

# **Progressive Worker**

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**THE CANADIAN HOUSING CRISIS □ C.N.T.U.  
VRS U.S. UNIONS □ PUBLIC UTILITIES AND  
CAPITALISM □ IRISH DEMONSTRATIONS □  
VIETNAM WILL WIN □ PUEBLO CASE □  
UNION BARGAINING IN ONTARIO □ MORE**





# Progressive Worker

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## CHANGES IN PROGRESSIVE WORKER

Our regular readers will have noticed many changes in Progressive Worker during the last few months. There will be more changes to come in the next couple of issues.

The first change was probably the most noticeable although not the most important. Our typesetting was formerly done on a linotype and we decided, for reasons of cost and convenience, to change over to an IBM Executive typewriter. This meant that a different layout style had to be developed.

A more important change was the change in organization of the contents of the paper. In the present issue, the contents are divided into sections: a Canadian section, an international section, and a theoretical section. Within these sections, there are sub-sections (eg., a 'trade union section' under the Canadian part) and various articles under each of the sub-sections. All articles in the paper deal with questions that we feel are important in the fight for Canadian independence and socialism, but in different sections these questions are dealt with in different ways.

It should be understood by our readers that if the Marxist-Leninist movement in Canada were stronger, we would have at least three publications doing the job that Progressive Worker attempts to do in one. We would have a broad popular paper that would discuss imperialist domination and the inequities of capitalism entirely in terms of the most glaring and obvious aspects of our own situation. (The function of this paper would be to reach out with anti-imperialist and socialist propaganda to the broadest possible masses of the Canadian people.) We would also have a magazine, with a smaller circulation, that

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# CANADIAN REPORT

## HELLYER AND THE HOUSING PROBLEM

Transport Minister Hellyer, who headed a public investigation into the deplorable housing conditions existing in Canada, has come up with a truly brilliant "solution" to provide every Canadian with adequate housing.

Hellyer's investigation has led him to conclude that most Canadian workers are unable to meet the required down payment for purchase of a home, nor can they manage to meet payments on a 25-year mortgage. These are logical conclusions with which no Canadian will disagree. But Hellyer's so-called

"solution" for these problems is really "for the birds" - the cuckoo variety. The Hellyer "solution": A \$30,000 home (a modest family structure at today's prices) bought with no down payment and mortgaged over a 40-year period at interest rates of approximately 9 3/8 per cent. Total cost to the end of 40 years would be \$113,280, of which \$83,280 would be interest. For the extra 15 years over a more "normal" 25-year mortgage the purchaser would pay an additional amount exceeding the original cost of the house.

Monthly payments - including taxes - would amount to \$270 per month. Heat, phone, electricity, insurance, repairs, etc., would bring this up to at least \$350 per month. Several million Canadians don't even earn that much (and we still have not mentioned food and clothing) and these are precisely the people most desperately in need of homes. Hellyer's "Rent-to-own plan" may do something for the hard-pressed millionaires - it will do nothing to solve the housing problem of millions of working people.

## CONSUMER DEBT IN CANADA

When politicians and so-called "financial experts" undertake a discussion of our economy they are fond of making statements about Canadians "living too high off the hog" and "what this country needs is more thrift." And indeed to someone from Mars, reading reports of outstanding consumer debt reaching \$9.2 billion mark in 1968, it might look like things are getting out of hand.

However, anyone with the least bit of down-to-earth common sense will readily realize that going into debt is the only way in which most workers can manage to acquire many of the things they need. Who, these days, can pay cash for a home or a car? Not only the homes, but the furnishings that go into them, are on a plan of "buy now, pay later." This is not because people are not thrifty or are living too high

off the hog, but simply because they need the things now and not sometime in the distant future. The same is true of children's clothing and school supplies.

Anyway, wherever a person looks all signs emphasize that credit is easy to get and saving is pointless because of inflation and rising taxes. Credit is now really big business and is sold like any other commodity under capitalism --to make a profit. And profits are enormous.

So anxious are the monopolists to sell credit that sales clerks are under strict orders to make customers aware of how easy it is to obtain credit. An automobile salesman has little interest in a customer who wants to pay cash. A sale made on credit can easily double the profit margin, or even better. Companies like General Motors, Ford and all big depart-

ment stores have their own financing departments so they can take full advantage of the lucrative profits to be gained from credit buying. You can get credit from your friendly retail store, local finance and loan company, credit union, insurance company or at any one of a number of banks. It all adds up to a lot of fat monopolists piling up more mountains of wealth because working people cannot afford to pay cash.

Consumer debt is increasing rapidly and showing definite signs of instability in the economy. The figure of \$9.2 billion is 2.3 times the 1960 figure, while the gross national product is only 1.8 times the figure for the same year. A calculation by the Provincial bank of Canada which measures outstanding debt as a proportion of the income for the following year --that is the year during which



the contracted debt must be repaid--indicates that consumer debt calculated to the end of 1967 was 19 per cent of the projected disposable income for 1968. The comparable figure for 1960 was 15 per cent. All of which shows that debt is increasing at a faster rate than incomes. This is all the more startling when one takes into account that several million low-income workers have no access to credit. Therefore, the ACTUAL ratio of debt to income is much greater than it appears, that is, for those workers who do have access to credit.

What does all this tell us about our economic situation? First of all, any system which runs to such a large extent on credit is on very shaky foundations. With ris-

ing unemployment credit will become more restricted. (Even now it is impossible for anyone with an income under \$8,000 to buy a house). This will have a serious effect on consumer spending and, therefore, on the economy in general. Rising interest rates and "tight money" are already having an adverse effect on the economy. A rough estimate by the writer indicates consumer debt represents about one-sixth of all consumer spending. Obviously, shutting off one-sixth of all consumer spending would have on effect nothing short of disastrous.

Everybody pays the cost of credit buying, even when paying cash because of the mark-up on goods to pay for "bad debts" and other

incidentals. And on top of all the other things is the effect debt has on the individual. Families break up, people have nervous breakdowns and suicides are by no means rare, all because of worry over mounting debts and the expected consequences of the inevitable day when payments cannot be met.

Consumer credit was never designed as a service to the consumer as the loan companies would have us believe. It is a system of usury designed solely for the making of gigantic profits. As is usual with all such "public services" under capitalism, the few grow rich at the expense of the sweat, health and happiness of the many.

## NEWFOUNDLAND FISHERIES

Reports from Newfoundland indicate that the frozen fish trade in that area is in desperate straits. Two major operations (assets nearly \$20 million), and several smaller plants closed down during 1968. Although the 1968 catch was a record 850 million pounds (up 60 million pounds on 1967) total value declined by \$500,000 to \$47.6 million--and this a period of skyrocketing living costs.

Reasons cited for the critical situation are: 1) increased tariff protection in this countries of the European Common Market, 2) loss of a considerable part of the U. S. frozen-fish, 3) devaluation of the English pound, 4) the Nigeria-Biafra War which closed off a large and growing market for fish in Africa.

The ten major fishing companies in Newfoundland employ more than 26,000 workers and those employed in related trades, such as trucking, supplies and equipment add substantially to the ultimate number of people involved. It is estimated that about 25 per cent of the entire population of Newfound-

land has some association with the fishing industry. It is obvious that a continuing decline of such an important industry will have disastrous consequences for the community. Judging from their activities (or lack of them) the federal and provincial governments are not too concerned about the future of the industry and the community. A groundfish deficiency program--which had brought \$2.3 million of federal funds to Newfoundland--



was abandoned in October because of threats of retaliation from the United States.

The major portion of the Newfoundland fisheries have been controlled abroad (Unilever Ltd., of London, for example.). These imperialist entrepreneurs are interested in only one thing--maximum profits. When these profits fall below a certain point the capitalists abandon the industry and the community. By their system of bookkeeping they can even show a substantial financial "loss" to justify their abandonment.

It is an undeniable fact that tens of millions of people are perpetually hungry and are in dire need of such things as Newfoundland frozen fish. The fishermen of Newfoundland want to catch and process fish as they and their ancestors have done since shortly after Cabot encountered the vast schools of cod on the Banks of Newfoundland more than 300 years ago. There is no great mystery about what stands in the way of these two coming together--capitalism is the one and only roadblock.



# NEW CANADIAN POSTAL RATES

A recurring nightmare for every politician is the thought of performing one act, or passing one piece of legislation, that will get almost all the people angry at the government at the same time. The aim of every government is to keep serious opposition confined as much as possible to minimum numbers at any one time and avoid providing a basis upon which masses of people will spontaneously unite against them and bring them down.

It is somewhat surprising, therefore, to see the Postmaster-General, Eric Kierans, institute policies that almost seem as though they

were deliberately designed to produce the very situation the government dreads most--a united opposition. It would appear at the moment that Kierans' new postal rates which increase postage at all levels, but by as much as 400 per cent in the case of small publications, is going to generate a lot of wrath directed at the Liberal government.

