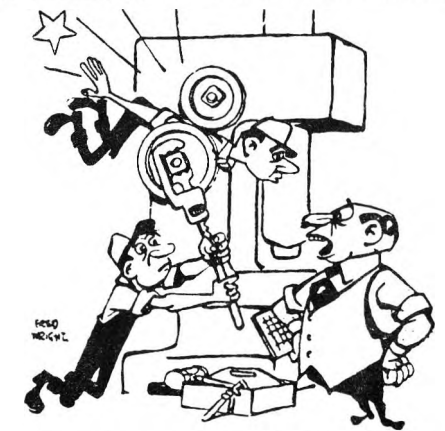
Approximately 2300 trade unionists and interested people attended the April 7 meeting in the hope that leaders would put forward proposals to effectively fight the fascist legislation they are faced with. Instead they heard a dull, platitudinous recitation about how the freedom of workers was being taken away and a pitch to support the New Democratic Party. Workers are aware that the rights they have struggled to achieve are constantly in danger and the reading by Federation President Al Stantly of documents published by the B.C. Civil Liberties Association are not needed to inform them of this fact. Those who attended the meeting did so because they are concerned, what they wanted to know was what preparations the leaders of organized labour are making to face the danger.

Ray Haines Secretary of the Federation outlined a two point program that the labour fakers have adopted in answer to Bill 33's threat. The first point is a fine proposal because it is only through political action that workers will ever achieve any redress of their problems. But what kind of political action does Haines advocate? He suggests that workers should donate one day's pay to a fund, most of which would be used to support the N.D.P. in the next provincial election. As an article in a previous issue of Progressive Worker pointed out Premier Bennett does not have to call another provincial election for three and one half years, so we therefore assume the B.C. Federation of Labour expects workers to live with Bill 33 for three and a half years or more until the N.D.P. is elected.

The second point of the B.C. Fed's program is a declaration that when any union is hit with Bill 33 the B.C. Federation of Labour will "take action." As yet no one has been able to pin down Ray Haines on what he means by the word action. The B.C. Fed. has spent the two years taking action against injunction laws. That campaign began at a C.L.C. convention in Winnipeg with many fine speeches deploring the use of injunctions in labour disputes. Since then all the action has consisted of B.C. Labour Federation officials running away from any meaningful fight (eg. Lenkurt Electric) by pleading their cause to judges in a boss' court. The result has been 7 labour leaders put in jail and continued use of injunctions. The only action that will defeat injunctions and Bill 33 is defiance of their use. This is the kind of political action that will get results, but of all the speakers at the rally only Paddy Neale (with something less than enthusiasm) put forward this position. He said that organized labour should "do what the construction trades advocate — if one union is hit, all go out." If he means by this that the B.C. Federation of Labour should call a general strike when Bill 33 is used against any union we certainly applaud this proposal.

The C.L.C. which has a habit of insulting B.C. woodworkers found it necessary to express their con-

tempt for that group once again by sending as its representative to the rally nickel-an-hour Joe Morris. When he was introduced there were boos and catcalls from many parts of the audience and a large number of people decided to leave the meeting rather than listen to him. By the end of his speech however a large number of those who had remained behind were shouting for Morris to sit down and as during Robert



"Come on... get him out! He's on a double time overtime rate!"

Strachan's speech the call for a general strike by someone in the audience was greeted by cheering and clapping.

None of the speakers at the rally pointed out the vicious class nature of Bill 33 and some tried to obscure it. President Al Staley discussed the bill in detail pointing out that there were some sections that labour could agree with. He said that if the Bill had only gone so far as making changes in conciliation procedures it would be good, but after having written these sections the government made it unacceptable to labour because they "closed their eyes and turned off their common sense" putting sections such as 18, 19 and 23. A very naive analysis indeed. The Social Credit government rules in the interests of B.C. monopoly capital and when they pass legislation such as this they do so for the express purpose of creating conditions for the ruling class of the province to better exploit workers. Let no one be fooled this is class legislation not a mistake caused by someone closing their eyes.

All in all the rally was a waste of any honest trade unionist's time. The B.C. Federation of Labour officials compelled by membership pressure to take some action in opposition to Bill 33 but they have done everything in their power to keep workers from propelling that action into something militant. Everything about the rally at the Forum would suggest that this is the case. They felt it was necessary to hold a rally, but they did not want it to be too big or they would lose control. They therefore did as little advertising of the meeting as possible to limit the size of the audience and even then they had difficulty maintaining control during Joe Morris' speech when people on the floor of the meeting demanded the right to speak. This demand for audience participation was of course denied. Only official speakers were allowed and of the five only one of them was moderately militant. B.C. workers can obviously not expect any militant action against Bill 33 from the B.C. Federation of Labour.

# YANKEE PERFIDY

**Windsor, Ont:** Seven long and fruitless months of U.A.W.-Ford negotiations in Canada rapidly approached a strike deadline last week when "Yankee" perfidy provoked spontaneous wildcat action that shut down the Ford Empire in Canada. Sparked by the strike deadline, set for the morning of April 4th, the Canadian bargainers locked horns with management in intensive and prolonged bargaining to wrap up the last of the Big Three contracts in Canada.

With 73 issues still unsettled on the morning before the deadline, ten UAW International trouble-shooters invaded the conference rooms in Toronto and took over the show. Their first act of treachery was to cancel the strike deadline, only hours away, over the unanimous objection of the entire Canadian team! Why? No logical answer has yet been offered.

The obvious consequence was predictable and spontaneous — Oakville walked out Wednesday afternoon, Windsor by midnight, Talbotville and Bramalea, followed soon after and the entire Ford operation in Canada ground to a halt.

In commenting on the Oakville walk-out, Ken Halsworth, top company spokesman, was reported to have said the company was not interested in recriminations but wanted only to negotiate a new contract. Bargaining continued until midnight. By nine o'clock Thursday morning it appeared that the company had accepted the fact of the strike and were prepared to continue to negotiate! This was not acceptable to Reuther's Rangers. With arrogant contempt for Canadian leadership and in total disregard for the Canadian Ford Worker, they told the company they were breaking off the talks until the men went back to work! Why? ? The Labour movement, until now, has never recorded such treacherous sabotage against the workers on strike — and for what reason? The company had already accepted the strike and was willing to bargain!

