

BRITISH COLUMBIA'S GUERRILLA CHIEF

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CANADIAN'S OPPOSE U.S. WAR IN VIET NAM



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CATHAL BRUGHA

THE BROWN BOOK: War and Nazi Criminals in West Germany. Available from German Report, DDR 108 Berlin, Krausenstrasse 9, German Democratic Republic. Copies supplied free on request to libraries, editorial offices and organizations as long as supplies last. Free copies will also be sent to anyone sending in names of five prospective readers to German Report. Available in English, German, French and Spanish.

Following Hitler's seizure of power in 1933, German anti-fascists published their famous Brown Book in Paris. It revealed the criminal record of the fascist forces then in the ascent; an early and sombre warning on the Nazis which was almost totally ignored. In 1965 another such warning, a well documented second volume of Germany's Brown Book, was submitted to the world, with the hope that it may "help to spread the truth about West German conditions everywhere, for the light of truth breaks through the obscure twilight in which the Bonn conspirators wrap themselves in order once again to bring night over Europe."

Published by the National Council of the National Front of Democratic Germany, this latest Brown Book presents a penetrating insight into the degree of influence presently being wielded by "war and Nazi criminals in West Germany." The volume contains names of over 1,900 heavily incriminated former leading Nazi officials; and the editors claim that this list is far from being complete. These criminals are active in all the vital areas of state power: 21 are ministers and state secretaries of the Federal Republic; 100 are generals and admirals of the Bundeswehr; 828 are high judicial officials, public prosecutors and judges; 245 are leading officials of the Foreign Office; 297 are high officers of the Police Force and the Office for the Protection of the Constitution.

And what of West Germany's economic structure? It is said, and this is amply substantiated in the Brown Book, that 94 men presently control the West German economy. And if one asks who these men are and what their names are, one gets a frightening answer: for the greater part they are the same persons as controlled the economy before 1945. The same people who assisted the rise of fascist rule by their financial backing; and through their control of monopolies; trusts and banking institutions exercised a determining influence on the aggressive policies of the Hitler regime. The Potsdam Agreement made explicit provisions to eliminate this concentrated power of German monopoly capital; and to punish the overlords of the armaments industry for the many crimes perpetrated in their direct interests. However, few of the capitalist overlords had to undergo such an ordeal, and those that did received but very light sentences indeed. The greater number are again back at their old and profitable business of armaments production; with subsidiaries even in the United States, such as the Chemagro Corporation in Kansas City, Mo., which supplies the U.S. army with its poison gases to use in its war of aggression against the Vietnamese people.

It is well known that the greater percentage of war and Nazi criminals fled to areas controlled by the Western powers immediately before and after the fall of the Third Reich. However, the Bonn government has shown a singular lack of enthusiasm in bringing such outlaws to justice. Up till January 1964 some 5,234 persons were convicted in West Germany for war crimes; and of these only nine received the death penalty. As a general rule the sentences imposed on the remainder had no relation whatever to the crimes committed.

Persons responsible for the fascist crimes against humanity, barbaric practices which horrified the people of some 20 years ago, are today the mainsprings of West German revanchist policy.

BRITISH COLUMBIA'S GUERRILLA CHIEF

(THE TRUE STORY OF AH-CHEE-WUN)
By SEAN ROSSA

MONOPOLY!

When the agents of the great Hudson's Bay Company monopoly pushed west of the Rocky Mountains, they went down the Columbia River valley and established forts as far south as Oregon. The Hudson's Bay traders were concerned mainly with keeping the land largely uninhabited and restricted mainly to hunting and trapping for valuable fur-bearing animals. But the forces released by the American revolutionary war were interested in expanding settlements westward as rapidly as possible and claiming the continent for the flag of the newly-established republic.

In the 1880's, large groups of settlers began to arrive in the Pacific Northwest and establish communities based on agricultural production. These settlers organized a provisional government and made preparations to become a part of the United States. The Hudson's Bay Company were convinced their monopoly control of the area was at an end, so they set up the Puget Sound Agricultural Company to salvage what they could of their holdings and turned their main attention to areas further to the north.

The company held only limited trading rights west of the Rockies, so now moved to expand and consolidate control. In response to the company's needs, a proclamation of British government was read at Fort Victoria in March, 1850 and the Colony of Vancouver Island formed with property rights vested in the HBC in return for a nominal rental of seven shillings annually and an undertaking to develop a colony populated by emigrants from "the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and other Dominions."

The company appointed a lawyer, Richard Blanshard, as the first governor of the colony, but that gentleman quickly found out that his exalted position was largely honorary, for the authority of the company far outranked that of the governor, and real power rested firmly in the hands of the Hudson's Bay chief factor, James Douglas, who had his own methods of rule and "controlling" the Indians.

At this time there was but one settler in the colony. With the exception of this one and eight men with him on his land grant, all residents of the island (Indians excepted) were employees of the company and subject to orders from company officials.

Blanshard soon fell into disfavour with Douglas and was compelled to make an undignified return to England his sole notable "achievement"; the commandeering of a Royal Navy ship to use in initiating military action against the Newtly Indians.

COMPANY AS GOVERNMENT

On the departure of Blanshard, Douglas assumed the office of governor, thus merging the position of chief factor with the office of governor. The chief representative of the company became also the top government official: company and government were one. The company's chief factor, acting in the capacity of governor, was able to appoint legislators and judges, enact laws, establish police and other special law enforcement agencies and, when deemed necessary, could commandeer naval and army units for action against the people.

The sole interest of the Company of Gentlemen was the accumulation of wealth and property, and the pursuit of this noble aim was now made the law of the land by the chief factor, doubling as governor of the colony. Any one who impeded company officials was considered a law-breaker and branded an outlaw.

Capitalist enterprise in the form of farming, salmon curing, lumbering and shipping made its appearance and soon replaced fur trading as the chief economic pursuit of the colonists. This type of economic activity required a disciplined proletariat to ensure the most efficient system of production. The native Indian hunters were not

readily adaptable to such a revolutionary change of activity being thrust upon them by the foreign invaders. Labourers, with a status not far above that of chattel slaves, were imported from the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii). These labourers were confined to a special compound outside the gates of the fort and were harshly disciplined and treated brutally, often being flogged by company officials.

The fort proper was occupied exclusively by Hudson's Bay representatives and a few favoured colonists. Daily life was arranged on the level of upper-middle class England and the fort left early visitors to the colony with the impression of having been in the midst of an extension of England in the wilds of western Canada, including a large dose of upper-class snobbery.

LAND AND GOLD

With their chief factor in control, the company had every opportunity to do as they pleased and took full advantage of the situation. Anyone who opposed company policy was not likely to remain long in the colony. Enjoying total monopoly over trade and commerce, and protected by the local state organization which was as much company property as was any piece of land, company officials set prices that had little, if any, relation to reality; prices so far out of line that even Royal Navy officers complained bitterly about them.

By 1856, pressure from the few settlers in the colony forced the company to arrange the sale of some of their vast land holdings on an installment system of purchase. There was an immediate sharp upturn in the number of settlers, resulting in the alienation of large stretches of the best land from the Indians who had held it as traditional tribal hunting and fishing grounds. Curtailment of the Indian hunting grounds meant hunger and misery for the native population. Every increase in company fortunes meant a corresponding deterioration in the native economy, for company interests could expand only at the expense of the Indians.

The discovery of gold brought tens of thousands of adventurers swarming through the area and on into the territories beyond. These seekers after gold had no regard for Indian needs and simply pushed the protesting people from their native soil, using their superior force and arms to justify their seizure of every promising piece of land.

The Indians did not welcome the prospect of being pushed completely off their native grounds and met the invasion of the white man with a sporadic but bitter resistance that often grew to quite substantial proportions such as at the Red River and in the Northwest. The company ran the state, made and applied the laws and any opposition to company expansion was judged an illegal act and summary "justice" was meted out to the unfortunate victim. Nevertheless, resistance there was, and British Columbia was the scene of one of these sagas of resistance just over a century ago.

THE LEGENDARY FIGURE

For some years before the substantial increase in the number of colonists, before the seekers after gold began swarming through Victoria in 1858, a legendary figure by the name of Ah-Chee-Wun was being spoken of in tones of wonder and awe by Indians around the fort. It was claimed that Ah-Chee-Wun could make the rain fall by raising his hand skyward; that, at his word, thunder and lightning would strike down all enemies. It was said that this great chief's canoe was the largest craft ever seen and that both he and the canoe were impervious to bullets and arrows. Ah-Chee-Wun, said the Indians, performed great feats with the bow and scorned to use the white man's musket. He could see beyond the horizon, smell his enemies at great distances and tell where they were hidden and what plans they were making by looking into the water of a magic lake.

There were some at the fort who claimed they had themselves seen Ah-Chee-Wun disappear into solid rock; that they had followed the chief and his band to Galiano

Island, where they made their home in the "largest cave in the world," and there Ah-Chee-Wun had raised his hands and caused the entire band and himself to disappear into the rocks.

Ah-Chee-Wun, according to reports, was one hundred years old, but had the physique of a young man of thirty. About a dozen intruders had fallen under his arrows and he had sworn to drive all white men from the land of his people.

The tales of Ah-Chee-Wun were of the stuff of which legends are made and there were those who laughed them off. But there were many, and not Indians alone, who believed the substance of the tales and accepted the truth of the existence of the legendary chief. Occasional news of the speedy and harsh justice being dealt out to those wandering afar from the fort and encroaching on the territory said to be under the control of Ah-Chee-Wun was solid enough evidence that there was more than legend to the tales told by the Indians. By April of the year 1863, A. F. Pemberton, commissioner of police, was fated to find out that the legendary Ah-Chee-Wun was the very real chief of the Lamalchis who roamed the islands in the gulf and made Galiano their home.

MANHUNT FOR A LEGEND

On April 3, 1863, a wounded native guide staggered into Fort Victoria with the news that the Lamalchis had killed some whites at Shark Cove between North and South Pender Islands. Later news indicated that there was more trouble at Saturna Island, a short distance from Pender. Police commissioner Pemberton, now thoroughly convinced that there was some substance to the legend of Ah-Chee-Wun, commandeered the Royal Navy vessel *Forward*, anchored off Esquimalt, and appointed Superintendent Smith to set off in pursuit of the elusive Ah-Chee-Wun and the Lamalchi band.

The *Forward* cruised the gulf all day, stopping and searching canoes and making several arrests. Smith directed the ship toward Kuper Island, where the Lamalchis were reported to have established a headquarters and a fortified encampment above Lamalchi Bay. The *Forward* anchored in the Bay in the morning, but the only sign of life in the vicinity was two old women on the beach. The women were questioned, but Smith was unable to obtain any information, and he angrily gave an ultimatum that he would wait until the sun was directly above the mast-head (about 15 minutes) for the chief to surrender, failing which he would bombard the encampment.

DEFIANCE AND BOMBARDMENT

Smith's ultimatum was scorned by the Lamalchis and the guns of the *Forward* began a bombardment of the island. Cannon and rifle fire from the ship drew an answering fusillade of rifle fire from the wooded slopes behind Lamalchi Bay. The Indian riflemen gave a good account of themselves, killing and wounding a number of sailors in the course of the three-hour battle.

Superintendent Smith was hesitant about landing on the island where he knew he would have to meet the Indians on their home ground and led by a chief who was known to be a brilliant strategist in his home territory. The *Forward* withdrew from Lamalchi Bay at nightfall, but returned in the morning to renew the bombardment of the island. When the bombardment drew no answering fire, Smith was convinced the Indians had quit the island during the night, so he summoned sufficient courage to order a landing.

The Lamalchis had indeed left the island, and Smith found it to have been exceptionally well fortified. There was a solid blockhouse, constructed of such heavy logs that not a single shell from the *Forward's* guns had pierced its walls. There were expertly constructed and skillfully arranged rifle pits and connecting trenches. Smith was convinced he was engaged by a formidable foe worthy of all the legends told of him; one obviously skilled in the strategy of lightning forays. The police superintendent opined that Ah-Chee-Wun and the Lamalchis would have to be destroyed before the company rule could be safely extended along the Pacific Coast.

FORTRESS IN THE ROCK

It was decided to make a search of Galiano, where rumour had it that Ah-Chee-Wun could disappear into the solid rock. Definite signs of the recent presence of an Indian band were observed on the island, and a cave entrance on the beach was at first thought to be the passage to the mammoth cave mentioned in the many tales told about Ah-Chee-Wun. All-night vigil was maintained at the cave entrance but when no sign of life was sighted, further exploration was decided upon.

Several of the police detail scaled a nearby rocky bluff from the top of which a view of the entire gulf islands could be obtained. The flat top of the bluff was bare except for a few outcroppings of flowering scrub brush. There were no Indians in sight; but suddenly, as though from the solid rock, four or five Indian riflemen appeared. Superintendent Smith ordered the Indians to throw down their arms and surrender, but received a burst of rifle fire as his reply. Smith glanced away momentarily and when his gaze returned to where the Indians had been, there was no one in sight: it looked as though the legend was right, the Indians seemed to have disappeared into the solid rock.

