

Progressive Worker

Workers of All Countries. Unite!

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A POLITICAL ANALYSIS



ALSO in this issue

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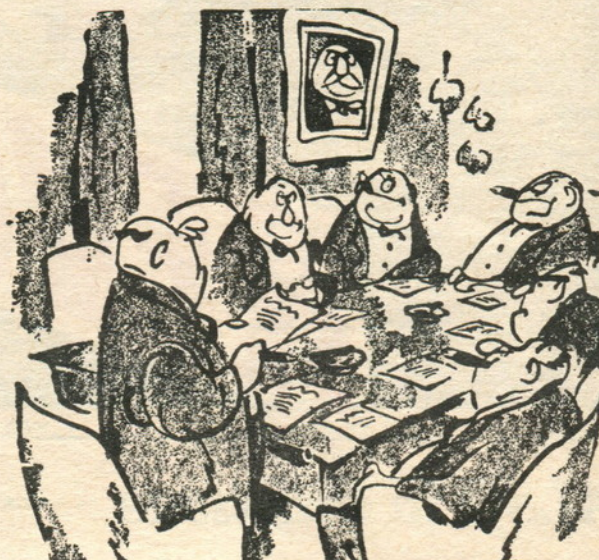
SUDBURY GOES STEEL

The long fight between Mine-Mill and Steel for bargaining rights on behalf of Canada's base metal miners and smelter workers finally came to a climatic end at the Sudbury operations of Int. Nickel. Previous votes had shown the Sudbury workers to be almost equally divided in their support for the warring unions. However, the most recent session of balloting gave a rather decisive majority of more than 2,000 votes for steel.

The large Steel majority would appear to indicate an early end for Mine-Mill which was once the only effective union in base metal mining in North America. It is unlikely that anything more than a small minority of Sudbury workers will be agreeable to paying two sets of dues in order to help Mine-Mill in existence—especially since there is now little substantial difference between the two groups. It is certain that the Mine-Mill treasury will be badly depleted after the lengthy and expensive Sudbury battle, and there is now no longer any hope of recuperating losses from the dues of 15,000 workers in International Nickel. Trail and Kimberley are now the only large operations remaining in the Mine-Mill jurisdiction, and these will be unable to finance the whole national operation and, in any event, will no doubt come under early attack from Steel raiders forcing a defensive battle on Mine-Mill strategists that will further sap the finances and energies of the organization.

Mine-Mill spokesmen are being rather vague on future plans, giving as a reason their desire to await deliberation of the forthcoming Canadian convention of the union before making any definite statements. Steel has issued a call for a merger of the remnants of Mine-Mill with the United Steelworkers and has accompanied it with an ultimatum announcing their intention to step up raiding activities if their proposal is not accepted.

It should be perfectly clear to everyone that the continuing strife in the base metal industry is of benefit only to the employers who have been enjoying record profits for a considerable period. There should be a single union of mining and metallurgical workers in Canada: an independent CANADIAN union with a policy geared to Canadian needs. The thousands of militant workers still in base metals must find the path by which they can travel together and lead all the workers in the industry toward this objective.

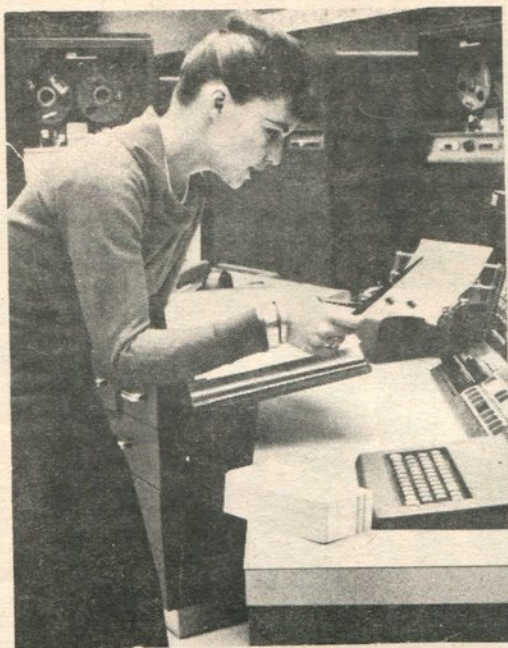


"Hampered by bureaucratic meddling, strangled by government controls and union wage demands, our net earnings have soared to a new high peak!"

WORKING WOMEN IN CANADA

The Department of Labour is responsible for the publication of two interesting and fact-packed booklets on the subject of working women. One is based on a 1964 survey and is issued under the title "Women at Work in Canada"—a fact book on the female labour force. The second is an eight-city survey of "Married Women Working for Pay," which was originally published in 1958, so is a little dated, but probably still gives a substantially true picture of existing conditions.

The introduction to the married women survey points out that one of the most striking changes in the composi-



tion of the Canadian labour force during the previous 15 to 20 years has been the increasing participation of married women in paid employment. In 1941, one married woman in 20 was working; by 1951, more than one in ten had a paid job. If this trend had continued until now, it is probable that upwards of 20 per cent of all married women are engaged in gainful employment today.

This picture is one rarely suspected by the average Canadian, who thinks of married women in terms of looking after home and family. The picture is all the more surprising in that married women on farms are not included, and even though not paid wages, one would have to agree that almost all of them play an essential part in the production process in agriculture.

As of 1958, one in four non-farm workers were women and about 40 per cent of these were married. Add to these the widowed, divorced and separated, and nearly half of the working women are, or have been married.

About 80 per cent of the women worked full time and about 60 per cent of those interviewed had been continuously employed for at least five years. Seventy-five per cent said they would look for other work if they lost their job. Many of those who were off work periodically explained that unforeseen occurrences required their full attention at home. Practically all did their own homework and only a very few relatively high-paid professional women hired domestic help.

One of the chief complaints was the limited time available to spend with children. There was an often expressed wish for a shorter working day. But because they work to help maintain the family standard of living, plus the fact they are not high-income earners, made it necessary to work full time.

WHAT THEY WORK AT

Thirty-seven-point-two per cent of married women in employment are engaged in clerical work; 22.7 per cent

in manufacturing and mechanical; 16.9 per cent in service; and 11.5 per cent in commerce and finance; the remaining 11.7 per cent were in various occupations.

In the industrialized areas of Quebec and Ontario, the proportion engaged in manufacturing was quite high, whereas in the less industrialized areas (notably Vancouver and Edmonton), the service industries had the highest percentage. The fact that Western cities are largely distribution centres rather than manufacturing areas, is reflected in the fact that in Saskatoon, Winnipeg and Vancouver, a large percentage are engaged in trade—the bulk of them working in retail or chain stores.

WHY DO THEY WORK

The widely-held opinion that women (and especially married women) are just working for "pin money" is a fallacy. This is a fact established from the information gathered in the survey. The young women of 30 who had worked since they were 18 and married at 20, said: "There is no difference being single or married as far as work for me is concerned." Her husband earned about \$2,800 and she earned \$1,800.

The vast majority of married women who work do so on a permanent basis and look for part-time employment only when children start to arrive and make full-time work impossible.

Married women, like all working people, stressed economic reasons for seeking employment. Usually the income of the husband was not sufficient to provide an adequate standard of living, and particularly so where the family was young and growing.

Forty-seven per cent gave no other reason for working except the economic one, and 75 per cent emphasized economic reasons above all others. Although better paid than their wives, the husbands of these working women were not high-income earners. By far the largest number earned less than \$4,000, with only 14 per cent over the \$4,000 level. The combined earnings, as a rule, brought the family income up to about \$4,000.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

There is often found a general opinion, which fluctuates according to the current level of employment, that married women who work, do so out of selfishness and should stay at home and out of the labour market. As pointed out above, this is a fallacy, as most married women who work do so out of necessity. Maintaining a home, especially where there are children, and working at a full-time job, can scarcely be considered anyone's idea of fun. Many of the women in the survey felt tired and run-down, but resisted going to a doctor because they knew they would be told to quit work, and they desperately needed the income.

The frantic rush to maintain both home and employment is no doubt responsible for a large percentage of married women remaining outside the organized labour movement. It is physically impossible for them to do these things and find time for attending to trade union affairs as well. This is a problem which the unions will need to attend to before any success can be looked for in attracting married women who work to the labour movement.

WOMEN AT WORK

The 1964 survey, "Women at Work in Canada," contains a wide range of information relating to working women. There are sections on employment trends, earnings of women workers, occupations and training, legislation affecting female labour and international labour and women workers. At the end of the booklet is a recommended list for further reading.

In a brief historical survey at the beginning, we find that the first statistics on women workers in Canada became available in the census of 1891. At that time, one out of every eight paid workers was a woman. The ten leading occupations of women workers were all fairly closely related to traditional household tasks. These were: Servant, dress-maker, teacher, farmer, seamstress, tailor, saleswomen, housekeeper, laundress and milliner.

The long hours of work then prevailing (60 in factories and 54 in stores) and the strenuous, often hazardous nature of most occupations, led one woman writer, Jean Thomson Scott, to make the following comment in a book on the conditions of female labour in Ontario, published in 1892:

"... Isolated cases of women having themselves able to stand a severe physical strain cannot refute the fact that a vast majority of women are of weaker mould than man, and that over-work has in many cases been the cause of a life of semi-invalidism, an undue exertion of physical strength from women; and it is the duty of the government to prevent it. That women are willing, nay, even anxious sometimes, to attempt hard physical labour, is no reason for their being permitted to do so."

By the time this had been written, women had already begun entering the professions in increasing numbers. Mrs. Scott herself pointed out that the employment of large numbers of women teachers at low salaries had begun to drive men out of the teaching profession. Toronto University had begun to enroll women in 1886, and Mrs. Scott was probably one of its first women graduates. Canada's first woman doctor, Emily Howard Stowe, started practice in Toronto in the 1860's.