More than 2500 journals, mostly quite small and with limited circulation, will be adversely affected by the new rates--most of them to the point of extinction. These journals are published by church groups (all denominations), ethnic assoc-

iations, trade unions, fraternal organizations, political groups, etc. The sum total of the membership of these organizations add up to the vast majority of the population in Canada. The leadership of all these organizations--and often the entire membership as well--are getting worked up to a high pitch of anger at the government.

It is our guess that Kierans' wings are about to be clipped. No government can afford the luxury of a cabinet minister who is capable of generating that much heat over one issue.

# UNEMPLOYED CITIZENS' LETTER

The Unemployed Citizens Welfare Improvement Council of Vancouver have addressed a letter to Prime Minister Trudeau which points to the deplorable conditions under which the unemployed are forced to live.

The letter points out that after 6 months of the Trudeau administration there is little of a nature that could be called a "Just Society" and

demands to know what action the government intends to take in 1969 to begin solving the problem. Attention is drawn to the fact that millions are provided to aid foreign monopolies in the exploitation of Canadian resources, but no money can be found to aid Canadian unemployed workers. Pensions, and unemployment and welfare benefits, already inadequate

are being constantly eroded by the rapidly rising cost of living.

The Unemployed Council are sharply critical of the cancellation of the Winter Works Program, and of the inadequacy of the Medicare plan which "has been a political football for more than 40 years".

The Council is located at #419, 400 Raymur Avenue, Vancouver 4.

# TRIALS OF TORONTO DEMONSTRATORS

Several of those arrested at demonstrations in Toronto (see December PW) are being subjected to extreme forms of harrassment by the "legal" machinery of state.

Kevin Henley served 15 days of a 3 month sentence before a writ of habeas corpus quashed the conviction and caused his release. Despite the fact that Henley had served part of what proved to be an unjust sentence--and had lost his job as a result--he was re-arrested on a new charge. He made a deal and pleaded guilty to a lesser charge, and on summary conviction was fin-

ed a total of \$600, the magistrate allowing him 15 days to raise the amount.

Gary Perly, another of the accused, was put to great inconvenience and expense as a result of a Judge's ruling to spend only 30 minutes on his case at each court sitting. Perly protested this type of legal manoeuvre which amounted to "advance punishment", but his protest was rejected by the court. Then, without warning, the presiding judge announced his intention to conclude the case at one sitting thus depriving the accused of the opportunity

to call essential witnesses who could not be reached on such short notice.

Finally the court had to admit that the chief witness for the prosecution (a police constable) had lied in giving evidence and the case was dismissed. However, there was no suggestion that Perly should be reimbursed for his expenses and his time in court, nor is there any indication that the lying constable will be charged with perjury.

These are just two more proofs that there is little "justice" for ordinary people in capitalist courts.



# TRADE UNION SECTION

## ALBERTA WORKERS VOTE CANADIAN

Canadian workers should be aware of the lengths (and depths) to which the agents of American unions in Canada will go in order to keep our dues money flowing in a one-way stream down south. Recently, two prominent labour "leaders" (backed by the CLC, Alberta Federation of Labour, the Calgary Labour Council and International Pulp-Sulphite) published a leaflet urging workers to vote no-union rather than have them join a genuinely Canadian union.

John McNiven (formerly of the B. C. Federation) and Pat O'Neal (Pulp-Sulphite) have a long history of dirty work done in the interests of Yankee domination of our labour movement. O'Neal's most famous escapade was the "bugging incident" where he hired a private detective to spy on a Canadian union, the Pulp and Paper Workers of Canada, at their convention in Vancouver. The PPWC is a democratic Canadian union, which is rapidly winning the support of workers in the pulp and sulphite industry. (The success of the PPWC means that O'Neal -- who was appointed by Pulp-Sulphite head office in the U. S. to try and stop the swing of Pulp-Sulphite members to PPWC--could soon be out of a job). In addition the example of the PPWC shows Canadian workers generally that it is possible to break free from the grip of the so-called "International" unions.

The PPWC has now begun organizing in Alberta. So has the Canadian Electrical Workers. In Alberta there is a strong sentiment in favour of the development of a Canadian union movement, particularly since the U.S. companies that dominate the Albertan economy bring manag-

ers up from the States by the tens of thousands. Class-conscious workers who must work for American companies, under the supervision of American managers, find American dominated unions particularly hard to stomach. The labour bureaucrats realize this, and they are frantic at the thought that the Canadian union movement might sweep the whole of the province.

This is the background to the scab leaflet drawn up by Pat O'Neal and John McNiven. The leaflet urged workers at Macmillan Bloedel Packaging Ltd. to vote no-union rather than join the PPWC. McNiven and O'Neal used a number of phony arguments, including the charge that the PPWC isn't really a "legitimate" Canadian union because it isn't affiliated to the various bodies (e. g., C. L. C., Alberta Fed.) that McNiven and O'Neal so ably represent.

Here is part of the leaflet issued by the Pulp and Paper Workers of Canada to reply to the charges in McNiven and O'Neal's scab leaflet:

"It is hard to believe that Pat O'Neal on behalf of the Pulp Sulphite International would advise workers in Calgary to vote against our union.

It is even harder to believe the Canadian Labour Congress, the Alberta Federation of Labour and the Calgary Labour Council should allow their organizations to become parties to any Act that would advise workers to stay non-union. Do the members and Union affiliates know of this action being taken on their behalf?

How long will these so-called Canadian Labour Organizations contend they are the only spokesmen for the Union people in Canada? For these labour organizations to claim

the legitimate crown of labour, while all those not affiliated with the Canadian Labour Congress are illegitimate, is sheer nonsense of the highest order. Surely the C. L. C. and O'Neal aren't telling the over 300,000 members in such unions as the Teamsters, Fishermen, United Electrical Workers, United Mine Workers, Pulp and Paper Workers of Canada and the Quebec Confederation of National Trade Unions that these unionists are all illegitimate? What sheer nonsense!

Let's face it. Canadian workers are determined to be absolute masters in their Own House of Labour. Canadian Unions will grow and grow and grow. Nothing the Canadian Labour Congress or anybody else can say to the contrary will ever reverse this trend.

For the Canadian Labour Congress or anyone else to advise Canadian Workers to vote against a Union merely because that Union is not an affiliate of the Canadian Labour Congress, or is not an American dominated International Union, is outright anti-union activity. Advising workers not to join a Union has always been the role of the anti-union employer.

Surely the Canadian Labour Congress is not now joining hands with the Anti-Union employer element within our society in urging workers to stay non-union. If the monicker of illegitimacy ever had a place in the labour movement, it should only be worn by those who advocate workers to remain non-Union."

Despite the activities of McNiven and O'Neal (and partly, perhaps, because of them. The PPWC has also won two other certifications recently in Alberta.

Canadian workers are becoming



more determined than ever to organize unions free from U.S. domination. More and more often, they are seeing through the lies and dis-

tortions peddled by the U.S. controlled labour fakers in Canada. The Progressive Worker looks

forward to the day when we Canadian workers will have control of our own labour movement.

## SOLD INTO BONDAGE

President W. J. Smith (Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Transport and General Workers) reports that negotiations for a merger between his union and the Brotherhood of Railway, Airline and Steamship Clerks (a U.S. union) have progressed far enough to warrant setting up a special sub-committee to handle the final technicalities. Smith reported to his National Executive Board: "It is the considered opinion of your officers and sub-committee that the Brotherhood should undertake to negotiate with the officers of the BRASC, in detail, the terms of a merger agreement..."

Smith and his executive board justify merger negotiations by referring to a resolution calling for rail labour unification, adopted at the 1967 convention of the Brotherhood. But the proposed merger is not unification--it will still leave the railroads with more than a score of bargaining units--and the convention delegates never endorsed any proposition that would place the 60-year old Canadian union in bondage to Meany's AFL-CIO bureaucracy.

The sub-committee stated in its report: "...the BRASC gave assurance that, under any merger administration, the Brotherhood could retain its present structure, retain all its non-railway members, retain the right of the Canadian membership to elect their own officers for Canada, and retain their autonomous right to determine policies relative to collective bargaining, grievance procedure, and all domestic social, economic, political and cultural affairs.

"Also pledged... was the continuation of the Brotherhood's research and educational programs

...and the right to participate in political activity."

It is a startling commentary on the state of mind of our union bureaucrats when they announce with pride the securing of a pledge from their U.S. counter-parts that they can retain the very things that are theirs by right. Smith and his colleagues place heavy emphasis on the gaining of "autonomy" as a result of their labours, when what they are really doing is negotiating away the independence of Canadian workers. This point is made even more clear when it is realized that Canadian members of the BRASC are not to be extended the same degree of autonomy that is to be extended to the merging CBRT.

The CBRT rank and file had better become alert to the fact that Smith is not telling them the whole story. The BRASC cannot guarantee that the CBRT will keep their non-railway members. Meany and



his AFL brass will not tolerate any union keeping members that are within the jurisdiction of other affiliates. Once the merger is consummated and the road back solidly blocked, the BRASC will get orders to hand over all such groups. The Seamen's section, for example, will be dragooned into the reactionary, racket-ridden Seafarer's International (U.S.) Union. Instead of "unification", which is cited as justification for the proposed merger, the CBRT, (which constituted the only semblance of industrial unionism on the railways), will itself be fragmented, and the principles of the unification resolution will be set back rather than advanced.

