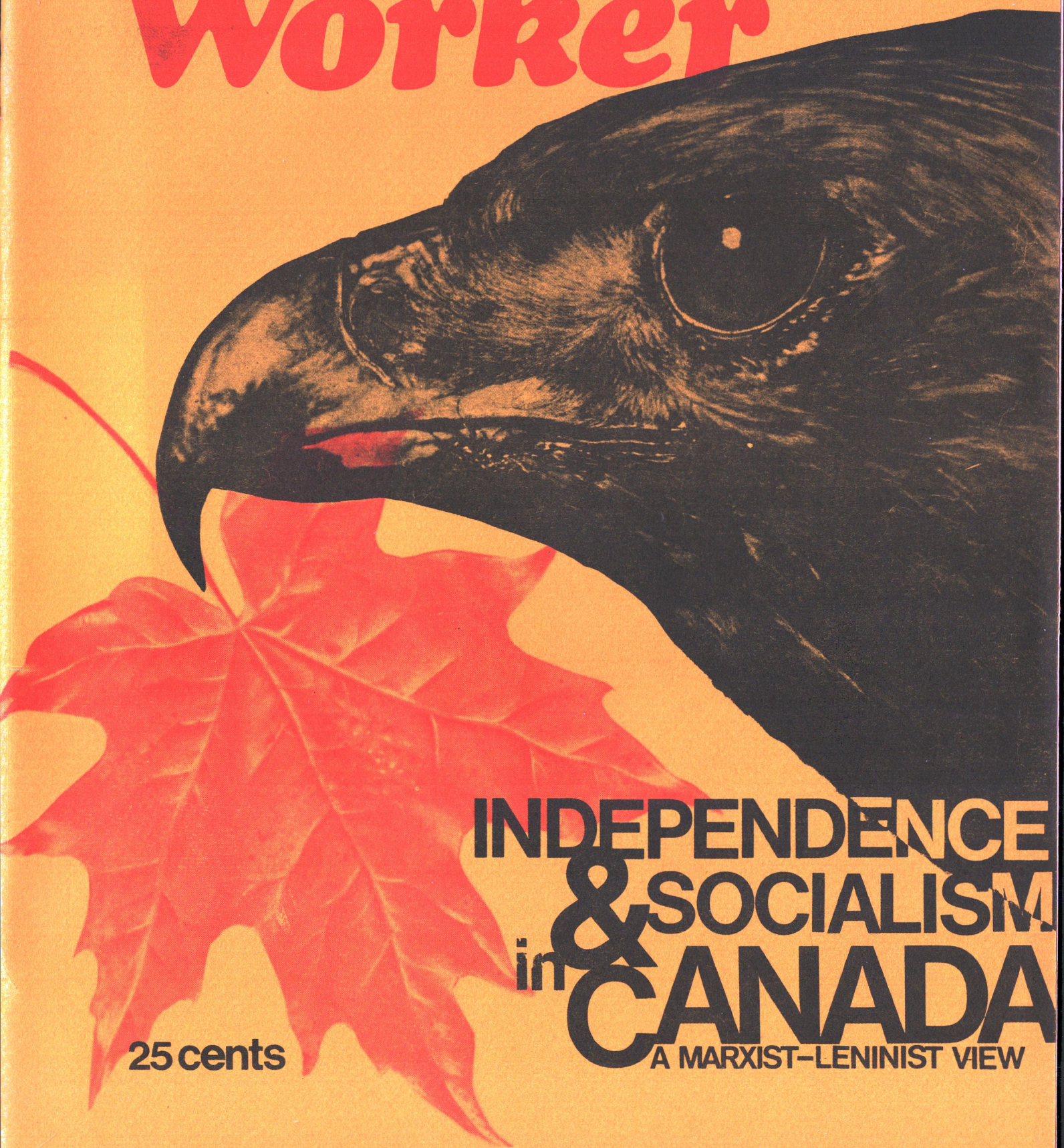


# Progressive Worker



INDEPENDENCE  
& SOCIALISM  
in  
CANADA  
A MARXIST-LENINIST VIEW

25 cents

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# Progressive Worker

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VOLUME 6 NUMBER 1 (NOW QUARTERLY)

## editor's note

This is the first issue of Progressive Worker in almost six months. During that time we have been working on "the national question", and one result of our work is this paper. We have also been discussing our practical work--how to relate our present activities to the central question at this time (the fight against U. S. domination) and how to move forward, together with other people, to undertake activities that can involve large numbers of ordinary Canadians in a struggle for national independence, and, ultimately, socialism.

Our own organization, P. W. M., is very small, but we believe that the ideas presented in the following paper represent the interests of the vast majority of Canadians. Furthermore, this publication comes out at a time when significant numbers of Canadians are coming to realize that the things that are wrong with Canadian life will get worse, not better, unless ordinary people organize to struggle for some basic changes.

In Vancouver we will be holding small discussion groups based on the "national question" and practical

activity to flow from it. Those interested should get in touch with us personally or by writing to PWM at 35 East Hastings.

This is the first issue of PW as a quarterly theoretical paper. The next issue will be out in approximately three months. It will contain articles on various topics, unlike this issue which concentrates on a single topic. (One item on the "development of Marxist Thought on the national Question", has been held over from this issue because of space considerations.)

We have tried to keep the paper as free from jargon as possible. Nevertheless, there are many Marxist terms that are useful and have a precision that other more widely understood words do not have. We have therefore used some words that may be unfamiliar, but have included a glossary at the end where definitions of terms such as "comprador bourgeoisie" can be found.

Comments and contributions from our readers on the 'national question' will be appreciated and printed as far as that is possible within the space available.



"It is the position of the Progressive Workers Movement that the development and success of a national independence movement in Canada is absolutely vital in our struggle for socialism, that no advances towards the goal of socialism can be made without such a movement developing, and that socialists must take an active and leading role in the building of this independence movement. That is our position, and it is based on our analysis of the historical developments that have brought Canada to her present state."

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

The national question, that is, the relationship of national struggles to the class struggle, the relationship of nationalism to the struggle against imperialism and capitalism, is one of the most crucial and hotly debated problems on the left today, both in Canada and elsewhere.

We are all aware of the role played by nationalism in the war of national liberation waged by the Vietnamese against the United States, and we can see the rise of national consciousness in many of the other countries of the world that are dominated by foreign, and for the most part American, imperialism. Within the United States itself, ideological disagreement on the national question has caused fundamental divisions amongst left-wing movements.

In Quebec, the rise of national consciousness has become particularly noticeable in the past few years; but in English Canada too a growing Canadian trade union movement and an increasing feeling of opposition to United States domination testify to the necessity for socialists to clarify their position on the national question as a basis for their leadership of the struggle for a socialist Canada. This is no sterile theoretical problem: how we view the question of national independence in Canada has very important practical consequences in our political work.

The debate enters into every field of activity, from working in the New Democratic Party to trade union organizing, from campus activity to the anti-war movement. The recent NDP convention, for example, saw an attempt by some members to give that party a pro-independence perspective, an attempt that was defeated but is bound to be carried on by various caucuses within the NDP throughout the country. In the trade unions, too, there is an emerging movement in the direction of independent Canadian labour organisations--while on the other hand, the American unions are constantly trying to extend their control over Canadian unions. Only a few months ago, the rank and file membership of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway and Transport Workers defeated an effort by their own leadership to lead them into an American union. The left was divided on this question of the CBRT, reflecting its general division on the national question. Some groups, as ourselves, supported the membership decision, while others opposed it, condemning its "bourgeois nationalist" aspects.

Some people with left-wing sympathies are bewildered and dismayed by the existence of so many small movements, all calling themselves revolutionary, all putting forward different theories as to how socialism is to be achieved in Canada. Why can't these groups get together

they ask, and forget about their abstract and petty theorizing? As the examples of the NDP, the CBRT, and many other questions show, however, this "theorizing" has very much to do with practical work. For example, we feel that an independent Canadian trade union movement is of first importance in the Canadian struggle--the League for Socialist Action (Trotskyist) and the Communist Party of Canada think Canadian workers should remain in the AFL-CIO. The two positions are in direct opposition to each other--clearly unity between groups holding diametrically opposite views on what is practically to be done is impossible. And as we have said, the national question is fundamental to every area of work in Canada at the present time.

Although the relationship of national independence to socialism has been a matter of debate for some time now, very few groups or individuals have actually published in full their positions. What follows is the contribution of the Progressive Workers Movement to the discussion. This is a Marxist-Leninist position as we understand it in the present Canadian context. We do not claim to have produced a work completely free of error, but we do think that our position is basically a correct one--both in terms of its analysis of the past and the present, and in its suggested program for the future.

We wish to make it clear that we consider the problem not from the point of view of nationalism, but from the point of view of socialism. That is, we look at the national question not from some abstract bourgeois nationalism, but from the desire to find the best method of struggle for socialism in Canada. We do not assert that the struggle for independence is more important than the struggle for socialism--but neither do we assert, as some others do, that the two struggles have nothing to do with each other. No, the question is not whether we should be socialists or not, but rather: what are the tasks of socialists, given the present Canadian situation? And to answer that question, one must have some kind of general perspective on the internal situation of Canada and on the position that Canada occupies in the world. It is not enough merely to declare that socialism is the answer to Canada's problems, that only through socialism will exploitation, alienation, racism, etc., be done away with. To say this is merely to state a truism, a truism that is equally valid in the United States, in Vietnam, in India, in England, and in every country in the world. Surely no one would argue that the road to socialism is absolutely identical in all these countries, and in our country as well. Precisely, the question is: how is the struggle for socialism to be waged in Canada?

# 2. NATIONS AND NATIONALISM



(1). Separatist demonstration in Montreal: the rising tide of Quebecois nationalism. (2). The struggle of the Vietnamese people is one of the most successful examples of the strength of revolutionary nationalism. (3). A prominent anti-nationalist stands on guard for the kind of Canada he helped to create.

# A. The Historical Development of Nations

The national question is a relatively modern problem. The nations which have played such a prominent role in modern history, such as France, Germany, Britain, Italy, the US, etc., did not exist as nations just a few centuries ago. Nations and the concept of nationhood are not eternal phenomena that have always existed: their appearance on the stage of history is the result of particular and concretely identifiable factors, occurring at specific historical periods in specific historical contexts.

What is a nation? It was Stalin who formulated the classic Marxist definition in his Marxism and The Na-

## tional Question:

"A nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture."

(Works, Vol. 2, p. 307)\*

This definition of nationhood is the result of concrete historical analysis of the circumstances in which such "stable communities" arose, became able to act in common, and evolved a national consciousness, a desire to form a national state.

## From the Feudal State to the Capitalist Nation

National states did not exist before or under feudalism, for feudal conditions were not conducive to the development of large national communities. A more advanced development of production, commerce, and traffic was necessary before such states could be established. The feudal states were united by virtue of who ruled them, regardless of "national" considerations. The power was vested in the king, not in the nation. For example, in the Hundred Years' War, the French vassals of the King of England naturally fought against the King of France--there was not yet any question of national loyalties. Feudal Germany consisted of hundreds of principalities having only a very loose connection in the German Reich. The Prussian was as much a foreigner to the Bavarian as the Frenchman to the Italian.

It was modern capitalism that brought about a closer connection between different parts of a country and different sections of the population. Capitalism was the powerful integrating force that broke down the barriers of feudalism, concentrated masses of people in big industrial centers, connected the countryside with the towns and produced the middle class of petty merchants and traders which, in the beginning, became the main representatives and ideologists of the new idea of nationality. Therefore, the origin of modern nations was

closely connected with the bourgeois-democratic revolutions, which destroyed the seclusion of feudalism, and for the first time united popular masses in a common struggle with common ideas. It was in this way that the British nation arose from the revolution of the 17th century, and the French nation from the Great Revolution of 1789. It was the representatives of the French middle class, in The Declaration of the Rights of Man, who gave expression to the idea of national sovereignty as opposed to the feudal royal sovereignty:

"The principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation. No body nor individual may exercise any authority which does not proceed directly from the nation."

The bourgeois revolutions, and the nations to which they gave birth, arose out of feudal society only after many decades of protracted class struggle, during which the town merchants pitted their strength against the feudal lords and the monarchy, steadily gaining strength and influence as their foes perceptibly weakened. The new capitalist class was compelled to carry on war with the feudalists to destroy their domination so that they could carry on trade and commerce unmolested and free from the damaging tolls and fines imposed by the feudal landowners on the goods of merchants traversing their

territory to reach a distant market. Also, the serfs had to be released from the ties that bound them to the feudal lord so that a plentiful supply of cheap labour would be available in the towns for employment in the workshops, and so that agriculture itself could be transformed from a feudal to a capitalist economy. To be victorious in this struggle, the bourgeoisie had to gain the support of the lower classes and appear to speak in the interests of the whole nation to oppose the interests of the monarchy, the feudal church, and the nobility.

From the very beginning, therefore, the nation was a particular development of class struggle. In its origin, the fight for the nation was fundamentally a question of whether political power would rest in the hands of the new class of merchants or remain with the feudalists--could the rising capitalist class overthrow the feudal state, replacing it with their own particular state form, ruling over a creation that was essentially their own: the capitalist nation.

Naturally at this time, there was also a working class; for without a working class, there could be no class of exploiters, no capitalist class. In the main, the basic interests of the workers coincided with those of the rising merchants. Both had a fundamental class interest in the overthrow of the feudal state and that was the primary task that had to be disposed of before new and more advanced tasks, already existing in embryo, could be tackled. Thus, while the bourgeoisie was the leading force behind the rise of nations and nationalism,

the working class also had its stake in this development. Thus wrote Engels of the German proletariat and its role in the creation of the German nation:

"The interests of the proletariat forbade equally the Prussianization of Germany and the perpetuation of her division into petty states. These interests made imperative the definitive unification of Germany into a nation, which alone could provide the battlefield, cleared of all traditional petty obstacles, on which proletariat and bourgeoisie were to measure their strength."

(Marx & Engels, Works, V. 2, p. 332)\*

This is not to say that the working class did not make some attempts also at advancing their own demands. Every bourgeois revolutionary movement had within it a group which vigorously advanced these primitive working class demands, mostly centering around primitive communist or utopian ideas and reflecting, as they must reflect, the political immaturity of the class and its lack of independent organization. The Levellers in the English Revolution and the Babouvists in the French are examples of such primitive communist movements. But, given the development and strength of the various contending classes, the inevitable happened: the evolution of the nation saw a minority of exploiters in power over a majority of exploited.

## Nations Under Imperialism

This, then, is how nations arose. Various aspects of our definition of nationhood may have existed before, but it was only in recent centuries that these aspects were combined under the bourgeois revolutions to form the modern nation. Do all these characteristics of nationhood have to exist if a people is to be defined as a nation? If one were looking at only the nations of Western Europe whose historical development gave rise to the definition, or if all peoples in the world had been free to develop uninterfered with along the same lines, then the answer would have to be yes. But the fact is that the rise and world-wide activities of imperialism have everywhere created new conditions, have posed new problems, and this causes us to look at all situations in a new light. (Stalin himself remarked later that the article in which his definition appeared had been outdated by the further development of imperialism.)

What imperialism did everywhere was to forcibly restrict and distort the natural, internal development of social conditions in the countries it brought under its

rule. On the one hand, it introduced advanced capitalist methods, technology, and concepts to many areas of the world still in the grip of feudalism, but on the other, attempted to prevent the subject peoples from making use of such methods, technology, and concepts for their own benefit. On the one hand imperialism had to introduce capitalism on a limited scale in many countries, but on the other had to obstruct the development of indigenous capitalist classes that could challenge its control of the colony.

Having established itself in a particular country, imperialism would invariably ally itself with the most reactionary elements of the local ruling classes, the ones most likely to oppose any revolutionary activity on the part of the people. In the semi-feudal countries, these elements would be the great landowners whose interest it also was to prevent the development of an indigenous and independent capitalist class, and the comprador-bourgeoisie, those capitalists who were in the direct service of the imperialists. Under such conditions, it

is obvious that the same developments that led to the formation of the Western European nations under the leadership of the revolutionary bourgeoisie could not occur in the countries dominated by imperialism. Here, the nation would not reach its full development except

through the fight against imperialism. Prevented by imperialism from developing fully the national culture and common economic life, the fact of nationhood would assert itself most boldly in the people's will for independence and freedom.

## B. Quebec and English Canada as Nations

It is not very difficult to recognize, even for the most doctrinaire "internationalists" on the left, that the French Canadians of Quebec form precisely such a nation. Quebec never enjoyed independent nationhood, having been first a colony of France and then of Britain. The British conquest having severed her connections to France, Quebec had to develop a national culture and national identity as a matter of survival in the face of British attempts to Anglicize the French Canadians. But what of English Canada where no such clearly recognizable "national culture" exists? In what sense do the English-speaking Canadians form a nation?

English Canada is a nation most importantly in the fact that its people wish it to be a nation. They think of themselves as Canadians and do not wish to be thought of as anything else. If we do not fully reveal the characteristics of nationhood possessed by the nations of Europe and other places in the world, if we do not have the national culture that Quebec can boast of, the reasons for this lie in particular factors in Canada's history. We shall in a later section deal specifically with these factors and what effects they have had on the development of the Canadian nation, but some of them should be mentioned here. The most obvious factor is that Canada as a whole, like Quebec, has never experienced real independence and has always been dominated, but, unlike Quebec, the English Canadians have always spoken the language of the foreign imperialist--whether British or American. Thus the culture of the imperialist could much more easily be made into the dominant culture in English-speaking Canada than in Quebec. Secondly, most of our population lives within one hundred miles of the American border: even if our own cultural institutions and media played an independent role, this proximity would be a formidable weapon in the hands of the imperialists. As it is, our own institutions and media are barely distinguishable from those south of the border, reflecting and reinforcing U.S. control of our country. Thirdly, English Canada has had a relatively very brief history as a unified nation. The original act of Confederation took place a mere hundred years ago, and the last of the provinces did not join until 1949.