It was then still uncommon for married women to work outside the home, a subject on which Mrs. Scott remarked as follows:

"The employment of married women in factories and stores in Ontario is not general. In a large number of factories and stores there are no married women at all; at most only one or two widows. Married women in Canada do not seem to go out to work as long as their husbands are at all able to support them. In canning factories during the summer months, numbers of married women may be found; many work in laundries; and in a mill stock factory (preparing rags for shoddy mills) visited by the writer, most of the women were married. Market gardening is a means of subsistence to some. Women whose husbands are dead or are not able to support them, will not go out as long as they have children at home to care for, but prefer, if they can, to engage in some work which will keep them at home. Women in poor circumstances go out washing and ironing to private houses or else take it home to do. In many cases, they take in sewing or dress-making, and do tailoring for the wholesale trade at their homes."

There have always been large numbers of women in industry but married women at work did not become a really important factor until about 40 years ago when the trend, due to many reasons briefly touched on in the survey, took a sharp upward turn. The advent of World War II, and the vital need of the period to attract large numbers of women into occupations which had previously been the sole stamping ground of male labour, did a great deal to dispel many of the myths concerning which occupations were suitable for women.

TRENDS IN EMPLOYMENT

Census figures indicate that the number of women entering employment is growing at a more rapid rate than the female population of working age. At the turn of the century, 12 per cent of women of working age were in employment, but by the time of the census of 1961 this had grown to 29.5 per cent. In fact the proportion of women in employment has been growing at a much more rapid rate than has male labour. In 1901 the female labour force numbered only 238,000 in a total labour force of 1,982,000 (12 per cent); by 1961 the figure had risen to 1,764,000 in a total labour force of 5,984,000 (27.3 per cent). The number of women workers had grown about seven and a half times in the six decades while the number of male workers had barely doubled.

There is no noticeable slackening of this trend and there is every reason to expect that women will continue to be an increasingly important factor in the labour force and therefore important to the future of the labour movement in Canada.

WOMEN'S OCCUPATIONS

The ten occupations which headed the list in the census of 1891 have undergone a radical transformation. Stenographers, typists and clerical workers now head the list of occupations. The teaching profession, however, still seems to be dominated by the women who still account for 70.7 per cent of the total. The most rapid growth though, has been in the field of clerical work. Women's share of clerical occupations has grown from 22 per cent in 1901 to 66.4 per cent in 1961.

Stewardesses fired if they get married — News Item.



"Of course I know the regulations, Larry—I'm not married."

WOMEN'S EARNINGS

On the section on women's earnings we find the following quote: "It may be that, as is sometimes said, things go better in the family and in business organizations when women are earning less than men." Perhaps this trite homily will provide some comfort to women when they carry home their meagre pay packet; but I rather doubt it.

It would have been more to the point if the editors had stated that the relatively low remuneration for women workers is one of the chief reasons (although not the only one) for the startling increase in the number of women in the labour force.

The average earnings of women workers is about half that for men, being just under the \$2,000 mark. One in four earns less than \$1,000; half earn less than \$2,000; and almost 65 per cent fail to reach a level of \$3,000.

The evidence points to a dire need for organization among women workers in Canadian industry.

LEGISLATION

Only three provinces—Alberta, B.C. and New Brunswick—have acts governing maternity leave. In two—Alberta and B.C.—the act does no more than prohibit the employment of pregnant women for certain periods before and after confinement. There is no guarantee of maintenance of employment and no provision for compensation and even at that the acts in both cases are inoperative as no regulations for enforcement have been issued. The New Brunswick act provides no compensation and has

the sole redeeming feature of protecting a **women** on maternity leave for a period of 16 weeks during which time she cannot be dismissed.

The federal government, out of the goodness of its capitalist heart provides for two months leave before, and up to 6 months after pregnancy—**WITHOUT PAY**. Similar conditions prevail in the Civil Service in several provinces.

Minimum wage acts, for the most part, discriminate against women workers and often give no protection at all through the simple expedient of excluding occupations which employ large numbers of women.

Seven provinces have passed "Equal Pay" legislation, but the effectiveness of such legislation is highly questionable. One serious weakness in the acts is that nothing is done about enforcement unless the affected employee lodges a complaint which will be investigated by the appropriate department. Such complaints are very unlikely in unorganized occupations and usually unnecessary in organized ones.

A close examination of legislation concerning female labour indicates the need for a concerned and militant drive to improve the situation and to provide effective legislation covering the special needs of woman workers.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Canada has participated in the International Labour

Organization since its inception and has served on a number of specialized agencies in the United Nations. In both organizations Canadian government representatives have served on commissions set up for the express purpose of investigating the status of women and recommending legislation for the protection of woman workers. For three years, from 1958 through 1960, Canada served as a member of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women. The sad state and backward condition of Canadian legislation for the protection of working women would seem to indicate that these important international commissions on which Canada has been an active member are achieving little, if anything, in the promotion of legislation for the protection of women. Such legislation, where it does exist in Canada, is mostly window-dressing and largely inoperative or ineffective.

In the two surveys outlined above, and especially in "Women at Work in Canada," there is a wealth of information which is worthwhile studying. Armed with the facts that can be gleaned from this material, one can be well equipped to advance a program for worthwhile and effective legislation for the protection of working women.

AN EXAMPLE OF U.S. DOMINATION

The Vancouver local of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (I.B.E.W.) appears to be heading for a showdown with the U.S. based International executive. This is the second time within the last few years that conflict has arisen between the local membership and the bureaucrats on the International Executive. Ten years ago the same Washington-based bureaucrats removed the elected officers of the local and imposed a trusteeship over its affairs.

The current differences developed out of an 18-month-long bargaining session with B.C. District Telegraph to secure a contract for the company's 26 employees. Negotiations started in June of 1964, continued for 11 months, then, in May 1965, the international representative, Jack Ross, acting on orders from the International officers, signed with the employer, and over the heads of the protesting workers, a sweetheart agreement for a much smaller pay than the men were willing to accept.

The local officers were forced to appeal to the court to invalidate the Ross agreement and get the company back to the bargaining table. The court ruled in favour of the local, holding an agreement signed without the consent of the workers was not binding.

Renewed negotiations with the company did not achieve any satisfactory settlement, resulting in the local applying for a strike vote which was overwhelmingly in favour of strike action. The deadline for strike action, due to expire on January 7, has now been extended to January 31, by which time an agreement must be signed or, failing which, walk out or lose the right to strike for at least one year.

Under the International constitution of the I.B.E.W., strikes cannot be entered into without the consent of the International officers, and these Washington bureaucrats are refusing to sanction the proposed strike and are insisting that the rejected agreement they signed must be accepted. A crisis will be in the making if no agreement, satisfactory to the local, is reached by the time the strike notice expires if the International remains firm in its present attitude.

The right to strike should be the prerogative of the workers directly involved, and not subject to any veto from bureaucrats. If workers should decide to strike, they should be given all possible assistance regardless of the opinion of officers.

There is talk in some circles about circulation of a resolution petitioning the next International Convention for the right of Canadian locals to hold a convention to elect a Canadian vice-president. Such a measure would



not result in any real change as it would leave the existing apparatus intact and the elected vice-president would simply become the captive of that apparatus.

Canadian workers require an independent Canadian trade union movement that will be free to shape its own policies in the interests of Canadian workers. So long as Electrical workers in Canada are tied to a U.S.-controlled union, we will continue to experience the type of undemocratic domination that members of local 213 I.B.E.W. are now suffering. It is high time Canadian workers made serious plans to put themselves in a position to take independent action without interference from south of the border. This can only come about with the establishment of an independent Canadian trade union movement.

BOB FLINTOFF.

THE PEACE HOAX

By CATHAL BRUGHA

"The Vietnamese people eagerly want peace to reconstruct their country, but genuine peace is inseparable from genuine national independence."—Ho Chi Minh.

The dying days of 1965 saw the Johnson administration launch what it styled a "peace offensive" to attain an "honorable and lasting peace" in Vietnam. An extravaganza of classic Madison Avenue proportions, the "offensive" saw American diplomatic missions to many of the world's capitals. Indeed, the professional con-men of the U.S. showed their faces in every conceivable places, with the exception of the one that really mattered—Vietnam. However, this slight discrepancy, which struck many innocent-minded people as a little odd, was more apparent than real. The fact is the peace feelers to Vietnam were of a different calibre, more persuasive, than those presented at the Vatican. The important power station near Haiphon was heavily bombed on December 15. "This attack," says the U.S. News and World Report of January 10, "was the first step in the peace offensive that broke into the open in the last days of December."

So there you have it: an extra serving of high explosives for the Vietnamese; a piece of good old bourgeois sophistry for the slob in the "Free World"; when combined you get what the phrase-mongers in the Pentagon term a PEACE OFFENSIVE. Perhaps the slip was an unconscious one, but the very name chosen for this latest Washington caper, and chosen by themselves, has an ominous military ring. I would say that it is much more descriptive of their machinations than they intended it to be.

Few thoughtful people are misled by Johnson's much publicized plea for peace. Still, the question remains: why all this double-talk and deceit in the first place? An objective analysis of the American position will give at least three good answers. Firstly, such a move was necessary as an attempt to placate the growing, but still uncoordinated, anti-war sentiment in the U.S. itself. Secondly, it was becoming increasingly urgent that the U.S. produce some political gimmick to relieve their allies of the opposition their respective peoples are showing towards their government's involvement with American imperialist policies. Thirdly, Washington is faced with the necessity to escalate the war in Vietnam, and of expanding it to bordering regions. This latter requirement emanates from their failure to make any headway to date in Vietnam; and the imperialists hope to justify escalation on the pretext that an "honorable peace" was offered and refused, leaving them no alternative.

It would be nothing short of an exercise in futility to embark on a systematic examination of the ambiguous and contradictory statements issued by the Johnson administration on its peace hoax. In any event, governments as well as individuals must, in the final analysis, be judged on tangible facts rather than on mere words, if we are to arrive at the essence of their motives. Proceeding on this principle, the utter shallowness and unsophisticated knavery of the whole affair becomes apparent in all of its sordid details.