This is by no means the first contact between the CBRT and the U.S. union that was previously known as the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks. A brief glance back at history may make clearer what is in store for the Canadian union if the merger is allowed to go through.

The CBRT was organized as a Canadian and industrial union in 1909 and affiliated to the Canadian Federation of Labour and later to the Trades and Labour Congress (T. L. C.) the organ of U.S. craft unionism in Canada.

The BRSC, (the very union with which the CBRT is now negotiating merger), charged the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees as it was then known, with invading the BRSC jurisdiction. The CBRE opened negotiation for a merger but, significantly, could get no assurances that they could continue to elect their officers "who will have charge of the Brotherhood in Canada."

The T. L. C. executive council,



acting in support of U.S. craft unionism, did not even wait for a convention but summarily lifted the Brotherhood charter on the charge of being a "dual union". At the 1921 convention, where the Brotherhood appeal was rejected, president A. R. Mosher declared: "We may be removed from your building but we will come back and perhaps many of you will be glad to welcome us back. The CBRE is going on in spite of you as it did before it became affiliated to the Congress."

The proposed merger is a complete betrayal of those who fought and sacrificed to build the Brotherhood. It is denial of the principles for which they stood. Smith is proposing to sell a Canadian heritage for a mess of pottage. Brotherhood members must decisively reject this gross betrayal of the basic interest of Canadian workers and reject also those who propose

it.

The CBRE, now the CBRT, finally did return after many years via the CIO which later merged with the AFL. Now we are back to 1920 only this time the U.S. bureaucrats are playing it a little smarter until they get the victim tightly trapped.

Smith's report states that the merger will result in at least one benefit to CBRT members. "If a merger is consummated, all members of the Brotherhood would automatically be eligible to participate in the BRASC's Death Benefit Plan." So all a member has to do to collect a bonus is die.

A notable omission from the report is the details of benefits which will accrue to the bureaucracy for having delivered up the Canadian workers bound hand and foot. What increases in salaries and expenses have been pledged? These are questions to which the CBRT members must demand answers.

This is a time when increasing numbers of Canadian workers are moving decisively in the direction of an independent Canadian union movement. There must be a deep and as yet not fully revealed, reason why the officers of a union which has a long and distinguished record of fighting for a Canadian and industrial union movement, chooses this particular moment to abandon the fight and sink its identity in a U.S. craft union. A. R. Mosher, a founder of the CBRT, denounced international unions as "U.S. unions with Canadian branches." That condition has not changed. M. M. MacLean, the Brotherhood secretary-treasurer in the 1920's, declared the "Canadian workers have no power to influence policies of the larger U.S. unions." That condition has not changed.

## C.N.T.U. VRS U.S. UNIONS

An article of some interest appeared in the September 1968 issue of "Labour" - journal of the CNTU (Quebec).

At Baie Comeau, CNTU construction workers fought hired goons, Yankee union bureaucrats, police and the courts on the way to victory in a struggle for the elementary democratic right to belong to the union of their choice. A construction program, involving a \$42 million expansion to an aluminum smelter was in progress at which a "sweetheart" agreement - to last for the duration of construction - had been signed with the labour bosses of the "international" (US) craft unions, before the job had begun. The construction company, Canadian Bechtel, was owned entirely by US investors. (US unions and US companies against Canadian workers).

The Quebec Labour Relations Board, under pressure from the workers, ordered a vote to deter-

mine which union should bargain for the employees. Since everyone knew that almost all the workers belonged to the CNTU this decision was not at all to the liking of either the company or the craft union bureaucrats. Union bosses and management joined in securing an injunction against picketing workers. 125 Provincial Police failed in an effort to enforce the injunction and arrested workers were freed without charge.

When a decision was taken that the strike had served its purpose the workers returned to the plant in a disciplined and united body. The US bureaucrats, aided by the company and provincial police, were waiting outside the plant to prevent a number of active unionists, singled out for victimization, from returning to work. However, the workers refused to accept, or be intimidated by victimization. When the certification vote was held, 132 of 157 ballots cast were in favour

of the CNTU, with the US unions getting 20 votes and 5 ballots spoiled.

Louis Laberge, head of the US-controlled Quebec Federation of Labour, had tried to turn the tide in favour of the US unions with a call for a general strike. The attempt was a total failure.

Workers and other citizens in the community of the community of Baie Comeau learned some important lessons in this struggle for a democratic union movement against the opposition of the Yankee monopolists and their trained seals in the US unions. The awareness of the people was greatly aroused on the need for a real struggle against US imperialism.

Workers in English Canada should learn from this experience. With solidarity and determination like that shown by the Quebec workers at Baie Comeau, nothing could stop us from establishing our own independent labour movement.



# UNION BARGAINING IN ONTARIO

More than 4,000 union agreements are up for re-negotiation in Ontario this year and all signs point to some hot sessions. 1600 contracts are up for renewal in the construction industry where hard-nosed employers have been discussing a hard-line strategy for some months past. In this particular sector some operators issued an open invitation to the union bureaucracy to join with them in setting 'rules and standards for the industry' - meaning, in plain language, to co-operate with the employers in keeping the workers under strict control.

Exclusive of the construction industry, for which no reliable figures are available, negotiations will affect about 220,000 workers. The United Steelworkers of America will head the list with negotiations covering 40,000 workers in the steel and nickel industries. About 12,000 employers in the electrical industry employed by U.S.-owned firms will be represented in pending negotiations by the U.S.-dominated United Electrical Workers (UE). Some 146 agreements are open in the printing trades where workers come under the jurisdiction of about 6 U.S.-controlled craft unions.

The affected unions are entering these negotiations in a decidedly weakened condition. There is a deep split between bureaucratic leaders and rank and file with the average member having less confidence in his so-called "leaders" than at any time in the past. In most cases - particularly in construction and the printing trades - the workers are fragmented into obsolete craft union organizations that are held under the absolute dictatorship of the most reactionary of the U.S. labor bureaucrats. This condition has led to serious defeats for several of the unions in the printing trades over the past 5 to 10 years. Automation and the extended use of computers in many areas of industry have tended to blur the lines demarcation between various trades. The end result has been to set the dictatorial bureaucrats in the craft unions fighting one another for the control of a rapidly-diminishing number of jobs, rather than striving to unite their forces to fight the employers. Obviously this situation works to the advantage of the boss.

Yet another factor tending to weaken the fighting capacity of the unions is the fact that less than one in three

of all workers are organized and the unions still fail to raise demands in the interests of the unorganized and those on fixed incomes. The tendency during the past years of rapidly increasing living costs is for a growing animosity on the part of the unorganized. This animosity the bureaucratic representatives of the unions have done nothing to dispell. On the contrary, their arrogant attitude has tended to add fuel to the fire.

This relationship provided conditions that strengthen the position of the employers, and they, and their government, take full advantage of them. Subtle - and sometimes not too subtle - anti-union propaganda has grown in scope and intensity. The main industrial provinces are now all armed with legislation more repressive than any since the early thirties, and the trend is definitely toward even more restrictive legislation.

It should be crystal clear that labour is in for a tough year of bargaining and "business as usual" will not suffice. An alert rank and file will need to arouse itself to action if any gains are to be made, or even if organized labour is to hold its own.

## UNEMPLOYMENT IN ELECTRICAL INDUSTRY

Conditions in the Canadian electrical industry are deteriorating badly and it appears that unemployment for many may be close at hand. A case in point is Canadian General Electric (U.S. owned), which is about to phase out operations at the Scarborough, Ontario, plant. Approximately 800 people will be thrown out of employment as a result. Another 275 workers at Canadian (U.S.) Westinghouse at Hamilton, and 100 at Guelph, Ontario, are faced with a similar fate.

U.S. management cite dumping

of electrical goods and equipment from Japanese and European firms as the reason for their action. They do not reveal that these same U.S. firms control most of the plants allegedly guilty of "dumping". The real truth is that these outfits are consolidating production in areas where costs are lower and profits as a result, higher.

This is just one more instance of Canada suffering because we do not control our own economy. What we require is a Canadian industry, free from all foreign control.

In 1967 Canada imported \$10 million worth of computers from the U.S. Of 1,613 computers in Canada by May of 1968 only 12 were not manufactured in the United States.

Canada is quite capable of producing up-to-date computers but the pro-U.S., subservient policy of our government and ruling class makes such a development impossible. So long as puppets rule the land we will toil in the interests of U.S. monopolists. What we need is a radical change of political scenery in the direction of national independence.



# WORLD STRUGGLE

## AROUND THE WORLD

### SPAIN

In Spain General Franco has rendered an already extremely reactionary regime even more repressive. A state of emergency has been declared and hundreds of political prisoners have been seized. Madrid University is closed and the campus occupied by fascist armed forces.

In Madrid, Barcelona and other areas workers, farmers, students are challenging the authority of the fascist state. The Basque district, for many years a battleground between Franco forces and Basque nationalists, is once more the arena for bloody conflict. So wide has Franco cast his net of tyranny that even priests are being arrested for "political crimes".

