

**QUEBEC: SEARCH FOR A CANADIAN IDENTITY**

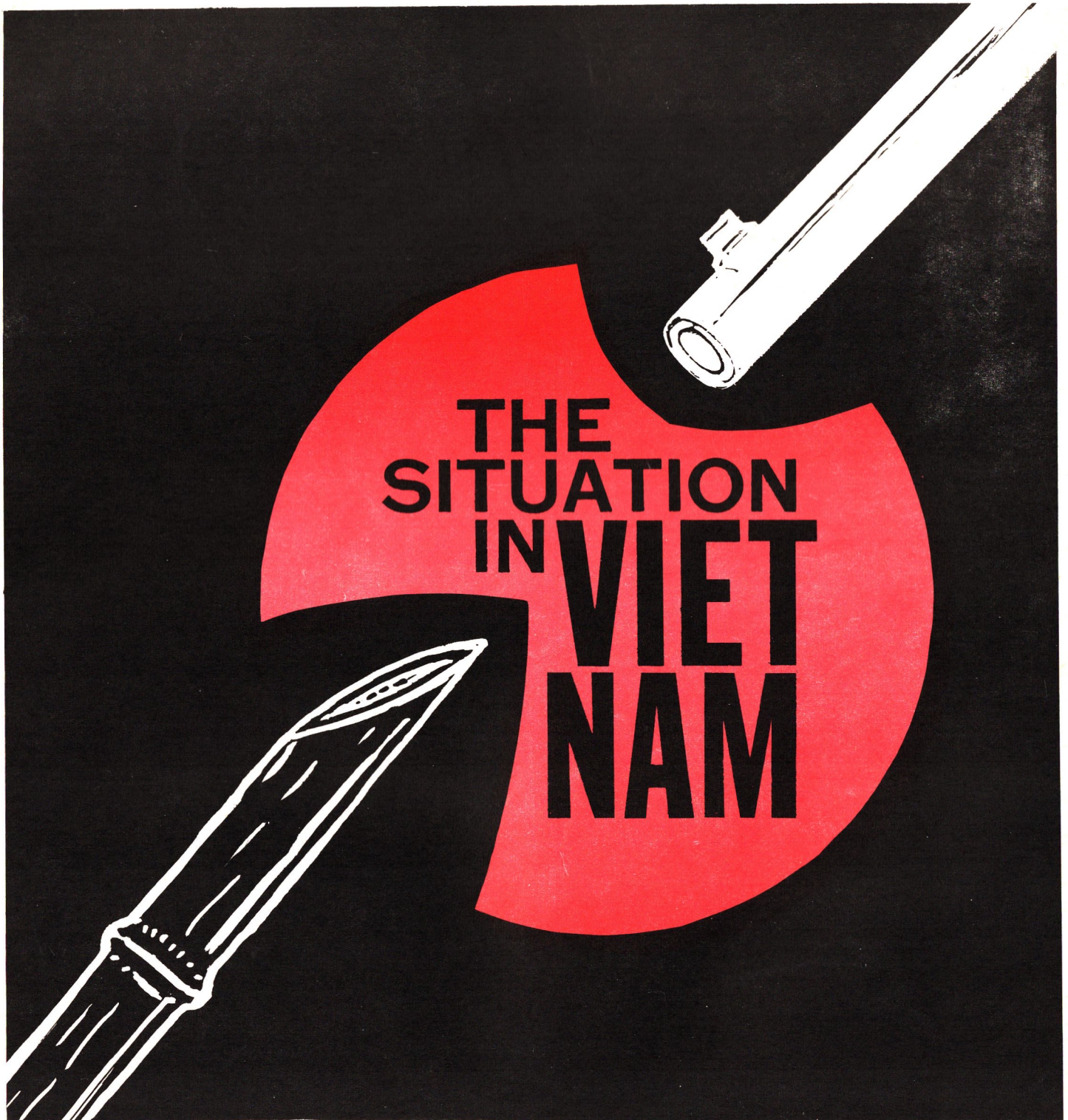
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### CHINA'S MILLIONS

By Anna Louise Strong

Available at China Arts and Crafts Ltd.  
33 East Hastings Street

Since the explosion of the atomic bomb in October, 1964, China has enjoyed a larger share of world attention. This has been accentuated by eyewitness reports of foreign journalists, business-men and tourists; most of which have credited her people with better food, better homes than ever before in their history; and have depicted them as totally dedicated to and involved in the socialist reconstruction of their country.

This evidence of China's success coupled with the emergence of similar ideological movements in many of the world's under-developed countries has awakened Western interest in the history of China's democratic renovation. Many of the highlights of this renovation from 1925 onwards have been sympathetically documented by the American journalist, Anna Louise Strong. Then living in the U.S.S.R., she made many trips to China throughout its transitional years and is presently a resident of that country. In honor of her recent celebration of her eightieth birthday, the New World Press in Peking is publishing her Selected Works, a six-volume edition comprising the bulk of her writings on China over forty years. Her many Western friends will derive many pleasant and profitable hours from this rich and vital contribution to the history of China's growth years.

The first volume of this Selected Works is entitled, China's Millions and is now available. Concerned with the years 1925-27, it tells of the Kuomintang-Communist coalition and its eventual disintegration. Beginning with a report of the author's trip to Canton in 1925, it describes the great Canton-Hongkong strike, its power and its vulnerability-based as it was on the uneasy alliance of workers and "silk-clad" bourgeoisie. Continuing in 1927 with an account of the revolutionary government of Wuhan, it relates how that government was initially created by the force of the mobilized workers and peasants, how it gradually became less and less revolutionary and, finally, how it betrayed and oppressed those who had been responsible for its inception. The book then concludes with the author's visit to Hunan where the revolution had reportedly been "reddest". At this time, the insurgents had already been suppressed, but the tales told even by their enemies testified to the potency of the new forces which had arisen in China.

With characteristic warmth Anna Louise Strong illustrates her facts with glimpses into the lives of some of the people involved. She tells of the experiences of the women, the students and the workers and portrays their emergence from an ignorant superstitious mob into shrewd organized movements dealing fearlessly and democratically with such measures as food control, local government, justice and education. Their subsequent suppression she views only as a temporary delay, and expresses her unwavering belief in their ultimate triumph. History has justified her faith: perhaps, we, "of so little faith" will find conviction in her works.

MA. E GREGORY.



Vadillo in Siempre.

"And if you will help us against our enemies, we will include you in our foreign aid program."

# THE MILITARY SITUATION IN VIETNAM

### A NEW STAGE

(An article in "Hoc Tap," theoretical journal of the Vietnam Workers Party, written by General Vo Nguyen Giap, reviews the military situation in Vietnam to the end of 1965. We present some of the highlights of the review for the benefit of readers who might not otherwise be aware of it.)

After the forced resignation of General Taylor in July, 1965, McNamara began pressing Washington to provide more U.S. troops. The reason for this was the fact that the half-million Saigon puppet troops, under American command, were unable to cope with the forces fighting the people's patriotic war, thus necessitating large-scale injections of U.S. troops in a desperate effort to salvage the situation.

Ever since 1954, when they first established Ngo Dinh Diem in power, the U.S. imperialists have been trying to use the "Republic of Vietnam" farce and neo-colonial methods, using local agents, to dominate and control the people in the southern part of Vietnam. But the working people put up a staunch resistance, finally shifting to the offensive, resorting to a combination of both political and armed struggle, and defeated the U.S.-Diem policy of pacification by violence.

The imperialists were forced to resort to new methods in an attempt to reach their goal, and this represented a serious defeat for imperialism, since they were no longer able to rely on a native stooge reactionary force to impose new-colonial rule.

The first plan was the Staley-Taylor plan, which forecast 'pacification' of all South Vietnam within 18 months. But this scheme came to an inglorious end and was buried together with Ngo Dinh Diem in November 1963.

With the beginning of 1964 there arrived the Johnson-McNamara plan aimed at "pacifying" the area within 2 years. The flow of military and economic aid, and advisers was increased. So confident were the originators of the plan that they were forecasting the withdrawal of U.S. "advisors" by the end of 1965. But this new scheme, under the hammer blows of resistance, has suffered the same fate as the Staley-Taylor plan. Now, facing failure, the imperialists must raise their "special war" to its highest degree. Their scheme now is:

1. Step up aggressive war by reinforcing U.S. and satellite units: consolidate the puppet administration; strengthen the puppet army and shore up puppet reactionary forces as the mainstay and tool of aggressive war.

2. Expand the war mainly by intensifying air strikes against the North as part of the neo-colonialist aggressive war, to threaten the North and save the situation in the South.

3. Together with intensification and expansion of aggression carry out a so-called diplomatic and psychological campaign with double-talk about "peaceful settlement" and "unconditional discussions" in an attempt to dupe public opinion and cover up their real aims.

But, unable to break the people's resistance or cause any decrease in assistance from the North for the patriotic struggle in the South, not to speak of inability to stabilize the critical position of the puppet army and administration, the imperialists are meeting with heavy setbacks.

Puppet troops are being rendered increasingly passive: growing numbers of puppet battalions are being wiped out and morale is declining alarmingly.

After 13 coups d'etat the Saigon regime is thoroughly rotten and inefficient in the hands of the unruly "Young Turks".

"Strategic hamlets" continue to disintegrate: The plan to "pacify" the Mekong Delta has had to be partially abandoned; rural areas controlled by imperialist agents are markedly reduced, while liberated areas expand and constitute the firm rear of the liberation war.

Escalation Northward has failed to shake the people's

determination to fight for national salvation. Hatred for the imperialists is all the more bitter and the people are more resolute to defeat the aggressor, defend the North and liberate the South.

U.S. strategy of "special war," developed to the highest degree, has been fouled in the main. The war has been shifted to a new stage with large-scale introduction of U.S. combat troops into South Vietnam. This is a shift to a new stage of the aggressive war, the main characteristic being direct invasion by U.S. troops in addition to using the puppet army as the main tool of the war, and expanding the aggression mostly by air strikes to the North.

Regardless of the number of U.S. troops involved, the imperialists still must actively work to consolidate native reactionaries, the puppet army and administration to "justify" their claim of obligation to keep "commitments," to "increase aid," etc. They feverishly step up political moves in the direction of neo-colonialism, since their war in this new stage remains aggressive war aimed at the realization of political aims—a neo-colonialist base.

### OUTWARD STRENGTH—FUNDAMENTAL WEAKNESS

The U.S. is the leading imperialist nation and international gendarme, with the greatest economic and military potential of all the imperialists. Increasing direct intervention, they rely on their material strength to retrieve their predicament in the South. First, to strengthen their military, and especially the mobile force, and so turn the balance in their favour. Second, to control strategic areas and firm bases to use as springboards for raids and attacks against liberated areas. Third, increase the air force, develop superiority in this area to decimate the people's forces and strike deep into liberated territory.

Banking on a still growing force of 700,000, the imperialists plan to prevent collapse of the puppet army, launch offensives to wipe out Southern forces, consolidate areas they now hold, and win back some already lost, and secure a position of strength so as to end the war with a solution favourable to them.

However, in addition to definite strong points, the U.S. imperialists have fundamental weak points in the political and military fields, both as to strategy and tactics.

The imperialists are the enemies not only of the Vietnamese, but of all progressive people. With the Socialist camp growing, the national liberation movement on the upsurge, the workers' movement and the movement for peace and democracy developing and, on the other hand, the forces of imperialism declining, the U.S. imperialists are in a weak rather than a strong position, and have to scatter their forces to cope with attacks from all quarters. This situation prevents the imperialists from sending to Vietnam all the forces they would like to send.

The dispatch of troops for a direct invasion is itself afflicted with weak points that cannot be overcome.

First: direct invasion serves to more clearly expose the imperialists in their true colours as aggressors and the traitor role of their lackeys. The people more firmly unite around the National Liberation Front, and even those people still in the parties and organizations under puppet control begin to look on the imperialists as aggressors and on their minions as traitors.

Second: dispatching invasion troops in conditions when "special war" strategy has gone bankrupt and people's war has developed with powerful mettle, the liberation forces have matured and liberated areas include the major part of the Southern population and territory. Though they send hundreds of thousands, the imperialists are driven into passivity in strategy, defensively and offensively their forces are scattered and they cannot regain the initiative.

Third: loss of political and military initiative means, no matter how modern their equipment, the Americans cannot bring into full play their combativeness nor escape inevitable defeat when they face a whole nation determined on resistance. Fighting an unjust war, U.S. troops



are without an ideal to fight for, consequently morale is low and bourgeois military strategy and tactics are worthless in coping with a people's war.

Fourth: trying to prevent collapse of the puppet regime, U.S. troops are forced along a path of direct intervention just when that regime is seriously weakening, thus increasing the contradictions between the imperialists and their placemen, and causing those having national feelings to cross over to the people's side. Consequently, American buildup cannot retrieve the predicament of the puppet administration, but speeds up its collapse, and defeat of crack U.S. troops further hastens disintegration of the puppet army.

Fifth: having launched the war, the imperialists are condemned by peace-loving people everywhere. Openly sending troops for direct aggression, and bombing the North, the U.S. is meeting increasing opposition from people of the Socialist countries and progressive people, including the people of America.

Imperialist strong points are limited, but the weak points are basic ones. The latter will become increasingly aggravated and more visible and will certainly result in ignominious failure.

#### **DECISIVE FACTORS OF VICTORY**

1. The Party's correct revolutionary line, a condensed expression of the creative combination of the general principles of Marxism-Leninism, with concrete practice in the Vietnam revolution, the line of the people's national democratic revolution progressing to socialism in a former semi-feudal colony. This is the line of a small country rising up to defeat a many times stronger enemy with creative and diverse content unknown in the annals of national liberation struggle. A correct revolutionary line is the surest guarantee for the people's ultimate victory.

2. Unity of the entire people with North and South of one mind in their determination to defeat the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys, prepared to make every sacrifice rather than lose independence and be enslaved. Millions unite like one, resolute to fight to defend the country and secure independence, democracy, unity and peace.