The police searched the almost barren rock for most of the day, until they sighted a descending crevice, hidden in the brush, that looked like it might lead to some hidden cavern. They moved along the crevice until they were halted by an eerie-sound voice that seemed to come from directly under their feet.

"What is the white man doing on great chief's island? What do you want with him?" said the voice.

Smith replied that he demanded the surrender of Ah-Chee-Wun and all his people or he would bring up the ship's cannon and fire it into the cave, killing all inside. Ah-Chee-Wun himself emerged from the cave and said to Smith: "I am he you want. You don't want men in cave, they are only chief's sons and grandsons and bear no responsibility for what happened."

Smith insisted on surrender of the entire band, and at the chief's call they emerged from the giant cave one by one and were taken prisoner.

Ah-Chee-Wun and his band of warriors were taken to Victoria where they could sample the justice the white man meted out to those who dared defend their land and liberty. One Indian girl was sentenced to jail for life and, on July 4, 1863, Ah-Chee-Wun and three braves were hanged. The great chief who was a living legend to his people and a nightmare of terror to the invader was at last destroyed, thus making the progress of the Hudson's Bay monopoly infinitely less difficult. The land-grabbers and exploiters felt it was now safer to seize greater expanses of land and accumulate still vaster wealth.

What has been written here is the true story of Ah-Chee-Wun and the Lamalchis who offered resistance to the invasion of their native land. But you won't find the story told this way in the official record. That record will inform you that Ah-Chee-Wun was a blood-thirsty savage who was hanged for murder. This is because history was written by the masters who told it in a manner calculated to justify their forcible and violent seizure of the land and its resources. The inarticulate and illiterate mass who fought to shape history in a different mold, to make a world without masters and slaves, had not the ability, and even less the opportunity, to record their version of events. So the history books simply relate that the great chief and his warrior band who roamed the Gulf Islands were only murdering savages and were punished for their "crimes against society."

But Ah-Chee-Wun and the Lamalchis are blood brothers of the same heroic band with Jean Chenier and the defenders of St. Eustache; Matthew Lount, the blacksmith hanged at York; the Metis and Indians who fought for land and liberty on the banks of the Red and at Duck Lake and Batoche.

When the history of our land is written as it should be written those, like Ah-Chee-Wun, who are now branded as murderers will be shown in their true light, as heroes and patriots, while many a "favourite son" will be shown for the despoiler of the good earth that he really is.

DAYS OF SOLIDARITY WITH VIETNAM

On the two days of March 25 and 26 Canadian cities joined together with hundreds of other communities in demonstrations of solidarity with the people of Vietnam in their struggle against imperialist aggression.

On the 25th, the day before the main demonstrations got under way, thousands of students attended a solidarity rally on the campus of the University of British Columbia. On Saturday the 26th parades got underway in most of the main urban centres in Canada. Over 3,000



people representing all areas of the country gathered in Ottawa to register with the government a demand that Canadian complicity in America's "dirty war" be ended immediately. Ontario members of the Progressive Workers Movement participated in the Ottawa rally and carried the flag of the Vietnam National Liberation Front into the heart of Canada's capital city. Martin Amiel was on hand to represent the West Coast group.

About 4,000 people joined a Vancouver march from the city hall to the courthouse in the centre of the downtown area, where they were joined by several thousand others in a demonstration at the U.S. consulate and in front of the courthouse. The parade was the largest demonstration the West Coast city has witnessed in more than 20 years.

Progressive Workers Movement held a public meeting in the evening following the parade. Locale of the meeting was in the hall of the Electrical Workers Union in the downtown district. A film made by the National Liberation Front was shown and songs of protest were sung by the Bethune Trio and Carole Power. Two University students, Peter Cameron and Jack East spoke at the gathering. Cameron skilfully outlined Canadian complicity in the U.S. aggression against Vietnam and the failure of Canada's representatives on the International Control Commission to fulfill their responsibilities under the terms of the Geneva Agreement. East pointed out how the system of imperialist exploitation is the cause of war and concluded: "We are not here to sue for peace with the imperialists. We are here to tell the imperialists their day is rapidly drawing to a close and demand that the U.S. aggressors get out of Vietnam."

A collection was taken to send to the National Liberation Front and messages of greetings accompanied by donations poured in from across the land. Marxist-Leninists in Quebec who are participating in the struggle for the self-determination of French Canada sent in a substantial donation. Greetings from the National Liberation Front were read to the meeting. By the time the meeting ended, donations had totalled \$436, but the list was being kept open until the 15th of April to allow time for additional donations from various areas to reach Vancouver. Final collection figures will be published in our next edition.

U.S. PROTEST RISING

Massive protest demonstrations in the U.S., growing ever greater both in numbers and intensity, are a cause of deep concern to the American ruling class. Students and youth generally — the main victims of imperialist war — who had hitherto been the mainstay of the U.S. protest movement, were being joined by increasing numbers of people from other sections of the community. The sentiment of growing masses of the American people found fitting reflection in the words of heavyweight boxing champion Cassius Clay who, answering his draft call, said: "I have no quarrel with them Vietnamese." Clay went on to point out there was a notable shortage of liberty among black citizens of the United States. U.S. war veterans in a number of cities began adding their voice to the demand for an end to U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

One of the most heartening developments in the United States is the appearance on the scene of a sizeable group of trade unionists with the avowed intention of challenging Meany and his cohorts who have been dragging U.S. labour behind the Johnson war machine.

In New York, 1,200 trade unionists met on March 8 to plan participation in the demonstration set for March 26. Abe Fineglass, head of the Fur and Leather Workers division of the Butcher Workmen of America received an ovation when he declared: "This is the time for trade unionists to stand up and be counted. This is the time to speak up for peace."

Three hundred union members met in Detroit on March 6 to found an organization known as Trade Unionists for Peace. Chairman of the Detroit gathering was Charles Walters, chief steward of United Auto Workers Dodge Local 3. Included among the leading sponsors was David Livingston, president, District 65, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees, and Sam Pollock, president of District 427, Cleveland, of the Meat Cutters Union, who also officially represented Patrick Gorman, president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America. Livingston pointed out: "... a lack of democracy in the unions permits backing the war in Vietnam ... This dirty war is poisoning us. Expose it, take it to the workers for a great debate."

The Detroit meeting resolved in part: "We, as trade unionists, believe it is in the best interest of the labour movement and the peoples of the world that organized labour use its strength to bring an end to that war ..."



We must organize committees of Trade Unionists for Peace in every local union in the city and state."

Canadian members of International Unions would be well advised to establish close relations with the committees for peace in the U.S. so as to better advance the common struggle to end U.S. imperialist aggression.

OPPOSITION GROWS IN SOUTH VIETNAM

At the same time protest demonstrations were in progress all over North America, the National Liberation Front was staggering the aggressor with hammer blows all along the Vietnam battlefield. Increasing numbers of planes and helicopters were being shot down and enormous casualties were being inflicted on U.S. and puppet troops. Liberation Front fighters carried the struggle into the very heart of Saigon itself where a well organized raid resulted in massive damage to a billet for United States officers. These setbacks were contributing greatly to a lowering of morale among the imperialist forces.

Thousands of Vietnamese began demonstrating in support of a demand for the resignation of the puppet government of General Ky and more and more people were shouting out the slogan "Yankee Go Home!"

The Ky government had completely lost control of the situation in the U.S.-held city of Danang and the position of the puppet administration there had deteriorated to such an extent that Ky was thundering out an accusation that Danang was controlled by "Communist elements." The last remnants of puppet support for the U.S. aggressor was rapidly dwindling into nothingness and the imperialists were faced with the early prospect of having to hold even their diminishing "strong points" against the vigorous opposition of the ENTIRE people of Vietnam. The heroic resistance of the Vietnamese provides solid evidence of the fact that the imperialist aggressor CAN be defeated if the people are united behind a revolutionary leadership and do not fear to stand up to the Colossus with feet of clay.



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PROGRESSIVE WORKERS MOVEMENT

MESSAGE FROM THE N.F.L.

SOUTH VIETNAM LIBERATION TRADE UNION LEADER THANKS PROGRESSIVE WORKERS MOVEMENT OF CANADA

HANOI, VNA, March 17—A letter was sent on March 12, 1966 by Pham Xuan Thai, President of the Federation of Trade Unions for Liberation in South Vietnam, to the Progressive Workers Movement of Canada, thanking the latter for its support to the South Vietnamese workers and people's struggle against US aggression in South Vietnam.

The letter released by Liberation Press Agency, read in full as follows:

We have learnt with pleasure that the Progressive Workers Movement of Canada recently have adopted a resolution to hold a meeting on March 26, 1966 in order to demand that the U.S. imperialists end their aggressive war in Vietnam, and to express militant solidarity with our people.

On behalf of the South Vietnamese workers and people, the South Vietnam Federation of Trade Unions for Liberation, a member of the National Front for Liberation of South Vietnam, we wish to convey to you our warmest thanks for this most welcome initiative. In conjunction with the coming wave of struggle organized by the American people on March 25 and March 26 against the U.S. aggressive war in Vietnam, the meeting sponsored by the Progressive Workers Movement and mass organizations and progressive parties in Canada will certainly make an important contribution to the world movement aimed at encouraging and supporting the war of resistance of the workers and people of South Vietnam against the U.S. imperialists and for national salvation.

At present, as you know, together with its deceitful "search for peace" campaign, the U.S. government is introducing more and more U.S. and satellite troops in South Vietnam, and intensifying the air war of destruction in North Vietnam. The U.S. aggressors and their henchmen are stepping up their mopping-up operations, using B-52 strategic bombers and many barbarous weapons, particularly toxic chemicals, poison gases on a large scale, and carrying out their "scorched earth" policy, i.e. to burn, destroy and kill everything and everyone. They have barbarously terrorized and intoxicated hundreds of thousands of old men, women, children and other people. They have conducted an "extermination war" in densely populated areas in South Vietnam.

The U.S. imperialists cannot however subdue our people. On the contrary, they have sustained more and more ignominious defeats in South Vietnam. The workers and people of South Vietnam are determined to wage an indomitable struggle under the clear-sighted leadership of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation against the U.S. pirates and their henchmen, for the liberation of South Vietnam, for independence, democracy, peace, neutrality, and the peaceful unification of our country.

We have always followed and highly appreciated the great struggle movement of the Canadian and world progressive people who are condemning the faked "search for peace" campaign of the Johnson government, sternly urging it to stop its aggressive war in South Vietnam, put an immediate and unconditional end to their war of destruction in North Vietnam, withdraw all U.S. and satellite troops and weapons from South Vietnam, dismantle all U.S. military bases in South Vietnam, strictly respect the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam, respect independence, sovereignty of the Vietnamese people, recognize the South Vietnam NFL as the only and genuine representative of the South Vietnamese people, let the South Vietnamese people settle themselves their internal affairs as has been expounded in the programme of the South Vietnam NFL.

We are firmly confident that final victory belongs to the Canadian people's just struggle; your support to the

South Vietnamese people struggle is closely linked with the struggle waged by the workers and people of Canada against U.S. encroachment upon the interests, independence and sovereignty of Canada.

We warmly welcome and wish your March 26 meeting brilliant success. May the friendship and militant solidarity between the workers and labouring people of Canada and South Vietnam consolidate and develop with every passing day.

VNA NEWS BULLETIN

(Issued by Vietnam News Agency, Rangoon)

WORLD-WIDE PARTICIPATION IN "WEEK OF TRICONTINENTAL SOLIDARITY WITH VIETNAM"

HANOI, VNA, March 18—World-wide activities on the occasion of the Week of Tricontinental Solidarity with Vietnam are continuing to take place in the countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and other continents.

In the Soviet Union, the Soviet people on March 15 took part in numerous mass meetings organized in Leningrad, Erevan, Alma Alta, Riga and many other cities, voicing their support to the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

In Tallin, capital of the Soviet Republic of Estonia, school children are collecting gifts to be sent to their Vietnamese friends.

In China, more messages have been sent to Vietnam reaffirming the resolute support of the 650 million Chinese people to the just struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression.

These messages came from the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, the China Peace Committee and the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity to their counterparts in North and South Vietnam.

In its message to the Vietnam Federation of Trade Unions and the South Vietnam Liberation Federation of Trade Unions, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions hailed the brilliant victories of the Vietnamese people in their fight against U.S. aggression.

"Under all circumstances," it stressed, "the Chinese workers will stand firmly with the Vietnamese people, until the final defeat of U.S. imperialism—their common enemy."

In the NDPR, more than 1,000 people in the industrial and port city of Chongjin held a mass meeting on March 15 to support the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression.

Speakers at the meeting voiced their full support to the four-point stand of the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the five-point statement of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation.

In Albania, since the beginning of this month, many factories, agricultural co-ops and schools in various cities and provinces have held meetings and sent messages and resolutions to the DRV Embassy in Tirana, expressing their solidarity with and total support of the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression.

Photo exhibitions on Vietnam have opened in Tirana. In Poland, a funds collection for Vietnam is being organized all over Poland.

According to Polish Press Agency (PAP, on March 14 alone 170,000 zolty (Polish currency) were collected in support for Vietnam.

Workers of several textile mills in Lodz have held meetings in support of the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and decided to aid the Vietnamese people with sums taken from their trade union funds.

