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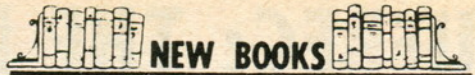
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WHEN SERFS STOOD UP IN TIBET

by Anna Louise Strong

Available at **China Arts and Crafts Ltd.**, 33 E. Hastings

Although the defeat of the Chiang-Kai-Shek regime was completed in mainland China by 1949, the new Central People's Government was not immediately able to bring the entire Chinese nation fully under its control. In many outlying areas feudal influences continued to dominate; the people continued to be exploited in the old way. One such region was Tibet where ninety-five percent of the population were serfs, tied to the land; or slaves, handled as chattels.

In 1951, a pact signed by the Dalai Lama of Tibet and the Central People's Government wherein the Dalai Lama affirmed the intention of the local government to move towards reform, particularly the reform of serfdom. On this basis, the Central People's Government agreed "not to abolish the existing political structure" nor "to use compulsion for reform." Attempts to implement this treaty were made, but Tibet's feudal lords—some two per cent of the population—had no intention of relinquishing voluntarily their privileged position, and immediately blocked all such attempts. Their reaction climaxed in the serf-owners rebellion and attempted secession in March, 1959. Since the treaty was now clearly violated, the People's Liberation Army crushed the minority revolt, and in July of the same year serfdom was legally abolished and democratic reform finally begun.

Just a month later a group of correspondents and writers from eleven different countries were privileged to visit Tibet and see socialist reconstruction in action. Among these was Anna Louise Strong, well-known American author and resident of the People's Republic of China. On her return she wrote **When Serfs Stood up in Tibet**, one of her many significant contributions to the history of the socialist reformation.

With a brief glance at Tibetan history, the author describes the downfall of the ancient inhuman system of serfdom and the fascinating transformation that is taking place as the oppressed are led to claim their birthright. She tells of visits to urban and rural areas, to homes and to lamaseries; and adds warmth to her recording by interviews with people of many and varied strata of life—emancipated slaves and serfs; poor lamas; and patriots and progressives from the old bourgeoisie. She relates at some length the story of Nachi, a former serf who had run away at the age of 13 to the People's Liberation Army and walked with it all the way to Lhasa. This girl later studied at the Institute of National Minorities in China and then returned to help the progress of her own people. At the time of the author's interview, she was, at a mere 22, one of a "working team" at the lamasery at Jokhang, entrusted with the task of guiding its reorganization.

Throughout the book are woven many incidents which clearly depict the patient and tactical skill with which the Government extended the process of socialist renovation to Tibet. Under the guidance of Chinese and Tibetan cadres the population, as a whole, were organized for the direction and activation of vital reforms. These tasks included the reorganization of monasteries, the redistribution of land, the improvement of farm techniques, and the setting up of primary schools. Public criticisms were held in which the most notorious of the former serf-owners were accused by those they had victimized. These were highly effective in the psychological liberation of the masses.

In 1965, with the monumental task of reconstruction completed, Tibet was declared an Autonomous Region within the People's Republic of China. **When Serfs Stood up in Tibet** was re-issued in commemoration of this event. All men and women interested in the people's struggle for a just and equitable share of the world's production, will find Anna Louise Strong's book both enjoyable and informative.

by Maire Gregory

U.S. CONTROL OF CANADA'S ECONOMY

In 1962 the federal government enacted legislation titled: "Corporations and Labour Unions Returns Act," which made it mandatory for trade unions and specified corporations to file annual reports containing a wide range of information called for under terms of the act. A definite weakness of the legislation lay in the exclusion of certain sectors of the economy from provisions of the Act. Public utilities like railroads, telephones, hydro, and some financial institutions such as chartered banks, insurance and loan companies were not covered by terms of the act. This means that no information is made available on control of a vital and strategic sector of the economy and this would tend to have a cumulative effect since we are given no information on some forms of indirect foreign control, particularly through the agency of insurance, trust, mortgage and loan companies.

An additional shortcoming is the failure to pinpoint the extent of U.S. control, which is the most vital factor influencing our economy. However, if one wishes to take time to study the report it can be readily ascertained that foreign investment (non-resident ownership is the diplomatic term used in the report) is well over 80 per cent U.S. origin, and this is not taking into consideration some undoubted indirect investment through U.S.-owned corporations in West Germany, England, etc.

Note must be taken of the fact that information in the report relates to 1962. There was a lapse of some three years from passage of the legislation (1962) to filing of the first annual report under the Act (June 1965). There is reason to believe that conditions have sharply deteriorated in the past several years. One recent report indicated that more than a score of Canadian-owned companies, some of them having been owned by the same family interests for almost a century, had come under U.S. ownership during 1965 alone. A perusal of the report will convince even the casual reader of the fact that foreign investments have a strangle-hold on our economy, and the more serious and persistent student will soon realize there is indisputable evidence that our economy and our trade union movement is almost totally controlled by U.S. interests. (Quebec, due to local political developments, has an important trade union organization free from U.S. control.)

EXTENT AND AREA OF INVESTMENT!

Of the 24,508 reporting corporations, 4,356 (17.78 per cent of the total) had a foreign ownership content of 50 per cent or more—that is, outright control, and this is not allowing for the fact that less than 50 per cent ownership, when taken in conjunction with other factors that are ascertainable, often spells effective control. These foreign corporations, less than 18 per cent of the total, had 47 per cent of the total equity of all those reporting: they controlled 41.5 per cent of total sales and 46.35 per cent of the profits.

These investments were concentrated almost exclusively in the most vital sectors of the economy and represented virtually complete control of our natural resources and manufacturing industry. Such fields of investment as petroleum, transportation equipment (autos, planes, railroad rolling stock, etc.), coal, mineral fuels, rubber, tobacco, chemical, electrical, were from 75 to 99 per cent foreign-owned.

The bulk of Canadian investment is concentrated in small corporations (less than \$1 million assets) centred mainly in the service trades embracing gasoline stations, real estate and insurance agencies, auto and auto accessory dealers, theatres, bowling alleys, laundries, bakeries, wholesale and retail outlets. Even though such corporations may be nominally Canadian-owned, it is readily recognizable that they are at the mercy of the large U.S. corporations, often operating under license or patent owned by an American monopoly or, as in the case of auto accessories, operating as an auxiliary to U.S. industry and subject to every fluctuation of that industry. It goes without challenge that a gasoline station, for example can be

closed almost instantaneously as a result of decisions taken by U.S. corporations.

WHAT IT MEANS!

The domination of our economy and the control of our natural resources means that our industrial development will be managed according to the requirements of U.S. monopoly corporations and without regard to our needs as a sovereign and independent nation. Indeed, U.S. laws respecting the export of goods to certain nations are made to apply to Canada through administrative orders handed down from U.S.-based management. This was demonstrated in the case of Canadian-based, but U.S. owned flour mills refusing to fill orders for Cuba and the auto industry, in a period of mass unemployment, rejecting orders for trucks to be shipped to China. Already a large part of Canadian-located industry is blocked from seeking or accepting orders in a vast and growing market and this by means of executive fiat making United States export laws applicable to Canada without regard to Canadian needs and in direct violation of Canadian policy in relations with other countries. As U.S. control expands our ability to follow an independent policy in foreign trade diminishes. We are rapidly reaching the point where Canadian exporters will be compelled to read the U.S. Congressional records in order to know with what companies they can trade.

Our economic development is distorted and we are almost completely lacking a secondary industry which would process at least a reasonable percentage of our abundant natural resources. We lean heavily toward the export of raw materials in a crude or semi-refined state and even these are exploited only as required by U.S. manufacturing industry. We export cheap raw materials and buy back finished goods at highly inflated prices, and this situation puts us in the position of being the nation with the worst trade balance in the world.

The economy is affected by every fluctuation of the highly-volatile U.S. economy. Even a relatively mild economic recession in the U.S. could bring disastrous consequences for Canada because of our almost total dependence on the U.S. market. The consternation in Canadian business and government circles over the recently announced "economic guidelines" of the Johnson administration are evidence enough of our vulnerability to economic changes in the United States.

There is no disputing the fact that our economic servitude and the distortion and precarious state of our economy will continue—and grow worse—so long as we permit U.S. monopoly control to reign supreme in our affairs. Economic planning is a utopian vision because production is utterly dependent on the vagaries of a market that lies entirely beyond our control. We must NOW decide if we wish to keep on travelling the road to disaster and total economic bondage or if we shall undertake the task of reversing the trend and free ourselves from domination by an alien power and an alien class.

Our attention is often drawn to the fact that U.S. Marines have landed in one or another Latin American Republic for the purpose of shoring up a tottering military dictator whose task it is to guarantee the safety of U.S. investments and a maximum profit to the bondholders. The deployment of armed forces, mass arrests and other diverse forms of tyranny and torture are the most dramatic and easily discernible results of imperialist occupation and control. But there are other less dramatic, but equally effective methods of control and exploitation.

A classic example of an alternative method is that practiced in Canada where the imperialist monopolies completely dominate our economy and have at their command a pliant and subservient ruling class and a political administration prepared to jump through hoops on orders from the imperialist master. The fact that no foreign armies occupy our land, that there are as yet no concentration camps filled with Canadian patriots, does not mean that U.S. imperialist domination is any less real for

us than it is for Venezuela, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Peru and several score other places. Time enough for the landing of the Marines when we, like other nations in search of freedom, decide to take up arms and drive the Yankee traders from our land.

SOME PROPOSALS FOR ACTION!

We must begin our task of securing economic independence by repossessing our natural resources that have been alienated by the imperialist and the Canadian ruling class. We must plan the development of these resources according to the needs of the Canadian people and our responsibilities to render assistance to the hitherto down-trodden and under-developed areas of the world so they can overtake the economically developed sectors.

We would no doubt continue to sell a portion of our abundant natural resources to those in need of them; but these would be marketed in more widely scattered areas and not made wholly dependent on the U.S. boom and bust economy. There are vast areas of the world now engaged in industrial development where customers can be found for our products if we but take the necessary steps to establish trade on the bases of equality, fair prices and mutual advantage, providing generous credit arrangements where necessary and advisable.

We need to establish a publicly-owned manufacturing industry that will make use of a substantial part of our natural resources and put an end to the suicidal policy of selling these resources at bargain-basement prices and buying U.S. surplus goods at exorbitant rates.

With control of our economy resting securely in our own hands we can plan our economic development and ensure full employment and rising living standards, wiping out poverty and illiteracy. Our population would grow several fold and with that growth would come an increased demand for industrial and agricultural products. Vast areas of agricultural lands now lying waste would be brought under cultivation, thus adding to the world's food supply.

IT CAN BE DONE!

We can already hear the wails of the crepe-hangers, the carpet-baggers and the faint of heart crying out in despair: "We are too small a nation: we can't do it alone!"

We will agree that it can never be done in the old, capitalist, style of operation. While there will still be a place for independent Canadian capitalists, who so desire, to participate in this great movement of national resurgence, this is no task for capitalism in the old style. The dream we have of Canada, where Canadians work together to make of this the truly great land it can and should be, can never be realized under a social system where a few privileged tycoons take the cream off the top and leave the skim for the multitude. A plan such as this will require all our resources, human and material, and the surplus we create out of our united effort will be required to finance an expanding economy, assistance (while necessary) to brother nations, and rising living standards: there will be nothing over to go for the enrichment of an idle few.

The basic section of the economy will have to be built on socialist principles, all working together for the common good and the all-round development of the nation, culturally, socially and economically. The mass of the people will never be inspired to such a vast undertaking if it is intended only as the private preserve of the idle rich; they can be rallied to the task if it is planned and carried out under a system of social ownership.

We reject the contention that Canadians will not be prepared to make any initial sacrifices that may be necessary, in the way of foregoing any unessential comforts and luxuries, so as to establish our national independence on a firm footing. Putting a dollar value on every service is a part of the ideology of the ruling class and designed to help perpetuate their system of exploitation. The great mass of the common people will accomplish heroic deeds for the sheer joy of achievement and the sense of service to humanity. They will not stop to measure their achievements in terms of dollar values. Inspire our people with

the vision of this land of ours standing strong and free and there are no heights they will not scale, no obstacles they cannot overcome.

There are those who will try to panic us with the spectre of U.S. imperialist might. They will tell us the Pentagon will intervene with all the power at their command in order to prevent us exercising control over our own affairs and shaping our own destiny. Undoubtedly, such a contingency is to be expected. But others, smaller than us, have dared and won, or are winning. Cuba has taken possession of her own territory and is ordering her own affairs. South Vietnam is whipping the American Goliath to a standstill. We are no less courageous and daring than any of them; we are not less aware of a sense of destiny and of pride in our nation. What others can do, we can do—perhaps better. All that is required of us is that we take the first necessary steps: the road will become clearer ahead as we advance.

UNION AND U.S. CONTROL!

Our condition of economic bondage will not be changed, the great objectives we have outlined above will not be realized under the leadership of the dollar patriots whose only desire is to make a fast buck without regard to the welfare of the nation. Our subservient ruling class have no demands that cannot be realized within the framework of the existing social system. True, they become irked at their menial role and demonstrate a desire to be on terms closer to equality with the imperialist master. But they are seldom to be found counselling radical change, and never revolutionary change, in the existing social order.

The working people are the most important element in the struggle to free the nation from economic bondage. Only the working class, by virtue of their interest in the termination of all forms of exploitation, remain consistent and unyielding in the fight against alien domination, and it is this class that must lead the fight to liberate the nation, rallying around themselves all the other forces and classes prepared to take part in the struggle. The trade unions are the largest, most firmly established organizations of the working class now existing, so the ideological development, the program, policies and leadership of the unions are a prime consideration in undertaking the fight for economic independence.

(We wish to note here, in parentheses, that we are fully aware of the more than 120,000 Quebec workers organized in independent unions and of their importance in the anti-imperialist struggle; but this is beyond the scope of the present essay, so at the expense of some slight distortion, we leave an examination of their particular role to another time.)

The labour union section of the annual report under the Corporations and Labour Unions Returns Act supplies us with information that is valuable in determining if the trade union movement, as presently constituted, is in a position to make a proper contribution to the struggles now looming on the horizon.

The first noticeable weakness in the union movement is the relatively small number of workers that belong to it—about 30 per cent of the total work force. Even this figure can be somewhat misleading as a great many workers join unions because it is a condition of employment to do so, they are seldom "union-conscious." Most union locals are run by a group of "activists" consisting of around 2 to 5 per cent of total membership. The great mass of poorest paid and most exploited, precisely that group which would be the most radical, are not organized at all and the union leadership, in spite of all their sweet talk, show no real inclination to bring union organization to this group.