Compatriots in the South, starting from spike boards and mantis guns, have built up liberation armed forces comprising three kinds of army with high combativeness, skilled strategy and tactics, expert in guerrilla warfare and large unit actions credited with wiping out bigger units of both puppet and American troops. The Liberation Front's policies are gradually being applied and a new life under an independent and democratic regime is being built; the liberated zone has become the image of tomorrow's entirely liberated South.

The North is steadily progressing toward Socialism and provides an inspiration and firm rear for the struggle against U.S. imperialism. This is a favorable condition which did not exist during the resistance against French imperialism.

Since the extension of the war to the North, the people have responded with a movement to carry out production while fighting, give all-out support to the South and make a substantial contribution to the common victory of the whole nation. Never, in its several thousand years' history has the nation been so united in the will to resist aggression and defend the country.

3. If one can say that in military affairs there is another invention besides atomic weapons, People's War, one can safely say that the Vietnamese people have contributed to the devising and efficient welding of such an invincible weapon. People's war in our country has developed in the historical, political and social conditions of Vietnam and achieved a very high standard with an extremely varied content; it has developed according to the general laws of revolutionary war and to the specific laws of the Vietnamese society and battlefield. Therefore it is a nation-wide and all-sided revolutionary war and at the same time a revolutionary war in a small nation, on a small territory, inhabited by a small population, having an under-developed economy relying on the strength of

an entire people united in struggle, which will finally worst an enemy originally many times stronger than itself. The outstanding characteristic at the present stage is that armed struggle and political struggle are very closely co-ordinated, mutually assisting and inter-acting. The slogan, "Mobilize the entire people, arm the entire people and fight on all fronts," has become a heroic reality. In South Vietnam the operations of the armed forces have always been carried out in accordance with a principle which is closest co-ordination with the political struggle, in scattered insurrections in the countryside, in the movement to destroy "strategic hamlets, in the uprising of millions of peasants in Nam Bo and recently in that of millions of peasants in South-Central Vietnam. In the South, not only can the regular army but also the regional army and the militia and guerrilla wipe out U.S. and puppet troops and foil the most modern tactics. This is a new development of the revolutionary military art, the main content of which is to rely mostly on man, on his patriotism and revolutionary spirit, to bring into full play all weapons and technique available to defeat an enemy with highly modern weapons and equipment.

In the North, People's War is developing in the heroic fight against the U.S. imperialist war of destruction, in the army and people's movement to down American planes and turn the North into a vast battleground to counter and foil the air strikes and inflict heavy losses on the U.S. modern air force.

4. Vietnam receives the warm sympathy and whole-hearted support of brother Socialist countries and progressive people the world over, including the American people. This great struggle is the frontline of progressive mankind against U.S. imperialism, it is making a great contribution to the world people's revolutionary struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. This movement is spreading everywhere on an unprecedented scale. Never in the history of their revolutionary struggle have our people enjoyed such widespread and strong sympathy and support from abroad as today.

#### **WHAT FACTS PROVE**

The question is: Which will win in the end? The U.S. imperialists who pursue an unjust aggression against Vietnam? Or the Vietnamese people who uphold a just cause? This question has been raised at every new U.S. offensive over the past eleven years. The liberation struggle has supplied an eloquent answer: Whatever trick the imperialists resort to, they will inevitably fail in the end. The fundamental law of the great patriotic struggle in the South throughout various stages is: the farther the imperialists and their flunkies engage in their scheme of enslavement, the deeper they sink in their morass, the greater their defeats. The more determined the Vietnamese people's struggle, the greater the people's victories.

With new hundreds of thousands of troops introduced, the question of who will win is more pressing. Can these massive reinforcements reverse the situation? Can the people win new victories in the face of direct aggression by such a modern army? Can they defeat the U.S. expeditionary force?

The imperialists were optimistic when they brought Ngo Dinh Diem to power as they were also with the Staley-Taylor and the Johnson-McNamara plans, and when they began to send in a huge expeditionary corps they believed the tide would turn. Having crack troops, a strategic and tactical air force, they believed themselves able to change the correlation of forces, set up solid defence positions, pacify key points, launch bold offensives, and so prevent the collapse of the puppet administration. When at first they met with no sizeable retaliation, they boasted of having shifted to the offensive and compelled the liberation troops to disperse their forces. They made dramatic preparations for an offensive to wrest back the initiative during the dry season.

However, reality has fallen short of imperialist expectations and purposes. They are forced to remain on the defensive, fighting sporadic engagements mainly in the coastal areas where they can bring their technical wea-

pons into full play. They dread engagements in the strategic and politically important areas where the guerrillas are more than a match for them. Over the past several months, the liberation troops have been able to develop large unit actions. In 1965, over 200,000 enemy troops were wiped out and in the last five months while large U.S. contingents were landing more than 100,00, including several U.S. infantry battalions and armoured units, were destroyed. This shows that despite introduction of hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops the imperialist cannot reverse the situation. The liberation forces still hold the initiative and are able to launch large scale offensives while the imperialists are forced on the defensive. No wonder McNamara and the brass hats express concern at setbacks and talk of a long war in Vietnam. American troops are afraid of everything, the dense forest, the wind, the sun, the rain, hand-to-hand fighting, malaria, the liberation forces and even ordinary Vietnamese including old women and children. The U.S. army is in moral crisis and abandons arms, munitions and their wounded when in flight. With long supply lines they face tremendous logistic difficulties and are beset by financial problems. The growing confusion aggravates U.S. economic and financial difficulties, the U.S. gold haemorrhage and the effects of foreign competition in world markets.

Many large scale battles were fought in 1965 resulting in enormous losses to U.S. and puppet troops. These resounding and repeated victories prove that:

The most solid U.S. bases are not immune from attack.

Crack U.S. infantry units, such as the First Infantry Division, can be wiped out at the rate of several battalions in a single battle.

Crack U.S. air cavalry units (First Cavalry Division), much vaunted by the defence secretary, can be put out of action.

Puppet units, even when supported by U.S. troops, continue to get cut to pieces by whole battalions and regiments.

U.S. troops, whether on the defensive or offensive, can be wiped out not only by the Liberation Army, but also by the local army, militia and guerrilla.

These exploits are accomplished even as the enemy uses highly technical weapons—strategic planes, crop-destroying chemicals and poison gas. At the same time, Northern army men and people bring to nought the su-

periority of the U.S. modern air force.

The strategy and tactics of people's war will certainly prevail over those based on the bourgeois military conception of the U.S. troops. The Vietnamese people will certainly win over the imperialists' neo-colonialist war. We are not complacent over our successes. We guard against subjectivism, for the U.S. imperialists are a cruel and cunning enemy with great military potential, extremely obdurate, and know how to draw lessons from experience, and contrive ever-fancier, more ruthless fighting methods. But the living reality of the struggle over the past 11 years has brought home to the people in both zones that we shall certainly defeat the aggressors.

The puppet army has lost faith in its masters' modern fighting machine and is deteriorating rapidly. The anti-war movement in the U.S. is developing with every passing day, while internal contradictions among Washington ruling circles are increasing. In view of this, the U.S. schemes to beef up its forces two or more times, intensifies the aerial war against the North and threatens to expand the war to Laos and Cambodia. Johnson talks about taking "hard steps" in Vietnam. Dean Rusk says: "We will not withdraw: we must keep commitments." They ballyhoo about "goodwill for peace" and open "peace campaigns" to placate public opinion at home and abroad; but at the same time they step up their aggression. Whatever honeyed words they use, they will not deceive the Vietnamese nor the peace-loving people throughout the world. The essence of their "unconditional discussions" hoax is to compel Vietnam to accept the aggressors' terms.

We must further heighten our vigilance over the enemies' perfidious scheme. We must step up our entire people's patriotic war, resolutely fight until victory, no matter how many hundreds of thousands of troops the U.S. imperialists may dispatch to Vietnam and how far they may escalate their war of destruction against the North. Our people are determined not to shrink from any sacrifice to bring the great struggle against the U.S. imperialists to final victory.

Our fatherland, our nation must mobilize the forces of the whole country to defeat the aggressors. We must do all that is necessary to bring our struggle against U.S. imperialism to a successful conclusion.

## **A NOTE ON CUBA**

The journals of the Communist Party of Canada have seized on some recent speeches by Fidel Castro in an effort to further their campaign of slander against the Communist Party of China. The Pacific Tribune in the issue of March 4, published a studied abridgement of one of Fidel's more virulent speeches in such a manner as to heighten its anti-China tone. These gentlemen do not seem able to grasp the fact that not the C.P.S.U., not the C.P. of Canada, not even with Fidel Castro added to their ranks can turn aside the Chinese Revolution from its chosen path. Only the Communist Party of China could do that and it seems unlikely that its battle-steeped veterans will be frightened by the bleating of a flock of scared sheep.

Cuba's problems are not of China's making. They are the result of policies being applied by Cuban leaders. It is the Cuban Revolution not China, that is in danger.

The problem at issue in Cuba is that of revolutionary self-reliance as opposed to dependence on a single "great nation". A revolutionary people must first of all rely on their own resources, build their economy from their own efforts and defend their revolution from economies within and without. The application of the policy of self-reliance guarantees the independence of the nation and, what is of utmost importance, ensures the defeat of imperialist attempt at blockade.

The question of blockade is an important one to Cuba in its position of geographical isolation and this is a point inherent in Fidel's speech when he speaks of the need to store up rice supplies against the possibility of such an event. But it should be obvious that it would be impossible to acquire sufficient supplies to last for a protracted period. Cuba is in dire need of a diversified economy as a measure of defence of the revolution.

But instead of following a policy of self-reliance Fidel, and the Cuban leaders, chose to accept the advice of the C.P.S.U. and adopt the Soviet-sponsored policy of the "world division of labour". This caused Cuba to abandon her original plan of diversification of the economy and return to a mono-culture economy based on sugar, the very same economic strait-jacket that helped the U.S. imperialists in their domination of Cuba.

This year drought struck the sugar-crop, a development which spelled disaster for the one-crop economy. The Anglo-American imperialist monopolists who control the world market on sugar struck an additional blow by causing, at no loss to themselves, a catastrophic drop in world sugar prices.

Fidel's problems of the Cuban Revolution, are not due to any action taken by China; they are due entirely to the theory of "world division of labour" and reliance on others. Screaming invectives at China from the Havana Plaza is no substitute for a correct policy.



# SUPPORT MARCH 26 MARCH

On March 26th people in the Vancouver area will join with people in other countries to protest U. S. aggression in Vietnam. The "International Days of Protest", March 25th and 26th, will see the biggest demonstrations to date in Canada, the United States, etc.

The Vancouver demonstration is being sponsored by the Vancouver Co-ordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam and the central theme of the march is "Return to the Geneva Accords".

The Progressive Workers Movement URGES everyone to support this march and to publicize it to the fullest.

The March starts at 1:00 o'clock at The City Hall (12th and Cambie) and will proceed through the downtown area to the U. S. Consulate. After the March, there will be a rally with speakers and entertainment at the Court House.

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Those unable to attend the meeting, please send donation and greetings to 35 East Hastings Street, Vancouver 4, British Columbia.

**Progressive Workers Movement**

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# WARFARING CAPITAL

By DON DUGGAN

This article, which will be factual and direct, is part of a group that I intended to write for consideration by our readers. I wish that, beyond all remote argument, some of my opinions may help in drawing plans of action to meet problems now troubling us all. Each part of this constant series is related by the concern to reveal and clarify certain qualities now dominant from North American moncapital. Every citizen of Canada is closely implicated by the social and political forms of our business order: every citizen is forever responsible if he should shamefully tolerate abuses which he has the power to overcome. As a prelude to full engagement, I offer in this essay a few portions of evidence, verifiable scenes, that should give us prospects for analysis, and, perhaps nearer than we like to see, actual steps into progressive struggle.

Lockheed Aircraft Corporation can exemplify fully the profitability of war and the warring pursuit of profit. In the decade from 1954 through 1963, Lockheed attained vast successes in its industrial area. Any American government would, I suspect, show careful surprise and 'modest' gratitude that its patriotic policy and worldwide 'freedom' crusade must fatten its native capitalists. Yet, why assume that American leaders adopt whatever manner of scheme without showing which class interest is really being furthered? Not only have national politicians taken to heart all 'profitable' military ventures, but also the most eminent financiers and industrialists virtually require that THEIR government will consume socially useless products. War, glorified and honoured as a guest for democracy, gives a context whereby capitalists can remain notably 'free', i.e. DOMINANT, and the state yet stay intact to baffle and coerce vast bodies of workers and students.

Anyone who desires assurance for my words may now view a few statistical extracts, numerical guides that expose deftly trends important for our security. First, take in summary the precise growth pattern of Lockheed from 1954-63. During this period total production rose from \$733 million to slightly under \$2,000 million. This increase partly derives from a sensational 'space program' which is now known to reveal a potent martial impulse. More significant is the dramatic gain for missile output. For our given period, missile production increased seventy times over in dollar value—to contrast with aircraft and services that rose hardly more than by half, albeit on a larger base. These general signs are clear and rational; they embody the sort of development which we should expect.

However, if we examine more finely the production charts of recent years, we can perceive movements into our present that are ominous, and need to be evaluated. From 1954 until 1960, 'aircraft and services' mark a decline of more than \$110 million dollars. Up till 1960, production for missiles and the space program reached levels of \$400 million and \$300 million respectively. Furthermore and this is crucial, Lockheed Aircraft Corporation lost money in 1960! The balance sheet, despite a yearly rise of almost \$200 million for rockets and space research, yielded a deficit of \$42 million. Consequently, dividends were quartered and more stock issued.

Nineteen sixty-one brought comfort, if not salvation, for Lockheed. Aircraft production rose more than \$40 million; missile output declined; and net profits surpassed \$26 million. Each year thereafter, the same formula appears—more planes are made, whereas missile and space expenditure is constant after the nearly calamitous advance to 1960. For 1960-63, aircraft production climbed almost \$450 million, missiles only \$80 million, and the space program merely \$34 million. This reverses the trends for several previous years—trends which, whatever other benefits they gave, threatened all the gains of Lockheed investors.

I began with an idea about interrelationships of national policies and industry ambitions. After having noted the pertinent indicators from one type of business effort, one that is intimately affected by government attitudes, we can feel more able to draw a few inferences. Maybe the speech of Lockheed directors to their fellow capitalists will present us with even a surer view of our exploiters.