Even under normal conditions of independence, this is a very short period for a national culture and a national character to evolve and take root. With our dominant culture being always the culture of the foreign imperialist it is no wonder that we lack the distinct cultural identity many other nations possess.

And yet if Canadians did not wish to be an independent nation, the country would not have come into being in the first place or would have lost even the semblance of independence and been swallowed up by the United States a long time ago. Why was Canada formed out of the former British colonies in 1867? Partly of course because Britain saw Confederation as a method of preventing the loss of her North American possessions to the United States. Also, Confederation and the granting of internal "autonomy" to Quebec was a means by which to contain and subvert the national aspirations of the French Canadians. But neither could Britain ignore the possibility that an independence movement amongst English Canadians would lead Canada along the same path as had been taken by the thirteen colonies in 1776. She had had full warning of such an eventuality when the rebels of 1837 led in Upper Canada by William Lyon Mackenzie declared that independence from Britain was one of their main aims:

"For nearly fifty years has our country languished under the blighting influence of military despots, strangers from Europe, ruling us, not according to laws of our choice, but by the capricious dictates of their arbitrary power. They have taxed us at their pleasure, robbed our exchequer, and carried off the proceeds to other lands--they have bribed and corrupted Ministers of the Gospel with the wealth raised by our industry . . . they have bestowed millions of our lands on a company of Europeans for a nominal consideration, and left them to fleece and impoverish our country--they have spurned our petitions, involved us in their wars, excited feeling of national and sectional animosity in counties,

townships, and neighbourhoods, and ruled us, as Ireland has been ruled, to the advantage of persons in other lands, and to the prostration of our energies as a people. We are wearied of these oppressions, and resolved to throw off the yoke."\*

Although Britain defeated the 1837 rebellion, she could not, without further endangering her rule, ignore the lessons of the American Revolution. It was only after 1837 that Britain began to institute the measures to grant greater local "autonomy" that eventually culminated in the British North America Act and Confederation. And so the very fact of statehood and the pretense of independence was in no small degree a result of a movement for independence on the part of the Canadian people.

## C. The Role of Nationalism in the World Today

There exist basically three types of countries in the world today. There are the imperialist powers--those countries which control, dominate, and exploit foreign countries and peoples. The most powerful and wealthiest of these is the United States which controls and oppresses many nations on all continents by means of the economic domination of American corporations, the direct presence of American troops, and the assistance rendered to reactionary native governments by the U.S. government. The other great imperialist power is the Soviet Union which controls and oppresses not only the nations of Eastern Europe, but is making attempts to extend her control in many other places as well, such as the Middle East, Asia, and even Latin America.

The largest group of nations both in terms of number and in terms of total population are the countries dominated by foreign imperialism. Some of these countries are directly controlled from abroad, but most of them are ruled by a native ruling class which maintains power by serving the interests of the imperialists and which receives the support of the imperialists in return. Most countries in Latin America, Asia, Africa, Eastern Europe and the Balkans fall into this category.

The third group is comprised of those countries, chiefly the socialist countries of Asia--China, North Vietnam, and North Korea--which neither practise imperialism abroad nor are oppressed by it at home. If one is to make a judgment about nationalism in principle as to whether it plays a progressive or reactionary role

And why was the newly formed country not eclipsed by the "Manifest Destiny" of the United States to control all of North America, even after Britain became too weak to defend her neo-colony? Only because Canadians have rejected all suggestions (and these were not lacking) that they become Americans, and the threat of resistance has made attempts at overt takeover too costly to contemplate.

Is it a good thing that Canadians should have this desire for independent nationhood? Is this sentiment progressive or is it a narrow "bourgeois nationalism" that can only impede the struggle for socialism in our country? Let us look at the world situation and let us place nationalism into a world-wide context.

in the world today, one has to see it against this background.

One indication of the role that nationalism can play in the present world situation is the attitude taken towards it by the imperialists and those who serve them. Such a person is former Canadian Prime Minister, Lester Pearson, now the head of a commission for the U.S. dominated World Bank, who stated recently that "the problem today is not the creation of new free states but subordinating the sovereignty of all states to the necessity of peace, security, and progress." These are noble words, until we place them against the realities of the existing international situation as seen above. It would seem that in a world in which most of the peoples are dominated and oppressed by imperialism of one sort or another, the problem is precisely the creation of new free states and the emergence of many more independent nations. And that Lester Pearson and those whom he serves should be eager to see the disappearance of all national feeling and all movements for independence is only natural. National independence movements such as the struggle of the National Liberation Front in Vietnam certainly do pose a threat to the peace, security, and progress of the imperialists. But the fact that some people who claim to be revolutionary also look upon all nationalism as harmful and "reactionary"--this is somewhat more difficult to understand.

There is no phenomenon in the world which exists independently of objective conditions, and which can be un-

derstood independently and in itself. To say that all nationalism is reactionary is as abstract and stupid as it would be to say that all nationalism is progressive. Clearly in today's world all that helps the imperialists but harms the oppressed peoples is reactionary, and all that helps the oppressed but harms the imperialists is progressive. Thus the nationalism fostered by the imperialist in his own country is definitely reactionary, because it obscures the class struggle and unites the nation in the service of imperialism. The nationalism of the oppressed, however, is definitely progressive because it unites people in the struggle against their main enemy--imperialism.

The Bolsheviks in the First World War repudiated the slogan "defense of the fatherland" raised by the bourgeoisies of all countries, and called for the defeat of their own capitalist class through the transformation of the world war into world-wide revolutionary civil war. But Lenin made it very clear that "defense of the fatherland" in itself was not reactionary, only the use of it made by the imperialists: we cannot, he said, make "a repudiation of defense of the fatherland a pattern, to draw conclusions not from the concrete historic peculiarity of this war by 'generally speaking'. This is not Marxism." And further he pointed out:

"No, for we are not 'generally' against 'defense of the fatherland' (see resolution of our party) but only against the embellishment of this imperialist war by this deceitful slogan."\*

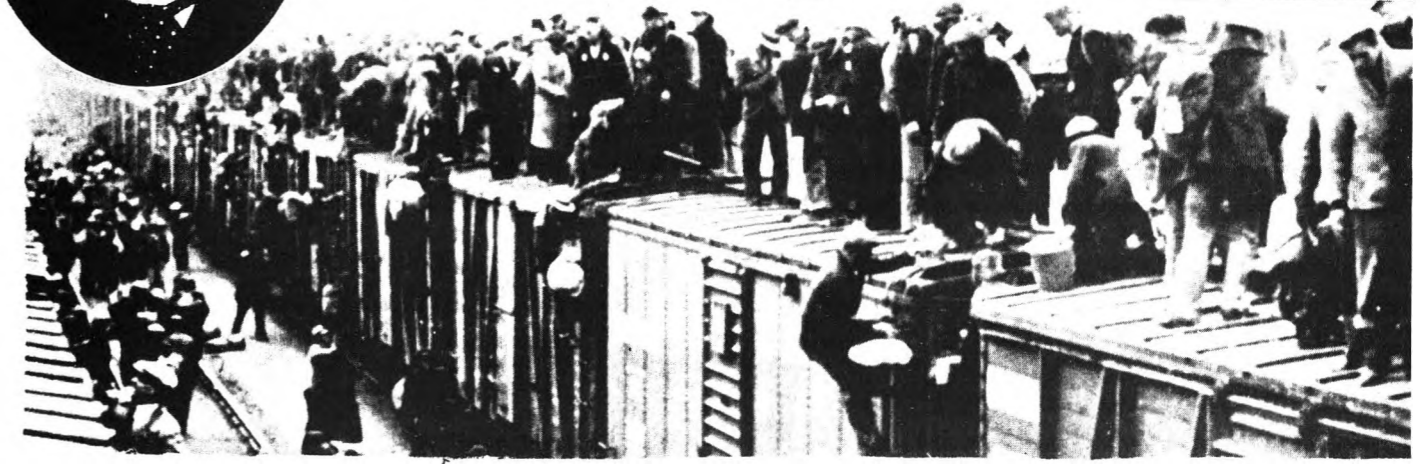
Elsewhere Lenin said: "The central point in the Social Democratic program must be the distinction between oppressing and oppressed nations, which is the essence of imperialism, which is falsely evaded by the social chauvinists. . . ." Is it not easily seen that the role of nationalism is defined precisely by whether or not it is being put forward by the oppressor or the oppressed?

Those who say that all nationalism is reactionary do not understand Marxism at all, and reduce themselves to the level of some bourgeois thinkers who never tire of proclaiming that the real problem in the world is "war", or whatever other abstraction. It is obvious that a war waged by a revolutionary people against its oppressors is progressive, while a war waged by the exploiter against some nation it wishes to dominate is reactionary. It is the same with nationalism. Like all other questions, the national question is fundamentally a class question. All classes can and do make use of it for their own purposes, just as they make use of warfare. Certainly the imperialist bourgeoisie can use nationalism in order to further its reactionary activities, but so can the working class in the exploited nation make use of it by uniting all forces possible against the imperialist. This is precisely what led to the defeat of imperialism

and the subsequent establishment of socialism in China, North Korea, and North Vietnam; this is what is taking place right now in South Vietnam; and this is what must take place in many other countries as well if imperialism is to be defeated on a world-wide basis.

We must now return to our original question. Can nationalism play a progressive role in the Canadian situation, or is it necessarily reactionary? As can be seen from the above discussion, the answer depends mainly on whether Canada is an oppressed or an oppressor nation. This question will be dealt with fully in the following sections of this paper. Briefly, it is the position of the Progressive Workers Movement that the development and success of a national independence movement in Canada is absolutely vital in our struggle for socialism, that no advances towards the goal of socialism can be made without such a movement developing, and that socialists must take an active and leading role in the building of this independence movement. This is our position, and it is based on our analysis of Canada's present social, economic, and political situation, as well as on our analysis of the historical developments that have brought Canada to her present state.

# 4. CANADA: A HISTORY OF FOREIGN DOMINATION



(1). Upper Canada rebels marching down Yonge Street in 1837. (2). Liberal Party faces "reality" and turns to support British imperialism--here, in raising men for the Boer War. (3). John A. Macdonald. (4). Winnipeg Trades and Labour Council's paper during Winnipeg General Strike. (4). 1,800 unemployed during "On To Ottawa" trek in 1935.

Some groups and individuals on the left who disagree with our position on the national question state simply that Canada is an advanced industrial capitalist country and the major and immediate problem is the mobilizing of the working class against the capitalist class, the problem of socialist revolution. Now, no one could argue that Canada is not an advanced capitalist country as compared to most colonial nations. But to put the case in such simple terms is to either ignore or distort the nature of Canadian capitalism and its relationship to the world imperialist system.

The key to understanding Canada's class structure is to be found in an examination of our historical development. How has Canadian capitalism evolved? What was the role of the indigenous capitalist class in the transformation of Canada from a series of unconnected British colonies to a unified and, at least nominally, independent state? How did this Canadian capitalist ruling class face the challenge mounted by the imperialist and continentalist American bourgeoisie? These are just some of the questions that must be answered if our present political tasks are to be clearly understood.

## A. Pre-Confederation Canada

### Early Canada

France, a feudal country, was the first European power to occupy and begin the colonization of what is now Canada. Conquest is hardly a proper description of the operation, since North American tribal society was no match for the more advanced feudal invaders, and since the native population neither fully understood what was in store for them nor was united enough to deal with the threat.

The type of society formed by the French in Quebec reflected the social development of the mother country. The powers in the colony were the feudal Church, the representatives of the French royalty, and the local seigneurs--the feudal land-owning class. But the French royalists and feudalists were not to be left long in peace to enjoy their new acquisitions. Before the end of the 18th century, the British, with a society more advanced than that of feudal France, arrived on the scene with the objective of conquest. This conquest finally occurred in 1763.

The British not only conquered, they brought with them a whole new set of class relations based on a

social system of capitalist exploitation. The bourgeois revolution arrived in Canada on the point of British bayonets. But the consolidation of the conquered territory was no easy matter. The native Indians had begun to unite their forces and resist the invasion of the foreigners; abandoned to their fate by France, the habitants in Canada still resisted attempts to rob them of their particular French identity; and the revolt of the thirteen colonies began the spread of republican ideas. With the coming revolution in these latter colonies in mind, the British in 1774 struck a deal with the feudal Church and seigneurs in Quebec: their traditional rights would be respected and maintained by British arms in exchange for their loyalty to the British Empire. Only the habitants, those who actually tilled the land in Quebec, were left out of the bargain. During the American Revolution, this bargain paid off as the Church and the seigneurs used their authority to combat the ideas of revolution amongst the French Canadians. This was not the last time that the Church in Quebec would wield its immense moral and political authority to protect the foreign rulers of the French Canadian people.

### 1837 Rebellion

But not even the Church could prevent the rise of a revolutionary movement amongst the French in Quebec--although when the revolt came the Church did help to defeat it. The oppressive feudal conditions in Quebec, reinforced and worsened by the British conquest, were what led to the development of the revolt. Of the land

in Quebec, over two million acres were in the hands of the Catholic Church, and six million were the property of the seigneurs. On these lands, the owners enjoyed all sorts of feudal privileges, from fishing, hunting, and mineral rights, to forced labour from the habitants--those who actually worked the land. At the same

time, English capitalists were acquiring some of the best lands in Quebec. Wrote Lord Durham in 1839:

"By degrees, large portions of land were occupied by them; nor did they confine themselves to the unsettled and distant country of the townships. The wealthy capitalist invested his money in the purchase of seigneurial properties; and it is estimated, that at the present moment fully half of the more valuable seigneuries are actually owned by English proprietors."\*

As Upper Canada (Ontario) had, so Lower Canada (Quebec) had an elected Legislative Assembly. But this Assembly was devoid of any real powers: the real rulers of the colony were a group of English merchants derisively known as the "Chateau Clique," and the British Governor. Thus, in Quebec, the struggle against feudalism, for bourgeois democracy, was intimately connected with the struggle for national self-determination for the French Canadians. The class question was not to be separated from the national question since the ruling class was a foreign ruling class, although it had allies amongst the most reactionary sections of the indigenous population. One statement of the Quebec revolutionaries declared:

"That from this day forward, the people of Lower Canada are absolved from all allegiance to Great Britain, and that the political connexion between that power and Lower Canada is now dissolved

"That a republican form of government is best suited to Lower Canada, which is this day declared a republic

"That under the free government of Lower Canada all persons shall enjoy the same rights; the Indians shall no longer be under any civil disqualification, but shall enjoy the same rights as any other citizens of Lower Canada

"That all union between church and state is hereby declared to be dissolved, and every person shall be at liberty freely to exercise such religion or belief as shall be dictated to him by his conscience

"That the feudal or seigneurial tenure of land is hereby abolished as completely as if such tenure had never existed in Canada."\*\*

Taking part in the revolutionary movement were middle class elements who were repressed and restricted by foreign rule and its alliance with feudal elements from realizing their bourgeois democratic aims, and farmers who were directly oppressed by the feudal conditions. In the years preceding 1837, many thousands of people had been involved in militant though peaceful struggles for democracy and self-determination. However, the Patriotes, the democratic revolutionaries of Quebec, were not ready for the military struggle that broke out in 1837. They had not adequately prepared

the ground for revolution amongst all sections of the Quebec population, they had not properly organized themselves for war; and when the crunch came, certain elements amongst their middle class allies found it more convenient to remain passive than to join in the rebellion.

A revolt had also taken place in Upper Canada, where there was also a great deal of resentment against arbitrary British rule and the privileges of the great merchant-monopolists of the Family Compact, a group closely associated with British capital. As in Lower Canada, it was these people who owned much of the land and conspired with the British to exploit both the people and the resources of the country to their own benefit. In the words of Bishop Strachan, one of the most reactionary spokesmen of the Family Compact:

"Now I wish to lay it down as a principle never to be departed from, that it is in the interest of the Canada Co. (one of the great land owning monopolies) to support the Colonial authorities and never to take a side against them." \*\*\*

As in Lower Canada, the Ontario rebels were too weak and unorganized to carry their revolt to a successful conclusion. Led by the same middle class elements whose interest it was to see an independent and democratic Canada which could use its own resources in order to develop a sovereign industrialized capitalist state, the revolt also had the support of numbers of farmers and workers. The workers and working farmers had not yet developed an independent class consciousness and an awareness of the need to have independent political objectives. They did entertain and advance certain limited economic demands, but looked for these demands to be satisfied when the democratic bourgeois group came to power. They fought heroically and sacrificed most, both in life and property, for the success of the cause, but could not rise above the disastrous leadership of the middle class and themselves take control of the rebellion. And, as in Lower Canada, the right-wing elements of the bourgeois-democratic side found it easier to accommodate themselves to continuing British rule than to pose an open challenge to it.

The two established and influential churches, Catholic and Anglican, supported imperialist rule and the most reactionary political circles in the Canadas. In Upper and Lower Canada, bishops and prelates condemned rebel reformers and Patriotes from their pulpits. The upper strata of the privileged sections of society were solidly united against the rebel forces. By 1838, the defeat of the rebels was complete and reaction firmly fixed in the seats of power.

The defeat of the 1837 Rebellion in the two Canadas signalled the defeat of the bourgeois-democratic nation-

al revolt in Canadian history. What the defeat meant was that Canada's advance towards democracy and industrial capitalism would take place not independently as in the United States, but within the confines of imperialist domination. Whatever advances were to be made were henceforth to be made not through independent development, but through compromises and deals with British imperialism. Of the classes that had taken part in national-democratic political activity before 1837, the upper sections made their deal with imperialism rather than take a stand for independence. It was this union of the upper sections of the Anglo-Canadian bourgeois class with the merchant-monopolists of the Family Compact that formed the basis of a real comprador class, a bourgeois ruling class which acts not independently, but in the service of the foreign imperialist. In the case of Canada, this Anglo-Canadian comprador class would also benefit from its joint oppression of Quebec along with the imperialists.