### FRANCE

France is once again in turmoil.

Less than 7 months after the lull that ended the last bitter round of struggle, workers and students are once more taking to the streets in strikes and demonstrations. With the economy in deep trouble and shaken by a monetary crisis, de Gaulle is attempting to make the working people pay the shot and the people are resisting.

### ITALY

Millions of workers have been engaging in militant and bitterly-fought strikes in Italy. The killing of a number of striking workers by the armed police has resulted in numerous bloody clashes between workers and students on the one hand and the armed forces of the state on the other. There is almost constant governmental crisis in Italy and it seems certain that the struggle will continue to expand in the coming months.

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The people of Czechoslovakia are continuing to resist the occupation of their country by the Russian army. The Moscow ruling clique is beset with mounting difficulties at home and abroad as their collusion with U. S. imperialism becomes increasingly evident.

### GREAT BRITAIN

Attempts of the Labour Party government in England to load the burden of the economic crisis on the backs of the working people are being stoutly resisted. Strikes and demonstrations are a daily occurrence in all occupations. The anger of the workers is directed mainly at those industries controlled by U. S. monopolies. An increasing number of plants are being taken over by U. S. investors who look for new methods to intensify exploitation.

The balance-of-payments situation is steadily worsening, thus sharpening the crisis of the pound sterling.

Students have occupied the London School of economics in protest against educational policies in the school.

As in Canada, the crisis in the reformist-oriented Communist Party of Great Britain is reflected in the fact that some leading members are accepting well-paid positions on government boards set up to "control" labour. Will Paynter, a member of the CP for more than 40 years, has accepted an appointment to a government Labour Mediation Board.



FRANCE: From the other side of the barricades: worry.





AFRICA: Nationalist fighters take the road to liberation.

The recently concluded Commonwealth Conference has once again clearly demonstrated that the people of Africa are on their own in the struggle for national liberation. Wilson's bluff has been called by the racist reactionaries of Rhodesia and South Africa and "Her Majesty's First Minister" has been publicly forced to "eat crow". This together with the racist policies of the Wilson government has convinced still more people in Africa of the necessity to proceed to direct and immediate action against the fascist regimes of the white minorities. Armed struggle is growing in intensity and spreading out to new areas.

#### MIDDLE EAST

U. S. -promoted Israeli aggression in the Middle East is encountering resolute resistance from Arab Liberation detachments. The fascist-militants Eshkol and Dayan are screaming threats of bloody reprisals against peasant villages in the Arab countryside. The Moscow clique is working furiously to hold back Arab resistance while the United States works frantically to build up the aggressive strength of Israel. At the same time both Moscow and Washington have their own independent objectives to pursue in the Middle East which pro-

vides the basis for sharpening contradictions between the two.

#### PAKISTAN

Pakistan is the scene of increasing conflict between workers, peasants, students and intellectuals on the one hand, and the Ayub Khan regime on the other. In a recent clash in East Pakistan many demonstrators against the regime were killed and wounded, hundreds have been arrested.

#### INDIA

In India, hunger and repression are intensifying. Struggle, the natural answer to repression, is also growing. Many districts are now the scene of armed conflict. Kerala, where various reformist and revisionist faction of the C. P. support the Dehli government, is torn with conflict and many workers and peasants have been slaughtered, others arrested.

#### SOUTH EAST ASIA

Armed struggle against U. S. imperialist aggression is on the increase in Laos and Thailand. Peoples Liberation Armed Forces have scored important victories over the enemy in both countries.

#### JAPAN

Youth and student struggles have reached a new high in Japan where the army has occupied the University of Tokyo campus after a long and bloody battle. Workers, farmers and student are uniting in militant struggle against the pro-U. S. war policies of the government and against the extension of U. S. army bases in the countryside and naval installations in the port cities.

#### LATIN AMERICA

Crisis continues to sharpen in the countries of Latin America. The U. S. imperialists, assisted by the comprador capitalists, are increasing their oppression and exploitation of the people in all areas. In most areas living standards, already desperately low, are being depressed even further. Fierce struggles are developing in all areas and in many places armed guerilla bands exercise effective control over large districts. In Mexico, guerilla bands are operating in at least three provinces, almost on the border of the United States.

#### OCEANIA

Australia and New Zealand are still being dragged along on the wake of U. S. aggression in Southeast Asia and are paying the price in both casualties and falling living standards. Resistance is growing especially among the youth who are being dragged off to die in a war they do not want. Strikes and labour struggles are becoming an every-day occurrence. Opposition to U. S. imperialism grows in intensity as U. S. soldiers strut arrogantly around the streets and U. S. monopolies extend their hold over the economy and take over vast stretches of land in Australia.





# IRELAND

## THE BASIC PROBLEM ISN'T RELIGION

If one were to read--and believe--the daily press, the entire issue of the struggle in Ireland would appear to center on the fact that Protestants do not like Catholics and vice versa. Arch reactionaries and religious fanatics like Ian Paisley lend strength to this line of thought. Politically, Paisley is a fascist, theologically--for all his fanatic Protestantism--he is a direct descendent of the Inquisition, and just as ready to burn his victims at the stake.

The so-called "religious issue" in Ireland is rooted in English policy toward Ireland, and her attempts to fully conquer the land. The church in Ireland was independent until Henry VIII compelled allegiance to Rome, and Protestantism was imported with the plantation of Ulster at the start of the 17th century. It was not concern about saving the souls of the Irish people that caused the English to introduce alien churches into Ireland. The real objective was to use the church and religious superstition as a means to make at least a portion of the people amenable to English rule.

\* \* \*

There are two erroneous views about the Irish situation that need to be corrected.

One popular idea is that all Catholics in Ireland are progressive and that all progressives are Catholic, and that all Protestants, on the other hand, are confirmed reactionaries and religious fanatics. The distorted way in which the "news" is written helps to spread these errors. The true fact is, of course, that while religion and the church are used for political purposes, a person's politics is not

automatically determined by their religion. In Ireland reactionaries and revolutionaries can be found in both church organizations, and in no church at all. In every period of political and economic crisis Catholics and Protestants have joined hands to fight for the independence of the nation. The most outstanding instance of this political unity of Catholic and Protestant was during the period of the United Irishmen during the rising of 1798. It is true, of course, that most of the Irish people who are affiliated to a church are of the Catholic persuasion. It is quite natural, therefore, that any political movement organized to advance the interests of the nation should be made up mostly of Catholics. But people will adhere to such organizations because they are Irish and aiming at the realization of the independence of Ireland--not because they belong to one or another church. Rome has always defended English rule in Ireland, and Irish Catholics have always had to defy the hierarchy in order to fight for the true interests of the Irish nation.

A second erroneous view holds that all Ulster Protestants are ever faithful in their defence of English rule in Ireland. Even the reactionary bigoted, flag waving leaders of the Ulster Covenanters offer no blind loyalty to the English, despite what reporters may write. These people are motivated solely by what they consider are their own bourgeois and petit-bourgeois class interests. In 1913 they considered it necessary to take up arms against England in defence of their interests. (Lenin referred to them as acting like "revolutionaries from the right"). Carson, for the

Protestant Unionists, declared a preference for a German ruler rather than an English King and government that would "coerce Ulster". Ulster leaders resisted conscription and impeded recruitment into the army during the first world war. Paisley, Craig and others in Ulster are repeating Carson's stand of 1913 and denying England's right to intervene.

The O'Neill government in Ulster on the other hand, is looking to England for help in maintaining "law and order." O'Neill is convinced that certain political disabilities placed on the Catholic minority in Ulster must be at least partially relieved before an explosion takes place. To achieve this, O'Neill considers it necessary to have English support against his own political base in the Unionist Party because, as a representative of bourgeois and alien rule, he is incapable of mobilizing the people--knowing that would mean, first of all, taking up the struggle for the real independence of the nation.

The situation tends to become confused because the main political support for bigots and fanatics like Craig and Paisley comes from the Ulster proletariat. The fact is the proletarian Protestants have been badly corrupted over the last 50 years and more. Ireland under English rule has always been a depressed area, a supplier of produce for the dinner tables of England, and deliberately held back from developing economically. Under English rule, Ireland's foremost business was the export of her children to be used as cheap labour by exploiters in foreign lands.

In these conditions, the real need for Ireland -- and the development



which English rulers and Irish traitors feared most -- was the unity of the Irish people, Catholic and Protestant, to fight for the freedom of the land. The main effort of the English and their Irish puppets was directed toward keeping the people divided so they could continue to rule. The most important -- but not the only -- line of division was between Catholic and Protestant. To achieve this division, the Unionist agents of English imperialism in times of crisis instigated Ulster Protestants to drive Catholics from the plants and hold the declining number of jobs for themselves. This was, and is, the main source of corruption of Protestant workers in Ulster. It is not fundamentally different from the attitude of certain organized workers in the United States who consider their own interests best served by preventing Black workers from entering employment. They cannot see that they are being used as tools by their own oppressors, and that in doing so, they are co-operating in their own ultimate enslavement.