Meetings have also been held by seamen at Gdansk port expressing solidarity with the Vietnamese people and severely condemning the barbarous acts perpetrated by the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam.

A LETTER FROM PEARSON

A LETTER FROM MR. PEARSON (Canadian Press)

OTTAWA—Text of Feb. 28 letter by Prime Minister Pearson to President Ho Chi Minh of North Vietnam, tabled in the Commons external affairs committee by External Affairs Minister Martin:

Dear Mr. President:

I have read with interest your letter of Jan. 24 which was addressed to Canada as a member of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam.

You will not expect me to share the interpretation of the nature of the problem in Vietnam and the origins of the present conflict which is set forth in your letter. I do not believe, however, that it would serve any useful purpose at this time to dwell on our differences, other than to note that they exist.

What concerns me, as it does the people of Canada, is the tragic toll in human suffering and the threat to international peace which the continuation of the conflict in Vietnam involves.

I am convinced that the use of force is not an acceptable means of attaining political objectives in the world as it is constituted today. That is why Canada has urged all parties to the conflict in Vietnam to pursue a course of negotiation. It is in this direction that we see the prospects of a fair and lasting settlement which will take account of the freely-expressed aspirations of all the people of Vietnam.

For these reasons I have been deeply disappointed by the failure so far of all efforts to promote unconditional discussions on Vietnam. I have carefully studied the positions which have been put forward by the main parties to the conflict. While these positions are still very far apart, I believe that they show some common elements on which a foundation of peace can be built.

It is not for Canada to prescribe to the Vietnamese people how they shall order their political life and institutions. That is for the people of Vietnam themselves to decide freely when the time comes. But the present course of developments in Vietnam is a source of legitimate concern to the international community and it is my firm hope that it can be reversed before all avenues to a peaceful settlement are closed.

In your letter you refer to the obligations which the members of the International Commission for Supervision and Control have in the serious current situation in Vietnam. As a member of that commission Canada has at all times endeavored to carry out its obligations in a spirit of objectivity and impartiality towards the facts as we know them. I can assure you that we will continue to do so to the best of our capacity.

I also hope that the international commission may be able to play some part in helping to restore peace in Vietnam. It seems to me that by virtue of its long association with the problem and the advantage of access it has to all the parties to the present conflict, the commission is in a unique position to play such a part. As far as my government is concerned, it is prepared to explore all possibilities that may be open to the commission in present circumstances to exert its efforts in the direction of peace.

(Signed:) LESTER B. PEARSON.

x x x

A REPLY FROM P.W.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I have read with indignation and disgust your letter of February 28 addressed to President Ho Chi Minh of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, sent in reply to a communication addressed to Canada as a member of the International Supervisory Commission to enforce the Geneva agreement.

You will not expect me to rejoice at this latest exhibi-

tion of the willingness of Canada's Chief Minister to act as leading carpetbagger for American imperialist interests in all parts of the world; nor will you be surprised to know that I am not overwhelmed with emotion at your hypocritical expressions of sorrow over "the tragic toll of human suffering" when it is a matter of public knowledge that you are exerting every possible effort to advance the plans of those directly responsible for that very toll of suffering.

What concerns me—and concerns also increasing numbers of Canadian citizens, as the March 26 demonstrations vividly illustrate—is that you have placed at the disposal of the aggressor Canada's vast treasure house of natural resources, so that he can more effectively, and and more efficiently, pursue his objectives and inflict his "toll of human suffering." And I, in common with a great many Canadians, am deeply concerned that, in the process, you are betraying Canada's sovereignty to the domination of the aggressor and casting us in the role of accomplice in U.S. imperialist plans to conquer the world.

Your attempt to pressure the aggrieved nation into ceding to the aggressor through negotiations what he cannot gain by force (and incidentally, proving aggression does pay), convinces me that your protests of good intentions are but a threadbare cloak donned to cover your moral and political nakedness.

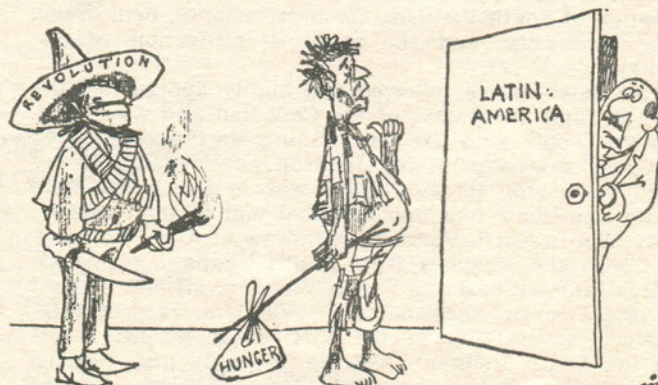
Your claim that Canada, as a member of the International Commission, has at all times acted in a spirit of objectivity and impartiality would be a huge international joke if there was not so much tragedy involved. The whole world knows that you have accused the people of Vietnam of "aggression" knowing full well they have not left their native soil, while you have given enthusiastic endorsement and support to the aims of the imperialist aggressor who is pressing a campaign of genocide 12,000 miles from home.

For these reasons I am incensed at your failure to condemn the aggressor and at your consistent efforts to promote Johnson's plan of conquest, at every opportunity and in every place. The liberty of this nation — not to speak of the peace of the world — requires that you cease rendering aid to the aggressor and put an immediate stop to Canada's complicity in this "dirty war."

If you would really convince the world you are the man of peace you so loudly claim to be, stop the flow of Canadian material now feeding the American war machine and tell the U.S. aggressor to get to hell out of Vietnam.

Until you stand up for peace, disgustedly,

JACK SCOTT,
Editor, Progressive Worker.



"Yes, we came together."

Rius in Politica, Mexico City

Letters to the Editor

Your article MARXIST AND PLAYERS by Don Dugan in your March issue strikes me as being loaded with "sour grapes" and because of this the effectiveness of objective reporting is almost totally lacking.

The roll of the Communist Party in Canada can be exposed more effectively by reporting what they do without too much emotion. It is necessary first of all to present the correct action that revolutionaries should be taking with respect to American action in Vietnam, and then to point out that the Communist Party of Canada, by not following this correct path, is not a revolutionary party and therefore not a Marxist Leninist Party, but a conglomeration of "militant liberals, assorted pacifists and pseudo-social democrats."

Now, recognizing that these people are not marxists, we must treat them for what they are, and report accordingly don't you agree?

First I think it should be said that these people must be considered very brave people indeed, when, not being marxists, they nevertheless have the courage to identify themselves as communists. Don't you think that this is remarkable?

When a group of pacifists organize a meeting and identify the meeting as a communist one and in the course of the meeting raise funds for medical supplies for Vietnam, they are being most benevolent and should be congratulated, not ridiculed as your article appears to do. Any funds raised to assist the people in Vietnam, and particularly the National Front for Liberation should be welcomed, even if the use of the funds is earmarked for specific use. It goes without saying, of course that true revolutionaries would send the money and let them spend it as they see fit.

Your article reports that \$2,500 was raised at the meeting, but I have been informed that all together over \$3,000 was raised in conjunction with the meeting and that after expenses were met the remainder would be sent to Vietnam. I have also been informed that the expenses amounted in the neighbourhood of \$2,000 and that therefore only about one-third of the money raised for that purpose went to Vietnam. If this is true, then reporting such matters is of the utmost importance so that people can see, without difficulty, the kind of people these so-called communists really are. They raise funds under the pretext of aid to Vietnam and pocket two-thirds of it for their own use. This is despicable!

Your article performed a very useful purpose in estimating the value of correct action, and was very cleverly written, but, I still maintain that it was written with a chip on the shoulder and this spoils the character of the article.

I hope you accept my criticism as being constructive. Thank you.

M. MATHIAS.

Windsor, Ontario.

C.P.S.U. Congress

At the time of writing little information was available on the deliberation of the 23rd congress of the C.P.S.U. What was available indicated plans for continued progress along the revisionist path and further undermining of the Socialist aspects of the economy with a consequent strengthening of the newly-rising bourgeois elements. We will comment further on this as detailed information reaches us.

(Editor's Note:)

As is our custom, we publish the foregoing as a gesture of international solidarity, without charge. There are many groups such as this based both in Canada and the U.S.; we urge our readers to channel all possible aid through the committee of their choice.

MEDICAL AID COMMITTEE FOR VIETNAM

Post Office Box 1128
Berkeley 1, California

PROGRESSIVE WORKER

35 E. Hastings St.
Vancouver 4 B.C.

Dear Comrades;

I'm enclosing some of the material which we publish on the National Front of South Vietnam and distribute in the U.S.

The first project of the MACV was to collect blood-pledge donors for the victims of U.S. aggression in Vietnam. Hundreds pledged, but the Imperialists hospitals and blood-banks refused cooperation in drawing the blood.

We've been soliciting funds for the purchase of medical supplies, \$2,000 sent to the Liberation Red Cross of South Vietnam to date.

We would greatly appreciate running an advertisement in the *Progressive Worker*, and I'm enclosing a copy of the ad which has appeared in the *National Guardian*. I did not see your advertisement rates in P.W., but if you will bill us accordingly, I will forward you a cheque.

Yours for liberation,
Stephen Fox

An Urgent Appeal...

Every day Vietnamese peasants are being killed and wounded, their homes devastated by modern weapons as this unjust war approaches genocidal proportions.

A great need exists for medical supplies to save the lives of these innocent victims of U.S. aggression, whose only guilt is resisting dictatorship and trying to bring freedom and democracy to their country.

A contribution for medicines sent to the Liberation Red Cross of the NLF through its representative in Prague is a symbolic protest that has a concrete effect . . . they need medical supplies.

THE PEOPLE OF VIETNAM DESERVE YOUR HELP

I am enclosing \$ _____ as a donation to the Medical Aid Committee for Vietnam, P.O. Box 1128, Berkeley, Calif. 94701.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

(If you wish to be on our mailing list
please enclose this form.)

RESOLUTIONS—LOCAL 200 UAW—VIETNAM

The following resolution was presented to a membership meeting of Ford Local 200, United Automobile Workers, at Windsor, Ontario, on Thursday, February 17, 1966. The resolution was heartily endorsed by the members.

WHEREAS: the killing and torture escalates daily in Vietnam where prisoners are gagged, blindfolded and tortured by Americans in violation of international law; where some, who refuse to talk, have been pushed from U.S. planes and helicopters while in flight, and

WHEREAS: the U.S. sprays crops with poisonous chemicals and burns villages to the ground with napalm, in violation of international law, and use lethal poison gas in violation of international law, and

WHEREAS: out of a population of about 13,000,000 in South Vietnam, over 1,200,000, mostly women and children, have already been killed in this inhuman American slaughter, and

WHEREAS: the presence of aggressive American forces in Vietnam violates the United Nations Charter and the Geneva Accords of 1954,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: that Local 200 UAW call upon the Federal Government to live up to Canada's commitments as a member of the International Control Commission for Indochina by condemning American barbarism and aggression in Vietnam and by demanding the immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: that this resolution be sent to the Canadian Labour Congress, the Windsor and District Labour Council, the Canadian Region UAW Council, with copies to the press.

LOCAL 200 RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE.

Vancouver: Saturday April 9th

For a brief six or eight hours early this morning the blue, red and gold flag of the National Front for Liberation embraced the breeze high atop the American consulate in downtown Vancouver. To someone standing across the street it was a moving sight. Where a few minutes before had hung the stars and stripes now rippled the banner of the Valiant people of South Vietnam.

Later Saturday afternoon (following a small, almost spur-of-the-moment demonstration by about fifty persons) an American flag, bearing a distinct resemblance to the one replaced earlier by the Liberation Front flag, appeared in front of the consulate. It was unfurled and struck on fire.

When the flag became enveloped in flame someone in the consulate building called the Vancouver City Police. Following a speedy arrival, four cops gathered up and questioned about a dozen remaining demonstrators.

While this relatively insignificant drama was being played, six thousand miles across the Pacific, not flags, but Vietnamese men, women, and children were being burned alive in an inferno of napalm.

Although the Progressive Workers Movement cannot in honesty take all the credit for these anti-imperialist actions, we have this to say: let those who criticize such acts as being too extreme give themselves a shake.

The people of Viet Nam are engaged in a life-and-death struggle against U.S. Imperialism. Anything less than the most militant protest possible on the part of the people of North America is a betrayal of that courageous struggle in Viet Nam.

Alliance on the Rocks

The Atlantic alliance of the imperialists powers appeared to be staggering toward an early appointment with oblivion as France announced intentions of withdrawing

from N.A.T.O. councils and served notice on participating nations to vacate French territory. Most of the remaining nations appear ready and willing to follow the example of France, leaving only the Bonn government in Germany and Britain's Labour government as the only remaining reliable allies of the United States in Western Europe.

European nations, having recovered from the effects of the war, find themselves in increasing competition with U.S. industry and desirous of breaking from the restrictive hold of American domination. Added encouragement for this development is drawn from the fact that revisionism in the Soviet Union has greatly lessened the fear of Communism spreading into Western Europe in the immediate future. It seems unlikely that the U.S. will be able to salvage very much from her crumbling European alliance.