In their report to shareholders, ranking executives Gross and Haughton state that they had foreseen how national rocket contracts would "rise until about the midpoint of the decade, and then decline to a lower plateau as the U.S. inventory of missiles reached expected limits." Later, these directors declare that, as a result of their enterprise being "sensitive to world events," an ever vaster proliferation of overkill devices could favour Lockheed. Yet, it is when referring to the traditional production of aircraft that optimism really soars. Gross and Haughton are proud to relate that somehow "other developments are serving to mitigate effects of revised defense needs and improve prospects for profitable operations." Our survey of Lockheed output figures enabled us to surmise what the new situations might be which these worthy men so gladly welcome. However, industry managers are far from coy about their interest: "New military requirements point to a future round of advanced military air vehicles." Specifically identified, and no doubt now joining other engines for genocide in South-East Asia is the "small counter-insurgency airplane." This type of planes named, with grim admiration, COIN!

Conventional warfare is served by a remarkably lucrative business order. That much is generally accepted—the production of material which is fashioned only to be soon ruined, permits endless lines of supply and profit. I cannot believe that the American economy is at present hugely dependent on military consumption.

Furthermore, though exact connections are not easy to trace, we all realize how effectively the financial masters of America can influence national conduct. Control may be indirect or veiled, at junctures where a public administration is forced to rely on capital funds. In recent practice, overt dominance of the "democratic" apparatus has become common as big business has placed its puppets, spokesmen and its very relatives into areas of direction.

Anyone now wondering why so many grand capitalists engage in activities which appear to be suicidal, and who could suggest that free enterprisers could convert their investment into enormous but "pacific" undertakings, will begin to assess the political value of arms and munitions factories. I maintain that weapons are not manufactured in preference to automobiles simply because they are more likely to yield fabulous gains. Indeed, such could not have been the original impetus of capitalist production, which would have been grateful to oversee a world where resistance had vanished—a condition that it still seeks. The production of tools for violence and destruction is a special function of one sector within our embattled imperialist economy.

Quite literally, unless the means of suppressing peoples throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America were provided by part of our business complex, this whole structure would collapse. The arms industry demands preeminence as the protector of slavery and banditry across our earth.

Let all Americans beware of the relations which are hurling their country into fatal efforts. On our side, we Canadians—notably the Canadian workers—should refuse to allow our talent and energy to be concerned with projects that improve the arsenals of imperialism. So long as our workers enlarge the weaponry of American imperialism, we will be responsible for denying our most precious hopes for human peace and progress.

Let no one vainly dream that the maniacs now so ready to loot, torture and murder the populace of Viet-



nam are likely to be gentle against opposition here. Yet we may not trust that worldwide robbery and carnage will cease until the sources of power are revealed and possessed by a revolutionary North American proletarian deed.

Our necessary course is evident. We can start a struggle here at once in B.C. by rejecting the presence of Lockheed employment officers from Seattle who seek to enlist Canadian skill for their operations. We should also chal-

## HOLY (?) WEDLOCK

By GOLDFARB

Balloting for the 1966 executive of the Vancouver Labour Council signalled the end of a long torrid period of wooing of the right wing bureaucrats by the revisionists of the Communist Party, the happy couple being joined in holy matrimony at a public ceremony on February 1st in the Vancouver Labour Temple. A joint slate of candidates was put forward and the right and (pseudo) left each refrained from contesting one another's chosen territory. The candidates on the right who had long been the butt of attack by C.P. spokesmen in years past got their positions by acclamation and returned the favor by letting their erstwhile enemies of the left take office in a simialar manner

Jerry LeBourdais, delegate of the Oil Workers Union and a member of P.W.M., ran against President Ed Sims, appointed International representative of the Brewery Workers and vice-president of the CLC Sims is generally conceded to be the one who carries the big stick in B.C. union circles, whipping the local bureaucrats into line behind the policy laid down by the Meany-Reuther-Jodoin crew. Result of the voting was, LeBourdais 16, Sims 128. Council delegates who are members of the Communist Party voted for Sims and the United States-oriented and dominated 'establishment' - a victory for an independent Canadian Union, no doubt?

We have long known of the consuming desire of the revisionists to be accepted into the inner circle and have watched the hot courting session, which has not been without its amusing aspects. Until recently the importunities of the pseudo left have been rejected but they persisted with the tenacity of an aging and haggard street-walker until at last given the opportunity to share a spot in the bed.

Class struggle is abandoned, class collaboration is on the agenda. It seems, too, that the happily married couple are about to be blessed with offspring, and no less a personage than Labour Minister Peterson is to act as midwife at the confinement. Only one small cloud darkens the horizon; a family squabble over a name for the baby. Midwife Peterson favours 'Special Committee'; the respectable right lean toward "Labour-Management Co-operation"; the disreputable "left" put up a noisy clamour for "Democratic Public Control." But no matter what the infant is called its mission in life is not a dispute—but an end to labour strife and usher in an era of labour-management-government co-operation Under any name this bastard offspring will still be a monster.

(Was the front-page diatribe by Professor W. D. Young in the Labour Statesman really intended as a hymn of praise in grateful thanks for the consumation of the above mentioned marriage?)

This 'unity' of the C.P. revisionists should be viewed in its proper perspective. Who are the right-wing and who do they represent? In the main they are the (appointed) Canadian lieutenants of the U.S.-run international unions; placed in their positions by, and beholden to the U.S. bureaucrats whose orders they follow and whose interests they serve.

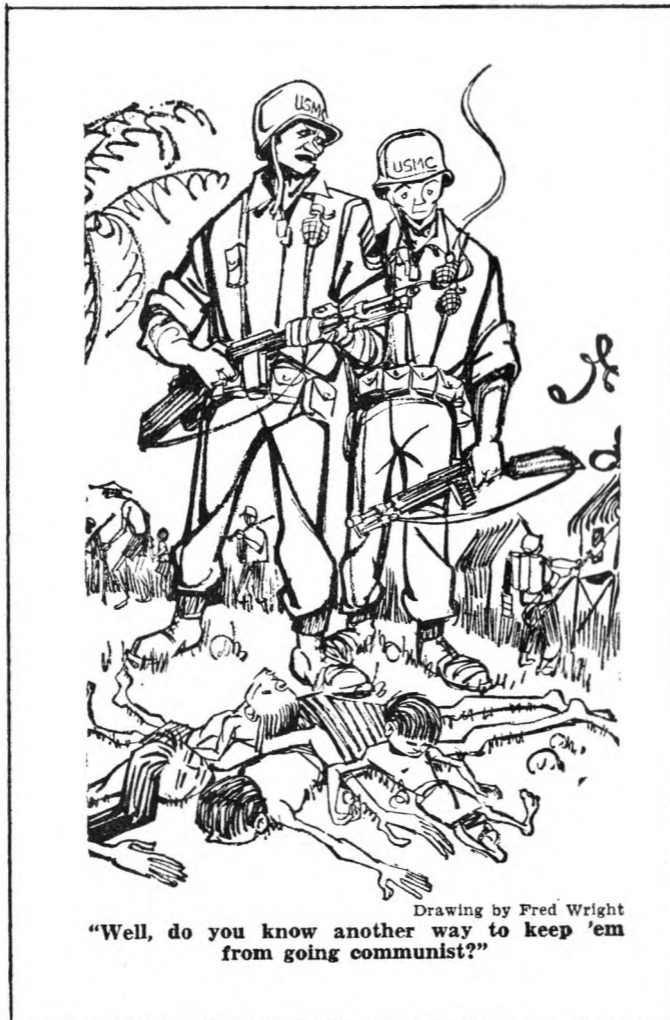
And what of the U.S. labour merchants who pull the strings these puppets dance on? Whose interests do they serve?

lunge the local presence of Lockheed subsidiaries such as Colby Crane Manufacturing of New Westminster. We should proceed to expose and defeat any industry related to military production. When we boldly confront and overcome those agencies who strengthen our enemy, we shall have initiated a process that can finish only with an utter collapse of our disarmed and outmoded masters—those traders of human lives, dealers in death—who shall pay us, on our terms, their final, sad account.

They are completely in the service of U.S. imperialism and give full support (as witness the A.F.L. and many international union conventions) to U.S. aggression all over the world.

This is not yet clearly seen by Canadian workers but the light is beginning to dawn and there are numerous indications of resentment against U.S. domination of Canadian unions. The embers of resentment are glowing and soon will be fanned into flame and with the flame will come a new and glorious chapter in the history of our unions; the birth of an independent Canadian National Trade Union.

Then and only then, will Canadian workers be in a position to start dealing with the problem of foreign ownership of our industry and resources. Then can we begin the task of serving the real interests of the Canadian people.



Drawing by Fred Wright  
"Well, do you know another way to keep 'em from going communist?"

## ANTI-APARTHEID CAMPAIGN

A reader in Quebec has forwarded to P.W. a copy of the December Bulletin (No. 2), published by the Alexander Defence Committee (Canada). The committee is organized around the specific objective of aiding the defence of Neville Alexander, now incarcerated in a South African prison, but it's also doing a good job of exposing the vicious apartheid system. Included in the list of sponsors are such well-known names as Farley Mowat, Pierre Berton, Northrop Frye, Gerard Pelletier, Alfred Purdy and Rabbi Feinberg.

According to the Bulletin, local committees have been established in Fredericton, Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver. There are active organizations in Britain and the USA. Among the activists on those committees are Dorothy Day (of the Catholic Worker), Linus Pauling, Pete Seeger, Isaac Deutscher and Sidney Silverman, M.P.

A statement on apartheid, written by Farley Mowat, reads as follows:

"Apartheid is a hideous denial of Mankind's pretensions to be both rational and just. But the guilt of this denial lies not alone with South African proponents of this barbaric concept; every man, the world over, who fails to raise his voice against apartheid is also guilty of it, by default."

There is a report of the case of the Daily Rand Mail, the staff of which has been subjected to savage reprisals, for having put forward a very simple demand for a commission to investigate reports of deplorable conditions in South African prisons. "If such moderate demands provoke such drastic reprisals," reads the report, "how can a more basic process towards justice and equality take place within the present framework?"

An article entitled "Our Stake in Apartheid," by Stanley Meisler, a Washington reporter, exposes the two-faced attitude of the United States government on the question of apartheid.

Meisler draws attention to the fact that while, in 1963, the late Adlai Stevenson had dramatically announced the United States had banned all sale of arms to South Africa "to show America's deep concern that South Africa refused to abandon its racist policies," the U.S. was constructing a reactor at a Pretoria research centre which went critical in March, 1965, thus ushering South Africa into the nuclear age. This coming-of-age on the nuclear scene was made possible by Allis-Chalmers of Milwaukee. Meisler has this to say about U.S. policy:

"The United States, while mouthing its disdain for the African regime, is an accelerator of the economic boom that insures the Verwoerd government's confidence and self-righteousness. As an investor in South Africa and as a trading partner, the United States is outranked only by Great Britain. The investments and the volume of trade rise month by month. Seeing this growing American entanglement, South Africa takes with a grain of salt any rude comments that may come from official American sources. Why worry, for example, about an embargo on arms that are easy to manufacture, as long as America licenses the export of nuclear machinery that South Africa cannot produce itself?"

Official figures (which understate the case) show that U.S. investment in South Africa reached \$415 million by the end of 1963. The real figure is somewhere closer to \$1 billion. This accounted for 11 per cent of foreign investment in South Africa, Britain at that time being in the lead with 60 per cent. U.S. investment has skyrocketed at precisely that time when world protest against apartheid was on the increase. There was a threefold increase from 1950 to end of 1963; a 45 per cent increase since the mass murder at Sharpeville in 1960. Returns of 29 per cent on mining investments and 7.5 per cent in manufacturing (a whopping average of 17.1 per cent on total investment) is reason enough for the increase so far as the imperialists are concerned. The leading auto manufacturers have announced plans for a multi-million-

dollar expansion program. A total of 230 American firms are doing business in South Africa, and 1964 exports to that country amounted to \$371 million; imports from South Africa were at a level of more than \$200 million.

The cynical attitude of American investment houses is clearly evident in the reply Chase-Manhattan Bank sent to Students for a Democratic Society who criticized the bank's loan to South Africa:

"If we consider the receiver of a loan to be financially responsible, we do business with him, regardless of his nationality, religion, or political views. We feel it would be unwise and unfair if we, as a bank, made judgments that were not based on economics."

There is an insidious campaign afoot to whitewash South Africa's racist regime. A South Africa lobby has been organized and included in its ranks are some of the personnel from the infamous China lobby. The lobby faces some difficulties for apartheid runs counter to prevailing opinion. To overcome these difficulties the lobby has devised a scheme to exaggerate every setback in other African nations and make South Africa appear as a misunderstood, stable, capitalist regime, and the only dependable Western anchor on a continent of Communist chaos. Relying on this tactic, the lobby exudes an air of confidence that they can prove evil is good.

The Alexander Defence Committee publishes the following as its Statement of Aims:

1. To publicize as widely as possible the case of Dr. Neville Alexander and his colleagues.
  2. To provide funds for the defence also of other political prisoners in South Africa and aid for their dependents as long as they should require it.
  3. Through such cases, to focus public opinion on the destruction of civil and political liberties resulting from the attempt by the government to enforce these policies.
  4. To organize such action as may be possible to call for the release of Dr. Alexander and all such political prisoners.
  5. To co-operate as closely as possible with all organizations which aim to eliminate racism and Apartheid.
- The address of the organization is:  
ALEXANDER DEFENCE COMMITTEE  
Box 824, Postal Station F  
Toronto 5, Ontario

## GI'S HELD INCOMMUNICADO

The two American soldiers, Claude McClure and George Smith, who were released after two years as prisoners of the Vietnam National Liberation Front, are being held under guard and incommunicado on Okinawa on orders of the army brass who want to prevent their return home.

McClure and Smith are numbered among a select and favoured few who have had the opportunity to see the "dirty war" from both sides—the side of U.S. aggression, and the side of those fighting for liberty. It seems that these two GI's—a southern Negro and a southern White—want to tell the truth as they know it, and the aggressors fear the truth, so are taking every possible step to prevent its being told.

