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STUDENT PROTEST

Student strikes and demonstrations are on the increase in the Western Capitalist world and clashes with state forces are increasing in violence. Almost every nation in Western Europe and the Americas have seen students occupy university buildings or take to the streets in protest.

There have been numerous student protests in Canada although they have not yet reached the pitch in violence evident in other countries. Quebec, particularly, where the question of national self-determination is at the center of all political activity, student demonstrations have been large, numerous and militant and have brought the students from universities and high schools into joint action with workers on picket lines. Elsewhere we have reported the action of Ontario students in support of striking Steelworkers. In Vancouver hundreds of students in elementary and high schools struck and demonstrated in support of striking engineers and janitors in the schools.

Belgium has been the scene of many militant demonstrations in the recent past with Flemish students being especially active on the national question. German students have fought a number of bitter battles with pro-fascist state forces and have organized effective demonstrations against the fascist monopoly press. Highlight of the German student movement to date has been the gathering of 35,000 students from all over the country in a demonstration at the Bundestag in Bonn.

Student demonstrations have virtually become



West Berliners came to this demonstration last February 18 prepared for police assaults. Such preparations proved their value following the attempted assassination of Rudie Dutschke.

a part of the way of life in the United States in recent years. The most regular, consistent and most militant student protests have been those of the Afro-American youth who play an important role in the struggle of their people for liberation. The student movement provides a large part of the leadership of that struggle.

Columbia University was the center of a militant

student strike the merged with demands which the Afro-Americans of Harlem—on the border of the university stands—were making on the Board of Governors. Some victories have been won and the protest is by no means over.

France has seen particularly violent student demonstrations during the spring. Some reports stated that Paris, during the demonstration, looked much like it had during the anti-Nazi resistance in the days of world war two. All four union federations in France joined in a general strike in support of the students and at one point it was reported there were more than a million people on the streets of Paris. The de Gaulle-Pompidou government have capitulated to the students on most points in a desperate effort to head off the struggles. The students, however, are pressing still more demands on a reluctant and reactionary government which has been ruling the educational institutions with an iron hand and threatening to restrict the use of the educational facilities to a select student elite which will be chosen by the ruling class. The students, on the other hand, are demanding greater autonomy and freedom from government control for the universities, a wider student body to include workers now unable to attend and radical changes in the obsolete educational system.

Student participation in political struggles which affect and shape the life of a nation are by no means a new phenomenon. In the colonial and neo-colonial countries students have played and are playing an extremely important role. Acting in unison with the democratic movement, especially with the organizations of working people, the students have contributed a great deal to the struggle for national liberation and have provided much of the leadership in those struggles.

The students participating in the struggle for national liberation, however, have had their aims and objectives fairly clearly defined—something which is not yet evident in the student movement in the western capitalist world. There is some evidence, though, that the students are beginning to realize the basic contradiction lies in the fact they are being trained to serve the interests of a reactionary and aggressive ruling class while their own desire, as yet not clearly defined, is for the creation of a society based on radically different social and economic principles than those now prevailing.

The urgent need is for the students, even as they carry on their protest demonstrations, to begin a critical examination of capitalist society and to seek out what alternative there is to a society based on an economy of exploitation of man by man. The more the protesting students come into contact with the workers and unite with them in joint struggles, the more readily will they realize the next steps required for a new advance. For this reason even the limited joint actions now taking place are a most important development. A radical student body which has begun to recognize the vital need to proceed to the building of a new society without exploitation of man by man, such a student body could make a most important contribution to the leadership of the workers movement.

JUNE ELECTION

The federal election campaign is well under way and to date it displays all the trappings of a popularity contest. The Liberal Party has the advantage of being the party in power (although as a minority) and have elevated to leadership a much-travelled, bilingual Quebec millionaire who has earned the reputation of being a "leftist," having graduated from student activities through the C.C.F. to leadership of the Liberals.

The Tory opposition has also acquired a new leader in the person of Mr. Stanfield, former Premier of Nova Scotia and well-known manufacturer of underwear. Mr. Stanfield gives one the impression of being filled with all the dynamism and explosive power of a very wet match. Even in the Victorian age he would probably have been considered a dull sort of fellow.

These two traditional parties of the capitalist class (the Liberals generally pro-American and the Tories pro-British) have little but a bunch of "splinter groups" to contend with in the contest for parliamentary advantage and the right to form a government.

The Communist Party revisionist bureaucrats are singing their same old song: "elect a democratic bloc, including Communist Party candidates." It is not too clear what others they include in their "democratic bloc"—possibly the Liberals in view of Trudeau's "leftist" reputation. In any event the C.P., as usual, will elect no one and acclaim their "success as an extraordinary victory."

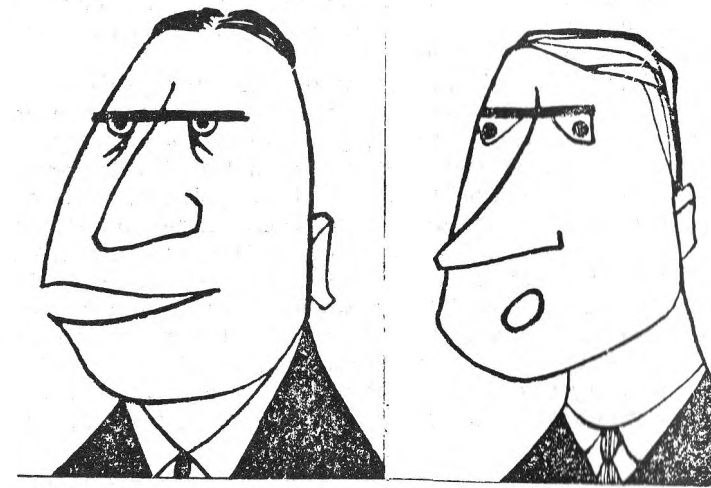
Social Credit, rallying ground for most of the more outspoken fascist elements, had already split before the last election and this one finds them in the process of total disintegration. From the Social Credit camp wafts the stench of decay and most of their candidates and followers are crawling back into the Tory womb that spawned them. The already small Social Credit representation will decline still further.

The social-democratic New Democratic Party, now far below the strength it enjoyed in the immediate post-war years when it was still the C.C.F., appears to be in some difficulty and may experience considerable difficulty in a fight to hold what little they have. Under pressure from the bureaucrats in the U.S.-dominated trade unions (the steelworkers union is a leading contributor to party funds) the N.D.P. has moved well to the right, and now with the "leftest" pretences of some leading Liberals it is hard to distinguish between the two. With the N.D.P. having ditched its mild nationalization policy in favour of "planned capitalism" there is no apparent difference in the programs of the two parties. The N.D.P. propagandists are pretty well reduced to claiming that the Liberals don't really mean what they say and anyway "the N.D.P. can do it better. This is scarcely likely to inspire the electorate or result in any big victories hence the unlikely outcome of more seats for the N.D.P.

The Trotskyist League for Socialist Action extends unqualified support to the N.D.P. and enters no candidates of their own. They claim this to be revolutionary activity which will lead to socialist nationalization of industry — just like Wilson and the Labour Party put into effect in Britain.

It seems, therefore, that the real contest for parliamentary advantage lies between the Liberals and the Tories, with the Liberals being conceded a slight edge. However, no matter which wins the working people

are bound to lose until at last they put an end to the system of capitalist exploitation that all alike represent and defend.



"This election will be fought on two great issues—either we get in or they do."

"We must not shirk war itself—if it is the means of preserving peace."

There are three outstanding issues which face Canadians at this time:

1) Self-determination for Quebec; 2) U.S. domination of the Canadian economy; 3) The developing crisis in the economy.

These are by no means all of the problems awaiting solution, but they are the most pressing and the ones that must be resolved before others can be grappled with at all. The attitudes of the various contenders for office on these important questions will indicate just how serious they are about the future of Canada and its people.

On Quebec; Liberal and Tory politician are playing a dangerous game that could have very serious consequences. The only desire of these parties is to use the Quebec question as a stepping-stone to power and the propaganda they put out is sowing the seeds of future trouble. The NDP, on the other hand, simply doesn't recognize that there is a problem, possibly on the theory, if you ignore it, it will go away. But Quebec has no intention of going away.

All of the political groups, aware of the growing opposition to continued U.S. domination of the economy talk about the problem but suggest no solution except, on occasion, to propose that other imperialist powers should be encouraged to participate in the bonanza, thus reducing the U.S. share. This in fact, is already on the way with extensive Japanese investments entering Western Canada.

A economic crisis, part of the world crisis of capitalism, is already in the process of development in Canada, with upwards of half a million already unemployed and obvious signs of further decline in production on the way. This economic decline is hitting at what has been the highest paid section of the work force. We already had a chronic condition of a third of the workers earning an absolute minimum on which to exist. On these problems the politicians have only more of the same to offer.

Indications are that the coming fall and winter

could well bring an extremely serious increase in unemployment and the start of an economic crisis, the like of which we have not seen in 30 years. There is some speculation that Prime Minister Trudeau and his Liberal Party colleagues called the election in a hurry, in the hope they could obtain a parliamentary majority before the crisis hits, and then sit out the storm.

The only conclusion we can arrive at is that there will be no substantial change in the nations affairs no matter which party is elected to form the government. The only point decided in an election of capitalist politicians is what particular board of directors is going to administer affairs for the next period of time

STUDENTS SUPPORT STRIKE

University of Toronto students joined a picket line at the strikebound plant of Thermotex Windows of Canada in Woodbridge, near Toronto. The solidarity action was initiated in protest against 25 other students who continued to work at their summer jobs behind the picket line. The student picketers were led by Monique Ocelette, president of the 85,000-member Ontario Union of Students.

Quebec students have often rallied to the support of striking workers but, as Miss Ouelette pointed out, this was the first time the Toronto students had actively supported workers on a picket line.