However, the defeat of the 1837 rebellion and the capitulation of the Canadian bourgeoisie by no means allowed Britain to feel perfectly safe about its North American colonies. The republic to the south, so recently broken away from England's rule, was already demonstrating its insatiable appetite for territorial expansion that would one day culminate in its becoming the most powerful and most hated imperialist power in the history of the world. It was only other, more compelling, interests that kept the United States from taking full advantage of the rebellion of 1837. But the new republic stood to the south as a constant menace to the security of British rule in her remaining North American colonies.

Quebec was in retreat, but by no means permanently

## Confederation

The myth that a generous and freedom-loving imperial power granted Canada self-government out of its own free will is constantly repeated by bourgeois historians and journalists. In fact, all we need to do is look at when the British first seriously considered the granting of "responsible government" to see what really impelled them to act with such generosity. It was Durham in his report on the causes of the Rebellion of 1837 who first recognized that Britain would not be able to hold on to its colonies unless she granted some concessions towards self-government. At the same time, Durham proposed the unifying of the two Canadas as a way of ensuring the Anglicization of the French-Canadians and the ascendancy of the British element.

In 1841, the Act of Union was promulgated, unifying

defeated. There were all too obvious signs that the sentiment for national independence had not been diminished as a result of military defeat. On the contrary, the intensified repression that followed in the wake of defeat served only to strengthen national solidarity in French Canada.

The grievances of the artisans and the farmers were left unsolved and tended to become aggravated. Merchants and the middle class had seen their aspirations to become an independent class of exploiters in their own right fade away to a bad dream. And later events in the West would soon prove that the native population, who had been robbed of their lands, were by no means ready to capitulate to the robber barons.

Obviously England had to institute emergency measures to shore up the defences of the battered remains of British North America. Lord Durham, an able politician with a reputation in England as a reform liberal, was dispatched to Canada with assistants of his choosing, bearing a commission to investigate the causes of the 1837 Rebellion, and to make recommendations on a policy designed to prevent a recurrence.

Before Durham had concluded his investigation, the Whig government which had commissioned him was driven out of office, but Durham returned and presented his report to the Tory regime now in power. Although the British Tories were not at all favourable to a "reform liberal," and would give the commission no credit, it was, nevertheless, the Durham report, with some added Tory modifications that laid the foundations for the proposed solution to problems in the Canadas and questions of security for British ascendancy in North America.

Upper and Lower Canada, granting it a single Legislative Assembly, and a single capital city. Responsible government, however, would have to await the development of an English-speaking majority in the new province. (Durham himself had pointed out that "responsible government" could not be established until an English majority could be obtained.) And yet, even in this powerless Legislative Assembly, it was ensured that the French would be in a minority, despite their superior numbers in terms of population. Through gerrymandering tens of thousands of French Canadians were deprived of their vote, and Canada West (Ontario) was granted an equal number of seats despite its much smaller population. Furthermore, among the Canada East seats were the districts controlled by the English minority in Quebec. The language of the Assembly was to be exclusive-

ly English, and the capital of the united Canadas was to be in Kingston.

"Responsible government," that is, the freedom of the indigenous ruling class to make its own decisions regarding the internal affairs of the colony, was not granted until 1848, when for the first time, the British governor refrained from interfering in the election and allowed the victorious reformers to form a government. But even this governor, Lord Elgin, made clear within what terms such "responsible government" was to be understood. The Canadian ministers, he said, would "in return . . . carry out my views for the maintenance of the connection with Great Britain."\* Earl Grey, the British colonial secretary stated it this way:

"This country has no interest whatever in exercising any greater influence in the internal affairs of the colonies, than is indispensable either for the purpose of preventing any one colony from adopting measures injurious to another, or to the Empire at large." \*\*

In other words, internal developments in the colony would take place within a framework set by Britain, and would not be allowed to occur if they threatened to do injury to Britain's control of her Empire. It is with this in mind that we must approach the granting of Canadian "independence", the Confederation of Britain's North American colonies in 1867.

There are only two ways in which a colony may gain independence (nominal or otherwise) from the imperialist power controlling her. One is the path of open struggle against imperialist domination such as we are witnessing in Vietnam, Angola, and elsewhere. This means a violent military struggle waged in order to coerce the imperialist into accepting the colony's right to independence. It was precisely by this method that the Thirteen Colonies had achieved their freedom from British domination, and it was this method that had failed to achieve Canadian independence in 1837. The other way is the peaceful way, the path of parliamentary and political action, of "dialogue" with the imperialist, of agreements, deals, and concessions, or, at the extreme, of non-violent protests against foreign rule. Such was the way that India, for example, gained her independence. Most of the so-called new "emerging" countries of Africa have also arrived at independence along this path.

We have seen in the twentieth century what it means for a country to gain "independence" by the latter method. We have seen that the many African and Asian countries granted "independence" as a result of peaceful pressures upon the colonial power have in fact remained just as closely tied to the imperialist, just as harshly dominated and exploited, just as completely controlled as before. We have seen this happen in India very clearly--it is no accident that Gandhi and his methods of waging anti-imperialist struggle are so

highly praised by imperialists everywhere. Nor should this come as a surprise to those people on the left who consider themselves Marxists; does history not teach us very plainly that no ruling class anywhere at any time has ever abdicated power peacefully and voluntarily, that ruling classes (and particularly imperialist ruling classes) have always resisted any threat to their power in the most determined and brutal fashion? The history of the twentieth century shows us that unless the imperialist is absolutely forced to relinquish control, he will not do so, and that even after freedom is gained, it will soon be lost unless the country's economic and political independence is jealously and militantly guarded. Events in Algeria since the war of independence show that not even a successful military struggle guarantees a nation's permanent independence and removes forever the danger of falling into the status of a neo-colony.

It could be argued that sometimes the imperialist power may be in such a position as to have to concede independence to a colony even without a military struggle on the part of that colony. Did Britain at first not oppose and persecute Gandhi's movement, did she not agree to Indian independence only after she had lost the strength to combat the forces led by Gandhi? Could it not have been true in Canada's case as well that Britain simply had no choice but to agree to Confederation and Canadian independence? Now it is true that if the imperialist were omnipotent and in absolute control of all the circumstances, he would no doubt like to exercise direct and complete rule over his possessions in order to be able to exploit them with complete efficiency and without having to observe the international niceties of showing "respect" for the exploited country's "independence". But this is no longer possible in most places. And, given the desire of the exploited peoples for freedom and national independence, it is certainly in the interest of the imperialist to grant the illusion of independence, to grant local autonomy to an indigenous ruling class which is firmly tied to the economic apron strings of the imperialist, and to allow this native ruling class to administer the neo-colony on his behalf in exchange for certain favours and a few crumbs from the master's table. Such a scheme in no way threatens the real power nor the profits of the imperialist; it merely removes him from center stage and places him behind the scenes from where he manipulates his puppets, the native ruling classes, who now act out the farce of "national independence" in order to obscure the reality of continued foreign control. This is precisely what happened in India where no doubt the pacifist leadership of Gandhi would have been superseded by more militant anti-imperialist struggles had not the British agreed to "independence". But that the removal of the British colonial administration had not ended, but merely disguised India's colonial status was obvious. What then happened in Canada, where no such mass independence movement such as Gandhi led immediately preceded Confederation and independence? What pressures, if any, forced Britain to



relinquish control of her North American colonies?

Again, let us review the historical possibilities. One is that Confederation was forced upon an unwilling mother country and that through Confederation Canada gained real independence, or at least that through Confederation the door to real independence was opened to her. The other is that Confederation did not mean independence at all, merely the continued but disguised control by Britain of her now-united colonies.

We have seen that in both Upper Canada (Canada West after the 1841 Act of Union) and in Quebec there had been popular sentiment in favour of independence, culminating in an abortive rebellion in 1837. It is not to be assumed that this sentiment disappeared after the defeat, and particularly in Quebec it had great potential strength as the French Canadians were forced to endure the attempts of British colonialism to rob them of their culture and national identity. But we have also seen that this movement for independence had been beheaded on the one hand by the defeat of the rebellion, and on the other by the capitulation of the right-wing of the movement representing the upper sections of a would-be Canadian nationalist bourgeoisie to the colonial power. When independence was granted, it was this capitulationist-reformist bourgeoisie, content for thirty years to work well within the framework set by the needs of British imperialism, that formed one part of the ruling class into whose hands the rule of Canada was entrusted by Britain. The other section of the new autonomous ruling class in "independent" Canada was the former Family Compact, the great merchant-monopolist and land-owning class that had always been intimately tied to British financial interests. At first this group had been so frightened and upset by the mere suggestion of Canadian independence that when Lord Elgin in 1849 granted certain wishes of the Reform-dominated Legislative Assembly, he was attacked by a mob of Montreal Tories, who later sacked and burned the Legislature. Rather than see the rise of responsible government which implied concessions to the reformist bourgeoisie and their French Canadian allies, in the autumn of 1849 over a thousand English-speaking politicians and merchants in Montreal signed a manifesto calling for the annexation of Canada to the United States! This was no more than a political ploy on their part, a form of pressure against the new liberal policy of Britain in Canada, but it showed how deeply this group was committed to the idea of Canadian independence. If our old master mistreats us, let us beg another one to take us over! It was the union of these old Family Compact elements with the reformist bourgeoisie that cleared the way for Confederation.

The original suggestion leading to the Act of Union between Upper and Lower Canada came from Lord Durham in his report on the causes of the 1837 Rebellion. The idea that there should be a general federation of all the British North American provinces was first raised in a

serious way by the comprador bourgeoisie of Montreal, the English-speaking railway and business interests with close financial connections to Britain. It was A. T. Galt, a Canadian officer of the British-controlled Grand Trunk Railway who made the adoption of such a policy a condition of his entry as finance minister into the Conservative government of 1858. The idea of continental union was next raised by Edward Watkin, British president of the Grand Trunk in 1861 on his visit to Canada. Watkin, besides being president of the Grand Trunk, was also a leading officer of the International Financial Society, a British corporation which owned a major share of the Grand Trunk and the Hudson's Bay Company. As he saw it, the federation of the British provinces would greatly enhance the economic potential of both of the giant monopolies under his control.

The role played by British railway interests in the achievement of Confederation was so conspicuous and so active that only a completely naive or a completely dishonest interpretation of the facts can obscure who were the real beneficiaries of Canadian "independence". The Grand Trunk official, A. T. Galt, was to become one of the Fathers of Confederation; the French Canadian "Father", G. E. Cartier also happened to be a solicitor for the Grand Trunk; the Canadian delegates to the Charlottetown Conference of 1864 which laid the basis for Confederation travelled as the guests of the Grand Trunk; and the crucial alliance between the Montreal business interests represented by John A. Macdonald and the reformist-bourgeoisie of Toronto represented by George Brown had been negotiated by James Ferrier of the Grand Trunk Railway Company. This alliance, traditionally hailed in Canadian history books as the great unselfish act of statesmanship that paved the way to Canadian independence, was in fact nothing more than the agreement of these two sections of the Canadian bourgeoisie to participate jointly in the exploitation of Quebec and the West as the junior partners of British imperialism.

Thus, when Confederation came, it came as a deal amongst three principal partners: the capitulationist-reformist bourgeoisie of Toronto, the comprador-bourgeoisie of Montreal, and the giant British monopolies that dominated much of the economic life of Canada. The French Canadians, as we have seen, were represented not by the radical reformers of the Parti rouge, but by a French Canadian servant of a British corporation. All three partners were interested in Western expansion, in harnessing the economic potential of the West to their yoke before the increasingly imperialistic United States could grab ail of the North West between Oregon and Alaska. The Civil War in the U. S. clearly showed that the industrialized northern states would allow little to stand in the way of their expansionistic policies and the cry of "Manifest Destiny" was being increasingly heard from below the border. Too, the union of the British North American colonies would allow for the more efficient exploitation of the entire

area, an exploitation unhindered by regional differences and localized tariffs. The granting of internal autonomy to Quebec under the terms of the B. N. A. Act would help to mask the economic exploitation of that province, just as the granting of internal autonomy to Canada as a whole would help to mask the continued British domination of the entire country.

Who were the senior partners in the Confederation deal? We have already indicated the leading role played by the British railway monopolists and their Canadian agents. We are also all familiar with the phenomenal gifts these monopolies, notably the C. P. R., were yet to receive from various governments of "independent" Canada. Another British monopoly, the Hudson's Bay Company, received 300,000 pounds in cash, 45,000 acres around its posts, and the right to claim blocks of land up to one-twentieth of the fertile areas of the West which now became part of Confederated Canada. We have seen that the developments in Canada which led up to Confederation were allowed to occur only within the strict limits set by the Colonial Office in London. We have quoted one British colonial secretary to the effect that Britain would not allow any one colony to adopt "measures injurious to another, or to the Empire at large." We have seen that even the reformist part of the English-Canadian bourgeoisie was content to operate within such colonial boundaries after 1837. Are we to believe that Confederation really meant independence from British domination? Is it not clear that Canada, in fact, became one of the world's very first neo-colonies, a country governed by a native ruling class on behalf of the dominant imperialist power? There was no independent Canadian national-bourgeoisie, or at least none that played a role in the framing of Confederation. The

Canadian actors in the Confederation drama were all representatives of a Canadian bourgeoisie that was content to play the role of a comprador-bourgeoisie, to serve the imperialist in administering and selling the country to him, and to receive the rewards for such service by being the junior partners in exploiting the West, the Maritimes, and particularly, Quebec.

Confederation of Quebec, Ontario and the Maritimes (with the exception of Newfoundland) was soon followed by the acquisition of the West and British Columbia. In 1858 Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, the Secretary of State for the Colonies had spoken thus of British Columbia:

"We have been laying the foundations of a new and mighty colony. . . . I speak of the colony it was my duty to advise my sovereign to found. . . . I mean British Columbia. That colony with its neighbour Vancouver Island . . . gives England her only colony on the Pacific Ocean. But that possession is the key to the Pacific."\*

Either we are foolish enough to believe that Britain thirteen years later would voluntarily and willingly surrender the "key to the Pacific," or we recognize that in ceding British Columbia to Canada, Britain was in fact doing what was necessary to keep this province under her own control, and preventing the further erosion of British territory in North America to the United States. (We need hardly mention the enormous benefits the entering into Confederation of B. C. would later confer upon the British-controlled CPR.)

## B. Post-Confederation Canada

### Role of Classes

#### Comprador Bourgeoisie

We have dealt with Confederation and the events leading up to it in such great detail in order to show that Canada did not achieve any real independence in 1867, that political power (and only insofar as internal matters were concerned) was not given up by Britain but merely transferred from the hands of the colonial administration into the hands of the politicians of a comprador bourgeoisie, and that the real, the economic

control of Canada by Britain was in no way threatened by Confederation. (In fact, the Canadian experiment was so successful that Britain soon withdrew her administrators and armies from the other self-governing colonies as well, at an annual saving of over 4,000,000 pounds.)

Those, therefore, who argue that Canada is in fact an independent capitalist-imperialist nation must show in historical terms when such independence was attained. If not in 1867, then when did an independent national bourgeoisie seize control of the country from the com-

prador bourgeoisie and their imperialist masters?

The answer is, never. We have not exchanged a comprador bourgeoisie for an independent national bourgeoisie as our ruling class; our comprador ruling class has merely exchanged foreign masters. Canada's history since 1867 shows this, and the particular relation of class forces in Canada since Confederation has served to facilitate this foreign control throughout our history. The fact is that at the time of Confederation, the comprador bourgeoisie was the only class that had the capacity to rule.

## Farmers and Workers

The farmers, the largest social group at that time, were not a stable class which could act politically in its own right. It is true that some farmers, in a period of rural crisis and agrarian revolt were able to combine their forces and win a temporary parliamentary majority in several areas of the country, but they could never offer a lasting and viable political alternative to the power of the existing ruling class. This was so of the United Farmers of Alberta whose brief period of rule ended in scandal and general chaos to make way for Social Credit. It was also shown in Ontario in 1919 when the United Farmers of Ontario rode a tide of rural grievances to a majority in the Legislature and returned to power with Progressive support in 1921, but finally disintegrated in 1924 when most of their grievances had been disposed of and nothing remained to bind the farmers together. These experiences, in spite of passing victories at a time when the rural vote was relatively very powerful, only provide proof of the farmers' inability to act independently as a class. Farmers and the middle class can only find expression in following the political leadership of a stable social class. Their relationship to the means and mode of production is such as to cause them to be attracted to bourgeois ideology and politics. But they are also exploited by the ruling class and are daily driven to ruin--this makes them, particularly the working farmers, potential though unstable allies of the working class at times of crisis.

The working class does constitute a social force able to act independently as a class in its own right, but at the time of Confederation, this class was too small and too inexperienced politically to be able to challenge the rule of the comprador bourgeoisie. Some important aspects of working class history since Confederation will be discussed later in this paper.

## National Bourgeoisie

There has certainly existed in Canada elements of a national bourgeoisie, a bourgeoisie which dreams of becoming the capitalist ruling class of Canada to the exclusion of foreign imperialists. In the early years of Confederation, a large part of this class was kept relatively inert politically. Its dominant Anglo-Canadian section could satisfy itself at least in part by being able to obtain a minor share in the exploitation of Quebec. There were also the Empire preferential tariffs which protected the Canadian market from foreign competition except from other Empire countries, and extended to Canada a special preference for the entry of Canadian products into other parts of the British Empire. But this class was never able to offer any sort of economic or political challenge to the rule of imperialist capital in Canada.

A more important consideration than the special concessions granted them has prevented the national bourgeoisie from even attempting to take independent action designed to free Canada from foreign domination. The overthrow of the comprador class and the defeat of imperialism, a necessary prelude to establishing their rule over an independent Canada, could only be accomplished through an act of revolution for which it would be necessary to mobilize all the popular forces in Canada, and in particular the working class. And this is a step from which the nationalist bourgeoisie, a class of exploiters, have naturally recoiled from in horror. They much prefer their inferior position under imperialism to the dangers of a popular revolutionary movement.