U.S. anti-war demonstrators are including the release of McClure and Smith in their growing list of demands being presented to the Johnson administration. Protests should be addressed to President Johnson, Washington, D.C.



# QUEBEC: SEARCH FOR A CANADIAN IDENTITY

(Editor's Note—This is part one of, QUEBEC: SEARCH FOR A CANADIAN IDENTITY! The second half of this article will appear in the May issue of P.W.)

## WEALTH AND TREASON

Fraud and corruption were major factors in the fall of New France and in the subjection of the Canadians to England's rule. Francois Bigot, a lawyer who had turned to the Civil Service for a career; and whose great capacity for fraudulence had undoubtedly contributed to the downfall of Louisbourg in 1744, received an appointment as Intendant of New France in 1745 a position of authority he used to the utmost advantage in furthering his career of large-scale brigandage. His exploits in the practice of fraud and corruption undermined the community and paved the way for English ascendancy.

The governor, Marquis de Vaudreuil-Cavagnal, was completely dominated by Bigot, and his associate on numerous fraudulent adventures. On the commencement of hostilities with England Vaudreuil impeded and hampered Montcalm at every turn and, on hearing of Montcalm's death from a mortal wound sustained on the Plains of Abraham, he deserted his Quebec command and fled southward surrendering the city to the English troops. Later in the year 1760 when the English forces arrived outside of Montreal Vaudreuil personally surrendered the city, and all Canada, putting Canadian destinies under foreign yoke.

The treason and treachery of Bigot and Vaudreuil signalled the abandonment of the Canadians and Acadians by the French ruling class. Large numbers of the leading Seigneurs and all of the top officials deserted the land and fled to France to enjoy the wealth they had accumulated from the exploitation of the Canadians. The feudal elements that stayed on made common cause with the alien rulers, represented by the Family Compact, in the suppression and exploitation of the people of Canada.

Chief among the feudalists remaining on the occupied territory was the Church Hierarchy whose wealth, power and position were solidly rooted on the feudal economy and whose privileged position depended on a continuation of a system of feudal tenure. Up to 1763 the Hierarchy had received land grants totalling 2,096,754 acres and in the process many of the ecclesiastical orders were transformed into powerful landlords with immense economic resources guaranteeing them temporal overlordship. Through subterfuge and chicanery the Seminary of Montreal (St.Sulpice) gained possession of the Island of Montreal on which now stands Montreal City a holding which was later expanded by a grant of islands adjacent to Montreal and of the Seigneurie of Lake of Two Mountains. By their ability in commanding money in rents and tithes, the Hierarchy was enabled to invest vast sums in railroads, steamship lines, and industrial stocks and bonds, and so was able to become integrated with the rising capitalist class at a later date.

The common people were oppressed under a triple-tiered system of exploitation: the Church had an elaborate system of tithes and other extractions; the merchant capitalists levied tribute by means of usurious prices for goods and supplies that were often worthless; the seigneurs had a multiplicity of feudal dues and securities. To these were now added new and onerous imposts through alien rule and alien taxation.

## MILITARY GOVERNMENT

The capitulation of France and the headlong flight of the French ruling class left alone some 70,000 Canadians to face more than two million British North Americans. The English merchant capitalists who had taken the place vacated by the French Seigneurs toyed with the idea of expelling the Canadians in the same ruthless manner the Acadians had been driven from Nova Scotia in 1755. This plan was particularly favoured by the Nova Scotian capitalists who flocked into the area in search of

new sources of wealth. However, unrest in the American colonies and war with Pontiac, the Ottawa chief who organized the resistance which was the reply of a Confederacy of a large number of Indian tribes to European invasion of their territories, made it essential to keep Canadian opposition at a minimum. The idea of expulsion, by no means entirely discarded, was, of necessity, abandoned temporarily.

From September 8, 1760 to August 10, 1764 the colony was governed by military rule under General James Murray as military governor. The boundaries of New France, which had stretched from Labrador to the Mississippi, were drastically curtailed; Nova Scotia was already lost; Labrador was attached to Newfoundland which was then governed by Naval authority; the entire Western hinterland was detached and barred to French settlers, the rich fur lands going to English traders with only Pontiac and the Indian Confederacy to dispute their claim.

The plan of the military governor was to remake the old French colony, now known as Quebec, into an English colony with English laws, English courts and English (or Anglicized) inhabitants. British settlers from the occupation army, Nova Scotia and the American colonies, poured into the area in a deliberate plan to overwhelm the Canadians, forcing them to withdraw or transform themselves into "Englishmen." Lands were set aside for the use of Protestant churches and schools "to the end that the Church of England may be established both in principle and practice."

## "CIVIL" GOVERNMENT

The Royal Proclamation of October 7, 1763, which established the province of Quebec, set out its boundaries and held forth promise of an elective assembly which went into effect in August, 1764. The council provided for in the proclamation was to serve under Murray, who was to retain the position of governor he had held under military rule, and to be made up of the lieutenant-governors of Three Rivers and Montreal (both of whom promptly refused to be subservient to Murray); the Surveyor-general of American Customs, who was seldom present; a Chief Justice; and eight members "chosen from amongst the most considerable" (wealthiest) of the residents of the province.

This council was a body that was a composite of executive, legislative and judicial functions. The anti-Catholic oath required from those being installed in office effectively barred Catholics, and therefore Canadians, from membership in the Council. Murray, in a letter to a friend confessed that there were "not above 50 Protestant subjects" from which the Council must be chosen. The first Council consisted of: four military men; a relative of Governor Murray; two English merchants; and a Huguenot merchant (the only French-speaking member).

Murray, in the letter already cited, exposed the real situation and admitted to the fact that military rule was to continue under cover of the Executive Council. Here is how Murray expressed himself:

"It is by the military we are forced to govern the lately conquered Province . . . It will be too hard a task for me to govern in the Civil Way, a great populated country, of a different religion, different language, different manners and customs, without the aid of the troops or the assistance of the law, for two such ignorant needy lawyers as are sent here from England to distribute justice to the people were never sent before from any country."

One of these "needy lawyers" was William Gregory who had been recently released from an English prison to assume the duties of Chief Justice of Quebec; the other was a recent arrival from Nova Scotia, George Sucklong, who had participated in the expulsion of the Acadians and was now appointed to the office of Attorney-general.

## "REPRESENTATIVE" GOVERNMENT

The Royal Proclamation of October 7, 1763, made effective the provisions of the Treaty of Paris and formed the Constitution of the old Province of Quebec which comprised the whole of Canada and the Ohio territory, and by it Canada was governed from 1763 to 1774. Government under Murray had been military until 1763 and quasi-military—again under Murray—until 1774. In 1774, under pressure from the colony and threat of revolution in the American colonies, Canada received its first written constitution in the Quebec Act of 1774.

The Quebec Act, while it made certain concessions to the Canadians, fell far short of even the limited democracy practised in England. The Act provided for the government to appoint a Legislative Council of not less than 17 and not more than 23 members and composed of both French and English. Wealthy English settlers attempted to have the Act annulled but by that time (1775) the guns of the American Revolution were sounding and the English government were unwilling to risk a disturbance in Canada.

The Church Hierarchy and French Seigneurs, who feared the spread of the revolution, allied themselves with the wealthy class of English merchants and settlers against the interests of the more numerous middle-class, artisans and rural population, so that the first session of the council responded to the desires of the wealthy and the aristocrats.

At the conclusion of the Revolutionary War the anti-revolutionist United Empire Loyalists streamed into many areas of Canada in their flight from the victorious revolution and set up a noisy clamour for a form of government that would ensure to them a major role in legislative affairs and an ascendancy over the Canadian majority, although the Loyalists were a definite minority in the colony.

Pitt, the prime minister of England, introduced the bill which finally became the Constitutional Act of 1791, divided Canada into two distinct separately governed colonies—Upper and Lower Canada. The Canadians were to be concentrated in Lower Canada and the minority United Empire Loyalists would attain majority status in Upper Canada. The UEL were happy with the result, a fact to remember later when they, having achieved numerical superiority, began to agitate for the Act of Union with the object in mind of submerging the French in an English sea.

Seigniorial system of land grants had been abolished in 1763 and was replaced by a new system which was inaugurated with the introduction of the constitution of 1791. The new system abolished the good features of the old, retaining only the bad. The seigniorial system provided for land to be given, under seigniorial tenure, to any settler making application in good faith (it was, of course, often evaded). The new, British system alienated entire townships and closed them to settlement, thus materially hindering the settlement and development of the country.

From 1796 to 1809, 1,457,209 acres of the best Crown lands passed into the possession of about 70 persons. One 1797 grant, to Nicholas Austin, totalled 62,621 acres. When Prescott was lieutenant-governor, he attempted to slow down the massive giveaway program, but the Executive Council, headed by Judge Osgood, forced his recall. Milnes, Prescott's successor in office, proved more adaptable and demonstrated his reliability by arranging a personal grant of 48,061 acres in three townships.

Elections to the Assembly were held in June, 1792, and were accompanied by riots at the polls. Although numbering only 10,000 in a total population of 156,000, the English-speaking had 16 out of 50 members in the Assembly. In the really effective branch of government, the non-elective Legislative Council, the wealthy English minority had an outright majority of 9 of the 16 appointed members.

The Canadians used their position of strength in the elective assembly to give battle to the dictatorial actions of the lieutenant-governor and the Executive Council. The

Council was dominated by English and Loyalist placemen—the so-called Chateau Clique—who filled the executive and appointive officers in the colony supported by the English merchants as well as seigneurs and members of the French-Canadian elite who were referred to as "les Vendus" by the mass of common people. November, 1806, saw the appearance of the journal *Le Canadien* published by three lawyers and a doctor and speaking out strongly for the radical section of the population.

In 1808 the Assembly members opened a vigorous campaign against the alliance of placemen, merchants and English members of the assembly who were up to their ears in land speculation and demonstrating amazing liberality in the granting of land to the Chateau Clique. The Assembly majority moved resolutions to expel certain members and to ban judges and magistrates from the Assembly and executive offices and repeated passage of the resolutions when they were disallowed by the Executive branch.

Sir James Craig, a professional soldier with the outlook of a product of the "dark ages," who was appointed governor in 1807, lined up with the Executive and the Chateau Clique in the war with the Assembly and used his power to order dissolution. When the people consistently afforded increasing majorities to the Assembly in defiance of his tactic of dissolution, Craig became incensed and launched a campaign of terror against them. In 1810 the press of *Le Canadien* was seized and three of its publishers were jailed without charge or trial. He followed up his arbitrary act with a proclamation denouncing "sowers of sedition" and protesting his innocence of any intentions of oppression. The people were unmoved by his protestations and re-elected the Assembly, including the prisoners.

In 1810 Craig forwarded to the Imperial government at London a dispatch which, among other things, advanced the plan of the Loyalist Chief Justice, Sewell, for the Anglicization of Lower Canada. Sewell proposed the complete scrapping of the Constitutional Act of 1701 and a return to 1763 and the uniting of Canada in a single province. The idea was that settlement having produced an English majority this, together with a bit of bare-faced gerrymandering, would ensure an English majority in the Assembly and the subsequent destruction of the French-Canadian population. In 1822 a bill calling for Union was actually introduced in the London parliament but was withdrawn under popular pressure and kept under wraps until after the 1837 uprising.

There were continuous outbreaks between the Assembly and the Executive. In 1826 there was a head-on collision with the Executive led by Lord Dalhousie with Dalhousie proroguing the Legislature in a most insulting manner. Papineau and six others indignantly denounced the governor's actions in a manifesto to the people in which they referred to the Dalhousie administration as "birds of prey and passage, who call enriching themselves governing us."

The London parliament, fearing a popular uprising, removed Dalhousie and replaced him with Sir James Kempt, with orders to make every effort to conciliate the Canadian majority. Kempt and his successor, Lord Aylmer, putting into effect a plan of "divide and rule" that worked to English advantage for several years. Executive Council appointments were offered to leading members of the Popular Party and accepted by some of the more conservative element, thus leading to a split. Typical of this development were the Conservative, John Nelson, and the Radical Louis-Joseph Papineau. Neilsen accepted an appointment proffered by Kempt justifying his action with the claim that the government could be "pushed" along the right path. Papineau's attitude was expressed in a letter to Neilsen, as follows:

"I am disposed to believe that it (the government) goes from bad to worse. You complain loudly of the men who have led it . . . you have drawn on the public, which still keeps on when you wish to stop yourself. You believe that debased men are no longer dangerous; that



they will govern well because they no longer dare to do evil. The majority does not see that. It sees flagrant abuses which have not all been corrected, while their unpunished authors preserve the same principles as before, that is to say, the absence of all principle . . . the same ardour for conserving in their odious coterie the accumulation of offices which they have monopolized, the same means of vengeance that they have so unscrupulously employed, the same certainty of impunity as long as their phalanx is not broken. I cannot desist. The country is still the prey of determined and dangerous enemies, and the English ministry is more disposed to sustain them than to guide themselves by the rules of justice towards us."

The period of calm was finally broken in May, 1832 when three French Canadians were shot by troops in Montreal during an election. The commanding officer was arrested but the grand jury refused to indict him. Lord Aylmer expressed his pleasure at the grand jury decision and berated the people for being "tumultuous." The journal *Le Canadien* commented:

"Not content with having insulted a generous people, the representative of our sovereign must confirm the assassination of the subjects confided to him by his august master, and must compliment the murderers in a fashion most outrageous and contemptuous to the Canadian people"

One other development helped to heap fuel on the fire. Plagued by massive unemployment the London government began shipping thousands of immigrants to Canada. These poverty-stricken migrants were loaded as ballast in the holds of ships going to Canada for cargo. Every voyage was a battle for survival, at the end of which they were put ashore, pennyless, at Quebec or Montreal and expected to make their way westward to Upper Canada. The French-Canadians rightly suspected this was an attempt to overwhelm them with immigrants of British extraction.