To term the diplomatic manoeuvrings of Washington as constituting a sincere effort towards the securing of an "honourable peace" in Vietnam, is to stretch the English language far beyond its normal pliability. Blackmail would be a closer, though still inadequate, definition. When stripped of all the frills, the Washington proposals are reduced to an unqualified acceptance of American terms on the part of the Vietnamese. In the event of a refusal, it has already been made adequately clear that the ground war in the South will be escalated to genocidal proportions, the air attacks in the North will be similarly motivated, and the neighboring areas of Laos, Cambodia and Thailand will be engulfed in the throes of American aggression. In a word, the American imperialists are saying: Accept a cease-fire on our terms, or we will proceed

to make the whole area safe for democracy, even if we have to murder every man, woman and child to do so. It may be that there are some who will feel that this is a grotesque exaggeration. Well, if there are such people, they should subscribe to a few reputable American newspapers and magazines, and learn what they say on the strength of "informed sources" in Washington.

Job opportunity



"Not only will you have a chance to see the world but we'll guarantee you work as long as you live."

The Pentagon propagandists are endeavouring to make all the mileage possible out of the fact that the bombing of North Vietnam has been temporarily halted. Big deal! What are we supposed to do to show our appreciation? Express our profuse thanks to the Big White Chief for his magnanimous gesture of momentarily stopping his murderous bombing of a people whose only crime is their desire to build a more just and equitable society within the boundaries of their own state? At any rate, American saturation bombing HAS NOT BEEN STOPPED; the zone of operations has merely been shifted to encompass the alleged supply route through Laos and Cambodia. This latter area has received an average of 1,000 tons of American bombs daily since the termination of the raids of North Vietnam. America's present air strength in Southeast Asia could not maintain this tempo, and at the same time continue the attacks on North Vietnam at the pre-January level. Such an operation would involve stripping other areas of their normal air strength; as has already been done in the case of helicopters. So that this much lauded lull in the bombing of North Vietnam is nothing more than an expedient to complement the demands of tactics and the limitations of available air power.

It is becoming increasingly monotonous to hear Johnson and his sidekicks express their readiness to "meet any government any place" to decide the fate of Vietnam. That is, any government with the exception of the only one in a position to speak in the name of the South Vietnamese people—the National Front for Liberation. Of course, according to the imperialist line, the revolutionary troops in South Vietnam, who have to date fought the pick of America's professionals to a virtual standstill, are nothing but the tools of that foreign country, North Vietnam, which is itself under the thumb of "Red China." And, since the imperialist line does not recognize the existence of the People's Republic of China in the first place, it follows that it cannot very well recognize the existence of the revolutionary fighters of South Vietnam; although said combatants are beating the living daylights out of America's elite stormtroopers. 'Tis all very complicated, and a little unreal, to say the least. But then, the whole American position on Vietnam defies any logical explanation, other than the one Americans dread the sound of; and that is IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION.

If American imperialists desire peace in Vietnam, and as yet they have shown no such tendency, there is only one road open to them. They must get to hell out of there, and accept the fact that the days have long gone when colonial bandits can walk with impunity over peace-

ful countries in the name of religion, civilization and progress. The people of Asia, Africa and South America no longer consider themselves candidates for the role of the "white man's burden." Such peoples, who were hitherto considered fair game by imperial expansionists, are today awakening to, and asserting, their inherent right to personal dignity and national independence. In their struggle against the encroachments of imperialism, nations such as Vietnam have at their avail much knowledge gained through the bitter experiences of other peoples in previous liberation conflicts. Consequently, they are understandably wary of the sort of doubletalk and ambiguous promises now being proffered by the Americans. And who would blame them? The Vietnamese revolutionaries want the American occupational forces to pack their bags and return to where they belong. They have made it plain enough that they do not consider their freedom an item which can be negotiated on the basis of compromise between the interests of American imperialism and those of an independent Vietnam. And in this regard they are, after all, only following the advice of a former American notable, Ben Franklin:

"They that give up essential freedom in order to secure a little temporary safety, deserve neither freedom nor safety."



ONTARIO TEAMSTERS

The last ditch weapon of the bureaucrat has been used. Toronto local 938 of the Teamsters has been placed under trusteeship. Having found it impossible to divide and confuse the rank and file in their magnificent fight to secure the 40-hour week, increased wages and improved working conditions, the union brass has decided to cancel the few remaining rags of democratic rights in the organization and force on the membership the employer-sponsored agreement that has been rejected by an overwhelming majority who acted in defiance of the leaders' recommendation to accept.

On Friday, December 10, H. Raymond Greene, of Montreal, acting for international president James R. Hoffa, suspended the local's seven-man executive board and took the affairs of the union under his personal command. He later appointed five of the seven suspended officers to temporary positions under his trusteeship. The two ousted officials, Merritt and Thibault, were the same ones who had stood solid with the rank and file and opposed the attempt of the local president to have the question of a 40-hour week hoisted for up to three years. The membership had forced president McDougall and his placemen to put Merritt and Thibault on the negotiating committee. Two of those whom Greene appointed to the executive, president McDougall and vice-president Gordon Newman, are charged under the union constitution with alleged improper use of funds. But this doesn't seem to cut any ice with Mr. Greene who indicates he is prepared to go to any lengths to see that the boss is kept happy and contented.

Greene is also threatening criminal action against union members who held a meeting in the union building. The meeting had been authorized by local officers but was ordered cancelled by the imperious Mr. Greene who was not about to allow any such democratic nonsense as members meeting to discuss union affairs. Several hundred members arrived at the building at meeting time, in most inclement weather, only to find the doors locked. Greene charges that the building was entered illegally and has offered a \$200 reward for information leading to disclosure of the names of the person or persons responsible for the alleged "forced entry." Greene announced that warrants would be sworn out against all those who had entered the building to attend the meeting. This incident is one more proof that workers have to fight the bureaucrats every bit as hard as they fight the bosses.



"They're rolling off the line at one every five minutes
Don't you think we could cut it down to one every four?"

Ed. note: The poem I LOVE YOU "GREAT SOCIETY" that appeared in January issue of PW was written by Andy Utsal a student at Simon Fraser University.

THE QUEBEC REVOLUTION

QUEBEC: JEAN LESAGE AND THE BOURGEOIS CONCEPT OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

It is almost certain that everyone in the Canadian provinces is aware of the fact that there is much political ferment in Quebec. It is equally certain that only a small fraction of the people are to any real degree aware of the political and economic factors that are at the root of the strife and turmoil. This is not at all a surprising state of affairs as the ruling class have been using every trick in the capitalist propaganda book to obscure the real issues.

For some time past the Ottawa-created Bi-Bi Commission, headed by Laurendeau and Dunton, have been tramping the land listening to arguments, pro and con, on the problem of preserving French language and culture in Canada. This may well be the most extensive and most expensive exercise in futility that the country has ever seen.

In the first place, French-speaking Canadians are not unduly disturbed about the fact that English-speaking Canadians neglect the study of the French language, and they have no desire to force them to speak French. French Canadians are well aware that the spread of the French language will provide no automatic solution to the very real problems that beset their nation—only full control over their own political and economic affairs will bring freedom to French Canada.

Secondly, given complete political and economic independence for Quebec, there will be no need for Bi-Bi or any such watchdog commissions: French-Canadian language and culture would thrive and flourish quite naturally in an atmosphere of freedom and be in no need of artificial injections.

Lastly, the Commission busied itself with hearing and considering extensive briefs on the preservation of the language and culture of many national minority groups made up, for the most part, of comparatively recent waves of immigrants from Europe. In this way, the Commission reduced the fundamental problem of Quebec's national aspirations to the status of a national minority group of immigrants.

There is absolutely no need to stump the Canadian provinces in search of a solution to Quebec's problems: that solution lies wholly within the borders of Quebec and is the affair of the French Canadian people themselves. The problem arises from the fact that French Canada is an oppressed nation dominated by an alien race, and the only real solution lies in French Canada exercising the right to self-determination and establishing control over her own affairs.

In an effort to make our readers better acquainted with the national aspirations of French Canada, and by understanding, to give support where needed and asked, we propose, in the coming months, to examine critically the attitudes and postures, and the class outlook, of various political movements now operating in Quebec. We hope this expression of views will stimulate discussion and contributions from our readers, which we will undertake to publish as time and space permit. This month we propose to take a look at the political position of Jean Lesage, premier of Quebec, and an outstanding spokesman for the dominant group of French Canadian bourgeoisie.

LESAGE AT CHARLOTTETOWN

In his Charlottetown speech at the dedication of the Fathers of Confederation Memorial Building, Lesage made several revealing remarks which provide us with a key to an understanding of his thinking in relation to the independence of French Canada. Let us take a look at several of the formulations that appeared in this speech. At one point in his address Lesage stated:

"... The Canadians overcame nature and built themselves a country that is really theirs ... and which enjoys autonomy."

Every adult in Canada who is at all literate is fully conversant with the fact that the economic life of the country is dominated by the giant U.S. monopolies and that there is not a single important decision we can make—either economic or political—where we do not first consider U.S. opinion; and often not before consulting U.S. interests. U.S. politicians and industrial magnates, on the other hand, frequently make decisions that have sweeping (and often devastating) effect on our economy without ever considering it necessary to consult us on the matter. (For example, the banning of orders for trucks for China; blocking sale of Canadian flour to Cuba; recent monetary control measures that affect Canada.)

Our cultural life—particularly in English-speaking Canada (the French enjoy at least partial insularity because of language differences)—is being overwhelmed by a flood of cheap and tawdry U.S. so-called "culture" piped to us through television, cinema, theatre, and even school and college text-books. Canadian literature and periodicals are being forced into bankruptcy as a result of competition from the U.S. which flood the market with streams of cheap, degrading and pornographic products.

According to Lesage, this condition represents "real autonomy" and a country that is really ours. It is easy, after studying this remark, to conclude that what Lesage and the interests he represents have in mind for Quebec, in the same speech, later said:

"... A fairly large majority of our population belonged, and still belongs, to groups stemming from other racial origins ... This minority joined one or the other of the two major groups, and particularly the English-speaking group."

Lesage here failed to draw attention to the fact that even in Quebec, where French is the native tongue of more than 80 per cent of the population, national minorities learn English rather than French because English is dominant in the economy and this is a powerful indicator of just how dominant is the English-speaking minority in Quebec's economic affairs.

Toward the end of his speech Lesage spoke words of praise in memory of the Fathers of Confederation:

"We must ... pay tribute ... to those who gave us our present Canada; we must express our appreciation to them for the ideals that they cherished."