Figures in the labour unions section of the report indicate that 79.35 per cent of all the organized workers in Canada (including Quebec) come under U.S. direction either directly through affiliation to U.S. internationals, or indirectly through the Canadian Labour Congress which is dominated, and whose policy is made by the U.S.-controlled locals of the internationals in Canada.

So we have a situation where U.S. ownership of Cana-

dian industry is paralleled by U.S. bureaucratic domination of the unions that hold bargaining rights in the industries. Such a situation would be intolerable under the best possible conditions; it, in fact, borders on the catastrophic under conditions where the U.S. labour leadership is no better than a "Labour Front" for the United States ruling class. There is little hope that such a leadership might even remotely or accidentally represent the basic interests of Canadian workers. A short time ago, when Canadian auto workers were on strike, "union brothers," members of the same union, worked overtime at bonus rates producing autos for the Canadian market.

The leadership that dominates this movement that passes for a trade union have completely betrayed the fundamental interests of the American working class and tied them securely to the policy of aggression and war being pursued by U.S. imperialists. These high-priced merchants of labour act as recruiting sergeants for the militarists and spend much of their time urging American youth to march out and die for the "American way of life." They avoid strikes and urge workers to greater efforts in producing larger quantities of poison gas, napalm and other instruments of death and destruction.

It takes little imagination to visualize that a leadership so depraved and corrupt will have no consideration for the common people of the world and will defend American ruling class interests at every point. They interfere in the affairs of every trade union movement either directly through their appointed agents or through their office boys in the ICFTU or the Latin America-based ORIT. They worked for the overthrow of a democratic regime in British Guiana; organize sabotage and terror against Cuba; cheer on the aggressors in Vietnam and Santo Domingo; and shore up tottering military dictators in South America. They have been guilty of the most flagrant interference in the internal affairs of trade unions in Britain, Japan, France, Italy, Germany, Africa, etc. The evidence is easily obtained—they boast of their exploits.

Interference by these same labour bosses in Canadian affairs is covered with a mask of "legality" because of the strange state of affairs that makes Canadian members of unions located in, and subject to the laws of, another country. Every reactionary anti-labour law passed by the U.S. Congress is made applicable to Canadian workers through the simple expedient of being written into union constitutions. Thus, U.S. anti-Communist regulations are applied to trade unionists in Canada. Trusteeships are placed over locals, discredited bureaucrats ap-

pointed to positions of authority, strikes are forbidden, and agreements are signed by U.S. bureaucrats with American monopoly concerns employing Canadian workers, without ever consulting those concerned; and you accept the stipulated conditions or you don't work. So long as these barnacles cling to the movement, there is little likelihood that the unions will play the important role they should play in leading the fight to free the nation from economic bondage.

Canadian workers must awake to the realization that the stakes we are fighting for are of infinitely greater significance than freeing ourselves from a bureaucracy that is a constant fact of our existence under capitalism. Our fight is to break from the control of a FOREIGN bureaucracy that acts as the agent of an ALIEN POWER THAT DOMINATES OUR ECONOMY. We are in a struggle for the independence of the nation and we cannot properly pursue that struggle so long as our basic organizations remain shackled and dominated by the agents of the very power we are fighting. The number one task facing Canadian workers is the building of an INDEPENDENT trade union movement under rank-and-file control. Talk of "autonomy" (which only lengthens the leash a little) or anything else short of complete independence will only confuse the issue and is treason to the movement—and to the nation.

SUMMARY

The evidence before us is conclusive: Our economy is controlled by U.S. imperialist monopolists and our trade unions are ruled over by the aristocrats of labour who are the agents for the monopolists.

The monopolists have their "boys" representing their political and economic interests in Canada and the U.S. bureaucrats have their roadmen and agents posted in Canada's unions. No matter how different they may appear on the surface, they all work toward a common objective: the subjection of Canadian workers to U.S. imperialist interests.

Our independence, our very future as a nation, demands that rank-and-file workers move boldly into the forefront of the fight to free the land from alien domination. The first and immediate step along that road is to free our organizations by breaking the dominant hold of the U.S. union bureaucracy. We need a deepening of national and class consciousness among the rank and file and action to drive out the bureaucrats and the carpet-baggers.

FREE THE UNIONS AND WE CAN BEGIN THE TASK OF FREEING THE NATION!



U.S. CONSPIRACY AGAINST VIET NAM - 1943

Johnson's propaganda agents are fond of spouting about fighting for the right of the people of South Viet-Nam to rule themselves without interference. However, a recent U. S. television program cast an interesting light on this bogus claim.

A Mr. Paul Helliwell at present a successful Miami lawyer, but one time Office of Strategic Services (O. S. S.) liaison officer with the Indo China anti-Japanese army, made the following illuminating comment when being interviewed about his experiences as U.S. spokesman in Viet-Nam in 1943: "When we asked him (Ho Chi Minh) who he was going to shoot he said: the Japanese," and that was allright. When we asked him if there ever would come a time when he would use the arms against the French, (to give the devil his due, he would not commit himself not to use them. If he had committed himself he probably would have received more arms."

In 1943 the only French in Indo-China were those of the Vichy variety, collaborating with the Japanese invader. The Viet-Minh liberation army, under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh, were allies of the United States and the democratic forces in the anti-fascist war. The

people of Indo-China were themselves engaged in driving the enemy from their soil and securing the right to rule themselves "without interference." The U.S. demonstrated willingness to leave Viet Nam in peace and freedom by holding up weapons in an effort to blackmail the people into accepting re-occupation of their land by the French imperialists.

But all their blackmail tactics, their vast financial resources and supplies of arms could not save the French imperialists in Viet Nam. The people of Indo China triumphed. However, the U. S. imperialists did not give up; they dredged up Ngo Dinh Diem and put him in power in Saigon; only then did the U. S. become concerned with the right of the people of South Viet Nam to rule themselves without interference" by which they meant the people had to submit to the rule of any corrupt and bloody puppet the U. S. chose to rule over them.

Mr. Helliwell has added one more grain to the mountain of evidence exposing U.S. pretensions and showing their true objective to be the enslavement and exploitation of the people of Southeast Asia.



ONTARIO TEAMSTERS

Ontario trucking has ground to a halt as a result of an employer-imposed lockout after drivers had struck one company. The hard-nosed attitude of the owners point to a long, tough struggle ahead. Contract negotiations began last September, but grievances were piling up long before that time.

There are two fronts in this struggle—against bosses and against bureaucrats. Had bureaucratic interference not intruded, the workers might have scored a victory long ago. The main front, of course, now that the battle has begun, is the one against the employers. However, the other one is of great importance from the long-term view.



JOB CONDITIONS

The truck driver has assigned to his care and skill a highly sensitive piece of equipment, the value of which hovers around the \$20,000 mark: equipment that could easily become a lethal weapon if put in the hands of an inexperienced person. When a driver has the misfortune to suffer an accident, he is upbraided with the words: "You are supposed to be a professional driver"; but let the same driver ask for a little more pay and improved conditions, and he is told: "Anyone can drive a truck."

Ontario teamsters work a regular 48-hour week, plus six hours overtime, for a total 54-hour-week. Wages are \$2 an hour—overtime \$3—well below the U.S. rate of \$3.47, although Canadian freight rates are 22 per cent higher than U.S. rates. The teamster has a take-home pay of \$96 and is often driven to work a second job (taxi

night driving a favourite occupation) in a desperate effort to make ends meet. Some wives take jobs to help with the family budget.

The average Ontario truck driver if single is flat broke, if married the chances are he is in debt to the tune of \$800 and exists from payday to payday. Long work days, poorly paid, debt-ridden, working at a hazardous and nerve-wracking job, harassed by cheap, petty bosses and union bureaucrats, the teamster's lot is far from a happy one, and he is demonstrating the fact that he has every intention of making substantial changes in his working conditions and in the operation of his union.

CONTRACT DEMANDS

Two outstanding items headed the list of demands: wage rates and hours of work.

The financial position of the drivers is proof enough that a substantial wage increase is an immediate necessity so a trucker can live on one job and stay out of debt. The work-week should be cut to 40 hours, as provided in the federal labour code, and this provision should be implemented without further delay. The industry has resisted this demand on hours and the government is co-operating by suspending application of the labour code. The 40-hour demand is a very modest one, not alone because of the legislation, but also in view of the stresses and strains experienced by those who follow this line of work. If the nerve-wracking and dangerous aspect of the job is taken into consideration, a demand for a maximum 30-hour week would be thought justified.

Last fall negotiations reached a tentative agreement on a 56-cent increase and a reduction of hours to 43 at the end of 42 months. This arrangement, endorsed by union officials, added strength to the industry and a co-operative government in blocking application of the hours-of-work legislation. The aroused rank-and-file rejected the proposal by an overwhelming majority.

LABOUR BUREAUCRACY

Some local union leadership, shored up by international officers, proved inadequate to the crisis and rank-and-file movements and job action developed rapidly. Faced with adamant employers and a top union leadership bent on carrying the employers' proposals, took action referred to as "wildcat strikes." As a result of these actions, more than 40 firms have taken legal action against the Hamilton local and various individuals with damage claims amounting to more than \$2,000,000. The suspension of these claims has become an important demand in the strike, as the demand for re-instatement of victimized rank-and-file leaders.

The bureaucratic control which U.S. officers of the International exercise over the affairs of the Canadian workers is an important issue. Had there been rank-and-file democracy, the situation might never have reached its present critical position. From the long-term viewpoint, it is important for the workers to make some advances in securing democratic control of their affairs and toward establishment of an independent Canadian union. Continuation of the existing bureaucratic set-up could only lead to a repetition of the present state of affairs when grievances one more pile up.

The January 31 issue of Canadian Tribune—official journal of the national committee of the Communist Party—carried a front page article by Charles Weir, which dealt with the strike. Weir, conforming to the current CP policy of making common cause with the bureaucrats, had this to say about the U.S. bureaucratic monkey-riding on the workers' back:

"Another hot issue is the leadership of Local 938, now under trusteeship. But with international president James Hoffa's promise to hold a democratic election of officers in Toronto 60 days after victory in the current struggle with the companies, this issue appears on the way toward resolution."

Note should be taken of the fact that the CP spokesman is here giving tacit support to a trusteeship imposed by international officers, and expresses a childish faith in the promises of those same officers to remove the trusteeship. There already were democratic elections in Local 938, and the results of those elections were set aside by bureaucratic administrators. We are not aware of the existence of any guarantees that they will not repeat the performance when it suits their purpose.

These "democratic elections," Weir points out, will come 60 days after victory. Weir ignores the fact that the trusteeship was imposed as part of a pattern to break the workers' will, and ability to struggle, and to impose on them the bosses' formula for settlement. Even if "democratic elections" are held 60 days after victory, it would only mean a return to pre-strike conditions, with nothing to prevent the bureaucracy from imposing a trusteeship, for the same purpose, in some future struggle and once again making the same promise of "democratic elections in 60 days." We have been on that merry-go-round long enough: time to get off. We are putting no faith in the empty promises of bureaucrats.

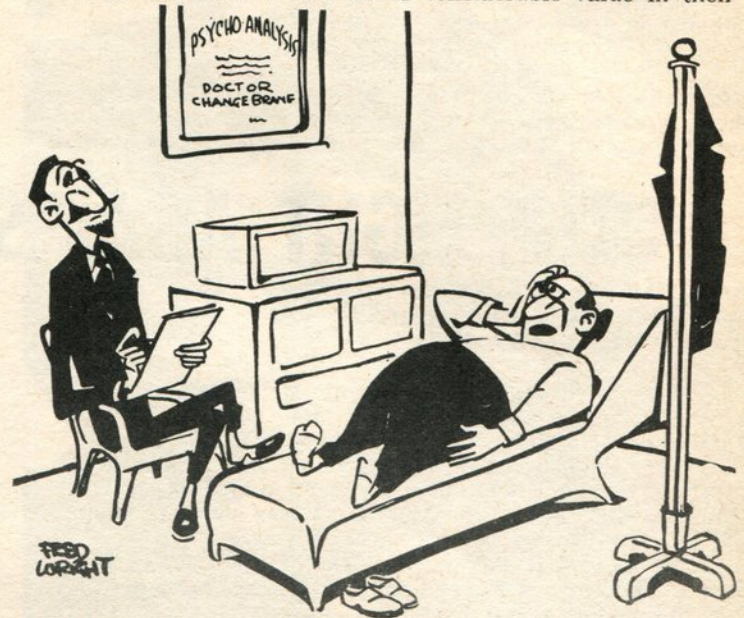
We have kept our readers well posted on developments in this struggle and have no intention of repeating what we have already reported. We advise checking on back issues of PW to refresh your memory, and will limit ourselves to reporting new developments. In this respect there has been an additional thrust against the union brass.

Following the appointment of MacDougall and his cohorts as trustees of Local 938, opposition against him as leader of the bargaining committee increased. He was removed from his position as leader of the bargaining committee, and named to replace him was Ray Taggart, head of the militant Hamilton Local 879. The committee members, over the opposition of Frank Fitzsimmons, international vice-president from Detroit, and Casey Dodds, the appointed Canadian director, voted to kick McDougall off the committee entirely, but the move was vetoed by international director Ray Greene of Montreal, who had been responsible for MacDougall's appointment as trustee. Rather than receding, indications are that the struggle against the U.S. bureaucracy is on the increase and may well register some important advances in spite of the apologetics of the Charles Weirs.

SOME PROPOSALS

The strike has resulted in an increased amount of freight being moved by rail. Since the railroads own large and important sections of the trucking industry move-

ment of strike-bound freight by this channel constitutes a form of strikebreaking. Railroadmen should move into support of the truck drivers on this question, especially as such a move would be of considerable value in their



"... and lately I've actually caught myself listening to my employees' grievances."

own tough bargaining with the railways. Taking advantage of the Ontario trucking crisis to execute some well-planned job actions could shake up railway negotiations.

Workers around the country who are convinced of the need for an independent Canadian trade union movement, armed with a militant policy and program, should extend all possible aid to the rank-and-file Ontario teamsters who are locked in battle with bosses and bureaucrats. Resolutions of support and financial assistance should be forwarded to the rank-and-file strikers in the locals, and protests against undemocratic proceedings should be forwarded to international officers and their Canadian appointees. Protests should also be lodged with Canadian Tribune and the CP leadership for their support, overt and covert, of the trustees and U.S.-appointed bureaucrats.

Let's give all possible support to Ontario teamsters!



UNITED FRONT

In Canada there is a new awareness of national purpose. And what is bringing about this new consciousness? The inescapable fact that Canada has become an economic and political colony of the United States of America. No matter what economic class or political party Canadians find themselves in, their activities are dominated to one degree or another by decisions made south of our border.