The crisis was further aggravated by an outbreak of cholera which originated with the disease-ridden migrants and spread like wildfire along the St Lawrence, decimating both immigrants and Canadians alike. One spokesman for the Radicals, quoted in the *Montreal Gazette*, remarked: "It was not enough to send among us avaricious egotists, without any other spirit of liberty than that which could be bestowed by a simple education at the counter, to enrich themselves at the expense of the Canadians, and then to enslave them; they must also rid themselves of their beggars and cast them by thousands on our shores; they must send us miserable beings, who, after having partaken

of the bread of our children, will subject them to the horrors following upon hunger and misery; they must do still more, they must send us in their train pestilence and death."

The appearance on the scene of the British American Land Company which acquired half a million acres of land to be held for settlement by British immigrants and the growing power of the chartered banks, which had been established by English merchants in 1817 and 1818, provided additional sources of irritation and resulted in the Canadians expressing ever more violent opposition to the ruling oligarchy.

By the time the Assembly session opened in 1834 the Canadians, who called themselves the Patriots, were in an openly rebellious mood. Papineau, Morin and Bedard introduced into the Assembly 92 resolutions that became, in effect, the manifesto of the Patriots. Typical of the grievances demanding redress was the one that cited the fact that while the French Canadians formed five-sixths of the population they held only 47 out of 194 public offices. The resolutions, after a heated debate, were passed by a vote of 56 to 23 and in the elections which followed opponents of the Resolutions were defeated.

The English merchants response to the resolutions was to enter into a conspiracy and association to suppress the French Canadians by means of armed terror. The Tories met at Tattersall's in Montreal and declared: they would no longer "submit to the domination of a party adverse to emigration, to commerce, to internal improvements, and to all those interests which may be regarded as British." Commenting on this the Montreal Committee of Correspondance wrote to its equivalent in Quebec:

"For the rest, like these last (the English party of Quebec) our adversaries in Montreal have also struck against all which is Canada and part of the liberties of the country; like them they have proclaimed European ascendancy by means of exclusion on one hand and terror on the other; like yours, they are going to have sinners whose end is to inflame against the security, the rights, and the vary life of the people of the country those of their adepts who attend these gatherings. Today...these projects of oppression and these incendiary doctrines have been laid bare. Among...plans discussed was that of a mission to Upper Canada to form among the people...associations of a sort to provide forces for the Montreal party of assassins, both to support the union of the provinces and the dismemberment of this one."

The stage was now set to move from parliamentary debate to a contest of arms.

# P.W. CLUB ACTIVITIES ANTI-FASCIST ARREST

CELEBRATE THE 95th ANNIVERSARY  
of the **PARIS COMMUNE**

SATURDAY, MARCH 19  
P.W.M. Headquarters  
35 East Hastings Street

Speakers

**MALCOLM BRUCE - JACK SCOTT**

plus

BAKED SALMON SUPPER—\$1.00  
Supper at 7 p.m.

Norman Bethune Club, PWM

All Friends of PWM Welcome!

HEAR A TAPED INTERVIEW WITH

**JOHN HOWARD GRIFFEN**

author of

**"BLACK LIKE ME"**

8 p.m., Saturday, April 9

P.W.M. HEADQUARTERS  
35 East Hastings

Entertainment—Refreshments

ALL WELCOME

Jack Wood Club, PWM

A communication from the Portuguese Popular Action Front reveals that Francesco Martino Rodriguez, founder and leader of the resistance movement, was arrested in Lisbon at the end of January. Rodriguez, 39 years old, has been arrested on four previous occasions and was said to have comported himself courageously while in the hands of the fascist police. In 1959 he made a notable escape from Fort Peniche, Portugal's top security prison.

Rodriguez was a member of the central committee of the Communist Party of Portugal (Revisionist), but left that party to organize the revolutionary resistance movement in the Popular Action Front. He had been in hiding since 1952 and was the object of a countrywide manhunt.

Also arrested were Rodriguez's wife, Fernanda, who had been hiding with him for 14 years; their four children, aged 4 to 14 years; and Rodriguez's sister, Cecilia, who was arrested along with Fernanda Rodriguez.

Leaders of the Popular Action Front fear for the life of Rodriguez and his family, and point to the kidnapping and assassination of Delgado in February of last year as proof of how far the fascist regime is prepared to go. The Action Front appeals to all democrats and revolutionaries to protest the projected torture and assassination of this outstanding leader of the Portuguese working class.

Protests should be addressed to the Minister of the Interior, Lisbon, Portugal.

## NO AID FOR HOSTILE PEOPLE

The Johnson administration has appointed some hundreds of millions of dollars for additional "economic aid" to selected nations. Johnson announced that aid would be extended exclusively to those nations that are not hostile to the United States. What was meant by not being hostile was made very clear when the puppet regime at Saigon was put at the top of the list of those nations qualifying for aid. Moral: be a U.S. imperialist stooge and you will get a handout from a grateful master.

### INFILTRATOR?

The U.S. militarists are loudly claiming the war in Viet Nam is to secure the right of the South Vietnamese to rule themselves without interference and particularly without infiltration from the North. But it appears that the chief stooge of the U.S. imperialists in Saigon, Premier Cao Ky is himself an "infiltrator" of some note.

Cao Ky was born and raised in Hanoi and is therefore a son of the North who "infiltrated" southward. This "infiltration" was carried out in a rather notable way. Cao Ky left the north in company with the French imperialist enemies of his people and was dedicated to the task of working for a speedy end to the new-won independence of the Democratic Republic.

As U.S.-appointed Premier of Saigon Cao Ky is a reactionary northern infiltrator who is dedicated to a policy which denies the people of Vietnam the right to form a government of their choice and depends on foreign military intervention to keep him in power.

It is not "infiltration" that the imperialists and Cao Ky are opposed to. They oppose any aid being extended to the people of South Viet Nam in their fight for national liberation which is what they refer to when mentioning "infiltration". But infiltrators of the Cao Ky variety can always be sure of a hero's welcome.

## Advance Books and Periodicals

35 East Hastings Street Vancouver 4, B.C.

Communist Manifesto .....	.35	On the Question of Stalin .....	.10
Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism .....	.35	On the Socialist Revolution in Vietnam—Nos. I, II—	
The State and Revolution .....	.40	Each .....	.30
How to Be a Good Communist .....	.50	On the Problem of War and Peace .....	.25
Lenin on the National Liberation Movement .....	.25	The South Vietnam People Will Win .....	.25
Lenin on War and Peace .....	.25	AP, BAC .....	.40
Lenin on Proletarian Revolution .....	.25	Who Will Win in South Vietnam .....	.05
Lenin on the Struggle against Revisionism .....	.25	Solemn Pledge of the Thirty Million Vietnam People	.10
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The People of Vietnam will Triumph, U.S. Aggressors		A Mirror for Revisionists .....	.10
will be Defeated .....	.15	Apologists of Neo-Colonialism .....	.10

## REBEL PRIEST

Camillo Torres, 37-year-old son of a prominent Columbian family, who entered the priesthood, was suspended from priestly duties last summer after he had publicly advocated armed revolution for the liberation of Columbia.

Last November, Torres disappeared from Bogota, and has recently sent word that he has joined the guerrilla movement. Leaflets circulating in Columbia announce that Torres is fighting the ruling class at the head of an "Army of National Liberation."

Torres was educated in the United States and Belgium, and imperialist and local reactionaries are expressing grave concern over his "defection." The Church in Columbia, as in most of Latin America, is extremely conservative, and rebel priests such as Torres are rare indeed on the continent. The adherence of Torres to the forces of national liberation is one more indication of the deep contradictions rending Latin American society and pointing the way toward an early anti-imperialist explosion.



# 95TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PARIS COMMUNE

By MALCOLM BRUCE  
(First of two articles)

Throughout the centuries of struggle of the oppressed against their ruling class oppressors, there have been many events whose anniversaries the workers of the world celebrate or commemorate, from the revolt in decadent Rome which was led by the heroic Spartacus to the class struggles of modern times. But of them all two great events stand out in historical significance: the Paris Commune of 1871 and the Bolshevik-led Russian proletarian revolution of 1917—the former crushed, the latter victorious.

The Paris Commune, although crushed, was in a sense a dress rehearsal for later revolutions, was spoken of by Pavlov as the "first pale dawn of the approaching proletarian revolution," and from its achievements as well as from its mistakes the Marxist Bolshevik party drew lessons on what to do and what to avoid.

In France the defeat of the revolution in 1848 was followed by a period of apathy of the working class, during which period Louis Napoleon, a nephew of the first Napoleon, took advantage of dissension in the ruling class as well as the passivity of the workers and lower middle class to have himself made president and later emperor of France. This adventurer, basking in the reflected fame of his illustrious yet infamous uncle, and bursting with delusions of grandeur, undertook to emulate him by a war of conquest and declared war on Germany.

The adventure cost him and France dearly, for within a short time he met with humiliating defeat at Sedan and Metz, both armies as well as himself made prisoners. The German armies marched on Paris and besieged it. The government, while declaring that the city would be defended to the last was, like the inheritors of his treachery in 1940, Laval, Petain and company, preparing to surrender the city to Bismark. Thus the government of defense became a government of defection.

The Germans did not attempt to conquer Paris for they knew the people of Paris had armed themselves and created a National Guard with a majority of workers for the defence of the city. But Paris armed was the revolution armed, and the Thiers government feared it. They preferred surrender and thus preserve their property rights and privileges rather than have the workers become the ruling class.

To prevent that and to carry through his conspiracy to surrender the city he saw that it was necessary to disarm the National Guard. Accordingly in the early morning of March 18, 1871 he sent soldiers of the line to seize cannon of the National Guard, weapons which were paid for by subscriptions from the people. The National Guard resisted and Thiers' soldiers retreated. By his attempt to seize the arms of the people's National Guard Thiers initiated the civil war.

The National Guard set up a Central Executive to guide the defense of Paris against Thiers. On this Central Executive, the members of the First International organized by Marx and Engels only seven or eight years before were in a minority and had not yet fully assimilated the teachings of Marxism. Many of its members still had faith in bourgeois elections, held an election for members of a commune, thus giving up the power to the elected body on which the Marxists were a minority and the Proudhon anarcho-syndicalists and Blanquists held a majority. As a consequence there was much confusion. **What was lacking was a Marxist revolutionary party to lead the struggle.**

The Thiers government called on Bismark to release thousands of the French army imprisoned in Sedan and Metz, a request which Bismark readily granted. Frustrated by his failure to capture the cannon, his government and army vacated Paris and assembled at Versailles, 14 miles away, there, with the assistance of a section of the Ger-

man army, to make war on the Parisians.

Fierce fighting ensued on the barricades and elsewhere, fighting in which armed working women took part, as well as boys of twelve years of age. In the bombardment by both sides some buildings and monuments were destroyed. For their part in this the Communards were denounced by the ruling class of almost every country! To this Marx wrote: "The workingmen's Paris, in the act of its heroic self-holocaust, involved in its flames buildings and monuments. While tearing to pieces the living bodies of the proletariat, its rulers can no longer expect to return to the intact architecture of their abodes. The bourgeoisie of the whole world which looks complacently upon the wholesale massacre after the battle, is convulsed by horror at the destruction of brick and mortar!"

The riffraff of Paris, the pimps and prostitutes, the wives of the bourgeoisie as well as other social scum flocked into Versailles while the women workers and their allies remained in Paris to mount the barricades. Of these working women Marx wrote:

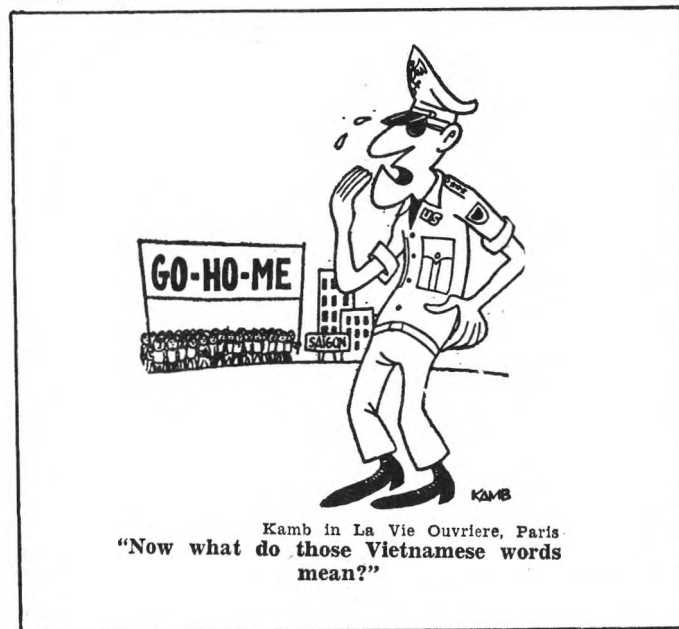
**"The real women of Paris showed as noble, heroic and devoted, like the women of antiquity, working, thinking, fighting, bleeding—almost forgetful, in its incubation of a new society, of the cannibals at the gates."**

Never in the history of warfare has there been such cold-blooded massacre of the unarmed defeated as occurred in Paris after the fighting had ended. More than 30,000 men, women and children were lined up against the wall of the Federals and mowed down by machine-gun fire. Many wounded but still living were buried alive in groups. Thousands more were driven into exile or imprisoned in faraway New Caledonia or Devil's Island.

But Paris will rise again as did the workers and peasants of Russia, China and Cuba, when, as Lissigary wrote: "The blind justice of revolutions punishes in the first-comers the accumulated crimes of their class." In tribute to the heroic Communards Marx concludes his great work, "The Civil War in France" with the following paragraph:

**"Workingmen's Paris with its Commune will be forever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its exterminators history has already nailed to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priests will not avail to redeem them."**

(In his next article which will appear in our next issue, Malcolm will deal with the lessons of the Paris Commune.)



## U.S. Imperialism Propagates Moral Corruption

(Editor's Note—The following article is taken from "The Australian Communist," theoretical journal of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist).)

Prostitution has a long history but under capitalism it has become more widespread and in some countries, such as the United States, it is big business. Business firms "retain" call girls to help with the entertainment of representatives of other firms from whom contracts or other deals are desired. This practice has made its appearance in Australia.

In times of economic crisis many women sell themselves in order to live or keep families. Some women become professionals by their very nature or through a distorted and unnatural outlook on life. But by and large and, fundamentally, prostitution is the product of class society in which women, be it slavery, feudalism or capitalism, are treated as second class citizens, as the property of man.