PL

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MARCH-
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CAPITALISTS WILL NEVER UNDERSTAND

Rumbles of discontent can be heard all over Quebec. At the Mapicouagan, it's a group of workers who chase away from the construction camp a foreman who had it more than coming to him for his arrogant attitude on the job. The following day those men were summarily fired. Spontaneously more than 3,000 comrades quit in a gesture of solidarity.

It is also spontaneously that at Domil, a Dominion Textile subsidiary where working conditions were particularly painful, all 750 workers go on strike without even waiting for the union's nod.

Such examples can be multiplied. The 600 employees of Dominion Rubber also walked out because of the bosses' capitalist arrogance. And then there are the Coca-Cola staff, the electricians, the construction workers, the teaching professors, the students, etc., not to mention the 25,000 civil servants who just missed going on strike by a whisker.

Capitalists just can't understand. And it is with threats of lockouts, dismissals, etc. that they try to remedy the deep discontent which has gripped the working class for several months now. Recently we have seen the head of a shoe manufacture, J. B. La Grenade, after his employees had been on strike for five months, hire scabs (with the friendly co-operation of the National Employment Service), while assuring news reporters there was no strike whatever—in spite of mass protest demonstrations (the main one organized by the Quebec General Union of Students, numbering close to 2,000 demonstrators).

Was it not our own labor minister, "Honorable" Carrier Fortin, who hurled the watchword six months ago and repeated it periodically ever since: "Employees of Quebec, Unite!" (sic)? With such samples of human stupidity one can expect the worst!

This show of violence on the part of the voracious capitalists—indeed, too often the Yankee brand—is countered by the violence of a surging working class—like, a dynamite job at Concreters Ready Mix; Molotov cocktails at Coca-Cola; overturned trucks, etc.

It was Mao Tse-tung who said: "The people, the people only, are the driving force which creates universal history." But capitalists in Quebec, as well as in the whole wide world, are totally incapable of understanding this elementary law of historical evolution. They have but contempt for the people and try to exploit them with maximum efficiency and hypocrisy. Capitalists treat history in reverse, and sooner or later the working class will annihilate them. In Quebec the working class is becoming ever more conscious of the bourgeoisie's schemes, and the day is dawning when the whole setup will crumble to make room for a New Society in which the People will control their own destiny.

QUEBEC TO THE WORKERS!

J.G.A.

(The original French text of the above article may be found on page 21)

TORONTO'S DRUG CRACKDOWN

THE LEISURELY CRUSADE

The reported arrest of local representatives of the International Drug Ring follows a familiar pattern. They purchase drugs and when the time is ripe a "Round-up" takes place. Everyone is then supposed to be satisfied that a major step against crime has taken place. But has it?

Time and again details concerning the organization and structure of this Drug Syndicate have been uncovered. We know it is a highly skilled complex operation—a modern industry you might say. We also know that with the addition of barbiturates and benzedrine the profits of the dope industry have soared.

Yet, in spite of the alleged "crackdown," the dope industry continues to work smoothly. The Big-Money people who manipulate this trade are never seen in court. All the chances are taken by the underlings who are merely functionaries easily recruited or discarded as the dope merchants see fit. Thus a portion of the taxpayers' money goes to the "chasing" of individuals whose arrest will in no way affect the flow of narcotics into Canada. And the "chase" is not too vigorous as long as the dope peddlers confine themselves to the poorer areas of the city. It is only when the narcotics habit spreads to sections of the upper middle class and the bourgeoisie itself that a "crackdown" occurs. The "crackdown" of course is of such nature that nothing is fundamentally changed. The drug profits must keep rolling in.

Why is the dope industry not ruthlessly suppressed by the ruling class? The answer is that this industry is a highly profitable one run by sections of the ruling class itself. In the U.S. it is generally known that crime organizations in that country flourish because they are tied in with America's ruling circles. The FBI would never dare pursue the Mafia with the same zeal it shows in harassing and imprisoning communists. In Canada the only major round-ups by the RCMP are those that eliminate inde-

pendent Canadian dope merchants in order to make way for the big U.S.-controlled dope syndicates. Why is this so?

The answer lies in the nature of Canadian capitalist politics. Illegal drugs are just another big American business and the traditional attitude of "our" government is to make way for the Americans whether they be war-makers or drug pushers. There was a remarkable article in the Globe and Mail (September 27, 1965) which contained the following statement:

The "... Syndicate (i.e. U.S. crime) attracted by a healthy market will take over the Toronto trade..." So, Rivard was just another Canadian entrepreneur who was eliminated by the American drug syndicate.

The unhappy conclusion is that the drug situation in Canada will, for the time being at least, follow the old slogan of capitalist society: "Business as usual," or even much better than usual.

In other words, another portion of America's madness is now firmly in our midst. Drugs are a reflection of the depraved needs of a sick society, a fearful society that requires "pep" pills, sleeping pills, etc., for the supposedly normal, and, for the depraved, such things as cocaine and heroin. Drugs—another blessing of the American way of life, and yet another consequence of our 3000 miles of regrettably undefended border.

K. OFFER.



QUEBEC: SEARCH FOR A CANADIAN IDENTITY

PART TWO

1837-38—A NATION IN ARMS

A 12-day session of the Lower Canada Assembly, summoned by the governor in September, 1836, ended when the members declared a strike and announced their intention of remaining in adjournment until the government at London proved by their actions a willingness to meet the wishes of the Canadian people as interpreted by the Assembly. An editorial in *Le Canadien* proclaimed:

"The Colonial Secretary has only words to offer an Assembly to which a long reign of corrupt abuse has given an ardent thirst for effective reforms. The immediate result of all this is not hard to anticipate."

The English party, through the medium of the Constitutional Clubs which they had established and aided and abetted by the governor, were threatening civil war and a reign of terror against the Canadians.

A commission set up by the British government tabled a report that was highly unfavourable to the demands of the Assembly. A non-elective council was upheld and the British American Land Company Act vigorously defended. An offer to amend the election law and name more Canadians to public office was of no value so long as real power was concentrated in the hands of an appointed executive.

In March 1827 the imperial parliament passed ten resolutions that were in direct opposition to everything the Canadians were fighting for. Gladstone made reasonably clear what was at issue when he declared:

"The question is not a question of party; it is simply whether we ought to consent to a virtual separation of Canada from England . . . The question in dispute is not between the Assembly and the administration, but between the Assembly and the Mother Country."

Edmund Bacle O'Callaghan, editor of the Irish *Vindicator* of Montreal, summed up the Patriotes' hostile reaction to England's ten resolutions in the following manner:

"A combined and dishonourable junction of Whigs and Tories, in a House of Commons 'reformed' but in name, may pass resolutions to annihilate the last remnant of liberty left in the Colonial Legislatures. A House of Lords, the fundamental principle of whose constitution is inimical to human freedom, may endorse the determination of the combined enemies of freedom in the Lower House, but neither the Resolutions, their authors, nor their supporters, can change the nature of things. Robbery will be robbery still. Our rights must not be violated with impunity. A howl of indignation must be raised from one extremity of the Province to the other, against the robbers, and against all who partake of the plunder."

"HENCEFORTH, THERE MUST BE NO PEACE IN THE PROVINCE—no quarter for the plunderers. Agitate! Agitate! AGITATE!! Destroy the Revenue; denounce the oppressors. Everything is lawful when the fundamental liberties are in danger. 'The guards die—they never surrender'."

Constitutional struggle had come to an end and a start was made toward insurrection for the realization of liberty and self government.

1837 was a time of severe economic crisis and the farmers suffered particularly hard since the previous year's wheat crop had been an almost total loss. During spring and summer there were great public rallies at which the population registered their determination to put an end to alien and undemocratic rule.

A mass rally at Saint-Ours on May 7 adopted 12 resolutions prepared by the Patriotes' Permanent Central Committee. These resolutions set forth in general terms the objectives of the Patriote movement and registered opposition to the "Land Company" rule by the English Parliament, the Canada Trade Act, announced a boycott of English goods and informed England the Canadian's would not submit, except to superior force.

On July 25 Bishop Lartigue of Montreal took his stand against an uprising when he instructed the clergy:

"It is never permissible to revolt against legitimate authority or to violate the laws of the land; that absolute should not be given in the tribunal of penitence to anyone who teaches that it is permissible to revolt against the government under which we have the happiness to live, or that it is permissible to violate the laws of the land particularly those that forbid smuggling."

This interdiction and others like it, had little influence on the people and entire congregations walked out on the traditional *Te Deum* which followed the proclamation from the pulpit of the new Monarch when Victoria ascended the throne.

In August Canadian youth organized a *Fils de la Liberte* association in Montreal and began open military training. In October they published a Manifesto which proclaimed their intention "to emancipate our country from all human authority save that of the bold democracy residing within its bosom." The Tories formed a rival organization named the British Legion which masqueraded as a fraternal association.

The two Mountains Patriotic Committee decided on October 15 by a meeting of local citizens and an anti-Patriote journal hailed the event with the headline: *La revolution Commence*."

On October 23 at a meeting attended by 5,000 citizens there became evident the first sign of panic on the part of the leaders that would contribute so much to the Patriotic defeat. Papineau, alarmed at the onrushing tide of revolution, advised against a recourse to arms, urging "constitutional" struggle and contending that "the best way to fight England is to refuse to buy anything from her."

But the assembled throng rejected Papineau's advice and decided to elect judges and militia officers, asserted the people's right to change the government at will, and demanded military training and systematic resistance to appointed officials. English soldiers were encouraged to desert and an orator proclaimed the time had come "to melt our spoons into bullets." Delegates called for a convention to replace the disbanded Assembly thus proposing the creation of a state within a state, an inevitable prelude to a popular uprising.

Dr. Cote, Assembly member for Lacadie, ended an address to a Montreal meeting with the cry: "The time for speeches has passed; we must now direct lead at our enemy."

On the day following the speech by Cote, Bishop Lartigue, in a last desperate effort to turn aside the Patriots, issued a pastoral letter which the journal *La Minerve*, hailed as a second edition of Governor Gosford's proclamation. The pastoral said, in part:

"Do not let yourselves be seduced if someone wishes to engage you in rebellion against the established government under the pretext that you form part of the 'Sovereign People.' Have you ever considered seriously the horrors of civil strife? Have you pictured brooks of blood flooding your streets and your countryside? Have you reflected on the fact that nearly without exception, every popular revolution is a bloody business, as experience proves?"

Bishop Signey followed up with a condemnation of revolt and Abbe Baillargeon (later Bishop of Quebec) counselled loyalty, prudence and submission to "lawful authority." The intervention of the clergy on the side of authority and against the people was greeted with anger and popular demonstrations of protest. Some left the churches when the pastorals were being read and 1,200 paraded opposite St. James Cathedral at vespers crying "A bas le Mandement" and singing the Marseillaise and the *Libera*. Popular feeling ran so high that Bishop Lartigue offered his resignation to Rome.

The British Legion, urged by leaders to crush the rebellion in the bud, attacked a parade of the Fils de la Liberte and street fighting broke out on November 6. The Legion assaulted the home of Papineau and wrecked the premises of O'Callaghan's Irish Vindicator.

The magistrate called out the troops which had been purged of all Patriote sympathies and were under the influence of the British Legion and the English party. Armed guards, sympathetic to the English bureaucracy, patrolled the streets and the governor asked permission from London to declare martial law, and called on military reinforcements from the Maritimes and Upper Canada. Volunteer regiments composed of Bureaucrat supporters were raised at Montreal, Quebec, and the Townships. Public gatherings and parades were banned and warrants issued for the arrest of 26 Patriots leaders.

On November 16 a troop of Montreal Volunteer Cavalry, while on its way to Saint John's with a constable detailed the arrest of Dr. Davignon and P.P. Demaray, was ambushed by a Patriote force led by Bonaventure Viger and Dr. Thimothée Kimber, local chiefs of the Patriote Movement. The Volunteers fled leaving a number of prisoners behind. The first shots had been fired; the revolution had commenced. Patriotes began arming and assembling in all districts.

A well armed force of veteran soldiers under General Gore was despatched to take the village of Saint Denis and round up Patriote leaders. Village church bells were rung and reinforcements poured in from the countryside to defend the community: After 5 hours of fighting Gore fled to Sorel where 117 of his men failed to answer roll-call the evening after the battle.

Several days later a large English contingent attacked Saint Charles and defeated the badly outnumbered Patriote garrison armed only with the most primitive weapons. There were only 200 men with 109 guns not all of the same calibre and without bullets to fit. T.S. Brown, who shared command of the town garrison with Bonaventure Viger said of the equipment situation:

"We had two small rusty field pieces, but with neither carriages nor appointments they were useless as two logs. There was one old musket, but not a bayonet. The fire-arms were common fusils (flintlocks) in all conditions of dilapidation, some tied together with strings, and very many with lock-springs so worn out, that they could not be discharged."

The garrison put up a determined and courageous resistance but with such armaments was doomed to defeat. The patriotes lost forty killed, thirty wounded, thirty taken prisoners; several others escaped by swimming a river, disappearing into the countryside.