A union spokesman denied a rumour that the union was considering a boycott of student labour as a result of what he termed "student scabbing." He stated: "We just hope the student leaders will be able to approach the students who are working and talk some sense to them."

Some idea of the type of student who is scabbing can be gained from a further statement by the official, who said: "The thing that really bothers us on the picket line is seeing some of the students drive their Triumphs and Mustangs, while some of the strikers

on behalf of the capitalist class. The important battles of the working class will still remain to be fought after the election is over. For victory in those important battles the workers will have to depend on their own determination and strength, united in their class organizations; they can expect nothing from the parliamentary representatives of the bosses.

The real and pressing tasks of the workers, therefore, is the need to build and strengthen their own organizations in preparation for the struggles that lie ahead long after the elections are over. It is to this problem that the workers must apply themselves in the days ahead.

can scarcely afford a bus ticket to work." Students who drive Triumphs and Mustangs to a summer job are obviously not hard-pressed for money, and probably have no appreciation of how it feels to have to work out of necessity.

Thermotex was struck May 2nd by the 75 regular employees who are members of the United Steelworkers of America, which was trying to negotiate a first contract with the company. Negotiations started eleven months ago and finally broke down over the company's wage offer and its opposition to overtime pay and dues checkoff.

The union demand was for a 30 cent increase on a one-year contract and the company countered with a 21 cent offer — 7 cents in each year of a 3-year contract. The workers, mostly Greek and Italian immigrants, were receiving between \$1.30 and \$1.45 per hour before the strike. That is a maximum of \$3,016 annually if one is fortunate enough to work a full year and that at a time when government agencies rule an income of over \$8,000 is necessary in order to get a mortgage on a house.

CHOICE OF A NAME

For more than a century — ever since the end of the Civil War — the word "Negro" has been considered a term of dignity and respect. Of late, however, the word has been under fire from many quarters as a term identifying those who have adjusted to things as they are. Consequently, those who struggle for change reject "Negro" as a term with close links to "Uncle Tom." Most of these latter prefer to be addressed as "Afro-Americans" or "Black Americans".

Progressive Worker has been aware of the development and discussed the matter at some length, but in the absence of any concrete evidence on what the people themselves favoured we have continued to use the established form of address as a general rule.

Now, at last, there is some solid evidence to indicate what particular form of address is preferred by those immediately concerned. The information on this comes by way of journals which represent the opinions

of black Americans and which have canvassed their readers on the question.

The Amsterdam News, Harlem's largest newspaper, barred the word "Negro" from its pages in favour of "Afro-American." Readers of the paper indicated their approval by a margin of nine to one. Ebony and Jet, both black American publications, confirm reader preference for "Afro-American" with "black" second and "Negro" a distant third. The magazine 'Negro Digest' is under constant heavy pressure to change its name and in all probability will do so before it is deserted by its subscribers.

In view of this rather conclusive evidence now at hand Progressive Worker will in future use "Afro-American" as the preferred term with "black-American" as an occasional secondary choice. "Negro" will hereafter be dropped from use by Progressive Worker.

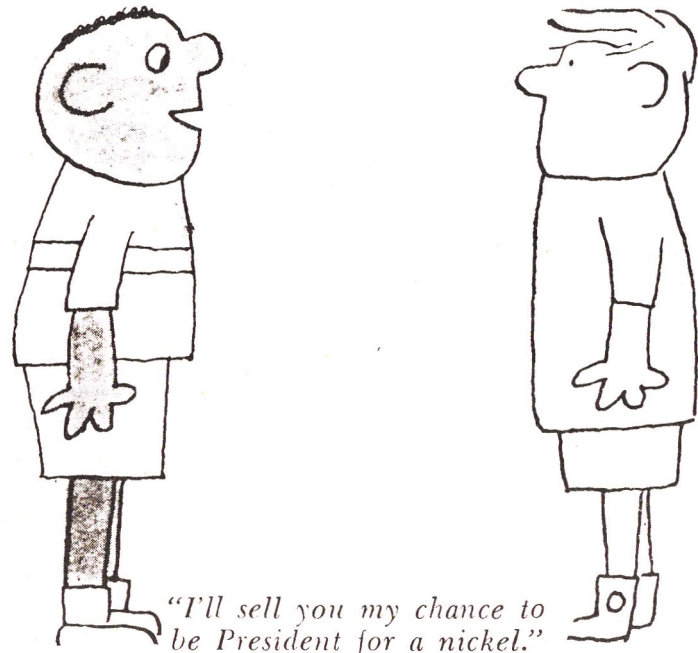
DIRTY LINEN

There is one small benefit that the people sometimes gain from an election campaign — a disclosure by the opposition of the shady deals made by the party in power. Such a development is now taking place in the current election campaign in the United States. The Republicans are pointing an accusing finger at the top-ranking Democrat, President Johnson, and detailing some of his extra-curricular activities.

According to Republican spokesman the president's home state of Texas, and consequently the president's closest friends, have done very well economically under the Johnson regime. Since he came to power prime defense contracts awarded to Texas firms have risen by an astronomical 460 per cent—compared with a national average increase of 55 per cent.

N.B. Zachary, a San Antonio friend of Johnson, is the possessor of a huge construction contract in Thailand. Brown and Root, a Houston-based firm that has been a solid Johnson supporter since the start of his long political career, is a partner in a consortium that has a massive construction contract in Vietnam. The Ripon Forum, monthly publication of the Ripon Society, an organization of young Republicans centered in Boston, assert that Johnson's economic interests must be raised as a major issue in the election campaign. The journals' editors claim to have made a "special study" that shows Johnson in conflict of interest, and state further: "A powerful segment of the national leadership, perhaps including the president himself, is deriving enormous benefits from the prolongation of the war in Asia."

A connection is traced through an Austin holding company and Ling-Temco-Vought, a top ranking defense contractor reputed to be the fastest



"I'll sell you my chance to be President for a nickel."

growing billion-dollar corporation in America. Ling-Temco quadrupled its assets—from \$ 450 million to \$1.8 billion—during 1967. The company has a juicy contract to build the newest-designed plane for Vietnam, the Corscur A7 otherwise known as the "flying truck."

Ling-Temco is also in the process of taking over the Great America Company, a conglomerate of insurance companies which also controls Braniff Airways. Braniff was the happy recipient of numerous war-related contracts, the main factor in causing the common stock to rise in value 16 times in the 31 months following the Kennedy assassination.

A large block of Great America stock is held by Brazos-10th Street, an Austin holding company which also controls several large banks. Offices and television studios of the Texas Broadcasting Company, owned by the President's family, are located in a building at the intersection of Brazos and 10th Streets. The Ripon Forum claims that President Johnson "appears to control" the company. The journal says with the company's reported stock in Great America, "it means that the Johnson family has a direct economic interest in Ling-Temco-Vought, a major defense contractor.

The president of the Brazos-10th Street company is Donald Thomas, a partner in an Austin law firm that has handled Johnson family business for years. Another partner, Edward Clark, was appointed ambassador to Australia. According to the Ripon Forum Clark, a long-time personal friend of Johnson "has facilitated the penetration of the Australian economy" in the interests of Johnson's Texas friends and colleagues. The law firm with which Clark is associated has direct links to Dehli Australian Petroleum Ltd., a company controlled by Texas oil men that has become an important force in the development and exploitation of Australian oil deposits.

After the U.S. intervened and overthrew the government of the Dominican Republic, Johnson chose one of his closest friends, former Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas, as his personal envoy to take charge of the Dominican affair. As a lawyer Fortas had defended Johnson against charges of election fraud in 1948. At the time of his appointment as special envoy Fortas was a member of the board of directors of Sucrest Corp., a major purchaser of Dominican sugar. The Ripon Forum states:

"That Johnson sent him into so obviously compromising a situation is evidence of the president's almost incredible insensitivity to the issue raised by conflict of interest."

True to its bourgeois principles and well aware of Republican complicity in helping to create the stench that pervades American politics, the Ripon Forum is quite mild in its criticism of Johnson. What about Johnson's "incredible insensitivity to the issues raised" not only in the killing and maiming of hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese but also in the slaughter of thousands of America's youth while he and his friends reap fabulous profits from the carnage. Of what value, then, are the crocodile tears and the emotional declarations of a fervent desire for peace. All of this, including the declaration of personal sacrifice, are but play-acting to hood-wink the American public.

Whatever it may cost in terms of death, human suffering and money the president and his class are profiting to the tune of billions of dollars.

canadian worker

OUT OF WORK!



*How Safe Is
YOUR Job?*

RISING UNEMPLOYMENT

Figures released by the Department of Manpower and Immigration reveal that unemployment had risen sharply to the end of March and there is good reason to conclude that the figures stop well short of telling the whole story.

The report discloses an official figure of 488,000 unemployed, an increase of 88,000 over March of 1967.

However, that part of the population over 14 years of age increased by 403,000 between March 67 and March 68 and the total labor force increased by only 119,000, those employed by only 31,000 the difference of 88,000 representing the official rise in unemployment. But this leaves a total of 282,000 bodies not accounted for — men and women who have become adults and

and are not included in the labor force. A discrepancy of this magnitude calls for some explanation but none seems to be forthcoming from official sources.

It is possible that part of the explanation is to be found in the status of women in the economy. A married woman who drops out of employment is generally regarded as a "housewife" who is not an active participant in the official labor force. Even a woman with children who has been deserted or otherwise left alone, and living on welfare is not considered in the labor force — a non-person so far as the official statisticians are concerned. This is undoubtedly the explanation for the fact that the labor force includes only slightly more than half the population 14 years of age and over.

Another place where many of the "lost bodies" might be discovered is among university and high school students. This is clear from reports out of British Columbia where unemployment figures are among the highest in the land. (Atlantic region 10.7 per cent; Quebec 8.8 per cent; British Columbia 6.6 per cent).