With the abolition of classes women become equal partners with men which opens up a whole process of re-adjustment. Women become free of the old customs and ties and under a socialist society they share in the overall construction of their country.

With the abolition of classes, the exploitation of man by man ceases, and the process begins whereby the individual contributes what he or she can for the common good.

Naturally, there are hangovers from the past, but there are no artificial distortions foisted on to the people as there are in capitalism, a class society.

One of these distortions is the question of sex. In a well ordered society, free from the sex emphasis that we experience under capitalism, sexual relations tend to resume their normal function.

Because women have economic freedom and are self-reliant they are welcomed into the body of the work force and have a contribution to make to society they develop a new dignity that precludes loose sex morality.

In our society, which is based on the exploitation of man by man, there is a constant drive to divert man's attention away from the things that count, namely, how he earns his living and whether he is getting his rightful share of the wealth that he helps to produce.

Sex is used as a weapon to keep man diverted.

It is no accident that the biggest exploiter of mankind, U.S. imperialism, sets out to corrupt. It glorifies immoral behavior and even tries to elevate the insane. It does this not only to its own people, but to the people of countries it dominates.

American trash floods our bookstalls. American violence dominates the T.V. screens and the cinema. U. S. imperialism conducts, daily, hourly, a huge campaign of corruption. In a recent issue of the American McCall's Magazine, there appeared an article on precisely this question by Marya Mannes, who is described as a columnist, novelist and poet. We quote her at length because what she describes in her own country is taking place here—and the source is the same, U. S. imperialism.

She begins: "The new heroine of what might loosely be called our culture is, to be blunt, the prostitute. Not the old fashioned dreary kind who stood on street corners calling hoarse endearments. Not the poor wretch in cheap furnished rooms or in a house that was not a home. Not even the prostitute with the heart of gold: the lady of joy, long immortalized in the literature of the world, who sold her talents but gave her soul to the man who took pity on her.

"Today we have something new in prostitute heroines. Perhaps the moving picture 'Never On Sunday' started it all, with that zesty strumpet who loved her work and was loved by all men, including—without doubt—the majority of her male audience in the movie theatres around the world . . . Mr. Jules Dassin, her director-husband, managed, by enthroning this gay professional girl,

to make the most imaginable case for promiscuity and the poorest possible one for restraint.

"And the books! Whether it's Terry Southern's Candy or Robert Gover's little teen-age prostitute, or Norman Mailer's neurotic and insatiable playmates, or—oh, why go on? On stage, on screen, in hard cover or paperback, plastered all over the newsstands and in the shiny covers of the 'girlie-press,' there she is: the girl who seldom withholds her flesh or favors and who receives in turn, if not cash, then the lust and attention of the faceless mass. Her sexual talents bring her fame and fortune, clothes and jewels, boundless adulation, a life of infinite variety, and the kind of immorality, however brief, to which few housewives and nice girls can aspire . . .

"If this seems exaggerated, I would suggest that doubters observe the exterior of a public high school in any American city after classes are over and the girls are on the street outside. Many of them could act as walk-ons in almost any contemporary play about saleable 'chicks.' It is not only their teased hair and their heavily rimmed and sticky-lashed eyes. It is the look in their eyes and the pout of their lips and the switch of their walk that betray their consuming aspiration—the new conformity to the new idol—kitten or pussy-cat or the girl in the centrefold of Rogue: available, carnally knowing, openly aggressive. And although they may not constitute a clear majority or populate the schools of the upper middle class, no one who walks the streets of a city of can fail to see them, buttocks sheathed in blue jeans or skin-tight skirts, tough-eyed and far from innocent.

"The sad thing is that for every one who is really tough, there are two who are putting on the act. From the movies they see and the books they read, this is what gets the boys. They may be wholly insecure and not a little frightened; they may be fundamentally shy and romantic. But to be 'with it' is to be sexy, with no holds barred. Not to seem so is worse than to really being square; it is being virginal, or even frigid."

There it is—a smart description of corruption, mass corruption that is affecting our children in the same way. What Marya Mannes describes can be seen here. This American woman who is revolted by what she sees, has no solution to the problem. She does not identify it with the exploitation of man by man and the need of the huge monopolies to corrupt men's minds, the minds of whole generations, to drown their thinking in depraved emotional stimulus so that they will all the more easily accept their environment.

To return to a "modern capitalist society" after a long stay in a socialist country is like returning to a huge insane asylum where all morality and standards are turned upside down.

But man will not succumb to this.

The young people of a genuinely socialist country are engrossed in building up their cities and countries. Their lives are full; they suffer no frustrations. There is equal opportunity for all, but above all there is the general, comradly atmosphere of being wanted, of being valued. In socialist countries human beings are the most valued of all things.

It is not all work in a socialist country, but even in work there is great joy. Labor is honored in socialist countries—under capitalism it is degraded. If you do not work you are smart. Essential, but perhaps menial jobs, are looked down on.

There is no continuity between work and leisure. Leisure is not connected with creative labor. It cannot be under capitalism. Thus pleasure or leisure becomes a thing in itself, intense and artificial. People look for a "kick" and the whole process becomes degenerate, helped along with hard liquor and sometimes drugs.

It cannot be any other way in a system that is based on exploitation; when one half of life is spent trying to forget the other half. Excesses, degeneration and deprav-



ity are encouraged because it is "easy" and inexpensive for the exploiters.

A holiday in pleasant surroundings with all the facilities of real rest and relaxation is beyond most ordinary people.

Depravity, degeneration, general moral breakdown, are signs of a dying society, a society that has become an encumbrance on man. Capitalism now can only be maintained by war and violence for it is being imposed on the people. The greatest propagator of this violence and moral corruption is U.S. imperialism, the corruption of our youth by U.S. imperialism is proceeding. Many parents are bewildered. They try and protect their children but the outside pressures become too much. The simple truth of the matter is our children cannot be isolated from what is going on—it would mean isolating them from society itself.

## HOW GENERAL WASHINGTON LOST THE FOURTEENTH COLONY

(From Sharon East Educational Committee)

When the history of the American Revolution is studied, it seems to give the impression of Canada playing somewhat of a counter-revolutionary role. Is this altogether true? Was Canada in reality "loyal" to England, her imperial ruler? It is necessary to analyze thoroughly the resolution of the colonies to be able to judge correctly Canada's role

In the eighteenth century, the British Empire had reached its greatest dimensions. On the North American continent alone, the British flag snapped in every breeze from the Hudson Bay to Florida. We are inclined to think of the group of colonies as numbering thirteen. However, at that time, Nova Scotia included the whole of New Brunswick, much of the Gaspé peninsula, and part of the state of Maine, and was in fact the fourteenth colony.

There are many reasons for classifying Nova Scotia as the fourteenth colony, but the most important is the fact that they were under the same type of suppression as the other thirteen. Thus the people of Nova Scotia then were aligned closely with those of New England. The method of life and struggle, their culture, means of survival, their interests were all very akin to that of New England. Why then did Nova Scotia not break away from her colonial chains along with her New England friends? To understand why, we must obtain a better understanding of the situation as it existed in Nova Scotia.

Halifax was established in 1749 as a British naval base on the Nova Scotian peninsula. It was of real significance, for it commanded the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and its ports and hinterland commanded not only the throat of Canada, but also the main sea approach to New England. Needless to say the British maintained this base at Halifax—the only establishment of its kind—hence Halifax was dominated by British naval power. Nevertheless, contrary to public opinion, Nova Scotia did in fact have a liberation army. For obvious reasons stated previously, these rebels of Nova Scotia had a natural warm sympathy for their New England friends.

The "Army of Liberty," as the Nova Scotian rebels called themselves, were led by Jonathan Eddy, John Allan and an Acadian nationalist, Isaiah Boudreau. These men went so far as to ask and urge New England support for the seizing of Nova Scotia. In 1776 "Army of Liberty" was successful in besieging Fort Cumberland with its guns and bastions and they called on "all friends" of America to rise and take up arms in their support. Although they were small in number, they accomplished a great deal and proved that the fourteenth colony was ripe for revo-

lution. Unfortunately, their American allies were too busy with their "own interests" to help Nova Scotia in her fight against their common oppressor.

As the "Army of Liberty" awaited arms and ammunition from George Washington, the British authorities at Halifax sent for help. The Halifax administration, needless to say, were very loyal to their authorities in London. Having received not even a sign of aid from the other thirteen colonies, the Nova Scotian "Army of Liberty" were defeated by the British army— "the Royal Highland Emmigrants."

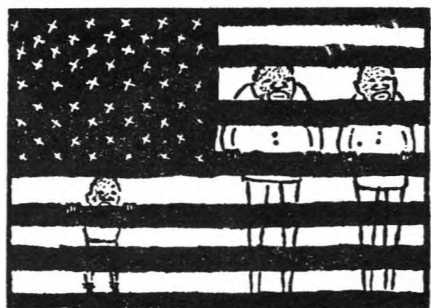
The failure of the rebellion and the emptiness of all the promises from the other colonies caused the Nova Scotians to reflect somberly on their position. Though still the old ties of blood and trade with New England were strong, a new factor entered the problem. As the tide somewhat rolled away from New England, the successful rebels then labelled their northern cousins enemies of the United States. They arrived at this conclusion because Nova Scotia failed to send a representative to their new-born congress. Unfortunately, this young nation, the United States, was not aware of the Nova Scotians' past "Army of Liberty," and if they were aware, they obviously had very short memories. They began seizing Nova Scotian trading vessels. From this they turned to the shore itself, robbing the defenseless towns and settlements. The chief outposts, Charlottetown, Lunenburg, Liverpool, Yarmouth, Annapolis all were attacked at various times and most of them pillaged. At this time, the great celebrated patriot John Paul Jones was seizing unarmed vessels and burning sheds and cod-oil barrels of the fishermen along the coast.

The final outcome of these unjust "Yankee" attacks left the Nova Scotians embittered and veteran enemies of the United States. Nova Scotia, instead of a fourteenth American colony commanding the Gulf of St. Lawrence, remained to be a part of a future Canada from sea to sea.

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## Letters to the Editor

### PAY THE PIPER—CALL THE TUNE!

Recently George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, wrote a letter to the Free Press yapping about filibusters not being democratic! and preventing a vote on article 14B.

I would say that George Meany has a LOT OF GALL complaining about any "Lack of Democracy."

He of all people should be the LAST to talk!! Just a little while back HIS salary was raised \$50,000 to \$75,000 and NO workers got any vote on that!!!

In the A.F.L.-C.I.O. NO workers ever get any chance at a recertification vote once they are clapped into "Union Shop" Bondage, if the A.F.L.-C.I.O. can prevent it and if the membership are dissatisfied with the Union Leadership!!!

There is more than meets the eye in most things,



Brown picketing U.S. Consulate at Windsor.

particularly in Labour Matters, and although I don't pretend to have all the answers, I believe that a great deal of labour strife is caused by a lack of freedom of choice by the worker members, and this letter is offered as a partial solution.

It is no secret, and common knowledge that large groups of workers are looked upon as valuable CHECK-OFF prizes by various Unions, and vast sums are spent by rival Unions RAIDING to capture the CHECKOFF RIGHTS!

Civil Rebellions are usually directed against tyrannical, despotic, arrogant, dictatorial Political Leaders and the same holds true for the Leaders of Dictatorial Unions. Labour Unions!

Most Unions DEMAND and ENFORCE COMPULSORY UNION MEMBERSHIP as a condition of employment, and down through the years these Unions have succeeded in consolidating their unique "TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION" status so effectively and efficiently that a worker has NO CHOICE. Either he joins, or he DOESN'T WORK!!

Now all Union Leaders are not Paragons of Virtue. That's for SURE. And names such as Dave Beck, James Hoffa and recently Hal Banks will bear this statement out!

The point is that even when Union Leaders are PROVEN to be CROOKED on evidence presented in open court, to a Jury, there is no way for the membership to get them off their backs.

It's just common sense that after Union Certification votes are held, all conditions begin to change, and the more time goes the more changes are in evidence. Men come and Men Go, the employees are continually chang-

ing and so is a multitude of other pertinent conditions as well.

The point is that what might have been satisfactory Union Representation a few years ago might quite well have changed and be inadequate, satisfactory and, or, DICTATORIAL today!!

Now ordinary taxpaying citizens have an AUTOMATED WAY to do something about changing conditions on the Political Scene. In Municipal Elections, State Elections, and Federal Elections there is an AUTOMATED SECRET ELECTION every few years, GOVERNMENT-SUPERVISED AND SCRUTINIZED! And if the Taxpaying Citizens don't like their representation OUT THEY GO!!

I believe that what's good for the goose is GOOD for the Gander, and that at least a partial solution to Industrial strife would be simply for the Government to guarantee CHECKED-OFF Workers the undisputed and AUTOMATED RIGHT to hold GOVERNMENT-SPONSORED AND SCRUTINEERED RE-CERTIFICATION ELECTIONS at a maximum of a FIVE-YEAR INTERVAL, so the men who are being CHECKED-OFF and FORCED TO Pay dues the RIGHT to decide WHICH Union shall represent them!!

It's only RIGHT, FAIR and PROPER, that the workmen who Pay the Piper CHECK-OFF must have the RIGHT to call the RE-CERTIFICATION TUNE!!!

Sincerely,

TREVELYN M. BROWN,  
Windsor, Ont.

### BUREAUCRAT AT WORK

Don Dunphy, Steel bureaucrat was roundly condemned for his union raiding activities by members of Steel local 356. The raiding activity referred to was regarding a raid on an independant Canadian union in a Quebec steel mill; Dunphy took active part in the raid. Instead of joining the struggle for an independent movement, that can make policy free from U.S. direction, Dunphy applies his time, talents and energy to forging new chains to shackle Canadians workers.

When a suggestion was made for Dunphy to support a request that Native Indians be invited to address the Vancouver Labour Council on Indian problems he shifted the discussion to the subject of door prizes.