Of late there has been an increasing number of instances where the U.S. ruling class, through their government in Washington, have detrimentally intervened in our foreign policy and trade. They have through threat of prosecution under U.S. laws hampered and sometimes sometimes stopped the shipment of Canadian goods to countries which Canada has reciprocal trade agreements with. (See the Star Weekly of February ? 1966).

On many Canadian campuses students are questioning why they must study with text books which are printed and written or edited in the U.S. particularly on those subjects which deal with the historical, cultural and economic development of Canada.

U.S. domination of the workers organizations is being met with increasing resentment and opposition by

the Canadian workers. Recently in Vancouver, following the example of their Quebec brothers and sisters, a group of trade unionists met to discuss and lay plans for an all out drive to create a distinct Canadian Trade Union Movement. Rank and fileers from at least 20 International (Americans) who are subservient to the policies of the U.S. State Department.

The significant difference between the caucus that met on January 31st, was its composition. In the past ten years there have been a number of caucuses formed to "liberate" the Canadian Trade Union Movement, but they failed because they were too narrow in ideology. This is not true of the present caucus, it is made up of a number of different political tendencies. Catholics rub shoulders with Communists, Liberals sit next to Conservatives and the Social Democrats (NDPers) are well represented proportionately. And while it is true that each group has serious differences on other questions, there is no contradiction among them in respect to the slogan which has brought them together on the trade union issue, "Struggle for a Canadian Trade Union Movement."

If a serious fight is going to be made against U.S. domination of our nation, then it can only be successful

if all the forces and potential are rallied around specific issues. Sectarianism has no place in the struggle against U.S. imperialism. Only those forces which are prepared to join with the largest number of people against U.S. domination are worthy of the name patriots.

The Progressive Workers Movement accepts this responsibility to become part of the struggle against U.S. imperialism in Canada. The Progressive Workers Movement is committed to replacement of the present social system (capitalism) with socialism, but makes its position

quite clear on united front work, support or participation in any group is determined by the issues, particularly on the question of U.S. imperialism control over Canadian institutions, no matter whether it be in economics, education, culture or the trade unions. Further to this, while the Progressive Workers Movement maintains the right to defend their position on matters of principle, it does not make the demand that other tendencies (political) adopt their positions as a condition of united struggle.

JOE HENSBEE.

THE FIGHT AGAINST INJUNCTIONS

HOW LABOUR BUREAUCRATS ASSIST IN SUPPRESSING OUR FIGHT AGAINST INJUNCTIONS

Thirty-four employees went on strike against the Thomson chain-owned newspaper, the Oshawa Times. Thousands of union members demonstrated in defiance of a court injunction limiting pickets. A sheriff who was protected by police read out the injunction and was pelted with ice and snow and the court order was snatched from his hands and torn to pieces.

Alderman Cliff Pilkey, president of the Oshawa Labour Council on the picket line dared the police to arrest him for defying the injunction.

David Archer, president of the Ontario Federation of Labour promised full support of its one-half million members.

Frank Ward, minister of Westmount United Church, told the striking members that a person living on a \$50-a-week salary (this is the rate paid to starting reporters) might as well be black and living down south for it represents the same thing.

This is really the first organized fight against court injunctions which are hampering the labour movement in Canada from coast to coast. Any employer can, within minutes, obtain one 24 hours a day without the slightest evidence. Many a strike has been lost due to this collusion between the governments, courts, employers and phoney labour fakers.

When will the Vancouver Labour Council and all other councils wake up to this and take the example set in Oshawa. One very important aspect of the Oshawa battle should be examined. Both the Printing Pressmen's

International Union and the International Typographical Union instructed their membership to cross the picket line.

Elmer Brown, president of the International Typographical Union, sent a telegram instructing Times' printers to cross the picket line. All Canadian labour should be disgusted with leaders of this stature. How can we fight the boss when our over-paid, over-stuffed labour fakers from a foreign country are aiding and abetting with Canadian anti-labour bosses and laws in suppressing the Canadian worker?

When will we become masters of our own destiny and when will we stop interference in our trade unions by the U.S. and Canadian governments, courts and phoney labour fakers.

I believe the day is drawing near and I suggest that all of us beware because the question will be asked many times: "WHICH SIDE ARE YOU ON?"

The Oshawa Times is a part of the giant monopoly controlled by Lord Thomson who made 300 million dollars profits off the backs of the workers, aided by not only the government and courts, but those labour phonies from the U.S. and the lackies in Canada to whom fat salaries are paid by the sweat of Canadian workers. The strike has now been settled and the battle against this injunction won, not through legal procedures, but through solidarity of the workers in Oshawa.

Congratulations! May your battle be an inspiration for all the workers in Canada to set the stage for the elimination of foreign domination of Canadian Trade Unions.

MARTIN AMIABEL.

THE BATTLE IS ON

Against U.S. domination of Canadian workers through International Trade Unions. As long as the interference increases, the opposition to it will continue. It seems to be not enough that U.S. imperialism is committing aggression all over the globe—latest examples, Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. And that they control 80 per cent of the economy of Canada and are stealing our natural resources. But they want complete control over the Canadian worker. The workers are getting fed up reading in their union news bulletins. One bureaucrat after another supporting Johnson's slaughter of fellow trade unionists in many parts of the world. Also signing of agreements with employers without consent of the dues-paying members. Most International constitutions are limiting our choice of political parties or activities. Very often some fat, overpaid, over-stuffed president has the only say if a worker in Canada can or cannot strike, very often telling us how to vote in federal or provincial elections, and on our national issues, such as nuclear arms, Vietnam war, joining the OAS—an example being in the Ironworkers' Shopmen's Local 712. A meeting was held to consider a proposal made by Dominion Bridge to increase wages seven months prior to the expiring date of the contract, to set the stage for a sellout of the small shops affiliated to the same local union. First item on the agenda was a telegram read from the International president granting

permission for this special meeting to be held; also forbidding us to discuss anything but the company's proposal. In other words, a president whom we have never even seen, in a foreign country, telling us when, where, and what to discuss. But the time is nearing that we become masters in our own house. Discontent is growing. Quebec is leading the battle. Canadian Ironworkers and Pulp and Sulphite made the move. Others will follow very shortly. To hold off any intimidation and threats, I will not mention names, but let us see what 1966 and 1967 will bring us. We should also start thinking about forming a Canadian Trade Union Centre to lend support to those who are gaining their freedom from U.S. domination. Our independence will not come easy. For the labour bureaucrats in the U.S. and their lackies in Canada are going to use all methods to postpone this and maintain their comfortable, well-paid positions, and will in the ultimate join with the Boss to keep the Canadian worker down. For most employers would be lost without their comfortable, cozy little arrangements with those pork-choppers, fully aware that any change can only bring more pressure on them to give a bigger share of the wealth produced to those who are the producers—the Canadian workers. I ask you, readers, to give this your sincere consideration and give us your criticisms and comments freely.

M. AMIABEL.

SOCIALISM AND MAN in Cuba

A LETTER TO A URUGUAYAN FRIEND
BY ERNESTO "CHE" GUEVARA

Dear Comrade:

I am finishing these notes in the course of a voyage to Africa in order to fulfil, if belatedly, my promise to you. I would like to develop the theme of Man and Socialism in Cuba. I believe this could be of interest to Uruguayan readers. One hears currently from the mouths of the spokesmen for the capitalists the ideological objection that the period of socialist construction in which we are engaged is characterized by the sacrifice of the individual on the altar of the State.

I am not going to attempt to refute this statement in a purely theoretical way, but I will re-establish the facts as they have been experienced in Cuba whilst adding a general commentary.

Firstly, I will sketch, very broadly, the history of our revolutionary struggle before and after the taking of power. It was on the 26th of July, 1953, that the revolutionary struggles began which ended in the Revolution of 1st January, 1959. A group of men, led by Fidel Castro, at dawn of that day, attacked the Moncada Barracks in Oriente Province. The attack received a setback and the setback became a disaster. The survivors found themselves in prison, but recommenced the struggle as soon as they were amnestied.

During the state of affairs when socialism only exists as an influence, Man is a fundamental factor. It is in him, an individual, unique being, a creature with a first and second name, that people place their confidence. It is on his ability in action that the success or failure of each struggle depends.

Next came the stage of guerrilla warfare, which took place at two distinct levels: among the people, a mass still largely asleep and needing to be mobilised, and among the guerrilla fighters themselves, who strove to arouse people's revolutionary conscience and enthusiasm for battle. It was this avant-garde which provided the catalyst which brought into being the necessary subjective conditions for victory. And, to the extent that we made our ideals those of the proletariat, to the extent that a revolution worked in our habits and our spirit, the individual still remained a fundamental factor.

Every fighter of the Sierra Maestra who obtained a superior rank in the revolutionary forces could claim a number of notable personal feats to his credit. It was on this basis that rank was awarded.

It was during this first, heroic period that people argued with each other to get the tasks which carried the greatest responsibility and the biggest dangers, with no other satisfaction to be obtained than that of a duty well done. In our work of revolutionary education we come back again and again to the salient fact. The attitude of our fighters already showed the image of the future man. This total self-dedication to the revolutionary cause has been repeated many times in our history; during the October Crisis and under the hurricane "Flora" we saw acts of courage and exceptional sacrifices accomplished by all our people.

One of our fundamental ideological tasks is to find a formula for perpetuating this heroic attitude in everyday life.



Che Guevara

In January, 1959, the revolutionary government was set up with the participation of various members of the reactionary bourgeoisie. The presence of the rebel army, the factor of force, constituted the guarantee of power. There very soon arose serious contradictions which were partly overcome when in February, 1959, Fidel Castro assumed the direction of the government as prime minister. This process came to a head in July of the same year when President Urrutia was dismissed under popular pressure. At this point there appeared clearly in Cuban history an element which would manifest itself systematically—the masses.

At first glance, it is possible to believe that those who speak of the subordination of the individual to the State are right. The masses achieved, with an enthusiasm and discipline without equal, all the tasks that the government fixed for them, whether these concerned the economy, culture, defence or sport, etc. The initiative came, as a rule, from Fidel and the High Command of the Revolution and was explained to the people who made it their own goal. But at other times local experiments were launched by the Party and the government and the results were generalized by the former procedure. However, the State made mistakes sometimes. When one of these errors occurred, the lack of enthusiasm of the masses was made apparent through the decrease of each person's activity, and work become paralyzed to the point where it practically ceased.

Such a state of affairs occurred in March, 1962, in the face of the sectarian policies imposed by Anibal Escalante.

The blind laws of capitalism, invisible to the eyes of most people, work upon the individual without his being aware of it. He sees only a vast horizon which seems limitless. It is thus that capitalist propaganda claims to present the case of Rockefeller—whether true or not—as a lesson on the possibilities of success. The misery that must be piled up—the sum total of baseness, that a fortune of this size implies, simply does not come into the picture, and it is not always possible for the mass of people to see such phenomena clearly. (Here one ought to study the way in which, in the imperialist countries, the workers lose their internationalist conscience under the influence of a certain complicity in the exploitation of dependent countries, and how from this fact, their combativity in their own country weakens—but this is really getting away from the subject.)

In every way in such a society the path to take is full of obstacles and apparently only an individual possessing certain qualities can break through them to arrive at his goal; he strives after the distant reward, but his road is lonely, and, moreover, it is the law of the jungle and only by trampling on other people can he win success.

I will now try to define the individual, the actor in this strange and passionate drama called socialist construction, in his double existence as a unique being and a member of the community.

I think the simplest way of looking at it is to recognize this quality as an **unfulfilled** being. The blemishes of the old society are perpetuated in the individual consciousness and it needs incessant work to make them disappear. The process is a double one—on the one hand society works with its direct and indirect education; on the other it is the individual himself who undertakes conscious effort of self-education.

What with the fact of under-development on the one hand, and the flight of capital to the "civilised" countries on the other, a swift improvement without sacrifices is impossible. We have still a long way to go before we arrive at a sufficiently high level of development, and the temptation to stick to the beaten track and to use individual material interests as a lever to achieve an accelerated economic growth is a big one.

Then you run the risk of not seeing the wood for the trees; in pursuing the spectre of "socialism" achieved by means of all the armoury inherited from capitalism (the commodity as the economic unit, criterion of profitability, individual material interest as the stimulant, etc., etc.) you risk arriving at an impasse. In fact you come to a halt after travelling a long way on a road with many intersections, so that when you finally stop, it is difficult to know at exactly which point you went wrong. During all this time the economic system you have adopted has been doing its deadly work of undermining the social consciousness.

In order to construct genuine socialism you must change **Man** at the same time as you change the economic basis of society.

From all this it is clearly of vital importance to choose the correct instrument for mobilising the masses. The instrument needed must be fundamentally of an **ethical** sort, without denying the proper usage of material stimulants, especially those of a social nature.

During this period of socialist construction we can help in the birth of the New Man. His image is not yet clearly fixed in our minds, nor indeed can it ever be, given that his development proceeds parallel to that of the new economic structures. Outside of those whose poverty of education pushes them into a solitary oath concerned with the egotistic satisfaction of their own ambitions, there are those who, even within the ranks of the new cadres, have a tendency to advance in isolation from the masses who accompany them.

The important thing is that men should acquire every day a greater and greater consciousness of the need to be integrated into society and at the same time a greater consciousness of their own importance as its motor force. They must no longer filter separately along winding paths towards their distant aspirations. They must ad-

vance together with their avant-garde, made up of the Party, the advanced workers, an avant-garde inseparably linked with the masses and in direct communion with them.

The leadership has its eyes on the future and on its reward. But this is not something **individual**; this reward is the new society itself where men are different — the society of **Socialist Man**.

The road is long and full of difficulties. Sometimes, having taken a wrong path, we have to go back. At other times, having advanced too fast, we get separated from the masses. Occasionally we go too slowly and we feel their breath on the back of our necks. As revolutionaries, we ought to go as fast as possible, blazing the trail, but we must always remember that it is from the masses that we draw our strength, and the masses will not advance faster than the speed of the encouragement they get from our example.

In spite of the importance of moral stimulants, the very fact that society is divided into two principal groups (not counting the small minority which for one reason or another stands aloof from the socialist construction) indicates that the social consciousness is still insufficiently developed.

We have not yet arrived at the point of fully installing the institutions of the Revolution. We are seeking for something new which will achieve a perfect identification of government and the community. This means institutions adapted to the special conditions of socialist construction and utterly removed from the commonplaces of bourgeois democracy (such as legislative chambers, etc.).



We have carried out various experiments with a view to creating, little by little, the institutions of the Revolution, but without too much haste. Our greatest constraint has been the fear that a **formal** link might **separate** us from both the masses and the individual, and even make us lose sight of the most important revolutionary ambition — to see man liberated from alienation.