The placement bureaus for students seeking summer employment report the situation to be the worst in the post-war years. It is estimated that 5,000 of 20,000 student applicants will not find jobs this year, and this does not include high school students who are not yet on the market at the time of writing. None of these, of course, are considered in the labor force and are not therefore, officially unemployed. Registrations at Simon Fraser University and Vancouver City College, which run summer semesters, are at a record high, these registrations are a fair barometer of the unemployment crisis as it affects the student body. Students who have abandoned all hopes of obtaining employment, and can manage to afford it, have decided to continue with their pursuit of an education and not waste the summer chasing non-existing employment opportunities.

There are many factors which make the situation appear better than it actually is with strikes resulting in a temporary halt in production, being one of the most important contributors, presenting an opportunity for a reduction of inventories. The strike in auto, for example — particularly the lengthy strike in General Motors — helped immeasurably in this regard. The return to normal in auto is already beginning to affect the employment picture. The Ford plant at Oakville had laid off close to 600 workers by mid-May with signs of deterioration quite apparent.

Shrinking world wheat markets, further complicated by the dumping policies pursued by the United States, will mean considerably less money for prairie farmers resulting in a sharp drop in purchases of farm machinery, home appliances and autos and a consequent drop in employment in those industries.

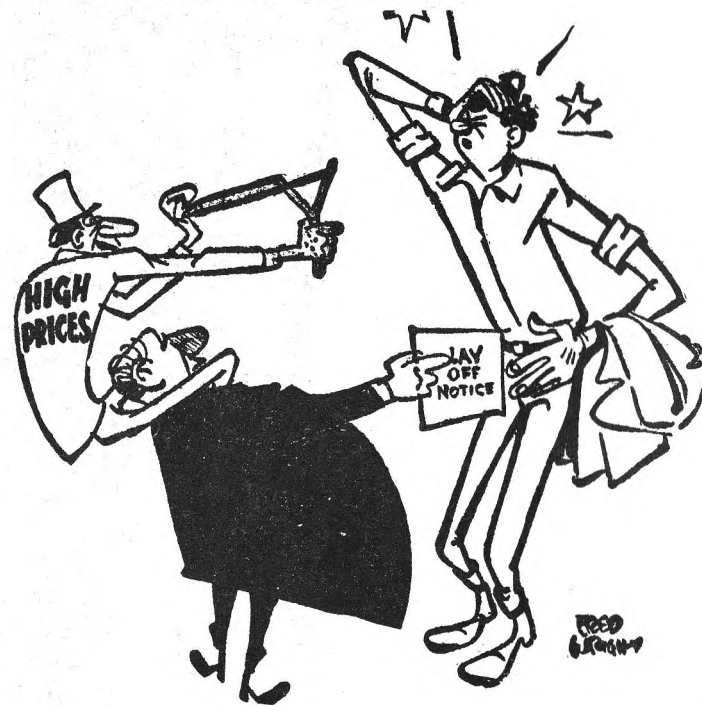
A strike of eight months duration in the forest industry in the southern interior of British Columbia and a threatened strike in the even more important Coast area are causing a build-up in inventories, has so far obscured what could well prove to be an extremely serious employment situation in this industry which represents 40 per cent of the economy of the province.

The possibility of a long strike in the steel industry in the United States is also having a temporary effect on the employment picture. Steel users are building up supplies to ensure continued operation

during a strike of some months duration and some of these orders are flowing into Canada as well as having an effect on mining. If the strike should not take place orders will drop sharply while inventories are being used up and unemployment in the industry will increase sharply. In these conditions a strike is nothing more than hidden unemployment, a situation advantageous to the employers.

The deteriorating condition of the economy indicates the possibility of the worst winter of unemployment in the post war years — perhaps since the crisis of the thirties. This is probably why our new "swinging" Prime Minister was in such a hurry to call an election. He undoubtedly hopes to get settled in with a comfortable parliamentary majority before the full impact of the crisis becomes apparent. But the politicians are failing to take into account the fact that even an overwhelming parliamentary majority will not halt the workers' struggle for a better world.

ADDING INSULT TO INJURY



The **Canadian Worker** is published monthly by The **Progressive Workers' Movement**. It is distributed as complementary copies, but also appears as a supplement to the magazine **Progressive Worker**.

The PWM is a revolutionary communist party dedicated to serving the interests of the Canadian working class. It is the only political group that supports the slogan "Canadian Unions for Canadian Workers," for further information or subscriptions to the **Progressive Worker** (\$1.00 per year) write to: PWM, 35 East Hastings St., Vancouver 4, B.C.

LABOUR DISPUTES INCREASE

Based on number of strikes and lockouts, workers involved and duration in man days, the years 1965, 66 and 67 are amongst the highest on record. In 1966 there were 617 strikes involving 411,459 workers and totalling 5,178,170 man-days. While the number of strikes fell to 438 in 1967 the number of workers involved remained almost constant at 409,932. Cost in man-days was 4,045,060.

So far, 1968 has evidenced no abatement in the strike movement and the current situation and future prospects indicate another record year for disputes and number of man-days lost as a result.

To date this year major strikes have occurred in auto, farm implement and lumber while others are expected to occur shortly in pulp and paper, lumber, transportation on land, sea and air, and in public services such as the post office. The first quarter of 1968 recorded 1,480,410 man-days work lost through strikes, compared to 815,410 in the same period in 1967 — an increase of more than 80 per cent. Although most forecasts do not expect this pace to be maintained, the outlook is for another big year in strike activity.

Tough statements and ultimatums issuing from government and big industrialists alike testify to the fact that more big strikes this year are virtually a dead certainty. Elsewhere we have referred to public pronouncement by Clyne in lumber and Bell in pulp and paper and here we refer to a couple more.

A. G. R. Smith, chairman of the Economic Council of Canada, suggested that business was itself to blame for at least part of its troubles. He urged industrialists to stiffen their resistance to workers demands for wage increases. A notable feature of the statement by Smith, speaking in his capacity of chairman of the Economic Council of Canada, is that a large number of top labour

bureaucrats are official members of the council, so theoretically at least Smith speaks for them when he calls for stiffer resistance to union demands.

M. McAvity, speaking to the Lions Club of Montreal, said there is only one way to break the inflationary spiral. "So far," he said, "no government in Canada or elsewhere has been successful with legislation or guidelines. The answer would seem to be left up to industry, and there is growing evidence that many industrialists are new preparing to draw the line and take a firm stand. It seems likely that strikes will become longer, that more workers and communities will suffer. Such resistance to pressure appears to be the only solution."

In a period of economic decline and rising unemployment the employers feel the wind is blowing their way and they intend to take full advantage of it. This is particularly true in such industries as pulp and paper where rapid expansion in productive capacity has been accompanied by a declining market. Economic conditions plus employer resistance mean that any improvements in wages — or even maintaining the status quo — will have to be got the hard way.

It appears very likely that current union tactics of closing down one section of the industry while the rest supplies the market will suffice in the prevailing economic conditions. This method undoubtedly contributed to the extreme length of the strike of lumber workers in the southern interior of British Columbia. What is needed now more than ever before is the merging of a multiplicity of unions in a single industry into one national bargaining unit and industry-wide negotiations with a common strike deadline. Class solidarity is the only fitting and effective answer to employer ultimatums.

MONTREAL TRANSIT

A recently-received issue of the English-language edition of "Labour," journal of the CNTU, acquaints us with details of the settlement achieved in the strike of the Montreal transit workers. As pointed out by "Labour", the information media, which was noisy enough while the strike was in progress, has maintained an air of calm and silence on the outcome.

Over the 3-year period of the agreement wage rates will be increased for various categories in varying amounts ranging from 22 per cent to 40 per cent. "Labour" reports that during four years of membership in the CNTU — 1965 to 1969 — transit workers will have registered wage gains ranging up to 71 per cent.

Some important fringe benefits were secured in addition to the wage increases. Holidays, sick leave, grievance procedure, health insurance, free transportation were either introduced or considerably improved over previous contracts. Within a few years retirement pensions are scheduled to reach a point where they will be equal to, or better than, earnings on retirement.

CNTU members are acclaiming the contract as the best in public transportation in Canada. Wages,

which amounted to \$2.12 per hour under an agreement signed with the CBRT and terminated July 1965, were at \$3.10 per hour as of July 1967 under a CNTU contract — an increase of 46 per cent in two years. Under the new CNTU contract average wages will reach \$3.45 per hour by July 1969.

Annual vacations are two weeks after one year, three weeks after 10 years, 4 weeks after 15 years. There are 10 statutory holidays provided and leaves are granted for deaths, marriages and births in the family. For women employees there are maternity leave benefits. Cumulative sick leave, if not already used, is payable in full on separation or retirement. On the job accident victims will receive full pay (previously two-thirds).

When the Quebec pension plan reaches full potential in eight years union members will receive 100 per cent, or even 105 per cent, of the salary they earned at retirement. Obligatory retirement is at 65 or after 40 years service or may be taken after 25 years service.

Montreal transit workers are to be congratulated on their fine effort.

BATTLE STATIONS FOR POSTAL WORKERS

NO PROGRESS IN NEGOTIATIONS

The Council of Postal Unions, joint bargaining agent for 22,000 post office employees organized in the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) and the Letters Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC), broke off negotiations with representatives of the Treasury Board, which acts for the government in bargaining with public service employees. The Council which has applied for a conciliation board as the first step toward possible strike action, acted when it was finally and conclusively established that the government negotiators had no intention of engaging in serious bargaining and were stalling for time.

The Postal Trade Union Council, forerunner of the present Council of Postal Unions, concluded a first wage agreement after a short strike in 1966. Wage demand had been for an increase of \$1 per hour but settlement was based on a figure of 25 cents. The agreement was to run for ten months to July 31 1967 and the government undertook to give serious consideration to granting certification.