"If ... the memorial building that will be put up very near here makes us apply today the spirit which prevailed a hundred years ago ... then the foundation ... will have earned the appreciation of all the people of Canada."

"Pay tribute," says the honourable gentleman, "to those who gave us our present Canada." A Canada, that is, which is dominated by an alien power; where ruthless exploitation of people and resources constitutes the "golden rule," and where a large part of the people are an oppressed nation denied the right to self-determination. For this state of affairs Lesage would have us give thanks and pay tribute to the architects who laid the corner-stone.

The "spirit which prevailed a hundred years ago," which Lesage wants to apply anew, was one of avarice and self-enrichment. The family compact, in partnership with English mercantile interests, divided the land and its resources amongst themselves and included in the deed of partnership was a sell-out of the national interests of French Canada—yet Lesage recommends that we return to the spirit of a hundred years ago. That could only mean a new family compact and a new sell-out of the fundamental interests of French Canada, with, possibly, the French-speaking bourgeoisie receiving a slightly higher

fee for the lease-hold rights to the exploitation of French Canada and her people.

THE BUDGET SPEECH

A few months after his Charlottetown speech Lesage, in his capacity as minister of finance, presented the details of his budget in a speech to the Quebec Legislative Assembly. With the first half-dozen words of his address Lesage made a supreme effort to sound like a radical. He opened with the resounding phrase:

"The State of Quebec has fiscal powers . . ."

Later in the speech he stated: "Anyone involved in government knows that non-existent or inadequate fiscal powers sharply curtail its scope of action"; and: "Now, the fiscal system is the one tool of economic growth over which Quebec has relatively least control."

Mr. Lesage, no matter how powerful his position or soul-stirring his oratory, can never make out of Quebec a state through the simple expedient of attaching to it the title of "state." Quebec is not now a state. It is an oppressed nation whose people are fighting to achieve the status of statehood. When Jean Lesage and Daniel Johnson work to convince Quebecers that what they have now is a state, requiring just some improvements and modifications, they are retarding, not advancing the struggle for national liberation.

Quebec will be a state in the full meaning of the word when her people enjoy independence of action and exercise full control over all her affairs, internal and external. Such is not now the case and the histrionics of Lesage and Johnson will do nothing to change the situation. Not speeches, but the united and determined action of all the people will bring Quebec to the position of statehood.

Lesage also commented on the fact that a state must have adequate fiscal powers and deplored the fact that Quebec did not enjoy such powers. In this he was, of course, correct and, what is equally true (but went unmentioned because, no doubt, it might give the people ideas that would be unpopular amongst the bourgeois elements), a nation must have full control over its economy before it can be really free. Lesage later made clear that his idea of fiscal powers was based entirely on the number of dollars returned to the Quebec treasury by whatever government happens to be in power at Ottawa. Freedom, the way Lesage depicts it, consists of the image of a miser sitting in his country-house fondling his hoard of gold. Hardly an image which will appeal to the people of Quebec or arouse men to fighting pitch.

THE LOYAL OPPOSITION—DANIEL JOHNSON

Daniel Johnson, who inherited the mantle of Duplessis, in spite of all outward appearances, has no substantial differences with Lesage. Like all bourgeois politicians who occupy the opposition benches, Johnson tries to create the impression that he is more radical than his more fortunate opponent who is enjoying the fruits of office. But Johnson's speech in opposition to the Lesage budget clearly indicates that there is little of substance in the shadow-boxing between the "ins" and the "outs."

"Because the State of Quebec," says Johnson, "is alone responsible for the growth of a particular culture, it needs greater freedom of action than the other provinces."

In addition to the fact that Johnson is self-contradictory in that he refers to Quebec as both a state and just another province, he limits his demand for independence to greater freedom of action in relation to that enjoyed by the other provinces. He sees Quebec not as a nation which should enjoy the status of a free and independent state, but only as the custodian of French culture in Canada, in which role she should receive special consideration from Ottawa and the "other provinces."

The burden of Johnson's disagreement with Lesage is not over the national status of Quebec and the right to statehood, for both, in spite of their fiery speeches, are in essential agreement that Quebec is a province of Canada which happens to have special problems and responsibilities. Lesage asks wider fields of taxation and larger federal grants for Quebec, whereas Johnson would have

all the provinces control virtually the entire field of taxation and subsidize the federal government if necessary.

Neither Lesage nor Johnson are either capable or willing to lead the Quebecers to real freedom as a sovereign and independent state. Both represent monopoly groups whose interests lie in maintaining a social system based on exploitation: they have no demands that cannot be satisfied within the framework of the present social order and they have no real desire to disturb the status quo in fear they might lose control—and with control their heads.

It appears obvious that we need to look elsewhere to discover the social forces that will lead Quebec to statehood and freedom.

LESAGE PROGRAM AND CANADIAN PROVINCES

Lesage and Johnson cast their program in the framework of Canadian federalism and not on the Quebecers' legitimate demand for national self-determination. The program, therefore, is the concern of the Canadian provinces and should receive their close attention; the more so in that we believe the proposals hold great dangers for all provinces outside the area of Southwestern Ontario. It is probably because of a sense of this real danger that Quebec demands, as represented by Lesage, meet with resistance among many people who should be the natural allies of the Quebec liberation movement. The proposal that each province exercise full control over its own sources of revenues, and provide for its own needs out of those revenues, because of the uneven development of the Canadian economy, would act to the detriment of all areas except Southwestern Ontario.

Not Quebec alone, but the Canadian provinces also, suffer from a kind of internal imperialism where industry and manufacture are concentrated in a tiny fraction of our land area which treats the rest of the country as an agricultural hinterland and a source of raw materials to feed its manufacturing industry. Southwestern Ontario, adjacent to a similar industrialized area in the U.S., is thoroughly Americanized and is, in fact, largely directly controlled by U.S. interests. Into its coffers flows all the wealth of the nation. Forecasts are that 20 per cent of the population of the country (about 35 or more if Quebec is excluded) will eventually be concentrated in a 15-mile-wide stretch from Oshawa to Windsor.

The Canadian provinces, already suffering from a lack of sufficient revenue and a stagnating economy at the mercy of every whim of distant financial institutions would be in an even worse plight under the Lesage-Johnson scheme which would prove to be a great boon to the U.S. monopolists who control the industry of Ontario and whose Quebec interests would not suffer unduly under the Lesage plan. Little wonder that the Liberal Lesage is on such friendly terms with the Ontario Tory, Robarts.

The P.W.M. is convinced that there is a vast reservoir of friendship and support for the people of Quebec and their aspirations for national liberation, especially in the Western provinces where economic development is being distorted and retarded by the same economic interests that dominate and oppress Quebec. But this support, which could be mobilized around demands for real freedom, could not be aroused in defence of the bogus "freedom" projected by Lesage and Johnson.

However, there are forces working toward national liberation in Quebec and deserving of all possible support.

(Next month: The Revolutionary Left—Andre Major and the F.L.Q.)



FREE BILL EPTON!



Bill Epton, Vice-President, Progressive Labor Party

HARLEM RIOTS AFTERMATH

Bill Epton, chairman of the Harlem branch, Progressive Labor Party, has been convicted and is in danger of being given a vicious sentence of 12 years for "criminal anarchy" resulting from charges laid as an aftermath of last year's Harlem "riots." Bill visited British Columbia last summer while under indictment on the criminal anarchy and numerous other charges. He spoke at a number of meetings in Vancouver and Victoria and made a host of friends who were drawn to him by his sparkling personality and great courage when under attack by the power of the state.

It would be a mistake to think that the conviction of Epton represents an attack on the Progressive Labor Party alone. The United States imperialist aggressors who have been suffering severe military setbacks abroad are now being harassed by a rapidly growing protest movement at home—a movement that is embracing ever wider and more diverse sections of the people.

Following World War I, and again after World War II, the U.S. ruling class, faced with a rapidly growing popular movement demanding far-reaching political and economic changes, resorted to this same tactic of vicious attacks on numerically small political groups that represented the long-range interests of the American people. There was a two-fold purpose behind these attacks: one was to ensure the physical destruction of those capable of leading the people toward meaningful objectives; the other was to intimidate, and so deter, as many as possible of the mass of protesting citizenry.

The attack on Epton and the Progressive Labor Party no doubt signifies the beginning of a stepped-up attack on the entire popular protest movement in the United

States with the objective of halting its momentum and ultimately turning it back. The defence of Epton and the Progressive Labor Party is inseparable from the defence of the movement as a whole.

In a public statement released just before Christmas, the Progressive Labor Party condemned the conviction of Epton and declared their unwavering determination to carry on the fight against U.S. imperialist aggression until its final destruction and to the victory of socialism in the U.S.

We urge our readers to protest the conviction and the detention of Bill Epton without bail pending sentencing, and to exert every possible effort to have protest resolutions passed in the trade unions and other organizations to which they belong. The resolutions should be sent to Mayor John Lindsay, City Hall, New York, and to New York Supreme Court Justice Arthur Markewich, 100 Centre St., New York, N.Y.

Messages of solidarity may be sent to Bill Epton, c/o Challenge, 132 Nassau St., New York 10038.

(This is the text of a letter of protest sent by P.W.M. to Mayor John Lindsay and New York Supreme Court Justice Markewich.)

Sir:—The members of the Progressive Workers Movement have instructed me to write you in regard to the conviction of William Epton, chairman of the Harlem Branch, Progressive Labor Party.

It is our considered opinion that the conviction of Epton is the end result of a monstrous frame-up calculated to destroy the Progressive Labor Party and intimidate the participants in the rapidly growing movement of protest against U.S. aggression that is causing so much havoc and misery to the peoples of the World.

Your legal justification for the jailing of William Epton on a charge of criminal anarchy arising out of last summer's "Harlem Riots" will hardly bear close scrutiny. It will be obvious to even the most dull-witted that it is not Epton, but social and economic conditions, that provide the cause of the Negro Rebellion. The jailing of Epton will contribute nothing to the solution of the serious problems that confront the Negro people; it can never put an end to the degradation that is the lot of the Negro in U.S. society; it will not, therefore, end the Negro Revolt against the society that daily seeks to degrade him physically and spiritually.