The entire political struggle, what there was, centered on parliamentary contests in which the dominant class made all the rules and dealt itself the winning hand. Some people think that the feeble protestations of a Walter Gordon or an Eric Kierans represent attempts on the part of this nationalist bourgeoisie to seize control of the economy from the U. S. corporations. Now, whether or not a Gordon or a Kierans is personally in favour of a greater degree of independence is irrelevant--the reason that they attain prominent positions from time to time has nothing to do with actual attempts at seizing greater independence. Their warnings and half-hearted demands represent nothing more than the effort of the Canadian ruling class to squeeze a bit more of the profits made by the Americans into their own pockets. These are the laughable endeavours of the servant to blackmail his master into paying him a larger wage.

# Role of Political Parties and Organisations

## Liberal, Conservative, and Social Credit

Parliamentary democracy needed political parties in order to function, and the ruling class provided the required two that could go through the motion of political contest and its aftermath; government and opposition. The two original political parties, Conservative and Liberal, both represented to an equal degree the dominant comprador class throughout most of their history. But while this is essentially the case, it is not quite true to say that both were exactly the same, and that the division was just a false front to fool a gullible electorate. In the particular political and economic situation in Canada, these two parties represented one class, but different comprador factions that adhered to widely different loyalties. The fortunes of the parties fluctuated and changed for the better or worse precisely with the changing fortunes of the imperialist power to which each was loyal.

Since Confederation arrived on the scene sponsored by the Imperial Government, it is no surprise that in Canada the representatives of that section of the comprador bourgeoisie most closely allied to British interests should form the first government. The Conservative Party, led by John A. Macdonald (to be knighted by the Queen for his services to British imperialism) held governmental power in Canada for most of the first two decades following Confederation. Only a scandal of major proportions caused their temporary loss of power in 1873. The Conservatives were the political spokesmen of those eastern business and railway interests who were most intimately tied to British capital. The close personal connection of Macdonald himself to the railway interests led to his downfall during the Pacific Scandal, but it was precisely this connection that helped to keep him in power the rest of the time. The British controlled CPR, for example, supported him generously in his election campaigns. To the Canadian electorate, he represented himself as the staunch defender of imperial ties. "The question," he told electors in his last campaign,

"which you will shortly be called upon to determine resolves itself into this: Shall we endanger our possession of the great heritage be-

queathed to us by our fathers, and submit ourselves to direct taxation for the privilege of having our tariff fixed at Washington, with the prospect of ultimately becoming a portion of the American Union? . . . As for myself, my course is clear. A British subject I was born --a British subject I will die."\*

All those elements in the comprador class and the nationalist bourgeoisie which favoured Confederation and close union with England--the majority at the time--flocked to the Tory banners. Ever since the Tory Party has been the pro-British party in Canadian politics, to such extent that even today, with England's former glory rapidly fading, one can still find in the political life of Canada fanatical Empire loyalists like Diefenbaker and his personal following within the Conservative Party. However, for the most part the Tories have changed with the changing times and under the leadership of the Dalton Camps and the Stanfields now turn to serve another foreign master with equal fervour.

The Liberal Party was always the political representative of that section of the comprador class which was partial to the rising star of U. S. imperialism, even to the point of political as well as economic unity. In the 1880's and 1890's the continentalism of the Liberals was seen by many people as sheer annexationism--that is, the annexation of Canada to the U. S. As we have seen, in the 1891 elections, John A. Macdonald was able to use the pro-American stance of the Liberals in order to whip up sentiment for the pro-imperial policies of his own government. While the Liberals were campaigning for unrestricted trade reciprocity with the United States, Macdonald won the election by reaffirming Canada's ties with England and the British Empire. The time had not yet come for the U. S. to displace Britain as the main exploiter of the Canadian economy.

When, therefore, in 1896, the Liberals under Laurier managed to defeat the Conservatives and proceeded to wield power for the next fifteen years, their success did not represent any change in Canada's status as a British neo-colony. What it did represent was on the one hand the weariness of the Canadian electorate with three decades of virtually uninterrupted Conservative rule, and on the other a complete, though temporary, abandonment by the Liberals of their pro-American position. What happened to the Liberals after their accession to power in 1896 was precisely what was to happen to the Conservatives under Diefenbaker sixty years later, but in re-

verse. Having waved the flag of U. S. imperialism, they were forced to switch horses in mid-stream and come to terms with the reality of British control. This is clear even from the accounts of bourgeois historians:

"The fiscal re-education of the Liberals was now complete. With the most accomplished dexterity, they abandoned their old policy and paid that of their rivals the supreme compliment of adoption. Most people naturally expected that Laurier would make Sir Richard Cartwright his new Minister of Finance. But Sir Richard was one of the old Reformers, an unrepentant low-tariff man, a warm friend of closer trade relations with the United States. His reward for his long services to the Liberal party in the days of its adversity was the relatively unimportant portfolio of Minister of Trade and Commerce; and it was W. S. Fielding, the veteran Liberal Prime Minister of Nova Scotia, whom the shrewd and realistic Laurier appointed as his Minister of Finance. The tariff which Fielding proposed in his first budget speech of 1897 may have slightly decreased the general level of Canadian protection; but it made no vital change in the Canadian fiscal system and its two major innovations actually increased the anti-American character of the tariff. The offer of reciprocity with the United States, which for years had been inserted in all Canadian tariffs, now was pointedly omitted, while at the same time there was included a clause which offered a reduction of duties of one-eighth to countries prepared to reciprocate. This reduction without any *quid pro quo*, was immediately granted to Great Britain. In the next year, 1898, a special British preference, one-quarter lower than the general tariff, was created. Thus, in less than a decade, the Liberals had shifted from unrestricted reciprocity with the United States to imperial preference for Great Britain. Fewer than ten years before they had been dubiously regarded as probable annexationists; now they were made the blushing recipients of a poetical tribute from the Empire's unofficial poet laureate, Rudyard Kipling."\*

We have quoted at such great length in order to point out the central fact in Canadian history: the fact of foreign imperialist control. This has been the determining factor in our politics and in our economics. This has been the fact that our politicians, even if disinclined to do so, have always had to adapt themselves to if they were to retain power. As we have seen, Laurier and the Liberals had for years advocated closer economic ties with the U. S. and yet the price of power was the complete reversal of their policies. Besides the pro-British policies already described, the Laurier government continued to subsidize the British-controlled railway mono-

polies and in 1899 equipped a Canadian force to assist the British in their imperialist war in South Africa. "When Britain is at war," declared Laurier, "Canada is at war. There is no distinction." No wonder that Laurier, too, was knighted by the grateful imperial government! When the Liberals next raised the slogan of reciprocity with the United States in 1911, they were swept from office by Borden's Conservatives.

From the 1890's until the end of the second decade of the twentieth century, Britain was the dominant imperialist power in Canada, as in much of the rest of the world. At the end of the first World War, Britain controlled an empire of over five-hundred million people, with territories in India, Southeast Asia, Africa, and, of course, North America. But victory in that war really marked the high point in British expansion--after that the British position was one of constant decline. It was the United States that now established itself as the strongest industrial and financial power among the capitalist nations, a creditor to all the others. And Canada was the first British dependency to fall prey to the dollar. In 1921, for the first time, the United States surpassed Britain as the principal purchaser of Canadian products; in 1926, American direct investment in Canada exceeded British investment in total volume. Around this time, during the mid-twenties, when the two imperial masters fairly balanced each other in their influence in Canadian affairs, certain segments of the bourgeoisie and their political representatives allowed themselves the luxury of a few gestures of independence, thereby achieving nothing more than the permanent confusion of some left-wing intellectuals who believe that Canada actually gained its independence in the post-World War I demise of the British Empire.

In 1921, the Liberals under Mackenzie King began their long reign in Ottawa, a reign that has lasted through to the present under King, St. Laurent, Pearson, and Trudeau, and which has been interrupted only rarely by Conservative governments under R. B. Bennett and John Diefenbaker. No matter who their leadership, the Liberals have proved themselves most adept at selling Canada to the United States, as adept as the Conservatives had been at serving the British.

Diefenbaker's example illustrates very clearly the realities of Canadian politics. To many people he was able to appear as a crusader, a defender of Canada against foreign domination--so much so, that the Liberal press was forever attacking him for his "anti-Americanism". In 1958 he received the overwhelming support of the Canadian electorate for his position, only to find what Laurier had found after his accession to office: the foreign master was not to be trifled with by any petty Canadian politician. And Diefenbaker, of course, was no anti-imperialist, the tragicomic failure of his years in power lay precisely in the fact that he owed his allegiance to an imperial power no longer able to accept his

services. The sun of British imperialism had long ago been eclipsed in Canada.

With only one dominant imperialist power on the scene, there is no longer any important matter that separates the Liberals and the post-Diefenbaker Conservatives. The Tory opposition, for want of an issue, is reduced to justifying their parliamentary existence by fighting over procedural technicalities and making irrelevant criticisms of policies to which they themselves cannot offer any alternatives.

With the two comprador factions united as never before and there no longer being a situation in which two fairly balanced imperialist powers are contending for control, factional contradictions and hostilities within the comprador class are at a minimum. This gives the remaining vestiges of a nationalist bourgeoisie no room to maneuver to improve, or even hold, their economic position. Each day sees more and more of the Canadian economy fall under American control, and even the feeble voice of a Walter Gordon is quickly muffled when it dares to suggest that Canadians (that is, the Canadian bourgeoisie) should control more of their own country.

The nationalist bourgeoisie, the petty-bourgeoisie, and the farmers are in the process of losing confidence in both the Liberal and Tory political machines after years of betrayal. They are now looking for other "safe" political parties to represent their interests. In the West, due to political traditions peculiar to the West and also to the bankruptcy of the regional Liberal and Conservative parties, the Social Credit Party was able to win parliamentary victories in two provinces. But Social Credit is made up of the most extreme reactionary sections of the Conservative machine, and under the cover of skillful demagoguery and the constant playing on the bogey of "Marxist socialism" they have turned British Columbia and Alberta into virtual colonies of the United States in every respect. The recent boast of a B. C. cabinet minister that we are the U. S. "fiftieth state" was wrong mainly in that the United States already has fifty states.

## New Democratic Party

Under such conditions, only one bourgeois party remains to hold out some hope, however illusory, to those concerned about the American domination of Canada: the New Democratic Party. The roots of the NDP stem from the great militant general strike that tied up the city of Winnipeg in 1919. Emerging from that strike was a small group of middle class reformers with petty-bourgeois socialist ideas. Led by J. S. Woodsworth, a minister and one of the leaders of the Winnipeg General Strike, a number of these reformers who had

been elected to Parliament joined together as a "ginger group." With no set program but with definite social-democratic ideas, they were non-revolutionaries but with a fair degree of militancy, wholly committed to the reform of the capitalist system.

Under the impact of the crisis of the thirties, the influence of this group spread and thought was given to the organisation of a formal political movement. Many old local and provincial groups, together with some new smaller political groups and a few trade unions finally came together in Regina in 1933 and founded the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF). The Federation was committed to social-democratic ideals, even to the point of affiliating with the Second (old) International, but reflected also the general militant spirit of the years of crisis. It was influenced, to some extent, by a few adherents who had long held socialist opinions, and the Regina Manifesto advocated the abolition of capitalism (by the ballot box). Notwithstanding this, throughout the years of crises and war, the CCF remained firmly under the control of confirmed social democrats, people whose political vision could not break out of the confines of capitalism. When things within the party at times threatened to get out of hand, widespread expulsions of radicals were carried out. Thus did the social democrats, during a trying period, make their contribution to keep the world safe for "free enterprise".

After the conclusion of the Second World War, the bureaucracy in the Canadian branches of the United States unions (the so-called "Internationals") decided that they had need of some special political representation. In 1961, a pact was concluded between these officials and the professional politicians of the CCF which resulted in the formation of the New Democratic Party. The new party was even further to the right of the old CCF in order to satisfy the U. S.-dependent bureaucrats who were arranging to finance the party through funds raised by the unions. In the process, and in the few years immediately after, more militants were excluded and the important positions in the party became the exclusive preserve of middle class elements, union bureaucrats, and some workers from the upper echelons of skilled labour.

The political climate of the last few years has been conducive to the rise to dominant position in the party of upper middle class, and even lower bourgeois elements. This development at the moment is confined mostly to the provincial level of political activity, but is bound to have a decisive influence on the federal apparatus by the time the next convention falls due.

In its all-out effort to cater to bourgeois sentiment, the NDP has eliminated all mention of even middle class socialism and put all its bets on "free enterprise". The chief spokesmen of the NDP, particularly amongst the young "new breed" in the provinces, are being quite

explicit in their explanations of NDP policies. "Socialist" measures will not extend beyond government entry into areas of production, service, and communications where free enterprise cannot, or will not, enter. "Free enterprise" is to remain the leading force in the Canadian economy under any potential NDP government. As Ed Schreyer, the leader of the recently elected Manitoba NDP government states, the NDP goal is to "assure people of investment means that we don't have anything silly, impractical or imprudent in mind; that we are out to be co-operative with private enterprise." And as for the question of foreign control, Schreyer explained that he proposes to fight American domination of the Manitoba economy by encouraging more investment from Europe and Japan! (Not that this has stopped him from seeking out more American investment, and a multi-million dollar loan was floated in New York.)

It is clear that the NDP program will change absolutely nothing. It will certainly not put an end to the American control of the Canadian economy, and although the imperialists and their Canadian comprador allies would prefer to have their old reliable servants of the Liberal and Conservative parties in power, they could easily live with an NDP government if they had to. The monopolists are not clamouring to take over sewers, water distribution, postal service, road construction, or any of the other public service sectors long ago "socialized" by hard-nosed Tories, and they will even welcome government entry into electrical power, communications, and railways so long as this provides them with cheap power and transportation facilities paid out of the public purse. And beyond such reforms, plus a few social welfare measures, the NDP is not willing to go.

This is not to say that the NDP does not have its contradictions. In its rank and file are to be found many sincere people who are genuinely concerned about the domination of Canada by the U. S. and by the anti-independence, anti-socialist policies of the NDP leadership. Recently a manifesto, known as the Watkins Manifesto, was issued within the NDP recognizing the need for an independent and socialist Canada, and calling upon the NDP to adopt a program with that goal. The fact that the NDP leadership even agreed to debate the manifesto at the recent convention shows how deep pro-independence, pro-socialist sentiments run amongst the rank and file--but the results of that debate showed precisely where the leadership stands on the questions raised by the manifesto. Tommy Douglas, the NDP national leader, announced he would resign if the manifesto was adopted. The party's federal council published a counter-document, declaring that "anti-Americanism is as barren and negative a concept as is anti-French or anti-English or anti any other country or people," thus equating the anti-imperialism of the oppressed with the racism fostered by the oppressor. Edward Broadbent, chairman of the Convention Resolutions Committee and a member of Parliament, said that the Watkins docu-

ment presented a "needlessly negative" image of America. And finally, of course, the convention adopted the council's document which merely reiterated the innocuous promises of "expansion of public investment and public ownership, government planning, a just tax system," and so on; in other words, stuff that even rabid Social Crediters would have a difficult time disagreeing with. As for the future fate of those left-wingers who wish to work within the NDP for socialism and independence, David Lewis, the party deputy-leader warned: "If they attempt to build a machine, that's a different story. If they try to push the party around, the party is not going to be pushed around." (The Progressive Workers' position on the Watkins Manifesto was published in the October edition of our B. C. Newsletter, and is reprinted as an Appendix to this paper.)

Among the most active opponents of the Watkins Manifesto at the NDP convention were the representatives of the U. S. -controlled "international" unions. One such representative, Dennis McDermott, Canadian director of the United Auto Workers, attacked the manifesto as "blatant anti-Americanism." Pierre Trudeau could not have said it better himself--nor could Pierre Trudeau perform his job as chief Canadian puppet of the United States nearly so well without the aid of the labour-bureaucrats of the "Canadian" trade union "movement", the same ones who were granted an automatic ten per cent of the seats on the NDP federal council at the recent convention. But if the Americanization of the Canadian labour movement at present finds its most blatant political expression in the NDP, it was achieved by no small assist from the "revolutionary" policies of our nearly defunct Communist Party of Canada.

## Communist Party and the Working Class Movement

The Communist Party of Canada was founded in 1921 and grew out of the same radical conditions as the social democratic CCF. Although the Russian Revolution was the chief inspiration of the CP, and in spite of its early militancy and in spite of its rhetoric, the Communist Party was never really a revolutionary party, it never seriously offered any truly revolutionary perspective.

During the years of crisis in the thirties, the CP played an important role in giving militant leadership to the workers in the struggle against the worst effects of capitalism and in the fight to create an effective labour movement. Those were the years when the Party enjoyed its greatest influence and prestige among the Canadian people, and reached its highest peak of membership. At the same time, the very policies the party was pursuing ensured its ultimate failure as well as the serious

setbacks the Canadian labour movement was to suffer under the CP's leadership. For the fact that at present over seventy per cent of organized labour in Canada is to be found in the AFL-CIO-dominated "Internationals", organisations controlled by the labour lieutenants of American imperialism, is due in large measure to the leadership of the Communist Party of Canada.

Contrary to opinions held by many workers today, and particularly by young workers, our unions were not a gift graciously bestowed upon us by U. S. workers concerned for our welfare. In fact, Canada and the United States both owe the beginnings of trade unionism to the same source--immigrant workers from the British Isles who had trade union experience at home, especially in the years following the industrial revolution. U. S. unions came to Canada not to organize but to absorb organisations already in existence.

No exact history is known of our earliest labour organisations, but we do know that there were labour organisations in Nova Scotia at least as early as 1816. In that year, the Nova Scotia Assembly passed an act prohibiting combinations of workmen, making reference to numbers of workingmen who "by unlawful meetings and combinations endeavoured to regulate the rates of wages."