A letter was read to the meeting proposing that loans up to \$1,000 be made available so workers could move from depressed areas to places of higher employment activity. No note was taken of the fact that such workers could fall on hard times for various reasons and be unable to pay back the loan, neither was anything said about the need for housing to accommodate the migrant workers in the new areas. A much better thought-out plan is needed to take care of the problem.

A resolution demanding that pensions be immediately increased to \$100 per month was endorsed and forwarded to the Labour Council and B.C. Fed.

SHAUNE O'MAYO.

### READERS PLEASE NOTE!

The editors cannot undertake to publish communications where the author's identity is unknown. Names will not be published on request however, all letters intended for publication must be signed.

We are in receipt of a letter post-marked Nanaimo, B.C. which we would like to print but it contains no identification. If the writer would please forward identification the letter will appear in the next issue.



# THE CLASS AND THE NATION

## CLASS STRUGGLE, OR NATIONAL STRUGGLE? CLASS STRUGGLE, AND NATIONAL STRUGGLE!

By RENE BEAUDIN

A colonial situation may be roughly defined as one resulting from specific cultural and social relations. It is characterized, on the one hand, by the absence of collective personality in a given cultural group; by a retrogression to a juridical and social status, to the exclusion of all historical progression implied in national self-assertion and self-determination; and, on the other hand, by the subordination of the masses of the people to the economic interests of a dominant class which is not issued from the community, but imposed from outside, generally by armed might, and which as a rule, does not speak its idiom, does not inhabit the same neighborhoods, does not share the same customs, does not follow a common historical pattern: this latter class fashions that pattern, while the former is compelled to follow it.

### QUEBEC: A COLONIAL SOCIETY

It is through this definition of colonialism that it is possible to retrace the history of Quebec since its conquest by the British. These socio-cultural relations, which characterize any colonial situation, are apparent in Quebec due to the fact that it brings face to face two cultural groups, one of which speaks English, the other French; one is a conqueror, the other conquered; one fashions history, the other must accept it; one lives in St. Henri (the "Harlem" of Montreal), the other in Westmount; one dines at the Queen Elizabeth, the other eats at the "greasy spoon"; one is director of all great economic enterprises, the other toils in some industry; one accumulates monstrous profits, the other receives a salary barely sufficient to exist on it.

It is from this angle that the social and cultural relations in Quebec are of a colonial nature. But colonialism, though, historically, it could be defined as an attempt to crush and deny the most elementary human aspirations, does not imply, objectively, a pre-determined type of social and economic behavior condemning the colonized to ignorance, starvation and death (this is not intended as a bouquet to colonialism!); nor is it a colonial situation that can be defined essentially as a specific type of cultural and social relations between two cultural groups, the nature of which we have outlined above; it is, in a certain measure, independent of the degree of evolution of the productive forces, and of the production relations within the communities affected by the colonial relations. Colonialism is possible only if the social and economic structures of the two cultural groups are not of socialist nature. In other words, from a certain level of social and economic development in a capitalist society, the necessity to continue the evolution of this system opens the doors to colonialism.

An industrial society may thus be a colonial society to the extent where the cultural and social relations obey the criteria defined above. The colonized may very well speed away in their cars, own a country villa; but it still remains that they are submissive to an objective system of cultural and social relations, which objectively makes colonists out of them.

This situation, which has characterized all the history of Quebec since the conquest, has been more pronounced in the process.

But today we feel to what extent such relations are growing ever more unfavorable to the colonized portion of colonial society. We are conscious of our cultural inferiority, which we now want to overcome. We have chosen the struggle for national liberation. But we are equally conscious that if the overcoming of our state of colonization demands such a struggle, then the social relations inherent in such a situation imply that we give our struggle for national liberation a class content.

And to the degree in which the class upon whom we

anchor our national struggle is a class possessing a radical outlook not only in regard of the cultural relations, but more so in regard of productive relations and social relations, our struggle is a revolutionary struggle.

In Quebec, the working class, only, is susceptible to harbor such radical exigencies. And it is in the measure in which we will anchor our struggle of national liberation on the working class, that we will break out of the choking circle of a nationalism exclusively cultural. Our nationalism will also be basically revolutionary. And it is thus only that, while giving the Quebec workers a distinctive collective personality, Quebec nationalism will succeed in affirming its solidarity with all the workers.

### THE STRUGGLE FOR JUST ECONOMIC DEMANDS IN QUEBEC AND THE AWAKENING OF THE NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

The Quebec trade union movement is presently considered the most militant in North America, and yet the least politically-minded. This paradox is due, I believe, to our colonial situation, which has subordinated the class struggle to purely cultural needs. The preservation of "our" faith and our language necessitated the submission of the working masses to a clerico-fascist regime, a natural consequence of our colonial situation, which has still more crystalized the structure and the relations determining this very situation.

The historical coincidence of the national struggle and the class struggle shows most clearly in current social conflicts which are shaking Quebec for the past three years. It is an essential result of, on the one hand, the struggle for the defence of the economic interests of the Quebec workers, which projected the fact that the bosses were English, or foreigners, and so, in a certain measure the social conflicts weakened the colonial structures of our society; and, on the other hand, the struggle for the cultural and national interests which accentuated always further the character of the classes, the struggle for immediate national interests thus shaking the class structure of that very society. It is this dialectical unity of the national struggle and of the class struggle that the Quebec revolution can lean on objectively.

It is gradually as this dialectic is historically perceived, that the Quebec trade union movement now tends to become politically-minded. Our analysis of the Quebec situation leads us to believe, first, that the most pressing historical need is national independence; and, secondly, that the strongest tendency at present among the vanguard of the working-class movement, is the creation of a workers' party.

It is in this light that the dialectical unity of the national struggle and the class struggle becomes apparent when we observe these two currents. It is certainly no accident if the process of national liberation and political orientation of the working-class movement is simultaneous.

It is still too soon to decide if that party will be reformist or revolutionary. But even now we can foresee that it will be a working class party whose roots will be in Quebec and whose field of action will be Quebec, and whose objective will be the seizure of power in Quebec. Therefore, a party built around a "nationalist" base, even if it does not present itself immediately as "separatist and revolutionary, nevertheless will offer favorable bases for radicalization of the members and political requirements.

### THE CLASS STRUGGLE AND THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

A colonial situation, as we have seen above is characterized by the domination of a foreign ruling class over a servile native class. In this respect, in Quebec we have no national bourgeoisie. True, we do have a few bourgeois intent on conciliating their interests with those of Wall Street, Toronto, or St. James Street, and in this respect behaving like puppets.

But the emergence of a national consciousness attuned to the problems raised by colonial relations, and

the intensification of social problems in Quebec transforms the class struggle into a confrontation of a Quebec working class and an Anglo-Saxon bourgeoisie. This vision of our colonial situation and the will to change it has presented our national bourgeoisie with a dilemma: Either submit forever to "Canadian" and American imperialists, and in consequence, lose their relative influence over the Quebec economy, or, attempt to restrain the class-content of the national struggle, which the conscious discovery of our collective personality implies, by canalizing those energies released by this newly-found consciousness—in which case they cannot oppose the American monopolies to the same length they would wish to extend their influence in Quebec.

The colonial society is not on the brink of collapse—far from it—but we do say that, objectively, our society

## QUEBEC PROTESTS

By DON DUGGAN

On Friday, February 18, many thousands of the citizenry and student force of Quebec arrayed themselves in opposition to American imperialism. Those French patriots—who have been themselves victims of North American capital under its many cruel varieties of racial, cultural and material oppression—are among the most honest and vigorous Canadians in revealing the practices of American neo-colonial aggression, an aggression now fully exposed as a barbarian invader upon the valiant peoples of Vietnam.

Despite the severe cold of a wintry late afternoon in Montreal, demonstrators marched from Dominion Square to the U.S. consulate on McGregor Street. Attempts by police to confine the route of progress were futile, for the protesters boldly spread across Sherbrooke Street as a well-disciplined and brave phalanx. Before this mass of purposeful anger could vent itself against the American consulate, authorities there had hung up a "closed" notice and lowered their flag. Unarmed U.S. officials are not remarkably effective in meeting popular demands . . .

This demonstration finished with a general outcry against the Vietnamese policies of the United States. Principal rallying points were: "Vietnam for the Vietnamese," "For a Great Society Bomb—Johnson," "U.S. Marines are America's True Ambassadors." No speeches were made—indeed, none were necessary, for the people present had passed beyond mere inactive criticisms. A final gesture of protest was to strew placards across the grounds of the consulate, an American outpost suddenly fallen silent behind its doorway guarded by two Canadian police puppets!

Later that same Friday, Robert Cliche, Quebec leader of the NDP, joined Staughton Lynd and other speakers for a rally to further declare opposition to the war against Vietnam. Although the NDP had been among the sponsors for the afternoon march, along with Voice of Women, General Union of Quebec Students and the Popular Liberation Movement, this appearance of a serious party authority seems to distinguish Cliche from his timid fellows in other parts of Canada.

Even though many of the statements issued by NDP functionaries have been cool toward the American effort in Vietnam, few have sounded so angry and intent as Cliche. Among the most worthy comments by this Quebec socialist are these:

"Americans do not understand that they will never succeed in imposing a capitalist society over yellow and black races . . ."

"America will never succeed in preventing the evolution of peoples who wish to advance from primitive feudalism . . ."

"Domination by the white race is a thing of the past in Asia. The hour of sunrise for the East is sunset for the white gods . . ."

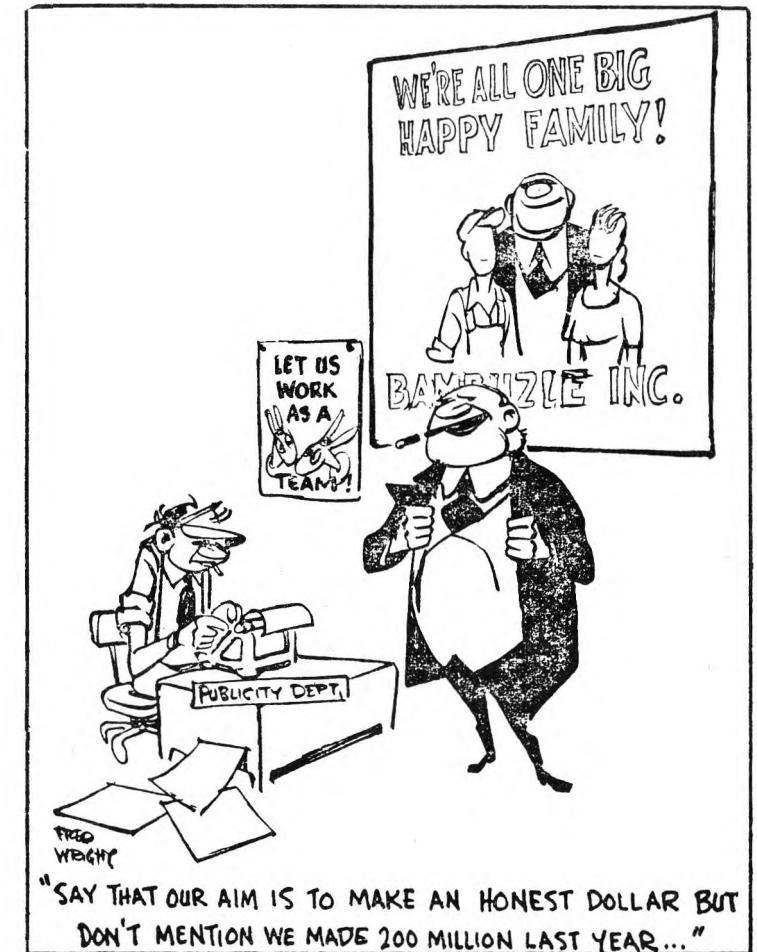
shows definite symptoms of atling. We feel certain that a sickness tends to grow worse and that it can bring about the downfall of that society, along with the abolition of its colonial structure.

It is in this perspective that we want to carry to its conclusion, by all means required by the prevailing situation, the struggle now begun. Imperialism is the target of the ever-mounting resentment of Quebec workers. More and more, Pan-Canadianism—that juridical and ideological superstructure of imperialism which justifies itself in Quebec in the name of that ideology—is losing momentum. Our national struggle is dictated simultaneously by our resolve to acquire a distinctive collective personality, and to give the workers of Quebec the mastery of their destiny. To this task we are dedicated without hesitation.

(Editor's Note—Please see page 20 for the original French version.)

"Periodically, Americans have tried to practise 'Goodwill Missions.' Their travelling salesmen seek to show the good faith of the United States. In one hand, they offer butter—in the other, they hold guns . . ."

May we hope that more of the supposed working-class leaders in Canada will at least try to speak out on Vietnam? Certain features of the Cliche outline are silly and vain. However, it is necessary at once for the Canadian people to realize who among us today can analyze the state of imperialism, and provide a solution for our plight. Therefore, we urge progressive groups throughout Canada to declare themselves before the judgment of history—history that we must strive to produce . . .





Lutte de classe ou lutte nationale?  
Lutte de classe et lutte nationale!

par René Beaudin,

Une situation coloniale peut se définir en gros comme résultant de rapports culturels et sociaux spécifiques. Elle se caractérise d'une part, par l'absence de personnalité collective d'un groupe culturel donné, par un refoulement à un statut juridique et social qui exclut tout devenir historique que l'affirmation et l'autodétermination nationale implique, et, d'autre part, par la subordination de l'humanité des masses populaires aux intérêts économiques d'une classe dominante, n'émergeant pas de cette communauté mais est imposée de l'extérieur, généralement par la force armée, et généralement ne parle pas sa langue, n'habite pas les mêmes quartiers, ne partagent pas les mêmes moeurs, ne participent pas à la même histoire. Les uns la font pour eux, ceux-ci la subissent.

Le Québec, société coloniale.

C'est au travers de cette définition du colonialisme que peut-être retracée l'histoire du Québec depuis la conquête par les britanniques. Ces rapports socio-culturels caractérisant toute situation coloniale se perçoivent au Québec par le fait qu'elle met l'un en face de l'autre deux groupes culturels, dont l'un parlant anglais, l'autre parlant français; l'un est conquérant, l'autre est un conquis; l'un fait l'histoire l'autre la subit; l'un demeure à St-Henri (le "Harlem" de Montréal), l'autre à Westmount, l'un mange au "Queen Elizabeth Hotel", l'autre mange au "petit restaurant"; l'un dirige toutes les grandes institutions économiques, l'autre travaille dans des manufactures; l'un s'accapare des profits gigantesques, l'autre reçoit un salaire lui assurant à peine le minimum vital.