The massive resources of the U.A.W. International were mobilized against the Canadian Ford Workers to get them back to work. Canadian leadership, like obedient messenger boys, returned to their locals to enforce the dictates of Walter Reuther. The membership was threatened with company firings, no strike benefits, no unemployment benefits, no contract, and International reprisals if the men refused to go back to work.

In local membership meetings, Ford workers expressed amazement and revulsion upon witnessing the roll of their leadership as docile but willing puppets mouthing the pronouncements of their Yankee masters with little hesitation and without shame!

The Oakville membership, at a meeting Friday morning, (April 5) voted to stay out. The vote was disregarded. Another meeting was called for Sunday evening at which the membership would be ordered back to work.

The local 200 Steward Council, in meeting Friday morning in Windsor, refused to comply with Yankee orders. The proposal that the entire Steward Council resign in protest was voiced. (an executive officer and a steward had already resigned in protest in Oakville)

The Steward Council demanded a membership meeting. Unable to intimidate or threaten the Stewards into servile compliance, the Executive agreed to call a membership meeting, after having first refused.

The Windsor membership met Saturday morning (April 6) and were told by President Renaud to return work and that no vote would be premitted on the issue. Vocal reaction was loud and prolonged. Renaud was heckled, booed and jeered continuously as he recited his orders from Yankeeland.

Sensing the temper of the membership and recognizing the "Yankee go home" atmosphere of the meeting, the Skilled Trades Chairman took the microphone and in typical and effective demagogic fashion, aligned himself with the membership, condemned the International, stated his belief about the impossibility of fighting the company and the International at the same time, expounded the need to unite to fight the company by returning to work and to direct the fight against the International after the contract was signed, that is to say, after the damage is done! Walter Reuther couldn't do the job better — the membership was swayed and reluctantly returned to work.

Many questions remain unanswered and much speculation will arise about the future for Canadian workers in a Yankee straight-jacket union. Feelings of resentment and recrimination, expressed openly, cannot now be discounted. The Oakville meeting of April 5, while agreeing to remain on strike, indicated in unmistakable terms a growing groundswell of support to replace the UAW as bargaining agent. Demands for de-certification were expressed and loudly applauded.

Talbotville workers, recently organized and without a first contract, expressed their interest in co-ordinated activity when about 25 members attended the Oakville meeting to solicit support for their walkout, thus emphasising the need for a province wide caucus of progressive Ford workers who are prepared to mount a fight for indendence from Yankee labour domination. The alternative is now clear because of this recent skirmish — Yankee contracts rammed down our throats.

A clear analysis of events and the questions posed by them indicates clearly our direction. Seniority provisions, job protection, job bidding rights, and other work related benefits in the Ford of Canada agreement, while inadequate, are superior to any other contract within the UAW. These provisions, won in picket line battles of the past, are expensive to the company and a continuing source of embarrassment to the International union because of their inability to match them in their yankee contracts. We are now faced with a concerted effort by the International and the company to barter away our hard won gains for a wage parity package that, according to Walter Reuther himself, was bought and paid for by the American workers. Whether we like it or not, we are bargaining against the International and the Company to prevent them from lowering our working conditions to the American level.

During the closing hours of bargaining for a Ford Contract in the U.S., the two Canadian observers were politely excluded from the talks. They were told that nothing was being decided that concerned Canada! How naive do they think we are? It is quite obvious now that commitments were then made concerning the Canadian contract! Does anyone now doubt that Walter Reuther has the contract in his pocket and needs only a little more time to be able to sell it to the Canadian

negotiators. There is no other logical explanation for the events of last week!

Company negotiators became alarmed and edgy as the deadline approached with 73 issues still unresolved, so the International stepped in to deliberately provoke a wildcat strike, to cancel the talks and to afford them sufficient time to brainwash the Canadian leadership. The weakness expressed in the memberships reluctant return to work will now guarantee an inferior contract

# ONE UNION IN CONSTRUCTION

In the March issue of the Canadian Worker in the article "Whats Ahead for Labour" we made a reference to the individualistic views of trade unionists towards one another. The attitude "to hell with you Jack I'm fine" is one of the great hurdles for workers to overcome.

In construction this particularly evident. Here you have workers competing against workers for wage increases and conditions — some settling for 5 and even



10 year agreements. One answer for this dilemma is an all "Construction Workers Union" with rank and file control in "Canada". This type of organization would have many advantages including; workers wouldn't be competing amongst themselves; there should only be one wage negotiated for all workers in the industry. All construction workers would negotiate at the same time putting them all in a better bargaining position. They would also be better equipped to meet any crisis as a unit—such as Bill 33 or any other fascist legislation. Workers would begin to feel real solidarity amongst one another for once instead of trying to cut each others throat.

This idea of course would run into opposition from all quarters with the Building Trades Council at the head and the so-called progressive militants (revisionists) tagging along behind. The pork choppers in the Building Trades Council would oppose this because their soft jobs would be in immediate danger and there masters in the U.S.A. wouldn't like it either. The so-called progressives in construction would shout what their pork chcp masters told them to. They would say that you'd fragment the trade union movement and would put forward the ridiculous demand of autonomy.

How they think you can get autonomy in the con-

and the inevitable erosion of past gains.

The future holds nothing but more of the same unless we resolve now to alter the union structure in Canada. A concerted drive is required to win independence for the labour movement in Canada. Only then will we be able to chart our own course without foreign domination, without foreign control and without foreign interference!

A Canadian Ford Worker

struction trades we'll never know. When such a "move" is made in that direction trusteeship is imposed on the locals concerned and all so called democratic procedures are dropped. Any militants leading that kind of a struggle would be either suspended or expelled from all union activities. The only solution is to make the complete break from the U.S. unions and form one Canadian union in construction. This is the only way real unity among workers can be achieved in the industry not sham unity like the so-called militants will have us believe. They've shown proof enough when they led Mine Mill into the most reactionary and corrupt American union the Steelworkers—for there sake of unity. The Fishermans union it appears is going to be led into the Packinghouse workers union—another American union with dictatorial control from the U.S.

No there are no easy short cuts towards Canadian Unions they have to be fought for the same as the right just to have a union had to be fought for and the sooner the so-called progressives idea of autonomy and by the ballot way are exposed and opposed the better.