It was not until the 1860's, long after a number of unions had been organized in Canada, that the first approach was made by U. S. unions for the formation of "Internationals". The Moulders' Union was the first to accept Canadian locals. There were unions of moulders in Toronto, Hamilton, Brantford, London, and Quebec. Delegates from the first four of these five cities attended the convention in Cincinnati in 1861 and the name of the organisation was changed to the Iron Moulders' Union of America in 1863.

The National Typographical Union in the U. S. conducted a ten year campaign, starting in 1854, to have Canadian printers join their organisation. In 1860, an appeal for "International" unions was addressed to Canadian printers in the following terms:

"It will, if we succeed in bringing these unions under our jurisdiction, strengthen both our numbers and our finances; it will do away with the difficulties that now exist in regard to the exchange of cards . . . and it will be the means of strengthening the bonds of fellowship and good feeling that should exist between ourselves and our sister countries."\*

Making similar appeals, various American unions entered Canada so that by the end of the 1860's, "international" unionism was well on the way to becoming the dominant form of labour organisation in Canada.

Organisation of labour along craft (as opposed to industrial) lines was finally consolidated at the convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1886 which elected as its president Samuel Gompers, the very epitome of bureaucratic, class-collaborationist labour leadership. American unions rapidly displaced the independent Canadian labour organizations and became dominant amongst Canadian workers' groups.

Organisation on "international" lines appeared quite a natural development in those early years and the distortions and bad influence of later years could not be easily foreseen. Canada was not yet economically dominated by United States investors; Britain was still the dominant imperialist power in North America, and labour in the 19th century had no way of knowing the dire consequences that would result from an economy dominated by the U. S. and a labour movement dominated and dictated to by the class-collaborationist labour lieutenants of the American corporations. But it did not take long for Canadian workers to discover that control of their labour movement by the American bureaucrats was not too beneficial for the advancement of their cause.

In 1902, all purely Canadian unions were expelled from the Trades and Labour Congress, the precursor of the present day Canadian Labour Congress which now became the "national" organisation of the American unions in Canada. In response, there were a number of attempts to organize an independent Canadian trade union movement. The Canadian Federation of Labour, comprised of many of the Canadian unions, stated in 1908:

Canadian workers cannot fail to be impressed with the imperative necessity of protection both in their relationship to capital . . . and in the autocratic domination of trade-unionism and its policy exercised by the present system of Internationalism.

By forming the Canadian Federation of Labour we hereby declare that we fully realize the necessity of the Canadian workers organizing into Canadian national unions. . .

We declare it to be in the best interests of Canadian labour to organize along national lines and thus foster the spirit of our Canadian nationality.\*\*

Although the CFL did not achieve its goal of an independent Canadian labour movement, and the majority of Canadian workers remained under the domination of the American labour allies of the big corporations, by no means was the struggle for a vigorous and sovereign labour movement abandoned in Canada.

In March of 1919, the Western Labour Conference attended by 239 delegates, chiefly from B. C., Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba, was convened in Calgary.

Before the conference ended the delegates had evolved plans for an entirely new organisation, with principles and policies completely opposed to those of the American and eastern-dominated Trades and Labour Congress.

Resolution No. 3 recommended that all bodies represented sever their affiliation with the "internationals" and co-operate in the formation of an industrial organisation of all workers--the One Big Union.

In spite of united opposition from employers, government and labour bureaucrats, the OBU met with sympathetic response from large numbers of workers. Despite some setbacks, the OBU convention of January 1920 reported a membership of 50,000 and there were encouraging signs of growth in Ontario and among the coal miners and steel workers of Nova Scotia. But what the ruling class and their labour lieutenants could not achieve for themselves was about to be done for them by the left--the smashing of the OBU.

The founding convention of the Workers' Party of Canada, forerunner of the Communist Party, was held in Guelph, Ontario, in 1922. The issue that immediately caused a split amongst the delegates was the question of craft versus industrial unions. The program formally adopted by the majority of delegates read as follows:

"Not only the policy pursued by some groups in the past of seeking to revolutionize the labour movement by splitting away to form new ideal unions be completely abandoned; not only must dual unionism be vigorously combatted; but positively all tendencies to consolidate the trade unions by amalgamating the related crafts on the basis of one union for each industry must be fostered within the existing trades." \*

This directive constituted an order for the dissolution of the OBU, abandonment of the industrial unions and a return to the crafts in the hope that they could some day be converted into industrial unions with a radical outlook. On this point the delegates split and when the pro-OBU forces refused to accept the decision, the majority declared virtual war on the industrial organisation. Their policy was known as "boring from within" and the Party's ideologues were fond of quoting Lenin's "Left Wing" Communism in support of their position.

Here we had a classical example of the mechanical application of a policy which was right for one place, to an entirely different set of conditions. The German trade unionists at whom Lenin had directed his criticism were in a German movement, composed of German workmen and led by German bureaucrats. Similarly, the advocates of "boring from within" in the U. S. were concerned with a labour movement that was completely American. But the Canadian labour movement, unlike

any other labour movement in the world, was under the domination of a foreign trade union bureaucracy, allied to the imperialists who were already replacing the British in their control of the Canadian economy. If it were merely a question of craft versus industrial unions, this policy might have made sense. But the convention majority saw no contradiction between their call for Canadian independence and their insistence that Canadian workers submit themselves to a foreign bureaucracy that was in the service of the giant companies then bidding for control of the Canadian economy. They apparently saw no connection between the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and the U. S. imperialists.

The policy of "boring from within" not only put the party squarely on the side of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats it also put them in active opposition to any form of independent Canadian trade unionism, advocates of which were (and still are) condemned as "splitters, leftists, reactionaries, provocative elements," etc. By the mid-1920's, fully one-third of all Canadian unionists were in wholly Canadian unions and large numbers of workers in the "internationals" favoured radical changes in structure: it is reasonable to assume that an absolute majority of union members in Canada could have been mobilized around a national union centre and an independent labour movement. In 1927 the inevitable happened; a new trade union center, the all-Canadian Congress of Labour, was organized and the question of Canadian vs. American unions for Canadian workers was brought to the fore. But the party's response to this development was simply to reiterate the need for "unity" and "Canadian autonomy." Mind you, the party realized that even "autonomy" was not easy to achieve--Tim Buck warned in a 1925 pamphlet that "autonomy is not going to be won in a day." This was an uncommonly shrewd prediction, for now, forty-five years later, autonomy is still no closer than it was in 1925--if anything, the grip of the American labour "leaders" on the Canadian union movement is even stronger.

In spite of all their expressions of loyalty to the "internationals", Communists in Canada were drummed out of the trade unions wherever they were discovered. Now they were exactly in the same position they claimed their "boring from within" policy would avoid--outside the unions and out of contact with the members of the organized labour movement. This situation, plus the fact that the A. F. of L. bureaucrats were doing absolutely nothing about organizing the unorganized in the face of the sharp attacks on the living standards of the workers, prompted the leadership to take some independent action. They decided to organize the unorganized while all the time declaiming their continued desire to belong to the respectable "international" unions.

Necessity, it is said, is the mother of invention, and necessity was certainly nipping at the heels of the party leadership in this bleak period. Pressed to make some

move that would lead them out of isolation and put them in firm contact with the working masses, the party leaders agreed to the formation of an independent and militant labour center affiliated with the Red International of Labour Unions--the Workers Unity League (WUL). But from the very first, the leadership insisted that this was but a temporary measure and that the basic policy of the party on trade unions was still to "work from within" to transform the American-dominated craft unions into "autonomous" industrial unions.

The WUL had a short but spectacular existence. Established in 1929, just as the stock market went into the tailspin that heralded the beginning of the great economic crisis of the '30's that forced more than a million Canadian workers into unemployment, it lasted for approximately seven years--until the birth of the CIO when it too became an offering on the altar of unity in the "international" unions.

For all its shortness of existence, the WUL was one of the most important developments in the history of Canadian labour. It was virtually alone in leading labour battles in the dark days of the Depression. It survived, grew and served the interests of the working class in spite of the concerted opposition of employers, the state and the A. F. of L. bureaucrats. Many of its members and leaders were beaten up and jailed--but still it grew and expanded. Most of the strikes that occurred from 1929 to 1936 were led by the WUL, and all of them were tough battles against the boss and the state. Victories were won, despite the fact that the employers did not hesitate to call out the RCMP and sometimes even regiments of tanks and machine guns against the workers, resulting in strikers being killed and wounded.

By 1935, the Canadian unions of the WUL, the all-Canadian Congress of Labour, and the Canadian and Catholic Confederation of Labour in Quebec accounted for more than half the union membership in Canada. In addition, a great many, perhaps as many as fifty per cent of the members in the U. S. -dominated craft unions were ready to rally to a Canadian center, if one with some hope of survival were to appear. Upwards of 80 per cent of the organized workers could thus have been drawn into a united Canadian trade union movement--but the party was still carrying its cross of "unity in the

## C. Summary

We should now summarize our discussion of the key factors in Canada's political development. Naturally we have had to leave much unsaid, and we could touch upon even the most important points only in the briefest fashion. But we did wish to make the following points

international crafts," and would give no lead in the formation of an independent Canadian movement. In fact, when the CIO was organized and began its spectacular drive in the mass production industries, the WUL was disbanded and Canadian workers were once more led back into the "internationals".

In the beginning, the section of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy that broke away to found the CIO needed the Communists to help consolidate the hundreds of thousands of workers who had poured into the unions. But the unions that had anti-Communist clauses in their constitutions kept them intact, and the C. P. made no real protest, in the interests of "unity". Those who did not have such clauses would get them later. In the "cold war" period that followed World War II, these clauses were used to get rid of militants, many of them men and women who had made great personal sacrifices to help build the labour movement. Once again, the left was on the outside, barred from holding office and often barred from membership. Once again the policy that was to guard against isolation led only to isolation. But the party leadership had learned nothing from its errors and pressed on with its bankrupt policy of "unity" within the "internationals".

If today certain leaders of the Communist Party are to be found amongst the bureaucracy of the U. S. -dominated unions, it is only because of their policy of "boring from within"--and only the "within" remains. They have given up even the pretence of struggle, they struggle only to lead more Canadians into the "internationals" and to get themselves good positions and pensions at the same time. The entire party leadership of Mine-Mill has been taken to the well-padded bosom of the United Steelworkers of America, for example, which has some of the finest anti-Communist clauses to be found anywhere. When the Canadian Communist leaders took their oath of office as their reward for having led this Canadian union into the fold, they swore to uphold and apply these clauses. A great victory!

These so-called "victories" are being won by applying the old tactic; "If you can't beat them, join them!" And these bureaucrats masquerading as Communists are doing exactly that--joining the labour lieutenants of American imperialism.

absolutely clear;

1. Canada has always been a colony. After 1867 she gradually attained the status of a seemingly independent state, but in fact she continued to be dominated by for-

eign imperialism, first British and then American.

2. We do not have and never did have an independent national bourgeoisie as our ruling class. The dominant Canadian bourgeoisie has always been the comprador bourgeoisie, a bourgeoisie closely tied to and in the service of foreign interests.

3. Our two leading political parties, the Conservatives and the Liberals, have from the beginning represented differing sections of the comprador bourgeoisie --differing only as to which imperialist power they owed their allegiance to. When in power, however, they have always served the dominant imperialist power, regardless of their preferences.

4. None of the existing political parties in Canada can --or even wants to--offer any real challenge to the foreign monopolist domination of our economy (even though many of the rank and file, particularly in the NDP, may want to do so.)

5. We do not have an independent Canadian trade union movement. Seventy per cent of our organized workers find themselves in the so-called "internationals", American Trade unions controlled by the A. F. of L. -C. I. O. allies of the Democratic Party. For this situation, the policies of the old Communist Party of Canada are largely responsible.

What have been the results of these historical and political factors on the present situation in Canada? This is the topic of the next section in our discussion of the national question. ○

## 3. CANADA: THE PRESENT SITUATION



(1). U. S. corporations like Kaiser Coal get much-needed research done cheaply at Canadian universities. (2). Trudeau and friend in Washington, Spring 1969. (3). Cops work over picketer at Lenkurt Electric, May 1967. At Lenkurt workers faced an American company, an American union, and "Canadian" courts and cops. (4). Cartoon showing the situation of the majority of organized workers in Canada. (5). Strip mining in B. C.--one of the improvements to Canadian scenery courtesy of American investment.

# A. Economy

## American Control

"Economically and socially Canada may be considered as a northern extension of the United States," declared the United States Department of Commerce Report, No. 44, of 1924. Was this just another arrogant Yankee boast? Yes, it was—but it was also rapidly becoming true. By the mid-1920's, as we have stated, the United States was replacing Britain as the chief imperialist power dominating Canada. Since then, the U. S. has fully established herself as the true and only master of the Canadian house. To put it simply, Canada is no more than a neo-colony, a fully integrated part of the American empire.

J. V. Clyne, chairman and chief executive officer of MacMillan-Bloedel Ltd., stated recently that the decisions that affect our economic life are made "not in Ottawa but in Washington." Clyne should know: his own company (as we will later show) is controlled in the U. S. . . And as for the political side of the coin, no less of an authority than Mr. P. E. Trudeau has pointed out that Canada enjoys about ten to twenty per cent independence in matters of foreign policy—"the Americans will not let us have any more than that," he said. Now, what petty and weak neo-colony of the U. S. in Latin America, Africa, or Asia does not enjoy this same "ten to twenty per cent independence"? What, after all, is a neo-colony? Even outright colonies are often allowed a certain degree of autonomy in questions of policy, so long as they do not assert this independence in ways contradictory to the interests of the colonial power.

What the Clyne and Trudeau statements mean is that Canadian independence is a sham, and that the political processes in Canada which keep up this pretence are relevant to the real decision-making about Canada's destiny only to the extent that they attempt to mask the foreign imperialists' control of our country. In Canada, as elsewhere, independence is merely a window-dressing: it is the American who owns the shop.

This fact, of course, is no surprise to most Canadians—our daily experience proves it to us over and over again. But there are some people on the left who find it difficult to believe what most of us have always known. If, in this section of our paper, we seem to be trying to prove the obvious, it is because not everyone shares our view of Canada's non-independent, neo-colonial status. And indeed, on the surface, it might seem that Canada does have more in common with the white, industrialized, imperialist United States than with the coloured, mostly agricultural, colonized nations of the "Third

World". So in what sense is Canada a neo-colony?

Surely it is not the skin colour of the population, nor even the level of industrialization of a country that decides whether or not it is a colony. We usually think of colonies as largely agrarian areas, for most of them are. But, as Lenin pointed out in his work on imperialism:

"The characteristic feature of imperialism is that it tries to annex not only agrarian territories, but even most highly industrialized regions. . . ."

In other words, it is very possible for even the most industrialized nations to fall into the status of colony or neo-colony—it is the relationship between the imperialist country and her possession, and not any other factor that defines the latter's status as a colony. A completely agrarian country can be independent and a heavily industrialized country can be a powerless dependency.

This is not to say that Canada has no special features which distinguish her from other areas of America's foreign empire. (We have reserved discussion of these features for the Appendix.) But it is our task as Marxists not simply to collect data on this or that aspect of Canadian life, on this or that aspect of Canada's relationship to the United States, but to seek out what is most essential, what is fundamental, what is most important to our attempt to understand and analyse the Canadian situation. And no matter where we look, economics, politics, or culture, it is American domination of Canada that emerges as the most important factor.

The importance of the empire to the United States is frequently admitted by the imperialists themselves. As the U. S. News & World Report stated in 1967:

American companies abroad produce goods and services with a gross value every year of more than 100 billion dollars. If these American branches and subsidiaries formed a nation, its gross national product would rank third in the world, following the United States and the Soviet Union.

This was from a speech by Thomas J. Watson, chairman of International Business Machines (IBM). Watson further pointed out:

"I do not need to tell you what would

happen to our economy if major restrictions were placed upon our overseas operations.

"One dollar in 14 of the national income of the United States comes from abroad. In the IBM Company it is 1 dollar in 4."

It has been estimated that, on the average, one quarter of the profits of all industrial corporations in the U. S. are derived from foreign investment and the military spending that inevitably follows foreign investment. For the twenty-five largest American "multi-national" corporations, fully forty per cent of profits come from these sources. Nor does the importance of the empire to the U. S. lie merely in the profits of the large corporations. The possession of sources of cheap raw materials, controlled markets, cheap sources of labour, and controlled areas for the export of surplus capital are all absolutely essential for the maintenance of the entire American economy under the present system. A host of bloody examples, Vietnam being the most prominent, show us to what lengths the U. S. will go in order to prevent the loss of one single part of her world-wide empire.

What is Canada's position in the American empire? So wrote the Financial Post in November, 1967:

Canada accounts for approximately 25% of all U. S. foreign investment. The world total amounts to nearly US\$112,000 million. This compares with a total of US\$31,500 million in 1950.

Canada is the favoured place for private U. S. investment money, ahead of western Europe which has a total of US\$23,300 million and Latin America with about US\$15,200 million.

In other words, it is our honour to be one quarter of the American empire. The U. S. imperialists own more in our country than in all the countries of Latin America combined, with their total populations over twelve times greater than ours. Similarly, the whole of Western Europe with its great population and high degree of economic development does not have as much American investment as we do. "No advanced economy in the world has as high a degree of foreign control of its industry as has Canada," said a study published by the Economic Council of Canada recently. \*

According to U. S. government statistics, Canada, with a population of about 20,000,000, had 16.1 billion dollars of U. S. direct investment at the end of 1966. This figure is actually too low, but it does provide some interesting comparisons. The next six countries in terms of the amount of U. S. investment in that year were Great Britain, West Germany, France, Australia, Venezuela, and Brazil. The combined populations of

these countries were about 220,000 million. The combined U. S. direct investment: 16.7 billion dollars. In terms of population, this means that these other countries had U. S. direct investment of seventy-five dollars per person, while we in Canada had eight-hundred and five dollars for every man, woman, and child.

