

**WE TOO ARE ASHAMED, MR. LAWSON**

# *Progressive Worker*

*Workers of All Countries, Unite!*

Volume 2, Number 9

10<sup>c</sup>

July, 1966

**THE CASE  
FOR  
CANADIAN  
UNIONS**



# Progressive Worker

Published Monthly By  
**PROGRESSIVE WORKERS MOVEMENT**

VANCOUVER

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

TORONTO

MAY 1st BRANCH

244 Dupont Street Toronto 5, Ontario

SUBSCRIPTION RATE

12 issues \$1.00—6 issues 50c

EDITOR: JACK SCOTT

Circulation: DAVE FORSYTH

Signed articles do not necessarily represent the views  
of the Progressive Workers Movement

Produced entirely by Voluntary Labour

(Authorized as second class mail by the Post Office Department Ottawa and for payment of postage in cash.)



Kamb in La Vie Ouvriere, Paris  
"Now what do those Vietnamese words mean?"

## THE GUERRILLA FIGHTER

All that he has he must forbear;  
Woman's soft touch, the sheen of her hair,  
The love in the eyes that looked into his own,  
The seed of the son that he might have sown.

He must give up his rude bed by the firelight lit,  
The place by the table where he used to sit,  
His mother's dear face, and his father's kind way,  
His sister's sweet smile, and his small brother's play.

Give them all up to live in the wood,  
And on his back pack his bed and his food;  
As he silently stalks over mountain and vale,  
Courting danger and death at the end of each trail.

He must be quick, and brave, and cunning and sly,  
'Gainst weapons the best that money can buy.  
He must come to grips with great numbers and might,  
Surprise and outwit them, and put them to flight.

Each day he must put his life on the line  
For something more precious than life or wine;  
So that others may reap from his pain and his blood  
A world that will glisten with sweet brotherhood;

A world where justice and truth have kissed,  
Come into the sunshine and out of the mist;  
Where money and meanness no longer shall rule,  
With the workman their chattel, their dupe and their tool;

Where no man must fight for another man's gold,  
While for money and power his own life is sold,  
While they tell him he's fighting to make men free;  
As though exploitation were liberty.

But the guerrilla fights for a world truly free,  
Where cruel want and war can nevermore be,  
And where each man will enjoy the good of his labor,  
And know true fellowship each with his neighbor;

Where the people will own all their forests and mills,  
Their cattle upon a thousand hills,  
Their trucks, and their trains, their fuel and their oil,  
Their factories, and mines, and the fruit of their toil;

Where each man's work will benefit all,  
And no man's effort be counted as small.  
Where no more will the old in attics stay,  
Nor sick folks die who cannot pay.

These are the things the guerrilla sees,  
As he crouches there among the trees,  
And like David with sling, comes out to fight  
'Gainst error's chains, and wrong's great might.

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# Progressive Worker

\* 6 ISSUES 50¢

\* 12 ISSUES \$1.00

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



# THE CASE FOR CANADIAN UNIONS

On Saturday, May 28, a meeting that may well go down as one of the blackest in B.C. trade union history was held in the Electrical Workers Hall, home of IBEW Local 213. On that date a committee representing striking workers at Lenkurt Electric admitted defeat in a strike that only a few days previously had shown signs of being on the verge of victory. Appropriately enough the admission of defeat was made to a gathering of the very trade union officials who had made that defeat possible. One striker stated: "We are not surrendering to the boss, we are confessing defeat because we have been abandoned by the trade union movement of British Columbia and are in no position to carry on alone." After which the committee said: "We have nothing further to discuss with you." And walked out!

How did it come about that a strike which was so close to victory ended in such abysmal failure? What are the lessons we must learn so we can take steps to prevent such dismal occurrences in the future?

## U.S. COMPANY

Lenkurt Electric, although a relatively small operation, is part of a giant U.S. monopoly, General Telephone and Electronics, which also controls the B.C. Telephone. Bolstered by enormous profits and a well-padded bank account, such a company has no fear of running short of money for rent, meat and vegetables like striking workers must worry about. They can stand a strike for a long time.

It is companies such as this that control the economy of Canada and order the lives of Canadian workers to their own satisfaction and profit. This is U.S. imperialism in action. This is why so many of the world's people are crying "Yankee go home!"

## HOW THE STRIKE STARTED

Overtime was ordered constantly on a daily basis by management. There was a general feeling among the workers of continual harassment and intimidation. This condition reached a peak about one week prior to the walkout with many workers then discussing action. To head off such action the company vice-president made a verbal commitment that overtime would be suspended until negotiations with the union, then in progress, were completed. He further stated emphatically that this undertaking would not be changed by the company president who was at that time absent on a business trip in the East.

However, on his return the following Monday the president reversed the agreement and said overtime would be worked as and when the company considered it necessary. This decision was to be enforced under the following section in the union agreement:

"Part 7, Article 4, Section (c): The company will endeavour to arrange its business so that employees will not be required to do overtime work, but where overtime work is required, in the opinion of the company, the selection of employees requested to work overtime shall be the responsibility of the company exclusively. Usually employees will not be considered eligible for the sixth day of overtime unless they have completed their regular forty (40) hour work week."

This clause is illegal by reason of its being in contravention of the B.C. Provincial Hours of Work Act. (We will return to this later.) The feeling of resentment had built to such a head that almost all the workers walked off the job in a spontaneous demonstration of protest. The company officials announced all those participating in the walkout were fired and started advertising in all daily papers for strikebreakers to replace the demonstrating workers.

## THE ROLE OF THE STATE

Into the strike at Lenkurt stepped the state at the behest of the company. First step was the granting of an ex-parte injunction prohibiting picketing—a favourite occupation of judges during labour disputes in B.C. over

the last few years. State police then arrived at the scene of the dispute to enforce the injunction and facilitate the movement of scabs into the plant.

Police activity included the use of officers masquerading as picketers but in fact acting as agents provocateurs. They also arrested nine picketing workers, including a 65-year-old woman charged with assault. Some people say statements such as these are scurrilous, but we have yet to see or hear of a judge handing down an injunction against an employer hiring strikebreakers; or of a policeman enforcing it. Such an action would no doubt be considered partisan.

The Unemployment Insurance Commission also participated on the company's side by despatching unemployed workers to the strikebound plant.

As pointed out above, the clause on overtime in the union agreement was illegal in that it contravenes the Hours of Work Act which clearly states that overtime will only be worked in an emergency and on the granting of a permit on written application to the Labor Board. But the agreement lodged all authority on overtime in management's hands. The provincial labour department, being in possession of copies of all union agreements, must have been aware of the existence of the overtime clause but, instead of protecting the workers against the dictatorial policies of this Yankee company, proceeded against the workers with citations for contempt of court against 30 picketers. These actions of the state forces are typical of such actions during labour disputes.

## ROLE OF UNION BUREAUCRATS

A number of officials of Local 213 acted as most such officials of U.S.-controlled unions do in like situations. They were responsible for the overtime clause and so responsible for the dispute that developed as a result of its application.

Angus MacDonald, local president, concluded an agreement that wiped out all seniority and pension rights for those workers who had walked out. The company had the privilege of hiring back those they wanted, firing all others and employing scabs in their place, who would then become union members.

This sell-out was unanimously rejected by 600 union members and the strike continued. Vice-president Ladyman of Toronto, on instructions of the Washington office of the IBEW dismissed business agent Art O'Keefe and appointed MacDonald to replace him. He also said the agreement was legal and a good one, and ordered the workers to return to their jobs. A party to this agreement was Jack Ross, international representative, who has never been elected but always appointed. Ross had lost a court case over a similar illegal agreement just a few months previous. Newly-appointed business agent Fred Allison also assisted in trying to enforce the agreement, as did executive members Frank Hogan and Y. Hiebert, with treasurer Stan Deed.

Officials of the B.C. Federation of Labour and the Vancouver Labour Council who had stepped in to lead the fight, collapsed like punctured balloons on receipt of a wire from vice-president Ladyman ordering them to cease all support for an "illegal strike." These officials, on the order of one man, abandoned the strikers to their fate. It seems that the talk of fighting injunctions as per the B.C. resolution to the CLC convention, has no more substance than the fizzled-out threat of general strike which brought precisely nothing to striking Oil Workers.

## ROLE OF REVISIONISTS AND SO-CALLED RADICALS

The first hours of the demonstration witnessed a solid turnout of the so-called radical group in B.C. labour circles. Intent on their policy of sharing office with the heretofore despised right-wing officials, these gentlemen quickly dispersed along with the routed officers of the Federation. They entirely neglected the duty of class-conscious and politically developed workers to provide



leadership and to point out the lessons of a struggle—particularly one that is going down to defeat.

Some members of the Communist Party engaged in red-baiting the Progressive Workers Movement and other militants active in the strike. This put them on a par with Angus MacDonald and Ed Lawson of the Teamsters Union, helped to confuse and divide workers, and in this manner aided the cause of the employer. After the first few days, the policy of this group became one of "get the workers back into the plant," which meant accepting the sell-out deal worked out by MacDonald and Ross, demanding only that management should state how many workers were to be fired before a return to work would be agreed on. They made every effort to restrict the struggle to a simple one "between worker and boss," observing the role of the state and of the international union bureaucracy in the service of the ruling class.

One of the so-called radicals stated his main role was to remain quiet and stay in the union so as to carry on the fight. No explanation was forthcoming as to how one "carries on the fight" while remaining silent in the face of bureaucratic terrorism directed against fighting workers. There is only one way to "carry on the fight" and that is to stand up and be counted against U.S. imperialist monopoly and the U.S.-appointed bosses who serve monopoly.

## LESSONS OF THE LENKURT STRIKE

Every strike struggle has its lessons that must be learned by the working class, and learning these lessons is even more important in defeat than in victory. The Lenkurt dispute was unquestionably a defeat for the workers.

The strike at Lenkurt Electric started out with great promise of victory for the workers. Trade unionists were solidly united behind the strikers; the workers involved in the dispute were fully prepared to put up a militant battle in defence of their rights; the relative high rate of employment made it more difficult to find scabs; the Lenkurt workers had a strong legal position in that they were opposing the employer's flagrant violation of the provincial Hours of Work Act. Yet, in spite of the comparatively favourable situation, the strike was lost.

It is true, of course, that the employers offered stiff resistance to the workers' demands; but this, while it was a contributing factor, could not of itself account for the defeat sustained by the workers. The employer class will always offer the utmost possible resistance available at the time, and called for according to the seriousness of the dispute. This is a factor which workers must expect on all occasions and make preparations to counter by united militant struggle.

One lesson to be drawn from the formidable opposition of the company is the fact that the owners of industry will defend their positions of wealth and privilege with the utmost vigour to the bitter end. This reaction of the employers resulted from nothing more serious than the workers' demands for decent working conditions and the right to live in dignity. If the owners of industry react with such determination and violence in response to demands for elementary improvements in working conditions and just treatment for their employees, how must we expect them to act when their very existence as a class is in danger, when the working people at last decide to strip them of their power and relieve them of their wealth? Should we not look forward to that time with the expectation of witnessing the most violent resistance on the part of the ruling class and prepare ourselves to meet their violent opposition to social change?

The role of the state as defender of the capitalist class was also ably demonstrated in the strike at Lenkurt's. The courts followed a course of action that has

become regular procedure in strikes throughout Canada, and particularly in British Columbia, in recent times: injunctions against picketing were issued even though picketing is supposed to be a legal pursuit on the part of striking workers. With the injunctions came the state police to break the picket line and facilitate the movement of strikebreakers into the plant, thus assisting the employer against the worker. The provincial government entered the dispute in the person of the Attorney-General, who ordered legal proceedings be taken against a number of workers. Also worthy of attention is the diligence with which the police serve the ruling group of profiteers. Special detachments were detailed to join the picket line, masquerading as trade unionists but, in fact, filling the role of agents-provocateur and fingering those to be arrested. This type of service has always been rendered by the police department, but it was probably more flagrant and more obvious in the Lenkurt dispute than it has for some years past. This will come as no surprise to the millions of Canadians who have lately become aware that even prime ministers and government officials (and not forgetting provincial police officers) are not immune from the attentions of the state police who spy upon the most intimate details of their personal lives.

It will no doubt be comforting to Canadians to realize that all the informations gleaned by our state police is made available to the U.S. ruling class through liaison with the FBI. The service rendered to Lenkurt was also by way of being a service to U.S. imperialism, since Lenkurt is a subsidiary of the giant United States monopoly, General Electronics. We have, then, the spectacle of Canadian authorities rushing to the assistance of a foreign-owned monopoly against Canadian workers who were in fact defending their rights under terms of the British Columbia Hours of Work Act, which was being grossly violated by management.