We recommend to you, gentlemen of authority that you make closer examination of the lessons of history. Your act of tyranny will not intimidate the American people or deter them from participating in mass movements of protest. So long as the United States ruling class persists in their present policy of social degradation and oppression at home, and in acts of aggression abroad, the movement of protest will continue to grow in intensity and numbers to the point where it will sweep from the scene the policy of exploitation and war and with it, the class that breeds these terrible scourges of mankind.

The jailing of Epton will obviously fail of its purpose—the intimidation of the protesting masses. It is an act of vengeance on the part of the ruling class and wholly vicious. We join together with democratic people everywhere in protesting against this act of class vengeance and demanding a reversal and the immediate release of William Epton to the end that he may work among his people to assist in securing an improvement in their deplorable living conditions and that he may work for policies of peace in the land of his birth.

For Progressive Workers Movement,

JACK SCOTT.



HARLEM—JULY 1964: WHO'S RIOTING?



'WE WILL WIN'

...BILL EPTON

"We say that THEY are the criminals. We will put THEM on trial.

"They are looking to tie up the PLP. But to become defensive is not the answer. We must challenge 'the man' where he is, not back off.

"They are using this case as a test, to see if they can make state laws operate against us, so they don't have to be exposed by dragging out federal laws.

"Well, we won't take it—not from a system that's killing in Harlem, that killed 38 in Watts, that burns Vietnamese women and children with napalm, that supports every racist and fascist government in the world. No, we just won't take it.

"We who are in the belly of the monster; we who fight in Harlem, in El Barrio, in Chicago, in Watts; we who fight in the shops, in the mines and the mills; we who fight on the picket lines and on the campus; we who fight in the Congo; we who fight in Santo Domingo; we who fight with the liberation front in Vietnam; we who fight with the peoples all over this world against U.S. imperialism—the enemy of mankind; we are winning! We will win!"

A STATEMENT OF THE PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

New York, Mississippi or Vietnam—it's all the same.

U.S. rulers—like the Johnsons, Kennedys, Wagners and Rockefellers—wearing the mask of "liberalism" to cover up their reactionary character, or those that openly advocate fascism—like the Goldwaters, Buckleys and Wallaces—react with terror and repression in the face of growing pressures from the people for a better life.

The frame-up and conviction of Bill Epton, Vice-Chairman of the Progressive Labor Party and Chairman of its Harlem branch, demonstrates that the bosses fear Black workers. Epton's "trial" and conviction tells the world again that U.S. imperialism is unfit to govern the people of the United States—as it is unwilling and unable to solve the problems that confront the people of the ghettos.

The judge says Bill Epton is a "dangerous man." Yes, Bill Epton is a danger. He is dangerous to the plans of the bosses, their cops, their judges and politicians who want to heap still more police terror, slum housing, unemployment, lower wages and, if possible, increasing indignities on the people of Harlem.

With his conviction and jailing, these bosses and their stooges are telling the Black workers: "Stop resisting, stop rebelling. We killed Malcolm X; we jailed Bill Epton. We will crush you."

They are also telling workers, students and intellectuals that they will not tolerate any meaningful resistance to their plans for world domination.

Profits, power; power, profits—this is their sole interest.

It is no accident that Bill Epton is "tried" and convicted at the very same moment that opposition at home mounts, and at the moment that U.S. rulers intensify their war of genocide against the heroic Vietnamese people—at a time when they threaten to invade Cambodia and spread the war to all of Southeast Asia.

But despite their repression—and in answer to it:

* Tens of thousands of Black workers from Watts to Harlem rise in wave after wave of rebellion, striking terror among the handful of greedy rich who dominate our country;

* Tens of thousands of marchers from California to New York persist in their efforts to compel the U.S. to "Get out of Vietnam,"

threatening basic policies of the Washington war-makers;

* Tens of thousands of U.S. workers strike for better working conditions and job security, AGAINST the "national interest" of the war-lords' super-profits;

* Millions of workers and oppressed people all over the world step up their revolutionary actions against increased U.S. terror—signaling the end of U.S. imperialism

U.S. rulers are terrified that their stolen billions will be recovered by those from whom they have been robbed. Their fear of the people at home and abroad is apparent. Their fear of revolutionary leaders like Bill Epton is proven by the murders they commit and arrests they make in the land of "democracy."

They had to use an army to kill, maim and arrest thousands in Watts, in order to momentarily halt that rebellion. They had to drag out a 60-year-old "law" to imprison Epton.

How ironic that the most criminal elements in the world—U.S. rulers—try to palm themselves off as those who uphold "freedom" and "justice" while, in fact, they move to destroy entire peoples.

Is it any wonder that Bill Epton and the Progressive Labor Party advocate socialism—advocate that political power be wrested from these criminal hands and put into the hands of the workers and their allies?

U.S. imperialism is a rotten, dying system. It exists only upon the misery and exploitation of others. People all over the world see this more clearly than ever.

U.S. bosses have yet to build enough jails to hold the growing thousands, and soon-to-become-millions, that have had enough of the reactionary policies of the Johnson gang and the gangs that preceded him.

U.S. rulers do not have enough tanks, planes, napalm and bombs to stop the people of the world from determining their own destinies.

The cadence of marching feet in our country will grow louder and louder until it drowns out those who live off the misery and exploitation of others. Our people will, in ever-increasing numbers, join hands with their brothers and sisters the world over, fighting for peace, freedom and socialism.

It is not Bill Epton who must be judged. He has passed that test. In that sense, he is free.

It is those who jail the Eptons that are yet to be judged—and who will be judged by the people of our country and the people of the world.

Letters to the Editor

From time to time by press, radio, and TV, we are asked to support this or that charitable organization. The usual approach is to show some pictures of some one condemned to die by TB, heart trouble, cancer or some other fatal disease.

One cannot help wondering as he hears those appeals if all these charities are so vital, and if they are, why are they left up to the mere whim of the public to donate.

In a province that boasts of no debts and huge surpluses, and a dynamic society, why are such appeals necessary? It is a shame to think that some person or other is going to go without medical attention or benefit from research because the necessary funds are not available. We are living in an era with just a big enough segment of the population in a position to get by and be able to cover their medical expenses, etc., by some plan or insurance. This is fine as long as they are working and a pay check coming in, but what happens when their delicate balance is upset. We give money from time to time to keep these different charities going, but we will not support a political party or programme that would see these worthwhile endeavours were not left to mere chance.

It seems that the only way to shake the general population out of the apathetic state they are in is a return to the conditions of the Hungry 30's. It seems a harsh way, but maybe if enough people are on the short end of the stick, they may wake up to reality.

When we ask what is the answer, it is for such necessary projects to be administered by the government. Then the hue and cry goes up: why, this is socialism, this is against "free enterprise!" Well, I, for one, say if this is the answer, then get with it, whether it's against free enterprise or whether it's socialism or what have you.

Let's project their whole thought to a larger scale, not just provincial or federal, but world-wide. We have the same set of circumstances only on a world-wide basis.

Here it is not just the ravages of disease, but poverty and hunger. In the Western world, the average family wastes more in one meal than a family in some impoverished nation such as India would eat in the same period.

The same set of standards applies again here: we are asked to donate clothes for Korean orphans, milk for Indian children, books for illiterate people and old eye glasses that they may see and read if they know how.

We live in a country with huge supplies of natural resources, and food stuffs, and great wealth, as opposed to these vast areas with little or no food, and little or no development of resources. Can we blame these people for revolts, for the unrest in their countries, for the cry for a chance to at last exist? I for one would be doing exactly the same thing if I were in their shoes.

I as a working man may not have the answer to their vast problem, but I am sure we have enough experts and highly educated people that could get to the root of it.

It seems that the solution to the problem could upset our world business markets and price controls. We find in our western world, farmers being paid not to grow certain crops or too much of any one product. The government is paying subsidies to keep prices right on certain products. Who in reality is the sucker in this chain of events but the poor old John Q public taxpayer?

I would think that if we could send our surpluses there and help get these nations on their feet, it would be to our benefit in the end. Sooner or later they would be in a position to be a market for our products and would eventually expand our trade.

Would it not be better to send food and equipment to help these backward nations, rather than guns and soldiers to crush them when they rise up in their efforts to try and better themselves?

Maybe this is asking too much, or maybe there is not the profit there is in arms, or, if so, it isn't as quick a turnover.

To me, as a working man, it may not be a quick way of getting rich, but it is away of making friends and ensuring peace. In the long run, it would be no more costly than maintaining a UN police force in countries all over the world to prevent wars or settle the ones in progress.

We are all on the face of this earth whether we like it or not, different races, different religions, and different ideologies. In this day and age we are just going to have to learn to live together as the only other alternative, warfare, is ridiculous.

My hope is that we will wake up to these problems before it is too late, because, if we don't, some day it will be too late: we will become a victim of our own monster.

JOHN D. ROCK.

Dear Comrade Scott:

The letter in December issue of P.W. (Henry Tudor) looks very much like I could have written re C.P. views and actions, Harold Winch (I did correspond with Ernie Winch in the old days) and the name Henry Tudor is my pen name to some papers, notably the Winnipeg Free Press. It is my second name, my son's name, my grandfather's name, also great-grandfather's name, to Henry Tudor who helped to dig the Gloucester and Berkeley Canal in 1816—and I mean "dig."

I am enclosing a dollar for 12 issues or one year's sub for A—S—who subscribes to the Pacific Tribune for me, although I have asked him not to waste his \$5.00 in view of their revisionist attitudes and plain damn lies.

I wonder if Ho Chi Minh took Rush, Rae Murphy and Tim Buck to his bosom as stated? I think not. If Tim is trying to drive a wedge and play the role as he did in Australia.

A former CP-er from Calgary some time ago stated he heard Buck give an anti-Peking speech of abuse in Calgary. What is their object in visiting North Vietnam? Perhaps they will show the results of the elections in four seats in B.C.

Under the present stress of America naggression Vietnam is at war against the largest imperialist power on earth. Why this warm greeting to people who are not in sympathy with our Eastern comrades? It would be quite interesting to get the North Vietnamese reaction to the Tribune.