One Canadian Union in Constructon,  
Canadian Unions for Canadian Workers.

Trade Unionist



CHARLES

"Worst foreman I've ever had always barking at somebody!"

# UNPRINCIPLED UNITY

Over the past few years we have witnessed a number of unions outside of the Canadian Labour Congress (C.L.C.) merging with unions affiliated to the C.L.C.

Two such cases have been the Civic Outside Workers who merged with the Canadian Union of Public Employees. (C.U.P.E.) and the Mine Mill and Smelter Workers who merged with the right-wing United Steelworkers of America.

The March issue of "The Fisherman" reports a similar merger is under discussion between the United Fisherman and Allied Workers Union and the United Packinghouse, Food and Allied Workers Union.

Is it not strange in these times when workers are struggling to break with the reactionary American controlled "International" unions that we have a move on the part of the aforesaid unions to link back up with these organizations? Or Mine Mill who have for years fought tooth and nail with the Steelworkers to suddenly merge with them?

This unprincipled unity can be traced directly to the sell-out policies of the reformist Communist Party of Canada. The leadership in these unions are in the

main controlled by the C.P. and in their frantic attempt to become "respectable" trade union leaders and fit into and co-operate with the established trade union bureaucracy, they sabotage any independence struggles that arise.

These mergers are particularly untimely with the pressing need to form a new trade union centre free from U.S. domination. This new centre must be built by the new emerging independent Canadian Unions such as the Pulp and Paper Workers of Canada, Canadian Electrical Workers, Canadian Ironworkers, and others. This centre is necessary to provide needed leadership and a rallying point for future independence struggles which are taking shape in many of the American dominated Internationals. In fact, in order for Canadian trade unionism to survive and expand this new centre must be built. We call upon our brothers in the Fishermen's union to reject the proposals of the fake radicals and instead open up discussion with the established Canadian unions towards building this alternative labour centre.

## CANADIAN UNIONS FOR CANADIAN WORKERS

# UNION BRIEFS

## AUTO STRIKES

We have stated on several occasions in the past that "wage parity" as proposed by the United Automobile Workers and Walter Reuther was a U.S., and not a Canadian, demand. We have consistently contented that Canadian working people must have their own independent union movement and formulate their own demands within the framework of Canadian conditions. This does not in any way deny the necessity for the international solidarity of the working class; but solidarity based on freedom and equality and directed toward the labour movements of all countries, not a distorted "solidarity" based on the recognition of only one country. The result is not international solidarity; it is the domination of our unions by the powerful, and basically reactionary, trade union movement of the imperialist nation that dominates our economy.

Our stand on "wage parity" and the need for Canadian workers to advance their own demands was proven correct with surprising speed, General Motors employees, with wage parity already won, nevertheless went on strike and remained on the line for seven weeks. How could this happen when wage parity, supposedly the only important demand, was already won?

As we have said many times, wage parity was a demand based on U.S. operations and U.S. working conditions and when it became obvious that parity in wages, as formulated and negotiated by U.S. union bureaucrats, meant the imposition of American work norms in the Canadian plants the formula was decisively rejected by the workers in Canada who proceeded to formulate their own demands and struck to enforce them.

The question of production methods headed the list of demands that were specifically Canadian in their origin. The U.S. system of operation provides

for non-stop production on the assembly line and relief is very limited and based on the so-called "tag system" whereby a man must wait replacement before leaving the line for any reason. This is but one small part of the inhuman speed-up practiced in the Auto industry. Canadian auto workers never did permit enforcement of the "tag system." Here production was completely halted for two fifteen minute periods. In line with the wage parity agreement arrived at in negotiations in the U.S. the employers insisted on parity of conditions, a demand which was entirely satisfactory to the bureaucrats who negotiated the agreement but not to the Canadian workers who immediately rejected the proposal.

It was this refusal to accept U.S. working conditions, plus several other demands that went beyond parity, that led to the 7-week strike at General Motors. The strike was completely successful with the company being forced to beat a hasty retreat in the face of the militancy of the auto workers. In the end, it was not parity but specific Canadian demands that were fought for and won.

The struggle in auto has spread to Ford of Canada and, at time of writing, has resulted in some notable developments.

The Ford workers, angered over the interminable discussion of issues already settled by the GM strike, committed the ultimate sin: they went on strike without first obtaining permission for their action from the bureaucrats. Now, we have often seen employers refuse to negotiate while a strike was in progress, demanding that their employees first return to work. But for the first time we have seen so-called "leaders" of a union tell the members they would refuse to negotiate until they returned to work.

The question arises — and not for the first time, either — do the union members work for the officials

or do the officials work for the members they are supposed to represent? It becomes increasingly clear that the workers suffer under two parallel levels of supervision in their employment — the supervision of management and of the union bureaucrat.

## PULP AND PAPER

The American Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, reeling under blows of the Pulp and Paper Workers of Canada, are desperately searching for ways to stop the erosion of their membership. Use of the courts, discharge from employment and the procrastination of the Labour Board, have not provided successful methods for stopping workers from establishing an independent Canadian union in the industry. It has long been obvious that some additional methods must be introduced in an effort to strengthen those already in use. The new ploy, a classic example of evasive action, has now been revealed in the contents of a report submitted by a "Committee to Study Identity" which was set up at a conference of Pulp, Sulphite locals held in Ottawa.

The committee in its report recommends that at least members of the international executive board shall be residents of Canada and employed by the international to work in Canada. It should be noted that the report says only they must reside in Canada but there is no stipulation that they must be Canadians. Furthermore it is also proposed that the three must be employed by the international which effectively bars any rank and file worker from running for this office.

In regard to the Canadian Director, the report says he shall be the representative of the President-Secretary and outlines his duties. Again nothing is said about a Canadian occupying the post.

In one section of the report we find the following passage:

"The Canadian membership . . . shall be represented at all international conferences, ILO, ICFTU, etc., as a separate entity in keeping with its status as a nation . . ."

"The Committee recommends the creation of a distinctive Canadian symbol — a national symbol common to and acceptable by all areas in Canada."