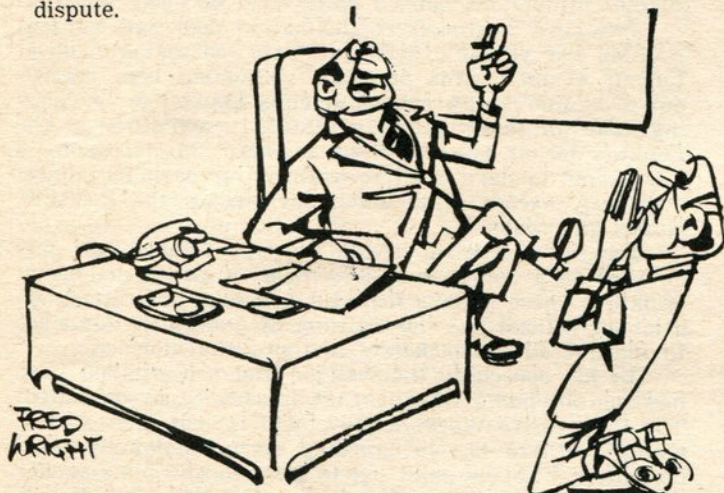
All of what has been said above is of the utmost importance and calls for the closest attention and examination by Canadian workers. But these facts alone cannot account for the dismal defeat suffered by Labour in the Lenkurt dispute, nor for the additional defeats we will suffer in the days ahead, if we fail to take the necessary steps to remedy the situation. We must look elsewhere for the real reason for this rout of Labour. We contend that responsibility for the present grave situation lies in the fact that the workers' fighting weapon is being rendered ineffective in the face of an impending crisis of the social system. The first step toward improvement in the situation is to rid our labour movement of foreign bureaucratic control and strengthen our unions, both organizationally and ideologically, so they become effective weapons in Labour's struggle against capital.

One point that requires clarification is on the type of union to which we belong. We do NOT have international unions in Canada; we have AMERICAN unions. This fact of foreign control of our unions is, in itself, a matter of some importance, but it is even further distorted by virtue of the fact that control is centred in the same imperialist nation which dominates the entire economic life of our country, owning outright the main sections of our natural resources and manufacturing industry. The weight of the U.S. domination over our unions was not so critical when our affairs were under the influence of ascendant British imperialism. But with the passing of Britain's world influence the situation became unbearable.

The dominant influences in the established labour movement of the United States support the world objectives of American imperialism. In Canada, this means defence of the fundamental interests of the U.S. monopolies which are in direct opposition to the interests of Canadian labour and the Canadian nation. What this means to Canadian workers is nowhere more evident than in the Lenkurt strike, where officials of the American union ORDERED the workers to submit to the demands of the company and return to work under conditions that have been unknown since the days of the infamous "Yellow Dog" contract and company unions. The



subservience of the dependent Canadian bureaucracy was graphically illustrated in the total collapse of the leading bodies of the trade union movement in British Columbia on orders from one appointed official, vice-president Ladyman of the International (American) Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. The manner in which a whole column of these international union officials terrorized workers and threatened them with deprivation of the opportunity to make a living was clear evidence of how they stand squarely on the side of the ruling oligarchy in every dispute.



*"I like the way you negotiate, mac, but while you're down there you might as well give my shoes a shine."*

The outcome of the Lenkurt strike, and no less the much more satisfactory outcome of the Ontario Teamsters' strike, indicate the critical need for changes in the trade union movement in this country before Labour will be able to stand up to the attacks of the monopolies and resist the onward sweep of the gathering international crisis. It is essential that we break the stranglehold of the American union bureaucracy and their Canadian henchmen, and vest control of the movement in the rank-and-file where it rightfully belongs. We must adopt new forms of organization and industry-wide bargaining so Labour will be able to exert its full strength in every dispute, no matter how small. There must be an end to the crossing of picket lines — sanctity of labour solidarity must take precedence over "sanctity of contract." Our present situation calls for Canadian unions fully controlled by rank-and-file Canadian workers in place of the present ineffective organizations dictatorially ruled by the labour lieutenants of U.S. imperialism.

The organizational changes we have referred to are extremely important and could lead to considerable improvement in the situation, but will not, of themselves, bring any real fundamental change. The organizational changes, to be fully effective, must be accomplished by a change in ideological outlook. Workers must begin to see their organization as a force in the CLASS STRUGGLE, and not simply as bargaining agencies to settle grievances and make treaties with the class enemy. Most important, the unions must place in the forefront of the struggle the fight to take control of the foreign-owned monopolies and advance the fight for the independence of the nation. In this way we will be able to take full advantage of the unbeatable and powerful unifying factors, the identity of interests of Labour with the basic interests of the nation as a whole and the entire working people. Our national interests demand the formation of an INDEPENDENT CANADIAN LABOUR MOVEMENT able and willing to fight for the basic needs of the working people.

#### **LENKURT—LATE DEVELOPMENTS**

At time of writing, the 257 discharged employees at Lenkurt's were being slowly processed for possible return to employment under terms of the so-called "contract" imposed on the protesting workers by international union

officials. The rate of rehiring indicates that no more than 12 and one-half per cent will be re-hired, in spite of the fact that a goodly number failed to apply for re-employment.

A meeting held on Tuesday, June 7, brought sharply to the fore the "company union" nature of the present IBEW setup at Lenkurt's. The meeting was convened in the plant cafeteria at 4:30 quitting time, and it has been reliably reported that the company paid workers on after-noon shift for the time spent at the gathering.

No information could be gleaned from IBEW local president Angus MacDonald on the state of negotiations, with the exception of the report that he had "appointed" a three-man negotiation committee which, he claimed, he had a right to do "under the union constitution. Two of the three appointees are supervisors in the plant.

Local elections have been "postponed" by the international office and more than 20 members have been charged with offences (most of them running in opposition to incumbent officers who bear responsibility for the present mess).

Of considerable interest is the policy being promoted by the Communist Party (revisionist) group in the union.

Some 14 years ago, the local was placed under trusteeship by the international executive, and known radicals were expelled or suspended. Some of those suspended were just beginning to qualify for a return to full membership nearing the end of 15-year suspension sentences. Fourteen years ago the C.P. group defended the Yankee trustees from angry workers, counselled against moving toward the setting up of an independent Canadian union, and advised remaining in the American union to carry a fight for "autonomy." In the intervening years, the revisionists had recovered some lost ground, and manoeuvred themselves into some leading positions. Now they are being caught up again in a new wave of attacks.

However, the revisionists seem unable to learn any lessons from the struggle. The policy of 14 years ago is in the process of being repeated. The strongly expressed desire of a majority of the Electrical Workers for a new organization is being vigorously combatted by the revisionists who are renewing their appeals to "remain in the international and fight for autonomy."

Faced with considerable difficulty in putting across their defeatist and collaborationist line, the revisionist leaders are frantically trying some stalling tactics. One of the main tactics is a proposal for a petition to the international to permit the setting up of separate locals for certain sections of the union. The theory is that these sections would then be away from the present local leaders and in a "more democratic" setup. They argue that this is "legal" under the constitution and give their arguments the air that the signing of the petition almost makes it incumbent on the international officers to grant a charter to such new locals (this is not so). The revisionists are failing to point out several things about their scheme that make it valueless. These failings they must be aware of, consequently the stall must be a conscious one and deliberately conceived.

The granting of a charter to a seceding group attempting to get out from under the present local membership would signify disapproval of that leadership by the American officials. But everyone knows that these leaders have faithfully carried out orders of the American officers, which means that such an expression of disapproval would not be directed toward the local leaders at all, but against the American officials themselves. The charter, as the revisionists very well know, will not be granted, even if it should get the endorsement of every member of the local—the American executive officers are not likely to assist in their own repudiation.

But, even if the charter were to be granted, it would make not the slightest difference, since the source of the trouble is not the local officers, who exist only by grace of their Yankee sponsors: the root of the mess is in the officers of the American bureaucracy, and that would still remain to bedevil any new local that might be set up. The only solution is a Canadian union firmly and democratically controlled by the rank-and-file members.



# WE TOO ARE ASHAMED, MR. LAWSON

Mr. Ed Lawson of the Teamsters Joint Council, self-styled "representative of labour," has been using every available propaganda medium (and everything possible in this line was placed at his disposal) to launch a vicious attack against the Progressive Workers Movement. At one point in his attack this loud-mouthed labour faker stated he felt ashamed to be a "representative of labour" (note how he said REPRESENTATIVE and not MEMBER of the labour movement). Well we would like Mr. Lawson to know that we, too, are ashamed—ashamed that anyone should think Lawson is even remotely connected with labour and with working people.

There is a question here which we think requires answering: Who made Mr. Lawson a "representative of labour" and when was the last time he allowed his constituents to cast a ballot on whether or not they wanted him for representative?

Lawson's somewhat astounding chastisement of the officers of the B.C. Fed and Vancouver Labour Council for "allowing" members of Progressive Workers Movement on the Lenkurt picket line calls for some comment.

In the first place, no one "allows" us to go on picket lines. The members of P.W.M. are workers and members of trade unions and as such their place is on any solidarity picket along with all other honest trade unionists. We will ask no one for permission to join in the struggle for the just cause of labour nor will we yield to any strictures against our presence in the front ranks at the scene of any of labour's battles for a better life. One welcome feature of this type of activity is that one is very unlikely to meet the Lawson type on a picket line.

In the second place, Lawson doesn't exactly come into count with clean hands so far as association with P.W.M. is concerned. We would remind Lawson and his orchestra of press and radio of an incident that occurred in the fall of 1964.

When the Teamsters struck the D. S. Scott Transport injunctions were handed down against the employees in just the same way as at Lenkurt Electric. The day the injunctions were handed out an official of the Teamster Union asked two members of P.W.M. to man the picket line until others could arrive. This was done, the two having picketed for six hours until relieved by new arrivals. Lawson, himself, spoke to members of P.W.M. and encouraged them to participate in the picketing. Several P.W.M. members were taken to dine at Teamsters' expense.

During the course of the strike a number of P.W.M. members were arrested with bail and legal defence being arranged by the Teamsters Union—Ed Lawson participating personally. During the period of these activities our people worked directly out of the Teamsters' office assisting with the organization of picketing. The fact that this strike ended in victory was in no small measure due to the self-sacrificing work of almost the entirety of P.W.M. membership in the Vancouver district.

Is it the intention of Mr. Lawson to recommend to the trade union movement that all workers participating in picketing activities be asked to first show paid-up membership in the Liberal or Conservative Party? If such a measure should be enforced there will, of course, be no further injunctions handed down—and no picket line.

Lawson's sweeping condemnation does not stop at P.W.M., nor yet at officials at B.C. Fed and Vancouver Labour Council. This arrogant gentleman also reaches out to berate the Burnaby Municipal Council for suggesting that an investigation of R.C.M.P. activities on the Lenkurt picket line might be in order. Mr. Lawson, in fact seems to have a bitter word of reproach for almost everybody except injunction-happy judges, the R.C.M.P., bosses and scabs.

Lawson's criticism of the Burnaby Council can only be read as a complete endorsement of police actions at Lenkurt. These actions included a brutal mob attack on a labour official and the dressing of policemen in civvies to masquerade as picketers and provoke violence.

In his speech to the well-fed and self-satisfied businessmen attending Kiwanis Club luncheon Lawson stated: The Progressive Workers Movement is "not interested in aiding workers but in breeding on unemployment and discontent." Let us point out to Lawson and his audience of applauding babbies that it is capitalism that breeds unemployment and causes discontent by its inhuman social system. We are dedicated to removing the cause of this unemployment and discontent which is capitalism. Lawson having a personal interest in the survival of this social system and a material interest in the maintenance of a social order based on exploitation is the one who profits by unemployment and breeds discontent.

The Teamster president has clearly indicated over the last few years that he is far removed from any real contact with the working man. Safely ensconced in his well-appointed office, dressed in his silk shorts, diamond studded cuff links and stickpins and honoured guest at employer-organized banquets the Teamster representative is the perfect specimen of labour statesman so well-beloved by the employer and a constant threat to the freedom and living standards of the working man. He is the perfect example of the Yankee-appointed bureaucrat who exercises dictatorial rule over Canadian working people on behalf of an alien power.

The sooner Canadian workers get the Lawson type off their backs the sooner the land will be free and the workers enjoy security.

Issued by:

Trade Union Committee  
PROGRESSIVE WORKERS MOVEMENT  
35 East Hastings Street  
Vancouver, B.C.



## Dear Reader

Periodically we have appealed for funds since our paper was initiated. Each time you have given generously and the quality of our paper has correspondingly been raised. Paper sales, subscriptions are constantly on the increase. We are today reaching an everwidening circle of people but we must reach out further. It is with this in mind that we again ask you to "dig deep" as this is your paper as much as anyone's.