Saint Charles was burned down, its citizens terrorized by the troops. A few days later a reinforced expedition returned to Saint-Denis, scene of their earlier defeat, and sacked and burned the village.

On December 6 Malhiot and Bouchete organized a force of 200 armed men in the Vermont border region with the object of rallying the dispersed Patriotes, but they were surprised and defeated by a superior and better armed detachment of English troops.

The bloodiest encounter of the uprising took place at Saint-Eustache on December 14 when 250 Patriots under the command of Dr. Jean Chenier occupied the most substantial buildings in the town and prepared to resist an assault by 2,000 well-armed, well-trained troops commanded by Sir John Colborne. An artillery barrage and the firing of the buildings forced the Patriots into the open where they were cut down by concentrated small-arms fire. Chemier and seventy others were killed in the open and additional bodies were found in the burned-out buildings. More than 150 of the troops were killed. After the battle the soldiers looted the town and burned it to the ground.

Colborne's force continued on to Saint-Benoit where, despite the town's surrender, the military looted and burned the community. Martial law was declared and a price put on the heads of the escaped Patriote leaders. Hundreds of Patriotes were held in prison.

Bishop Signay, in a pastoral letter of December 11th, condemned the uprising and Bishop Lartigue ordered the Montreal clergy to refuse the sacraments and Christian burial to unrepentant rebels. One of the priests was so active in the service of the English party that Bishop Bourget considered it necessary to reprimand him for making himself "a crier or herald for the state." Abbe Etienne Chartier of Saint-Benoit was the only member of the clergy known to have taken active part in the uprising and he was placed under interdict by Bishop Lartigue.

On February 7, 1838, Bishop Signay issued a pastoral letter calling for thanksgiving at the return of peace, and he and Bishop Lartigue urged the clergy to sign a petition to the Queen and British Parliament protesting their loyalty and condemning the rising. Two days after the Thanksgiving services the Patriots rose again on the border area.

The Patriots in the February rising issued a declaration of independence and announced that the Province had been relieved of its British allegiance and had become a republic. The proclamation decreed the separation of church and state; suppression of the tithes; abolition of seigniorial tenure and of the death penalty and imprisonment for debt; proclaimed freedom of the press; universal manhood suffrage (including Indians who were to be admitted to all rights of citizenship; and the secret ballot. Crown lands and property of the British American Land Company were to be nationalized. A delegate convention was to be called to draft a constitution subject to popular ratification. Both French and English languages were to be used for all public affairs. The "people of Canada" were called upon to rise against tyranny.

The opposition of the Patriote leadership and the co-operation U.S. President Van Buren with the English combined to defeat the rising in spite of widespread sympathy for its objectives.

Just before embarking for London to present his famous report Lord Durham, on October 9th, called for Lower Canada to be re-cast on a thoroughly British mould and character. This incensed the population and hastened the launching of a new rising led by the recently established Hunters Lodges. However, the rising was confined mainly to the district of Montreal. Thousands assembled in various areas to support the cause but adequate arms and an experienced leadership were lacking and this last act of the 1837-38 uprising went down to defeat. The entire district was put to the torch and a reign of terror launched. Twelve Patriotes were executed and 58 transported to the Australian penal colonies.

Deserted by their leaders, and lacking arms and military skills, harassed by the clergy and subjected to a reign of armed terror by vastly superior English troops, the Patriotes of 1837, despite their courageous resistance, went down to temporary defeat. But the battle for freedom, the people's war against tyranny, was by no means over, active fighting was temporarily halted and new forms of struggle devised pending the arrival of that propitious moment when liberty will at last be won.

OBSERVATION AND CONCLUSION

What we have presented here is but the sketchiest outline of the background and history of the Lower Canada Rebellion of 1837-38. It is our hope that it will prove sufficient to stimulate discussion of these events and a deeper study of the available historical data relating to the period so we in English speaking Canada may expand our knowledge of the underlying motivations of the rising and in consequence deepen our understanding of the radical and revolutionary political movements now taking shape in Quebec. Basing ourselves on our outline we here offer a few observations on some of the main lessons to be drawn from these events and their meaning for us today, as we view it.

The general approach of historical studies on 1837 that are known to most students in English speaking Canada is to couple the Lower Canada Revolution with the Radical Reform movement of Upper Canada and by this means establish a tradition of a united Canada sanctified

with the blood of the Martyrs of 1837; damning with bell book and candle anyone, such as separatists who act in a manner calculated to undermine "national unity." According to this viewpoint the Quebecois, sacrificing their all in the interest of the unity of the nation, must submerge themselves in a "United Canada" that has been transformed from a nation whose language and culture was French to one where the majority, as a result of a deliberately designed emigration policy, is now English.

Stanley Ryerson's "1837-The Birth of Canadian Democracy," the only study on the period claiming to be based on Marxist principles, adopt substantially the same viewpoint as the bourgeois historians—his "French Canada," published during wartime, even more so. Ryerson pauses only long enough to genuflect in the direction of the Leninist principle of the self-determination of nations then hastens on to discourse on some vague form of "autonomy" to be graciously granted the Quebecois in a united Canada dominated by Anglo-American monopolists. It is this erroneous outlook that compels the Communist Party leaders to resort to strange and hitherto unknown forms of political organization. While taking a brief look at this situation perhaps it would be not at all out of place to make a comparison in order to emphasize just how strange and contradictory are their actions.

The over-riding desire of Anglo-American ruling class is to preserve a "united" Canada in which Quebec will be maintained as a special area of super exploitation. Accommodating themselves to this situation the C.P. leaders insist on maintaining a single "united" Communist Party with a poor-relation Quebec "section" which, so far as we can gather, has not even the right of "opting out" and whose Anglo-appointed president stumps the country begging for funds from English-speaking workers to maintain a political rump that has no contact whatever with the growing, dynamic movement of the Quebecois toward freedom for the nation.

In Ireland, on the other hand, the imperial bourgeoisie divide the nation and follow a "two Irelands" policy. Ireland's ideological counterparts of Canada's C.P. leaders have no more difficulty than do their Toronto comrades in arms in accommodating themselves to the needs of the bourgeoisie with the result that Ireland has two Communist Parties corresponding to the imperialist division of the nation: the Communist Party in North Ireland, and the Irish Workers Party in the South.

TWO DISTINCT MOVEMENTS

It is true, of course, that there were certain similarities in the movements that developed in both Upper and Lower Canada. Both had bourgeois-democratic objectives and were directed against the same ruling class — the British merchant capitalists and landowners. But there were also important differences, and it was these differences that lent each its separate identity and characteristics.

Stated briefly: Upper Canada had a Radical Reform Movement aimed at **Reforming** existing institutions. In Lower Canada the movement was revolutionary and directed toward the **Revolutionary overthrow** of existing institutions and their replacement by new, and different political institutions. D. B. Read, in *The Rebellion of 1837*, published in 1896 almost arrives at this point of view when he writes:

"The really serious Rebellion had its seat in Lower Canada, the part or share in it which developed itself in Upper Canada, bearing to it about the same proportion that the smallest stream in Canada bears to the mighty St. Lawrence."

A similar viewpoint is expressed by S. D. Clark in *Movements of Political Protest* published 63 years later:

"Neither in its philosophy nor in the number of people who supported it, did the movement which culminated in the Patriot Liberation effort of 1938 develop perhaps as great strength in Upper as in Lower Canada."

In Lower Canada the ruling Oligarchy was of an alien race as well as of an alien class and to assert their claim to liberty and democratic government the inhabit-

ants were forced to attempt the **overthrow** of those that held state power. In Lower Canada the struggle for national liberation merged with the political and economic struggle for bourgeois ascendancy in a way that it did not, in Upper Canada where the population, in the main, had the same national and cultural roots as the ruling Family Compact and the class contending for power had no real fundamental class or economic differences with those in power.

Papineau is the favourite witness held on call by those historians who promote a theory of "national unity" and common aims in 1837 that exists only in their fertile imaginations. While it is true that MacKenzie was, in many respects, THE movement in Upper Canada, the same cannot be said for Papineau in Lower Canada where the movement had much deeper roots among the mass of the people and swept past and over its erstwhile leader who talked "constitutional struggle" even as the people were arming in preparation for revolutionary action.

MacKenzie was a very active politician who travelled extensively through Upper Canada speaking to scores of Radical Reform meetings. But, not once do we hear of the staid landowners attending these meetings bearing arms and ready for action. The situation was much different in Lower Canada where Papineau often discovered the audience at his rallies under arms. From the many reports on record of such occurrences we cite the following which appeared in the *Irish Vindicator* in June, 1837:

"It gives us great pleasure to learn that the Hon. Mr. Papineau experienced the most cordial reception on his arrival to attend the meeting of the Counties of Belle Chasse and L'Islet, about 25 miles below Quebec. The people turned out in large numbers, not with colours nor flags, but with something more significant—with muskets. We are happy to learn that the people are thus exhibiting a proper sense of their situation. From England they have nothing to expect but insult and robbery."

The "constitutional reform" activities espoused by MacKenzie and seconded by Papineau found little favour with the mass of people in Lower Canada who were seeking much more fundamental solutions to their social and economic problems. Papineau is not a reliable witness:

We are not contending that the mere readiness to bear arms is, in itself, proof of the revolutionary content of a program, although it does indicate the measure of serious intent with which a people approach the task of shaping new social and political institutions. We believe the outline we have presented has firmly established both deep-going revolutionary content and serious intent in the Lower Canada movement. We do not intend, at this time, to go into the same amount of detail on Upper Canada: we will merely cite a few brief references to substantiate the point of view we have advanced.

UPPER CANADA CONTACTS WITH LOWER CANADA

A great deal is made of the contact between the Upper Canada reform movement and MacKenzie on the one hand, and the Lower Canada Patriotes on the other. So far as organizational contact is concerned this was confined to the exchange of addresses and the passage of resolutions of mutual support that are common to all such occasions. MacKenzie's contact with Lower Canada was almost completely found in his friendship and correspondence with John Neilson, a Scottish compatriot and owner and editor of the *Quebec Gazette*. How close this association may have brought MacKenzie to an understanding of the Lower Canada events is easily discerned when it is realized that Neilson deserted the movement and became an active organizer for the counter-revolutionary and armed terrorist bands organized in the Constitutional Clubs, and that MacKenzie, while he expressed disapproval of Neilson's activities, maintained his correspondence and friendship with him long after Neilson's desertion and treachery was made known to him.

MacKenzie often took advantage of his correspondence with Neilson to put forward his opinions on the political situation and his proposals for CLOSER ties with England.

Here are a few brief passages from several of the letters:

"While the local legislatures are continued in each province, a federal system might now be set on foot between the Colonies by which their connection with England might be at once rendered more secure, permanent."

"... whereby they (the Legislatures) can be so altered as to preserve our connection with the land of our fathers."

I feel we must either be Colonies of England or submit to the pleasures of Congress, but it does not thence follow that the shameful abuses in these Colonies are to continue and that those who try to abate them are to be censured for so doing."

These same sentiments were often dealt with by MacKenzie in the columns of his Colonial Advocate. Here are just two of many samples:

"I have long been satisfied that if the North American Colonies were rid of these inferior and subordinate Legislatures, which are and must be forever inefficient for the purposes for which they were intended: and allowed instead therefore a due weight in both branches of the British Parliament, it would prove the foundation of their permanent and true happiness."

"I widely differ from those men who would separate England from her Colonies, and I do think our great interest as a country would be found in a represented union with Britain and a freedom from the endless squabbles, and idle contests which prevail in the democratic capital of Federal America." (October, 1827)

The idea that MacKenzie was a firm and consistent democrat is a legend that has no bases in historical fact. He was very enthusiastic over the English Reform Bill which granted a very restricted franchise and was finally passed in England in 1832. MacKenzie wanted the franchise granted to a stable yeomanry that could be counted on to support a bourgeois party in power and maintain a system based on capitalist exploitation of the citizenry. So modest were his objectives that MacKenzie was able to write in the Colonial Advocate for June, 1831:

"They (the electors) have the means of putting everything to rights under the present constitution."

And in January, 1833:

"The only effective check to misrule in the Colony would be a House of Assembly freely and fairly returned by the qualified electors, nine-tenths of whom are landowners holding their estates in freehold and residing on their own property. What better constituency could any government wish."

It is obvious that MacKenzie and the Reform Movement had no understanding whatever of the motivations of the Lower Canada uprising and the people who participated in it and, from this, we must conclude that any contact between the two movements was of the flimsiest. This fact is all too apparent from MacKenzie's warm expressions of attachment to England and her institutions. In fact, MacKenzie looks just a little stupid when, in his letter to Neilson who was a member of the Lower Canada Assembly, he refers to England as the land of our fathers" and this at a time when the immense majority of the Canadians were French speaking.

When Neilson broke with the Patriotes and joined the counter-revolution he made it clear that his actions were due to the fear that the French speaking majority wanted to "control the country." MacKenzie's disagreement with Neilson was based completely on his opinion that the French-Canadian majority would not get control and he made it fairly clear that he would be with Neilson if he considered such a "threat" possible or imminent. This can easily be seen in the following passage from a letter to Neilson:

"... the idea of a French-Canadian state, province or republic controlling the St. Lawrence, and the commerce of the great countries situated on its banks are too absurd to be seriously credited."