In spite of the shortage of institutions, which should be overcome gradually, the masses are making history as a conscious assembly of individuals fighting for the same cause. Under a socialist regime, in spite of its apparent standardisation, Man is more complete. In spite of the absence of a perfectly adapted mechanism, his ability to express **himself** and to make his weight felt in the social apparatus is infinitely greater.

If Man is to retake possession of his own nature, it is necessary that commodity-man should cease to exist and that society should turn over to him a "quota" in exchange for the accomplishment of his social duty. The means of production belong to society and the machine is like the "front line" where one's duty is done. Man is now beginning to free his thought from the anguish caused by the need to satisfy his immediate wants by work. He begins to recognize himself in his work, and to recognize his grandeur as a human being in relation to



the object created and, to his labour, transformed. His work no longer requires the loss of a part of his being in the shape of labour-power sold, and no longer belonging to him. It becomes an expression of himself, a contribution to the community, the achievement of his social duty.

Of course, there are still coercive aspects to work, even when it is voluntary. Man has not yet succeeded in doing work as a conditioned reflex, and he often produces under pressure from his environment (that is what Fidel calls "moral constraint"). He cannot give fully of his work, accomplished in the manner of a new habit, unless this environmental pressure is there. In other words he cannot work as under "Communism" in the full sense.

The change will not happen automatically in his consciousness any more than it will in the economy. Progress in this direction is slow and irregular. There are periods of acceleration but there are other periods of standstill—even of retrogression.

When the revolution took power, those intellectuals who were completely domesticated went into exile. The others, whether revolutionaries or not, entered upon a new course. Research received a new boost. Meanwhile, these roads had been already more or less traced out, and the absconders were dissimulating their ideas under the word "liberty." Among the revolutionaries this attitude is often supported reflecting the influence of bourgeois idealism on their thoughts.

In other countries which have undergone a similar process, they have tried to attack these tendencies with an exaggerated dogmatism. General culture has thus been transformed almost into a taboo, and the sum total of cultural aspiration has been declared to be a formally exact representation of nature. This in turn has transformed itself into a mechanical representation of a social reality that is desired to be seen, a kind of idealized society virtually without conflicts or contradictions, that is to be created sometime in the future.

Socialism is young; it makes mistakes. We revolutionaries often lack the knowledge and the intellectual boldness that is needed to face the task of developing the new kind of man by different methods from these which are too conventional and hallmarked by the society which has created them. Once more there appears the problem of the relationship between content and form.

We are in great disarray and the problem of material construction absorbs much of our time. There are no great artists who happen also to be revolutionaries of authority.

The Party members ought to take this matter in hand and seek to attain the principal objective—educating the people.

Instead, what happens is a search for the simplification on a level that everyone can understand, meaning, of course, a level that the functionaries can understand. Authentic artistic research goes to the wall and the problem of general culture is reduced to an appropriation of the socialist present and of the past which is dead (and therefore inoffensive!).

This is how "socialist realism" was born on the basis of the art of the last century. But the realist art of the 19th century is a more purely capitalist art form, perhaps, than this decadent art of the 20th century through which there truly breathes the anguish of alienated men.

The more we enlarge the field of culture and the possibilities of expression, the more we will have the chance of seeing exceptional artists arise. Our task is to make sure that the present generation, torn by its conflicts, does not become perverted, and in its turn pervert future generations. We ought not to create a body of salaried officials who submit to "official thought," nor a class of bur-saried intellectuals living comfortably in the shelter of their grants, and exercising a "freedom", in inverted commas.

The revolutionaries who sing of the "new man", with the real voice of the people are on the way. But it is a process which demands time.

The leaders of the Revolution have children who, in their first stuttering, do not learn the names of their fathers; wives who are also sacrificed to the dream of the Revolution. Outside the revolution there is no life. Under these conditions we must have much humanity, a great sense of justice and truth in order not to fall into dogmatism, into frigid scholasticism, in order not to become isolated from the masses. Always we must struggle to ensure that this love of humanity assumes concrete forms in deeds which serve as an example to others.

The revolutionary in his Party - the ideological motor of the Revolution-consumes himself in this uninterrupted task which will end only with death, at least until the construction of socialism starts on a world scale.

If his revolutionary enthusiasm fades once the most urgent local tasks have been accomplished, and if he forgets his proletarian internationalism, then the Revolution he controls will cease to be a motor force and will sink into a comfortable torpor. This will be quickly put to profit by our irreconcilable enemies, the imperialists, who will thus gain ground.

Proletarian internationalism is a duty, but it is also a revolutionary necessity. That is what we teach our people.

It is certain that the present situation holds great dangers. Not only that of dogmatism or of losing our links with the masses in the middle of our great work, but the danger of weaknesses we can fall into.

We have always maintained that our children ought to possess the same things as other children, but also that they should be deprived of what other children are deprived. Our family ought to understand and fight for this.

The Revolution is made by man, but it is required that day by day he forges his own revolutionary spirit.

And so we advance. At the head of the immense column (we are not ashamed of saying it!) marches Fidel; behind him come the avant-garde of the party, and behind them, so close you can feel their enormous force, come the people, all marching resolutely toward their common goal. This assembly is composed of individuals who have acquired the necessary consciousness of what needs to be done, of men who are struggling to quit the realm of necessity, and enter the realm of freedom.



(Following is the text of the letter read by Fidel Castro to a Havana meeting Oct. 3.)



Fidel:

In this hour I remember many things. How I met you in the house of Maria Antonia, how you proposed that I should come, all the tension of the preparations.

One day somebody asked who should be notified in case of death, and the real possibility of that hit all of us. Later we knew it was true, that in a true revolution one either triumphs or dies, and many *companeros* were left along the road to victory.

Today everything has a less dramatic tone, because we are more mature, but the fact repeats itself. I feel I have done the part of my duty that tied me to the Cuban revolution in its territory, and I take my leave of you, of the *companeros*, of your people which is now also mine.

I formally renounce my responsibilities in the leadership of the party, my ministerial post, my rank of major, my status as a Cuban. No legality ties me to Cuba—only bonds of another sort, which cannot be broken as can designations:

Making an inventory of my life, I think I have worked with due honesty and dedication to consolidate the revolutionary victory. My only fault of any seriousness is not to have placed more confidence in you from the first moments in the Sierra Maestra, not to have grasped more quickly your qualities as a leader and as a revolutionary.

I have lived magnificent days at your side and felt the pride of belonging to our people in the luminous, sad days of the Caribbean crisis. Rarely has a statesman stood out so notably as in those days. I am proud, too, of having followed you without vacillations, identified with your way of thinking, seeing, weighing dangers and principles.

Other Sierras of the world claim

my modest efforts. I can do what your responsibility at Cuba's helm denies to you, and the hour has come for us to separate.

I want you to know that I do it with a mixture of happiness and pain. Here I leave the purest of my creative aspirations, the dearest of those who are dear to me, and a people who accepted me as a son. That will bring a part of my spirit to rebirth: on the new battlefields I will bear the faith you instilled in me, the revolutionary spirit of my people, the feeling of carrying out the most sacred of duties—to fight against imperialism wherever it exists. With that, any laceration is abundantly solaced and healed.

I repeat that I exempt Cuba from any responsibility, except that which arises from its example. That if my hour strikes beneath other skies, my last thought will be of this people and especially of you. That I thank you for what you have taught me and the example you have set, to which I will try to adhere up to the final consequences of my actions. That I have always been, and remain, identified with the external policies of our revolution. That wherever I go I will feel the responsibility of being a Cuban revolutionary, and will act as one. That I leave nothing in a material way to my children and wife, and am not disturbed by it: I am happy that it should be so, that I ask nothing for them since the state will provide what they need to live and be educated.

There are many more things I could say to you and to your people, but I feel that words are unnecessary and cannot express what is in me; there is no point in covering pages with writing.

Until victory always, *patria o muerte!* I embrace you with all revolutionary fervor.

Che



THE EPTON CASE

The following letter has been received by P.W.M. from the Law Department of the City of New York:

Dear Sir:

Your recent letter addressed to Mayor Lindsay, relating to the conviction of William Epton, has been referred to me for reply.

This is a matter entirely within the jurisdiction of the District Attorney of New York County, an independent elected State official, and the courts. The Mayor of the City of New York has no authority to control the official actions of either the District Attorney or the courts.

Very truly yours,

J. LEE RANKIN,
Corporation Counsel.

This missive smells strongly of Pilate washing his hands as emblematic of renouncing all responsibility. The corporation counsel simply ignores the fact that it was the City of New York and its Law and Police Departments that put Epton in the dock and, therefore, in jail. We have requested no more than that they exhibit equal aptitude in securing his immediate and unconditional release.

We wish to remind our readers that Epton has been convicted and jailed. There will be an appeal, and appeals are costly. If any reader feels able to assist financially, they may do so directly by way of the committee listed in our last issue, or send donations to Progressive Worker and we will forward them. Protests from individuals and organizations are also in order and should be addressed to Governor Rockefeller and the Mayor of New York.

HELP FREE BILL EPTON



Convicted for "Criminal Anarchy" arising out of the "Harlem Riots."

Hear a TAPE-RECORDING of a Speech by BILL on his Case and Events which led up to his INDICTMENT.

NEW P.W.M. HEADQUARTERS, 35 E. HASTINGS
(Upstairs)

8:00 p.m.—SATURDAY—February 26

All Welcome

Proceeds of Collection to Aid Epton's Defense

Entertainment—Refreshments

JACK WOOD CLUB, P.W.M.

RESOLUTION

FIRST AFRO-ASIAN LATIN AMERICAN PEOPLES' SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE

RESOLUTION ON THE RIGHTS OF AFRO-AMERICANS IN THE UNITED STATES

The First Conference of Solidarity of African, Asian, and Latin American Peoples held in Havana, Cuba, from January 3rd. to 12th, 1966.

CONSIDERING:

1. That racial violence and brutal discrimination unleashed in the United States against Afro-American men, women and children and the white humanitarians who sympathise with them another manifestation of the exploitation of man by man;

2. That the Afro-Americans have the universal and the inalienable right to legitimate defense, just as all other oppressed people who struggle under the most brutal repression and tyranny, for human rights and full liberty;

3. That the struggle of the Afro-Americans against racial oppression in the U.S. has never been so widespread or so violent, and that the people in the Negro ghettos are increasingly identifying their struggle for liberation with that of the oppressed and exploited peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America:

4. That, although geographically, Afro-Americans do not form part of Latin America, Africa, Asia, the special circumstances of the struggle they are waging, merits special consideration and demands that the Tri-Continental Organization create the necessary mechanism so that these brothers in the struggle, will, in the future, be able to participate in the great battle being fought by the peoples of the three continents.

BE IT RESOLVED:

To strongly support the Afro-Americans in their struggle for human rights and survival, in common with the progressive forces which defend this struggle;

To condemn the murder of Malcolm X, the arbitrary imprisonment of William Epton, and likewise the victims of the violence unleashed by imperialism against the leaders and the militants who face it.

Presented by the delegations of Jamaica, Venezuela and Indonesia.



PETERSON PICKS HIS MEN

Labor Minister Leslie Peterson has appointed six capitalist spokesmen and six union bureaucrats to solve all off our province's labor disputes from their discussion table. The last time this talented group of individuals got together (there may be a couple of new faces), they sold out the workers on the Peace Power and Columbia Hydro projects, giving management dictatorial powers almost free from union interference. They signed a ten-year no-strike pledge, handed union bargaining over to a couple of company puppets, and just about destroyed every condition the workers of B.C. ever fought for. Now that they have their feet firmly planted under the same table, with their fat salaries soon to be announced; with their joint verdicts soon to be made into laws: we can confidently expect a sharp change in B.C.'s labor picture. New leaders, new organizations and new methods must, of necessity, soon be tried by the B.C. worker if he is to save himself and his loved ones from the hunger, the poverty and the domestic misery which will soon follow should he continue to bare his throat to these birds-of-prey.

D. BADGER.

THE \$300,000 DISCOVERY

The Canadian Peace Research Institute, with Dominion charter and tax-exempt status, was founded by Norman Z. Alcock in 1961 with the avowed intention of discovering, by SCIENTIFIC means, the causes of war and a cure for it. According to Alcock, the Institute was committed to research and education, but would avoid peace ACTION of any kind—no parades, petitions or demonstrations. "The peace researcher," declared Alcock, "was conceived as an assistant to the politician just as the medical researcher is an assistant to the physician."

In the four years that have elapsed since its founding, supporters of the Institute have contributed a total of 300,000 tax-free dollars to its work. In the United Church Observer of December 15, 1965, Mr. Alcock presented a report on the results of his four-year search. An examination of this report convinces us that the Institute's \$300,000 mountain has brought forth a very tiny mouse.

CHRISTIANS WARLIKE!

The report says that the peace researchers discovered Christians are MORE warlike than non-Christians and adherents of certain religious dogmas more so than others. On this point Alcock and his colleagues are guilty of several glaring errors in assessing the "facts" that are the basis for their conclusion.

In the first place, an inordinately passionate desire for peace is assigned to those groups that contributed to the financing the research project. A great many people who contributed nothing (and we are numbered among them) are life-long fighters for peace. We were just not convinced that the Research Institute was either necessary or logically conceived, and although we are non-Christians, we believe that many practicing Christians refrained from contributing for similar reasons and not from any lack of desire for peace.

After placing a dollar value on the desire for peace, Alcock compounds his error by hopelessly confusing religion as a personal belief with organized religion of the church which is a social and political force, a part of the superstructure of class society.

English capitalists did not seize church lands simply because they disliked Catholics. They did it because the Roman Church was the mainstay of feudal society and the feudal system had to be removed from the stage in order to make way for a new social order—capitalism. They were neither anti or non-Christian; indeed, they established a new church fashioned after their own needs, and passed repressive laws compelling people to adhere to it. The Church represents and defends the interests of the dominant class in society and when that class makes war the church leaders will bless the instruments of war and urge men on to the slaughter.

But Alcock separates the church from class society and ascribes its warlike stance to some kind of non-class Christian because he is intent on showing that the ruling classes in capitalist countries are not warlike. If he conceded that the Church was a reflection of ruling class ideology he would be compelled to agree that a warlike church reflects a warlike ruling class, hence his need to ascribe a warlike attitude to Christians in place of capitalists.

MARXISM "DEBUNKED"!

Having undertaken to dress the capitalist class in a robe of peace, the Research Institute found it necessary to try its hand at demolishing the Marxist position on the cause of war. Here is how the point is dealt with in Alcock's report:

"We tested two Marxist doctrines and found no evidence to support either one. First one: wars are caused by greedy capitalists who require an arms industry to make a profit.

"Professor Rosenbluth of the University of British Columbia has been able to show conclusively . . . that Canada's prosperity is not dependent on the arms industry, that in many ways it would be healthier without it.