The essence of the recommendation is for the creation of the illusion of independence while in reality maintaining the U.S. stranglehold on the Canadian labour movement. This so-called "autonomy" is a fraud and should be rejected as such by Canadian workers. The fight for an independent Canadian movement will continue until victory.

## CANADIAN ELECTRICAL

Officials of the Canadian Electrical Workers Union from Vancouver assisted in signing about 200 workers into the organization's Local No. 3, located in Edmonton Alberta. This followed rapidly on the heels of the signing of more than 100 members into Local No. 2 in Blairmore, Alberta.

Jask Ross, number one Canadian bureaucrat for the International (U.S.) Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, was a bit frantic over the success of the Canadian union. In a desperate attempt to stampede the workers Ross obtained wide press coverage for a statement claiming the Canadian union was an extension of the Progressive Workers Party. The extent of his ignorance was made obvious when he went on to say that P.W. was a Trotskyite organization. As the saying goes: "Any old port in a storm."


## FISHERMEN

The United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union, composed of more than seven thousand B.C. fishermen and shoreworkers, is engaged in a series of discussions with the U.S. United Packinghouse Workers Union. The negotiations, aimed at merging the two unions, were started on the advice of the Canadian Labour Congress in response to an application from the Fishermen for affiliation. Congress officials recommended merger as the best way of gaining entrance to the central labour body from which the West Coast union had been expelled some years ago at the peak of a witch-hunt against Communists and militants.

In line with Communist Party policy, which delivered Mine-Mill to the Steel bureaucrats, it appears likely that the Fishermen will do what is necessary to crawl back into the Congress ranks at the very moment when the drive for an independent Canadian union is gaining momentum.

This will make the third time in half-a-century that Communist Party leaders in the trade unions have chosen to accept the disastrous policy of so-called 'unity' in the American unions which was organized by Tim Buck when he was head of the Party's trade union work.

The first time was immediately after the first world war when Party trade unionists helped to destroy the OBU and other Canadian groups in the name of unity. This was followed by the expulsion of communists and militants from the unions.



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# TRADE UNION PROGRAM

35 East Hastings Street, Vancouver 4, B.C.

The left was compelled to take action that would end their isolation and the Worker's Unity League was formed. Tens of thousands of workers were mobilized in the WUL, mainly in the mass production industries which had never before been organized. Although close to half of all the organized workers in Canada were in WUL and other independent Canadian unions the Party leaders, on the arrival of the CIO on the scene, chose to dissolve the WUL and merge into the organizations of the CIO and the AFL.

During the latter years of the second world war, and particularly immediately following — in the "cold war" years — Communists and militants were once more isolated from the councils of the Canadian labour movement which they had helped bring under U.S. domination. The history of the twenties was being re-told.

However, some important positions were retained. Such organizations as the Mine-Mill, UE, the Fishermen, Vancouver Civic Workers, etc., were still held by militants and stood outside the American union structure. In Quebec the CNTU appeared on the scene as a dynamic force. But instead of driving to expand their strength and uniting in an all-Canadian Council, the CP members dissipated their strength in a struggle to be taken under the wing of American unions.

Now, having won for themselves some important positions with the U.S. bureaucracy, CP trade unionists for the third time in fifty years, are intent on destroying what independent Canadian unionism now exists and once more making U.S. unions the unchallenged boss of the movement. Mine-Mill and Civic Workers are already gone, the Fishermen are about to go, it is only a matter of time before UE goes and the recently held convention of that organization emphasized the importance of returning to the CLC. Such organizations as the CNTU and the Pulp and Paper Workers of Canada are being urged to settle for "autonomy" under U.S. control.

So once again the CP trade union "experts" are launched on a disaster course which can only end in the exclusion of militants — but this time with a difference. The CP bureaucrats were formerly victims of their own blundering, but this time they have become an integral part of the American union bureaucracy and will join in protecting it because it is necessary for their own protection. The CP members who have been included in the U.S. official bureaucracy will yet join in the hunt for militants — in the name of course, and behind "left" declarations. The fight for an independent union movement requires first of all, therefore, a new militant center to lead the struggle.

# DR. KING AND THE END OF NON-VIOLENCE

"Dr. Martin Luther King was the last prince of nonviolence. Nonviolence is a dead philosophy and it was not the black people that killed it. It was the white people that killed nonviolence and white racists at that." (Floyd McKissick, CORE)

If honesty, integrity and sincerity could put an end to exploitation and oppression Martin Luther King and his nonviolent movement might possibly have changed the world. However, it has long been evident that moralizing sermons about the dignity of human life will never cause the ruling class to voluntarily renounce their wealth, privileges and power. So it was inevitable that Dr. King, like Mahatma Gandhi before him, should suffer frustration and experience defeat at every turn since those in authority, while urging nonviolence on the oppressed majority reject it for themselves because their whole social system rested on violence and depended on violence for continued existence.

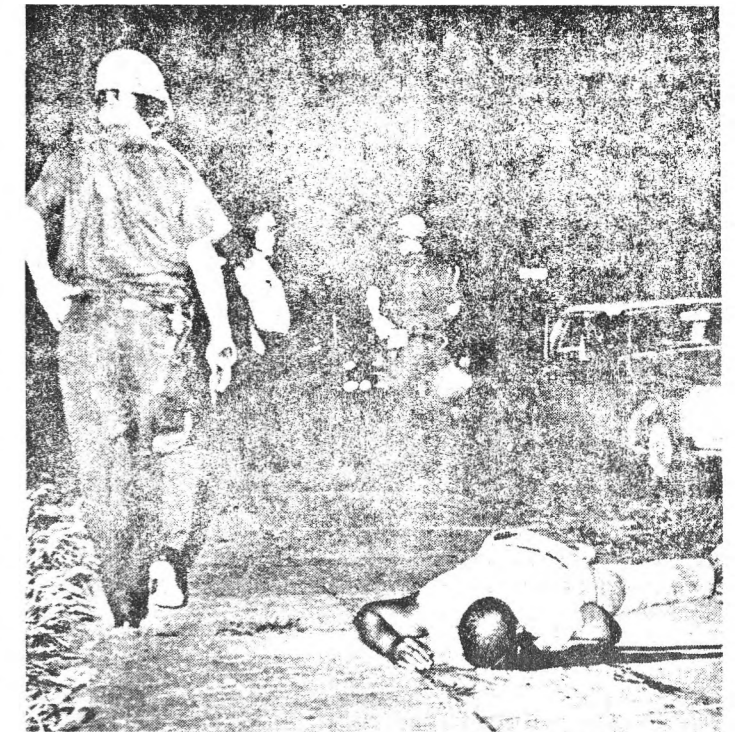
It was Dr. King's personal tragedy that the philosophy he expounded could be seized upon by the ruling class and used for their own interests. The idea of nonviolence was expressed in an appeal to the oppressed not to resort to violence as a means to overthrow the oppressor but, rather, to place their dependence on "moral force." But this fails to take into consideration the fact that the system of capitalist exploitation and imperialist oppression is founded on violence, maintained by violence, and will yield only to violence. Nonviolence therefore, which had no moral or material effect whatever on the exploiting minority, did have the undoubted effect of disarming an important and significant number of the exploited majority and keeping them largely immobilized in the struggle to end exploitation, end violence and transform society.