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The first 5 readers to send in \$25.00 will each receive a beautiful bound volume of **Progressive Worker** (1st Year Edition) and the following 10 will receive 4

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Please send all proceeds either to **APPEAL**, or **SUSTAINER c/o Progressive Worker 35 East Hastings, Vancouver 4, B.C.**

Yours for Socialism,

Ed Charles



# SPECIALISTS IN MURDER

## THE "GREEN BERETS"

Donald Duncan, Canadian-born (Toronto), naturalized citizen of the U.S., volunteered for service in the Special Forces (Green Berets) and spent 18 months as sergeant first class on combat duty in Vietnam. At the end of this year-and-one-half stint, Mr. Duncan refused an offer of a field promotion to the rank of captain and quit the Green Berets, and the U.S. army, convinced, as he says, that "the whole thing was a lie." In a special article written for the West Coast magazine "Ramparts" Duncan explains why he thinks the war is a lie and why he quit the army mid-way in a successful military career.

The former army sergeant explains that he was a militant anti-communist when he joined the service in December 1954, a political outlook "due in part to my being Roman Catholic, in part to the stories in the news media about communism." It is obvious that Duncan, although he may be less militant, is still a fervent anti-communist. All of his shattering experiences with the Green Berets have not convinced Duncan that destructiveness and brutality are inherent in the imperialist system. He is convinced that the U.S. capitalist system is a basically good, fundamentally sound "democratic" social order far more acceptable than socialism and guilty only of making a tragic mistake in the war in Vietnam which, he contends, is actually assisting the Communist cause. "If we could only say," writes Duncan, "we feel we have made a mistake, in one gesture we could regain everything we've lost in the way of prestige. Latin Americans, for example, might say, 'Maybe the Americans really are interested in people'."

This statement sharply outlines Duncan's naivete and his complete illiteracy so far as political affairs are concerned—a condition undoubtedly due to his anti-Communist education. He is unable to understand the elementary fact that imperialism, a social system based on the exploitation of man by man, is born of aggression and exists by aggression, that, as the 81-party statement puts it, "The system of exploitation of man by man and the system of extermination of man by man are two aspects of the capitalist system." Putting an end to war, brutality and destruction is entirely dependent on putting an end to the imperialist system of aggression and brigandage and not at all on the expectation of a change of heart on the part of the aggressors or their early recognition of their "errors."

However, Duncan's political backwardness in no way detracts from the devastating effect of his expose of the operations of the Special Services force in Vietnam. On the contrary, Duncan's political naivete and his belief in the essential good of the "American way of life" makes his disclosures of lies and brutality all the more dramatic. A defender of the system, it will not be an easy matter to convict him of exaggeration or partisanship on the side of the Liberation forces, thus causing his unwitting and unintentional indictment of U.S. imperialism to have all the greater impact on the growing masses of people awakening to the necessity for struggle against the aggressor.

Duncan briefly outlines some of the brutal methods of torture and "interrogation" which were part of the instruction given recruits to the Special Services, and concludes: "When we asked directly if we were being told to use these methods, the answer was, 'We can't tell you that. The Mothers of America wouldn't approve.' This hypocrisy was greeted with laughs." He later says: "Our own military teaches these and even worse things to American soldiers. They then condemn the Viet Cong guerrillas for supposedly doing these very things. I was later to witness first-hand the practice of turning prisoner over to the ARVN (Army of the Republic of Vietnam) for 'interrogation' and the atrocities which ensued." The anti-Communist theme, he states, was woven throughout

the training and recommended reading invariably consisted of books on "brainwashing" and atrocity tales of the life under Communism. Instructions from the training program director included this piece of advice: "Don't send me any niggers," a racist outlook thoroughly in tune with the manner of referring to Vietnamese as "slopes" and "gooks." Other cited examples of American democracy in action are the segregated bars where Negroes dare not enter at the risk of forcible ejection.

Since Canada is a member of the International Control Commission charged with the responsibility of overseeing the proper and effective application of the terms of the Geneva Agreement to Indo-China, one of Duncan's disclosures, concerning Laos, is of direct concern to the Canadian people. That the United States deliberately planned to violate the neutrality of Laos and directed an invasion of Laotian territory is apparent from the following statement: "After my initial assignment in Saigon, which lasted two and one-half months, I volunteered for a new program, called Project Delta. This was a classified project wherein specially selected men in Special Forces were to train and organize small teams to be infiltrated into Laos . . . the possibility of forming guerrilla bases was considered." The foregoing was a widely advertised fact at the time, but one consistently and emphatically denied by the Canadian members of the Commission who were more intent on rendering service to U.S. imperialist interests than enforcing the Geneva Agreement.

When denials of what was no longer deniable could no more suffice to cover the fact of U.S. invasion, shelling and bombing of the territory of Laos, Canadian commissioners turned to peddling tales of Laotian "aggression" manufactured by U.S. propagandists. Obedient scribes of the "free press" recounted lurid stories of "infiltration along the Ho Chi Minh trail." Unfortunately for these high-minded propagandists of the Western world, ex-sergeant Duncan revealed the true situation when he wrote: "To many in Vietnam this mission (into Laos—Ed) confirmed that the Ho Chi Minh trail, so-called, and the traffic on it, was grossly exaggerated, and that the Viet Cong were getting the bulk of their weapons from ARVN (Saigon—Ed.) and by sea. It also was one more piece of evidence that the Viet Cong were primarily South Vietnamese, not imported troops from the North."

Further on the indigenous character of the Liberation Front forces, Duncan had this to say: "I had to accept the fact that, Communist or not, the vast majority of the people were pro-Viet Cong and anti-Saigon." And further: "The Viet Cong soldier believes in his cause. He believes he is fighting for national independence. He has faith in his leaders, whose obvious dedication is probably greater than his own. His officers live in the same huts and eat the same food."

In contrast to this picture of equality, mutual respect and confidence, Duncan cites the sordid conditions prevalent in the army of the Saigon puppets: "(The Saigon soldier) . . . knows that his leaders are in their positions because of family, money, or reward for political favors. He knows his officers' primary concern is gaining wealth and favor."

"His captains and majors eat in French restaurants and pay as much for one meal as the soldiers make in a week. They sleep in guarded villas with their mistresses. They find many excuses for not being with their men in battle."

"The soldier knows he will be cheated out of his pay. He knows equipment he may need is being sold downtown. His only motivation is the knowledge that he is fighting only to perpetuate a system that has kept him uneducated and in poverty."

As Duncan points out, the rationale for upholding such a corrupt regime was: "We have to stop the spread of Communism somewhere . . . if we pull out, the rest of Asia will go Red."



This Special Forces sergeant finally arrived at the inescapable conclusion that, in his words, "... the whole thing was a lie. We weren't preserving freedom in South Vietnam. There was no freedom to preserve.

"... It's all there to see once the Red film is removed from the eyes... It's not democracy we brought to Vietnam—it's anti-Communism... The people remember that when they were fighting the French for their national independence, it was the Americans who helped the French. It's the American anti-Communist bombs that killed their children. It's American anti-Communism that has supported one dictator after another in Saigon. When anti-Communist napalm burns their children it matters little that an anti-Communist Special Forces medic comes later to apply bandages."

When asked, "Do you resent young people who have never been in Vietnam, or in any war, protesting it?" Duncan replied: "On the contrary, I am relieved. I think they should be commended. I had to wait until I was 35 years old, after spending 10 years in the army and 18 months personally witnessing the stupidity of the war, before I could figure it out."

# PHÁI ĐOÀN THƯỜNG TRỰC

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Permanent Mission of the SVNF in PRC

北京 1966年4月6日  
Peking April 6, 1966

## STUDENT PROTEST

Nineteen Canadian students at Amherst College in Nova Scotia walked out of the college's 145th commencement exercises in protest against a scheduled ceremony to confer an honorary degree of doctor-of-laws on U.S. Secretary of Defence McNamara.

A spokesman for the students stated: "The protest was over the extremely poor taste in honouring the leader of a war like that in Vietnam." A leaflet distributed in connection with the demonstration declared that it was "naive and implausible to imagine that Secretary McNamara can be honoured for his service to his country without simultaneously endorsing his instrumental role in American foreign policy in the Vietnam war."

More and more of the American people particularly the youth—are, like Duncan, actively protesting U.S. aggression in Vietnam and rejecting anti-Communist propaganda screen thrown up to obscure the real aims of the imperialists in Asia. As yet, the great majority reject only the effect, the "Dirty War" and all the brutality and mass slaughter it entails; they do not yet reject the cause, the imperialist system of exploitation. But as the casualty lists lengthen and the peoples of the world more vigorously condemn imperialist aggression everywhere; as the valiant fighters for freedom in the Vietnam Liberation Front score more decisive victories over the demoralized forces of the aggressors, and the Saigon puppet regime more clearly demonstrates its inner rottenness and corruption: the people begin to recognize imperialism for what it is, a system of naked aggression and exploitation. In the process of demonstrating their opposition to the war in Vietnam, Americans will eventually realize that to end the war and save America itself from disaster, they will have to put an end to the imperialist system itself.



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# Letters to the Editor

Several months ago the Progressive Workers Movement published and distributed a leaflet on the subject, "Keep Canada Out of O.A.S." All our readers, we believe, received a copy of this leaflet, which was also distributed widely to the general public in a number of Canadian cities.

The statement called attention to the fact that the Prime Minister had made public statements while holidaying in the Caribbean which indicated that the government was seriously considering joining the OAS and went on to point out the role of the OAS as a Trojan horse in Latin America. The leaflet concluded by stating clearly the reasons why the PWM opposed Canadian membership in the OAS and invited Canadians generally to join them in the protest.

In mid-May (too late for our last issue) a copy of our leaflet was returned to us by mail accompanied by a letter which reads as follows:

The Editor,  
Progressive Worker,  
Dear Sir:

This is to let you know that we think that the contents of the enclosed pamphlet are unbelievably and grossly inaccurate.

It is amazing that you have the audacity to question the intelligence of the Canadian government and the Canadian people by circulating literature that has distorted the truth to such a degree that your own intelligence is questionable!!!!

It is noticed that your paper is produced by voluntary workers. It is sad to think that anyone would use his spare time and energy to help create such utter trash. Wouldn't it be more rewarding to do some charitable work instead of instigating strife and unrest.

Finally, we would like to add that it is a relief to know that the leaders of this country are more likely to know what they are doing and what is best for this country than indoctrinated, narrow-minded agitators.

Yours sincerely,  
(Signed:) KERRY FRANKS  
IRENE McPHEE

x x x

Dear Kerry and Irene:

We propose to make a few comments on the contents of this communication. First, on the accusation of gross inaccuracy. Our contention that leading ministers and officials in the government of Canada were seriously contemplating entering the OAS was firmly based on public statements by the gentlemen concerned, therefore, if any inaccuracy is involved it must be laid at their door, not ours. There was certainly no inaccuracy in the outline of the horrible social conditions prevailing in Latin America. If anything, the statement erred on the side of mildness in this respect. Any doubt of the correctness of our expose that may have been lingering on in the minds of honest people should have been finally dispelled in the wake of recent events. Even as the above wrongly addressed letter was finding its way to us through the mails, U.S. Marines in Santo Domingo had added to their battle trophies the lives of a shoeshine boy and a two-year-old child. Our correspondents will probably think this, too, is "grossly inaccurate" and that the victims had no business standing in front of guns being fired by peace-loving American Marines. They no doubt did it deliberately just to embarrass those fine American boys.

Second: "Circulating literature that has distorted the truth." This is quite a ringing denunciation but, in the absence of some details, a rather hollow one. Surely our critics owe to us, and the "intelligence of the Canadian people," the courtesy of citing a few samples of what they consider distortions contained in the contents of the leaflet.

Was the truth distorted when we quoted Gerald Clark and J. B. McGeachy, two well-known Canadian newspapermen; and Carlos Fuentes, the eminent Mexican writer? Was the truth distorted when we accused U.S. interests of wanting to destroy the Cuban government? Was it a distortion of truth to claim that more than half the Latin American regimes are military dictatorships? Did the distortion lie in the figures cited to prove the dominant position of U.S. industrial monopolies in Latin America? Perhaps our correspondents will undertake to enlighten us on these matters!

"Third: Wouldn't it be more rewarding to do some charitable work instead of instigating strife and unrest." Frankly: NO! We prefer to end a social order that makes charity necessary and replace it with one that will provide an abundance for all rather than wealth for the few and poverty for the many as is the case at present. It is not we but conditions resulting from a social system based on the exploitation of man by man that is the cause of strife and unrest. Did it not occur to your boasted intelligence when you were penning your communication that there is something contradictory in your appeal for "charitable work" in an affluent society such as ours which you appear to contend is ruled by some kind of knights in shining armour who are equipped with a vast intelligence far superior to that possessed by us common mortals?