"Similar studies in the United States and Britain have found the same thing: disarmament can be planned in an orderly fashion without unduly disturbing the economy—we don't have to lose our jobs . . .

"The second Marxist doctrine to fall by the wayside was the notion that the ruling classes are the war-mongers, and the good common people the sheep led to the slaughter. Not so. In almost all cases, the three leadership groups were more conciliatory and less desirous for weapons than the general public."

Alcock has tested and demolished a "Marxist" doctrine that has never been held by Marxists, that "greedy capitalists require an arms industry to make a profit." The idea that the arms industry is established for the sole purpose of profit-making is one held by pacifists, not Marxists. The Marxist attitude is that the ruling class require a state—police, army, prisons, etc.—for the purpose of maintaining their system based on exploitation.



An arms industry is a necessary prerequisite for the production of weapons and other material needed to arm and equip the state forces so they will be adequate to the task of maintaining "law and order," capitalist style. Needing an arms industry, the ruling class manage it as they do any business—so as to make a profit. The armed forces and the arms industry grow according to the needs of the ruling class and in today's world that need is great and the profits correspondingly great. Nevertheless, it still remains that the primary reason for the existence of an armament industry is to maintain old oppressions and establish new ones.

Alcock says: "Canada's prosperity is NOT dependent on the arms race . . . would be healthier without it." But Alcock carefully refrains from explaining why his "peaceful" ruling classes persist in expanding the arms industry when the economy from which they garner enormous profits "would be healthier without it." The capitalists know all too well what Alcock does not know—or does not want to know—that, healthier economy or not, armies and armaments are necessary to ensure the maintenance and expansion of their system of exploitation and oppression which IS required by 'greedy capitalists to make a profit.'

The second Marxist dragon which this modern St. George claims to have slain is the idea that the common people are like sheep driven to the slaughter and he further claims that these common people are more desirous for weapons than are the ruling class. As has already been said, the ruling class manufacture arms for two reasons: because they need them, and because it is profitable. The common people have no decisive control over production and their alleged desire for weapons plays no part in the decision to produce them.

The fact that workers may march off to war with little or no complaint or resistance is not proof that they are not being led to the slaughter. It IS proof that they are not yet conscious of being victims of an unjust social

order. They are conditioned to an ideology of war and blind obedience from birth, so it is not surprising that they act as they do. But when the sharpening crisis of the imperialist system at last brings them to see the cause of their misery they will rise up against the exploiters and, with one supreme effort, put an end to war.

AGGRESSION: A BASIC URGE!

"Ideology," says Alcock, "is not the only cause of war. Science has uncovered at least one other." He claims there is a growing body of expert opinion which ascribes to instinct an important role in human aggression. "Not only does man have an inherent drive for food and a mate, he has an instinct for dominance over others, and more important, an instinct for territory." For proof of this profound idea Alcock goes to zoology.

In advancing this proposition, Alcock succeeds only in demonstrating his ignorance of the development of human society. In primitive society, before man began to exercise some control over nature, the gathering of food sufficient to sustain the tribe was a problem of paramount importance. The control and defence of the hunting and fishing grounds was vital to the group's existence. It often happened that natural calamities caused the vital supply to become diminished and hunger would drive a tribe to trespass on the grounds of another. Battles would ensue over control of the land which were actually battles for survival.

Translating this fight for food and survival into a theory of natural tendencies toward aggression and a cause for armed conflict in the modern world only makes its supporters appear ridiculous. If the proposition that these primitive battles for survival are an indication of a basic urge toward aggression, which is responsible for modern war, why do we not have the starving masses of Latin America invading the food-laden United States, instead of the opposite being the case?

It is not an urge toward aggression, a primitive drive for control of hunting grounds or just plain cussedness that are the cause of war. Wars are fought for control of people and resources because, in an imperialist society, the exploitation of people and resources is immensely profitable and profits to the maximum possible is what imperialists want.

VIETNAM!

Alcock's theory that it is the common people and not the ruling class who are aggressive leads him into making in his report some far-fetched comments that are at variance with facts that are common knowledge in every part of the world. The views expressed on the war in Vietnam can only serve the interests of U.S. imperialism as his "research" assists the general objectives of the ruling class. These limited references to Vietnam in the report give us some idea of what we can expect from the Institute's projected year-long investigation into the causes of the war. Referring to Vietnam the report states:

"... It may also be that nationalism and the urge for 'containment' of a foreign power are simply the institutionalization of our deepest urgings. Power and territorial aggrandizement have marched hand in hand throughout history, and in a slightly refined sense they are still marching today... The urge to have an enemy may be basic. It is the CHOICE of who he is that in large part may be determined by our ideologies... The dispute in Vietnam may be over the control of territory but the Catholics in power in Saigon see the enemy as godless Communists and the Viet Cong see the enemy as Christian imperialists."

By means of a supreme feat of legerdemain Alcock has conjured the U.S. imperialists entirely out of Vietnam, establishing the aggrieved and the aggressor on an equal footing. There is no "Catholic government" in Saigon. There is in Saigon a motley collection of traitors who have formed a puppet regime with no real power and dance to the tune called by the U.S. imperialists. These discredited marionettes whose "power" does not extend beyond a few blocks of the city is elevated by Alcock to the dignified position of "Catholic government" while the

National Liberation Front that represents 80 per cent of Vietnam are reduced to a collection of power-hungry godless Communists with a basic urge to have an enemy.

Alcock and his colleagues completely ignore a fact known to all Canadians: Vietnam has been invaded by a 200,000-man imperialist army that has travelled half-way around the world (and whose numbers are still increasing) for the specific purpose of invading the peaceful villages and fields of Vietnam. It is American imperialists, not "Saigon Catholics," who are killing tens of thousands and scorching the peaceful earth of Southeast Asia. The reason is not some imagined basic primitive urge to aggression, but a drive to expand a system of imperialism exploitation.

There is no logical way in which the two forces—the imperialists driving toward world conquest; the National Liberation Front fighting for liberation of their homeland and the right to pursue peaceful labour—can be equated into forces having a similar basic urge toward aggression, a like desire for power and territory and equally guilty. If Mr. Alcock were less hasty in disposing of "Marxist doctrine" and accepted the fact of the class basis of war, he would see that in Vietnam imperialism is the cause of war and the immediate and obvious cure for that war is victory for the liberation front.

HOW TO SAVE TIME AND MONEY!

It was unnecessary for the Peace Research Institute to spend four years and \$300,000 in a search for the cause and cure for war. All that was needed was the expenditure of 15 cents for a copy of the 1960 Statement of 81 Communist Parties and a few hours' study of its contents. Here is what Alcock would have discovered about the cause of war by a perusal of the document:

"War is a constant companion of capitalism. The system of exploitation of man by man and the system of extermination of man by man are two aspects of the capitalist system. Imperialism has already inflicted two devastating world wars on mankind and now threatens to plunge it into even more terrible catastrophe."

The Statement then goes on to pinpoint the main source of aggression, and war in the world today, in these words:

"The U.S. imperialists . . . have drawn many countries into NATO, CENTO, SEATO and other military blocs. Under the guise of combatting the 'Communist menace,' they have enmeshed . . . capitalist countries which depend on them, in a network of military bases spearheaded first and foremost against the socialist countries.

"The existence of these blocs and bases endangers universal peace."

As for a cure for war, the prevention for this too can be found in the Statement of the Communist Parties:

". . . stop the arms race, ban nuclear weapons, dismantle foreign war bases and withdraw foreign troops from other countries, disband military blocs . . .

"The victory of socialism all over the world will completely remove the social and national causes of all wars."

Alcock is unable to grasp the class nature of war because he does not understand the class nature of the society in which he lives; he will, therefore, be unable to understand the causes of war, regardless of the degree of research he achieves. Not knowing the causes of war, he will be unable to discover a cure and will continue to accuse those who are fighting for liberty and peace of following a "basic urge toward aggression."

The Peace Research Institute is, at best, a gigantic and expensive exercise in futility; at worst, it is a colossal propaganda hoax to make capitalists appear as angels of mercy and light. On any count, it is not only expensive and ill-conceived, it is a dangerous and disruptive element in the fight for peace and unworthy of support, financial or otherwise, from those who genuinely fight for a peaceful world.



QUEBEC: THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT

ANDRE MAJOR AND THE FLQ

The views which have been openly and publicly expressed by Andre Major and the Front de Liberation Quebecois (FLQ) are in sharp contrast to those advanced by Jean Lesage and Daniel Johnson. The latter look for a settlement of the problems of Quebec within the framework of the present social order and through the agency of existing political alignments. The former declare their firm and unshakable belief in the need for a total and revolutionary transformation of existing social relations, the fight for social and economic independence of French Canada being the central point in their activities. Lesage and Johnson look on Quebec's problems as being peculiar and distinctive to the Canadian situation and capable of solution under the terms of confederation. Major and the FLQ see French Canada's struggle as an integral part of the vast national liberation and anti-imperialist movement that has swept the world since the end of World War II. The Revolutionary Left easily and logically equates Quebec's struggle with that of the peoples of Latin America or the Liberation movement in Viet Nam whereas Lesage and Johnson react with horror and fear to such manifestations of the people's will to freedom.

REVOLUTION WITHOUT COMPROMISE!

In April of 1963 Andre Major, at the youthful age of 21, wrote for the magazine *Liberte* an article that presented for public attention the ideas and motivations of the group that were to establish the FLQ. Just how wide is the cleavage between the political outlook of the bourgeois spokesman Jean Lesage, and that of Andre Major, representative spokesman for a section of the Revolutionary Left, becomes very apparent in the leading paragraph of the *Liberte* article. Major rejects any suggestion of compromise with defenders of the status quo and advances proposals for linking up the fight for national liberation with the struggle for REVOLUTIONARY changes in the CLASS STRUCTURE of society. Here, in part, is how Major formulates it:

"... We regret a faltering vision of the world, which thinly disguises complicity with the oppressors. An ideology of compromise, of agreements and understandings, of resignation, of inwardness can only help to maintain the Established Order. The fact that this ideology is preached by Christians fails to move us. We have learned another language that of HATRED. And we do not reject the hatred that lies on love of liberty. Earlier generations, despite the spurious liberations they claim to have achieved, taught us to resign ourselves to things as they stand, to criticize only the more degenerate aspects of the existing order. Our revolt will therefore be a radical censure of our society and of those who believed themselves to be working for its advancement.

When Major, on the above passage, speaks of "a radical censure of our society," he has reference to Quebec society and the rejection of the "earlier generations" is a rejection of the abject surrender, the compromise, the resignation and subservience of the Quebec bourgeoisie in their agreement to submit to bondage under the terms of Confederation. This is equally a rejection of the present day representatives of the Quebec bourgeoisie—Lesage and Johnson—who want only to modify and amend the Confederation agreement.

"... Having understood that the root of our disaffection lay outside us, we turned against those who hold the real power in our society. This then, is what led us to Marxism. Marxism gave us a method of understanding human reality, and a more precise and accurate insight into the world. As a philosophy of overcoming inconsistencies it draws man into daily and practical action. It is the only form of humanism we can possibly accept. In this attitude lies the crucial difference which sets us

apart from earlier generations. No longer will we go along with concessions to Capital, with expedient alliances that put us on the side of the oppressors, with mere exchanges of views, or with any form of conciliation. We have made our choice of sides. And to choose sides means not only to express solidarity with a group of men but also to fight for, and with that group. Here is where hate comes in.

"Clear-mindedness and love cannot exist without revolt, without hatred of all that is an obstacle to such clear-mindedness and love.

"Choosing to fight for one's people implies choosing to hate its enemies and to fight against them. This is mere logic. But the logic must also be expressed out loud and acted upon.

"Hatred is not evil when it opens the way to man's freedom. We can conceive of no love which does not have . . . a fierce hatred of all that diminishes and degrades man. It is because of our love of men that we hate the class that treats men like items in a transaction or cogs in the production process; and it is because of this love that we hate the class that lives off human sweat and despises human beings . . . Fate does not create men's misery; it is, rather, a product of the social structure."

Reading this passage causes one to wonder what possible meeting ground could there be between young revolutionaries like Andre Major and the Communist Party of Canada with its program and policy of making common cause with the class enemy in a proposed "repatriation" of the (bourgeois) Canadian Constitution and their juggling with a "free" but controlled Communist Party of Quebec with its appointed leader from the province of Ontario. Marching toward "Socialism" hand in hand with the "sensible and intelligent" members of the bourgeoisie is a pipedream not likely to win any converts from the ranks of Quebec's Revolutionary Left.

REVOLUTION AND CULTURE

A later passage in the *Liberte* article leads us to the conclusion that Major and his colleagues were not at all impressed with the Laurendeau-Dunton circus better known as the Bi-Bi Commission. This passage reads as follows:

"... Bourgeois culture teaches us the pleasures and vices of Mind and Thought, because it has side-stepped the real tragedy, the shameful fate of the exploited. In this perspective, it is a reactionary culture. Moreover, our culture suffers from another defect: that of colonialism. An empty, middle-class culture, devoid of links with the framework of an independent State—it is the product of a colonized middle class. Ottawa, a colonial power, fosters artistic expression in the nation it dominates because art can conveniently be isolated from total culture. This support for the arts creates the impression that Quebec's culture flourishes freely. But to reduce the global concept of culture to the level of art alone deprives the culture of its impact on everyday life, leaves it isolated and powerless, alien to the people's daily concerns. These are a colonial culture's typical traits.

"It is the task of the left-wing intellectual to decry this cultural alienation, to denounce the myth that biculturalism is the apex of human fulfilment, to show that there can be no freedom of culture without political freedom.

"We do not have a fetishistic approach to literature. We do not believe in the magic power of words. Granted that literature is an aid to putting us in touch with reality, to grasping the sense of events; but in itself it offers no solutions. Hence the need for political action."

REVOLUTION AND DIALOGUE

As the revolutionary crisis develops and strikes at the very roots of confederation, there comes into being

movements that propose direct revolutionary action to break the hold of alien domination. On the other hand there are those who, for a variety of reasons, want to halt the growing demand for a revolutionary engagement of the class enemy. The chief weapon of these defenders of the status quo is a proposal to engage in "dialogue" with the enemy; to convince him by methods of "reason" instead of by acts of "violence," of the need for some basic changes in society. This is precisely what is taking place in Canada today, and most overtly in Quebec, as widely divergent forces, from the Communist Party leaders to the Tory Rightists, call for a "reasonable approach" and "democratic discussion" on the need to amend, modify and repatriate the Canadian Constitution. Major's article clearly establishes that he is in no way misled or confused by the activities of those who seek to rescue the bourgeoisie from the rising wrath of the revolutionary people. Here is what the author writes on the subject of "dialogue":

"As soon as an ideological crisis breaks out, as soon as a movement appears to threaten the Established Order, the ideologists of Entrenchment launch themselves into what they call dialogue to try to stem the revolutionary tide. Generally, those behind the revolution let themselves be drawn into the debate, believing this to be a step forward. But they fast discover, that the manoeuvre is a well-proven tactic to break down the upstart movement. While the 'dialogue' proceeds—i.e., while the emissaries of Entrenchment try to convert their adversaries—reaction musters its defences. To enter into such discussion is tantamount to holding up the revolutionary process and to gravely compromising its progress.