The nonviolent movement was already in decline long before Dr. King was assassinated. The total ineffectiveness of last years Chicago "open housing" campaign was just one of a long and continuing series of serious body-blows to the doctrine of nonviolence. With no gains of any significance not only not won, but not even in sight, many of King's former followers were turning their backs on nonviolence and beginning to look to the advocates of an end to oppression along the road of revolutionary struggle.

The people were tired of speeches about freedom and human dignity — speeches that had lost all meaning for them in the face of ruling class violence against the black communities at home and against coloured peoples abroad. The mass of the people were becoming convinced there is no freedom in the nonviolent acceptance of enslavement, no dignity in submission to counter-revolutionary violence. The prestige and influence of Martin Luther King and the nonviolent movement were being rapidly eroded — "The Saints Come Marching In" was being drowned out by the cry "burn baby, burn."

It was quite obvious that Dr. King was fully aware of the decline in influence of the nonviolent movement and was very concerned about it. His latest speeches, just before his death, clearly indicated his awareness and his concern.

Dr. King had always directed his appeals to the black people of the ghettos, urging them to reject violence and practice restraint, to restrict their efforts



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<p>MAY DAY AND THE 8 HOUR MOVEMENT P 2 <i>Progressive Worker</i> Volume 1, Number 3 10 MAY 1965</p> <p>ALSO in this issue THE A. F. L. - C. I. O. FOREIGN POLICY PAGE 14 N. D. P. CONVENTION PAGE 10 TEAMSTER'S STRIKE PAGE 7</p>	<p>BEN BELLA AND THE ALGERIAN CRISIS P 12 <i>Progressive Worker</i> Volume 1, Number 11 10 September 1965</p> <p>A POLITICAL ANALYSIS <b>THE GREAT POSTAL STRIKE</b></p> <p>Photo above shows striking Montreal Postal Workers before entering on Aug. 7th. Story page 5</p>	<p>A.F.L.-C.I.O. LEADERSHIP EXPOSED Page-2 <i>Progressive Worker</i> Volume 1, Number 7 10 APRIL 1965</p> <p>A POLITICAL ANALYSIS <b>VICTIM NAM</b></p> <p>He Refused to Betray His People U.S. gold troops in Vietnam tortured him by hitting his legs with water, but he wouldn't betray his comrades. Perhaps he is dead by now. Vietnam Story - Page 6</p>
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Now that Martin Luther King is dead, a victim of the violence he abhorred, there is no one of sufficient stature to restore nonviolence to its former position of influence in the black community. That the last "prince of nonviolence," as McKissick called him, should himself meet his end through violence will constitute proof for most black people to decide that freedom will be won by those prepared to counter ruling class violence with the revolutionary violence of a people determined to be free. King's death is dramatic evidence of the fundamental truth of the statement, "violence is as American as apple pie."

Hard on the heels of King's assassination we were treated to a veritable deluge of sanctimonious sermons delivered by the most unlikely collection of apostles of nonviolence ever assembled together in one place. Johnson, Humphrey, Rusk, McNamara, Nixon, Rockefeller, are just a small sample from the more famous of a motley collection of fake mourners. Fresh from their conferences planning new deeds of violence against the people of Vietnam these characters, their hands dripping blood, had the audacity to advise black Americans not to resort to violence.

But even as they were drafting black people for the war in Vietnam and alerting armed units to suppress the expected uprisings in the ghettos by violent means. "Peace brotherhood and nonviolence" was the familiar refrain sung by the propagandists of the ruling class — words whose only real meaning is, in their practical application, abject submission to the master class, especially in periods of crisis and armed resistance to the oppressor.

## MILLIONAIRE 'SOCIAL ASSISTANCE'

In the first quarter of the 19th century when the lands of what was to constitute the future Canadian Confederation were being given away by the Colonial government to a handful of individuals one of the more spectacular occurrences was in connection with the division of Prince Edward Island. The 1,400,000 acres of the rich agricultural soil on the Island was almost all alienated in a single day with the beneficiaries being a group of absentee landlords, almost all living in Britain and headed by the noted "philanthropist" Lord Selkirk, a member of the Company of Gentlemen Trading Into Hudson's Bay, a company which was fated to benefit immensely from the solicitude of a series of colonial and Canadian governments—a solicitude which was at its best when directed toward serving the interests of the rich and powerful in the land.

This division and granting of the land, and a policy of placing treasury at the disposal of the capitalists, continued through many years of administration by Tory and Liberal governments—a massive social assistance program designed specifically to put control of the wealth of the nation and the lives of its citizens in the hands of a small group of greedy profiteers. Open scandals and official investigations finally forced an end to the more blatant aspects of the give-away program but only after practically all of the Canadian land had already been alienated and the economic and political power of the big capitalists consolidated.

The ruling class have always been in favour of nonviolence for the oppressed people while they, themselves, resort to the most extreme forms of violence in the drive to expand their area of control and domination. The experience of Vietnam alone is proof enough of that. On the one hand, the ruling class of America call on the people to indulge in excessive acts of violence to advance their plans of world conquest but on the other hand, they condemn violence aimed at overthrowing their authority and they counsel the people to adopt ineffective forms of struggle such as non-violence — because "violence is a crime and no civilized way to change things."