The unions received certification last year and the government ruled that a first contract with them would end Sept. 1968. However, government negotiators have been successful in stalling the bargaining process and the unions are rapidly approaching the date when a second contract should be going into force before a first contract has been concluded.

With no advance evident after 3 months of intensive negotiations the unions broke off talks with the Treasury Board in an effort to end government stalling and achieve some definite results. The government, however, discovered some new ways to stall.

Steps in the bargaining process, right up to possible strike action, are clearly spelled out in the regulations. When negotiations show no signs of progress either side can request conciliation to which the alternative side must reply within two days. Both sides have 7 days to appoint representatives and another 5 days to agree on a neutral chairman. Failing agreement a chairman is appointed by Service Staff Relations Board Chairman, Jacob Finkelman. The conciliation board must report in 14 days, unless the Staff Relations Board Chairman agrees to an extension. The workers may legally strike 7 days after a report is submitted.

Given a normal course of development the postal workers could have struck legally by mid-June but the Treasury Board still had some stalling tricks left. Instead of proceeding with appointment of representatives for conciliation procedure as provided for in the rules the government negotiators proposed appointment of a one-man board and then requested a ruling on the legality of the proposal. This will successfully stall the bargaining process for at least several weeks and postpone any possible strike action until well into July. There is no guarantee, of course, that the Treasury will not succeed in finding still more methods of stalling.

Government Perfidy

When the government, through the medium of the Treasury Board, conceded certification and agreed to a bargaining process, the Postal Workers considered they could depend on them to act in good faith. Events however have made it clear that Ottawa officials had

something quite different in mind. Just recently, for example, Davis, a cabinet Minister, declared that a number of civil servants should be fired. When challenged with this at a meeting of Postal workers Davis attempted to ward off criticism by saying perhaps some Senior civil servants should be fired.

That the government intended bargaining rights and certifications to be no more than empty formalities is not only evident in the fact that not a single point was settled in 3 months of negotiations, but is even more evident in the demands government negotiators have presented to the unions.

On all points of importance the Treasury Board insists on the supremacy of "management rights." One proposal advanced by the Treasury Board if agreed to would render the union totally ineffective in efforts to defend rights and security of the members. In exchange for an agreement, government negotiators have asked the union to agree to the Treasury Board having full control of classification for all time.

If union negotiators conceded this point the Board could use their power to hire part-time employees indiscriminately and use them against the members of the Postal unions. Power of that nature in the hands of an employer could also be used for both bribery and intimidation. A promise of classification upwards could be used to bribe and corrupt; a threat of classification downwards could be used to intimidate union activists. No union could survive as an effective organization under such conditions. Clearly the postal workers could not concede this point and still hope to be in a position to defend their vital interests in day to day operations.

All classifications must be subject to union veto and there must be no classification downward in order to forestall the threat of intimidation and discrimination. Job security must also be provided as another measure to guard against discrimination for union activity.

Government proposals for processing grievances are such as to ensure that months—perhaps years—could pass before a grievance could pass through all stages. These are only a few of the many points the Treasury Board has been insisting on—they are proposals which no self-respecting union could possibly agree to. Continued government insistence will only make the possibility of strike action the more certain. P.S.A.C.

In addition to engaging the Treasury Board in battle the Council of Postal Unions finds itself faced with the necessity of simultaneously doing battle with the Public Service Alliance of Canada, which makes a pretence of being a legitimate trade union, and is aided and abetted in that pretence by the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC).

The PSAC with its 110,000 members should be setting a militant example for other public service groups to aim at in bargaining. The PSAC, however, falls short of setting such an example so that the difficult task falls to the lot of the much smaller unions in the postal service. In fact, the PSAC gives every indication of colluding with the Staff Relations Board. This fact became fairly obvious in a decision affecting part time employees in the post office.

Part time employees, as part of the postal service,

naturally fall into the jurisdiction of the CUPW and were already in the process of joining that organization. But the Staff Relations Board, which is in reality an arm of the Treasury Board—the employer in this in-



stance—awarded the jurisdiction to the PSAC. The reason given by the board for this strange act was that CUPW had been critical of government policy in the hiring of part time employees therefore "these employees could not be adequately represented by the CUPW." The obvious warning is do not criticize the government.

The PSAC had the open opportunity to act like a trade union and refuse certification on the grounds the jurisdiction belonged to CUPW. But the PSAC leaders chose to act quite differently. When part time employees continued to sign up with CUPW the PSAC lodged a charge of raiding with the CLC. The umpire appointed by the CLC upheld the charge and the CUPW was threatened with suspension if it persisted in signing up the workers concerned. In this way both the CLC and the PSAC gave support to the position of the Staff Relations Board that criticism of government policy is sufficient grounds for denial of certification.

The PSAC has further undermined the bargaining position of the entire public service group by signing six sub-standard contracts covering 7,500 supervisory and non-supervisory employees in each of three categories. Wages and conditions established in these contracts are far below what the postal employees are prepared to settle for.

The PSAC leaders have not listened to warnings but have pressed on with their activities. Unable to get settlement of contracts for the rest of their members these so-called "union leaders" have requested binding arbitration, an act in direct defiance of all the principles adhered to and fought for by the real trade unionists.

Having thus set the stage for a settlement on any basis the government—the employer—desire the leaders of the PSAC press on to set the stage for scabbing on a possible strike by postal workers thus immeasurably weakening the present bargaining position of that group. The PSAC achieve their ends by appearing to protest their use as strikebreakers but actually are attempting to justify such actions before they happen.

Claude Edwards, president of PSAC, according to a report in the Ottawa Citizen, addressed a letter to the Treasury Board setting forth his opinion that "essential services must be maintained" but requested that non-striking employees not be asked to do work of those engaged on a "legal strike." To this the Board replied, again according to the Ottawa Citizen, that they agreed on the maintenance of "essential service" but on the question of strikebreaking "any decision would have to be taken in the light of the circumstances of the time and with the best interests of the public services in mind."

Armed with this decision Edwards informed the CLC convention his union would be "legally bound" to cross the picket line in the event of a strike. He then proceeded to throw the onus on the postal employees and, in effect, told them they would have to act like ruffians if they wanted their picket line respected by the PSAC. Edwards stated: "non-strikers should not be expected to cross picket lines where they were exposed to physical injury or, in the case of female employees, abusive or profane language or other indignities. So Edwards says it the postal employees will only become violent he may try to act like a union man—of course, when the police arrest the picketers for illegal activities Edwards will feel free to scab since there is no picket line.

The whole of Edwards activities in this situation are such that he could only be labelled "anti-union" and read out of the labour movement. The outcome, however is quite different. Instead of being driven out Edwards is supported and rewarded by those in high places in the union movement.

THE CLC

In view of the record, one has the right to expect that the CLC would condemn the anti-union actions of Edwards and his colleagues and support the firm and militant position of the postal employees. The result, however, has been entirely opposite to this correct policy.

As already noted, the CLC executive upheld the complaint of the PSAC against the CUPW on the question of part-time employees and even went so far as threatening the postal union with "disciplinary action." And this was by no means the end of their support for Edwards. The CLC establishment included Edwards name on the official slate at the convention and caused him to be elected to one of the posts of the General vice-President.

This not only constituted an undermining of the militant position of the postal workers, it also made hollow mockery of their threat to go all out in a fight to defeat the compulsory arbitration features of British Columbia's Bill 33. How can the CLC hope to convince anyone they are really serious about their threat when they vigorously defend a leading proponent of voluntary acceptance of binding arbitration, one who announces he will cross picket lines because it would be "illegal" to refuse, and even elect him to an honored post on the Congress executive? By this act, by placing his name on the official slate, the executive officers in the congress in effect endorsed his openly announced position which includes arbitration and scabbing.

It should be stated that the officers by no means reflected the sentiments of all the convention delegates. There is very outstanding evidence to the contrary.

Following receipt of a letter to William Kay, pres-

ident of CUPW, informing him the postal union was under official sanction from the Congress, a resolution was introduced to the conventions calling for condemnation of PSAC tactics. Edwards was unsuccessful in his efforts to prevent debate and there were expressions of support for CUPW.

The Ottawa Journal of May 7 1968 summed up the general outlook of most convention delegates as follows:

"The PSAC, which joined the CLC only a year ago, is decidedly among the least militant of the country's unions. In all negotiations with the government to date, the PSAC has chosen the compulsory arbitration route to dispute settlement, rather than conciliation—strike. This policy is anathema to most of the other unions. Their feeling is that a union as big and potentially powerful as the PSAC should lead the way toward more militant unionism in Canada."

S.W. Buzzell, convention delegate from Hamilton said, "Any organization which chooses compulsory arbitration to settle difference isn't a union and shouldn't be a part of the CLC."

A United Steeworkers delegate put it in a more earthy fashion when he said: "If they're not willing to burn up a bit of shoe leather on the picket line then they have no bloody business in the CLC."

THE FUTURE

The state officialdom at all levels from Federal down to municipal, are extremely difficult to deal with under the most favourable circumstances. Even given most of the advantages the postal unions would still have a hard time extracting anything resembling a

decent contract from the Treasury Board. Now their fight has been rendered a thousand times more difficult as a result of the anti-union activities of Edwards and his crew. The government will stall negotiations and the conciliation procedure until the binding arbitration decision is handed down. Following this the postal unions will be given the ultimatum "accept or else" and waiting in the wings, helping put the pressure on, will be Edwards and his wreckers, ready and willing to cross picket lines and scab.

The impression conveyed to convention delegates that unions will likely face the first big struggle against compulsory arbitration in B.C. against Bill 33, is an erroneous one. The first test will very likely arise out of postal negotiations and they will be faced with the challenge because of the actions of one of their own affiliates. The way to face up to that pending struggle is to condemn most vigorously the PSAC tactics and order them to take all possible steps to change their course. Edwards, president of PSAC, should be told he will be expected to live up to trade union principles or resign from the congress executive. As the workers in the west say: "Shape up or ship out."