Finally, your concluding paragraph where you express relief for the knowledge that the nation's leaders know what they are doing and what is best for the country. It was when we reached this section that we thought perhaps the whole business is a hoax perpetrated by a couple of pranksters. After all, no one in their right mind would undertake a public defence of the proposition that Canada's parliamentarians are likely, on any given day, to know what they are doing or what is best for us. What is best for themselves they surely know, as is evidenced by their voting personal salaries of \$20,000 and a host of fringes and emoluments. (Now there is a vast field of underprivileged fairly screaming for charitable work!)

Have you not yet heard of such affairs as the Rivard case? The sordid details of who slept last with Gerda Munsinger? How the RCMP collects dossiers on every living Canadian, including cabinet ministers and makes the same available to every pipsqueak ruler who fancies himself a giant among men? Have you not been informed on how our land is being sold to an alien band of imperialist brigands terrorizing our citizens? Are you not aware that these same imperialists are being given wide access to our natural resources which they forge into weapons of mass destruction for the slaughter of innocent hard-working people? Or is it just that you are not concerned with all this, content to salve your conscience and justify your existence with some personal and pitifully inadequate "charitable work."

Wake up and join the "indoctrinated, narrow-minded agitators" who believe the world CAN be a better place, you may find it more rewarding, and certainly of more lasting value, than cold, empty charity.

Yours for a better world,

EDITOR.

The Central Committee of the Progressive Workers Movement has requested publication of the following letter:  
To Martin Amiabel: June 1, 1966.

This is to notify you that the Central Committee made a unanimous decision to expel you from the Progressive Workers Movement for having engaged in activities calculated to confuse, undermine and ultimately destroy the revolutionary working class movement in Canada.

The above decision has been endorsed by the clubs and is effective as of this date.

Yours truly,

Jerry LeBourdais,  
for the Central Committee.



# REVISIONIST NATIONAL CONVENTION

The 19th National Convention of the Communist Party (Revisionist) was convened at Toronto on May 21 with 250 delegates and observers on hand to enjoy the festivities. One hundred sixty of those in attendance were present as accredited delegates, about one-third of them non-elected members of the national committee. Representation was on the basis of one delegate for each 20 members or major fraction thereof, except in the case of Quebec where representation is set at one delegate for each 10 members. Taking all things into consideration, the delegates must have been representing a membership total of not more than 1,800. For a party which concentrates on parliamentary activity, trade union economism and peaceful transition or socialism by ballot, the pitifully low membership, after more than 40 years of effort, would seem to indicate a need for close examination for the failures of the party and, if, in fact, there is any real necessity for its continued existence.

It was claimed that the average age of the delegates was 41 in contrast to the average of 50 at the 1963 convention. This was hailed as a definite sign of the party's "turn toward the youth," but since there is little or no recruiting taking place it seems logical to assume that any drop in age is attributable to the old dying off rather than to an influx of youth. We are all the more convinced of this in view of the increasing number of notices on the death of old-time members that are appearing regularly in the party press.

The keynote address was delivered by the national leader, William Kashtan, on opening day. It is this report which details the work of the national leadership and the party since the previous convention, sets the political tone for the current deliberations and outlines the main areas of activity for the forthcoming period. Therefore, an analysis of Kashtan's address should give us a fairly clear picture of the convention as a whole.

## **THE "FIGHT FOR PEACE"**

The keynote address began with the usual shallow and one-sided examination of the growing "opposition to monopoly" and the sentiment for "democratic advance" among the Canadian people, including a eulogy of Liberal Walter Gordon's "turn to the left." From this hasty look at the situation through rose-coloured spectacles the leadership deduced that it indicated the opening of new avenues for the growth and development of the party if the members would only take advantage of the favourable conditions. After several decades of being spoon-fed this pablum one might well be excused for expressing some scepticism. The success of a revolutionary party depends not on following in the wake of developments and taking advantages of "openings." This success depends on being in the forefront of the struggle and providing leadership for the people's awakening to the need for action.

Kashtan then passes to an examination of the "fight for peace" particularly as it relates to the U.S. aggression against Vietnam. It was here that the speaker waxed indignant over some unnamed opponents of "unity of action" against imperialism and in defence of the people of Vietnam and went on to state: "Our party will continue to work perseveringly for such unity of action on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We will strengthen in every way our solidarity with all anti-imperialist forces in the world." Fine words indeed falling from the lips of Mr. Kashtan, but why did he not report exhaustively on how the party implements his resounding pronouncements.

The work of the party is concentrated entirely on the raising of funds for the purchase of medical aid for Vietnam CIVILIANS. Although they first stated to contributors that no aid would be sent to areas controlled by the Saigon government, this has recently been changed under pressure from right-wing social-democrat Tommy Douglas who publicly threatened to resign from the committee if a share of the medical aid was not apportioned to Sai-

gon. Ten per cent of all contributions coming to the committee will now be diverted to Saigon through facilities of the International Red Cross. This action is taken despite the knowledge that a vast quantity of medical supplies (including some from Canada) are already going to Saigon with a great deal of it being diverted to the black market for the enrichment of capitalists and corrupt officials. At the same time no medicines at all are reaching Vietnam from the capitalist West. It is obvious that the party leaders value electoral unity with the social democrats above unity of action in support of the Vietnam fight for national liberation—the only kind of unity of action that has any real meaning.

Calls for unity of action against imperialism are but empty slogans when not accompanied by all-out, unqualified support for the people's wars of liberation, and this support the C.P. leaders will not extend, being more concerned with establishing contact with social-democrats. Just how serious the C.P. leaders are about this kind of anti-imperialist action can be easily grasped when one remembers how the party press attacked the Progressive Workers Movement for "desiring victory in Vietnam" instead of working to stop the fighting and killing. It is difficult—if not impossible—to distinguish between the C.P. position and that of Johnston on "unconditional negotiations." Marxist-Leninists are always prepared to accept unity of action when it is directed against the imperialist aggressor, but will have no part of such appeals when they are designed as a cover for imperialist aims.

## **NUCLEAR MONOPOLY AND ALLIANCES**

Saddled with the Soviet policy on nuclear arms, the C.P. of Canada has dropped all pretense of opposition to the manufacture and stockpiling of nuclear weapons. Instead of calling for action in support of China's principled demand for the total destruction and banning of all nuclear weapons, Kashtan advised the convention delegates to support the Soviet protest against West German acquisition of nuclear weapons and to oppose "nuclear proliferation" (meaning: oppose People's China acquiring the weapons needed to defend socialism against the imperialist aggressor). In this way the C.P. leaders join the ruling group in the Soviet Union in their conspiracy to effect a U.S.-USSR monopoly of nuclear weapons.

Similarly with the imperialist aggressive military alliances. With NATO already in the throes of crisis, the C.P. leaders appear to have abandoned their demand for Canadian withdrawal from NATO and NORAD. That demand has now been replaced with a mild suggestion that Canada "re-examine its relationship to NATO and NORAD."

## **FOREIGN CONTROL**

Kashtan's handling of the question of foreign domination of the Canadian economy consists almost entirely of a rehash of outworn clichés; there is nothing new to be found in the empty formulations which have not changed since the end of World War II. It seems as though the world has stood still for 20 years. Even the high praise for "left-wing Liberal" Walter Gordon stirs memories of the ill-fated Liberal-Labour coalition proposal.

No attempt is made at an analysis of the international operations of the U.S.-based "multi-national companies" and the merging of Canadian monopoly interests into these operations.

The working people, true defenders of the nation's interests, are not to be called on to rise in defence of national independence, it seems that they are to stand by in awed amazement while anti-monopoly capitalists—and even some sections of monopoly capital (led by "left-winger" Gordon, no doubt) secure our freedom from U.S. domination. Far from seeing the workers as the foremost defenders of the nation, the party leaders consider it necessary to assure them that their living standards will not suffer as a result of gaining independence but might even improve. Having no confidence in the common



people, the C.P. leaders fear to issue a call to a struggle that might entail sacrifice. These "tired radicals" have no understanding at all of the fundamental dignity of the working people and their innate love of freedom. These people suggest that the only possible avenue to success is by appealing to the bourgeois-implemented feelings of avarice by giving promises of material reward fashioned in the style of the Soviet-tailored "economic incentives" to speed the building of "communism."

#### **FRENCH CANADA**

When discussing French Canada, the party leaders talk rapturously of the "quiet revolution" and seek to dampen down the fires of national independence with dire predictions of a U.S. takeover if the country is "divided." Their lip service to self-determination is accompanied by warnings that along this road lies total integration with the U.S. Kashtan coins glib phrases about "equal union of the two nations," but ignores the fact that French Canada can be a part of an "equal union" only if she is in a position to enter such a union as a sovereign and independent nation.

The reporter stated: "As is already known, the Communist Party of Quebec was established last year as a distinct entity," but he failed to inform the delegates that he, personally, had secured publication of a letter in "Information Bulletin," an international journal of the revisionists, in which he declared that the Quebec Party was not a "distinct entity" but a section of the C.P. of Canada and subject to control and discipline from the party's national committee in Toronto. Neither was the convention advised that the "Quebec Party" and its modest monthly journal *Combat* was able to exist only by reason of the financial support given it by the national party organization.

In an area where the situation is much more volatile than anywhere else in the country, and much more favourable to the growth of a revolutionary party, the C.P. is finding it impossible to expand its membership or gain influence among the people. An event which underlines this fact was the May 1st meeting in Montreal specially organized for the benefit of the national leader himself. In this city of more than one million inhabitants, there were exactly 25 people in attendance—including the speaker. It seems that the revisionists constitute no important part of any revolution in Quebec, either quiet or noisy.

#### **PEACEFUL TRANSITION**

Close to one-third of the keynote address is taken up by a section with the title "For Democratic Advance," the major portion of which dwells on such subjects as the "technologic revolution" (blood brother of the "Quiet Revolution"), management rights, etc. We will comment on only a couple of points in this section.

One of these points is that in which Kashtan advances the proposition of a "democratic majority" as a sort of half-way house to his special brand of socialism. The achievement of this goal is considered the most important task now facing the party members, a fact attested to by this statement makes in the course of his speech: "All the work or our party should be directed to help bring this about. In our conditions it is the path through which we all advance to socialism." Further elaboration of this proposition clearly indicates the party leaders have in mind a coalition of nondescript political factions—including fragments of Social Credit, our most reactionary political alignment. In other words, what is intended is a classic program of class collaboration par excellence designed to patch up and secure the capitalist system in time of crisis.

That this program is not viewed as any temporary measure or passing phase can be gathered from the following remark by Kashtan: "We seek co-operation on a long-term basis to achieve democratic progress today, to achieve a democratic majority tomorrow." What the proposition appears to entail is a return to laissez-faire capitalism modified by a measure of public ownership in some special areas for service industries and production, particularly in transportation and communication; a classic

social-democratic outlook and one not looked on with disfavour among certain capitalist groups. Talk of "socialism" in C.P. circles today has no more meaning than the same subject has in social-democratic circles where even right-wingers are not averse to using it as an election gimmick to gain popular support among workers. How close is the identity of interests between C.P. leaders and social-democrats can be easily recognized from the following passage in the report:

"We have already declared in our Party Program that we seek and work for a peaceful transition to socialism. We wish to say further that with the achievement of socialism in our country, all the democratic rights and institutions of the people will not only be protected but extended . . . we reject the idea of a one-party government as being a necessary condition for the transition from capitalism to socialism, and work for the formation of a multi-party government whose aim will be the building of socialism. And we see the possibility of opposition parties continuing to function . . ."

Kashtan should really have taken sufficient time out to explain what fundamental changes have taken place in capitalist outlook that causes him and his colleagues to believe that the exploiters will sit idly by while the working people relieve them of their property. In the event that the ruling class should fail to co-operate, show fight and threaten violence, will the C.P. leaders urge the workers to exercise restraint and await the day when capitalists are prepared to accept "peaceful transition"? If so, then we are going to wait a hell of a long time for socialism in Canada if we pay heed to their siren song.

The above-quoted passage is evidence of how thoroughly impregnated are the C.P. leaders with the CPSU theory of the "state of the whole people." Kashtan and company propose to provide us with something that has never before occurred in all history: a state that fairly represents the interests of both exploiter and exploited, a state that will preserve the democratic rights and institutions "of the people." What of the rights of the "working people—rights that are in direct opposition, and not compatible with, those of the exploiters?"

Why a multi-party government is needed when all are supposed to be working for the same objective—socialism, and that requires only the political and economic organization and power of the working people. But the C.P. leaders no longer stop even here, we are also going to have parties that are opposed to socialism, no doubt waiting in the wings for a return to the political stage and the reconstruction of capitalism when the people get "tired of socialism. All very peaceful, very British, very gentlemanly and democratic; just like good old Harold in England you know.