But the masses of working people, and especially the black people, are now beginning to see through the propaganda of the ruling class. The assassination of Martin Luther King was a sharp and dramatic lesson in the truth of the statement that counter-revolutionary violence must be met with the revolutionary violence of the people in resistance to oppression.

The appeals of the ruling class are bound to fall on deaf ears. They will not be able to comply with the demands of the black people for improved living conditions. In fact, the increasing drain on U.S. resources to meet the needs of the war in Vietnam make it certain that the already deplorable living conditions will deteriorate still further. All the signs point to a sharpening of the crisis and a corresponding sharpening of the struggle. "Nonviolence is a dead philosophy" despite the great efforts of the exploiters to resuscitate it.

However, the give-away program and the policy of opening the public purse for the benefit and further enrichment of the monopolists was by no means abandoned. Investigations and protests merely forced the adoption of new and more acceptable means of disposing of our heritage to foreign monopolists. The policy has continued down to the present day, the more spectacular evidences of this policy in recent years before the Columbia River project developed at public expense and designed to provide cheap power for the use of the U.S. monopolies in the Pacific Northwest and the big "Coal Steal" of the Crows Nest area by the Kaiser Company of California.

Now the Federal Government has taken under serious condition a proposal to come to the aid of a giant U.S. oil monopoly the only question being **how** to help and not even if help should be given. This current concern about granting social assistance to the underprivileged monopolists is for BA Oil Company, a subsidiary of the American Gulf Oil Corporation.

The Federal Government is presently considering making a 10-year, \$20-million, interest free loan to the company to help build a new refinery at Point Tupper in economically depressed Nova Scotia. This proposed loan is but one of the incentives which both Ottawa and the government of Nova Scotia will be prepared to provide if construction should finally proceed.

For example, the project qualifies for an automatic \$5-million grant from the Federal government because it is being undertaken in an area that is designated as

"depressed." The government is also considering an additional \$5-million outright grant (for a total of \$10 million, not repayable). This could be in place of the \$20-million loan or additional to it. And this is by no means the end, still more "aid" is being requested and seriously contemplated.

BA also wants help in building a \$5-million deep-water wharf to accommodate the giant oil tankers that will eventually dock at Point Tupper. The company is also asking the provincial government to provide various services, including vapour and steam, at prices well below the cost of production. This would be a continuing expense and some idea of the cost involved can be gauged by Nova Scotia's request for a \$10-million loan to help finance the development.

It is very obvious that the proposed aid for BA to locate a refinery in Nova Scotia is very extensive indeed. And it is by no means unprecedented. Not too long ago another foreign-owned firm, Dominion Steel and Coal Corporation, was awarded liberal doses of financial assistance for its Cape Breton operations and then closed its doors throwing more than 3,000 of the communities wage-earners out of work in spite of promises to remain in operation. There is, of course no guarantee that BA will not do likewise.

A great many of our so-called "outstanding statesmen" keep insisting that we cannot develop our own resources and must depend on the U.S. monopolies for necessary capital. Yet here we have one of the largest and wealthiest American corporations dipping into the public purse to finance a project. It seems we cannot afford to do things for ourselves but we can afford to do them for the U.S. corporations.

The fact that we place the public treasury at the disposal of the U.S. monopolists to assist them in tightening their hold on the Canadian economy is in itself a strange enough process. This particular project has about it an additional oddity. Royalite, a subsidiary of BA is currently negotiating for purchase of controlling interests in additional Canadian concerns so that the provision of finances from government sources to assist in the Nova Scotia project is tantamount to supplying an American monopoly with the funds to extend their hold over Canada's economy.

Political pundits have been regaling us with tales of how debilitating it would be to provide greater social benefits for the people. In our last issue we commented on the cut-back in expenditures for health services to Indians and Eskimos. As we said then, this, to the people concerned, is a question of life and death. But the responsible ministers insist the Indians and Eskimos must learn to depend on their own resources or their moral fiber will be in danger of crumbling. What is hard for us to understand is how improved measures of social welfare undermines the self-reliance of the poor but is considered to be a spur and incentive for profit-seeking capitalists.

It is clear that politicians, who talk so glibly of "national independence", in practice are rendering vital aid to the U.S. imperialists in consolidating and expanding their domination over the Canadian economy. They do this at tremendous expense to the Canadian taxpayer at the same time they drastically curtail expenditures on such essential services as medicare, education, social assistance benefits for the unemployed and incapacitated, etc., on the plea that there are not sufficient funds available. Modern methods of raiding the public treasury may be more sophisticated than

those of a century ago but the end result is the same. And it will remain so as long as capitalist exploitation lasts.

### FINAL ON B-A REFINERY

Final word on the B-A refinery to be constructed at Point Tupper, Nova Scotia, and reported on elsewhere in this issue, is to the effect that the project will proceed as planned. Direct financial assistance presently known totals \$9.5 million: \$4.5 million to cover the cost of an oil loading dock and ancillary equipment and a federal grant of \$5 million toward the cost of the refinery.

In addition, the federal Atlantic Development Board will finance a water supply system (expected cost not revealed) and will join with Nova Scotia in underwriting the cost of roads and railway lines providing access to the project.

Charles Hay, president of the U.S.-owned Gulf Oil subsidiary, revealed that negotiations between his company and the Federal and provincial governments had been going on for two years. Referring to the fact that B-A had requested a \$20 million interest-free loan or its equivalent, Mr Hay said: "We did not receive the equivalent, but we are satisfied with the assistance offered."

We can't afford schools; we can't afford medicare; we can't afford decent pensions for the aged and handicapped; we can't afford social assistance; but we can always find a few more millions for Yankee to help them buy up more of our country.



"So your wife is having another baby . . . don't you realize that's inflationary?"

## Letters to the Editor

Dear Comrades,

Included is renewal to "Progressive Worker" and ten dollars to "Progressive Worker's Movement." Sorry for the delay in the renewal.

Very good articles on Debray's Concept of Revolution but I find the conclusion quite simplist and rather deceptive. We cannot deny the universality of marxism-leninism and Latin America is certainly by all means part of the world wide revolutionary struggle based on marxism-leninism.