To resurrect Joe Hill or Leslie Morris as per Nelson Clarke butters no parsnips with yours truly, or Myrtle Bergren comparing Mrs. Lester Pearson with Valentina Tereshkova—a bit navie, eh what? Likewise, the eulogy to Queen Elizabeth of Belgium does not restore Patrice Lumumba. Or giving us a picture of Charlie Chaplin plus Sophia Loren's legs may amuse the bourgeoisie, but it is a helluva long way from the teachings of Marx and Lenin, even as are the rhapsodies of Pope Paul at the UN. As George Bernard Shaw says in his prefaces, now published in one volume: "Some of these pseudo-socialists do not have the intelligence to understand Marx."

By their fruits ye shall know them and those fruits are the Dead Sea fruit. But the comrades in Southeast Asia put no credence in a second Joshua and know full well that the aggressors from America are not defeated by the blowing of "Rams' Horns," or the gift horses of the man from Texas, supported by all the Billy Grahams of North America and Western Europe whose motto is: "In God we trust, all others pay cash. And this includes the cash from Canada's resources and the blood and sweat of the working class.

"Lepor Omni Vincit!"

E. H. (HENRY) TUDOR,
Morningside, Alberta.

P.S.—Enclosed is a dollar bill and a list of names to be sent December issue of P.W. If this is not convenient, just send the bundle to me and I will do the necessary. If you want to publish the above letter in next issue, O.K. On December 7 (Tuesday), I celebrated my 40th anniversary.

sary opposing capitalism. My 79th birthday anniversary is on Dec. 24 next. Although a victim of three cancer operations, the spirit is still alive. So, a Merry Christmas and Forward to 1966!—E.H.T.

(Editor's Note—The "Henry Tudor" who wrote the previous letter lives in Vancouver and is not related to Henry Tudor of Morningside. Copies of P.W. have been mailed to the list of people as requested. A belated happy birthday and New Year greeting to Henry Tudor of Morningside.

Editor, Progressive Worker:

The P.W., Jan., 1966, received today, Dec. 28, 1965. The first thing that caught my eye was, "U.S. Aggrsors, Get Out of Vietnam," with which I fully agree. I want to back up a few days. In the Peking Review, No. 50, Dec. 10, an article in that issue by Bertrand Russell, and his reply to Premier Chou En Lai was to me of outstanding significance. The noble earl said: "Let us join together to resist U.S. imperialism." Well, I agree with Bertrand 100 per cent, no more, no less. In other words, if all the Communists of the world would get together in collusion with all and sundry who oppose the U.S. imperialists, we could bring world opinion to force the Johnson administration to sit up and take notice.

Let me digress for a moment. Mrs. M. E. Powell doesn't know whether Malcolm Bruce is old enough to have heard Bernard Shaw's tirade over radio many years ago, on how blind the Americans are, etc. Yes, I can assure you, Mrs. Powell, Malcolm is old enough. I have known him for many years: of course I am only 85 now.

There was a time when we as Communists saw eye to eye. Follow the leader, right or wrong, just follow the leader. Wasn't that a kid's game, follow the leader? I have tried to keep an open mind. I have tried to do my own thinking. I have given my best over long years to try to bring the working class into one solid unit. For the very purpose that when something like the present is happening in the world, we could show a solid front to the capitalist class, and when the moment came, kick them off the face of the earth.

There is a division in the ranks of the common people, indeed in the working class. Nothing new about this. But the thing that gets me down is why Communists are divided. I can understand why the Chinese people, led by the Communist Party, looks at everything Chinese different to what the people of the Soviet Union do. China is not the Soviet Union. But Marxism-Leninism is the same. That has never changed, nor will it. In essence, Marxism-Leninism is the might of the working class of the world getting together and overthrowing the exploiting class, imperialism.

Having thought the above out, looking at it from every angle, I am forced to come to some conclusions. Have you ever noticed a bunch of sheep following a leader? I have. It always intrigued me. Not much different from people, they must have a leadership, and as of now, that leadership has led to the differences in ideology, so we now have two parties, and both claim to be Communists. This has to be fought out eventually. And I say in all seriousness, that the rank and file will do it, unless the present leadership alter their course, there is no alternative. After all these years I have found out that all Communists are not revolutionists, something I have always prided myself in.

In the light of what the U.S. madmen are doing in Vietnam, never mind for the moment what they hope to do in other places—and are doing, wholesale carnage and wanton murder, can't we as Communists get together as the East says and get these Yankee murderers out of Vietnam. And I suggest then we go on and settle our differences among ourselves. What I do see, is the rank and file of the Communist parties getting together in spite of the leadership as composed at present and setting

up a new leadership who will, say, lead as Stalin said, "neither to the right nor left, but straight ahead."

I say to every comrade, let us give heed to old Bertrand Russell, his words are wise. Then let us act, an ounce of action is worth a ton of talk.

Comradely,

JOE IVENS.

Over a year ago the workers employed by the P.G.E. Railway formed a Federation of P.G.E. Employees (non-operating trades) consisting of the International Association of Machinists, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Pipefitting Industries in the U.S. and Canada, and the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks.

The Federation of Pacific Great Eastern Railway Employees and their employer the P.G.E. Railway are now conducting negotiations for a new wage agreement.

The P.G.E. Railway is owned by the Government of British Columbia and Bennett's Boys in the Railway management department are carrying the ball for the C.P.R. and C.N.R. by trying to browbeat the workers and refusing to give in to their demands. Bennett's stooges are saying: If we give you (the workers) what you want, this will cause inflation and upset the whole economy of the country. Why, if we give you a raise, then the CP and CN employees will want one also.

The workers have no intention of backing down and are not interested in the phoney arguments of the Bosses and it looks very much like a strike will take place soon.

After the way Bennett helped to smash the Oil Workers' strike and the arrogant attitude he is taking with the "Rails," I can't understand why some workers who carry a union card will vote for Social Credit, the party that is just about the most vicious anti-working class party in Canadian politics.

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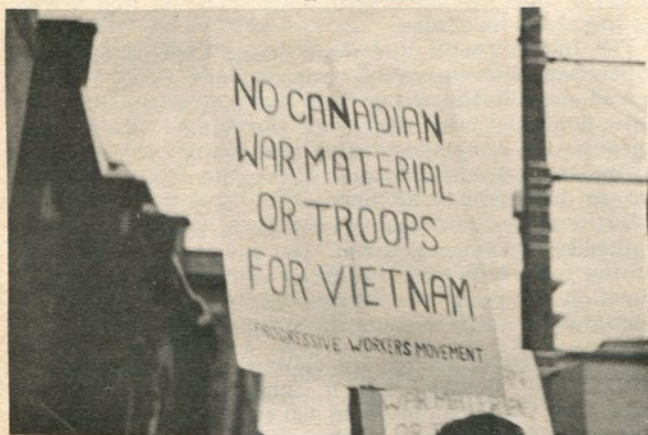
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P.W.M. PICKET

PROGRESSIVE WORKERS DEMONSTRATE
AT U.S. CONSULATE IN TORONTO



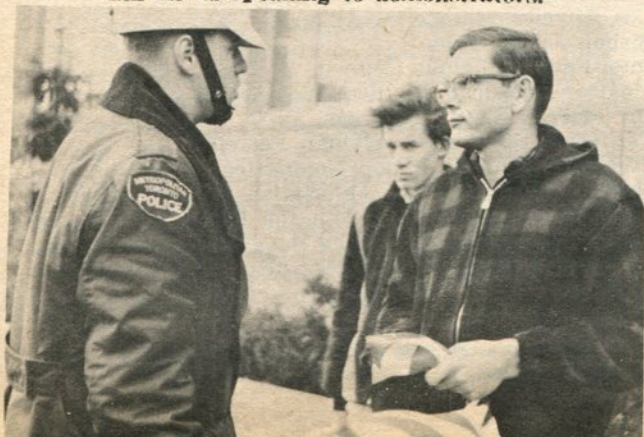
A section of the picket line.



One of the slogans.



Bill Lewis speaking to demonstrators.



Toronto cop intervenes to prevent burning of "Old Glory."

WOMENS COMMITTEE

The first women's meeting was held in November of 1965 and the following is a brief account of what took place at that meeting, the following meeting, and what are our future plans.

At the Progressive Workers Movement Conference held in October, it was decided there was a need for a separate organization for the women in P.W.M. and those in contact with us.

We are getting together because, for some of us, it is to find out why our husbands are dedicated to their struggle for a socialist society, and for others who realize why and are struggling themselves to learn the basic fundamentals of Marxism as a planned economy and as a political science.

We cannot learn from our husbands, so shall have to learn for ourselves.

The women discussed their problems and everyone gave their views on having educationals separate from the men. It was decided that we would do this.

Twenty women attended the first meeting. At this meeting we elected a secretary and chairman.

At our second meeting which was held two weeks later, we had our first educational on "How the Gods Were Made," by John Keracher.

Our next educational which will be held in the middle of January, will be on economics.

We are going to do our bit to help achieve an economic system which will give us real equality.

LYNNE WILLS.

By HELEN BAYLOR

"God bless the women," is the term we generally hear, when they are being discussed by the menfolk, and this carries a connotation of a multitude of sins and virtues attributed to women. More to the point, women are regarded as dumb but lovely and very, very useful, not only to man personally, but to society. She is regarded as a privileged individual because she comes under the protection of man by an age-old tradition and purpose.

Is she really privileged? This is the question a group of Progressive Women are going to study in a special women's study class already under way and being sponsored by the Women's Committee of the P.W.M. Ancient and purposeful traditions die very hard, and even socialist-oriented and educated husbands will hold forth on Marx's and Engel's analyzation on women's place in society but come home and practice the traditional paternalism to his family.

However this does not mean that Father or Hubby is a son-of-a-B. It means that we females are too damn lazy to bother with our twin-yoked discriminatory status in society and refuse to even study the situation and see what we can do about it. For instance, how equal can we get under the present society? How important is the Woman Question?

ANNOUNCEMENT—

PROGRESSIVE WORKERS MOVEMENT
INVITES YOU
TO A DISCUSSION ON THE NEGRO STRUGGLE
IN THE U.S.