Any small knowledge MacKenzie had of the Lower Canada Movement was obtained almost entirely as a result of his friendship with the traitor, Neilson and his

few contacts with the constitutional reformer, Papineau. He had virtually no contact with the mass of the common people in Lower Canada and even less understanding of their motivations and desires. This is the only conclusion one can come to from an examination of the record.

FOR CANADA A NATION!

The Upper Canada Radical Reform movement never became deeply rooted among the people although in periods of economic crises it enjoyed widespread support among the electorate. But the nine-tenths landowners who were MacKenzie's pride and joy and his main support were never at any time a serious revolutionary threat to the established institutions. Indeed, if they at any time had entertained serious thought of overthrowing the establishment they could have accomplished it in comparatively easy style since almost the entire English military force was committed to the "pacification" of the much more inflammatory situation in Lower Canada leaving the population of Upper Canada relatively free to do as they desired. The dismal failure of the Radical Reform movement under these conditions was proof enough that it had been marked unsuccessful in tapping the deep well-springs of public sentiment and support.

A large measure of the responsibility for this situation must be credited to the fact that the MacKenzie party never at any time became a real CANADIAN movement. The Upper Canada Radical Reform party, and MacKenzie personally, were completely English oriented up to the very eve of the outbreak of hostilities and, in the aftermath of defeat, looked to America for aid and succor then once again, returning to England's ample bosom. The main forces in support of MacKenzie at Navy Island and in the border regions were Americans who wished to see Canada become a part of the United States—many of them were veterans of the War of 1812. MacKenzie was here pioneering a policy greatly favoured in later years. In more recent times Canadian politicians hauled down the British flag to signal the end of England's dominant position in Canada and have raised in its place a "Canadian" standard only to cover the fact we have not rid ourselves of a master, we have but changed the old for the new and harder taskmaster.

The Revolutionary movement in Lower Canada was an entirely different matter. It was launched as a thoroughly Canadian movement and remained consistently Canadian to the end even to the rising in the border area in 1838, as witness the remarkable program proclaimed by the Patriotes and compare this completely Canadian and democratic document to the rambling, disjointed, and U.S.-oriented proclamation broadcast by MacKenzie from Navy Island in the same period.

When the French feudal ruling class betrayed and abandoned Canada they left the Canadian common people to their fate and forced to rely entirely on their own resources. The Canadians were strongly opposed to the alien conquerors who worked for their destruction as a nation. Nor did the Canadians have any desire for a return of the French feudalists—nowhere in documents of the Lower Canada Patriote movement will one find nostalgic yearning for the "Land of our fathers."

What Lower Canada had begun (whether consciously or not is of little moment), was the struggle for a Canadian identity, the foundations of a Canadian nation. This was a most important factor that brought to the Lower Canada movement a cohesiveness and strength that was lacking in the Upper Canada movement. If we would discover the roots of Canadian national consciousness we will need to look to the background and history of the Lower Canada Rebellion of 1837-38: to the Canadians who fought that heroic battle; almost all French-speaking Canadians, but joined by a few honourable men from the English and Irish communities.

THE FIGHT FOR CANADA—1966

Today the Canadas have been brought under the domination of U.S. imperialist monopoly. In Quebec the Anglo-Canadian monopolists, junior partners of U.S. imperialism, subject the French-Canadians to special ex-

ploitation on behalf of themselves and their imperialist masters. Once again, as they did in 1837, the people of Quebec are gathering their forces to assert their right to exist as a free and independent nation.

English-speaking Canadians, especially the working people, are beginning to develop an awareness of themselves as a nation, and to the degree that their national consciousness develops are organizing themselves in opposition to U.S. imperialist domination of Canada. In the struggle against imperialist domination our most reliable ally would be a free Quebec; in view of this the workers in English-speaking Canada have a most significant stake in the outcome of the struggle in French Canada. In defence of our own freedom and in the interests of advancing the struggle against U.S. domination, and the Canadian lackeys of U.S. monopoly, we must make a determined stand in support of Quebec's right to self-determination. The defeat of the enemies of Free Quebec would mean inflicting a mortal blow against our own enemies.

There are in English-Canada some so-called "radicals" who pay lip service to the right of self-determination but then proceed to list all the difficulties that could arise from the fact of an independent state being set up by the people of Quebec. An example of this type of "left-handed" undermining of French-Canada's struggle for national liberation is to be found in the following passage from Crisis of Confederation, published by the Communist Party of Canada in the Fall of 1963:

"Partition would be evil for both, as it has been for the people of Ireland. Partition would cause enormous economic difficulties; it would inflame chauvinism; it would incite religious animosities, as it has in Ireland;

it would isolate the Maritimes and make them an easier prey to the U.S. monopolies . . .

"Partition would speed up north-south economic development, in the interest of the United States . . ."

So in spite of all the fine sentiments expressed in favour of self-determination the C.P. leaders end up "exciting animosities" by convincing English-speaking Canadians that Quebec's struggle for self-determination (labeled "Partition") endangers the very existence of Canada as a nation and renders us more, not less, susceptible to U.S. domination.

The author cites the evils of Irish partition as a terrible example of what would befall Canada if Quebec were to go free. But these evils: religious animosities, economic difficulties, chauvinism, are not due to partition; these things, and partition itself, are the natural outcome of the needs of a social system of capitalist and imperialist exploitation, just as it is responsible for a system of oppression in Quebec and the domination of the economy of English-speaking Canada by an aggressive imperialism.

We have nothing to fear, nothing to lose and everything to gain, from a nation of Quebec that is truly free. Let us in English-speaking Canada assert our national identity as Canadians without hyphens, free our land from U.S. domination, support the Quebecois battle for self-determination, and the problems and difficulties that will undoubtedly arise from the new set of relations will be solved in peace and friendship by two free and independent nations working together for mutual advantage. To the "Vive Quebec Libre" slogan of the Quebecois let us add the slogan "Long Live Free Canada."

PROFILE OF A CABINET MINISTER

R. H. Winters, currently minister of Trade and Commerce in the Liberal government, has been well known in the upper brackets of political affairs since his first appointment to an important post in 1947 when he was named assistant to the minister of National Revenue. Less widely known are Winters' connections with the inner circle of industry and finance.

The Liberal defeat in 1957, which entailed the departure of Mr. Winters from his government post and made possible his appointment to numerous boards of directors of leading industrial and financial concerns, presented the Canadian public with the opportunity to see just how extensive were Winters' connections with the world of high finance.

As director of the British-controlled Rio Tinto group, Winters had an interest in the fortunes of 100 companies scattered around several score countries situated on every continent. He held posts as director in 10 leading financial institutions which had vast holdings in scores of

industrial and other concerns. He was vice-president and director of the Canadian-Imperial Bank of Commerce.

Winters' major connections with U.S. interests consisted of directorships in the following concerns:

Ford Motor Co. of Canada Ltd. (a connection which would indicate the existence of more than a casual interest in the Pearson-sponsored Auto Pact);

Bell Telephone Co. of Canada—a division of American Telephone and Telegraph;

Canadair Ltd.—a division of General Dynamics, a major producer of military goods;

International Business Machines Ltd.

On his return to the cabinet, Mr. Winters was compelled to shed his more than 20 appointments to the boards of directors of these various concerns, but we are confident we will be pardoned for a confession that we are skeptical of Winters having also shed a keen interest in the future welfare of these institutions to which he will undoubtedly return when he once more vacates his government post.

MALAYAN LIBERATION LEAGUE

A banquet tendered by the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity in Peking on January 12, 1966, was the occasion to announce establishment of the second foreign mission of the Malayan National Liberation League with headquarters in the People's Republic of China. The first Mission, established in Indonesia, had its offices broken into and ransacked, its leading personnel arrested, by the right-wing army generals who seized power in Indonesia. The Central Committee of the League is protesting the arrests and demanding the unconditional release of the members and the return of the mission's property with a guarantee of personal safety and freedom of movement. The Committee calls on all international democratic bodies, progressive groups and individuals to join in support of their just demand.

On the occasion of the 17th Anniversary of the founding of the League the Committee has published documents pertaining to the founding, the Manifesto and Programme of the League, its first mission in Indonesia and establishment of the second mission in China. These documents, together with the protest against the actions of the Indonesian militarists, have been published in pamphlet form.

The Progressive Workers Movement is taking steps to obtain a number of the above mentioned pamphlets as a service to readers of Progressive Worker. Anyone desiring a copy should send in their request together with a self-addressed, stamped envelope (no stamps from U.S. readers) and we will forward a copy so long as our supply lasts.

THE POETRY READINGS IN ALLAN GARDENS

By MILTON ACORN

One of the most complex problems facing the modern artists is the application of the principle of freedom to his own life and art. If he can't apply it in his life he hopes one-legged in its application to his art. Yet when he seriously sets out to apply it he runs into obstacles. . . The psychology of individuals, including his contradictory self, raised to be unfree: the real restrictions of a society which proclaims itself free but confronts him with enslaving demands and prohibitions at every turn. This article is about the efforts of a group of non-academic poets to exercise an elementary human freedom — that of free speech with all it implies — and what has so far become of it.

It began in the old Acorn apartment at Dupont and Avenue Road. The first principals were Milton Acorn, Gwendolyne MacEwen, John Douglas and Joe Rosenblatt. It was Joe's idea and at first met with some skepticism, particularly from Acorn: but in a couple of days he and his wife became so fired up with the idea that they mimeographed a poster announcing 'Annual Poetry Day', to be held the next Sunday "beneath the Burns statue in Allan Gardens." This they stuck on various boardings.

At that time no one had any idea there might be a law against poetry reading or any kind of free speech in Allan Gardens. Religious speakers, sometimes with brass bands, sometimes with sound equipment, held forth there regularly.

The first 'Annual Poetry Day', on a Sunday in June, went swingingly. Besides the four mentioned there was William C. Wilson, (not the Acorn's cat, but the original poet), Don Di Novo and Eve Law — who did satirical recitations. It was not held beneath the Burns statue.

That space was found occupied. It began in front of the greenhouse, but midway in the reading a cop appeared who asked politely that the poets move to the centre of the park. This they considered reasonable and did. A crowd of about a hundred gathered. It was responsive to poetry mainly as political and social declamation, was opaque to most lyrical work.

Religious speakers found themselves orating to a handful. It was decided to hold the next "Annual Poetry Day" at the same time next week.

Second "Annual Poetry Day" was the only one actually held beneath the Burns statue. Immediately after the reading a religious speaker moved in and attacked the poets as enemies of God. On subsequent "Annual Poetry Days" he made sure to be there first and occupy the site. What Bobby Burns thought of this is not recorded.

Third "Annual Poetry Day" saw Tom Arnett read for the first time (including a poem ridiculing the reading); also Christine Eyles read her peculiar doggerel based on the works of Byron; Alex Jeffries recited Shakespeare. In many ways this was the most swinging event of the lot, with spontaneous improvisation by a member of the audience, actually a real rousing proletarian message, and a large cheerful crowd, sometimes heckling, always friendly. This reading was reported by the press, who gave a big play to Tom Arnett's beard.

The fourth reading was attended by a crowd of about two hundred. The press was there and so was CFTO Television. Unfortunately it was a cloudy day, with the sun going in and out, and some sensational TV footage was spoiled. Milton Acorn read and then, while Luella Booth was introducing the next reader, a six-foot-plus detective accompanied by a sergeant and a constable strode into the midst of the proceedings.

"Have you a permit to hold a public meeting?" he asked Mrs. Booth.

Mrs. Booth said no.

"Disperse then . . . Disperse," said the detective.

There was some confusion. The crowd wouldn't dis-

perse. One woman made an oration about free speech (C.S., a Trotskyist—see note at end). Acorn made a longer oration, promising to apply for a permit and return next week, whether or not it was granted. Subsequent events realized the fears of the cynical. Though Mrs. Booth went to the mayor himself she got no permit. Allan Gardens was reserved for religious speakers. So were most the other traditional speaking areas of the city. Three locations there were where "free speech" was actually allowed, but the most cursory investigation showed all of them to be totally unsuitable for poetry reading or any other kind of speech. The poets held a meeting, adopted the name Interpoet (which has already been applied to them by the press) and brought out a declaration identifying their cause with Toronto's long-standing free speech fight. They undertook to practise civil disobedience, but, just for the record, applied formally for a permit.

Now the definition of "religion" given by the Oxford Universal Dictionary reads in part: "Devotion to some principle; strict fidelity or faithfulness; conscientiousness; pious affection or attachment." By this definition the term could be applied to poetry. The poets decided to reinforce any such confusion, if confusion it was, by reading from the "Song of Solomon." They found such passages which could be poetically applied to their own situation. So at the next reading, held under a tree in the rain at Allan Gardens, Acorn read these passages, with commentary. Then he swung into his own poem, "I Shout Love" (see Canadian Forum, May 1962, for an early version). While he was reading this poem the police, a sergeant and a constable, appeared.