NATIONAL LIBERATION AND SOCIALISM

"So it seems that revolution here can only be born out of a nationalism, which is the flesh and blood of the socialism we want to institute. It's our colonial status that forces us to do battle on two fronts.

"The old Left just failed to see . . . that there was an indissoluble connection between unemployment, Anglo-American capitalism and the (English) Canadian Constitution. From a Marxist point of view it is pointless to think of the liberation of the Quebec proletariat without seeing the need for national liberation, since the proletariat belongs to a dominated language group, to a dominated nation.

Its liberation will take place at two levels at the same time: the freeing of a proletariat exploited by capitalists, and the freeing of the proletariat that forms part of a nation dominated by another nation, by a foreign capitalism.

"Our struggle, doubly inspired, thus aims at a DOUBLE liberation. We shall fight against the Canadian colonialist ranks which immobilize our nation, just as we shall combat the capitalism inherent in those ranks and any Quebec capitalism that may develop along the lines of foreign capitalism.

"What I have set forth is based on principles stated by Lenin in his 'Critical Notes on the Nationalist Question.' But Quebec socialists of the NDP complexion do not read Lenin; anyhow, their socialism is social democracy.

"As to 'Cite Libre,' we've long ceased to expect it to come up with even the pale glimmer of a revolutionary thought. The theory of biculturalism propounded by that periodical merely camouflages support of the official ideology and complicity with the status quo."

The criticism contained in the foregoing passage is applicable to a much wider spectrum on the "Left" than the NDP and Cite Libre. There are pseudo-left groups in English-speaking Canada who claim to represent proletarian interests but oppose Quebec's fight for national liberation. They do not see—or do not want to see—the connection between the fight for the nation and the fight for socialism. These so-called "revolutionaries" strive to restrict the movement to an objective of alleviating some of the worst effects resulting from double exploitation in Quebec and to securing amendments to our made-in-England constitution without regard for the fact that it was upon this constitution that the social and economic system which is the root of our problems was built. What

is needed in Quebec—and in the English provinces—is a fundamental change in the social and economic life of the nation; revolutionary change; a change in class relationship; and that cannot be achieved under the bourgeois and colonialist constitution that got us where we are now.

REVOLUTION AND RELIGION

The Church is a powerful force in the social, political and economic life of Quebec, and a great landowning and capitalist concern in its own right, which enjoys special privileges and protection from the state. Because of this special position of the Church as not just an AGENT of the capitalist state, but an integral PART of that state, having a share in the profits, privileges and power in the system of exploitation, no revolutionary group could possibly escape stating its position in relation to the Church, providing it is serious about securing a fundamental change in society. Major sets out his ideas on this question in the following manner:

"Being related to alienation in general, religious alienation does not furnish its victim with an accurate picture of human reality. That is why he has such an uneasy conscience when face-to-face with revolution. But in our struggle, we cannot be easy-going with any of the forms of collective alienation, even religion. Radical censure of alienation cannot be set apart from radical censure of the religious phenomenon, as Marx himself pointed out. There can be no freeing of man without religious dis-alienation. Like bourgeois thought and art, religion is one of the manifestations of a socially determined period of history, and can only be explained in the light of historical processes through which it arose and flowered. To grant special treatment to the religious phenomenon is in effect to preserve one of the faces of oppression, to uphold one of the forms of alienation.

"For us there is no salvation, heavenly or earthly. There is only the will to establish in the world of men that measure of justice which will give man a chance to reach humanity's fullest potential by raising himself to a greater awareness of what he is, of his powers and his limitations. This, in itself, justifies the action we are committed to.

"We are not just launching ourselves into a review of our past and a criticism of the present: we are preparing the kind of future which galvanizes all our energies; we are shaping the moulds of a new life; we are advancing a vision of world and man which we think measures up to our liberty.

"Against an ethic which defends a system of social interrelationships based on oppression, against a culture which disguises the true nature of that system and preserves the alienations that are built into it, against a philosophy and policy of debased personal values aimed only at keeping men ignorant of their oppression and their true misfortunes—we are putting forward a new ethic, new culture, new practice, elaborated and daily enriched in the fight for freedom.

"Men's misfortunes do not happen by chance—they are explainable, they have causes, and it is these causes that must be denounced and destroyed. We cannot smilingly greet the life prepared for us. Optimism, in an aura of oppression, is a staple item of the Christian diet that holds precious nourishment for us. No more mysticism: don't come telling us that what a man's will be is up to him alone. Yes, of course, everyone can change his life by changing the life of his community, but this implies some common action at the start, specifically designed to achieve a desired result. It implies a very rigorous political thought and action.

"Our practical task will be to continue the struggle launched by the rebels in 1837, a struggle abandoned and taken up again so many times. We have to bring it to fruition."

Having set forth his political outlook, Major makes clear that he is no longer anxious to explain or justify himself; he desires to push on to specific and practical action to realize his objectives. "I have given sufficient reasons for the struggle," he writes, "sufficient explanations. I am no longer eager to justify my choice; this also holds true for my fellows. Engaged in specific action, we

no longer want to 'explain' ourselves as we are asked to do by those who have failed to grasp that a revolution is under way here, in which they have no place. The battle is on, and it may be taken as a fact that a good many of us will fight, arms in hand."

MESSAGE TO THE NATION

Following publication of the Liberte article by Major, the FLQ issued a manifesto which was a call to action and a summary of their views. The Manifesto, text of which we give below, was issued about April, 1963:

A MESSAGE TO THE NATION BY THE FRONT DE LIBERATION QUEBECOIS (FLQ)

PATRIOTS:

Ever since the Second World War, the various enslaved peoples of the world have been shattering their bonds to acquire the freedom which is theirs by right. Most of these peoples have overcome their oppressors, and can today live in freedom.

Like so many others before us, the people of Quebec have reached the end of their patience with the arrogant domination of Anglo-Saxon colonialism.

In Quebec, as in all colonized countries, the oppressor fiercely denies his imperialism and has the support of the so-called national elite which is more interested in protecting its own entrenched economic interests than in serving the vital interests of its nation. This servile group persistently denies obvious facts and raises up endless problems, aimed at distracting the hard-pressed population's attention away from the only vital problem: INDEPENDENCE.

Despite all this, the workers' eyes are daily becoming more attuned to reality: Quebec is a colony!

We are a colonized people, politically, socially, and economically. Politically, because we do not have any hold on the political instruments necessary for our survival. Ottawa's colonial government has full powers in the following fields: economic policy, foreign trade, defence, bank credit, immigration, the criminal courts, etc. Moreover, any provincial legislation may be repealed by Ottawa if it so decides.

The federal government undividedly stands behind the interests of the Anglo-Saxon imperialists who both constitutionally and in practice play an overwhelming part in ruling the country. The government therefore serves to maintain and indeed to intensify the inferior position of Quebecers. Whenever a conflict arises between Anglo-Saxon and Quebec interests, it is Quebec's interests that must yield. In the military field, we had conscription; demographically, the pressure has always been towards anglicization; internationally, priority has in all our diplomatic dealings invariably been given to the English-speaking. Hence, the Ottawa government has always, without exception, favoured Anglo-Saxon interests to the detriment of Quebec. At times, even force was used. Quebec blood then flowed for the greater glory and profit of colonial financiers. Quebec is thus certainly a colony in the political sense.

It is also economically a colony. A single statement will serve to prove it: over 80 per cent of our economy is controlled by foreign interests. We provide the labour, they bank the profits.

Socially, too, Quebec is a colony. We represent 80 per cent of the population, and yet the English language prevails in many fields. French is gradually relegated to the realm of folklore, while English becomes the people's working language. The Anglo-Saxon's contempt for our people is as high as ever. Expressions such as "Speak White," "Stupid French Canadians," and others of the same ilk are common. In Quebec itself, thousands of people who can speak nothing but English are unashamed to exhibit this in public. The colonizers see us as inferior beings, and have no compunction about letting us know that they do.

Here is the historical background of the problem: on 8 September 1760 Monsieur de Vaudreuil, Governor of New France, signed Montreal's capitulation, thereby sealing its fate. Shortly thereafter England was to take official

possession of the French colony and of the 60,000 French Canadians living in it. This was the beginning of a long story of Anglo-Saxon domination over Quebec. Ours was a rich country and London's capitalists were already counting future gains. In order to establish undisputed Anglo-Saxon supremacy over Quebec, the 60,000 French settlers had at all costs to be anglicized, by one means or another. It seemed easy enough at the time, for what did this handful of men represent besides the crushing power that was then England? But, suddenly the American Revolution broke out. For a time it became important to go easy on the French Canadians. Yet the efforts at anglicization were not thereby set aside. One day the English Canadians went to far; and the 1837 rebellion flared up. It was drowned in blood. Then came the Durham report. Since it was proving impossible, said Lord Durham, to absorb the French Canadians by force, let us go about it in other ways: slow assimilation takes longer, but it is just as effective. Union having proved a failure, Confederation was devised—assimilation's perfect tool—its very name embodying a falsehood. Since then, all of Quebec's efforts to get recognition for its people's basic rights have been thwarted by colonialism.

What if today, in 1963, there are over five million of us? Assimilation continues to make its insidious inroads. While in 1940 our numerical strength came close to 40 per cent of the Canadian population, today we only represent 28 per cent of the total. This, we are told, is the only thing that counts. Time plays into their hands, and well do they know it.

The colonizers have, however, overlooked one factor, an important one. Its force is now becoming evident. Patriots' eyes have opened to the fact that they are being colonized, exploited, dominated. They have also become aware that only immediate and total action can break their chains. They know this has to be action in which there is no room for petty personal gain, for the corrupt outlook which seeks utopian compromises at any cost, or for national inferiority complexes. Such weaknesses have to be thrown overboard.

Quebec patriots have, over the centuries, had their fill of fighting for trifles, of squandering their vital energies upon the winning of illusory gains that forever need to be reconquered.

Only think of our jobless people by the hundred thousands; of the grinding poverty of our Gaspé fishermen; of the many farmers all across Quebec whose annual income barely reaches \$1,000; of the young people in thousands who are too poor to continue their studies; of the thousands who cannot afford the simplest medical care; of the misery of our miners; of the widespread insecurity of job-holders! This is what colonialism has brought us.

Quebec is also suffering from the unjust and paradoxical situation which can best be illustrated by a look at two neighbouring communities: Saint Henri and Westmount. Here, we find the typical poverty and overcrowding of a French district; there, we see an English minority living in shameful luxury. Our progressive economic enslavement, and an ever fuller foreign control, will not be arrested by provisional, short-sighted solutions. Patriots say NO TO COLONIALISM, NO TO EXPLOITATION.

However, a situation cannot merely be rejected; it also needs to be corrected. Our situation amounts to a national emergency. It is now that the search for alternatives must begin.

Let us acquire the essential political instruments, let us take over control over our economy, let us get a radically reformed social leadership! Wrench off the colonial yoke, get rid of the imperialists who live off the toil of our Quebec workers. Quebec's tremendous natural resources must belong to Quebecers!

There is only one way to bring this about: a national revolution in a framework of INDEPENDENCE. Otherwise, the Quebec population cannot hope to live in freedom.

But it is no longer enough to want independence, to work within the existing political separatist parties. The colonizers will not so easily yield up their tempting loot. The separatist political parties will never gain sufficient

power to overcome the colonizers' political and economic hold. Moreover, independence alone will not resolve anything. It must, at all costs, be accompanied by a social revolution.

Quebec's patriots are not fighting over a name, but over a situation. A revolution is not a parlour game, played for fun. Only a full-fledged revolution can build up the necessary power to achieve the vital changes that will be needed in an independent Quebec. A national revolution cannot, of its very nature, tolerate any compromise. There is only one way of overcoming colonialism: to be

stronger than it is! Only the most far-fetched idealism may mislead one into thinking otherwise. Our period of slavery has ended.

QUEBEC PATRIOTS, TO ARMS! THE HOUR OF NATIONAL REVOLUTION HAS STRUCK! INDEPENDENCE OR DEATH!

(Next month: Quebec and the Search for a Canadian identity.)



WOMEN'S OBLIGATIONS

This is a reply to the remarks of a male subscriber from Alberta who thinks that I am behind the times when I yack about the emancipation of women. As a matter of fact he says I'm 50 years behind the times. I'm glad he said that because he echoes what a lot of people say whenever the woman question is raised of "what role does the woman play in the struggle for a socialist society." We find that the majority of women are conditioned to the idea that it is "god's will" that they play a secondary role both in the family home and in society. This is the double yoke I was referring to for the benefit of the subscriber.

The voting privilege granted to women is as much a mockery to them, as is the voting privilege to the Indians. It allows them in the bars and poolrooms; to smoke and stagger with intoxication in public places; to be taxed and to vote in the buzzards they are told to vote for, either by Hubby or the propaganda artists on radio and television. It was the women's vote which elected Ike Eisenhower because he looked "cute and stately" in a general's uniform with all them brass buttons. It was the women's vote which elected John Kennedy because he was a handsome young man, and it was the women's vote which elected Lyndon B. Johnson because he has that smooth Texas b.s. And you can name your counterparts here in Canada. The only woman in the Canadian, or the American house for that matter, whom I thought was worth her salt as a spokesman from the ranks of the women, was the late Agnes McPhail. I didn't always agree with her, but she was a scrapper and she did her own thinking. She wasn't a "yes woman" as the majority of women are prone to be.

The family yoke which a woman carries, is being completely dependent on the male for support, and I am referring to the majority. True, there are more and more women working in various fields of industry and clerical positions, but even there, they are being exploited more than their worker-husbands, with a much lower paycheck. She is completely dependent on marriage laws made by man. She and her children suffer, and is fired first, if working, when Hubby is unemployed due to the depressions recurrent in a capitalist society.