PLUS

A Tape Recording of a speech by
MALCOLM X

P.W.M. HEADQUARTERS

714 E. Georgia St.

8 P.M.—SATURDAY, JANUARY 22

ALL WELCOME

Entertainment—Refreshments

Jack Wood Club, P.W.M.

INDIANS

CANADA'S RACE PROBLEM

The larger, more spectacular problem of race relations in the United States all too often obscures the fact that Canada has a race problem of her own. When the problem does push to the surface and we are forced to discuss it, we do so in terms of the backwardness of the Indian rather than the point of view of our own responsibility for forcing Indian people to live in reserves and ghetto-like settlements under the most primitive conditions. The usual method of handling the problem is for a committee of do-gooders, made up of members of the "superior" race, to discuss how to help the "poor Indian" rather than putting forward ideas of how the Indian people can be given full and free opportunity to help themselves and improve their own condition in the way that suits them best. This race problem of ours erupted once again and attracted wide publicity in recent days, this time in the Ontario district of Kenora adjacent to the Manitoba border.

Kenora is the shopping, entertainment and social centre of 11 Saulteaux reserves within a radius of 100 miles of the community. Indians from the reserves who visit the town are arrested for the most trivial offences and, being without adequate funds for legal defence, usually plead guilty and are fined or sentenced to jail terms.

Some pious hypocrites in the community were disturbed about the fact that a few individuals had a record of up to 20 court appearances in a year and that 75 per cent of the clientele of the Children's Aid were of Indian ancestry. Members of the Kenora Indian-White committee sponsored a conference to which about 200 representatives were invited, but only 70 put in an appearance—about half of them Indian.

There was no meeting of the minds at the conference, each group being primarily concerned with what they considered the major problems and these problems were only remotely related.

The White citizens were concerned only with the "good name" of the community and keeping "unruly"

Indians off the streets. The Indian delegates, on the other hand, were deeply concerned with the fundamental problems that confronted their people every day of their lives. Foremost in the minds of the Indian spokesmen were the extremely poor living conditions and the inadequate housing on the reserves as well as the racial discrimination that was prevalent in the Kenora area.

A week after the conference the Indian people in Kenora, assisted by Allan Borovoy, director of the Toronto Labour Council Human Rights Committee, and by Fred Kelly, a Saulteaux who was an employee of the Children's Aid, organized a march by 400 Indians on the Kenora City Hall to present a brief which called for: A Mayors Committee to work on the Indian problem; a telephone link to the reserves; and an extension of the trapping season. At the end of the same week, Kelly was discharged from his employment at the Children's Aid, a privately-operated but government-subsidized agency. The dismissal was carried out in such a fashion as to leave no doubt that it was discriminatory in nature.

The Indian people and some others were incensed at the dismissal. However, in the subsequent campaign which revolved around the firing and the individuals involved in the dismissal, the plight of the Indian people was pushed to the background and completely lost sight of. The Indians felt disillusioned and unable to accomplish more, so drifted back to the reserve and the trap lines.

But a storm has been stirred up in Kenora that will not quickly die down and this, and the national publicity resulting from it, is bound to be of value to the oppressed Indians in the long run. There are bound to be more Kenoras, with better results, in the near future.

Isolated Indian voices are calling across Canada for financial and political aid to support the Indians of Kenora, Ont. who demonstrated 400 strong last November. This is a good sign that an attempt is being made, feeble though it is, to rally Indian solidarity among Indians. May this solidarity grow and grow!



RE INDICTMENTS PLP USA—

Re: Per Indictments Progressive Labour Party, USA.

We have formed a California State Exempt from Taxation Corporation which will raise funds and also assist in securing legal talent for the various members of the Progressive Labour Party and the leaders of same. It is well known the leaders of the party are under a certain amount of duress and pressure from the city, state, and federal governments. This means that the funds of the party are well taxed.

On behalf of the CRLD we ask any and all persons, and especially your readers, to assist in this move. They may send their cards, letters, and monies to the CRLD at the address below.

I hope that you, PW, and the lot will assist us.

Respectfully,

ERIC DAVIES.

**POST OFFICE BOX 18976
LOS ANGELES, 18, CALIFORNIA**
(i.e.:)

Civil Rights Legal Defence and Education Fund, Inc.
P.O. Box 18976
Los Angeles, 18, California

CRLD PRESS RELEASE—

(Press release from Civil Rights Legal Defence and Education Fund, Inc.:)

Recognizing official efforts to silence Black militants within the nation, leaders of Los Angeles joined a protest against the arrest and indictment of Mr. William Epton, chairman of the Harlem Club Progressive Labor and vice-president of the Progressive Labor Party. The Black community of Los Angeles considers his arrest an affront to Black militant leaders throughout the nation, and that a successful effort to silence one, will lead toward the silencing of all.

Protest organizations are:

Watts Defence Committee

Teachers' Association of Los Angeles

Los Angeles Ministerial Alliance

Bishop James Tyler

Inter-Faith Religious Council

Mexican-American Political Association

Dr. Marcus S. W. McBroom, Ph.D.

California State Assemblyman Ferrell

Students' Political Action Committee of U.C.L.A.

Negro Political Action Association (Independent)

The above organizations join the Civil Rights Legal Defence Committee in supporting the right of free speech, action, and the right to dissent, of all leaders throughout the nation.



STRANGE COMPANY

The Private Planning Association of Canada, established in 1958, according to its own description, is a "private, non-political, non-profit association." The members of this august body claim it was created for the purpose of undertaking "independent and objective" study of Canadian problems and policies, mainly in the field of economic affairs and of Canada's international relationships.

In pursuance of its objectives, the association sets up various committees to investigate specific subjects and publishes their findings thereon. Among these many committees is one bearing the title "Canadian Trade Committee."

Numbered among the members of this particular committee is one H. T. Mitchell of Mitchell Press fame and well known in West Coast labour circles as an outstanding anti-labour element and employer of strike-breakers. The Vancouver local of bookbinders has been maintaining a picket line on his premises for some three years and he has been a thorn in the side of the B.C. Federation of Labour and the Vancouver Labour Council for a considerable period of time.

Mr. Mitchell is, of course, very much at home among the bank, company and insurance presidents whose names lend an aura of power and glory to the Canadian Trade Committee. No one will be at all surprised at this particular association of characters, but there are some other names on the committee roster that might well cause the raising of a few eyebrows. Perhaps the V.L.C. and Federation officers who are being constantly harassed by Mitchell's anti-labour activities may have a few quiet words to utter about the presence on this committee of such people as: Claude Jodoin, Joe Morris, William Dodge, Donald MacDonald, William Mahoney. We personally would like to know what the hell high-priced labour officials are doing consorting with scabherders.

AUTOMATION CONTROL?

When agreement was finally reached in the B.C. oil industry strike, the local labour brass sang loud praises about the tremendous victory they had won on the question of control over the introduction of automation. Some recent developments are beginning to show just how ineffective the agreement is so far as job security is concerned.

Thirty-seven employees of British American Oil at the Clarkson, Ontario, refinery found jobs in other industries while the lengthy strike was in progress. Supervisory personnel who operated the plant during the strike found they were able to combine a number of operations and eliminate 30 jobs. It must be emphasized that the job reduction was achieved solely by stepped-up efficiency, no new machinery was introduced. As computers and more modern automated equipment comes into use, there will be a further rapid decrease in the number of jobs and there is every reason to believe that the companies will make a corresponding reduction in the work force unless there is a fast and radical change in labour policies and tactics.

U.S. RAILROADS

Automation is also taking its toll on the railways and on the U.S. roads the trend has been toward the elimination of the fireman classification on all Diesel locomotives which means the virtual elimination of the fireman before the year is out. A committee of government, employers, engineers and firemen have been studying this problem for some time and recently handed down their findings.

The committee report said the elimination of firemen was quite acceptable and would in no way impair the safe and efficient operation of trains. The report was signed by three of the four members one of them being the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers who joined in an agreement with the employers to dispense with the services of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen. We wonder if the engineers will prove to be as co-operative when it is decided to dispense with engineers; and that is no pipe-dream, it is already happening.

AROUND THE WORLD

INDONESIA—Mass strikes and demonstrations are developing all over Indonesia in protest against the increased living costs and consequent deterioration of living conditions resulting from policies put into effect by the right-wing military junta that seized power last October.

U.S.A.—A New York transit strike was developing into an all-out battle between unions and public transit authorities. Michael Quill and seven other union leaders set an example for some weak-kneed labour leaders of our acquaintance. Quill and his colleagues went to jail rather than let injunctions break the transit strike.

In Georgia, a Negro elected to the state legislature assembly was prevented from taking his seat because he had criticized U.S. aggression in Vietnam. It looks like unqualified support for Johnson's war program will be a necessary quality in order to qualify for public office in the U.S.A.

CANADA—R. O. J. Phillips, director of Canada's so-called war on poverty stated that investigations showed that one out of every four people were living in conditions of abject poverty. Aside from the fact that the figure may be a conservative one, there is also to be considered that an annual income of \$3,000—pitifully low in view of Canada's sky-rocketing cost-of-living—was considered adequate for a decent standard of living.

AFRICA—Pressure was mounting against Ian Smith's lily-white government in Rhodesia. Wilson's Commonwealth conference scheduled for Nigeria was in danger of collapse. Among those refusing to participate were Australia and New Zealand, who want to keep the Commonwealth white, and Tanzania and Ghana, who stayed away in protest against Wilson's policies which favoured the white minority in Rhodesia.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC—A general strike was underway and some detachments of the O.A.S.-sponsored "international force" were declaring themselves in sympathy with the objectives of right-wing military groups. An American sergeant killed an unarmed civilian in Santo Domingo with a shot in the back.

RANK AND FILE REBEL

Employees of United Gas Ltd. of Hamilton, organized into Local 9-633 O.C.A.W., have been in negotiations since last November. The negotiation committee and Edward Waddell, international representative, had agreed to terms of a four-year contract, but it was rejected by the membership by an overwhelming majority.