In terms of actual control, these figures speak even louder. It is easy to see, for example, that the 16.1 billion dollars of American direct investment in the Canadian economy will allow for a very much greater degree of actual control than the 3.1 billion dollars in the German economy, the fourth most productive in the world and certainly far more developed and industrialized than Canada's. Even 16.1 billion dollars in the giant German economy would mean less American control than the same figure means in Canada.

In 1926, when the U. S. first began to replace England as the dominant force in Canada's economy, total U. S. investments in Canada amounted to 1.4 billion dollars. Today total U. S. investment comes to around 30 billion dollars, most of it being in the form of direct ownership and control. The most recent statistics on the question of foreign domination are to be found in the Watkins Report, whose author is now in the NDP trying to force that party to halt the process which the Liberals and the Conservatives have always encouraged—the process of Americanization. These were just some of the findings of the Watkins Report: in 1964 foreigners owned 33 billion dollars worth of assets in Canada, most of this foreign investment being in American hands. Foreign ownership of Canadian manufacturing industries has increased substantially from 38% in 1926 to 54% in 1963, and foreign control has increased even more, from 35% in 1926 to 60% in 1963. In 1963 foreigners controlled 97% of the capital employed in the manufacture of automobiles and parts, 97% in rubber, 78% in chemicals and 77% in electrical apparatus. In 1963, for 414 corporations with assets greater than \$25 million, it is estimated that 19.9 billion dollars, or 53% per the total \$37.9 billion of assets in these firms were in firms more than 50% owned by non-residents.

But this is not the whole picture, for it is not necessary for a corporation to hold more than fifty per cent of the shares in a particular company in order to be able to exercise control—often much less than fifty per cent is enough. For example, the Zellerbach family, owning only 8½% of the shares, controls the giant Crown Zellerbach Corporation. If the rest of the shares are sufficiently dispersed amongst the other shareholders, then even less than eight and a half could be enough. General Motors was controlled for many years by the Du Pont family, with only 7% of the shares. Thus, many firms generally considered to be "Canadian" are in fact controlled in the United States. One prominent example is MacMillan-Bloedel, the B. C. forest giant, Canada's largest forestry firm. H. R. MacMillan is always men-

tioned as the finest example of the "self-made man," the Canadian who has built up a huge and successful enterprise in the face of the severest competition. Yet if we examine who actually owns MacMillan-Bloedel, we find that good old H. R. has less than one per cent of the shares, and that in fact the controlling interest of 13% is in the hands of the Wisconsin Corporation, an American firm. Taking the factor of minority control into consideration, much more of Canada's economy is actually in foreign hands than even the Watkins Report suggests.

It is not necessary for the Americans to own every hot dog stand in Canada in order to reduce Canada to colonial status. They do control the key manufacturing industries and the key resources and they have invested heavily in our financial institutions. The representatives of the American corporations are to be found in great numbers on the boards of directors of our supposedly "Canadian" banks. Dominating our manufacturing industry, controlling most of our natural resources, controlling also our financial life; they in fact own Canada lock, stock, and barrel: those sections of the economy that are in Canadian hands, like the service industries, for example, are obviously heavily dependent on

the foreign-controlled sector.

This is not to say that the Americans are not going to own every hot dog stand in Canada. While foreign investors have always been attracted to the fast and high profits to be won in basic industries, especially in the exploitation of our natural resources, they are not averse to investment in other areas. In the past, service industries were, as a rule, left for Canadian capital investment, but recently many Canadian companies in the service field have been taken over. The White Spot restaurants, Nelson's Laundries, and Sweet Sixteen (clothing) are just some of the most recent British Columbia examples--there are many other examples throughout the country. The fact that these hitherto ignored service industries are now attracting U. S. investment surely indicates that U. S. capital investment in the basic sectors of the economy has about reached the saturation point. And in fact, as we have already pointed out, in the most profitable and expanding fields, such as petroleum, gas, automobiles, mining, smelting, machinery, electrical equipment, synthetic chemicals, computers and so on, the American corporations now produce from 60 to 100 per cent of Canada's output.

## Effects of American Control

What are the economic effects of this foreign control? In the most general terms, our colonial status has meant simply that we have had to play the traditional role of a colony. That is, our economic and trade policies are designed not to benefit us, but to bolster the profits of the colonial master. It is a well-known fact that Canada, relatively speaking, is an underdeveloped country much of whose economic effort goes not into developing the high level of industry its resources could support, but into the extraction, low-level processing, and export of raw materials. Rather than develop full-scale secondary industries ourselves, we have been content to export raw materials and re-import them in the form of manufactured goods. This is what colonies have always done, to their own detriment. When we hear fine words about the "benefits" foreign investment brings we must keep in mind that the Americans fought a revolution in order to escape just precisely the kind of economic relationship to England that they are bestowing on us today. As Cy Gonic, editor of Canadian Dimension magazine and New Democratic MLA in Manitoba, has pointed out:

The export of a small number of staple products has always been the central determining factor in the rate of growth, the direction of growth and the location of growth

within the Canadian economy. . . . Today between one-quarter and one-third of the goods produced in Canada are exported to the United States. These are mostly resource-based products--pulp and paper, nickel, iron ore, lead, zinc and the like. Canadian jobs, profits, and prosperity in general are heavily dependent on the growth of U. S. markets for these products. It is well known that Canada cannot prosper in the face of a depression in the U. S. economy, cannot stabilize its prices in the face of American inflation, cannot eliminate unemployment in the face of a downturn in the U. S. economy.\*

Lack of a fully developed industry means fewer jobs for both workers and technicians, and a lower standard of living for all. It also means that we are dependent on the U. S. economy for many of the things we could provide for ourselves. This is one of the reasons for our huge annual trade deficit with the United States.

Another reason for our huge trade deficit is the deliberate policies pursued by the U. S. corporations in Canada. The following story from the Vancouver Sun gives some revealing statistics:

United States subsidiaries in Canada are more inclined to buy American goods than those in other nations, says a commerce department study.

The report, published in the latest issue of the department's survey of current business, is based on 1965 data supplied by 330 U. S. corporations and their 3,579 affiliates.

The companies are among the largest with foreign affiliates and "account for a sufficiently large part of the export trade to make the data reasonably representative," the publication says.

As for Canada, the survey notes that "in contrast to the relatively high proportions in Europe, Latin America and the rest of the world, only 19 per cent of Canadian manufacturing firms bought no exports from the United States."

And an accompanying graph showed that of \$3.2 billion distributed throughout the world in exports purchased from the U. S. by 1,869 manufacturing affiliates, six Canadian affiliates of U. S. auto firms accounted for 27 per cent--\$856 million.

(May 30, 1969)

It has been estimated that about 50% of Canadian merchandise imports from the U. S. are goods sold to Canadian subsidiaries by their American parents. What makes the situation even worse is that often the parent will charge exorbitant prices on its sales to the Canadian subsidiary--they can afford to do so, since it is out of one pocket into the other. But it is the Canadian consumer who pays the difference--and the Canadian taxpayer, since the subsidiary in Canada will naturally show a smaller profit.

It is not true to say that the American corporations do not allow for the development of any industry at all in Canada, but it is true that what industry they do develop is strictly in their own interests. That is, they have built factories and assembly plants in Canada in order to supply the Canadian market and take advantage of a cheaper labour market. But while they export our raw materials all over the world, from England to Japan, the size of our manufacturing industries is limited to what the Canadian market will bear so as not to compete with the parent companies' exports abroad.

The presence of the U. S. corporations in Canada causes further distortions of the Canadian industrial picture, even in terms of capitalist economics, for it creates many small production units where fewer and larger ones would be more economical. The Watkins Report provides us with the following example:

There are nine plants producing refrigerators in Canada; with one exception, the plants appear

to operate in a national market (that is, they do not export). No single producer, or group of two or three producers, currently dominates in Canadian refrigerator production. The Canadian market was in the order of 400,000 refrigerators per annum in 1966, and six of the plants appeared to be producing within the range of 40,000 to 60,000 units. Non-resident firms dominate the industry. Seven of the nine companies involved are American controlled; they account for 80 to 85 per cent of refrigerator production compared to 71 per cent in 1960. . . . Although definitive estimates of minimum optimal scale of plants are difficult to make, it would appear that minimum optimal scale in refrigerator production is between 150,000 to 200,000 units. . . .

What Watkins is saying is that given present methods and technology the most economical way to produce refrigerators would be in plants manufacturing not 40-60,000 but 150-200,000 annually. Were this the case, costs and prices would be lower--but it would also mean that instead of nine, we would have two plants producing refrigerators, given the size of the Canadian market. Why then do we have the nine? Simply because our refrigerator companies are subsidiaries and thus miniature replicas of the U. S. parent-corporations, all of whom want their share of the Canadian market. The same situation exists in other areas of the Canadian economy. As one writer points out:

The joint result of our tariff policy and foreign investment has been the placing in Canada of a large number of relatively small scale units of production, as each major company tries to secure its share of the market. This result, of course is against the principle of achieving economies by large-scale operations; but this does not deter the large corporation for whom the marginal investment pays off in market penetration. The global result, however, is that Canada has an economy which in some sectors is made up of a large number of small productive units, more than a country of our size would warrant. What other comparable country has as many automobile-producing units, or companies producing refrigerators and other appliances?\*

It is, of course, not the American corporations but the Canadian public who ends up paying for this exaggerated anarchy of production.

The enumeration of the ill-effects of foreign control of our economy could go on. We could mention many examples where it has meant the loss of Canadian jobs, as the foreign corporations have moved to consolidate



their financial position at home, switching production from Canada back to the U. S. But perhaps one example is sufficient to illustrate this point:

The massive drive to get the international giant, Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Co., Milwaukee, out of the red is going to cost 200 Canadian jobs.

Employment at Canadian Allis-Chalmers Ltd., Lachine, Que. is being pared down to 600 from 800 over a 12-month period. . . . The Canadian subsidiary's employment reduction is part of an overall tightening of efficiency in the Allis-Chalmers organization.

The company first reported the moves two months ago, but at that time the number of jobs to be axed was not announced.

. . . Transferred to the Allis-Chalmers York, Pa. plant will be design engineering and project management of hydraulic turbines. Transferred to the company's West Allis, Wis. plant will be compressor and switchgear engineering.

(Financial Post, April 26, 1965)

The Maritimes is the clearest and presently most disastrous example of a community milked by foreign investors and then abandoned. When, after decades of profitable exploitation of Maritimes resources, sweetened by millions in government subsidies, the Dominion Steel and Coal Company--an English firm--took the decision to cease operations, thousands of jobs were wiped out. And yet the Maritime economy continues to be controlled completely by foreign investors, chiefly Standard Oil.

Our relatively high standard of living obscures to some people our colonial position. After all, it is said, we have one of the highest living standards in the world, how could we be a colony? We must emphasize again that what defines our colonial status is not how we compare with this or that other country in terms of living standard, or literacy, or industrialization, or the number of people in high schools, or any other such indicator--what defines us as a colony is our relationship to the United States. And, in fact, if we compare our living standards to those in the U. S., we can see precisely the effects of this colonial relationship. The latest figures on incomes are those published by the Economic Council of Canada about two years ago. Placing the U. S. average at 100, the report showed the comparative standing to be: Ontario, 83; B. C., 80; Prairies, 71; Quebec, 62; Maritimes, 47. Seven of the eight regions in the United States had income averages higher than Ontario--Canada's highest. California had an average 60

per cent higher than Ontario, and only the U. S. southeast (such states as Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi) had an average slightly lower than Ontario--and the U. S. government has declared the southeast to be a poverty zone. Even these figures do not tell the whole story for there must also be taken into consideration the fact that we pay up to a third higher prices for a wide range of consumer goods, so that real incomes are still lower in comparison to those of U. S. workers.

The myth repeated most often in order to prove the beneficial effects of foreign investment is the statement that Canada could not produce the capital necessary to develop her own economy. But the fact is that Canada is more than capable of financing her own economic expansion, that American companies end up by taking more out than they have put in. In other words, we finance the U. S. corporations in their drive to further their domination of our economy. In 1965, for example, new U. S. investment in Canada totalled \$405 million, while \$461 million left the country as income on U. S. direct investment--and we have yet to mention the profits that were simply re-invested.

By far the largest proportion of U. S. direct investment in Canada is financed by the subsidiaries themselves out of profits earned in Canada and depreciation and depletion allowances set aside out of revenues earned in Canada. Between 1960 and 1965 U. S. gross direct investment in Canada was 14 billion dollars. Of this total only 2 billion dollars, less than 1/7 of the total, was financed by capital inflows from the U. S. On the other hand, profits earned in Canada accounted for \$6 billion of the \$14 billion, depreciation and depletion allowances another \$4.3 billion, while borrowings in the Canadian money market accounted for the final \$1.8 billion.\*

What these figures mean is that Canada--even with her presently artificially distorted and stultified economy--is quite capable of financing most of her economic growth, and to provide huge profits for American corporations, not to mention a certain amount of Canadian foreign investment as well.

(Since some people on the left try to use Canadian foreign investment to prove that Canada is not a colony but an imperialist country in her own right, we should perhaps say a few words about this. Not wishing to interrupt the main argument, however, we have dealt with this question in the Appendix concerning incorrect ideas on the national question.)

# Canadian Politicians: Serving the U.S. Master

Since Canada has the resources and the ability to finance her own economy, what then is responsible for the American takeover? Is it that our governments have not been aware of the disadvantages in our dependent status, have they perhaps allowed their country to fall under foreign domination unwittingly? The following Canadian Press story about the late Robert Winters indicates otherwise:

San Francisco (CP)--Canada's deficit in commercial relations with the U. S. soared to nearly \$2 billion in 1966, Trade Minister Winters disclosed in a speech here.

He said about half the imbalance resulted from a trade deficit.

We have already shown where most of this trade deficit comes from. But let Mr. Winters continue:

The other half stemmed from financial transactions "largely the flow of interest and dividend payments on the massive amount of U. S. investment in Canadian industry."

The comparative current-account deficits with the United States were \$1,635,000,000 in 1964 and \$1,912,000,000 in 1965.

Addressing the Canadian-American Association of Northern California, Winters said the payments deficit must continue so long as Canadian economic growth "involves us in borrowing abroad."

At this point it would be logical to expect some statement outlining government plans to help rectify the situation, to reduce the foreign control of our economy and our reliance on American capital. But that is not what we get:

The Canadian government welcomed foreign capital, "regardless of doubt-provoking rumors to the contrary from time to time."

The government will encourage Canadians to invest more in business enterprise and ask subsidiaries of foreign companies to demonstrate "good corporate citizenship," Winters said.

As we can see, it was not for lack of knowledge that Winters defended U. S. investment in Canada. No, his policies were dictated not by naivety or ignorance or anything else, but crass self-interest. The fact is that the party and the class Winters represented have always

owed their ruling position to their unquestioning willingness to serve their foreign masters in return for a share of the profit.

The career of Robert Winters himself exemplified this very well. A former Liberal Cabinet Minister, Winters ran a close second to Trudeau in the race for the leadership of the Liberal Party. Having lost that race, he finally settled for the next best position, the presidency of a U. S.-controlled Canadian corporation, Brazilian Light and Power. Brazilian is one of a number of foreign-controlled corporations that locate in Canada for purposes of investment abroad. The policy of the Canadian government has allowed such companies to collect and dispense dividends tax free. When there came a tentative suggestion from Ottawa that a tax may now be imposed, the first to register a sharp protest were spokesmen for Brazilian, who threatened to move their base to New York if the tax were instituted. Winters himself let it be known that he would be most unhappy should his erstwhile comrades in the Liberal Party be so unkind as to tax the U. S. investors he represented. And so while Mr. Winters has departed from us, Brazilian Light and Power still remains. Only the name has changed, to Brascan, to signify a decision to invest in other countries besides Brazil--including Canada. The company already has an interest in Labatt Breweries in excess of 23 per cent, sufficient to exercise effective control. Additional investments are under active consideration.

It should not surprise us that men such as Winters (or our present Foreign Minister, Mitchell Sharp, a former vice-president of Brascan) move painlessly from politics to service with the U. S.-controlled corporations, finding little contradiction between running the affairs of "independent" Canada and running errands for their American bosses. To be a successful politician in Canada is to be an effective joe-boy for the U. S. It is not by accident that three out of the last four Liberal prime ministers either began or finished their careers in the employ of American companies or institutions.

Our lack of political and economic independence are not secrets, although the degree to which we are bound to the United States is often obscured by our press, radio, television, and, of course, by our politicians. But even in the bourgeois media, the occasional voice is heard to protest our colonial status. Declared the Toronto Star in a Dominion Day editorial:

The lamppost approach is most obvious

in our economic relations with the United States.

Believing against overwhelming evidence (and against common sense itself) that a nation can cede economic control without ceding political control, we have achieved two distinctions. We have fallen into the most complete economic dependency of any developed nation; and we are unique among the advanced nations of the world in having no government policy on foreign investment and control.

The editorial errs only in this respect: it is not quite true to say that we do not have government policy on foreign investment and control. We do, and it overwhelmingly favours the foreign investor.

Since the publication of the report of the Watkins Commission on foreign control of the Canadian economy two years ago, about five hundred Canadian firms have passed under foreign, mostly American, control. The Christian Science Monitor gave the following examples just recently: \*

The effort of the United States-based Philip Morris tobacco firm to take over 50 per cent control of Canadian Breweries Ltd., Canada's largest beer maker. The price offered by Philip Morris is \$120 million. And while the deal is not consummated, the effort of South Africa's Rothman tobacco empire to win such control has apparently failed, leaving the way open for the American firm.

The sale of one of Canada's largest investment firms, Royal Securities Ltd., to the world's largest stockbroker, the New York-based Merrill Lynch Pierce Fenner & Smith. Though the sale touched off a furor, the deal went through with only minor concessions by the firm to Canadian interests.