What these revisionist theoreticians are trying to have us believe is that the state is above classes and arbitrates between them; that democratic rights and institutions have no class base and are enjoyed equally by all sections and classes. Perhaps they would care to explain how it is that our classless courts grind out injunctions on an assembly line basis to impede workers in their fight to improve living standards, yet there is not a single case on record of a judge handing down an injunction to stop employers from hiring strike-breakers!

Our revisionist friends have become enamoured of the superficial operations of bourgeois "democratic institutions" and mistake them for state organs that can and will oversee the peaceful and orderly transfer of state power from one class to another. The hostility between the various contending capitalist factions, the way in which they berate each other, particularly at election time, are taken for fundamental differences on program, differences over the very existence of the capitalist system itself. But these party differences, no matter how hostile they may appear on the surface, are not over questions of program at all but on matters of policy—or the best way to run the system and who is most fitted to do the job, the existence of the system itself is never in question and when crisis overtakes the social order all previously hostile factions unite in defence of the system and the suppression



of those who would replace it with a different form of society. Anyone equipped with even an elementary knowledge of the historical development of the capitalist state understands this fact very well.

### **HOW THE BOURGEOISIE GOT STATE POWER**

More than three centuries ago Cromwell and the New Model Army, acting on behalf of the rising bourgeois class, seized state power at gunpoint, dismissed the parliament of the feudal aristocracy, beheaded Charles I and abolished the monarchy and the house of lords. The army constituted itself a political as well as military organization, set up a military dictatorship, suppressed all opposition by military terrorism, disposing in this way of the feudal aristocracy on the right and Levellers on the left. By this means the victorious revolutionary bourgeoisie ruled England until state power was consolidated and the restoration provided a basis for unity of feudalist remnants with the bourgeoisie against the working class.

When the Stuart monarchy showed too much partiality to the aristocracy James was knocked off his royal perch and the Dutchman, William of Orange, installed in his place. William could speak not a word of English but he had a keen appreciation of the need for the capitalist class to accumulate capital with all possible speed.

However, the capitalists, while they could SUPPRESS opposition, were never able to abolish it. The working class represented an ever-present threat to the political and economic supremacy of the bourgeoisie presenting the ruling class with a problem in need of constant solution since the working class is necessary to the capitalist system of exploitation. The modern capitalist state is both a means of maintaining capitalist ascendancy and an acknowledgment of the existence of the workers as a constant threat to their rule. The "democratic institutions," of which the C.P. leaders are so proud, are designed to ensure capitalist domination and are modified, changed or abolished as conditions require. Opposition parties, so-called, are opposition in name only. As stated above they agree on defending the social system, disagreeing only on how it should be run. The only real opposition is the revolutionary organization of the working class, and when a crisis of the social system presents it with an opportunity to achieve victory the parties that hitherto stood in "opposition" unite with the riding faction to defend capitalism and suppress the revolutionary workers.

This is a rough and brief, but substantially correct, outline of bourgeois history. There are a million or more evidences of the fact that the capitalist class will defend their wealth, power and privileges to the bitter end. With this in mind any real revolutionary will warn the working class to expect, and prepare themselves for, all-out resistance on the part of the ruling class when the workers decide to move for a transformation of the social system from one based on exploitation to another that will forever end all exploitation. Anyone who tells the workers

otherwise is not working for a socialist society, but is rendering service to the ruling class.

History reveals, then, that the ruling class will not voluntarily vacate the stage of history. It also points clearly to the need for a single revolutionary party solidly united on program and policy and tolerating no opposition to the consolidation of the political and economic power of the working class and the attainment of socialist objectives. Anyone who teaches otherwise is either consciously serving the bourgeoisie or is dabbling in romantic nonsense and not to be taken seriously when discussing socialism.

### **ON THE PARTY**

The final section of Kashtan's report is devoted to an alleged examination of party life and party organization. In order to make a worthwhile analysis of this subject, one requires facts, and facts are the one thing that Kashtan studiously avoids.

General indications are that the party is ageing rapidly, declining in membership and its social and class content changing to a petty-bourgeois majority. Industrial workers are becoming a rarity in the party, their place being taken by party functionaries, trade union bureaucrats, professional people (lawyers, doctors, professors, etc.) and petty merchants. Many of those listed as workers have not worked in a mine, mill or shop for upwards of two decades. The economist, social-democratic program espoused by the party faithfully reflects its petty bourgeois and trade union functionary makeup. In spite of Kashtan's laboured optimism there is every reason to believe that the party will continue to disintegrate, remaining but a small revisionist sect in the service of the bourgeoisie.

### **SOME CONCLUDING REMARKS**

Anything of value in the keynote address could easily have been said in 10 to 15 minutes, but tradition demands that the party leader give a report that takes at least two hours to deliver. It must have been an intensely boring 120 minutes for the assembled delegates. Solidly based as it was on revisionist bilge and social-democratic sophisms, the speech was completely devoid of inspiration. When Buck was leader, he at least had the ability to present his case in a lively, and sometimes even a rousing manner. But Kashtan is forced to make a mighty effort just to attain the level of mediocrity. If one were to summarize a delegate's experience of this event, it could be stated thus: A dull speech and a very dull affair conducted by conservatively dressed gentlemen carrying imposing-looking brief-cases and exuding the air of successful businessmen attending a Kiwanis luncheon or a meeting of the board of directors. Certainly no one could have mistaken this assembly for a gathering of revolutionary workers straight out of the mines and factories, but would easily have recognized it as a claue of labour bureaucrats and middle-class social reformers.

### **CHINA MYTH AND REALITY**

The Canadian press has recently increased the volume of its usual strident attack on the People's Republic of China. For some weeks past we have been regaled with tales of "purges," demotions" and "struggles for leadership." The occasion for this latest spate of gory fantasies is the increased sharpness of the ideological struggle on the cultural front in China and the unmasking of a clique of revisionists and pro-capitalist elements who had been taking advantage of positions of trust and responsibility to attempt the undermining of the fight for the Socialist Cultural Revolution and Socialism. As is usual, the myths cooked up by Canadian journalists and television commentators are far removed from the reality of what is taking place.

The details of the sharp ideological struggle are being fully reported in Chinese newspapers and periodicals, and the people are fully informed and drawn into active par-

ticipation in the debate. The most important contributions to the discussion are being translated into English and published in Peking Review. One of the most important recent articles on this subject, On "Three-Family Village"—The Reactionary Nature of "Evening Talks at Yenshan" and "Notes from Three-Family Village," appeared in No. 22, the May 27th issue of Peking Review. We urge our readers not to allow themselves to become dismayed or confused by the false and distorted propaganda of the big business news media. Read Peking Review to get the truth and keep abreast of developments: you will soon reach the conclusion that the capitalist propaganda agents are screaming more in pain than in anger, because they see the great Chinese people rejecting the siren song of the revisionist agents of imperialism and pressing on to ever more smashing victories in the Socialist Cultural Revolution.



# THE ART OF RAYMOND SOUSTER

What gets you about Raymond Souster's poems is identification . . . identification with what's he's doing, the act of the poem, the people who come into it. Look at it this way. Every man has his subjective world, the world of his perceptions and conceptions. This at the widest is the material of poetry. But in practice poetry—poetry that gets one in the guts, comes from a much narrower field . . . the area in which the poet is involved, the area where he *cares*. The strength of modern poetry is that it takes in much wider areas of the subjective world. There is freedom to talk of more things. This is a bonus of the great expansion of the areas where man is aware, knows of things. But its weakness is that the areas where man is concerned, involved, engaged in things as an individual or part of a group, have not expanded in a corresponding fashion. Indeed there is evidence that they may have shrunk.

Certainly, in an era when man is forcibly organized to an extent he never has been before, group ties (in the emotional sense) have paradoxically weakened . . . And this is perfectly understandable. The organization imposed on modern man is an unwilling one, forced on him by unwelcome pressures — the organization of society for making money . . . And the condition of which modern man is continually aware (when he has not ceased to be aware at all) is that the organizational forms forced on him have nothing to do with his needs as an individual human being, striving to be happy.

This problem of modern man in the highly-touted Western World is also the problem of the modern poet. Again and again in reading modern poetry one becomes aware that the poet is writing about things of which he just doesn't give a damn. Naming names is onerous, since just the fact that a man has the guts to write and publish poetry in the modern world, especially in this country, should count to his credit. Just the same it is necessary to point out that the work of the most highly skilled poet in this land, Al Purdy shows just this unconcern. His area of exploration is wide: he writes about cowboys, Cuba, the Doukhobors, hobos, union organizers; all sorts of subjects, some of which it would be better for his critical standing to leave alone. Yet he almost always is standing off, critical with little to offer as an alternative, uncommitted.

Yet his isn't the worst case. At least in Purdy's poetry one can detect one area of desperate concern . . . his own fate. Not all poets are so involved. In Western Canada in recent years we have seen the rise of a school of poetry that seeks to solve this problem by avoiding it altogether, by denying it exists. The most talented of this school, George Bowering, seeks to substitute for concern with humanity, even for concern with himself, a concern with his voice, and little more than his voice. Though these poets maintain, with Creeley, that, "form is never more than an extension of content, (a gross over-simplification, by the way), the fact is that their whole approach is the absolute nadir of formalism.

The result is that one appreciates poets like Bowering and Purdy, but one rarely delights in them. To turn from their ironies, less-than-ironies, their tonal finesse and their verisimilitude to the simple and thoroughly believed-in statements of Raymond Souster is to turn from duty to pleasure. They, especially Purdy, are good at images; but Souster, on occasion, is no less skilled . . . And his way of handling an image is quieter, less obtrusive, more thoroughly assimilated into the poem:

Caught in summer's flood I'm lifted  
higher than the highest tree, turned  
toward the sun which pivoting like a searchlight  
enters my brain, sinks into every pore,  
melts me, then ladles me  
into the grass, where grasshoppers  
dissect my steaming bones.

The poem is entitled, concisely, "The Flood," and by that and its simple solitary mention in the first line, one easily grasps the main image: so apt, or rather *made so apt*, that one has to give it two or three readings before realizing that it is, in fact, a conceit. The likening of summer's heat—the terrible Ontario heat of which even African veterans have complained, to a flood, is so daring that one wonders how a poet can have made it so lucid. Yet it is not only handled perfectly but hammered home, again without offence, by that one word "steaming" in the last line.

Notice again how unobtrusively, yet vividly, the element of time is introduced into the conception. The sun is "pivoting like a searchlight," and thus the whole progress of the hot humid day, from the first blast of dawn to the last lick of sunset, is included. Thus motion, continuity, is perfectly incorporated into the poem, and the process of the poet's dissolution in the heat till he is left a figurative corpse with grasshoppers gnawing his last remnants, becomes fantastically believable.

The poem also serves to illustrate a feature of Raymond Souster's method for which I will stand at the last barricade . . . Namely, this poet is not critic-bitten. He doesn't care in the slightest if some academic snob, or would-be academic snob, will some day gnaw at his poem. He says the sun

... sinks into every pore,  
melts me . . .

Taken in isolation the lines are unabashedly common, clichés in fact. But that doesn't matter a damn. The point is that they belong in the poem, are consistent with the main image, and in context they contribute in salutary fashion. There is no need to hurl yourself into acrobatics when one or two simple solid steps will do.

Another poem, "The Death of the Grenadiers" was recently the victim of a stupid and insensitive criticism in the Tamarack Review. Let's take a look at it:

It was over the ice  
of this bottomless pond  
(so the story goes)  
that the Grenadiers  
chased those Indians,  
and the ice that gave way  
to the marching step  
of the English held up  
for the braves' single file . . .

And girls have told me  
they've felt that someone  
was looking up their legs  
as they skated the pond,  
and looking down they've seen  
(noses close to the ice  
on the underneath side),  
the white-bearded faces  
of lonely soldiers  
looking up at them  
with lascivious winks  
in their socketless eyes.

You will note that the poem has a minimum of punctuation, and this is as it should be, for the interruptions in the flow of the language are given in the manner the syllables are organized. The words come out in a series of short, breathless gasps, perfectly adapted to the telling of a comical ghost story. This is precisely the feature for which the Tamarack critic chooses to condemn the poem. I also give thanks to Souster for not using the obvious image in the last line. Instead of "eyeless sockets," he—on this rarest of occasions, gets other than literal, and says "socketless eyes," thus getting the whole feel of the



cold, bloated faces, and the haunted expression on them. The dull and ineffective "eyeless sockets" was—difficult as it is to believe that anyone having pretensions to poetry could be so stupid—actually suggested to Souster by the Tamarck critic . . . one of the American Master Race.