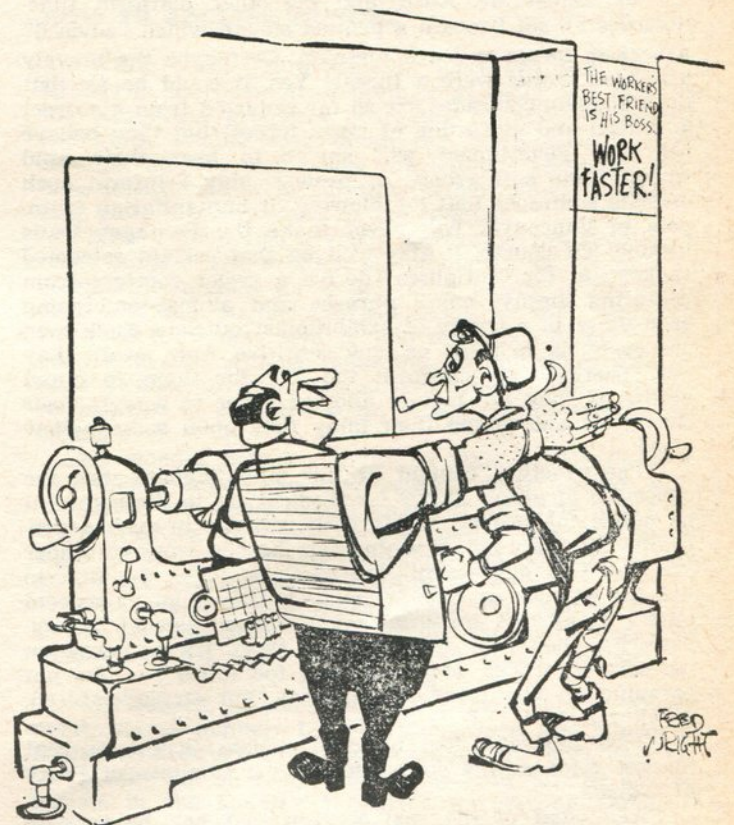
A woman suffers the greatest anguish when her husband, sons and daughters go to capitalist-organized wars, where hundred thousands are slaughtered like hordes of grasshoppers to gratify the greed and satisfaction of a handful of male capitalists. She is continually victimized with sales of shoddy goods and de-vitaminized foods. The latter lowers the health level of her family and herself, and creates prospective patients to fatten the purse of doctors with dollar signs for eyes. Vitamins which they sell us women by the hundreds are so coarse, the human system does not absorb them. This is her yoke in society. Men even tell her how to dress and undress.

It is time women took a good look at themselves, and it is time they took a good look at the society which creates these cockeyed and contradictory conditions which put women where they bear the brunt of all these injustices. It is time they studied, in earnest, economics and

politics, and compare capitalism and scientific socialism and the function of trade unions. Don't let much-harassed working-class husbands carry the ball all the time in the class struggle. There are many issues which women can raise hell about.

I find many women may understand Marx and Engels, but they can't apply it to every-day struggles. This we have to learn how to do, so a few progressive women have undertaken to carry on a study class for women alone. We are not first-class teachers, but we learn through discussion: like a "living-room learning" group. This is open to all women, and those interested contact this paper at 35 East Hastings Street, Vancouver 4, B.C.

HELEN BAYLOR.



"IN RECOGNITION OF YOUR PENSION COMING DUE SHORTLY, WE ARE GIVING YOU YOUR TWO WEEK DISMISSAL NOTICE NOW..."

MARXISTS AND PLAYERS

On Sunday night, January 23, the local cast for the Communist Party of Canada arrayed itself at Exhibition Gardens in Vancouver. The chairman, Mr. Stewart, described the occasion as a reporting session on Vietnam—although many of the attendant two thousand must have wondered what answer should appear to that grave and urgent question under which this assembly had been publicized, the question of how we might act to end the war now destroying South-East Asia. Those of us who regard seriously the present tendencies of American imperialism, an imperialism entering its most perilous and crucial phase, had been sceptical that any "socialist rally" in Vancouver could state a valid policy for the triumphant conclusion of the National Liberation War in Vietnam. Nevertheless, we did hope—however faintly, that the "reporters," Mr. Rush and Mr. Buck, might seek to interpret the Vietnamese conflict, i.e., to relate it to the current process of socialist growth and capitalist militarism. We were disappointed; our sincere wish for the effect of this assembly was quite in vain. We are now angry.

The very fact that a couple of thousand citizens would care to attend a purportedly communistic meeting in Vancouver serves to suggest how intense for them has become the need to understand and remove the forces now evident within U.S. neo-fascism. Our Sunday audience was altogether attentive and receptive—there were no disrupters, and few who were not actually eager to consider, perhaps to adopt, a direct line of action. Many students among that throng were notably curious and keen. All such ardent and potent representatives of the Canadian people were sadly betrayed by the men who supposedly embody some part of the progressive movement in this country.

Mr. Buck, Mr. Rush, and the other platform functionaries all sat beneath a printed slogan which "advised" American forces to leave Vietnam. Or maybe the bravely displayed words were a threat! Yes, it could be so, that the Canadian comrades are so far removed from a correct appraisal and utilization of mass forces that they believe the U.S. government will shiver to hear their mild squeaks and soft groans of protest. May I inform such delicate comrades that the blowing of humanitarian trumpets in Vancouver will never make the Pentagon walls tumble! Of course, it may well be that certain esteemed spokesmen for "socialism" derive a sweet comfort from repeating empty, misty phrases and almost embracing each other in a frenzy of exhibitionist outrage. Such men are so quick to show us how sensitive, how aware they are. There is no platform too low for them to crawl across, if they are merely allowed space to waggle their sad heads and pound their puny fists upon some hollow word.

The practical content of this silly Sabbath was the collection of nearly \$2,500 for medical aid to Vietnam. Let us notice the proper, comfortable attitude in such a program: "We may not, O Vietnamese heroes, work to hinder and halt U.S. aggression—but allow us to be the first to lick the wounds we permit you to suffer. O let us redeem ourselves by this fraternal act, the rare taste of our superiority shown in your charred flesh. Have mercy on us, dear comrades, and never ask too much . . . Do not presume on our force and efficacy, but struggle, bleed, break for us!"

Two thousand five hundred dollars is the current market price on the conscience of the Communist Party of Canada.

And what of the real concern that had brought to this meeting so many of our young citizenry? How should they regard the contemptible antics occurring on that infamous stage? Those who cared for analysis, who required facts and terms, were thoroughly rejected. That absurd slogan about removing American forces from Vietnam could please no one except those using it to conceal their own dullness and cowardice. Is this the high point

of present radical thought in Canada—that a war will end if one side will be kind enough to quit? How true! How brave! And is that to be our only phrase, the futile utterance of childish simplicities? Have the Communists forgotten why the U.S. is in South-East Asia? Have they forgotten the ravenous and violent nature of decadent capitalist society? Do they ignore the relevant comments of Lenin? Indeed, have the "communists" forgotten communism?

It is not enough for Mr. Buck and Mr. Rush to exult in fond memories of their "old friend," Ho Chi Min. It is totally inadequate for them to indulge in righteous utterances against war atrocities. It is for too little to let ourselves off with a few cash offers, the waving of yellow silk tokens and a gentle farewell to revolutionary action, may it be forever prosperous and faraway!

We must finally inquire why the Communist Party of Canada will not advocate critical analysis and effective deeds in relation to the Vietnam affair. Why will they seldom confront issues, and never challenge them?

My answer is that the CPC is no longer a revolutionary proletarian movement. Generally, its members will prefer any graceless and shameless pose to the acceptance of this dangerous and accurate notion: Action that can help the Vietnamese people is action against American imperialism, and action against American imperialism is popular revolution in this Canadian land. For anyone who has denied socialistic progress among our people, it will be impossible to favour and support such progress anywhere in this world. Most Canadian Communists seem to accept security and ease inside our vile social order in return for their implicit agreement not to prevent the brutal oppressions and horrors of the world-wide capital front and U.S. militarism.

The only result is that, as a result of their tacit admittance here of the financial and social establishment, Canadian Communists can nowhere proceed effectively and sincerely in relation to any radical body on earth. In fact, for these sorry revisionists to comprehend the international schemes of imperialism would be to see their own subservience, their personal failure to free themselves for revolutionary conquests. Consequently, they must be content to repeat trite pacifist themes, mutter about educating the masses and shrewdly pass their coin-plates.

Our position should be to recognize the unity of all popular victories. It is hateful and foolish to act as if Communism is a remote variety of social reform applicable to Asian peasants, yet impossible for ourselves. Surely events now occurring impel us to identify more and more rapidly various pre-revolutionary signs as a guide to meaningful conduct. And quite as surely, anyone who feels convinced of the justice and sanity evinced by our society will never be able to discern and present a relevant Marxist program for any other segment of humanity! How could our party revisionists act honestly and vigorously toward peoples who are, in effect, suppressed by the very qualities of our socio-economic structure, the structure which they, the pseudo-radicals, seek to preserve?

In factors of individual achievement, the "backward" peoples now engaged in liberation battles against U.S. imperialism have surpassed us, for they have suffered and known the world impulse of impending fascist assaults. Those who sense directly the inhumane onslaught of our society are more ready to assess our masters and their agents than we, we who are every day in the most ruinous peril of entire dispiritment, in mortal and final peril just as long as we fear the narrow, dark, but proud road to justice, progress and peace for Mankind.

DON DUGGAN



Letters to the Editor

(On President Johnson's speech, CBC, Jan. 12, 1966.)

It's over one hundred years since Lincoln's address at Gettysburg, which so far has never been implemented. Mr. Johnson tonight refers to the Taft-Hartley Act. You will please note that Harry Truman in the fall of 1948 promised that if elected he would revoke this obnoxious act. Mr. Truman was duly elected but the word of an American President apparently has no meaning for if it did there would be no necessity for President Johnson to refer to the Taft-Hartley law on his speech this evening on a par with the American top brass treat the Geneva treaty of 1954 His whole speech on foreign policy in the Far East looks like the "mantle of Elijah" (Hitler) has fallen on the American President (Elisha) when he declared that the policies of the United States should come before the policies of the United Nations.

To those who read Senator Morse's speech in the Congressional Record of Sept. 23, 1965 the speech of President Johnson of Jan. 12, 1966 is a confirmation of all that Wayne Morse said when condemning his country for flouting the United Nations and debauching themselves in Vietnam. In fact Senator Morse corroborates the version from Peking April 11, 1965. Both might have been from the same pen when a prominent American Senator like Wayne Morse and the Chinese People's Republic agree on the same question. Both refer to the American invaders as aggressors. So Johnson's appeal tonight should fall upon the deaf ears of all progressive persons as it has upon Bertrand Russell and Dr. Arnold Toynbee.

HARRY TUDOR.
Morningside, Alta.

ODE TO A DEMAGOGUE

You may harry the cougar out of his hills,
And chivvy the wolf from his lair.
You may with impunity tickle a skunk,
Or waltz with a grizzly bear.
But, if you catch a rat in your chicken pen,
A situation is made.
Will you just pretend he's a broody old hen
That's only a threat when afraid?

He raves that dark forces imperil his power,
And whines that the odds are too great.
He pleads for more men, quotes scriptural texts
And relies on the might of his state.
When the Tyrant who has fought every fight with his
tongue
Gets in where the argument's hot,
And has at his bidding both napalm and guns,
He'd just as soon use them as not,
For there's nothing so dangerous, vicious and dumb
As a demagogue put on the spot.

H. TUDOR.

Dear Sir:

I attended the meeting on Jan. 23 to hear Tim Buck speak on the illegal, undeclared war in Viet Nam.

I was somewhat disillusioned by the speakers but the meeting was not a complete failure, because I was given a copy of the Progressive Worker. I had little money at the time, so the fellow gave me a copy.

I now enclose two dollars, one for a 12-month subscription and one for ten times the amount of the first copy which is how much enlightenment and enjoyment it gave me. It might be used to see that more workers are truthfully informed.

Yours truly,
J.B.

LIBERAL WAR ON POVERTY A FARCE

(The following is based on an excerpt from "MP's at Work"—which are consummations of parliamentary debate.)

On Jan. 24 Grace MacInnis, NDP, MP, Vancouver-Kingsway) blasted the Liberal government for its failure to face up to the problems of poverty. She said:

"I feel that the government's fault lies in the fact of its complacency in the face of this situation because, in a situation where you have almost a quarter of your population living in poverty, to refer in the throne speech to the need of cleaning up pockets of poverty is a pitifully inadequate way of looking at the situation."

(I agree wholeheartedly with Grace. She should be commended for taking such a stand in the House. I'm convinced though, that the Liberal Party, nor any other capitalist party, can clean up poverty in Canada, because they're all controlled by big business—mainly U.S. Big Business—whose only concern is maximum profits—human needs not even considered.)

Mrs. MacInnis uttered a strong appeal on behalf of the workers and pensioners, the unemployed and underemployed, the school dropouts and the under-educated, widows, the disabled and the sick, the small farmers, the native Indians and the new immigrants. She pointed out that many of these people live on the margin of misery, a life of poverty in the midst of affluence.

(It should be pointed out that besides people being deprived of material goods in the capitalist drive for maximum profits, hand in hand with this goes the demoralization of working people, which results in rotten social conditions such as juvenile delinquency, crimes of all sorts against society, alcoholism, drug addiction, suicides, etc.)

ROLLY LINDGREN.

HOW TO ABOLISH HUNGER!

When Mrs. Indira Gandhi succeeded the deceased Shastri in the position of premier of India, she inherited the staggering problems generated by what is probably the worst famine ever to hit the famine-ridden nation. Rations, already well below the amount necessary for a bare subsistence, were cut still further, which brought on food riots in many areas of the country.

Mrs. Gandhi had a ready answer to the problem of mass hunger. The solution lay in the use of the jails the English occupation forces left as a legacy to the ruling class of India. Namdoobespad, leader of the Communist Party of India, was sent to join thousands of his imprisoned comrades, among them the Revolutionary Communists elected to form the government of the state of Kerala, one of the hardest hit regions in the famine now raging

we wonder how many in the state of Kerala will feel their hunger assuaged because their elected representatives are safely locked away. At any rate it appears to be working all right for the ruling class; we see no signs of hunger on the charming Mrs. Gandhi or any of her fat and wealthy colleagues.

One wonders how much longer the leaders of the CPSU will run interference for the exploiters who grow wealthy on the mass misery of the Indian people.

x x x

Mr. Wilson, speaking for the English labour government, stated publicly that he understood and supported Johnson's decision to resume bombing of North Vietnam.

Meanwhile on a bye-election at Hull, all the pseudo-leftists in the country supported the Wilson candidate against a nominee of the Radical alliance giving as their reason that while they realized Wilson's foreign policy was no different than the Tories the latter would be tougher on the workers at home so Wilson must be kept in power. The people of South Vietnam will undoubtedly undertsand and appreciate such "reasoning".

LANDSLIDE- ONE YEAR LATER

By G.K.