In line with their policy of keeping the people and the nation divided, the Ulster government has inflicted special disabilities on the Catholic population, who are a majority in Ireland but a minority in the six Northern Counties. Municipal housing is almost completely denied the Catholic workers who are condemned to living in cellars and sub-standard houses. Electoral districts are gerrymandered in the most outrageous fashion so as to ensure a Protestant majority even where the Catholics outnumber them. Businessmen, both large and small, can vote up to 20 times in municipal districts while many workers are denied the right to vote at all. These are issues that aggravate the basic grievance, the denial of jobs to the Catholic minority or, at best, their employment in the least desirable occupations.

The economy of Ireland, and

especially that of Ulster, is closely tied to and dominated by the economy of England. At a time, such as now, when England's economy (itself now dominated by U. S. capital) is seriously undermined and in a state of permanent crisis, the effect on the subject economy in Ireland is devastating. The cost of this crisis the Ulster traitors seek to place on the shoulders of the working people and, in the first place in line with traditional policy on the Catholic minority.

"Law enforcement" agencies -- courts and police -- are almost exclusively Protestant and, especially the police, predominantly followers of Paisley and Craig. Paisley is particularly strong among the 20,000-man force of "B" special armed police, which is exclusively Protestant, made up mainly of petty landowners and small businessmen, and fascist oriented. In conditions such as this, the Catholic worker in Ulster has very little hope of ever receiving "justice" in the courts.

The "Civil Rights Movement," led by the wishy-washy Communist Party of Northern Ireland (a section of the C. P. of England) and their middle class friends see these events as a simple "denial of civil rights" to a section of the Irish people. They insist on "no politics" in the movement, which seriously restricts its activities. They insist also on "non-violent" action and almost absolute dependence on the fascist-oriented police for "protection". These chicken-hearted incompetents follow a consistent policy of sending their unarmed detachments on "peaceful" civil rights marches against the armed and determined fighters in the Paisley faction. The end result is a slaughter of the innocents.

A basic error of the so-called "Civil Rights Movement" is that they, like O'Neill, call on England for help. All of Ireland's troubles can be traced directly to the English presence in the land, and

the support of the presence by traitor puppets. What Ireland needs is less, not more, intervention from England. The people of Ireland must themselves be the arbiters of their own destiny.

The real issue in Ireland is not "Civil Rights", it is English domination and the partition of the nation. Nothing so elementary as "Civil Rights" and "peaceful demonstrations" linked with a call to the English government for aid, must be allowed to keep ALL the people of Ireland from rising up and fighting for the only objective that will lay the basis for solving Ireland's problems -- that is, the fight for a United Irish Workers Republic. To the extent that they are impeding this struggle, the leaders of the Civil Rights Movement are rendering a service to imperialism, and the traitor class in Ireland. This appears to be an appropriate moment to recall the words of Wolff Tone, spoken in 1798:

"To subvert the tyranny of our execrable government, to break the connection with England, the never failing source of all our political evils, and to assert the independence of my country. These were my objects. To unite the whole people of Ireland. To abolish the memory of all past dissensions and to substitute the common name of Irishman in place of the denominations Protestant, Catholic, and Dissenter -- these were my means."

#### PEOPLE'S VOICE

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# CHINA

## A SUCCESSFUL BOMB TEST

The explosion by China, on December 28, 1968 of her second H-bomb and the recent announcement by Israel that she is capable of manufacturing nuclear weapons are two events with vastly different characteristics but one common aspect.

The Chinese H-bomb is another weapon in the defensive arsenal of the exploited and oppressed people of Asia. We know for certain that China would never be the first to use a nuclear weapon, but we also know that the United States would, and in fact has already used nuclear weapons against Asians. It is obvious that the nuclear weapon of China is preventing the United States from doing the same thing, either against the Chinese or the Vietnamese. It would not even be wrong to say that the stronger China becomes in the nuclear field the less likely will be a nuclear war. This is because the United States will become more and more afraid to use nuclear weapons and China will never

use nuclear weapons first.

The ability of Israel to manufacture nuclear weapons is another question. There is no doubt that Israel is an aggressive country (see article in last issue of PW) and that the Arab forces cannot defend themselves against nuclear attack or blackmail. The obtaining of nuclear arms by Israel is one more further aggressive act by Israel.

As stated earlier, however the two events do have one common aspect and that is to point out the sheer ridiculousness of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. The entire basis of this treaty is ersatz. For example, it assumes the number of two (U.S. and U.S.S.R.) is a good number of countries to have nuclear weapons. Who decided that? It is ridiculous. The treaty also assumes that the spread of nuclear weapons can be stopped by an agreement of the nuclear powers.

As shown by Israel and China, this

is not the case. And the materials for a nuclear weapon are almost as easily available to a physicist as is hydrochloric acid to a chemist. Although there is no doubt the U.S. greatly assisted Israel in her nuclear activities, there is also no doubt that Israel could have done it on her own, as can any other country who wants to.

The nuclear non-proliferation treaty is just a sham to try and deceive people into believing that the United States and the U.S.S.R. are really interested in peace and it is bad boys France and China who would use nuclear weapons and are not interested in peace. Well, always remember it was the United States which dropped the bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It is the United States that threatens Vietnam with tactical nuclear weapons. It is the United States that gloats over an over-kill capacity of 40 for the entire world.

# VIETNAM

## BOOK REVIEW 'VIETNAM WILL WIN'

We would like to call our reader's attention to Wilfred Burchett's new book on Vietnam. Vietnam Will Win (A Guardian Book, distributed by Monthly Review, New York, 1968) compares with Edgar Snow's Red Star Over China in that both books are written by western journalists, yet present honest and understanding accounts of revolutionary struggles.

Burchett's book begins with an historical background to the present situation, discussing the struggles that the Vietnamese people have waged against other imperialist countries. Then Burchett gets into modern Vietnamese history in great detail, beginning with the French invasion and continuing right up to include the present Paris talks.

Vietnam Will Win clearly disproves the propaganda of the U.S. press that claims Vietnam is losing and that the Vietnamese leadership is merely bargaining for concessions from the Americans. (As PW pointed out in its last issue, this line is being promoted within the American left by the Progressive Labor Party and in Canada by a group of that party's



admirers.) The opposite is true. This book shows that the Vietnamese people -- under the respected leadership of the National Liberation Front and the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam -- are driving the American aggressors into greater and greater confusion and desperation.

Burchett illustrates his points with countless interviews with everyone from peasants and workers to the leadership of the NLF (who themselves clearly identify with the aspirations of their people.) He shows in detail how the People's Liberation Army has grown in strength, and he discusses many important battles showing

how the American propaganda about their "victories" runs completely counter to reality.

Burchett shows that the Vietnamese are fighting a war of national liberation in which the leadership is carrying the correct position of uniting everyone who can be united on a basis of anti-imperialist struggle.

Vietnam Will Win is an important book, both for left-wing people, and for people who have not yet had an opportunity to hear the Vietnamese side of the story. Burchett gives the Vietnamese side and he does so in a way that is extremely readable.



# HISTORY

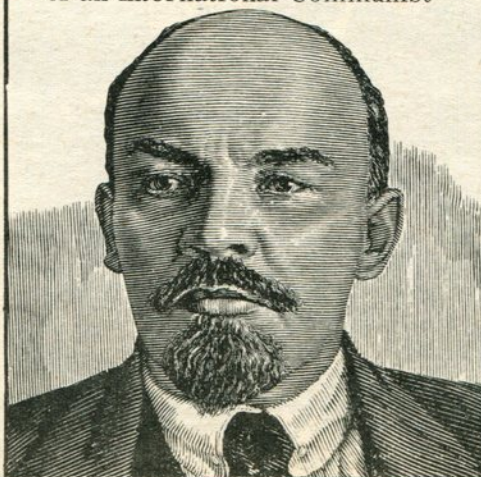
## THE INTERNATIONAL

March of this year will mark the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Third (Communist) International under the leadership of Lenin and the impact of the Russian Revolution. For near a quarter of a century the International was the world center of the revolutionary movement. Although the principles on which the International was founded wield vastly more influence now than 50 years ago there seems little chance as of now that the anniversary will receive little attention anywhere despite the fact it would present an excellent opportunity for a theoretical and political analysis of the life of the International and the achievements of the revolutionary movement since its founding.

The only significant event that seems to be on the agenda at about the same time as the anniversary is the Brezhnev-Kosygin attempt to convene a world

conference designed to press the attack on China and the Marxist-Leninist movement. The basis for this projected conference is absolutely opposed to the principles upon which the International was founded.

Every single party now calling itself "Communist" owes its existence to the International, even though most of them no longer adhere to its principles. They explain away the absence of an International Communist



organization with the claim that it has outgrown its usefulness and is no longer needed. The real reason, however, lies in the fact that most of them have long since abandoned the revolutionary program and objectives of the International and their abject fear of invoking its revolutionary spirit equals that of the ruling class.

The International may be temporarily extinct but the revolutionary spirit which gave it birth is now more widespread than ever before. The revolutionary movement has learned a great deal since the day the International was founded. That knowledge and experience is being put to excellent use in a thousand battles and struggles around the world. We look forward to the day when the International of the working people once again occupies its rightful role as the General Staff of the Revolution.