That Souster listens to natural human speech, and bases his prosody on it, is obvious. One of the most striking evidences of this is that he frequently uses the elided forms . . . 'it's,' 'I'm,' 'you're,' 'they're,' etc., rather than 'it is,' 'I am,' 'you are.' It is surprising how many American poets, even those who talk most confidently about "the voices," have neglected to make this obvious observation about English speech . . . and the West Coast poets follow them slavishly in this mistake as in other things. Proof of Souster's skill with words is that it is difficult to notice this feature of his poetry . . . he arranges his language so that he seldom has to use that annoying verb "to be" at all.

I have dwelt so long on Souster's skill because it is something that is not at all obvious. He writes so quietly that the devices he employs are usually missed. Academes—and people who are not at all academes but their natural enemies, often take Souster's simplicity for stupidity and his natural sentiment for sentimentality. Furthermore the insouciance with which Souster disobeys so many of the 'don'ts' of the creative writing classes must be annoying to some. There is the frequency with which he uses and gets away with using, the pathetic fallacy. Just the same, if skill were all Souster had to recommend him, he wouldn't rate better than among the top dozen Canadian poets. Canada is rich in poets who know the tricks, so rich that the younger generation is thoroughly sick of them. These tend to follow the newer school of American poets . . . which is all right, except that those poets belong to another country and a subtly but definitely different culture. I want to make the point that Canadian poets, to be Canadian, could find no better model than Souster.

What stands out in Souster's work is his content . . . his ability to see people beautiful. It is through this capacity that he has given artistic existence to that most unlikely city . . . Toronto. This identity of Toronto is not well brought out in "The Colour of the Times" (mislabelled Souster's "Collected Works" . . . really rather severely selected); but the capacity to see people beautiful is brought out . . . as in the poem "Roller Skate Man":

A freak of the city,  
little man with big head,  
shrivelled body, stumps of legs  
clamped to a block of wood  
running on roller-skate wheels.

On his hands gloves  
because the Queen Street pavements  
are rough when your hands are paddles  
and you speed between  
silk-stockinged legs  
and extravagant pleats,

steering thru familiar waters  
of spit, old butts, chewed gum,  
flotsam among the jetsam of your world.

Plain statement, daring to be common when commonness is precisely what's wanted, but always having the right image—hands that are "paddles," and the "familiar waters" of "spit," when that image is required. Prevert couldn't do better.

Yet aren't human beings more than that? Aren't the forms and appearances we take in this alienated society lies against what we potentially could be, concealing the truth of the beauty of mankind? Indeed they are, and Souster allows for that through the use of fantasy, as evidenced in the next perfectly juxtaposed poem . . . probably an early one:

## FREAK SHOW

Perhaps some day the Professor's fleas may pull  
in gilded coach the Thinnest Man in the World  
together with his bride the Crocodile Girl  
up to the doors of the church where the Armless Woman  
waits to throw confetti with her skilful toes;

and together with the best man the Tatooed Giant  
and the bridesmaid the demure Leopard Girl,  
they will walk altarwards with the music of the Bearded  
Brothers

loud in their ears, where the King of the Midgets,  
modest J.P., will perform the nuptials;

with the Half Man puffing calmly his cigar  
in the front row, and the impatient clamour  
of flea-hoof's sounding outside upon the cobbles.

It is Souster's virtue that he is perfectly what he is. It would seem unfair to criticize him for what he is not. Still I already have been unfair to Al Purdy in comparing him unfavorably to Souster. The fact is that Purdy looks awkward beside Souster because he attempts far more. Looking through Purdy's most recent book, "The Cariboo Horses," one comes upon references to Tyrannosaurus Rex, stars—not just as decorative points in the sky but as raging suns, the excavations of geologists far in the future, the history of Canada as anguish. Souster simply doesn't attempt such things. Purdy falls down all frequently because he has little philosophy and no answers. Poets today must have answers. My criticism of Souster is precisely the same as my criticism of Purdy. The weaknesses that Purdy shows are the weaknesses which Souster avoids showing by limiting himself. In considering Souster's total work I am compelled to compare him with such men as the not dissimilar Jacques Prevert and the great neglected Scottish poet Hugh MacDiarmid. Such a comparison is unfavorable to Souster—considering the whole work of these men, because MacDiarmid and Prevert frankly acknowledge that they are intellectuals and write poetry which concerns itself with the big questions. Souster, like another Canadian poet who is nearly great but not quite, is a victim of bourgeois philosophy. With Irving Layton it is the half-baked "superman" theory which makes him comical when he wants to be profound. Souster is another case, since he denies philosophy. He holds though he may never have formulated it exactly this way, that poetry should express the feeling of the "common man" . . . and only those feelings. I maintain that there is no such thing as the "common man" . . . that we are all uncommon men. Or rather that there is precisely one Common Man in existence . . .

And his name is Raymond Souster.

## FURTHER NOTE ON THE ORIGIN OF THIS ARTICLE AND ALSO THE CONFUSING SUBJECT OF AL PURDY

Dear Readers:

Sorry for this gauche habit of post-end-of-the-article notes. In future my contributions to the Progressive Worker will be written especially for it, and these addenda will not be necessary. The article which (I hope) you have just read was originally composed for one of those little fink magazines which periodically arise in one of the English enclaves of Montreal, with intentions of becoming the Canadian counterpart of Evergreen Review or something. The pattern is that they last two-three issues and succeed in nothing but exhibiting the nauseating personalities of their editors. Invariably they begin with bold editorials about how modern and refreshing and daring they are going to be; and just as invariably, by the time the second issue rolls around they have become so timid that they end up withdrawing into the concealment of their own shadows.

The magazine in question started out with, among other things, the lightning observation that modern poetry



was unduly pessimistic. It declared that what it wanted was optimistic poems. So poets all over the country started sending them poems which more or less answered to that description. Thus the editors, to their despair, discovered that optimistic poetry was invariably, either by intent or semi-conscious implication, revolutionary . . . a deadly threat, not only to the capitalist system, but to their own disgusting egos. I will not go into what finally happened . . . what kind of "poetry" they used to chink up the spaces between their unbelievably flatulent articles. Some of it was written by people, like Pat Lowther, who actually can do very good things. The result was that the readers vomited from the left by number and the magazine went out of existence.

(Why the hell should I conceal its name? The magazine in question was called CYCLIC.)

The story behind the above article was this. Raymond Souster was under heavy attack. Maliciously destructive reviews had appeared in Tamarack Review, in Edge (usually a good magazine, by the way) and other places. Somehow the editors of CYCLIC got word that I had a good opinion of old Ray. They write me for an article on the subject. I declined. They lay siege to me, begging for my help. CYCLIC needed controversy in order to survive, they said. So I broke down and wrote the article; hoping—just hoping, that there might be some glimmering of fairness and sincerity in some remote and hitherto unexplored areas of their miserable petit-bourgeois souls.

You've guessed the outcome. Rather than begin the sort of controversy my article might have started they yet their little mag die. They neither printed or acknowledged or returned my offering. Some very funny poems I sent them got the same treatment. Fortunately I'd kept copies.

X X X

I could not speak of Raymond Souster out of context, and in discussing the context I made some critical remarks about Al Purdy in connection with which I have since had continuous arguments with myself. My self-rebuttals have gone something like this:

"Christ Milt . . . Here you have written an article about two poets. One of them, Ray Souster, for all of his wonderful skill and sincerity, his sympathy for the oppressed, still has attitudes which are distinctly petit-bourgeois. In fact, when he writes about the working people, he is at his best when his approach is fantastical . . . when he represents the underdogs as triumphing by the use of magic. When he gets liberal he writes like a social worker . . .

"The other one, Al Purdy, has a history of an industrial worker, a hobo in the Dirty Thirties . . . also he has been a labor "trouble-maker—a militant worker: furthermore he makes use of this history in his poems, without a hint of apology; in fact he's proud of it. Yet you praise Raymond Souster and severely criticize Al Purdy . . . the proletarian poet. Does this make sense?"

In defence of my attitude I can only say that I know several workers, militant workers just like Purdy was, who know the poems of Souster and Purdy . . . and their attitudes are the same as mine. They like Souster better. The fact is that they recognize and I recognize that Souster is a good guy who is only doing his best. They expect more of Purdy, whom they consider to be of them but not for them.

And the fact is that Purdy—in spite of what he was and what he is, writes in a way which is deeply infected with what is sometimes flatteringly called "cosmic pessimism" . . . and which is more accurately and less charitably described as petit-bourgeois cynicism.

A feature of this culture-culture "cosmic pessimism" (I'm sorry friends . . . I can hardly think of this subject without launching out with a string of virtual swear-words) is the assumption that when a large number of people feel united and act united to accomplish a deeply desired objective, that is necessarily bad. And you find an absolutely typical example of this attitude in the following passage from "FIDEL CASTRO IN REVOLUTIONARY SQUARE":

Or else that's another illusion  
something nice to believe in  
the continuity of people  
as we-they and me-you concept  
as sacharine as religion  
to comfort a world of children  
with proletarian lullabies . . .

For Christ sake Al Purdy is or was a proletarian. Are his poems lullabies? The end of the poem talks about " . . . where I hadn't — noticed before the body — of a small dead animal." I personally think that small children are a damn sight more important than small animals . . . and the Cuban Revolution has saved several tens of thousands of them from being crushed. Purdy has told me he thinks so too. That passage strikes me as a literary affectation.

Make no mistake. Purdy is for the defence of Cuba. He has written a poem condemning the American blockade. One which is not included in The Cariboo Horses . . . not included for a perfectly sound reason. It is a weak poem, one which could have been written by any true liberal.

In the poem "Hockey Players" he has the lines " . . . and knowing everything ends in a pot-belly . . . " . . . Purdy is almost fifty and his belly is flat as an ironing-board.

At risk of laboring the point I must cite the poem "In the Wilderness" about the Doukhobor trek to Agassiz. This poem has a refrain which consists simply of the words "in 1962" and later "in 1963," which is intended to convey the idea that mass protest treks, mass struggles generally, are somehow incongruous in this the 20th century. This would be news to a lot of people, several hundred million people in fact. Nevertheless "In the Wilderness" is a magnificent poem . . . I recommend your reading it.

After all this it would only be fair to quote a poem of Purdy's which will not support my contention in the slightest:

PERCY LAWSON

(Contract Negotiator—Vancouver Upholsterers' Union)

Sitting with Lawson in 1954

sitting with Percy Lawson  
ill at ease in the boss's panelled office  
after work hours talking of nothing  
talking of practically almost nothing  
a lousy nickel raise that is

haggling over a lousy nickel  
and maybe besides the long and hourly  
bearable toil of an almost lifetime  
(East Indians: 35 years

Canadians: 70—figures approximate)  
Listen in again in the boss's panelled office

listen to Lawson  
listen to Percy Lawson  
—thinking of girls in the cutting room  
afraid of the union

afraid for their jobs and  
thinking of me—afraid of Watt or  
not afraid

only wanting to be liked  
and knowing for sure I'm not  
Thinking of Lawson

up from the coal mines  
on the island and gotten fat  
since talking and haggling and  
being afraid of practically nothing  
but death and his wife and damn near  
everything but not

not bosses

not Watt

And what's the contract news from Watt who  
if I said what I thought he was would  
sue me for damn near everything  
would sue me right now in a poem and  
get a judgment for one lying lyric



I can't write  
 (I'll be damned if I write)  
 in praise of Watt  
 in praise of  
     practically nothing  
 But I listen to Percy Lawson  
     haggling over a lousy nickel  
 the twentieth part of a dollar that  
     winks among the words  
 like a clean magician's coin  
 born from virginal nothing and not  
 mined or sweated and laboured for for  
 the twentieth part of a wasted hour back there  
 in the silvery guts of a labouring terribly useful lifetime  
 In the tactical pause between the chop

of words Lawson turns  
 the fat little man probably dead now  
     turns then and gives  
 me a gold-toothed grin

Godamit there's not a thing wrong with this poem...  
 And that's not only a fact, it's an understatement. I wish  
 there were many more like it.

MILTON ACORN.

**Bibliography:** "The Color of the Times," by Raymond  
 Souster, Ryerson, 1964.  
 "The Cariboo Horses," by Al Purdy, MacLeland &  
 Stewart, 1965.  
 "Points on the Grid," by George Bowering, Contact  
 Press, 1965.



## THE RED FLAG IN FRENCH CANADA

(The following article is a translation of "Antiquité et prééminence du drapeau rouge," a section of the book "Pour un Drapeau Indépendantiste" by Raoul Roy. The book is published by Les Editions du Franc-Canada, 1849 avenue Christophe-Colomb, Montreal 24, Quebec and is available at \$2 per copy.)

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### ANTIQUITY AND PREEMINENCE OF THE RED FLAG

Throughout the history of France there has always been a red flag or, at least, a red field on which superimposed golden fleurs de lis, golden flames or other motives. Subsequently a white cross was added, and then a white band with blue disk.

It is worthy of note that the original red still occupies one-third of the French flag.