The postal workers are facing a difficult struggle and an almost inevitable strike situation, no effort must be spared in order to ensure maximum support for their cause — the cause of all trade unions — a proper collective bargaining process and a decent contract. On the outcome could hinge the decision for the immediate future, whether or not all public service employees in Canada will become a real and effective part of the labour movement.

C.L.C. CONVENTION RESULTS

At least one positive accomplishment was chalked up at the Toronto convention of the Canadian Labour Congress — a 25 per cent increase in salaries of paid officials. The increase puts these officials in the 20,000 dollar bracket and insulates them still further from the everyday economic problems of millions of grossly underpaid working people. The increases alone (approx. \$5000) is more than the average Canadian worker makes in a year.

Beyond looking after their own immediate interests there was little of lasting significance achieved by Congress officials. Virtually all of the most important problems confronting the delegates were not resolved and, accordingly handed back for decision to the very people who have led the C.L.C. to its present sorry state of disarray. In some quarters this is being hailed as a great victory for "unity." Only those who think that the interests of the labour movement are best served by a failure to arrive at definite conclusions and solutions could believe that the convention marked a victory for "labour unity."

The only real facts cited as evidence of unity and progress are, the election of Gerard Rancourt over the establishment candidate, Romeo Mathieu, and removal of the ban on the Communist Party from the Congress constitution.

Certainly the victory of Rancourt over Mathieu prevented the split between the Quebec Federation and Congress officials from becoming wider while the convention was still in session, but it did nothing to solve the conflict. The same people who brought the dissen-

sion to the stage of sharpness it had reached when the convention was called to order are still dominating Congress affairs. Those who think the election of Rancourt will make any substantial difference seem to forget there were two Quebec delegates who ably represent the views of the Quebec Federation on the last executive, yet they failed to prevent the problems presented by Quebec's demand for autonomy from reaching the crisis point. At best, the accomplishment of the convention on this point could be said to be making progress by standing still.

Removal of the ban on the Communist Party constitutes no more than a recognition of a situation already existing. The faction now in control of the C.P. has long since made peace with the American bureaucracy and proven their loyalty to the cause. The decision does not mark a leftward turn on the part of Congress officials, it merely takes official note of the far right position of the C.P. leaders. The decision could only be seen as "left" in relation to the Meany-Lovestone position which is to the right of the current policy of the U.S. ruling class. In any event, the final decision rests with the affiliates which are a majority U.S. dominated and still retain the anti-communist clauses in their constitutions.

The really important problems which confronted convention delegates were: (1) Union structure and a code of ethics. (2) Relations with the Quebec Federation of Labour (QFL) and the extent of Congress authority in Quebec. (3) The no-raiding pact concluded between the QFL and the Quebec-based Canadian

National Trade Unions (CNTU). What the convention did on these issues is the real measure of its success or failure.

REPORT ON STRUCTURE

A great number of our younger trade unionists are of the opinion that the problem of structure is a new one to the labour movement. This is far from the truth. Structure has been an organizational problem for more than fifty years, it has just become more critical due to the greater concentration and monopolization of industry.

The problem, although difficult to eliminate, is simple to grasp. It is just that there are far too many unions going their separate ways on most questions including negotiations. Many unionists who have expressed opinions on the matter think that the several hundred unions in Canada should be reduced to 15 or 20 national bargaining units.

The stumbling block in the way of a solution lies mainly in the opposition generated by the bureaucrats in the American craft unions. The long-established machines in the building trades unions and the railroad brotherhoods are particularly adamant in their opposition and exercise in the central labour councils a control far in excess of their numerical strength. The only way a meaningful change could be achieved in union structure would be in a confrontation with the most conservative, and most powerful of the American unions and this, as becomes clear later in the report of the Commission and structure, the Congress is not prepared to undertake.

On this question the Commission did no more than offer "suggestions" and pious recommendations which craft union delegates voted for to maintain a facade of "unity" knowing full well they could never be implemented over their opposition. The result was little more than a repeat of the 1966 convention when rank and file delegate demands forced the leadership to establish the commission as a means of taking the decision out of the hands of the delegates. There is little reason to expect that the next convention will see any real change unless rank and file action develops in the meantime.

ON 'INTERNATIONAL' UNIONS

At a moment in our history when workers are fighting more firmly than ever before for an independent Canadian movement, the commission on structure presented a lengthy and spirited defense of American unions in Canada, without a challenge being offered. This is one indication of how far removed the Congress leadership is from the rank and file. It may be that some delegates feared to challenge U.S. domination because it might encourage Quebec demands for greater autonomy.

A number of outright distortions of fact were incorporated into the commission report and apparently went by without being questioned. For example:

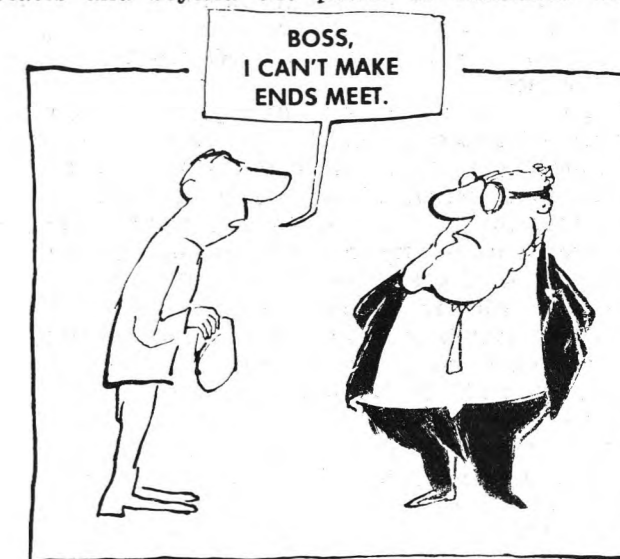
"Canadians are able to meet the demands of international union solidarity and Canadian autonomy without becoming schizophrenic."

Canadians are **not** able to meet the demands of international solidarity which requires contact and mutual support for the trade unions of all countries. We are confined to association with unions acceptable to the AFL-CIO and its international plaything, the ICFIU.

"The relationship between the CLC and the AFL-CIO . . . is a fraternal, not a structural relationship. It is the same kind of relationship which the Congress

enjoys with many other central labour bodies throughout the free trade union world."

The relationship is not the same, and the Congress officials are well aware of that fact. That phrase, "free trade union world" is itself indicative of U.S. domination. The commission members know, as everyone knows, that decisions taken in the United States and beyond the power of Canadian workers



to influence, are automatically applicable to Canada. In any event, no matter how much the Congress executive may play at being "autonomous", it is the Congress constituents that really count, and they are firmly controlled in the U.S. The fact that the U.S. union bosses sometimes lengthen the leash a little is no proof of "autonomy" or freedom. They can shorten it again anytime they want.

The Commission report makes it clear that Congress is not only in favour of a continuation of U.S. domination over our movement, but that they actually support the Reuther plan of giant U.S.-dominated, world-girding unions, to parallel U.S. domination of the world. This the Commission states openly in the following passage:

"... the most successful way to compete with giant international corporations is to face them with the countervailing power of international unions. At times . . . they must be confronted . . . sometimes, around the conference table which brings unions together from many countries."

The message is loud and clear. Accept the fact of U.S. economic domination of the world, through international monopolies and bargain with them by means of a collaborationist union movement that is essentially imperialist in structure and ideology.

Congress has accepted the "autonomy" gambit designed by the C.P. leadership, along with those leaders themselves. Many Canadian unionists will be surprised to learn that the blessings of this autonomy are already with us in large measure. We scarcely noticed the difference.

The right of a worker to change from one union to another—in essence, to change from a U.S. union to an independent Canadian union—was still further curtailed in a recommendation to stiffen the ban on "dual unionism." In the main organized industries the worker must belong to the union holding the certification—out of the union means out of work. This means that workers cannot build openly toward an independent Canadian union taking over certification. To do so would mean being fired. This is the policy maintained by all the U.S.-dominated unions in order to prevent a mass desertion to Canadian unions and this policy is now written into the CLC constitution. The QFL agreement with the CNTU, that a worker should be free to change unions without fear or discrimination was the main reason why the no-raiding pact was unacceptable to the Congress and the American unions.

For all its left-sounding phrases the report on constitution and structure in reality strengthened the hold of the most conservative elements and, in the name of "internationalism," turned the Congress into an even more pliant branch office of the AFL-CIO. All the brave talk of "autonomy" was really nothing more than sugar to sweeten the medicine.

RELATIONS WITH QFL

The question of Quebec rights was the most explosive one before the convention and the one most likely to lead to a split. In fact, there was a demonstrative walkout on the part of the Quebec delegates over the way the question was dealt with.

When the Quebec resolution on "autonomy" came up for discussion the first speaker was William Mahoney, Canadian director of the United Steelworkers, who is opposed to Quebec rights. Immediately after the conclusion of Mahoney's speech another Steelworker delegate, speaking at a special microphone, moved the "previous question," a motion which was railroaded through effectively cutting off debate while 10 or 15 Quebec delegates were waiting to be heard.

By these bureaucratic means the Quebec demand for more 'autonomy' was defeated. Election of the candidate hand-picked by the establishment would, under these circumstances, have led to an open break right at the convention. In electing Rancourt the main body of delegates showed considerably more sense than the bureaucrats in efforts to keep the Congress together. The truly surprising element was that the CLC officials were still able to get support of more than a third of the delegates for their suicidal proposals.

This question has only been shelved, not settled by the convention delegates. In the days ahead, as political and economic pressures build up, it is sure to erupt in more virulent form. When the eruption does come it will arise as a confrontation between the Congress executive and the Quebec Federation. Without a convention to manoeuvre with and to obscure the issues Congress will be forced to act in an administrative way thus increasing the tension and heightening the dif-

ferences. The possibility of a permanent split is greater now than it has ever been in the past.