So far I have not read any articles on true marxist-leninist parties in Latin America in the Progressive Worker. How come? I do not know. The critics on Debray's book "Revolution in the Revolution" which I think are well founded will turn simply into the form of a debating society if a force stronger than it in the field of philosophy which can only be represented by marxism-leninism is not presented to clear up the situation and unite all patriotic forces led by the peasants and the working class of Latin America in their day to day struggle against their American puppet governments.

On the other hand no marxist-leninist can deny that the guerilla does play presently a national liberation role in Latin America. If we deny this it means we are against people's patriotism which I do not think it is being denied. Anyway I am sure that in Latin America the peasants and workers united and led by their marxist-leninist parties will certainly ultimately win. But this means that there as well as here we must be prepared to sacrifice ourselves.

Here in Quebec the national question is taking most of the headlines. National independence is a vain word when it is used by capitalist politicians like Daniel Johnson and Jean Lesage. Revolutionary reformist Rene Levesque is waging a battle centered on constitutional grounds and is forming his own political party. But here also the solution remains in the hands of the workers and the farmers.

There is a high rate of unemployment amongst workers ranks specially in the field of construction and in the non-organized, non-union workers. The farmers are leaving their farms in some regions where they straving to come to the city and increase the number of unemployed unskilled workers.

The only solution that Johnson is thinking of is tax increase of 7 per cent. The counterpart Lesage proposes in all his brightness is that what we need is a massive inflow of American capital. In other words what he means to say is that we should accept a more complete sellout to US monopoly capitalism. I think I have said enough of those two traitors. If you ever come down to Montreal I would be happy to talk it over with you.

A.E.

Quebec

VIVE LE QUEBEC LIBRE!

(Letter from Quebec)

We believe it is necessary to comment briefly on the declaration of the Communist Party of Canada (revisionist) which appeared in the liberal paper "La Presse" on Feb. 5, 1968.

To agree with the Sovereignty Movement of Rene Levesque is obviously very realistic, practical and the compromising position, but that is ironically contrasted to the obvious hatred of the leaders of their Quebec branch toward the independentist movement since its very beginning. In making a parallel between the recent Budapest declaration and theirs of Feb. 5, as well as all the confusion around the national question, it can only be considered a really fantastic caricature. In addition, the unfortunate fact is that the revisionist party is well in tow of the "Canadian" government in Ottawa. As for Rene Levesque's Movement, we know it is sincere but we cannot accept the fact that it is made use of by opportunists collaborating with Washington and Ottawa via Bay Street.

In indentifying and drawing closer to the struggle of Black Americans, the Quebec people are using an effective lever against the Anglo-Saxon racism which exists and perpetuates itself in Quebec. English high finance, for a long time an absolute power has now become the guide for Yankee investments. The little heavy industry that exists in Quebec is the result of English capital. A significant amount of the manufacturing and food industries are in the hands of Zionist capital which at the risk of being labelled anti-semitic we must note has become a veritable state within a state. If one adds to that that 90 per cent of the immigration into Quebec is assimilated by the English minority on arrival, we have a fairly clear picture of the situation in which the Quebec people find themselves. As for the national bourgeoisie, it has already chosen its master: Yankee imperialism!

The political line of the Quebec branch of the C.P. of Canada (revisionist), always under the collective and enlightened leadership of two anglophones, Messieurs Walsh and Doig, does its best to go ahead using a leftist, opportunist phraseology to cover up its real work of weakening the movement in the working class and takes great care to underline the facts we just mentioned. This is certainly a political line reminiscent of the method used by Trotskyists. In some cases we have seen this supposed vanguard very far in the rear indeed in the struggle against imperialism.

If there has ever been, in the history of humanity, a great and universal enemy, that enemy is Yankee imperialism. In fact, there can be nothing more anti-Marxist than the petrification of ideas pushed by modern revisionism allied with Trotskyism. There are ideas branded with the name of Marxism and which resemble nothing but fossils. Real Marxism has included thinkers of genius: Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Lenin—to speak only of the principal founders. But Marxism also develops and needs to leave behind its inflexibility as portrayed by the revisionists, and to interpret with an objective and scientific spirit the realities of today, to become a true revolutionary force and not used as a pseudo-revolutionary religion opposed to the revolutionary education of the workers.

"Peaceful co-existence", falsely interpreted by Kruschovites and based on unprincipled compromises of all kinds, represents capitulation to the forces of world reaction. The typically fascist methods used by the revisionists in their contact with the workers shows their despicable nature and the high level of collaboration they maintain with imperialism.

For a Quebec decolonized and socialist, political and economic independence leading to the establishment of the People's Republic, the way is clear.

# INDONESIA UNDER FASCISM

(The following is a continuation of the report on Indonesia begun a few issues ago.)

Now the regime is always boasting that the confidence of "the world" is restored to Indonesia and that more and more foreign companies show their keen interest in investing their capital. Certainly, it is not the confidence of the world at all, but merely from the handful of imperialists and capitalists, because the public opinion of the people of the world condemns this criminal fascist regime!

Let us take a few examples.

The director-general of the mining industry is brigadier general Sudarman. Under his administration, supervision, coordination and under the instructions of general Suharto himself, more and more foreign companies are allowed to hold negotiations, sign contracts or make surveys etc. in order to extract the natural resources of Indonesia for making huge profits. It is also for the benefit of the fascist military clique. Among others the "Free Port Sulphur Co" (New York), will explore and exploit copper in West Irian. Dutch companies are also making negotiations for extracting mineral resources. It is the same case with the Japanese, West German and Belgium capitalists.

The director-general for Natural Oil and Gas is major-general Ibnu Sutowo, who at the same time occupies the post of director of the state-owned national oil company (Permina). This general is notorious for his corrupting influence and for his warlord practices. Holding the post of director-general of the petroleum industry, he does not find it very difficult to play the role of a comprador. Through a person like him, the fascist clique of generals has struck secret deals and held traitorous negotiations with international monopoly capital at the expense of the well-being of the broad masses of the people. Through persons like him, the foreign capitalists get new licenses and contracts to drain the petroleum resources of Indonesia. That is why, besides the already existing oil companies like Shell, Stanvac and Caltex, more and more Japanese oil companies (Japan Petroleum Exploration Co., Kyushu) and U.S. oil companies (Pan-American, Asamera, Independent Indonesian American Petroleum Co.) are swarming to (or have found their way into Indonesia.