For some reason they appeared intimidated. The press had given considerable coverage to the break-up of the earlier readings and there had been some very funny cartoons, also editorial comment. The policemen hung around for several minutes, glancing over Acorn's shoulder at the manuscript. Finally one of them got up the nerve to ask if the poem was long. Acorn said it was. The policeman asked Acorn if he knew he was breaking the law and that summonses would be issued. Acorn said he wasn't so sure a law was being broken, but he was prepared to be summonsed. I must acknowledge that this sentence is a deliberate lie. See explanation at the end. At that the cops walked away, too flustered even to get the poet's name and address. The press reported that Acorn bawled insulting words after the policemen. This was a lie. Tom Arnett also declaimed and the statement of Interpoet was read. For tactical reasons this was all that had been planned, but Joe Rosenblatt made a speech and the poets had to do some arm-twisting to prevent a reading rampage.

Indeed a feature of this part of the campaign was how carefully the poets laid their plans (centred around a challenge of the bylaw in court) and how the excited atmosphere of the Allan Gardens repeatedly blew those plans sky-high. In the first place the police proved slow in getting the summonses out. Arnett got his in time and dropped out of the picture. Acorn came to the Gardens still uncertain if he would get one, and was served on the spot—after he had offended again. The police this time were positively jolly. At the next reading (now late in July), no uniforms were in evidence. Acorn jumped to the conclusion that the fight was won and read again—only to discover that there were detectives in the crowd. In general, the attitude of the authorities became milder and milder as the publicity mounted and almost everyone in Toronto took sides, usually with the poets. These are convinced that if they'd been able to keep up the readings their fight might have been won right in the Gardens. But summonses had been issued to, besides Acorn and Arnett, William C. Wilson, Stephanie Nynich, Eve Law, Joe Rosenblatt, Alex Jeffries, an artist named Jean-Jacques who had dared to read Prevert in French. The group was simply snowed under with summonses. The

fight is now in the courts, and the poets are concentrating on raising money.

Poetry-wise, has it all been worthwhile? The poets think yes. One feature of the readings was that as the context became more and more political the audience at the Gardens gave a more and more serious ear to poetry of all kinds, poetry as poetry. In the end the most delicate lyrical efforts were being listened to with absolute attention. The audience in the Gardens proved a better one than the "cool" pseudo-sophisticates of the coffee-houses and the atmosphere of the Bohemian Embassy, where the regular Thursday night literary evening continued as an Interpoet night, also became somewhat better. It must be said however that, outside of the city bureaucracy and the monied status hounds of suburbia (who gave Mrs. Booth and her children a hard time), the fiercest island of conformist prejudice was precisely among the lumpen-bourgeoisie of the coffee-houses. The folkniks and the beardniks were split about fifty-fifty on the issue . . . And the poets can't be blamed if they make some personal judgments about the personal worth of various "artists" and fringe types on just how they fell into or out of this crisis.

N.B.—This article was written while the "Case of the Poets" was still before the courts, also the city council . . . who finally repealed the law. So there were one or two things which could not be said. Otherwise the press and the bourgeois Establishment generally would have realized what kind of enemy they were faced with. Indeed that what they were faced with was The Enemy . . . namely human beings motivated by considerations of conscience and responsibility to others.

The press got and conveyed the impression that what was happening was simply a group of mad poets expressing their anarchistic personalities. You know . . . the "mad poet" and the "absent-minded professor," two images which the bourgeoisie cultivate in order to put down intellectuality generally. It is their misfortune that they are sometimes taken in by their own propaganda.

What stood out in this Free Speech Fight was not the madness, but the extreme sanity of poets. From the moment the police intruded, Interpoet (which had eleven members) became an extremely well-disciplined collective. Our purposes and strategy were very carefully discussed, and decided by a majority vote—no goddam consensus for us. Once things were decided everyone acted purposefully and forcefully in his or her assigned role. Recognize the process I've described. It has a name . . . Democratic Centralism. Incidentally, the vote was usually 10-1. Mrs. Booth (God bless her!) had illusions that the matter could be settled by negotiation with the authorities. The other poets realized that this was ridiculous; but we couldn't see what harm it would do; so we let her go ahead. If we had asked her not to, she wouldn't have done it. I'm quite sure of that. So it happened she served as a useful smokescreen.

The poets' collective did many things besides run the campaign in Allan Gardens itself. We put on several affairs to raise money . . . at the Bohemian Embassy, at a jazz joint whose name I don't remember, and at the Unitarian Church. Also we mimeographed leaflets, distributed them at coffee-houses, through the mail, to radio stations, as well as newspapers, sent requests for monetary support to scores of trade unions (not one response! not even a letter of acknowledgement! not even from the Communist Party!), and also we did the very fatiguing job of chasing around and finding the literally dozens of spontaneous readers who were summonsed. We did this in order to put them in contact with our lawyer, Irving Himel . . . who incidentally spent much more money on the case (hired extra help, etc.) than we were able to pay him.

I was rather hard on Tom Arnett in this article. At the time it was written, Tom was conducting a personal publicity campaign, putting himself forward as the "block-bearded leader" of Interpoet. Also he seemed to me to be deliberately cultivating the anarchistic image the press

had given us. Actually he was our keenest strategic thinker.

There is one more thing I must point out, not because I am now in any way sympathetic to Trotskyism, but simply because it is true . . . that is the role the League for Socialist Action played in the struggle. At every meeting there was a Trotskyist on hand with the entire cash of the Vanguard Bookstore . . . for bail in case we were actually arrested. Having said that, I must emphasize that I consider my support for Trotskyism these past three years to have been a very grave and damaging error. I will not go into the reasons for this here. Except to say that it IS _____ in view of my personal history. I am willing to discuss this with any revolutionist or other honest person. The traditional view in the Left is that Trotskyism is objectively counter-revolutionary . . . and that corresponds to my personal experience. In fact, I think I'll write an article entitled "Why I Am Not a Trotskyite," or better still, "Why I Don't Believe in Tea-Cup Reading, Astrology, or Trotskyism."

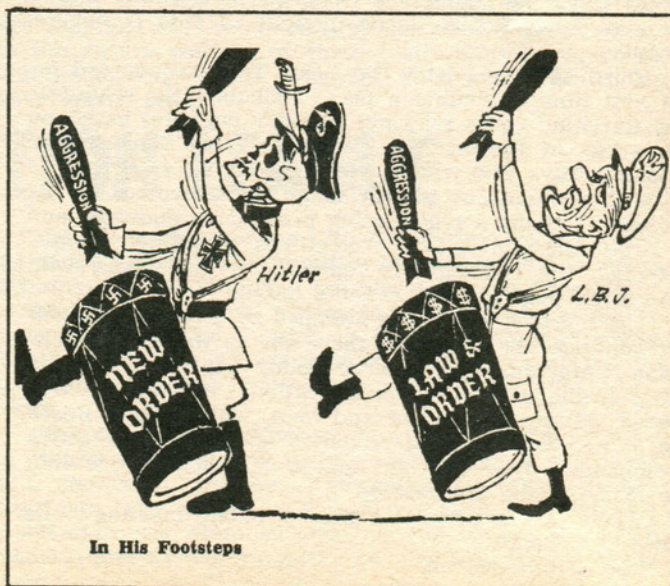
In conclusion, I would like to point (1) that this free speech fight was considered as Civil Disobedience: just that . . . not "Non-Violent Civil Disobedience. Even though non-violence was getting to be the word at the time, we didn't even consider it. We were poets, had experience of life, and had more sense. We were aware that we faced the possibility of a riot, used it as a threat . . . and I might say, very skilfully kept things right on the edge all the time; (2) this important popular action was won largely because of a division in the ranks of the bourgeoisie. The press, anxious to sell papers, exploited the incident as "news." Of course, as I have said before, they were lulled by their own "mad poet" image. Divisions in the bourgeoisie occur in infinitely bigger encounters than this. It is political idiocy to behave, as Trotskyites have a habit of doing, as if they don't exist.

The leaders, if any, those who had specific tasks, in the Allan Gardens Free Speech Fight, were Joe Rosenblatt (crowd control), Milton Acorn (public relations and tactics), Tom Arnett (strategy). Add Luella Booth (loyal opposition), and you have them. Of course, other participants might have seen it differently.

Finally, it is quite incorrect to refer to this occasion as "the Eviction of the Poets." The poets were never evicted. Even that one time when the police told us to disperse . . . we dispersed all right, all over the park, and held several individual readings.

To All Revolutionaries and Other Honest People,
with Love,

MILTON ACORN,
Proletarian Poet.



MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY IN POLAND

(Extracts from the Official Text of the Provisional Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party.)

LET US FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM UNDER THE MARXIST-LENINIST BANNER!

During the last few years the state of affairs in our country has seriously deteriorated. Economic difficulties have multiplied. Bureaucracy and careerism have expanded. Theft and fraud have grown apace. Unemployment has become an obvious fact.

The workingman realizes that he has no say in policy. The working class and the toiling masses of cities and countryside are more and more deprived of basic rights they had wrested through many long years of revolutionary struggle. It has become all too clear that the socialist accomplishments of the workers' arduous labors, during the reconstruction of a war-ravaged country, have been abandoned. . . .

It has now become an actual fact that the so-called "second stage" of peaceful reconstruction is, in truth, the hour of counter-revolution because, if we do not build up socialism, then we take the road to capitalism; and if we do not keep up the class struggle and liquidate in the process the dictatorship of the proletariat, then we are well on the way to relinquish that power to the bourgeoisie. This course leads away from the dictatorship OF the proletariat to the dictatorship OVER the proletariat. . . .

This truism is the consequence of abandoning Marxist-Leninist ideology and taking the path of capitulation to imperialism. It is the result of revisionist treason whose aim is to gradually destroy socialist society, and therefore restore capitalist relations in Poland. . . .

In 1956, in the heart of the international working class communist movement, the great peril of revisionism was born, with its renouncement of Marxist ideology in favor of capitalist restoration. At the 20th Congress of the Soviet Union Communist Party, Khrushchev took up the cudgels against Marxist ideology, brutally attacking the Bolshevik Party and the line followed by the Soviet Union at the time. By directing his main blows on the person of Stalin he did, in fact, strike at Lenin's revolutionary bases and the dictatorship of the proletariat. . . .

Events which characterize the international climate of the past few years include the magnificent successes of the struggles for national liberation in countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America; the soaring of revolutionary and progressive forces in the whole world; the recent remarkable success achieved in the pursuit of international solidarity among the toiling masses.

While this is going on, American imperialism, taking full advantage of the fissions in the labor movement, exerts all means to put a brake on the national liberation struggles. To illustrate this policy, it is sufficient to mention the well-engineered imperialist intervention with the blessings of the UN in the Congo; aggression against Cuba and the Dominican Republic; and, finally, United States of America escalation of aggression against the people of Vietnam. . . .

It is not possible to conduct a struggle against imperialists and bourgeois while rubbing shoulders with their agents. You must see who is with you and who is your enemy. . . .

As a result of revisionist activities, the revolutionary momentum of communist and labour parties in some countries of the socialist camp and in occidental Europe has slowed down. . . .

The apex of Revolution has moved eastward, in countries of Asia, of Africa, of Latin America. In those countries the revolutionary struggle against imperialism has taken on a new impetus. . . .

To build socialism we must, first of all, rely on our own strength. . . . It is impossible to achieve that goal by relying exclusively on other countries' help. Moreover,

in certain circumstances, this could imperil this country's independence. Such specific relations are actually a fact since the revisionist seizure of the Soviet Union Communist Party direction. . . .

As for relations with other socialist countries, they must be anchored on principles of fraternity and friendship, while relations with capitalist states should be based on peaceful co-existence in the spirit of Lenin. . . .

We proclaim ourselves in favor of developing and strengthening friendship with the Chinese people and the Chinese Communist Party who carry aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism in the struggle against imperialism and its revisionist agents in the international communist and labor movement. We demand that our friendship be strengthened with the heroic people and the Labor Party of Albania, who have succeeded in defying with dignity, while holding on to its principles, the brutal pressure of Khrushchev, and have remained faithful to Marxist ideology. We wish to strengthen bonds of friendship with other socialist countries and the peoples who struggle against imperialism for their liberation. . . .

The main task and function of the worker-farmer alliance is to bring about socialized agriculture. We must not cajole the peasant and then later let him fall prey to the petty capitalist merchant.

The problem must be set down in honest and clear-cut manner. The voice of the village is agricultural co-operation towards socialism. In our country there is no other solution. . . .

Bourgeois ideological influence is a menace to science, culture and propaganda. Real chaos reigns in this domain, and bourgeois ideology is openly propagated without the least impediment. Yet, it is in secondary schools that youth is molded to participate in the building of socialism. This should not be left to chance. . . .

THE 10 YEARS OF THE SO-CALLED "POLISH OCTOBER"

Building socialism in Poland is in a precarious state. The first phase of the bourgeois dream has been realized. Gomulka simply followed in Tito's footsteps.

The 10 years that followed the "October" events can be summed up as a fight on the part of Gomulka's group against the dictatorship of the proletariat. . . .

During those 10 years the "new" directors of the Polish United Party have purged a majority of Communists. Eminent and active members have been prematurely pensioned off and cut off from party life. To curb Communists, the revisionists have made use of all means of economic and moral pressure and terrorism. . . .