As early as the Twelfth Century, if not since Charlemagne, and possibly Dagobert (629-639), the red flag was the predominant French standard until the end of the Fifteenth Century, and one could say until the Revolution. At an undetermined period this red flag must have shared the preference of the mighty with the fleur de lis blue flag. That red flag carried any number of golden fleurs de lis. The oriflamme of Saint Denis, flown concurrently with the fleur de lis red flag, displayed golden flames. The red flag without cross continued in favor until 1789. This red flag with fleurs de lis of gold was known as the "common French flag," that is, the universal flag, in contradistinction with the blue flag reserved for the King or his representatives.

There has also been a secondary red flag with white cross. It seems to have been popular in northern France. According to one theory, this white cross flag would have been the forefather of the French standard. Under Louis XIV the white cross of this new flag disappeared to make way for an horizontal band of white carrying a blue escutcheon of three fleurs de lis of gold. This standard was flown on the King's ships until the Revolution side by side with the red fleur de lis proper, and also the blue fleur de lis without cross.

One wonders if the origin of the white band on the French standard has any connection with the white on the flags of France during the War of the Three Henrys.

### RED FAVORED FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL

Red has equally been favored in royal dress and vestments. Along with blue, it constituted the special colors of the city of Paris, and it is for this reason that it was incorporated in the tricolor blue-white-red. Of those three colors, red was the oldest and has been used constantly from earliest times until the present.

Where did the red flag flag come from? Or, rather, where did the three red flags of France come from?

As for the red flag studded with golden fleurs de lis, there exists no trace of its origin, unless it is carried back to the oriflamme which could have been adorned with fleurs de lis, or to Charlemagne's standard.

Dagobert also is credited with a red flag. It is even possible that the red came from Rome. Constantine's "labarum" is believed to have been red.

The red flag with white cross minus fleurs de lis is probably issued from the adjunction of the white cross to one of the French red flags. Added to the oriflamme or to the fleur de lis flag, the result is the same. This white cross design dates back to Charles VII in the Fifteenth Century, perhaps even earlier. It is not known when the French adopted the white cross; however, the custom of adding it on the flag came later on. The red flag with white cross was a secondary ensign. Possibly it was a transfer on cloth of the arms of Navarre over which reigned the kings of France.

As for the red oriflamme of Saint Denis, it has at least the advantage of a precise geographical origin, even if we don't know how it was born. It is alleged that it was at first the banner of the Abbot of St. Denis and that it became the kings' possession by virtue of their title as Counts of the Vexin. It is a pointed red banner decorated with yellow flames. It was called "oriflamme" in ancient French—gold flame. Some maintain there were several designs, which would seem to suggest its general use.

The oriflamme fell in disuse because it had served in civil wars and thus lost its lustre. It had also proven of little help against the English foe who made himself the master of Paris and the major part of France.

Although Mr. Rey was wholly dedicated to the promotion of the white emblem over the red, he was compelled to acknowledge that "in France, there had been a priority in rank attached to military standards. The devotional standard superseded all others; the national emblem, that of the King; the King's, that of the vassal; and so down the line, from banner to pennant, to the humble banderole of the squire." Now, the religious banner—"devotional"—was the oriflamme which, according to many historians, had been the descendant of Constantine's "labarum." And we know that the oriflamme was red, as was the said "labarum."

France fairly blazed with red in days of old!

### RED, COLOR OF THE FRENCH IN ANCIENT FRANCE

Under the old regime the red flag was the national symbol of the French on the high seas, just like the white flag distinguished the English. Until 1789 the old regular regiments used the red flag. Also red were the standards of the Queen's Own. Called the oriflamme, the red design always enjoyed preference over the blue fleur de lis partner. The escutcheon of Navarre was red, ornamented with golden links laid on in the form of a cross. (Those links or chains are traced back to Sanche VIII, who defeated Aben-Mohammed in battle, and recall the chains encircling the Moor encampment and which were shattered to pieces. The royal arms bore a red cross under Jean II. Later, it often accompanied the blue coat with



three golden fleurs de lis of the King of France. The Royal Drummers' aprons and "Trumpeteers' banderoles carried two escutcheons, one blue, one red, for France and Navarre. For the funeral of Henry IV, many banners were carried in the procession, including the red standard. The kings dressed in red. Military uniforms generously favored the same color. The crown on the French coat of arms was encased in red. The great seal of France which comprised the coat of arms of all provinces, contained twice as many designs where red is predominant as is the case for blue.

Red was a color indicating high rank. Twice a year the King made distribution of fur-trimmed garments to the knights entrusted with the administration of justice and invited as advisers in affairs of state. High dignitaries of other countries, and dukes and princes, as well as the princes of the Holy Empire, were also entitled to the purple livery, just like in France.

That the red flag was to be found everywhere is acknowledged by all historians, even those dedicated to stand by the white flag, or those who have attempted to prove that blue was the true French color. With the blue emblem, the red banner has been unfurled on land and sea until the fall of Louis XVI.

Red was the color of the French of Old France.

Even such a writer as Marius Sepet, a fanatical partisan of legitimist pretendent "Henry V's" white flag, who used to maintain that white was French and red belonged to the English, was compelled to admit that the "religious and gallant" color of the French was red, and white the corresponding "religious and gallant" symbol of the English. It was the same author who pretended to trace the "white" of the French to the white cross! And one wonders what was left in monarchical France that was not "religious" or "gallant"?

#### **ORIGIN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY RED FLAG**

Red was destined to become the revolutionary color par excellence. The explosive meaning of this color has its source in the following events: "Following proclamation of martial law by the Constituent in 1789 against unlawful assembly, municipal authorities were empowered to unfurl a red flag whenever resistance was encountered to warnings to disperse, and was a signal that force would be employed.

So it was that the red flag was used against the people in 1791. A year later (1792) the people in revolt against monarchy seized a number of red flags and in-

scribed the following: 'The People's Martial Law Against the Revolt of the Executive Power.' Such is the birth of the revolutionary red flag.

In February 1848, the red flag, now the People's emblem and revolutionary symbol, had flown on many a barricade. It was even suggested at one time to replace the tricolor with the red flag. Auguste Blanque was vigorous in favor of the move. Thus he proclaimed:

"The people have flown the red colors on the barricades of 1848. Let us not soil them.

"They are reddened, but with the blood shed by the people and the National Guard. It is flying in a blaze over Paris. There it must remain!"

Blanqui did not win the day and the government did not accept the red colors.

The Paris Commune adopted the red flag on the 5th of April, 1871.

The red flag became the banner of all revolutionary parties. Today, because of its origins, it is the emblem of the USSR and China. To deceive the German working class, Hitler chose for his flag a red field with a swastika with a view to convince them that his revolution was for the people. It was a compliment for the red colors, but a loathsome double-cross and treason.

#### **THE RED FLAG OF THE REVOLUTIONARY DEMANDS IN FRENCH CANADA**

The red flag, herald of popular wrath, was many times unfurled in French Canada. We have seen that reactionaries were complaining at the beginning of the century, that workers demonstrated on May Day by parading this banner on the streets of Montreal. Surprising as it may seem, such parades even caused riots.

In 1869 the red flag was carried by French-Canadian workers on strike demonstrating against exploitation of their labors. An eye-witness, Msgr. Lapointe, then a student, related that "workers paraded in the streets of Quebec City, behind the red flag and crying 'Bread or blood.' There occurred an incident and the officer in command of the military detachment gave order to shoot on the strikers."

The red flag has lost much of its protest impact among the working class. Today it rather means communism (with an odor of Soviet imperialism) than strictly social needs. It is at least what our people would believe if they saw the red flag heading a workers' parade.



## **WAGE SLAVERY**

### **R. PERKINS**

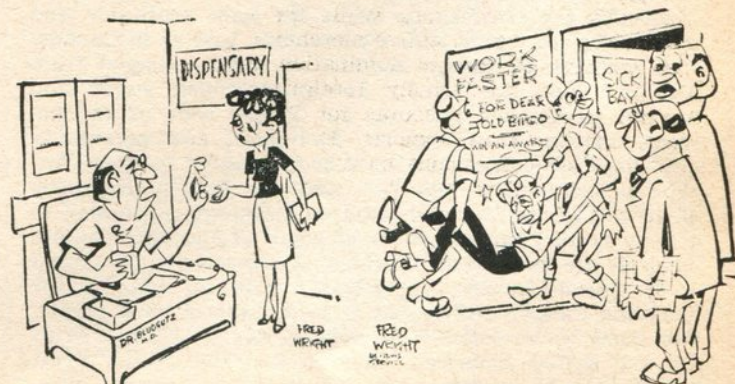
The province of Nova Scotia has announced that minimum wage rates will be raised five cents an hour. A number of workers in Halifax, Dartmouth and Sydney will now make \$1.10 per hour instead of \$1.05. Workers in New Glasgow and within a ten-mile radius will now be entitled to \$1.00 an hour instead of 95 cents.

However the above figures are for male workers only. Women workers in these localities are entitled to only 85 cents and 75 cents an hour respectively. And of course a worker is entitled to his \$1.10 an hour or her 85 cents an hour only if they have a job.

Escalating inflation and the rapid increase in the cost of living have more than offset the "raises" granted by the Nova Scotian bosses. In fact the living standard of this highly exploited and low-paid section of the working class has declined drastically. At the same time record profits have been announced by the companies that hire (or do not hire) them.

The previous history of mankind is a history of various forms of slavery. At one stage of historical development many human beings were owned outright as chattels. Under feudalism most people were "land slaves." Under monopoly capitalism workers are in reality wage slaves. We can end this wage-slave system as soon as we

workers organize and strengthen ourselves to overthrow the modern-day slave owners and establish our own government. Because the working people make up the overwhelming majority of the population we shall finally put an end to the various kinds of slavery that have plagued mankind.



"TAKE THIS... BUT MAKE SURE IT DOESN'T ACT ON COMPANY TIME"

"We told him we would investigate his grievance and he fainted!"



# UN ÉTUDIANT EN CHINE

DISCOURS de JEAN-GUY ALLARD à la RADIO-PÉKIN

Camarades,

Votre pays est un beau et grand pays où il fait vraiment bon vivre. Mais ce qui est encore plus merveilleux c'est de voir son peuple travailler avec une ardeur incomparable, c'est de voir des millions de camarades oeuvrant sans relâche à la construction d'un pays communiste. J'ai visité l'Université de Pékin, la Fédération Nationale de la Jeunesse de Chine, deux ou trois manufactures et, **par-tout**, j'ai été frappé par l'enthousiasme, cet enthousiasme qui permet parfois à l'homme de surmonter les pires difficultés et de réaliser les exploits les plus bouleversants. C'est, en même temps, cette impression à la fois de liberté, d'unité et de solidarité que l'on ressent au contact du peuple chinois.

Jusqu'ici, vivant dans un pays beau et grand aussi, mais où l'exploitation et la corruption capitaliste fait loi, je n'avais jamais connu cette atmosphère fantastique qui rend le peuple chinois capable d'étonnantes réalisations.

C'est le camarade Mao Tse-Toung qui a dit: "Le peuple, le peuple seul est la force motrice qui crée l'histoire universelle..." Et lorsque l'on visite la Chine tout, sans exception, tend à en nous apporter la preuve. Le peuple chinois a un passé révolutionnaire prestigieux et, fort d'un courage indomptable, il poursuit actuellement de façon non moins impressionnante le cours de l'édification d'un état véritablement populaire.

J'ai visité le musée révolutionnaire et j'ai vu comment le peuple chinois a su triompher, sous la conduite du camarade Mao, de tous ses ennemis; comment il a su venir à bout de l'impérialisme japonais et du traître Tchang Kai-Chek.

J'ai aussi visité l'imprimerie des Éditions en langue étrangère et j'ai rencontré des ouvriers conscients pour

qui chaque geste posé dans l'accomplissement de leur travail constitue un apport au travail de tous les communistes à travers le monde pour la réalisation d'un monde meilleur où sera bannie l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme.

J'ai aussi visité, et je tiens à le mentionner, la prison de Pékin. Prison n'est pas le mot juste pour cette institution de réhabilitation d'individus qui ont commis des erreurs et à qui on veut bien inculquer une juste morale. Dans nos pays capitalistes, où les travailleurs sont victimes de l'avidité de la bourgeoisie, les prisons sont des endroits infects destinés à bêtement punir les personnes qui n'ont su s'adapter à ce système où les escrocs de toutes sortes règnent en maîtres, et ils en sortent pires que lorsqu'ils y étaient entrés.

Avant de terminer, puisque j'en ai la responsabilité, je voudrais remercier tous les gens avec qui je suis entré en contact durant mon séjour à Pékin. Je voudrais les remercier de l'accueil si chaleureux qu'ils m'ont prodigué et de la charmante façon dont on m'a fait visiter votre merveilleuse cité. J'espère que nous pourrons un jour à notre tour vous inviter dans un Canada libéré.