C'est sous cet angle que les rapports sociaux et culturels sont de nature coloniale au Québec. Mais le colonialisme, bien qu'historiquement se définisse comme une tentative d'écrasement et de refus d'accéder aux aspirations humaines les plus élémentaires, n'implique pas objectivement un type de comportement social et économique déterminé, vouant les colonisés à l'ignorance, à la famine et à la mort (ceci n'est assurément pas une louange du colonialisme); une situation coloniale se définissant essentiellement par un type spécifique de rapports sociaux et culturels entre groupes culturels dont nous avons ci-haut dégagé la nature; elle est dans une certaine mesure, indépendante du degré d'évolution des forces productives et des rapports de production à l'intérieur des sociétés impliquées par les rapports coloniaux. Le colonialisme n'est possible que si les structures sociales et économiques des deux groupes culturels ne sont pas d'essence socialiste. En d'autres termes, à partir d'un certain niveau de développement social et économique d'une société capitaliste, la nécessité de poursuivre l'évolution du système débouche sur le colonialisme.

Une société industrielle peut ainsi être une société coloniale, dans la mesure où les rapports culturels et sociaux obéissent aux critères définies plus haut. Les colonisés peuvent très bien rouler en voiture, posséder leur maison de campagne mais il demeure qu'ils sont soumis à un système objectif de rapports culturels et sociaux qui objectivement fait d'eux des colonisés.

Cette situation, si elle a caractérisé tous les moments de l'histoire du Québec depuis la conquête s'est amplifiée tout au long de son histoire.

Mais aujourd'hui nous ressentons jusqu'à quel point de tels rapports défavorisent toujours davantage la fraction colonisée de la société coloniale. Nous sommes conscients de notre infériorité culturelle que nous voulons maintenant dépasser. Nous avons choisi la lutte de libération nationale. Mais nous sommes également conscients que si le dépassement de notre situation de colonisés exige une telle lutte, que les rapports sociaux inhérents à cette situation implique que nous donnions à notre lutte de libération nationale un contenu de classes.

Et dans la mesure où la classe sur laquelle nous appuyons notre lutte nationale est une classe portant des exigences radicales non seulement en regard des rapports culturels mais surtout en regard des rapports de production et des rapports sociaux notre lutte est une lutte révolutionnaire.

Au Québec, seule la classe des travailleurs est susceptible de porter des exigences aussi radicales. Et c'est dans la mesure où nous saurons appuyer notre lutte de libération nationale sur la classe des travailleurs que nous dépasserons le cadre étroit du nationalisme uniquement culturel. Notre nationalisme sera aussi fondamentalement révolutionnaire. Et c'est seulement ainsi que, tout en donnant aux travailleurs québécois une personnalité collective propre, que le nationalisme québécois pourra s'affirmer le plus solidaire des travailleurs en général.

La Lutte pour de justes revendications économiques au Québec et l'éveil de la conscience nationale.

Le syndicalisme québécois est considéré actuellement comme le plus militant en Amérique du Nord et pourtant le moins politisé. Cette antinomie est due à mon avis à notre situation coloniale qui a subordonné la lutte des classes à des impératifs purement culturels. La conservation de "notre" foi et de notre langue exigeait la soumission des masses laborieuses à un régime clérical fasciste, conséquence naturelle de notre situation coloniale, qui a davantage cristallisé les structures et les rapports déterminant cette situation.

La coïncidence historique de la lutte nationale et de la lutte de classes apparaît le plus nettement au cours des conflits sociaux qui secouent le Québec depuis trois ans. Cette coïncidence n'est assurément pas le fait d'un hasard. Elle résulte essentiellement du fait que, d'une part la lutte pour la défense des intérêts écono-

miques des travailleurs québécois mettait en lumière le fait que les patrons étaient anglais ou étrangers donc, dans une certaine mesure les conflits sociaux ébranlaient les structures coloniales de notre société, et d'autre part, la lutte pour les intérêts culturels et nationaux faisait ressortir toujours davantage le caractère des classes, la lutte pour les intérêts nationaux immédiats ébranlant ainsi la structure de classe de cette même société. C'est sur cette unité dialectique de la lutte nationale et de la lutte de classes, que la révolution québécoise peut objectivement s'appuyer.



C'est au fur et à mesure où cette dialectique se perçoit historiquement, que le syndicalisme québécois tend maintenant à se politiser. Notre analyse de la conjoncture québécoise au Québec, nous fait croire que, d'une part, l'échéance historique la plus immédiate au Québec est l'indépendance nationale, et d'autre part, la tendance la plus forte à l'heure actuelle au sein de l'avant-garde du mouvement ouvrier est la formation d'un parti de travailleur.

Ainsi, l'unité dialectique de la lutte nationale et de la lutte de classes apparaît lorsque nous observons ces deux courants. Ce n'est assurément pas le fait d'un hasard si les processus de libération nationale et de politisation du mouvement ouvrier s'opèrent simultanément.

Il est encore trop tôt pour décider si ce parti sera réformiste ou révolutionnaire. Mais à l'avance nous pouvons prévoir que ce parti sera un parti ouvrier, dont les racines seront québécoises et dont le champ d'action sera le Québec, l'objectif sera la prise du pouvoir à Québec. Ainsi, construit en parti autour et sur une base "nationaliste", un tel parti, même s'il ne s'affiche pas comme immédiatement "séparatiste" et révolutionnaire, présente objectivement des assises favorables à une radicalisation des membres et des exigences politiques de ce parti.

#### La lutte des classes et la lutte pour la libération nationale.

Une situation coloniale comme nous l'avons vu plus haut, se caractérise par la domination d'une classe dirigeante étrangère sur une classe servile autochtone. A cet égard, au Québec, nous n'avons pas de bourgeoisie nationale. Nous avons bien quelques bourgeois, qui tentent de concilier leurs intérêts avec ceux de la bourgeoisie de Wall Street, de Toronto, ou de la rue St-Jacques, et en ce sens se comportent comme des rois-nègres.

Mais l'émergence d'une conscience nationale sensibilisée aux problèmes que posent les rapports coloniaux, l'intensification des problèmes sociaux au Québec font, que la lutte des classes oppose une classe ouvrière québécoise à une bourgeoisie anglo-saxonne. Cette vision de notre situation coloniale, la volonté de changement ont posé à nos bourgeois nationaux un dilemme. Ou bien se soumettre toujours

d'avantage aux impérialistes "canadiens" et américains, et perdre ainsi l'influence relative qu'ils exercent sur l'économie du Québec, ou tâcher de restreindre le contenu de classes de la lutte nationale que la prise de conscience de notre personnalité collective implique en canalisant les énergies dégagées par cette prise de conscience, et du même coup, elle ne peut s'opposer aux monopoles américains, dans la mesure où ils veulent étendre leur influence au Québec.

Mais la tendance qu'ont nos bourgeois nationaux de créer une authentique bourgeoisie nationale ne masquera que très faiblement le caractère colonial de notre société. La participation extrêmement réduite de ces bourgeois à la marche de notre économie ne sera que faiblement accrue du fait d'une "nationalisation" si je puis dire, des bourgeois québécois. Le caractère fondamental de la lutte des classes au Québec demeurera: une bourgeoisie anglo-saxonne exploite les travailleurs québécois.

Une société coloniale est près de son point de rupture, loin de là, mais nous disons qu'objectivement, notre société présente des symptômes évidents de maladie. Nous ressentons nettement, qu'un malaise tend à se généraliser et qu'il peut provoquer la chute de cette société, l'abolition de sa structure coloniale.

C'est dans cette perspective que nous voulons mener jusqu'au bout, par tous les moyens qu'exigeront la situation du moment et la lutte amorcée. L'impérialisme est en butte à l'hostilité sans cesse croissante des travailleurs du Québec. De plus en plus, le pancanadianisme, super-structure juridique et idéologique de l'impérialisme qui se justifie au Québec au nom de cette idéologie est en perte de vitesse. Notre lutte nationale est dictée à la fois, par notre volonté de nous donner collectivement une personnalité propre, et de donner aux travailleurs québécois la maîtrise de leur destin. Nous y travaillons et sans relâche!

### **Impérialiste : tigre en papier Capitaliste : colosse aux pieds d'argile**

Les forces armées des USA, sont mises en échec au Vietnam - David est en train de battre Goliath.

La base économique de l'impérialisme, du capitalisme, elle aussi recommence à être « secouée ».

L'édifice colossal du capitalisme, à l'infrastructure apparemment encore solide, commence à laisser apparaître des fissures nouvelles importantes.

Le gouvernement japonais qui a succédé à celui dirigé par Ikeda, doit faire face à la menace d'une crise économique.

« L'Echo de la Bourse » publiait récemment des commentaires qui valent la peine d'être repris :

« Après 20 ans de progrès miraculeux, la détérioration de la situation économique est devenue la préoccupation la plus urgente du gouvernement japonais... qui s'est donné pour tâche d'enrayer l'inquiétude provoquée par la stagnation de la production, la vague de banqueroutes, et l'effondrement retentissant de deux grosses compagnies, « Sanyo Special Steel » et « Yamaichi Securities »

...« les années d'investissements frénétiques ont finalement abouti à créer une capacité excédentaire de production qu'il sera long et difficile de résorber ».

...« La vague de banqueroutes favorise la tendance à la concentration en frappant au premier chef les petites entreprises »...

Aux Etats-Unis, dans un discours « retentissant », M. William Mac Chesnay Martin, président du Federal Reserve Board a lancé un pavé dans la mare boursière en parlant « d'in-

quiétantes similitudes » entre l'époque actuelle et celle d'avant 1929, notamment en ce qui concerne le crédit.

Depuis la seconde guerre mondiale, l'endettement des USA a triplé et à elle seule la dette privée a sextuplé.

L'endettement à long terme des sociétés, au cours des 5 dernières années est passé de 283 à 402 milliards de dollars (soit à 20.010 milliards de nos francs ou 120 fois le budget annuel de l'Etat belge, le budget au niveau actuel pendant plus d'un siècle !

Le total des crédits à la consommation et des prêts hypothécaires est passé de 104 milliards de dollars en 1954 à 264 milliards de dollars en 1964.

L'endettement du citoyen américain est passé, en dix ans, de 41 % de ses revenus, à 61 %.

Quand un Américain gagne 1.000 F, il doit en prélever 600 pour le remboursement de ses dettes.

A Tokyo, disait « L'Echo de la Bourse », on appelle cette politique : « le principe de la bicyclette : seule la vitesse sauve de la culbute. »

Mais un caillou au passage de la bicyclette, peut faire tomber et le cycliste et la bicyclette.

L'édifice capitaliste est un colosse aux pieds d'argile, en pleine crise de régime. L'action résolue de la classe ouvrière pour la réalisation de ses objectifs doit avoir pour but non seulement de combattre quotidiennement les assauts du capital, mais aussi d'activer la crise générale du régime capitaliste et de créer les facteurs de la victoire décisive : abattre le « colosse aux pieds d'argile ».



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**LULLABY**

Floyd Hardin, an American conscientious objector, while in prison during the days of World War I, wrote the following lullaby for his baby:

Quit your crying, baby,  
Lonely little waif,  
Papa's in an iron cage  
To make your future safe.  
All the other daddies  
Have gone and left their wives,  
And all the kids on our street  
Are playing with their knives.

Byebye, little baby,  
Let your crying cease,  
You'll go to jail with Papa,  
If you disturb the peace.  
Close your little eyelids,  
Don't you peep nor yell,  
Half the dads in Christendom  
Have died and gone to hell.



**THE GOOD TIMES**

Pierced.  
The bullet hit exact between his eyes, left  
a small round hole  
like, say, a chrome opening  
into a sink  
from which dripped,  
drop by drop,  
clear water.  
A gesture later  
blood bloodied the hole and blurred  
the delicately,  
cleanly cut edge  
of the wound. Blood

Bright and red!  
streaming into history and  
the boy's eyes,  
bloodied his face  
which once, say ate a hamburger  
with ketsup under the neon of the drive-in,  
heart  
lumped and pumping then  
with the girl  
sitting beside him,  
head on shoulder,  
blood pumping

fell across buckled knees and sank  
into rice-paddies during  
the retreat of Area C  
under the yellow asian sun,  
miles away.

F. D. RYAN.

February, 1966.



**DIALOGUE**

**From Washington:**

The Sun shines bright over Texas,  
The steers are on the lawn;  
Meanwhile, our Guam Bombers  
Rain death o'er Vietnam.

The snow lies deep over Valley Forge,  
The ice on the Delaware,  
But our poor dead soldiers in Saigon  
They neither know nor care.

**From Hanoi:**

For right is might in every fight,  
And Truth is Bravery.  
And the Right and True,  
Are the ready too  
When the bolt is launched  
From the azure blue  
By the hand of knavery.  
But the land that fears  
For its Volunteers  
Is a land of Slavery.

H. TUDOR,  
Morningside, Alberta.



**THREE SHELL GAME  
(Modern Politics)**

Their left hands move,  
Their right hands move,  
Guess the shell the pea is under!  
And Johnson says,  
And Pearson says  
That Mao Tse-Tung is a boulder!  
And Wilson says,  
And Erhard says,  
With their faces black as thunder,  
That Breshnev-Koslov  
Is not to be trusted.  
Their cries fill me with wonder.  
For I know—I know  
Whether this be so;  
It's me that's down in the hole,  
It's me that pays their salaries.  
It's me that bears the thole!  
It's we who will be the heroes  
In that block and certain day  
When these ranters match  
Their words with deeds  
And cast us in their fray.  
Their left hands move,  
Their rights hands move,  
And we guess where the pea is under.  
While Johnson says,  
And Pearson says,  
Their words we all must ponder  
While they weave their schemes;  
Yet we hold our dreams  
Of peace in a world of—wonder,  
A world that's free in true liberty,  
These are the thoughts we ponder.

VIC CAMPBELL.