The joint purchase of British Columbia Forest Products, Inc., by the Mead Corporation of the United States and Noranda Mines, Ltd., of Canada, a firm doing \$100 million worth of business yearly. The firm is also partly owned by Scott Paper Company of Philadelphia and the Mead Corporation, headquartered in Dayton, Ohio.

For decades the Liberals and the Conservatives have pursued policies designed precisely to facilitate such takeovers, to reduce Canada's ability to become independent. One could give many examples; however, our limited space restricts us to giving just a few.

Let us consider the example of Mr. Jack Davis, Member of Parliament for Coast Capilano. A few years ago, Mr. Davis expressed some dismay at the way Canadian

resources were being given away to the U. S. :

Whitehorse--Canada is selling its natural resources too cheaply to the U. S. while American tariffs on manufactured goods hold back the Canadian economy, says MP Jack Davis (Liberal-Coast Capilano).

"To price our exports at cost and not to charge what the market will bear is to act as if our border did not exist. It is to act as if Canadian resources belong to Americans as well as Canadians," said Davis in a speech to the Yukon Liberal Association here.

( Vancouver Province, May 29, 1967)

Very perceptive observations, we must admit. In a few well-chosen words, Mr. Davis succeeded in exposing the central fact of our economic and political system: American control. But what actions have followed this admirable protest? Jack Davis is no longer a mere backbencher on the Liberal side of Parliament, he is a full-fledged cabinet minister in the Trudeau government. And as minister of fisheries he has been responsible for some of the most blatant betrayals of Canadian interests to the benefit of foreign monopolies in recent memory. He has been responsible for new laws and licensing regulations governing fishing in Canadian waters, all of which serve to squeeze the small independent fisherman out of business and thus reduce competition for the giant companies. These regulations ensure that many small fishermen will sooner or later be forced out of business and will be forced to sell out to the giant foreign monopolies. Davis also has allowed many of the B. C. coast fish canning factories to be shut down by their foreign owners, without regard to the hardship this is causing to hundreds of Canadian workers and many B. C. native fishermen in particular. Yes, indeed, the MP for Coast Capilano was quite right. Our government does act as if our resources belonged to foreigners as well as to Canadians. Only Mr. Davis' voice is no longer heard in protest.

Fisheries is not the only field in which Canadian resources are considered "mutual" property. The serve-the-U. S. attitude that Mr. Davis found necessary to protest two years ago is still the guiding philosophy of those responsible for the administration of natural resources. Thus wrote a recent editorial in the Montreal Star:

Joe Greene sounded like a country bumpkin who had just been invited to his first poker game after his recent talks with Walter Hickel, U. S. secretary of the interior.

Canada's minister of energy and resources displayed a frightening eagerness to throw all of Canada's energy resources into the continental pot with hardly a thought for his country's independence or self-interest.

... Denouncing "petty nationalists" from

John A. Macdonald on, he praised continental integration as a benefit to all "no matter where the imaginary boundary lies."

(Vancouver Sun, Dec. 19, 1969)

Things were no different twenty-two years ago, when the Liberal government put forward the infamous Abbot Plan, named after its Finance Minister. The purpose of the plan was ostensibly to reduce the volume of Canadian spending on United States goods and services in order to improve our balance of payments deficit. The measures used to achieve this end were to prohibit the importation of certain goods, impose high excise taxes on many others, and to restrict certain kinds of expenditures. In a word, the government sought to reduce the purchasing power and thus the living standards of the Canadian population in order to solve our deficit headaches. What was conspicuously absent from the Abbot Plan was any attempt to improve our trade position with the U. S. by encouraging the development of Canadian secondary industry and by halting the discriminatory practices of the U. S. corporations in Canada. In fact, the Abbot Plan was designed with the long-range purpose of increasing our economic dependence on the United States. But when the Finance Minister described his plan, he used the word "integration" where he meant "dependence":

"It will be appreciated that our ability to contribute to world recovery depends very largely on overcoming our exchange difficulties in a manner that will not restrict our total production. A greater integration of the efforts of the United States and Canada to assist world recovery would add considerably to the capacity of this continent to provide urgently needed assistance just as it did during the war. We are making every effort to achieve the needed integration."\*

But what did "integration" mean? As the Liberals understood it, integration meant the further reduction of Canadian industry, the further reduction of Canada to the status of a raw-material producing colony of the United States. As Abbot himself explained:

"If we cut down the consumption of refrigerators and other articles which contain metal, we can sell the metal in its original form for dollars in the United States or anywhere else. That is one way whereby we can get United States exchange. Instead of using labor in Canada to convert the metal into things our people consume, we shall sell the raw materials."\*\*

It did not take a communist fanatic to recognize what this policy meant for Canadian independence. Howard Green, MP and later Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Diefenbaker government, described it thusly:

"It shows an amazing subservience to the United States. One would think Canada was a subject country. No Canadian Government since Confederation has gone so far to take orders from another country."\*\*\*

Mr. Green's historical memory may have been rather deficient, as the Conservatives had served Britain just as faithfully for many years; but his appraisal of the Liberals was quite correct.

Today it does not matter which government it is, federal or provincial; or which party it represents, Liberal, Conservative, Social Credit, or NDP; the feature that unites them all is their subservience to American interests. The following report from the Christian Science Monitor, which naturally is quite happy about the situation, could apply to any of the governments in Canada. It happens to describe the policies of the Conservative government of the province of Ontario:

... despite the growing crescendo of protest against foreign investment, Ontario's provincial government is offering all sorts of incentives to U. S. firms to come to Ontario. Last March, Union Carbide of Canada, Ltd., a subsidiary of the United States firm, was given \$394,000 (Canadian dollars) by the Ontario government to help purchase equipment to produce dry batteries at its Walkerton plant in southwestern Ontario.

The Union Carbide "forgivable loan" was part of the government's "Equalization of Industrial Opportunity" program, which has granted \$16.3 million to 77 foreign-owned firms, most of them American, to set up new facilities in Ontario.

The only condition on the company is that it must build or expand facilities in slow-growth areas designated by the government and that it not move for six years.\*\*\*\*

The list of sell-outs by Canadian governments to American interests could continue almost indefinitely. We could mention the many tax concessions that foreign companies operating in Canada receive, we could talk about the give-away of Columbia power to the United States, about how the federal and provincial governments are subsidizing the giant Kaiser Coal company as the latter proceeds to wreck the B. C. landscape in order to export our coal to Japan, we could describe the lack of pollution control that allows the mostly foreign owned industries to ruin our environment and our great natural surroundings, we could describe these and many other examples in great detail--but it is not necessary to do so. Ten volumes of carefully collected data will not convince those who have some dogmatic necessity to deny the obvious: our colonial relationship to the U. S. But perhaps we can take a brief look at some other as-

pects of the Canadian situation and see how American control of our economic and political lives manifests

itself in our culture, our educational system, and in the political thinking promoted by our leaders.

## B. Culture, Education, and the Ruling Ideology

The question of "Canadian identity," or the lack of it, is very often raised. We are not Britons, we protest, and we are not Americans, but who are we? The very fact that this question is raised is the reflection of some very basic realities in Canada's historical development --for it was Britain and the United States who have historically imposed their cultures on us in order to further their economic and political control of our country.

Culture is not something that develops in a vacuum, it is not a spontaneous accident that occurs unconnected to other aspects of our existence. If much of "our" culture carries the "Made in England" or "Made in U. S. A." labels, it is not because Canadians are incapable of developing a distinctive and truly national culture, but because foreign control and the lack of consistent struggle against foreign control has prevented them from doing so.

At the present time, our popular culture is manufactured wholesale in New York and Hollywood and in London, and the most that Canadian artists, writers, actors, singers, and filmmakers hope for is to be granted success in their attempts to imitate the foreign models. A successful Canadian actor, for example, is one who can leave Canada for brighter prospects elsewhere and never face the necessity of having to return. The songs we listen to, the films we watch, the books we read--they are mostly foreign, and mostly American, in origin. Now, some cultural exchange is to be welcomed, but what we have here is not exchange but wholesale cultural domination to parallel and reinforce the economic and political domination. It is not true to say that our values, our attitudes, and our knowledge come purely from books, magazines, films, songs, and television shows, but certainly these play an important role in shaping the way we look at the world. Particularly for many of our young people who are often not familiar with other forms of culture, such sources play an important role. It would be naive for us to believe that the cultural forms produced by imperialism do not have imperialist propaganda as their content--any examination of the movies in our theaters, the songs on our radio stations, the magazines on our newsstands, the programs on our TV sets, reveals much that is openly pro-imperialist in general, pro-American imperialist in particular. What is the effect of such "culture" in Canada? Obvious-

ly it is to glorify the foreign master who controls us, to convince us of his goodness, his superiority, and his invincibility. It would be difficult to find another country in the world so completely dominated culturally as is Canada by the United States. But then it would be difficult to find another country so completely dominated economically and politically.

The attitude of our government towards cultural domination is no different than their attitude towards economic and political domination. Their aim is to please, as the following press report indicates:

Even under the new increased rates it will cost the Canadian Post Office more than \$1.5 million to deliver Time Magazine and the Reader's Digest this year.

This was the estimate given Monday in reply to a question posed by New Democrat Barry Mather.

In the reply Communications Minister Eric Kierans said the Post Office would incur deficits of \$735,153 handling Time and \$851,636 delivering Reader's Digest.

(Vancouver Sun, May 7, 1969)

Time and Reader's Digest, as we know, are two of the most effective propaganda instruments of U. S. imperialism. They have faithfully carried the U. S. State Department line on virtually all questions of foreign policy, and sometimes have gone even further. Their positions on matters internal to the U. S. (or to Canada) have been no better. What does it show when the Canadian taxpayer is forced to subsidize these instruments of his own subjection but the subservience of his own government to the imperialist? What makes this particular sell-out even worse is that the new postal rates announced by Kierans effectively sounded the death-knell of many small Canadian publications and have placed great difficulties in the paths of many others.

Such subsidies to American publications are not the only means by which Canadians are forced to pay for their own cultural domination. A recent Canada Council grant to a Simon Fraser University professor of English, an American citizen, was not untypical. The man re-

ceived \$10,000 (including travelling expenses) to go to the United States to study American poets and politics. He has since written several books, papers, and made a film based on his research. The writings have been published in the U. S., and the film appeared on U. S. T. V.

Foreign domination is not restricted to the field of popular culture and the media. It is to be found in our educational system, from grade one to the very last years of university. Let us just take the field of literature as one small example. It seems almost incredible, but in British Columbia schools, from grade one to grade twelve, not one textbook, not one course, is devoted to Canadian literature! No other country in the world ignores its own traditions with such deliberate doggedness. British Columbia students graduate with absolutely no sense of Canadian culture. At the end of twelve years of schooling they will have read very little that would contribute to their understanding of their country. They will have read little that would enable them to appreciate the regional differences and traditions that make up what there is of a Canadian national character. The dominant impression they will have gained from their education will be that to the extent that Canadian culture exists at all, it is a stranger even in its homeland--a poor third cousin to its mature, well-developed American and British relatives.

What if, some will argue, in fact Canadian culture is so poor as to be worthless as an area of study? Why should our students not become familiar with the great traditions of British and American literature? And in any case, is it not mere bourgeois nationalism to talk about the lack of a "national character" and a "national culture"? But to argue in this way is to miss the point. We are not saying that anything Canadian is necessarily good or progressive. Canadians are as capable as anyone else of producing culture that serves ruling class interests. But if Canada has certain native-grown cultural traditions, then we have a right to ask why we are not familiarized with these traditions in our schools. If certain influences have prevented the full development of a native culture in most of Canada, then it is important to understand why. And if what passes for culture in our schools is mostly the culture of the two greatest imperialist countries in history, then we should certainly understand what our own relationship to these countries has been. Cultural domination is but one weapon in the hands of the imperialist, and if we look for cultural nourishment to British and American sources, it is because we have been in turn part of the British, and now the American empires.

Nowhere is cultural domination more obvious than in our universities. And no wonder that the questions "who are we?" and "what is Canadian Identity?" are voiced most often by our insecure university intellectuals. Despite the foreign culture all around them, most Can-

adians are pretty sure that they are Canadians--a few years at university, however, is enough to instill serious doubts in anybody's mind. The Boards of Governors are dominated by the representatives of the American corporations or by the men of the Canadian comprador bourgeoisie. The administrators are often Americans; eg., Kenneth Strand at Simon Fraser University, or have had extensive training in the United States. The textbooks and the course content are in most cases strictly American. And in recent years there has been taking place what even the president of the University of Toronto has described as a "major invasion" of Canadian universities by American teachers. A recent article in The Ubyssy, the student newspaper at the University of British Columbia, has revealed the following items of information, surprising even by Canadian standards:

. . . In the past seven years the proportion of Canadian university teachers in arts and science faculties has dropped by about 26 per cent, from 75 per cent to 49 per cent.

. . . Between 1963 and 1965 roughly 58 per cent of new appointments went to non-Canadians. Between 1965 and 1967, this figure shot up to 72 per cent, and may be as high as 86 per cent in 1968.

. . . At UBC, a rough survey of the history, psychology, anthropology and sociology, political science, English and economics departments shows that foreign professors outnumber Canadians 134-102. Of the 134 foreign professors, 82 are Americans.

. . . Figures issued by the information office at UBC reveal that for those professors known, 55.2 per cent are foreigners and only 44.8 per cent Canadians.

And here is another item from the Toronto Globe and Mail (Dec. 30, 1969):

York University's sociology department has six Americans, nine assorted Europeans and one Canadian professor.

A university physicist says that Canada listened to U.S. experts when buying Bomarc missiles, bought on faith and not facts, and refused to hear a group of Canadian scientists who could prove the weapons would not do what the Americans claimed.

At Waterloo, students can take four different courses in American literature, but the only Canadian course in the calendar was not offered in 1968-69.

An American, seeking a teaching post met

the selection committee: six fellow-emigres and one Canadian.

A course in comparative Soviet-American government taught at the University of Toronto by an American uses nothing but U.S. textbooks, the majority written by former U.S. government advisors. Some students asked him why he didn't require them to read some Canadian viewpoints and some U.S.S.R. experts. He said the U.S. books were the only reliable sources.

Again, we are not saying that a Canadian teacher or professor is automatically better than his American counterpart. But surely these figures indicate something other than the academic superiority of Americans over Canadians. The educational institutions of few other countries in the world are so completely dominated by foreigners. Nor is this accidental--the modern university is a highly sophisticated and developed servant of the economic and political ruling class. It is very much integrated into the system; in its research, in its ideological teachings, and in its training it very well serves the interests of those who control society. And since those who control our society are the imperialist rulers of the United States, it should not surprise us that the Canadian university is more and more openly becoming the intellectual farm-club of the educational big leagues in the U.S.

A glimpse of the political theories put forward by our universities and held ever so dearly by our politicians may be got by reading the writings of one Pierre Elliot Trudeau, himself a former university lecturer. In his recent volume, Federalism and the French Canadians, Trudeau gives probably the most eloquent and subtle rationalization for imperialism ever put forward by any Canadian intellectual or politician. Trudeau's book is one long tirade against nationalism and struggles for self-determination, the Quebec struggle in particular. But it is not difficult to apply his conclusions to Canada as a whole. Nationalism, says Trudeau (sounding strangely similar to certain "Marxists") has been the curse of recent history:

"... the very idea of the nation-state is absurd. To insist that a particular nationality must have complete sovereign power is to pursue a self-destructive end. Because every national minority will find, at the very moment of liberation, a new minority within its bosom which in turn must be allowed the right to demand its freedom. And on and on would stretch the train of revolutions, until the last-born of nation-states turned to violence to put an end to the very principle that gave it birth. That is why the principle of nationality has brought to the world two cen-

turies of war, and not one single final solution." (p. 158) \*

Trudeau is not alone in his misreading (or distortion) of history. Some people on the left give exactly the same analysis, forgetting that it has not been nationalism but imperialism that has been responsible for "two centuries of war." It is easy to see that in many cases imperialism has made use of nationalism so as to unite people under its banner. Such was the case in all the major belligerent countries during the first World War. But are we to blame the weapon or the killer?

It should be equally easy to see that nationalism can be turned against the imperialist when used by revolutionaries to free their country from foreign domination. This is precisely the role it is playing today in many countries under imperialist rule, as Trudeau well knows. Unlike some Canadian "Marxists", Trudeau well understands the two possible aspects of nationalism:

"Nations historically strong, those that were industrialized first, those that had inherited strategic or institutional advantages, soon came to see the advantages of their situation. Here rulers closed ranks with the ruled, the haves with the have-nots, and they set out together as a body, in the name of the nationalism that bound them together, to line their pockets and feed their vanity at the expense of weaker nations.

In all these cases the result was the same. Nations that were dominated, dismembered, exploited, and humiliated conceived an unbounded hatred for their oppressors; and united by this hatred they erected against aggressive nationalism a defensive nationalism. And so a chain of wars was ignited that keeps bursting into flame all over the planet." (p. 161)

It would seem obvious that of the two nationalisms, only the first should be condemned, for it is used to "dominate, dismember, exploit, and humiliate" people, and the second supported for it helps to free people from such oppression. By condemning both, by laying an equal share of the blame on both for the wars that occur when the two clash, whose interests are served? Only the interests of the exploiter.

We have already quoted Trudeau's predecessor, Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson, as stating that "the problem today is not the creation of new free states, but subordinating the sovereignty of all states to the necessity of peace, security, and progress." Trudeau's prescription for the future sounds equally noble and serves exactly the same interests:

"... reject the bellicose and self-des-

tructive idea of nation-state in favour of the more civilized goal of polyethnic pluralism."

What does "polyethnic pluralism" mean in practice? It means that specifically Quebec, but all other nations now dominated by some foreign imperialist (including Canada of course) should reject the idea of a struggle for national independence and place its hope for the future in some vague ideal than in no way threatens the imperialist. And when we remember that the economy of Quebec is in exactly the same hands as those who control the economic and political destiny of the rest of Canada, we realize exactly why Pierre Trudeau is so irresistibly attractive in the eyes of our U.S. masters.