# THE STRANGE CASE OF THE PUEBLO

This story might be more appropriately named "The Strange Case of Commander Bucher." While detained in Korea, Bucher made numerous and written statements to the effect that he had been engaged on a spying mission against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and was well within Korean territorial limits when intercepted. Bucher was also prolific in his statements about how well treated he and his crew were while they were detained in Korea.

Since his return to the United States Bucher tells an entirely opposite story. He denies being on a spying mission and now claims to have been mistreated, tortured and brutally beaten while held captive in Korea. Bucher also goes to great lengths to explain that everything he did was designed to protect his crew, whom, he alleges, were under constant threat of torture and death.

Commander Bucher and his crew certainly present a very healthy and happy appearance for people who had, as he alleges, been tortured every day for eleven months. We also have the evidence of Lieutenant Edward Murphy, chief executive officer on the Pueblo, who, in a press conference, contradicted his boss. Murphy stated that he thought "the captured Americans had lived under better conditions than average Koreans." He also explained that the daily routine, which Commander Bucher described as solitary confinement, consisted of a common exercise period every morning, dining together and several hours of playing cards and other recreation in the evening. That is treatment far less strict and more humane than that handed out to thousands of prisoners in jails in the U.S.A. for crimes far less serious than acts of international espionage.

The United States has been engaged for many years in flagrant

acts of espionage. These acts have included the use of planes as well as ships. Korea, a relatively small nation, has administered a serious blow to these activities and exposed U.S. illegal acts for all the world to see. Confronted with this exposure of their evil deeds--and with the confessions of the crew standing as powerful evidence against them--the U.S. imperialists are desperately trying to cover their tracks. Their main effort in this respect is directed toward "proving" savage and brutal treatment of the crew, causing them to sign "false" confessions.

Extreme pressure is being exerted on the crew, especially on Commander Bucher, to produce the kind of lurid tales of torture the U.S. imperialist propagandists require for their purpose. To this end threats of disciplinary actions are being voiced by naval authorities and in the halls of Congress.

At the court of enquiry into the Pueblo case, presided over by five admirals, Bucher was informed that he was liable to court-martial proceedings for having "surrendered" the Pueblo, and that anything he said at the enquiry might be used against him at the court-martial. The announcement of possible pro-

ceedings at court-martial transformed Bucher's status at the enquiry from one of friend of the court to "suspect" under investigation. Now, more than ever, Bucher was under strong pressure to tell the kind of story that would tend to exonerate him for having "allowed" the Koreans to capture his ship. Bucher immediately began to manufacture more lurid details to add to his already unbelievable tale of beatings and torture.

On being told of his liability to court-martial proceedings Bucher was visibly shaken. The announcement had such an effect on Bucher that he trembled violently and wept. The board of enquiry was forced to call a recess to give the Commander an opportunity to get control of his emotions. There is substantial reason for believing that Bucher is so shaken by his experience in facing the naval authorities it is feared he may contemplate suicide. He is being closely watched in an effort to prevent such an eventuality.

On the record it appears that the Commander of the Pueblo has a just complaint of torture and brutality. But it is a complaint that should be directed at U.S. authorities--not at the Koreans.





# SOCIALIST THEORY

## PUBLIC UTILITIES AND CAPITALISM

Many Canadians apparently believe the theory (frequently expressed in the capitalist press) that the capitalist countries are gradually moving towards "welfare-state socialism", or towards "a merger of communism and capitalism" with capitalist countries adopting "socialist" measures such as Unemployment Insurance, medicare, etc. and the socialist countries adopting various capitalist measures. Progressive Worker would agree that some formerly socialist countries, like the U.S.S.R., are adopting all too many capitalist measures. But the following article, which concentrates on a discussion of "public" utilities under capitalism, will show that the various so-called socialist measures adopted by capitalist countries do not represent even a single step in the direction of true socialism.

First, it is important to clearly define what we mean by 'socialism'. Socialism is the form of social organization in which the working class has state power and uses this power to suppress the capitalist class, to limit its activities and eventually to eliminate it as a class altogether. As long as capitalists have control of the means of production and of the state and all its institutions, no amount of welfare legislation (paid for, of course, out of taxes imposed on the working people) will make the society a socialist one. Furthermore, if the capitalists' government nationalizes one or several companies in the interests of the capitalist class

generally, this should in no way be looked upon as a step towards socialism.

One of the earliest government owned public utilities in Canada was the Ontario Hydro Electric Power Commission established in 1906. Ontario was in a difficult situation at that time, having no coal deposits of its own and being located far from the coal sources of the Maritimes and B.C. The Commission was established to distribute cheap power, generated by Niagara Falls, to induce the larger capitalists to invest in the Province of Ontario. This is one of the main reasons for governments setting upon purchasing public utilities and a reason which British Columbians are thoroughly familiar with. In this way, the public is forced to pay for the industry, relieving the Capitalists of the responsibility of producing the required capital.

However, not only does the general public put up the initial capital for operations of these kinds-- year by year operations are also largely financed by the general public. Rates are set in such a way that they guarantee the lowest per kilowatt hour rate to the really big consumers, that is, the monopoly industries. The home-owners meaning the ordinary working people, pay a relatively larger amount, and even the small business operation is penalized because he cannot get into the area where kilowatt hour rates drop sharply.

Thus the small consumer pro-

vides the initial capital to finance the undertaking, and then subsidizes the large monopolies by paying higher rates.

There are also other ways in which the Capitalists benefit from "public" utilities. Construction of dams and buildings, manufacture and installation of expensive machinery, fabrication and erection of transmission towers, etc., are all contracted out to large private companies who make handsome profits on such deals.

Communications is another field where public utility rules are applied. Most telephone companies in Canada, though privately owned are governed by public utility regulations, supervised by a government-appointed board. Although the phone companies often complain bitterly about the legislation that specifies the rates they may charge the truth is that the rate restrictions are no impediment to super-profits, and the phone companies never had it so good.

For example, Bell Telephone Co. (Canada) Ltd. recently filed an application with the Canadian Transport Commission to increase general rates and charges by 10%. This application, if approved, (which it no doubt will be) will increase Bell's revenue by \$80 million a year and raise its rate of return on invested capital to 8% from the present 6.9%, according to Bell president Robert Scrivenor. It was interesting to note that on the news of the company seeking the increased rates, shares of Bell Telephone rose sharply on the



Canadian Stock Markets, to their highest prices of the year, although the application had not been approved. This would indicate the great confidence that Canadian capitalists have in the presumably independent Transport Commission.

Some years ago B. C. Telephone launched on a program of expansion and modernization. This program required the expenditure of large amounts of Capital for construction and equipment. The Commission granted a raise in rates to B. C. Telephone on the plea that they needed the extra capital to finance their expansion program. When the expansion program was finally completed, however, did anyone dare to suggest that the result of the expansion program belonged to the people who paid for it? On the contrary, the investment added to the value of the company and under the regulations of the commission, B. C. Telephone could now collect the maximum profit from their investment.

In addition to generous profits that are permitted under the "restrictions" of government supervision, the private companies have ways of avoiding the restrictions altogether. For example, a "profit restricted" communications company can set up a subsidiary,

from which the parent company buys all its equipment at inflated prices. Thus the subsidiary produces huge profits and the parent company can go crying to the government supervisory board that it must increase its rates.

Examples of this kind of arrangement include Northern Electric, which is a subsidiary of Bell Telephone; and Lenkurt Electric which together with B. C. Tel is a subsidiary of General Telephone and Electronics.

The Canadian people have been led to believe that government-owned or supervised companies are somehow superior to private companies in that they are more inclined to serve the public. The facts show, however, that government-owned companies under capitalism are used in the interests of the capitalist class. And 'supervision' of government-supervised companies merely serves as a mask for typical, profit-hungry capitalist undertakings.

The government in a capitalist country is not a neutral force which can be relied on to restrain the worst excesses of capitalism. As Engels pointed out some 90 years ago, the state only reflects the interests of "the most powerful, economically dominant class, which, through the medium of the state, be-

comes also the politically dominant class..." In a democratic republic, "wealth exercises its power indirectly, but all the more surely" by means of "direct corruption of officials" and "an alliance between the government and the stock-exchange". (Engels, the Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.) The state of the economically dominant class is obviously not going to restrict the powers of the class that controls it.

Canada is under the economic domination of U. S. Imperialism which, "indirectly but all the more surely" exercises its political power in Canada through the Canadian state. This means that the "public" utilities will be run in the interests of U. S. Imperialism, not the Canadian people.

Genuine public utilities in Canada can only come about after we have achieved, first: national independence from U. S. economic and political domination; and second: a socialist state in which the working class "through the medium of the state, becomes also the politically dominant class". Canadians cannot look to the state representing the interests of U. S. imperialism to usher in national independence and socialism for us. In fact, it is only by overthrowing the state that we can begin to achieve our goals.