"NO-RAIDING" PACT

Central to the problem of Quebec "autonomy" was the pact on "raiding" concluded between the QFL and the CNTU. The Congress executive had declared the pact void on the basis that such matters could only be handled by Congress. Battle lines were being drawn up on this issue and the convention well on the way to a break when a private agreement between Congress and the Quebec delegates was arrived at which took the problem off the agenda. Reports have it that the so-called "left" played an important role in bringing this about.

Again, the developments on this question have been hailed as a great victory for "labour unity." Nothing could be farther from the truth. The decision destroyed what had already been achieved in the way of achieving unity between the QFL and the CNTU and returned Congress and the QFL to a long-standing basis of conflict over the Quebec situation.

The "off-the-floor agreement" set aside the pact concluded between the QFL and the CNTU and put future negotiations under joint control of Congress and the QFL. Anyone who imagines this is a step toward unity, and in the direction of a solution to the Quebec problem, is simply ignoring the fact that Congress negotiated with the CNTU for ten years and got absolutely no place.

Congress is limited to working for all unionists to go into "established jurisdictions" which would mean the demise of the CNTU and the extension of the domination of U.S. unions in Quebec. Congress officials, dominated as they are by the U.S. craft unions, will certainly not agree to workers having the right to change unions without interference. There will be no agreement in Quebec under Congress leadership and the old problems will all arise again, but in an intensified form.

CONCLUSIONS

Although hard-pressed to achieve it the convention managed to maintain the facade of "unity." But this 'unity' is a myth, it does not exist in reality—especially in Quebec. The convention upheld the domination by the U.S. unions at a time when the fight for an independent Canadian union movement is reaching new heights and scoring new victories. This was accomplished with the aid of the pseudo-left who obscured the real issues with their cries of "Canadian autonomy."

It will not be possible for long to obscure the real issues in Quebec. The Congress officials will soon be called on to begin negotiations with the CNTU at which time their real plans will soon become apparent. The QFL, whose members are clamouring for a "no-raiding" pact and closer relations with the CNTU, may soon have to act in defiance of Congress just as they did previously and thus reintroduce the elements of split.

The most desirable outcome, so far as we are concerned, would be a re-endorsement of the "no-raiding" pact previously agreed to and ultimate unity between the QFL and the CNTU. A united trade union movement in Quebec, freed from U.S. domination, would give tremendous impetus to the fight for an independent Canadian trade union movement. It is this objective the real left should fight for. So-called "unity" in the Congress is a myth—the reality is U.S. domination. On with the struggle for an independent Canadian trade union movement.

DEMONSTRATORS SUPPORT THE N.L.F.

Editor's note: The following article is included to show that Canadians are moving toward a position of support for the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front. For those of you who wish to express your solidarity with the NLF, we will gladly accept donations and forward them directly to the National Liberation Front.

Toronto: With the war against U.S. aggression raging in Vietnam and the imperialists concocting a new peace fraud designed to rob the Vietnamese people of their just demands, the Communist Party called on the pacifists, anti-communist liberals, and hippies to join in a "Sunshine Teach-in" at Queen's Park. "Peace" they announced, "is a family affair." Their obvious goal was to keep the pressure off the U.S. Consulate because, in their view, the imperialists have now shown themselves to be reasonable peacemakers. The Trotskyites hoisted the banner of "unity" and worked out a complementary plan to draw more militants into the Queen's Park debacle. They proposed to walk from City Hall to Queen's Park by way of the U.S. Consulate. (What you might call a militant "look-in.")

The Toronto-based group "Canadians for the National Liberation Front" decided to march from City Hall under the NLF banner and with anti-imperialist slogans to the U.S. consulate for a militant demonstration. They also planned to leaflet the other demonstrations with a criticism of the blah-blah teach-in and the Trotskyite "march past." However, the CNLF was attacked at the Consulate by the cops, who were protecting a small gang of fascists headed by John Beattie, Canada's pip-squeak Nazi. The police attack began when a CNLF member drew a U.S. flag from a paper sack. Several police pounced on the man at once. Clearly the cops were determined to prevent any militant actions at the U.S. Consulate (something with which the Trots and Communist Party are in full agreement.) City cops on horseback continuously drove into the crowd and nine demonstrators were arrested while Beattie's entourage continued to picket in support of the U.S. During this melee the Trotskyite marshalls, working closely with the cops, urged the demonstrators to leave the struggle and those arrested and go "on to Queen's Park."

The enraged demonstrators regrouped at Queen's



Park, spread the word of the police attack, collected bail money from the crowd (over the objection of the CP), and organized a return march to the consulate

(over the objection of the Trotskyites.) Disgust with the Queen's Park double-talk was an important motivating factor in their decision. Six hundred strong, they set out for the U.S. consulate. They went first to the police station (precinct 52) and demanded the release of their comrades. (Inside the jail those arrested sang "The East is Red" and shouted "Down with U.S. imperialism.") While the Trotskyites were wringing their hands and the C.P. revisionists were muttering "CIA agents" (like the thief who cries "stop thief") the demonstrators, under the flag of the NLF marched back to the U.S. consulate where they chanted "Victory to the NLF" and "Yankee Go Home." That evening over 100 people attended a CNLF party to see the new NLF film "Victory Will Be Ours" and hear from those who had been released on bail.

FIGHTING CALL MADE BY N.L.F.

The Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation has issued an appeal to all compatriots and fighters in south Vietnam, according to the Giai Phong Press Agency.

The appeal, dated May 6, 1968, reads in part as follows:

Dear compatriots and fighters,
The gunfire of our simultaneous attacks has again rung out in Saigon, Hue, Da Nang, and many other towns and cities, in district capitals, and at military headquarters, key organs, military bases, airfields, and storages of the United States and its puppets on all battlefields from Quang Tri province to the Cape of Ca Mau.

Our army and people are dealing thunder blows at the United States and its puppets and have performed new, extremely glorious exploits, meeting out due punishment to the perpetrators of countless crimes against our people.

The whole south Vietnam, inspired by the fresh victories, is dashing forward.

The whole south Vietnam is rocking under the gunfire of the offensive and rising up in a seething determination to fight and win.

Dear compatriots and fighters,
Since the start of the general offensive and widespread attacks mounted by our armed forces and people early this spring, the U.S. aggressors' ultimate defeat has become a foregone conclusion. But, obdurate as they are, the U.S. aggressors have not given up their aggressive designs against our country.

Along with their crafty manoeuvres, they continue to intensify their war of aggression, sending additional troops and weapons, pouring in more money, feverishly drafting more troops, and conducting a series of oper-

ations to massacre our people and destroy our villages and towns.

However, the determination of our entire people and army remains unshakable: so long as the U.S. goes on with its aggression in south Vietnam, we are resolved to fight and defeat them.

We decidedly refuse to be enslaved again and lose our country again. Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom. The goal of the just struggle of the front is quite clear. The situation is developing in our favour.

The U.S. imperialist aggressors and their henchmen — the Thieu-Ky clique — are being driven into ever tighter straits. The complete defeat of the U.S. aggressors, the collapse and disintegration of the Thieu-Ky puppet army and administration are unavoidable.

Dear compatriots and fighters,

In these hours of the valiant and glorious struggle of our entire people, let us clearly grasp firmly our revolution's objectives. With our iron-like determination and limitless efforts, let us courageously overcome all difficulties and hardships, and brave all sacrifices. Let us mount repeated attacks and fight vigorously to defeat the U.S. aggressors, overthrow the puppets, win back total power for the people, wrest back independence, national sovereignty and freedom, and bring happiness to the entire people.

MORE COAL DEALS

A second contract for delivery of coal to Japan has been concluded at a conference in Tokyo with Japanese steel interests and a third deal is in the making.

The latest deal for the delivery of 50 million tons of metallurgical coal, worth over 200 million dollars, to be shipped in a 15-year period, was concluded with Luscar Co. of Alberta and its American partner, Consolidation Coal Corp. of Pittsburg. The head of Luscar is Britain's Sir Harold Mitchell who changed his domicile to Bermuda after nationalization of the British coal fields. Sir Harold's experience in stripping the wealth from a coal seam in Britain and leaving behind a blighted and depressed region, will probably be of outstanding benefit to the company in its drive to extract maximum profits from Alberta coal seams. US-controlled McIntyre Porcupine mines of Toronto hopes to reach agreement for delivery of 45 million tons in a 15-year period from its coking coal deposits in Alberta's Smoky River district. Included in this deal is the building of a railway into the area at an estimated cost of 100 million dollars with the Alberta provincial government assuming all the financial risks—in the name of the people, of course.

Already in operation is the Coleman Collieries con-

tract for delivery of 13 million tons of coking coal on which Alberta is already paying a railway subvention in order to guarantee low freight rates on the CPR main line to Vancouver.

Shipment of coal and other minerals through the port of Vancouver is expected to reach enormous proportions in the next five to seven years. Coal, potash and other mineral deposits are being contracted abroad by U.S. firms at an alarming rate. Any idea that this will lead to a sizeable increase in employment opportunities for Canadian workers is a myth. These American monopolies are not philanthropic institutions concerned for the welfare of the people—they are industrial giants in search of maximum profits on investments. There will be a maximum use of giant sophisticated machines, and a minimum use of manpower. Railways, for example are spending millions on the development of "ghost trains" of up to 500 cars using electronically-run locomotive and manned by a single crew and these crews have already been reduced to an absolute minimum.

The U.S. monopolies will profit to the utmost—the people of Canada will be left in possession of a series of holes in the ground to remind them that money hungry profiteers have passed this way.