Members of the O.C.A.W. in Sarnia and Windsor rejected the same four-year contract and have been on strike against Union Gas, parent company of United Gas, since November—the time at which negotiations opened in Hamilton. The Hamilton workers have been pressing the Ontario minister of labour to grant their request to bypass conciliation procedure so they can join their Windsor and Sarnia brothers on the picket line. The company opposed this and the request has been refused.

The situation was further aggravated when supervisory personnel were sent from the Hamilton plant to scab on the striking workers in Windsor and Sarnia.

On Thursday, January 6, a two-man picket line representing Windsor and Sarnia took up stations at the Hamilton plant and halted operations when the workers refused to cross the line. The Hamilton local executive and international representative Waddell ordered the men to report for work, but they refused to obey and the entire 14-man shop steward committee resigned in a body, leaving only Waddell and a four-man executive in charge of local affairs. Waddell made a public announcement stating he repudiates the actions of the men and that he would so inform company officials, so placing himself squarely on the side of the company and against his own membership on strike.

Waddell and the local executive called a membership meeting for 10 a.m. Friday, January 7, where the men were once again to be ordered to return to work, but instead the rank and file took control of the local and ordered Waddell and the executive to leave the meeting. A four-man rank and file committee was elected and this committee informed Waddell and the executive officers that operations would be resumed when the following demands were complied with:

TO OUR READERS

Preparations are being made to send a member of P.W.M. on a cross-Canada tour early this spring to establish personal contact with readers and friends of "PROGRESSIVE WORKER". We will be visiting most of the provinces and will carry a projector, films, literature etc. and hope to meet as many people as possible. However, YOU can help in making this trip a success. Your cooperation is asked by letting us know as soon as possible if you:

- 1) Would like to meet our representative
- 2) Could arrange for a meeting of any size
- 3) Could arrange for a home or hall for a meeting or film showing
- 4) Could arrange accommodation for one or two persons for a night or two
- 5) Could give financial assistance for this trip (no amount is too small)
- 6) Could offer any suggestions which may help to make this trip a success

We hope to hear from you soon and meet you in the Spring or Summer. Please forward your ideas, suggestions and—or contributions to:

TRIP,
PROGRESSIVE WORKER
714 East Georgia Street,
Vancouver 4, B.C.

1. Company must support request that further conciliation procedure be waived;
2. Labour minister give commitment there will be no conciliation board;
3. No legal action over work stoppage to be initiated against Hamilton employees or international union;
4. Company to withdraw supervisors who are scabbing at Windsor and Sarnia.

STEWARDS MUST BE DEFENDED

There is mounting concern among a growing body of union men over the increasing number of stewards and shop committeemen who are being discharged from employment or otherwise disciplined because of job action that displeases management. The usual procedure is for management to blame stewards or committeemen for any militant action taken on the job and then arbitrarily dismiss them for their alleged responsibility. Arbitration boards set up to investigate such cases invariably hand down a decision favourable to management.

The end result of this activity of management is to weaken the union in its most vital spot—on the job—by firing good job stewards and committeemen. The real strength and vitality of any union is in the plants, not in the comfortable board rooms of well-upholstered union offices. A bureaucrat can lose his head anytime and do nothing but good for the union, but a good shop steward movement is the backbone of the organization and must be protected.

So far as the company is concerned, its attitude is wholly in character and to be expected. What is alarming is the all too willingness of the union locals to let company-dominated boards continue to make rulings on the firing of working officials, a continuation of this policy can only be to the detriment of the movement by gutting it of its best and most militant on-the-job representatives. Is it not high time for us to be discussing new methods of handling this situation?

COMPENSATION BOARD

For the last three years, a one-man Royal Commission appointed by the B.C. Social Credit Government has been investigating the affairs of the B.C. Compensation Board. The commission has just brought in its recommendations.

One worker who lost a leg in a mine, got a large \$1.18 raise. Another worker got \$1.85 raise in pension, bringing his pension for the loss of an arm to the large sum of \$36.80.

These pensions are a disgrace, but nothing is done about it.

The Labor brass in the B.C. Federation of Labor go to Victoria with hat in hand and beg the enemies of Labor, the Social Credit Government, for a few crumbs, and they do not even mention Workmen's Compensation Board pensions. Labor will get nowhere depending on Royal Commissions appointed by their class enemies. Their job (the Royal Commissions') is to fool and befuddle the already befooled workers.

If the compensation pensioners want better pensions, they must do a lot of fighting along with their fellow workers, the rest of the working class.

Too long has labor depended on political parties of the ruling class for help. Some day not too far away Labor will realize that the workers must organize on both the job and on the political front for better conditions. And when we do organize and fight, we will win all along the line. Then the robber barons of industry will hit the trail. Then when earth is owned by labor and there is joy and peace for all in the commonwealth in toil that is to be, then we will live our lives secure and free.

M.F.

AN EXAMPLE OF MODERN REVISIONISM IN ART,
by Chang Kuang-nien; available at **China Arts and
Crafts Ltd.**, 33 East Hastings Street, Vancouver 4;
10 cents per copy.

Alongside the growth of modern revisionism in the Soviet Union, and the increasingly sharp turn toward the introduction of capitalist forms and methods of production in Soviet industry and agriculture, there has developed a philosophy of art that serves the needs of the ruling bureaucracy. Art forms in the hands of the revisionists have become weapons of propaganda to be used for the purpose of confusing the masses and making them more receptive to revisionist ideas and a return to capitalism in the Soviet Union.

The young poet Yevtushenko is one of the leading spokesmen, and the best known in the capitalist world, of this particular trend in Soviet literature. In film-making, one of the leading authorities and spokesmen for the "New Wave" is Grigori Chukhai, who may not be widely known by name, but will no doubt be readily recognizable to all movie-goers when identified with the films, "The Forty-first," "The Clear Sky," "Ballad of a Soldier," all winners of top-ranking awards in film festivals in the Western World, and the last named, a current favourite on North American television circuits.

In addition to being a film director, Mr. Chukhai is quite a garrulous individual, fond of giving press interviews, making speeches and writing essays and articles about the "New Wave" in Soviet film-making. Among the more startling of the articles that have flowed from the pen of Mr. Chukhai is one which appeared in the English magazine "Films and Filming." In this article Chukhai made some rather astounding but revealing remarks on his ideals of films as an art form in Soviet society.

"To understand my philosophy," writes Chukhai, "it is necessary to understand what there is in common with the Western 'New Wave.'" After unburdening himself of this profound remark, Chukhai went on to state:

"There are many things in common. We all live in one world. The tempo of this time, the psychological patterns of this time: all this is common to us. We are people of the twentieth century. There is, however, a difference of ideology; and just as there is a difference of ideology, so there is a difference between our films. But there is not only ideology in films: there are also other things—emotional pathos and human sentiment. These are the most important things in any picture. Directors who think the most important thing in a film is its ideology and make their films primarily from this point of view will not be understood by their audiences. Ideology is a good word; a film should have ideals; but what is bad is ideological propaganda."

Chukhai, exercising a bit of sleight-of-hand removes "ideological propaganda" from film-making and finds that, in fundamentals, there is no conflict between Soviet film-makers and their Western "New Wave" capitalist counterparts. Mr. Chukhai is quite correct in his assumption that there is no essential difference between the two schools; but not for the reason he states—that he has removed "ideological propaganda" from Soviet film-making. What Chukhai and his revisionist colleagues have done is replace the Marxist-Leninist ideological content of Soviet films with a bourgeois content so that this meeting of minds, far from being devoid of ideology, is on the ground of the enemies of Socialism; hence the love affair between Soviet and Western "New Wave" film-makers. And the Western ideologists have grasped Chukhai to their bosom and showered him with many honours. As Lenin said: "The imperialist bourgeoisie needs lackeys... to console and placate the embittered masses by sweet songs of peace."

Chukhai, without bothering to cite what he might consider as important examples, makes a slashing attack

on Chinese film-making as an "example of the dogmatic and anti-artistic way of thinking"; after which he concludes his essay with the world-shaking pronouncement that he is about to make a film with the most un-Marxist title of "The World is Waiting for a Miracle." That title alone should be sufficient to put an end to Chukhai's Marxist pretensions.

It is this essay, and the three above-named films that are the subject of the pamphlet, "An Example of Modern Revisionism in Art," by the Chinese Marxist art critic, Chang Kuang-nien. "The fact that Chukhai's works," says Chang, "have stirred the hearts of many people in some Socialist countries and Western capitalist countries, and the hack writers of the U.S. imperialists have been intensely moved, makes it imperative for us to look into the secret of these words... It is necessary to analyze and discuss the ideological essence of these views, to see whom they profit and whom they harm." Chang states the limits of his critical analysis as follows: "In this article we shall confine our discussion to the question of how works of art deal with the question of war and peace. We do so because the three films of Chukhai we have mentioned all deal with the subject of war and themes concerning war, and his political, philosophical and artistic viewpoints are most clearly shown in his approach to this subject."

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POEM

by Rewi Alley

THAT STENCH

Shot square
between the eyes
a farm lad slumps
amongst the rice
he transplants, as
over-fed, over-clothed,
over-armed, over-paid
conscripts sent in
by war criminals
"flush out" Vietnamese
from their own countryside.

"Only a peasant,
but then they all
support the Vietcong,"
said one; answered
another coldly:
"Just helping to stave
off the population
explosion, are you?"
getting the reply,
"Yeah, they go, we stay!
Get on the leeward side
of me, will you! God,
you do stink!"
"Who the hell wants
to stay here? Better
machine-gun the village
before we burn it; maybe
some woman or kid has
a gun there!" said
his accomplice.

Rising
from the rotting corpses
of village children
creeps a stench
that drifts over
lands and seas
into the White House
where it creeps
over lush carpets,
tainting wines
that wait to be sipped:
the dead have no mercy;
Cowards
murder meanly where
they sneak in to make
a land safe for foreign
loot; now leaves fall
kindly over village
ashes, covering
pitiful remnants,
but the stench remains,
it and that of stinking
enemy soldiers becoming
one: a filthy reek soon
to be blown clear by
the winds of resistance
so that at long last
from forest and field
will rise gay songs
of the people again.

Peking, August 19, 1965.



Guerrilla P.O.W.'s experience the gentle ways of U.S. troops.