## THE C.P. AND CANADIAN LABOUR

The following article is a criticism of the position of the Communist Party on the labour movement - a position which has had some effect, particularly in B. C., where (at least until recently) the party has had considerable trade union influence. The article shows how the C. P. position actually defends the capitalist system by arguing that workers should deliberately seek a permanent accommodation with capitalism. The article shows how this position helped to prepare the ground for repressive measures (such as B. C. 's Bill 33 and the

Ontario Rand Report) by ideologically undermining those workers who looked to the C. P. for leadership. Furthermore the article shows how the party position justifies the selfishness and narrowness characteristic of the contemporary trade union movement and, by denying the need for a revolutionary perspective, offers nothing to the unorganized majority of Canadian workers except the largely unattainable promise of joining in the accommodation with capitalism of the trade union movement.

Mr. Alf Dewhurst, the Commun-

ist Party "expert" on labour questions, and regular columnist on the subject in the Canadian Tribune, spent several years in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe "learning his trade". Dewhurst began his trek into the realm of higher education after the Soviet Union was well along on the road to capitalist restoration. This fact undoubtedly had a great deal to do with Dewhurst's distorted view of Marxism.

In June of 1968, P. W. took issue with the Tribune "expert" for the following non-Marxist observation: "...under monopoly capitalism,



exploitation does not end at the point of production. It is extended to the market place as witness the scandalous increase in prices..." We directed Dewhurst's attention to the Housing Question, by Engels, for a correct explanation of how exploitation is effective. That Dewhurst has learned nothing in the intervening 6 months is evident from his column which appeared in the Pacific Tribune on Dec. 6, 1968.

The occasion for the latest Dewhurst epistle was a dispute with Douglas Smith, associate of John Crispo, director of the University of Toronto Center for Industrial Relations. Smith had taken trade unionists to task for their selfish, self-centered attitude, and went on to accuse organized workers of "sharing with management the exploitation... of those workers who remain unorganized." Having become completely economist in his outlook, Dewhurst springs to the defence of everything done by the U. S. dominated unions in Canada, after all many of the members of his Party are now enjoying the benefits of membership in the exclusive club of U. S. union bureaucrats.

While Smith is wrong in his conclusions that the unions share with management "the fruits of exploitation" (management represent the exploiters who share with no one), he has undoubtedly found the Achilles Heel of the trade unions when he exposes their selfish attitude and the fact that they have accepted the capitalist system to the point of working within it and for it. When Smith declares, "Trade unions in North America are regarded by their members not as a radical social force but as a slot machine that is expected to yield the big pay-off in every negotiation..." Unionism has been termed the capitalism of the middle class and is certainly more opportunistic than idealistic," he hits very close to the truth and our disagreement with the conclusions he draws from it should not cause us to reject his correct criticism, as Dewhurst does in a

supreme effort to defend his own comrades who are feeding at the trough along with all the other U.S. appointed bureaucrats. One of his erstwhile comrades in British Columbia, Charles Stewart of the Amalgamated Transit Union, (also a former student in the Soviet Union) got himself a \$20,000 a year appointment out of precisely that type of trade unionism, and Harvey Murphy, former Mine Mill, sold his union to Steel for a life pension of \$500 per month.

For a fleeting moment it seemed as though we might have succeeded in penetrating Dewhurst's alleged mind with a glimmer of light when he wrote: "...all working people - organized and unorganized - are exploited at the point of production. And, the more modern the plant the greater the exploitation." This was precisely the point we made in June based on Engels thesis. But, alas, Dewhurst still sees the need for hanging on to his theory of "exploitation in the market place" and keep a tight grip on it with one hand. He writes, "These are times of monopoly control of the market... The motto of the monopolists is to charge all the traffic will bear, while charging the "greed" of the organized workers, as the cause of their price manipulations. In fact, the "expert" leaves us with the impression that he believes only the organized workers are exploited at the point of production - his special discovery is that the unorganized are exploited in the market place. Dewhurst says, "...the poor and the unorganized are the special victims of monopoly rigged prices." And we had always thought that the unorganized were the helpless victims of the exploiters AT THE POINT OF PRODUCTION!

Dewhurst writes: "Mr. Smith proposes an accommodation between the trade unions and the employers. An accommodation between partners is a natural consequence of a partnership. But an accommodation between employers and organized labour is an unnatural act. For they

are on opposite sides of a class battle over hours, wages and conditions."

"... For the unions to allow tendencies to develop for an accommodation with the employers is tantamount to disarming the workers in their struggle for a living wage."

According to the Shorter Oxford Dictionary, "to accommodate" is "to adapt oneself to; to adjust, reconcile, to bring to agreement; to come to terms." An accommodation is "an arrangement of a dispute; a settlement." Therefore, this "unnatural act" is the specific and presently the sole task of the organized labour movement. Every union agreement, every conclusion to a strike, is an "arrangement of a dispute; a settlement", therefore in Dewhurst's consideration, "an unnatural act", which means that Dewhurst is beating on the wind in his argument with Smith since he concedes that Smith has stated the situation correctly.

Does Dewhurst propose any radical change in this arrangement? Not so anyone would notice. When he does get around to mildly slapping organized labour on the wrist it is for failing to include the unorganized in the "accommodation" with capitalism. He writes: "Organized labour can provide the answer for the distressed state of the unorganized and the poor. It can organize them. It can lead them in struggle to raise wages..."

What Dewhurst fails to come to grips with is the fact that Smith touches on without ever really understanding what he has got hold of: the "accommodation" can provide a worthwhile pay-off only when it covers a minority of the workers. This is something that is very well known to the union bureaucrats (including members of Dewhurst's own Party) and it is the basic reason why they are not interested in organizing the poor and unorganized.

Let us take, for example, the more than 2 million workers who do not earn enough to make them liable for income tax. To raise



this group alone to a minimum income of \$100 per week would call for an average increase of at least \$3000 per year. In other words, an additional 6 billion dollars annually as the workers' share of the gross national product. Capitalism could not provide that kind of "accommodation" and still remain capitalism. So any meaningful fight for the poor and unorganized would require an end to "accommodation" and a challenge which Dewhurst and the rest of the bureaucrats recoil from in horror. It is precisely this point also that Smith fails to realize -- fighting for a livable wage for those below income tax level would shatter the Smith dream of accommodation.

The fact is that Dewhurst's Party is on record as proposing an "accommodation" with capitalism on a grander scale than any U. S. union bureaucrat ever thought of. The so-called policy of "Democratic Public Control" put forward at the Communist Party's 18th Convention calls for representative committees made up of delegates from trade unions, government, and employers, for the purpose of controlling automation "in the interest of all the people." This is no more than a grandiose mediation scheme designed to achieve an "accommodation" that would become compulsory for all.

Some interesting points that the Party's resolution on Democratic Public Control include are:

(a) "establishing democratic public controls over automation and to stop the monopoly capitalist control of the automation process,"

(b) "to curb monopoly through Democratic Public Control and check its unbridled power."

On the one hand, the Party talks about a group of capitalists who have "unbridled power" (which would include control of the state). Then the Party turns around and talks about this Democratic Public Control -- with representatives from unions, management, and the government. The point is that the

government is controlled by a class, the capitalist class whose only aim in life is for the maximization of profits. With part of these profits they control the state, that is, the government -- no matter what government (they may have different names) -- and they can buy trade union "leaders" at small prices of \$20,000 or \$40,000 a year.

In view of the record, when Dewhurst says: "When union leaders suggest joint union-management research for statistics pertinent to bargaining, that also is an accommodation," he is condemning with "tongue in cheek." When Party member Charles Stewart of Vancouver accepted his \$20,000 a year position with the Mediation Board, he was merely following the proposals laid down in the Party resolution on "Democratic Public Control." British Columbia's Mediation Board is representative of unions, government, and employers, therefore it complies with the terms laid down in the resolution. In the resolution, there is no mention of classes in society and how class contradictions take place or how they are solved. That document is pure demagogic, social democratic nonsense.

Dewhurst and his Party cannot have it both ways. Either they are for or they are against long-range "accommodations". Their

present official policy and statements are strongly in favour of this kind of "accommodation" and we are aware of no thought being given to changing this situation.

What is the attitude of the Progressive Workers Movement towards "accommodation"? Lenin uses the example of highway robbery to make the distinction between a principled accommodation and an unprincipled one. "One must learn to distinguish between a man who gave the bandits money and firearms in order to lessen the damage they can do and facilitate their capture and execution, and a man who gives bandits money and firearms in order to share in the loot." (Left Wing Communism, 1920.) PWM's position is that a labour contract should be viewed as an accommodation with capitalist bandits in order to lessen the damage they can do. However, what "Democratic Public Control" means in practice (eg. Charles Stewart and the B. C. Mediation Commission) is an accommodation with the bandits in order to share in the loot.

Politically advanced workers should be mobilized towards the ultimate goal of putting an end to capitalism in order to build a socialist society -- not to coming to terms with the capitalists in the context of the existing social system.