En outre je voudrais exprimer au nom de mes camarades canadiens et en mon nom personnel mes plus chaleureuses félicitations au peuple chinois pour la façon si dynamique dont vous appuyez le peuple vietnamien dans sa lutte contre l'agresseur impérialiste yankee. Ce n'est pas la première fois que nous voyons la République populaire de Chine défendre les intérêts des peuples opprimés et c'est toujours avec un grand plaisir que nous constatons les efforts accomplis par votre pays en ce sens.

Vive les peuples de Chine et du Canada!

À bas l'impérialisme yankee!

Vive le camarade Mao!

Vive la République populaire de Chine!



## AROUND THE WORLD

On May 26 British Guiana became the "independent state of Guyana under the shadow of emergency laws and the continued imprisonment of political detainees (including former cabinet ministers) without trial and often without charge. As independence day neared there was every indication that the made-in-USA premier Forbes Burnham was fully prepared to resort to military-fascist rule if such a move should prove necessary to ensure his continuation in power. There were abundant signs around to prove that the "independence" formalities and celebrations did no more than officially mark the already accomplished fact that dominant control had passed into the hands of U.S. monopolists.

The most profitable sectors of the Guyanese economy—sugar, bauxite, manganese, are in control of foreign (basically U.S.) investors, while the least profitable and most risky are left to native merchants, just as in Canada. The strength of foreign domination can be gauged from the fact that the wholly foreign-controlled sugar and bauxite production accounts for 75 per cent of the nation's income from exports. Extensive, and potentially profitable oil concessions have been granted to three foreign oil companies—two U.S. and one British. Reynolds Metal Co. of the U.S. has acquired a 75-year concession to a quarter of a million acres of some of the best bauxite lands in the area with one-third of the concession period to be free of income tax. Plans are in the making for fruit and tobacco cultivation to be organized on a plantation basis under control of subsidiaries of United Fruit Co. and British-American Tobacco Co. The United Fruit Co., it will be remembered, instigated the armed overthrow of the moderate-reform Arbenz regime in Guatemala.

While they grant lucrative tax-free concessions to monopolists and abolish capital taxes directed against the wealthy, the Burnham government at the same time levies new consumer taxes that penalize the poor. The government is undertaking, at public expense, the construction of a 40-mile-long highway to run from the U.S. air base at Atkinson Field to the mining town of Demerara Bauxite.

The trade unions are under control of government-supported AFL-CIO trained bureaucrats who have reduced the movement to a largely impotent group of terrorized workers unable to cope with the dire effects of a sharpening economic crisis. Unemployment has reached 22 per cent and most of the out-of-work have been refused public assistance of any kind. The free high school education which was a feature of the previous Jagan regime has been abolished.

It is clear that the Guyana "independence" festivities only mark the passing of the nation from one colonial regime to another. All of the colonial trappings remain. The Queen and her Governor-General remain as rulers and the British army remains in occupation.

However, workers and farmers are beginning to learn the bitter lessons of the past few years and are casting off illusions about British fair play and Anglo-American respect for the "democratic will of the people." There is now opening up a new and more highly developed struggle for genuine independence which will surely be victorious in spite of all dangers and difficulties.





# SALES COUPS DE LA C.I.A.

## RÉVÉLATIONS CONCERNANT CERTAINS "SALES COUPS" DE LA C.I.A.

PÉKIN, 4 mai (Hsinhua).—Un article paru dans le New York Times du 27 avril lève un coin du rideau et donne un aperçu de ce qu'est le "gouvernement invisible" des États-Unis, la "Central Intelligence Agency" et ses sordides machinations aux fins d'agression, d'intervention, de subversion et de sabotage contre d'autres pays. Ces machinations se retrouvent comme un fil noir dans toute la politique étrangère des États-Unis.

L'article montre que la C.I.A. est un instrument capital pour l'exécution des "sales coups" du gouvernement des États-Unis.

On lira ci-dessous des extraits de l'article du New York Times.

Sur la rivière Ituri, à une douzaine de kilomètres au sud de Nia Nia, dans le nord-est du Congo-Léopoldville, une colonne composée de 600 hommes des troupes gouvernementales (fantoques) congolaises et de 100 mercenaires blancs était tombée dans une embuscade tendue par un groupe de rebelles (forces armées patriotiques—note de l'éditeur) et se trouvait en butte à un feu nourri. Soudain, trois B-26 survolèrent à basse altitude la forêt équatoriale et, en bombardant et mitraillant, ouvrirent aux forces soutenues par les États-Unis un passage à travers les rangs rebelles.



Aux commandes des avions de fabrication américaine se trouvaient des hommes qui, trois ans plus tôt, en 1961, avaient participé à l'invasion de Cuba par la Baie des Cochons, recrutés en Floride par une soi-disant compagnie privée. Ils étaient dirigés par des "diplomates" américains et d'autres fonctionnaires occupant en apparence des postes civils.

Toutefois, leur patron, bailleur de fonds et directeur à tous était la Central Intelligence Agency ayant son quartier général à Langley, en Virginie.

Dans ses actions au Congo, la C.I.A. a toujours été responsable devant les principales autorités politiques des États-Unis, et ses actions en ont toujours été bien accueillies.

Ce furent ces autorités politiques qui choisirent de faire de l'agence un instrument d'intervention politique et militaire dans les affaires d'un pays étranger, parce qu'en cinq ans d'intenses efforts diplomatiques, ce fut seulement à Langley que la Maison Blanche, le département d'état et le Pentagone trouvèrent la combinaison de talent particulière nécessaire pour empêcher la création d'un régime pro-communiste, recruter les dirigeants d'un gouvernement pro-américain et lui fournir les conseils et le soutien nécessaire pour lui permettre de survivre.

Avec ses activités qui vont depuis capter des messages jusqu'à influencer des élections, depuis faire sauter des ponts jusqu'à organiser des invasions armées, en secret ou au grand jour, la C.I.A. est devenue un instrument capital de la politique américaine et un des principaux éléments constitutifs du gouvernement américain.

En 1960, après que le Congo eut obtenu son indépendance de la Belgique, le modeste petit bureau de la C.I.A. à Léopoldville prit du jour au lendemain les proportions d'une ambassade de fait et d'un département de la guerre en miniature.

La C.I.A. emploie quelque 15,000 personnes et dépense annuellement environ un demi-milliard de dollars.

Aux fins d'organisation, le quartier-général de la C.I.A. est divisé en quatre sections dont chacune a à sa tête un vice-directeur: ce sont les sections des plans, des renseignements, de la science et de la technologie, et du soutien.

Ce sont la section des plans et la section des renseignements qui réalisent les fonctions de base de l'agence.

La section des plans est un prête-nom pour ce qui constitue en réalité la section des opérations secrètes ou des "sales coups." Elle a à sa charge tous les stratagèmes et ruses liés à l'art, sinistre et méprisé de l'espionnage et de la subversion.

C'est cette section des plans qui a établi des stations de radio clandestines "pirates" au Moyen-Orient.

C'est encore elle qui a tramé l'éviction du gouvernement Arbenz du Guatemala en 1954, le renversement du premier ministre Mossadegh en Iran en 1953 et l'invasion de la Baie des Cochons en 1961.

À l'étranger, les agents de la C.I.A. se divisent en deux groupes dépendant l'un et l'autre de la section des plans.

En premier lieu, il y a ceux qui se livrent à la sale besogne proprement dite: les espions et contre-espions, les saboteurs, les chefs d'opérations para-militaires, les corrupteurs de révolutions. Ce genre d'agents opère dans le plus grand secret, et leurs activités ne parviennent à la connaissance du public que lorsqu'ils ont la malchance de se faire prendre et "ramener à la surface" à des fins relevant de la politique ou de la propagande.

Vivant très souvent dans l'ignorance les uns des autres, les "agents des grands fonds" se font passer pour des hommes d'affaires, des touristes, des érudits, des étudiants, des missionnaires ou des représentants d'oeuvres de bienfaisance.

En second lieu, il y a les agents, de loin les plus nombreux, qui opèrent sous le couvert plus élastique de la mission diplomatique officielle. Dans le registre de la mission, ils figurent comme fonctionnaires politiques ou économiques, représentants du trésor, officiers consulaires ou employés de l'agence pour le développement international ou du service d'information des États-Unis. Le chef d'un service local de la C.I.A. pourra figurer comme auxiliaire particulier de l'ambassadeur ou comme premier fonctionnaire politique.

De toute évidence, le nombre des agents à l'étranger est un secret bien gardé. Dans son livre "Les Mille Jours de Kennedy," l'historien Arthur M. Schlesinger jr. affirme que ceux qui sont en place "sous une couverture officielle à l'étranger" sont presque aussi nombreux que les employés du département d'état, ce qui ferait à peu près 6,600.



La C.I.A. entretient des délégations dans trente villes américaines.

Il fut un temps où ces délégations se mettaient en quête d'érudits, d'hommes d'affaires, d'étudiants et même de simples touristes dont elles connaissaient les projets de voyage en Union Soviétique et dans les pays d'Europe Orientale, et leur demandaient de noter leurs observations et d'en rendre compte à la C.I.A. à leur retour.



# WHERE IS CHE GUEVARA?



## *Che Guevara*

These are miraculous days . . . Worms sing! The sound from their burrows is as lively as birds but not so pleasant. And right now they are singing "Where is Che Guevara?"

Che Guevara is beauty . . . The terrible and persistent beauty that's the end of those who can't stand it, The end of worms.

They fear him and can't stop thinking of him.

The newspapers are speculating.

President Johnson, busy breaking a treaty

As his forebearers used to do on the Indians

And now he does on the entire world

. . . . arranging the murder of a Vietnamese girl

three weeks old; pauses just an instant in the middle of handing out a souvenir pen

to think

"Where is Che Guevara?"

"Who are the people who know?"

He can't tell . . . He's made too many enemies.

He has many agents but no friends,

Has had mistresses but no lovers;

And he who's often invoked God in support of ungodly lies

Wishes that God could exist for a moment

To answer one prayer . . . Tell him:

"Where is Che Guevara?"

I'll tell you where Che Guevara is . . . He moves.

He moves with the dead and unforgotten.

He moves with the lost Indians of the Pampas, hordes and hordes of them, tall on their horses.

He moves before their high lances, shining close-up like their burnished copper reins, invisible like those reins at a distance.

He moves.

He moves with Spartacus, up the Appian Way, blinking away the tears of memory and fixing two

feelingly fierce eyes on Rome — Citadel of deceit, of the cannibals who devour men slowly . . . not their bodies but their entire lives.

And the time has come round . . . The time has come round for the end of it all;

So more more importantly he moves with the living.

Oh you manipulators, you planners of sour lives and cheated deaths, you puppet masters

Who play with dolls who ache and grieve for the things you do to them in your playing,

Or perhaps don't grieve any more, having forgotten or never known what living is like:

Did you not just now shiver violently

As if a tall seeming clumsy man in rubber boots clumped over your graves?

It is Che Guevara . . . He moves.

He moves precisely . . . He moves discretely.

He moves like the scalpel in the long boney hands of a great surgeon.

The cancer shall be cut out, and certainly the patient will survive.

Does he move as a little black dog, trotting everywhere, perhaps at the heels of an imperialist, sniffing them, holding in his guts the secret of how they shall be tripped?

No he moves by a more powerful magic than that.

Does he pass the frontier posts secreted in the womb of a pure virgin?

No he moves by a holier mystery than that.

He hates joyfully, he loves bitterly.

This is the fate of a man who is a man in this present age

And Che Guevara has not forsworn it.

There are others, millions of them, who also hate joyfully and love bitterly,

And they are his magic . . . They are his mystery.

Oh you putters and takers, you reckoners of dollars in the millions

— each digit of which is a piece of work, a piece of a life, usually a swindled piece:

Does conscience bother you? Or rather regret?

Do you think you have botched your lives?

And botched other peoples' lives even worse?

You students in Canadian Universities

Learning how to botch your lives

And botch other peoples' lives even worse:

Who are perhaps cynical, refusing to believe that a life can be anything but botched;

Or perhaps incapable even of understanding the concept of what is a life,

Really a life . . . Not botched:

Do you wonder "Where is Che Guevara?"

And does the thought make you unsteady, and do you clutch for support to the nearest lie to you?

Not the truth . . . That would be too awfully thrilling and demanding.

I tell you there are men on Earth who usually tell the truth.

I know

Because I am one of them,

And know I'm not unique.

And I have chosen who I will believe

And what I will believe.

I have chosen to believe in the ultimate . . . The loveliest thing I can imagine;

I have chosen to believe in You, not as you are

But as you should be . . . I believe in your happiest wishes!

The Birchers are right! Communism is everywhere!

Not because there are that many Communists;

But because Truth is everywhere.

MILTON ACORN