The revisionist leadership by its terroristic methods has consigned the Party to passivity: ideological problems are taboo at Party meetings. Decisions are taken only on current topics and theoretical criticism is not tolerated. The party is transformed into an appendix of the Administration and a bureaucratized body devoid of all political and ideological content, where demoralization sets in on a progressive scale. . . .

This is the extent to which the so-called Polish "October" has mired that mythical liberty. In the ranks of the Unified Polish Party there festers careerism, demoralization and corruption. Prominent members of diverse party organs have been mixed in many devious machinations. The party is on the verge of putrefaction and extinction. The goal set forth by the current revisionist leadership and which consisted of liquidating the Polish Communist Party, has been attained in a most logical manner. . . .

The task of reconstructing the new Communist Party, the party of the working class, is facing us at this very moment. Communists must band together to fight revisionism and defend socialism. We must never allow in Poland the second phase of counter-revolution, i.e., transfer of power to the bourgeoisie and restoration of capitalism. . . .

THE TRADE UNIONS

According to Lenin's classical definition, the Unions must be the most comprehensive mass organization of the working class. Lenin opposed with all his might the distorted bureaucratic concepts regarding the role of the unions: he underlined the political character which syndical organization must possess in order to prepare the masses for the socialist struggle. . . .

The white-collar unions must (also) enter the fray, in defence of the workers, by unmasking the bureaucratic apparatus, by unmasking traitors to socialism and the working class . . . and organizing self-defence. . . .

The situation in Poland is indeed perilous. The revisionist machinations have struck at the very vitals of our people. It is no longer permissible to procrastinate. Each passing moment aggravates the danger to socialism in the country. Communists must not allow that the victories of the working class and toiling masses of cities and countryside become meaningless. And for this reason they must man the front lines of the battle for the institution of the proletarian dictatorship and a glorious tomorrow. . . .

THE POLISH COMMUNIST PARTY RECONSTITUTED

The underground cells of the Polish Communist Party are now constituted at the communal and departmental level in several collective administrations. The basic organizations—revolutionary groups—are in existence in the great industrial centres, in the state and economic branches, in social and scientific institutions.

Communists are to be found everywhere. Revolutionary groups must reach out to the faraway corners.

The fight against revisionism and for the workers and socialism is under direction of the Polish Communist Party.

Comrades! Citizens! . . . let us fight against . . .

—the policies of inflation . . .

—suppression of rights conquered by the workers . . .

—poverty and exploitation . . .

—the Gomulskist treason and the activities of the Zionist agents of imperialism in Poland . . .

—the nationalist policies of the Right . . .

Long live the heroic working class of Poland!

THE PROVISIONAL CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE POLISH COMMUNIST PARTY.

THE FIRE EATER

Any economist of any repute who has a modicum of honesty will admit the cause of the First World War was a crisis in the German economy in which the German manufacturing ability outran their capacity to distribute goods. There was the age-old inability or desire to pass back to the working people the full value in wages for goods produced. This produced a crisis in the economy which resulted in a depression. Of course the Establishment in Germany turned to war to get rid of surplus goods and grab more markets into the bargain.

In the thirties the same crisis occurred again, only on a world-wide scale. So another depression. Now many will deny it, but it would appear the Second World War was a way out again for a capitalist system which again had out-produced its ability to distribute the goods the working-class had created.

Now the surplus value of unpaid-for goods, which the exploiters took from the workers is the villain that brings on depressions which end in wars and revolutions. The kingpins of finance and industry have finally realized that a little old war is a highly dangerous solution for depression. Half the world has slipped from their grasp trying to solve economic problems by means of war.

So along came John Maynard Keynes, one of the Establishment's ablest economists. He told them in the main which is the jist of his thesis that surplus value or profits must be kept pouring back into expansion or be used by public institutions in building roads, schools, hospitals, etc.

However, the monopolists who really control the country are not so interested in benevolent spending: they are interested primarily in profits and the preservation of profits. Instead of following Keynes they have decided to go all out in an effort to stop the spread of socialism by any and all means, which means they are going to kill everybody who dares contemplate any other social system that does not win their approval.

Today we witness the spectacle of the most highly productive capitalist state changing rapidly into one of the most rapacious powers in history. The U.S. is running headlong into a police state, where the whole nation is to be used as a world gendarme to dragoon the rest of the world. In other words, in spite of what their brain-washers say, the tremendous profits that are rolling from their productive machine are being spent by the **hundreds of billions** to turn the U.S. into the most blatant bully, armed to the gullet with every sinister device money can buy. They say this is a lie, but all I ask my readers to do is look at the record and see who the real liars are.

The U.S. has jumped on the almost defenceless island of Santo Domingo. She has turned loose the most fiendish attack on another small, primitive country called Vietnam. To examine her history in the last 65 years reveals a consistent program of aggression and aggrandizement. Cuba, Mexico, Panama, a host of Central American states, the South American countries. In fact all over the world the hand of Uncle Sam is all too evident. One of the most insidious and vicious phenomena is the way the U.S. justifies its policy is that the vital interests of the U.S. are in danger. This practically gives the U.S. a blank cheque to go out and murder anybody who even looks cross-eyed at them. We all have a choice - either get down on your knees and stay there or fight them.

A SPANISH WAR VET.



"We elect South Vietnamese Governments unconditionally — that is without reference to the local people!"

Les grèves au Québec:

une situation normale?

Victoire des camionneurs

SHERBROOKE — (PC) — Les subventions de \$25 mil. fédéral à proposées pour régler l'entretien des camions ferroviaires employés entre 1964 et 1965, constituant un tiers de la

Bientôt 173 jours de grève à Coca-Cola
Il y aura bientôt 173 jours que les grévistes de la compagnie Coca-Cola, aux usines d'embouteillage de Montréal et de Québec, se sont mis en grève. Ils espèrent cesser la grève d'ici à la fin de la semaine.

La grève des électriciens

Le gouvernement fédéral a annoncé qu'il ne s'opposera pas à la grève des électriciens.

Grève de 600 employés de la Dominion Rubber

Quelques-uns des employés de la Dominion Rubber ont été arrêtés par la police. Les autres ont été relâchés.

à grève, employés de la Dominion Rubber

A Montréal, on veut mettre le

à grève, employés de la Dominion Rubber

à grève, employés de la Dominion Rubber

à grève, employés de la Dominion Rubber

à grève, employés de la Dominion Rubber

à grève, employés de la Dominion Rubber

à grève, employés de la Dominion Rubber

4. L'ancien ministre de la Justice, de l'ancien avocat de cet homme et de sa cause devant les tribunaux, netre son cas à l'étude Communes.

1. 25 MARS 1966

à grève, employés de la Dominion Rubber

Puis tard dans la matinée, un hélicoptère de l'ARC a survolé la zone de grève.

jugé a procédé au décompte, on s'est rendu compte que le nombre des grévistes était de 600.

à grève, employés de la Dominion Rubber

à grève, employés de la Dominion Rubber

à grève, employés de la Dominion Rubber

à grève, employés de la Dominion Rubber

LE CAPITALISME NE COMPRENDRA JAMAIS

Partout au Québec, le mécontentement gronde.

A la Manicouagan, un groupe de travailleurs expulse du chantier de construction un contremaître qui s'était particulièrement fait détester par ses abus répétés. Le lendemain ces employés étaient congédiés. Aussitôt plus de 3,000 de leurs camarades quittent spontanément le travail par solidarité.

C'est aussi spontanément qu'à Domil, une filiale de Dominion Textile, où les conditions de travail sont particulièrement pénibles que la totalité des employés, soit plus de 750, se mettent en grève avant même que leur syndicat leur en ait donné l'ordre.



photo René Picard, LA PRESSE

La grève est finie pour 400 syndiqués de neuf garages de Montréal

C'est par un vote à main levée que les 400 syndiqués de neuf concessionnaires d'automobiles de Montréal ont mis fin à la grève qui durait depuis un mois et ont décidé de retourner au travail dès ce matin.

Et les exemples tels que ceux-là sont nombreux. Les 600 employés de Dominion Rubber ont aussi débrayé en raison de l'effronterie toute capitaliste de leurs patrons. Il y a aussi les employés de Coca-Cola, les électriciens, les employés de la

construction, les professeurs, les étudiants etc. Sans compter les 25,000 fonctionnaires qui viennent d'éviter la grève de justesse.

Les capitalistes n'y comprennent rien. Et c'est à coup de menaces de fermeture, de congédiement etc. qu'ils tentent de remédier à la profonde insatisfaction qui règne ici chez les travailleurs depuis plusieurs mois. On a vu il y a quelque temps le patron de l'usine de chaussure J.B. La Grenade, après cinq mois de grève de ses employés, engager des "scabs" (avec la bienveillante collaboration du Service National de Placement), et nier catégoriquement l'existence même de la grève devant les journalistes, et cela malgré de gigantesques manifestations de protestation (la principale, organisée par l'Union Générale des Étudiants du Québec avait attiré près de 2,000 protestataires).

Mais n'écoutez pas notre ministre du Travail, l' "honorable" Carier Fortin qui lançait le mot d'ordre, il y a de ça six mois, et qui nous l'a d'ailleurs resservi périodiquement depuis : Patrons du Québec, Unissez-vous !!! (sic!) Avec de semblables démonstrations de la bêtise humaine, il faut s'attendre au pire....!

Mais à la violence de l'avidité capitaliste, et trop souvent de l'avidité capitaliste yankee, répond la violence de la classe montante: un attentat à la dynamite chez Concreters Ready Mix, des cocktails Molotov chez Coca-Cola, des camions renversés etc. etc.

Mao Tsé-Toung disait: " Le peuple, le peuple seul est la force motrice qui crée l'histoire universelle." Mais les capitalistes, au Québec comme partout dans le monde, sont dans l'incapacité totale de comprendre cette loi élémentaire de l'évolution historique. Ils n'ont que du mépris pour le peuple et s'efforcent de l'exploiter avec le maximum d'efficacité et d'hypocrisie. Les capitalistes vont à rebours de l'histoire et tôt ou tard la classe ouvrière les réduira à néant. La classe ouvrière du Québec est de plus en plus consciente du jeu de la bourgeoisie qui tôt ou tard sera renversée pour laisser place à une société nouvelle où le peuple prendra contrôle de sa destinée.

LE QUEBEC AUX TRAVAILLEURS!



"Joe, how long is this war for liberty, democracy, the free world and western civilization likely to last?"

Vadille in Siempre, Mexico City

poems-poems-poems-poems-poems-poems

BABES TO THE BARRICADES

News item: October 1959: The House Un-American Activities Committee is investigating Communist influence in California schools among children between the ages of five and seven.

Infant subversives,
They're news, they're hot,
Will they revolt
Or will they not?
(Naturally, their teachers too
Must answer legal process due.)

Outer bluster,
Inner dread,
Everyone a
Potential Red,
Seek them under
Every bed.
(Big and small,
Suspect them all.)

No matter if
They're five or six,
Those Communists
Are full of tricks,
Preserve our precious
Liberty,
Put kids and teachers
Under lock and key.

Labor Speaks

*I built your ships and your railroads,
And worked in your factories and mines;
I built the good roads that you ride on,
And crushed your ripe grapes into wine.*

*I built the fine houses that you live in,
And gathered the grain for your bread;
I worked late at nights on your garments,
And printed the fine books that you read.*

*I linked two great oceans together,
And spanned your rivers with steel,
I built your towering skyscrapers,
And also your automobile.*

*Wherever there is progress you will find me,
For without me the world couldn't live,
And yet you seek to destroy me,
With the meagre pittance you give.*

*I am master of field and of factories,
I am mighty, and you are but few,
So, no longer will I bow into submission,
I am Labor, and I ask for my due.*

—By Unknown Author.

SOY SAUCE AND PRAWNS

News item: May 1959. The United States has prohibited the trans-shipment of a cargo of Chinese canned prawns and soy sauce destined for Canada.

Neither canned prawns nor soy sauce
May America's borders cross;
Canadians, amazed, confused,
Are irritated and amused.

Soy sauce endangers security,
The reason's there for all to see.
So deeply red it's purple nearly
— Criminal nature proven clearly.

And as to Chinese big prawns canned,
They obviously must be banned;
In armour cased from tail to head,
When boiled they turn a fiery red.

An Iron Curtain America blinds,
Hysteria grips the White House minds;
"Strategic goods" — what if they're edible?
Such idiocy is scarcely credible.

A MEESAGE OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT OF SOUTH VIETNAM BY AN AMERICAN

You stood straight and strong,
When first the French came to your shore,
And shrieked, "Your land or your life!"
You would not bow your souls to wrong,
But countered strike with strife,
Until the French would march no more,
Until the foe forswore the war.
You stand straight and strong,
When now the swine assault your door,
Who dare to call themselves my countrymen.
Never!

Never are they my comrades when
They rant "Your land or your life!"
Brigands only, brutes and fools,
Who try to bomb to death the truth
Justice will not bow to gas,
Nor righteousness to napalm.
Who am I?
No brother to the green beret,
Rather than rot with that dirt would I die.
Never!
Forever Humanity defended by you,
And I your comrade and partisan too.

WALTER GORE.