A year has passed since the landslide in Ocean Falls claimed the lives of seven residents of this Crown Zellerbach-owned town. There are questions regarding the handling the situation that are unanswered, and they will remain so now that the then resident manager has been conveniently transferred across the border. Callousness and brutality seem to be a must for this giant U.S. corporation, and Canada is used as the proving ground.

The television commercial attempts to bribe the public with the words "Hurrah for Zee," but a close analysis of even the recent history of Crown Zellerbach and its Canadian subsidiary will prove otherwise. Did the employees of Crown Zellerbach in Port Angeles, Washington shout "Hurrah for Zee" when the local police used tear-gas on the workers' picket line, not in 1864, but 1964? I think not!

Crown Zellerbach Canada Limited is guilty of conspiracy against the Canadian people. In May 1955, the company was convicted under the Combines Act of the Criminal Code of Canada and fined \$8,000—a drop in the hat to this Yankee-dominated outfit which drains and robs Canadians of their natural resources so they can continue to make their record-breaking profits.

Crown Zellerbach is guilty of racial discrimination. In Bogalusa, Louisiana, regarding recall rights, "Negroes charged this was a device set up to forestall integration which the company admits but is now stuck with" (Business Week, August 7, 1965). They go on: "It (C.Z.) has hired a Negro secretary 'to show good faith.'" Faith in the minds of these hypocritical blood merchants means only more stalling and trickery.

When the history of this company is scrutinized and absorbed, can the residents of Ocean Falls expect better treatment than their fellow-workers in Port Angeles and Bogalusa? There are some people, Crown Zellerbach, who are not convinced that the maximum protection was given to Ocean Fallites. The snowfall last winter had been extremely heavy, the heaviest in many years, and suddenly torrential rains. Caro-Marion mountain, pushed forward by harsh north winds, leans ominously over the pitiful little town. Halfway up the mountain is a natural lake

which collects the run-off of rain and snow and, when filled to capacity, overflows, sending its waters cascading down the mountainside in two or three of its natural flues. The town is built around, and almost on top of the flues. Many of the buildings have been condemned for years, but to no avail. A minor rainfall will cause the lake to overflow, but there was torrential rain succeeding heavy snow, and no run-off! Why? One worried housewife phoned the local detachment of the RCMP, but was shrugged off. It wasn't until the water suddenly gushed down the mountain and broke through the windows and doors of the Willows apartment that the powers-that-be decided that something might be wrong, though they waited until the water was chest-high before evacuating the apartment. In the meantime men were recruited from the beer parlor to attempt to divert the water back to its flue. While women and children faced horror and death, their husbands were still in the mill, unaware of the dangers. Crown Zellerbach did not feel it necessary to inform the men and risk losing production, but instead got men from the beer parlour to save a Crown Zellerbach building.

Eventually, the mill did close down, but only after the slide had ruptured the steam pipes and seven people lay dead. Why is death more appealing than production loss? Why do the workers allow safety to be secondary to profit, and how can it be changed? There is but one answer; that the workers control and own the means of production, and only then will personal safety be the main factor.

The last word should go to Dr. D. D. Campbell who acted as a consultant to Crown Zellerbach Canada Limited on the prevention and control of snowslides. "Because all the slopes present a hazard, protection by barriers becomes impractical. As in the case of Ocean Falls, neither ourselves no anyone else can predict if and when a slide will occur, but we can certainly point out where one will probably occur . . ." Dr. Campbell added: "It would be folly to insist that people take the chance of living there, even if the cost be only one life in twenty years . . ." (Vancouver Sun, Feb. 2, 1966).



INDIANS

It pains me to see that the brave demonstration 400 Indians made in Kenora, Ont., is being pushed aside, and everything focus on young Kelly, who was fired as a result of this demonstration. I'm all for defending the



"DO YOU KNOW THAT ON THE BANKS OF THE MISSISSIPPI THERE STILL ROAM TRIBES OF FEROCIOUS WHITE MEN?"

young man and protesting his loss of job, because he participated in this demonstration; but let's not thrust aside the real issue which sparked this demonstration. These Natives were fed up with "welfare doles," and want jobs. This is the second demonstration of this type. They had one in Northern Alberta, and that was hushed up.

I heard an Indian speaker over the radio one day who said that Indians were afraid to fight for their rights because they would be both persecuted and prosecuted. This makes me laugh! I think the Indian has about reached the lowest level of persecution he'll ever reach. He's been stripped of his initiative; stripped of his traditions which contained a lot of good and sound philosophy; his pride has been whittled down to 33 and one-third capacity; he has reached rock-bottom and he can't go any further. He's got to rise, and this time on his own momentum.

I heard a Negro leader say once that, when the Negroes, who are extremely religious (like the Indians), attended their respective churches and left their religion in that church, when they attended meetings to discuss economic and political problems pertaining to Negroes, they achieved greater unity and gained more strength. This I subscribe to, because one of the main reasons Indians can't get together is, when they attempt or formulate a united front of any kind, each religious group vies with the other to wrest the executive power, to show how superior their religious training is. It was bad enough

when religion alone was responsible for this division, but now we have politics making the division more varied. The Liberals are spending a lot of money, buying Indian votes, and the Conservatives are also busy as beavers. Neither party can do a damn thing for Indians except give them a bigger dole and some bonuses if they vote for so and so. Some greasy palm with bribery is always extended to Indians, so that any help they do get has a catch to it.

I suggest, also, that Indians leave their religion in the

church they worship in, suspend that greasy palm extended for blackmail, leave their tribal feuds at home, and get together on three main issues of pressing need to them:

1. Jobs at trade union rates of pay.
 2. Adequate welfare allowances for those who are unable to work.
 3. Clean-up of all Reservations and homes to meet the requirements of the health and sanitation department.
- This is just a start, but let's get with it!

HELEN BAYLOR.

CAN CANADA AFFORD THE C.P.R.?

Canadian Pacific Railroad seems to well within reach of its goal; complete elimination of passenger service. Hard on the heels of suspension of overnight passenger trains between Toronto and Ottawa. CPR management announced termination of its crack transcontinental train service; The Dominion on the basis of a plea of poverty. The Board of Transport Commissioners gave its usual rubber stamp approval following a sickly attempt to salvage some shreds of dignity by ordering renewal of the run until they had time to give "official" approval.

Much of the discussion on abandonment of passengers runs has to do with the ability of these runs to pay their way and return a profit. So far as we are concerned the question is not; "Can the CPR afford to continue passenger service?" The real question that requires posing; and answering is: "Can Canada any longer afford the CPR?"

Part of the reason for the policy on passenger transportation can probably be traced to the ineffectiveness of the Board of Transport Commissions which originally adopted a policy of forbidding the railroad to enter into the air transport business. The policy was never adhered to and now Canadian Pacific would prefer that passengers used its planes rather than its trains.

In their drive to accumulate wealth and power the railroad barons made the swindling fur traders look like pikers; and leading the pack were the promoters of the CPR

During the Canada elections of 1872, when the CPR charter was up for grabs, Sir John A MacDonal and his ruling Tory party, received a \$360,000 campaign fund (and asked for an additional ten thousand) from American bankers through the agency of Sir Hugh Allan who had been promised the charter. The payoff was given publicity when Sir Hugh doublecrossed his Yankee partners and they published his correspondence with them.

Public finances were at the disposal of the railway tycoons in three principal forms: Cash subsidies in the form of outright grants or loans; land grants; guarantee of bonds. Up to the outbreak of the First World War, land grants totalled 56,052,055 acres. The CPR alone received 25,000,000 of these acres. These grants were generally allotted on the basis of alternate sections of land on each side of the right-of-way with the realroad taking pot luck on the type of land that fell to its lot. But where the CPR was dissatisfied it had the option of selecting an equal number of acres in a more favoured area. With the land went the resources, which made it possible for the CPR to acquire profitable industrial sidelines, like Consolidated Mining and Smelting, which greatly enhanced the value of railroad property. Municipalities donated land for approaches, depots, marshaling yards, etc., with a little extra by way of inducement. This property, the value of which grew to astronomical proportions as the cities developed, was exempt from local taxation for all time.

The government gave free land to settlers and the railroad benefitted from the increased value of their holdings due to this settlement policy of the government as well as profiting from the transportation of the settlers and their goods.

At one point in its history, the fortunes of the CPR were at an extremely low ebb, but took a sudden favour-

able turn as a result of a strangely fortuitous circumstance. The government had bailed out the promoters on every occasion until, at last, a long-suffering citizenry began to show definite signs of revolt. In 1885 the financial problems had become so acute, and the government unable to come to the rescue, so that the promoters had resigned themselves to watching their dreams of wealth and power evaporate into thin air. This was the year when the Metis and Indians of the Northwest demanded the setting aside of sufficient land to provide for their own needs and those of their descendants. The acreage involved was less than 10 per cent of that given to the speculators. Agreement on the demands seemed to have been reached when there was a sudden break in negotiations and hostilities began. The CPR rushed the Canadian militia to the battle area in record time and the Northwest uprising was duly suppressed. A "grateful nation" was called upon to demonstrate its gratitude by supplying more funds for the hard-pressed railroad, and once more the promoters were rescued to begin again their ride to wealth and power on the backs of the people.

Recent figures show the CPR to have a net worth of \$1,988,368,000, and this is without calculating the value of the many extremely valuable subsidiaries that are under railroad control.

This kind of rich man's social welfare has continued right up to the present in only slightly altered form. One of the most recent of these welfare payments was the granting of exclusive prospecting rights on 500 square miles of land in the Pine Point district of the Northwest Territories for an extended period to the CPR-controlled CM&S. This company was given the opportunity to file on a substantial number of choice mining claims before anyone else was allowed in. In addition, the government financed the building of a railroad into the area to facilitate transportation of ore to the smelters.

It is the recipients of these millions in social welfare payments who run on the van of the pack who rail at workers when they demand a decent wage and insist on whittling down already inadequate pensions and medical care. They say giving something for no return in labour robs men of initiative and dignity. In which case this bunch of undignified slobs must have the least initiative of any known animal.

As we have indicated earlier, we are of the opinion that carrying the CPR speculators on our backs is a luxury the nation can ill afford. It is about time that this octopus, and the land and natural resources it has alienated, were repossessed and used for the benefit of the people to whom they rightly belong. This is justified, not only because the promoters who originally founded the company got possession through bribery and corruption, but also because the company has failed to fulfil even the simple conditions it undertook as an excuse for payment of the vast wealth and resources that passed into its possession.

The CPR and all its affiliates should be taken over by the government and all Canada's railways tied into a co-ordinated, efficient, and effective transportation service designed to serve the country's needs and giving top wages and working conditions to the employees. We have been swindled long enough: let's have some action!

poems-poems-poems-poems-poems-poems

In Toronto, under the regime of Mayor Nathan Phillips, an attempt was made to put an end to the holding of open-air labour meetings in Allen Gardens, the place where Toronto printers first organized under an apple-tree in 1832. Responding to the mayor's attempt to ban freedom of speech in one of its early sanctuaries, a group of poets met in the Gardens to give public poetry readings as a measure of defiance. Vic Campbell, one of the protesting poets, wrote the following lines to commemorate the event that became known as "the eviction of the poets":

VALE TORONTO

The Poet erred!
Our backs to the wall!
Upon these Odes, we stand or fall.
The gendarmes hammer on our gate
With Summons grim to seal our fate.
From Nathan's Courts in fair Toronto
They come to move us from here—pronto.

The burly sergeant spoke and said:
DESIST! or ruin be on your head,
"Lo" Here are Summons—ONE—TWO—THREE
That says your fancies can't be free
With BYLAWS—THREE—FOUR—FIVE—and SIX
That says that Law and VERSE don't mix.

HEAR YE! Before I take you in
To save you from your lives of sin,
No more ye'll cross the Burning sands
In Omar's caravans hold commands,
No more shall Assyrians come down on the fold
With banners gleaming silver and gold,
Nor pop your eyeballs on Darien's peak.
DESIST! or ye shall see the BEAK.

The evening came and shadows crept
Upon this spot where Culture wept,
The statue of Rabbin Burns bowed its head,
Some spoke of tears the image shed,
Only the rooks broke silence there
Where Nathan's Courts perfumed the air.
VIC CAMPBELL.

THE VOICE OF THE MARXIST

Did you not hear the mothers crying
Whose sons for the sake of greed were dying?
Did you not hear the young man's groan,
As in the mud and blood he died alone?
Do you know how a battlefield smells,
With corpses, vomit, and exploded shells?

Did you ever hear a dead soldier's child say:
'I wish I had a daddy the same as they?'"
"Yes, I've felt their pain and seen their tears,
And known its cause these many years,"
Said the lone Marxist to the voice in his soul,
That bade him arise and pursue his goal.

That bade him remember that back of the pain
Were men of greed with money to gain.
But what could their filthy money buy
Half so sweet as a baby's cry?

A baby's cry that would never be heard,
Whose seed with its father's bones was interred.

"Do you think that war is the only toll
That greed extracts from the human soul?"
Said the voice to the Marxist, whose heart still bled
From the things that the voice already said.
Relentless the voice went on to tell
How men for their brothers had fashioned hell.

"Have you seen the despair on a father's face,
Who coming home from the daily race,
Where searching for work to feed his own,
For the bread that he sought was given a stone?
Have you seen the youth who studied and thought,
And had his brains discarded as something of naught?"

There are men who labor with little reward,
Whose profits go to the glittering hoard
Of those who sit in splendor grand
And never so much as turn a hand.
There's hunger and cold without relief;
There's sickness and misery beyond belief."

"But why?" spoke the Marxist in surprise; "Why do
they rise?"

Why stay so stupid, and cowed and unwise?"
Then spake the voice so remarkably clear
Into the heart that was willing to hear:
"Know you not that greed is a god so great,
That some will worship, and some will hate,

But most will fear, and bow and scrape
Before this monster in human shape.
But take from greed its power to rule,
And you'll take from man what makes him cruel.
"But do you not speak to other souls too?
Do you not tell them what to do?"

"Their social positions have built a wall
Where they've piled possessions, both great and small
When my voice gets through it is very weak,
Not much more than a mouse's squeak.
Just enough to make them squirm,
Knowing they've taken a wrong, wrong turn.

So they strive to keep my voice remote
By dressing in robes and praying by rote."
"Then if so much is arraigned against the right,
How can we counter such power and might?"
"Tell the truth that all men may know.
Sow the seeds that are bound to grow.

Work for justice, peace and right;
Support the downtrodden in their fight.
Never sell out for power or pelf,
But give wholeheartedly all of yourself.
Give for a world that will one day be
From cruelty, meanness and greed set free."

The Marxist pondered, and his great heart broke
As he thought of his brothers under the yoke.
He'd heard every word the voice had said,
And determined to follow wherever it led.
"I do not believe in God," said he,
"But I'll follow that voice to eternity."