The director-general for Foreign Trade, brigadier-general Prawira Kusumah, also holds the post of chairman of "the Committee of U.S. Credits." We may well understand that being a member of the comprador class he will undoubtedly make sure that foreign trade and is orientated towards the imperialist and capitalist countries. Through these bureaucrat capitalists the foreign trade and the whole economy of Indonesia has fallen into the tight grip of the world imperialist system, and through "credit" and other secret deals, the fascist clique of generals has pushed Indonesia into the clutches of U.S. imperialism.

The Minister of Light and Heavy Industries is major general Mohamad Jusuf. Many ex-foreign enterprises taken over in the past such as the cigarette factory "British-American Tobacco", the "Heinekens" brewery, the bottling company "Fraser and Neave" etc. either have been returned to their former owners. Besides that, this general made an appeal to foreign

capitalists to invest in Indonesia, while many of the remaining Indonesian factories and small industries are on the verge of bankruptcy owing to the reactionary policy of this regime. On the one hand this regime is inviting imperialist and capitalist countries to make investments, while on the other they are plundering and robbing the enterprises of the Chinese nationals in Indonesia.

The regime's practice of openly throwing itself into the embrace of imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, and of openly selling-out the people's cause is beneficial only to the bureaucrat capitalists and the comprador bourgeoisie and will never bring about the welfare of the people. On the contrary, this will lead to greater impoverishment of the people who will suffer from double oppression and exploitation under foreign imperialism and the domestic reactionaries.

What kind of foreign policy is the Indonesian fascist military regime pursuing?

The fascist clique of generals headed by Suharto and Nasution came to power through a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat, with the support of U.S. imperialism and the most reactionary social forces in the country, namely, the bureaucrat capitalists, the comprador bourgeoisie and feudal landlords. Soviet modern revisionism has also betrayed the Indonesian people by backing the fascist generals' regime.

For a long time U.S. imperialism has been trying its utmost to convert Indonesia into its colony by supporting and arming the most reactionary groups in making rebellions, among others the counter-revolutionary terrorist organization of **Darul Islam**. And later on, it aided and abetted the reactionary Moslem party **Majumi** and the reactionary "socialist party" **PSI** to stage big counter-revolutionary rebellion. Even though it was backed by U.S. imperialism with arms, equipment etc., this rebellion in Sumatra and Celebes was crushed by the people in 1958.

But U.S. imperialism has never stopped its subversive activities since then. It has always had connections with their agents and has supported the most reactionary forces in the country. They have always maintained connections with their agents among the armed forces, especially in the army, which is headed by general Nasution. The reactionary group in the army secretly sent officers to be trained in Okinawa, Manila, Bangkok and the U.S.A.

U.S. imperialism always pays great attention to and has a keen interest in Indonesia, because of its importance from the economic and strategic military viewpoint. It has rich natural resources and abundant manpower as well as important agricultural products such as oil, tin, iron ore, coal, nickel, copper, bauxite, rubber, copra, tea, coffee, sugar and tobacco. Indonesia is the eleventh largest oil producer in the world, with an annual production of more than 28 million tons which is largely in the hands of the U.S. and British capitalists.

Indonesia occupies an important strategic position linking the two continents of Australia and mainland Asia and connecting the two oceans of the Pacific and the Indian Ocean. So, in the global strategy of U.S. imperialism, the strategic position of these islands are of great importance to the carrying out of its policies of aggression and war in Southeast Asia and to realizing of its dream of encircling the people's Republic of China.

# POEMS

by Rewi Alley

## DETROIT 1967

A president is angry  
a president is mad  
violence and lawlessness  
practised for so long  
against Negro citizens  
have bounced back and now  
he and his class has  
to send in paratroopers;  
the worm has turned  
Negro American take up guns.  
A president wails  
"Riot, rebellion against  
freedom, democracy, the US  
way of life and American  
motherhood; it must  
be crushed with all  
we have" and killers  
fresh from Vietnam are  
rushed in, while from  
city to city, one slum  
jungle to another  
a new type guerilla  
fights back and fights well  
with a people surrounding  
encouraging him  
learning from him  
the way forward.

## BURN, BABY BURN

Mechanised units  
troopers, police dogs  
and the answer is  
burn, baby, burn;  
the bosses own all  
burn, baby burn;  
before we can come  
into our own, we must  
stand up and fight;  
no longer can we be  
trifled with, lied to  
treated like unwanted  
children, unable to answer  
back; burn, baby, burn;  
for a couple of centuries  
you have held the whip  
so now it is burn, baby burn;  
with our hands we have  
made these United States  
wealthy, but now the moment  
comes to let flame clear  
out the wrongs, burn in  
the truth.

## A World Free Of War

Comes aggression that enslaves  
and it is the bounden duty  
of all people to resist, despite  
suffering, despite all; so have  
the people of Vietnam  
fought back for three decades;  
still fight, still drawing  
on their indomitable spirit,  
old men passing the torch on  
to youth, and now  
entrenched might  
falls to them, and they smile  
four thousand trucks  
fifteen hundred aircraft  
supplies galore from  
the great universal provider  
their ever fruitful source,  
the enemy.  
careless of the rain of bombs  
they gather around strong points  
smashing their way in;  
it is their land and they  
are at home fighting for it  
with all they have; all  
worth while folk suffer,  
all win.  
here then is something solid  
on which to build a new world  
free of war; a people who cheerfully  
give all for principle, with  
an élan that makes even the biggest  
money bags, sit back and think.

Tsunghua, Kwangtung, Feb. 10, 1968

## HARDLY RESTRAINED

Hardly restrained,  
these bitter words  
but now the time  
for restraint has passed.  
today  
a dying imperialism  
lashes out and strikes  
peaceful village folk  
in China's Yunnan  
escalating murder out  
of Vietnam, Laos  
into the quiet gardens  
pleasant orchards of  
the common man everywhere;  
so gather your strength  
you who are on the side  
of the long denied  
in the ghetto of Harlem  
London's slums, Calcutta  
Guatemala, and Lima  
in Peru; from Capetown  
to the Congo, wherever  
the poor fight back  
comes understanding  
that the devil can  
be beaten, change  
made true.