STEEL, MINE-MILL MERGER IN TROUBLE

The Ontario section of the Mine-Mill Steel merger is in deep trouble as a result of a ruling handed down by the Ontario Supreme Court. Justice J. M. King, in his judgement released at Osgoode Hall, ruled that the merger agreement concluded in April 1967 is not binding on the Mine-Mill local at Sudbury nor on its assets of \$2.5 million.

In the referendum held in August 5, 122 voted for merger while 2,522 voted against. In local 598 at Sudbury the majority was against the merger. Confronted with a rejection of their scheme the Murphyites performed a deed they had been condemning as undemocratic for many years—they ousted a properly-elected executive and installed a trusteeship to force the merger on the unwilling workers. Justice King ruled that the trusteeship was void and not provided for in the constitution of Mine-Mill. But with \$2.5 million up for grabs who cares about constitutions?

The judgement noted that the officers of the Sudbury local were not merely suspended pending trial, but were informed by telegram that their offices had been declared vacant and that an administrator had been appointed. This high-handed act was undoubtedly one of the tests the Murphyites had to pass in order to qualify for posts in the Steel bureaucracy.

Robert Keiver, president of the Trail, B.C., local, said the merger was the best thing that had happened to the local. "Any court judgement that says we do not have the right to be together is absolutely ignoring the right of our workers to bargain more effectively with our company," Keiver declared. Here Keiver displays a fine disregard for the rights of those who do not want to practice "togetherness" with the American bureaucracy, but choose instead to stand together in an Independent Canadian Union.

Larry Sefton, director of Steelworkers' District 6, announced that the decision would be appealed, and stated, "As far as the Steelworkers are concerned this is a completely unrealistic decision." Canadian workers wonder if Sefton is for real!



"I CAN'T STAND TO SEE AN EMPLOYEE OF OURS EXIST ON SUCH LOW WAGES... YOU'RE FIRED!"

ON EXPLOITATION—TWO VIEWPOINTS

When Engels wrote his articles on the housing question in 1872 he commented on the question of buying and selling in the market place, and their relationship to exploitation, in these words: "The cornerstone of the capitalist mode of production is . . . the fact that our present social order enables the capitalist to buy labour power of the worker at its value, but to extract from it much more than its value by making the worker work longer than is necessary in order to reproduce the price paid for the labour power. The surplus value produced in this fashion is divided among the whole class of capitalists and landowners . . ."

" . . . In so far as this distribution takes place by buying and selling, one of its chief methods is the cheating of the buyer by the seller; and in retail trade, particularly in the big cities, this has become an absolute condition of existence for the seller. When, however, the worker is cheated by his grocer or his baker, either in regard to the price or the quality of the merchandise, this does not happen to him in his specific capacity as a worker. On the contrary, as soon as a certain average measure of cheating has become the social rule in any place, it must in the long run be adjusted by a corresponding increase in wages. The worker appears before the shopkeeper as a buyer, that is, as an owner of money or credit, and hence not at all in his capacity as a worker that is, as a seller of labour. The cheating may hit him, and the poorer class as a whole, harder than it hits the richer social classes, but it is not an evil which hits him exclusively, which is peculiar to his class."

This passage from the well-known work of the co-worker of Karl Marx, is quite explicit in its meaning. The worker is exploited at the point of production and not as a buyer of commodities in the market place. Rather it is as a seller—the seller of his own labour power—that he is exploited.

The thesis here expounded would not become changed or modified simply because the market has become highly concentrated and controlled by a small and powerful group of merchants. The fact still remains that the exploitation of the worker takes place in the mills and mines and not in the grocery shop.

It would seem that this is an easily understood point which could readily be grasped by anyone with even an elementary knowledge of Marxism. Never the less we have a graduate student of Moscow's Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, who is a leading "theoretician" in the Communist Party of Canada, stating an absolutely contrary point of view.

Alf Dewhurst, national director of trade union work for the Party, writing in the Canadian Tribune, disputes Engels thesis in this passage.

" . . . 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. . . "

Now we have no objection to Mr. Dewhurst taking issue with Engels, or anyone else, and correcting their errors. But surely, on a question so important as how workers are exploited and consequently, how they must end exploitation, (as Engels says: "This exploitation is the basic evil which the social revolution wants to abolish by abolishing the capitalist mode of production.") Mr. Dewhurst must realize that he owes his readers something in the way of an explanation as to why he considers Engels to have erred on this question, or why his views on the matter require modification. We will be looking forward to a reading of Mr Dewhurst's thesis on how exploitation is extended to the market place. Of particular interests, we are sure, will be his explanation of how the exploiter exploits himself when he appears in his own market place as a buyer. That should make for a pretty fair study in revisionist "dialectics."

THE AMERICAN WAY OF STRIFE

The article below appeared as an editorial in Liberty Magazine, journal of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. It concerns a subject of complaint all too familiar in Canada and requires no comment

This year the nation commemorates the centenary of the birth of two great Irish Patriots and fighters in the cause of social justice—James Conolly and Countess Markievicz.

Both were closely associated with the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union and participated to the full in the struggle of 1913 in defense of the rights of Irish workers to join the Union and to have a say in the determination of their wages and conditions of employment.

It seems incredible that 55 years after the successful conclusion of that epic struggle thousands of Irish workers are still denied these fundamental, Constitutional rights.

It is no comfort to the workers directly concerned and to all who value human freedom that this depriva-

tion of inalienable rights is being perpetrated not by Irish employers but by foreign industrialists operating here.

Indeed the injustice is all the more intolerable by reason of the facts that those responsible represent major industrial interests in the United States, that they have received substantial grants from the Government and that by their attitudes and activities they have already impaired Irish-American relations in many respects.

Our people and our Government must now regard these attitudes and activities not only in the light of their impact on the industries and workers concerned but also—and more important still—on the possible political consequences of American intervention or interference in other parts of the world.

However it may for others, it is certain that this Union and the entire Irish Trade Union Movement will resist to the utmost any and every attempt to destroy that for which James Conolly and Countess Markievicz worked and fought and died.

NEWS FROM GUYANA

In a series of articles in the 'Mirror' former Prime Minister Cheddi Jagan exposes the deteriorating conditions in Guyana under the government of L.F.S. Burnham, which has followed a neo-colonial policy some since taking power with the aid of British armed forces. Since Burnham was elevated to the post of authority independence for the former British colonial possession of Guiana has meant little more than a switch from an orientation on British imperialism to economic domination of U.S. monopolies. Canada has more than a passing interest in Guyanese events. Aside from the fact the people of Guyana are struggling against the same forms of U.S. domination as we ourselves, there is the additional fact that a large share of the exploitation of Guyana is effected through the American-owned Aluminum Company of Canada (Alcoa) which controls a major portion of Guyanese bauxite deposits.

Jagan points to a disastrous decline in the rate of economic growth as startling evidence of the worsening economic situation. In 1967 the net increase in economic growth after allowing for a 3 per cent population increase and a 3 and one half price increase, was one half per cent. In his budget speech the Minister of Finance forecast a further decline in private investment during 1968, especially with the end of expansion in the bauxite-alumina industry and no aluminum smelter construction in sight for Guyana since the major produces are already committed to smelter construction elsewhere.

The economic consequences of neo-colonialism place an increasing burden of taxation on the people with no corresponding improvement in the area of social benefits — in fact, increased taxation is accompanied by a deterioration in social benefits. For example, there is a critical shortage of hospital beds in the capital city of Georgetown, with 2500 urgently needed to fill immediate requirements. There is no government vaccination programme and only a small percentage of children are vaccinated against such communicable diseases as polio, diphtheria, smallpox, etc. Education facilities are inadequate and exorbitant fees are often charged children seeking education.

The Guyanese government scheduled a total of \$287 million on a 7-year development plan (1966-1972) but no more than \$ 107 million was being made available in the 3-year period to 1968. Britain and the United States are the main sources of grants and loans. Because they are presently in serious financial difficulties, they are unlikely to maintain the same rate of financial commitments as they have over the past three years. U.S. foreign aid has already been drastically curtailed and additional cuts are being proposed. It is clear that the planned targets will not be reached in Guyana.

Guyana is rapidly sinking into a position where borrowing will not be for development but only for the repayment of loans already made and spent. Latin American countries are already in that situation. In 1956 those countries borrowed \$ 450 million, but had to pay that same amount as debt charges for loans falling due.

The economic squeeze in which countries like Guyana are caught can be seen in price rise comparisons. From 1938 to 1959, the general U.S. price level rose by 138 per cent. In the same period bauxite produced in the United States doubled in price. Yet the

price of bauxite imported into the U.S. from Surinam and British Guiana remained virtually unchanged. The fact that prices of imported bauxite were held dead level did not prevent the monopolies from raising aluminum prices, which increased by 78 per cent between 1948 and 1959.

The end result of fixed prices for raw materials while prices of finished goods increased rapidly means that countries dependent on raw materials export are paying up to ten times more for imports compared to prices ten years. Cocoa beans fell from 58 cents per pound in 1956 to 28 cents in 1963. This was a period during which there were spectacular increases in the prices of U.S. produced goods.

In 1960 the imbalance in trade between rich and poor countries was \$4,000 million (the disadvantage to the "poor" countries) and is expected to reach \$ 20,000 million by 1970. Britain alone benefitted to the tune of \$3,000 million a year between 1957 and 1963.

The imperialists make glib speeches about the need for so-called "poor countries" to indulge in self-help programs. But they fail to acknowledge that the nations are "poor" only because they are being robbed unmercifully by the imperialist investors aided by neo-colonialist puppet regimes. Not self-help but an end to imperialist domination and exploitation is what the required solution to the ills of the "poor" nations. Proof of this can be found in a comparison of China and India. These two countries have many things in common including the achievement of independence at approximately the same time. China has prospered and advanced in an atmosphere of genuine independence and the stability of a socialist economy. But India chose the path of neo-colonialism and suffers the consequences of imperialists exploitation. In India millions are perishing from starvation and the national economy is stagnating. China, on the other hand, has plenty of food and an expanding economy.