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# TOWARDS A PARTY

## THE C.P. DISINTEGRATES

February 1964 found the Communist Party of Canada nearing the end of a sharp and often bitter ideological struggle. The leadership was under attack for the Party's draft programme, which no longer offered the Canadian working class even a glimpse at the route to a socialist Canada. Party membership and influence was on the decline, and a lengthy inner-party document criticizing the draft programme said "if the convention endorses the policy outlined, we would have no hesitation in predicting an even more rapid decline in the future". (The authors of that document were later expelled and went on to form, with others, the Progressive Worker's Movement.)

The inability of the Party leadership to justify its positions to the membership led to more decline and crises. Last year PW pointed to yet another developing crisis in the ranks of the Communist Party. During the final month of 1968 the crisis broke with all its fury in British Columbia where the main Party strength and influence has been concentrated. Expulsions, resignations and just plain quits have penetrated all the way up to the national committee and have stripped the British Columbia organization of a large part of its most active members.

The surviving Party leaders have met the crisis in the time-honored fashion: by trying to bury the real issues and problems under mountains of slander and invective. Finding it impossible to tackle basic issues the Party leaders try to turn the discussion on the point that the dissidents failed to appear before the special provincial convention to defend their views. Nigel Morgan the British Columbia leader of the

Party, described the defectors as "disruptive, factional, anti-Soviet, anti-working class", which, translated, means they prefer their own brand of non-Marxist analysis of world affairs to that of Morgan.

B.C. and national leaders are trying to present a brave front in the face of the crisis but its real depth is bound to become apparent during the next few months. The Party's West Coast organ, Pacific Tribune, under the incompetent direction of Maurice Rush, an old Party hack and time-server, has been in deep trouble for several years, showed definite signs of being on the verge of final disaster during its recent circulation drive which took place while the Party crisis was maturing. Even doctored reports could not hide the fact that the circulation drive was a total disaster. The annual drive for funds is about due and will no doubt fall far short of its objective. It remains to be seen if the national leaders are prepared to make financial subsidies available or if they will order a merger with the national organ, Canadian Tribune.

Organizationally the Party is in worse shape now than it has been at any time since its founding almost a half century ago. For some years in spite of many pious resolutions, the Party appeal to youth in Canada has been completely ineffective. Almost the only youth entering Party ranks in the last twenty years have been the children and grandchildren of old Party originals. It is mainly this handful of young people who are now moving out leaving the Party more than ever an organization of old, semi-retired people.

Still another serious blow has been sustained in the area of trade

union work. In B.C. the Party had succeeded in building a fairly effective trade union machine which had won a number of leading positions. Among the list of Party casualties are a number of people who had contributed to making the Party trade union machine work efficiently. These defections are bound to seriously impede the Party work in the unions.

The Party leadership placed heavy reliance on professionals and intellectuals organized in so-called "security clubs", the members of which were kept hidden and denied being attached to the Party in any way. These "security" members were important for financial support and to do political work for which they were eminently fitted as secret members.

It is impossible to say how many of these "security" members have quit since, obviously, no one is saying. However, some idea of how deeply they may be affected by the crisis can be gleaned from the fact that two of those expelled, Caron and Ruddell, were the people most responsible for giving leadership to the security clubs.

Behind all the invective being hurled by Morgan at the heads of the defectors is the very real problem of a crisis in policy. Despite all the wordy epistles issued by the Party bureaucrats, they have no real policy so far as Canada is concerned. The small collection of bureaucrats now passing themselves off as a Communist Party has no other function then to act as apologists for Moscow. They insist that any action, however outrageous, taken by Moscow, must not be criticized on pain of excommunication. The defence of Rus-



sia's flagrant aggression against Czechoslovakia makes it quite clear that the leaders of the CP in Canada belong to Moscow, body and soul. As the saying goes: "He who pays the piper calls the tune", and in this case, Moscow is paying the piper and calling for a servile tune.

Because it is propped up by Moscow, the Party will no doubt continue to exist in its present decimated form--that is, so long as Moscow has need of it and is willing to pay the cost. But so far as Canad-

ian affairs are concerned, the CP has no effective role to play. For a Party dedicated to the parliamentary game of politics the CP went through a traumatic experience in the last federal elections when all its weakness was made glaringly obvious. The next election will be even more disastrous--if they dare to nominate at all.

We could give this corpse a decent burial if only the Moscow morticians would put away the cosmetics

and admit that the body is dead. But the decline of one revisionist organization does not mean that the struggle against revisionist ideology is over. The ruling class has need of revisionist ideology and it will be with us for a long time to come--even after the political victory of socialist forces. We must learn what we can from the negative example of the "Communist" Party of Canada to arm us in the fight against revisionist ideology.

continued from page 2

would discuss political issues more thoroughly, and in a somewhat more generalized or theoretical manner. (The function of the magazine would be to give leadership to people who recognize the need to struggle for Canadian independence and for socialism.) Finally, we would have a theoretical paper, whose circulation would be still smaller. (Its function would be to carry on the theoretical struggle to build a Marxist-Leninist party in Canada, and to criticize or expose differing or hostile theoretical positions.) In other words, the three regular publications of the future will be divided according to the political understanding and needs of various kinds of readers.

To some extent the three sections of the present Progressive Worker parallel, roughly, the three different kinds of publications of the future. The questions discussed in the Canadian section are of broad interest; the second section, a Marxist-Leninist discussion of international questions, is of more limited appeal; and the third, more theoretical, section is of interest to a relatively small number of Canadians. Our intention in organizing the paper this way is that our readers will be able to pass on copies of the paper to interested friends who can begin reading on the first inside page with something that probably falls

within their immediate experience (for example, the housing crisis).

Aside from the technical and organizational changes in the paper the Progressive Worker has changed, and will continue to change, because more and more people are participating in producing it. There is more collective discussion of editorial questions, and more people are involved in the actual writing of the paper. We are presently setting up a research center, and intend to initiate research projects (directly related to ongoing struggles) that will undoubtedly be useful in providing detailed material for articles in the paper. Also more people are helping with the actual production of the paper -- including the typing, the layout, and the printing. This can only help improve Progressive Worker.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the paper is changing, and will inevitably change, according to the development of political understanding within PWM. For example in the last issue we discussed briefly our new understanding of the Movement's organizational tasks. For another example, future issues of the paper will undoubtedly have more emphasis on the problems facing Canada's unorganized workers.

\* \* \* \* \*

In the course of reorganizing our paper, we have had to fall back on

combined issues, because of the time pressure. It looks like we will have to do this once more next month. For many readers across Canada, Progressive Worker is virtually the only regular contact they have with progressive ideas, and we feel badly about letting them down. Nevertheless, our reorganization of the paper is being done entirely in order to improve it, so that it can better serve the interests of its readers, and the Canadian people in general. Furthermore, while we hope that the paper will continue improving with every future issue, the period of basic reorganization is coming to a close, and after the next issue we should be back to our regular monthly publishing pattern.

At this point, a commercial magazine would have to ensure its readers that they would be getting their full 12 issues for the money that they paid. Actually, regular subscribers to PW know that we have a more informal relationship with our readers, and generally carry a reader's subscription over for a couple of months after the expiration date anyway.

Progressive Worker is definitely not a commercial undertaking -- if it was, we would have closed our doors long ago. With the new postal rates, each delivered copy of the paper costs between 15 and 20 cents, depending on the number of pages. We keep the subscrip-



This is a good time to thank the many readers who have sent in contributions, particularly since our last appeal. We are planning in the next two months to purchase more printing equipment which will enable us to produce more and technically improved copies of PW at less cost per copy. We also intend to begin a subscription drive which involves considerable expense in mailing out sample copies, etc. Contributions coming in now will help with these two

Expansion aside, however, Progressive Worker owes its very existence to the contributions -- mostly small ones -- that come in to us every month. In many cases these contributions come from people on unemployment insurance, or workers earning under \$1.50 an hour. One old-age pensioner comes down regularly and gives us \$1.00 from his pension cheque. It is thanks to people like these that the Progressive Worker exists at all.

and suggestions are important because they help us realize particular shortcomings, and ways of overcoming them. Financial contributions are important too, because they keep the paper going so that there is something to improve on.

Actually, all of us who believe in the goals of Canadian independence and socialism, and who feel that the Progressive Worker is sincerely trying to further the struggle for these goals, have a responsibility to help the paper, if only by criticism. Readers who have thought of the paper as being published somewhere "out there" should begin to think of it more as belonging to all of us, fighting for the common interests of the Canadian people in the best way it knows how. The more people from all over Canada that participate in this, the better the paper will become.

more

# REVOLUTIONARY IRISH POETRY

Clear in the sky!  
I think I would not do this deed again  
For all that I hold by;  
Gaze down my rifle at his breast --  
but then  
A soldier I

They say that he was kindly -- differ-  
ent, too  
Apart from all the rest;  
A lover of the poor; and all shot  
through  
His wounds ill drest,  
He came before us, faced us like a  
man,  
Who knew a deeper pain  
Than blows or bullets -- ere the

world began;  
Died he in vain?  
Ready present! And he just smiling—  
God!  
I felt my rifle shake.  
His wounds were opened out and  
round that chair  
Was one red lake;  
I swear his lips said 'Fire'! when  
all was still  
Before my rifle spat  
That cursed lead -- And I was picked  
to kill  
A man like that.