Canada has an important lesson to learn from the results of imperialist domination in Guyana. We suffer from precisely the same domination and are almost as much dependent on the export of low-priced raw materials and the import of high-priced goods from the United States. As the crisis of U.S. imperialism deepens our economy is sure to suffer serious blows and economic decline will become a problem of increasing seriousness and proportions.

We share a common problem with Guyana and other such countries — imperialist exploitation. Our common problem demands that we make common cause in the battle against the imperialist enemy.



INDONESIA UNDER FASCISM

The following is a continuation of the report on Indonesia begun a few issues ago.

Ever since the fascist clique of generals succeeded temporarily, in seizing power with the support of the CIA and its agents, it has openly served U.S. imperialism in its policies of aggression and war in Southeast Asia and acted as the hatchetman for U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism in opposing China. It has betrayed the Indonesian people's struggle of confrontation to "Malaysia" and even worked closely together with "Malaysia" to suppress the struggle of the people of North Kalimantan for national independence.

The regime has worked slavishly for a long time for the establishment of an anti-Communist and anti-China alliance in Southeast Asia, together with other puppets of U.S. imperialism like the regimes of the Philippines, Thailand, "Malaysia" and Singapore.

The reactionary alliance was finally knocked into existence as a result of the four-day conference in Bangkok from August 5 to 8 (1967), at which they announced the formation of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN).

The members of this counter-revolutionary alliance took great pains to hide its reactionary nature in its declaration after the meeting, by stating deceptively that the "aims and purpose" of the alliance were "to promote active collaboration and mutual assistance on matters of common interest in the economic, social, technical, scientific and administrative fields."

But later on, the statements and practice of the members of the participating countries disclosed that this ASEAN is nothing but the twin brother of the SEATO and part of U.S. imperialism's ring of encirclement around China.

The Indonesian rightwing papers admitted in many of their articles and comments that this ASEAN was "going to make joint efforts" to defend the so-called "security and stability of South East Asia." They even alleged that ASEAN would become an "association for defensive cooperation" with its spearhead directed at China.

While all the time feigning "anti-imperialist line," the fascist generals consolidate their relations with other puppets and running dogs of imperialism such as the Chiang Kai-shek gang, Thailand, South Korea, South Vietnam, Burma, and Japan.

This fascist clique of generals is not only making trade deals with the Chiang Kai-shek gang as a source of corruption and manipulation for their own benefit, but is also engaged in an extensive collusion with it, by overt and covert means, to oppose the People's Republic of China and to suppress the patriotic overseas Chinese in Indonesia.

The fascist Suharto-Nasution regime has found in the fascist regime of Ne Win of Burma a new friend. Recently they exchanged "experiences and lessons" as to how to launch anti-China and anti-Chinese campaigns, as a means to earn more U.S. dollars and divert the attention of the people from the struggle and from the sharpening class contradictions in their respective countries.

Facts bear witness to the truth that the Suharto-Nasution fascist clique is merely another running dog of U.S. imperialism. And all kinds of efforts have been resorted to by this clique to serve their master better. This is reflected also in their foreign policy and their

practices abroad.

Therefore, it is not accidental that many generals are appointed as ambassadors in various important places, especially round China. Where the ambassador is not a military man, the fascist clique of generals sends as many brasshats as possible as members of that embassy. By so doing the fascist generals' clique has a tight control also in the diplomatic field.

According to the statement of the "foreign minister" Adam Malik in the bogus parliament, up to middle of 1967 there were 39 Indonesian ambassadors abroad, out of which 20 were military men (most of them generals). Out of the 39 ambassadors 28 are non-career ambassadors, and out of this 28 non-career ambassadors 20 are military ambassadors, while only 8 are from political parties.

Around China, the fascist clique of generals appointed generals, ambassadors and heads of missions to: Thailand, Burma, Cambodia, the Philippines, Japan, Hongkong, Australia, "Malaysia", and Singapore.

The fascist military clique also appointed generals as ambassadors in other important places namely: the United Arab Republic, United Kingdom, France, Yugoslavia, Netherlands, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Italy, and Switzerland.

It is understandable that the ambassadorial appointments by the clique of generals in Southeast Asia and around China is not without purpose. Its purpose is quite clear indeed. It serves to facilitate the service offered by Suharto-Nasution's clique to US imperialism in its efforts to form a new Holy Alliance against China, against revolution and against the people.

They dream that by forming this counter-revolutionary alliance they will be able to check the revolutionary movement of the peoples of India, Burma, Laos, Thailand, Malaya, Vietnam, the Philippines, Indonesia, North Kalimantan and other peoples. In these regions the people's struggles are vigorously surging ahead, steadily growing and becoming more and more powerful. Over this vast area, the revolutionary peoples are taking up arms and are locked in life-and-death struggles against US imperialism and its agents.

THE ANTI-CHINA AND ANTI-CHINESE CAMPAIGN

After its seizure of power by staging the counter-revolutionary coup d'etat the fascist Suharto-Nasution regime has launched an anti-China and anti-Chinese campaign on an unprecedented scale and of the most barbaric and inhuman nature.

It is by no means accidental that this fascist military clique has frantically stirred up the most dirty racism by persecuting Chinese nationals and opposing China. It is in line with its needs in its domestic affairs and foreign policy.

The fascist generals are trying to extricate themselves from their difficulties at home and abroad by attacking the Chinese nationals and China. It is the result of the internal anti-communist and anti-people policy pursued by the fascist military regime, and the result of its foreign policy of selling itself out to US imperialism and collaborating with the reactionaries and puppets of all countries particularly the neighbouring countries and is prompted by its reactionary class nature.

To be continued next issue.

MR. BALL WRITES A BOOK

A book, *The Discipline of Power*, has been written by George Ball, late of the Dean Rusk-run U.S. State Department, now Ambassador-designate to the United Nations as a replacement for resigning Arthur Goldberg. Among many subjects commented on in his book, Ball airs his opinion on Canada and Vietnam.

So far as Canada is concerned, Ball views us as being the fifty-first state in the union. This, he contends, is already a fact in the economic sense and it might as well, in his opinion, be made a fact in the political and geographic sense. Perhaps we should be thankful to Mr. Ball for being so brutally frank, it might startle some more of our people into giving some thought to the very important question.

Ball's proposal does not lack for support in Canada. Many of the most powerful figures in our ruling group favour economic and political union with the United States and are working consistently toward this end. That is particularly true among Social Credit circles in Alberta and British Columbia where vast natural resources have been placed at the disposal of American billionaire corporations and provincial cabinet ministers openly espouse political union. Even when Western Canada resources are sold to Japan instead of the United States the deal is made through an American middle-man—the coal deals in Alberta and B.C. are a prime example.

Taking over Canada is quite a grandiose scheme in itself, but it is only a part of a larger vision which Mr. Ball has in view. Ball has long advocated a union of the so-called "English speaking world" which would see Canada, Britain, Australia, New Zealand, plus a few other scattered remnants of the disappearing

Empire, in economic and political union with the United States—the American eagle perched on top of the heap, of course. What Mr. Ball has in mind is a white Anglo-Saxon community that will dominate the whole world.

The Ambassador-designate is equally open with his opinions on Vietnam. Mr. Ball states even if fighting stops the United States would have to continue maintaining a minimum of 100,000 men in Southeast Asia, for as long as ten to twenty years, "to cope with continued Communist insurgency." He sees Vietnam permanently divided at the 17th parallel and continuing U.S. domination of the South.

The book is interesting for itself in that it reveals the thinking of a certain U.S. group on some important world problems. But it is more significant than that. The book appeared before Ball's appointment, and the manuscript was undoubtedly known still earlier. When it is recognized that the administration must have been fully informed of Ball's views when they made the appointment then they, in making the appointment, extend the weight of administration approval for the opinions expressed by him. From this we can conclude that the administration is intent on insisting on a United States permanent occupation of Southeast Asia. This is the plan which U.S. "negotiators" have taken to Paris—it is a plan which will experience nothing but total failure. No matter how many books are written by people like Ball, no matter how many conferences are held, the only way in which the conflict in Vietnam can be ended is for the U.S. aggressors to get out and leave the people of Vietnam to work out their own destiny.

Letters to the Editor

Dear Comrades:

I wish to thank Advance Books and Periodicals upon receiving recently a number of copies of the *Vietnam Courier-Hanoi*.

Reading of the exploits and accounts of the courageous Vietnamese people fighting the American aggressor one realizes we are witnessing a remarkable and unprecedented event and feat of arms. A small nation of some 31 million people holding at bay and gradually demoralizing and defeating on the battlefield a nation, the U.S.A. with ostensibly huge resources and employing the most fiendishly cruel and inhuman weapons and methods of warfare ever devised by man, interspersed with blackmail and fraudulent peace machinations.

This proves that in the final analysis a people fighting for a just cause, politically conscious and skilled in protracted guerrilla warfare will overcome an unprincipled aggressive imperialist policy depending on so-called sophisticated weaponry and modern engines of destruction.

As Chairman Mao Tse-tung says prophetically—"The days of U.S. aggressors in Vietnam are numbered. However, historically all reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct desperate struggles.

They are bound to resort to military adventure and political deception in all its forms in order to save themselves from extinction."

The North Vietnamese regime under Ho-Chi-Minh is fully capable of giving all of Vietnam an honest and viable government and with the two zones of North and South Vietnam re-united will see peace stability and progress restored to that tortured land.

I feel a long era of peace will be in store for mankind when the U.S. aggressors, exploiters and blackmailers are eventually completely discredited and driven in defeat from Asia.

Enclosed please find \$10.00 cash as a small token to be donated to the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam through your offices and address of the Progressive Worker.

Yours truly,
A.F.R.
Calgary.