The political philosophy of our Prime Minister is matched on the economic scale by the recent statements of one of our leading comprador capitalists, J. V. Clyne. In an article entitled "Clyne Deplores Foreign Bogey," the Vancouver Province reports:

Nationalist sentiments that help provoke hostility against foreign investors are making life difficult for "multi-national" companies like MacMillan Bloedel, Ltd., the company's chairman and chief executive officer J. V. Clyne told British and Canadian businessmen in the U.K. today.

Clyne said multi-national companies ("and my own company can be said to be one") can be a constructive force in promoting understanding and good will among nations, as well as economic growth."

He added: "It must be realized, however, that the life of a multi-national company is not necessarily a happy one and, at the moment, it is becoming more and more difficult."

"Opposed to the concept of the multi-national company are the powerful forces of nationalism. . . ."

"We should realize that intense nationalism, whether expressed politically or otherwise, can and does destroy all the conditions that the multi-national company needs to thrive upon and to realize its tremendous potential."

## C. Trade Unions

Our analysis of the present situation in Canada would not be complete without a discussion of the present state of the Canadian trade union movement. We have already shown how several attempts to organize an independent Canadian labour movement met with resis-

... Clyne said one misconception he wanted to dispel is that a multi-national company's operations constitute a threat to the sovereignty of a country in which it operates.

"As head of a Canadian company whose shares are largely held in Canada and whose competitors are for the most part American, I can speak from first-hand knowledge of the effect of foreign investment. More than one-half of Canada's manufacturing output is produced by American companies."

"While this has certainly created problems, they have been disproportionate to the vast benefits. Canada's sovereignty has not been affected and may even have been strengthened. . . ."

As we have already pointed out, many shares of MacMillan-Bloedel may be owned in Canada, but what Clyne neglects to mention is that effective control of the company is held in the U.S. But what is most significant about Clyne's statement is his recognition of the dangers of nationalism, and his denial of the political effects of economic domination. He has obviously earned his position as chairman of MacMillan-Bloedel.

If the ideology of our leading politicians and businessmen is the ideology of capitulation to imperialism, this only reflects the economic and political subservience of the Canadian ruling class to first Britain, and now the United States. At this point we might ask, why have the Canadian ruling class been so eager to play servant in their own house? Would it not be more in their own interest to be the independent rulers of an independent Canada? What advantage do they derive from their political, economic, and ideological submission to the United States? In our brief analysis of Canada's historical development, we have shown that the origins of our present ruling class lay not in independent economic development, but in playing the role of junior partner to British monopoly-capital. Switching masters in mid-stream was a relatively easy task, far easier than real opposition to foreign control would have been, and far less dangerous. They can to no other than to sell their country to the United States, and to manage it in their boss' interests.

tance not only from the labour-bosses of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, but also from people on the left who should have provided the leadership in the Canadian struggle. What have been the results?

The American domination of our economy, our politics, and our culture is paralleled by the American domination of our trade union movement. This labour domination is nothing but another weapon in the hands of the American corporations.

Of some more than seven million workers in Canada, less than 30 per cent are organized into labour unions, and close to 80 per cent of those organized are under the influence of U. S. domination either directly as locals of American unions (the so-called "Internationals") or indirectly as affiliates of the AFL-CIO controlled Canadian Labour Congress. If we discount the CNTU which is restricted exclusively to Quebec, the percentage of those controlled from the U. S. will sharply rise. Being dominated by a trade union centre based in a foreign country would cause problems even under the best of circumstances. The unions must be in a position to fashion their programs and tactics according to the needs of their own members and their own countries. Our unions are dominated by a movement based in a country whose population outnumbers us 10 to one and whose problems are vastly different from ours in this period. Understandably, the U. S. union conventions concentrate on U. S. problems, while the Canadian voice is seldom raised, and even more seldom heard, except when, as in the case of the UAW, a lot of heat is generated over saving jobs for U. S. workers by preventing expansion of U. S. branch plants in Canada.

The problems posed by such foreign domination of the unions might be greatly mitigated--even to the point of almost disappearing--if the dominant section were progressive in political and class outlook. But bitter experience has taught us over and over again that we cannot rely on the expectation of progressiveism in the U. S. unions, and that the American unions are very close allies of the very people against whom the struggle for an independent Canada, a Canada free from exploitation and social inequality, must be waged.

The fact is that the U. S. labour bureaucrats work hand in hand with U. S. imperialist interests all over the globe. They participated in plotting the overthrow of such mildly democratic bourgeois governments as Juan Bosch's in the Dominican Republic and the vaguely socialist government of Cheddi Jagan in British Guiana. The AFL-CIO leadership has from the beginning supported the war against the Vietnamese people, just as they support their government's foreign policy everywhere else. They have practised the most flagrant interference in the internal affairs of trade unions in Britain, France, Japan, Italy, Germany, Africa, Mexico, Australia, and so on. Evidence of their actions is not hard to obtain--they openly boast of their exploits. It would be naive for us to suppose that their actions in Canada would be in contradiction to what they do elsewhere, and indeed, we don't have to suppose anything. There is plenty of evidence to show whose interests they uphold.

On many occasions representatives of the "international" unions have stepped in to curb the militancy of Canadian workers, to strike "sweetheart" deals with the bosses. According to the made-in-U. S. constitutions, non-cooperative locals can be put under trusteeship, elected officials removed and expelled, unpopular bureaucrats appointed to positions of authority, strikes forbidden, and deals signed over the heads of the membership. If an individual worker protests these conditions, he too can be charged under the international constitution and expelled from the union, thus endangering his chances of employment in his trade.

A notoriously blatant example of "international" interference in the affairs of a Canadian local and collusion with the boss occurred during the strike at Lenkurt Electric in Burnaby, B. C., May, 1967. Lenkurt, although a relatively small operation locally, is part of the giant U. S. monopoly, General Telephone and Electronics which also controls the B. C. Telephone Company. The workers had walked off the job in a spontaneous demonstration of protest against company harassment and intimidation of employees who refused to work overtime until their expired contract had been renewed. The company announced the firing of all those participating in the walkout and began advertising in the local papers for strikebreakers to replace its disobedient workers.

Although injunctions were issued and some arrests were made, the strike continued and many workers from outside the plant joined the picket line. The strike at this point had the possibility of being successful. However, the local president--on orders from the Washington headquarters of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers--concluded an agreement over the workers' heads, wiping out seniority and pension rights and allowing the company to hire back only the workers the company considered desirable. This sellout was un-animously rejected at a local union meeting and the strike went on. The "international" stepped in, suspended the elected business agent and appointed in his place the same man who had concluded the sweetheart agreement with the company. Then the "international" ordered the strikers back to work--except over two hundred that the company now dismissed. Over twenty workers who had taken some leading part in the strike, including two locally elected officials of the union, were charged and suspended by the "international".

This past summer, a certain Mr. Goodison, a paid bureaucrat of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers was asked at a meeting of the Bristol local in Winnipeg, "What kind of a god are you that you think you can tell us what you will allow and what you won't allow?" His answer was simply, "I have the authority to overrule anything that you decide, and it is up to me whether or not I allow anything." The Canadian Aerospace Worker, published by the Committee for a Canadian Union at Bristol, further reported:

Immediately after that, Mr. Goodison refused to allow the dues paying members to participate in the meeting and instructed the chairman to adjourn same.

We have now been informed that we are to come to "trial" commencing July 8th, 1969, and to answer to the charges that have been laid against us. \*

What was the crime committed by these Canadian workers? They had tried to organize a Canadian union in order to escape the tyranny, corruption, and misleadership of the "international". Here is a sample of the seditious propaganda they had distributed:

Because the spirit of Canadian unionism is growing in our country, because many Canadian workers are asking why they are harnessed to an American union--the wolves are once again at our door. They want to destroy our Canadian union.

We have published the official Government reports in this newspaper showing how, in only five short years, the American unions took over \$130,000,000 in dues from Canadian workers, and only spent \$80,000,000 in Canada--thus making a net profit of \$50,000,000.

Is the United States so poor that it must take money from Canadian workers? We think not. \*

## D. Conclusion

We could find no better way of ending this section on the present situation in Canada than by reprinting this newspaper report of a typical day in the Canadian parliament:

Ottawa---The federal government has no constitutional power to prevent foreign takeovers of Canadian firms in the computer service industry, Finance Minister Edgar Benson said in the Commons Wednesday.

He was asked by NDP leader Tommy Douglas what action the government planned as a result of takeover of Computel Systems Ltd., of Ottawa, by American owners.

Douglas said 80 per cent of the industry in Canada is now U. S. -controlled.

Benson said he would consider the question, but the federal government has no constitutional authority to do anything about the industry.

Douglas noted that former finance minister

There are numerous ways by which it is made difficult for Canadians to organize their own unions. The made-in-U. S. constitutions and the disciplinary powers of the "internationals" are used to keep Canadians in line as we have seen. And if that should fail, there are always the Labour Relations Boards.

It is to these Boards that workers must make application when they want to either form their own union or break away from an American union in order to join a Canadian union. Because of their makeup, the Labour Relations Boards are very partial to the "internationals" and hostile to attempts at the organization of an independent Canadian trade union movement. Labour Relations Boards consist of equal numbers of representatives from management, "labour", and government. Firstly, the management appointee represents either foreign capital directly, or those capitalist interests in Canada who act as the super-salesmen of Canadian resources and industry to the U. S. The government appointee represents the politicians who allow and encourage the foreign takeover to occur. And finally, the labour representative is usually an official of the very "internationals" against whom the struggle for a truly Canadian union movement must take place. So we see that the worker, if he wants a genuine Canadian union independent of U. S. control, faces stiff opposition, whereas the American unions who make application for certification have very little difficulty--particularly if the certification is being disputed by a Canadian union.

Walter Gordon has advocated a 30 per cent takeover tax, and asked Benson whether the government is considering such a tax.

Benson evaded the question.

Opposition leader Robert Stanfield asked whether the government still intends to set up a Canada development corporation, which would encourage wider Canadian ownership.

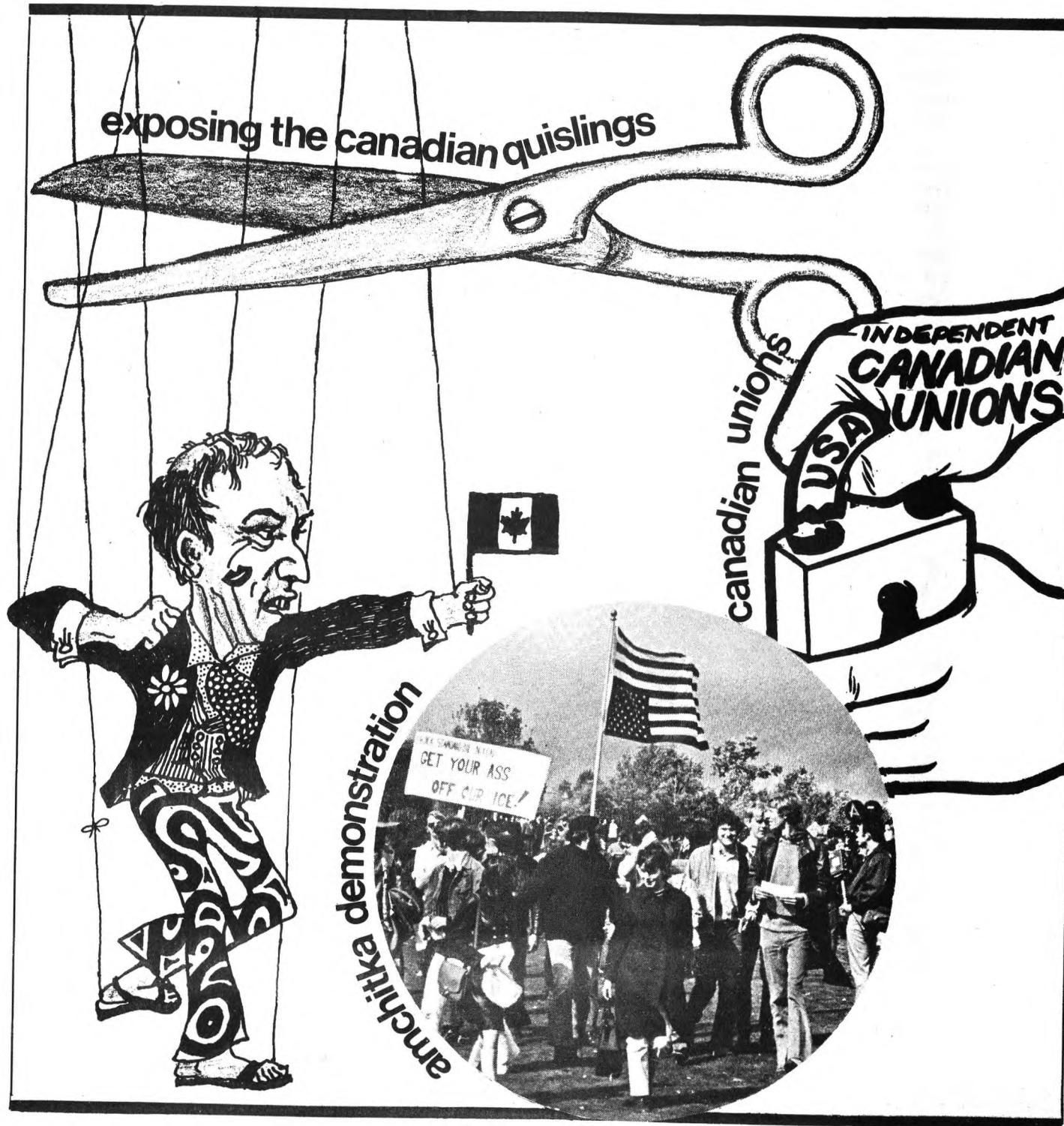
Benson said the proposed corporation will be set up "in the very near future," but it would not be ready to act in the case of the computer companies.

Walter Dinsdale (PC--Brandon-Souris) said Greyhound Lines of Chicago plans to buy Canadian Coachways Ltd., and asked whether the government considers this in the best interest of the public.

Consumer Affairs Minister Ron Basford said he will look into the matter.

(Vancouver Sun, Nov. 27, 1969)

# 5. PROGRAM FOR STRUGGLE



What are the political tasks confronting us, given Canada's colonial relationship to the United States and the anti-national role played by our ruling class? It is the purpose of this section of our paper to put forward, in its broad outlines at least, the program of the Progressive Workers Movement for national independence, to show the relationship between the struggle for independence and the struggle for socialism, and to explain our views on what socialists should do in the context of the present Canadian situation.

There are many "socialists" in Canada, people who

## A. Necessity Of An Independence Movement

We stated in our introduction:

... it is the position of the Progressive Workers Movement that the development and success of a national independence movement in Canada is absolutely vital in our struggle for socialism, that no advances towards the goal of socialism can be made without such a movement developing, and that socialists must take an active and leading role in the building of this independence movement.

This position is based on our analysis of the specific Canadian situation, as described in the previous two sections. Very simply, in a colony, the chief obstacle on the path of progressive political development is the presence of the colonial power. In Canada, it is not the only obstacle, but it is the main one. It is the one we have to deal with first if we are to make any headway towards our ultimate goal of socialism. As Mao Tse-tung has pointed out:

... if in any process there are a number of contradictions, one of them must be the principle contradiction playing the leading and decisive role, while the rest occupy a secondary and subordinate position. Therefore, in studying any complex process in which there are two or more contradictions, we must devote every effort to finding its principle contradiction.\*

It is not difficult to see the truth of this statement in the present Canadian situation. What is the main contradiction in Canada? The main contradiction here is the one between U.S. imperialism and its Canadian servants on the one hand and the Canadian people on the other. This

wish to see Canada become a socialist country. But there is more to the achievement of socialism than the mere statement of its necessity and inevitability. The specific tasks confronting socialists have varied from country to country, from one historical period to another. To say that we want socialism in Canada does not constitute a program, it merely states what our final purpose is. How we propose to attain this purpose is what constitutes a program, and our program must be based on an understanding of the particular situation we find ourselves in.

simply means that in Canada, the main oppressor is the "continentalist" American bourgeoisie through its servants, the Canadian comprador bourgeoisie. This is the contradiction that many people, Marxists and others, clearly recognize. In the words of the Watkins Manifesto

The major threat to Canadian survival today is American control of the Canadian economy. The major issue of our time is not national unity but national survival, and the fundamental threat is external, not internal.

If we restrict ourselves to uttering slogans about socialism and ignore the question of national independence, what do we stand to achieve? In the first place, we shall render ourselves into a kind of political Don Quixote, directionless, tilting at all kinds of windmills in search of great ideals but not recognizing and not dealing with the most important, the most fundamental problem facing us at the present time. Secondly, we shall actively aid U.S. imperialism by denying its primary and controlling role in the Canadian situation. It, too, would like to deny its own existence--it is served well by "Marxists" who claim that their country is independent, or that, for one reason or another, American domination is not the number one contradiction we have to face. Finally, we would isolate ourselves from the Canadian people, more and more of whom are beginning to see the necessity of a Canada independent from American control. It is the task of socialists not to isolate themselves from the people, but to integrate their work with the struggles of the people, to provide leadership through all stages of the struggle. Of course, if most people were bent on pursuing a path that was harmful to their interests, then it would be the duty of socialists to actively oppose the taking of that path. Such would be the

case if a political crisis developed and the majority of people were misled by the ruling class into supporting fascist objectives. But when the political sentiments of people reflect the very real situation they find themselves in, when these political sentiments are a healthy reaction to oppression, then socialists should be trying to provide active leadership, not opposition, so that these sentiments can be transformed into political action.

The "nationalist", "anti-American" feelings of many Canadians have nothing to do with racism, have nothing to do with the kind of vicious chauvinism that ruling classes promote in order to oppress people both at home and abroad. These feelings represent nothing but the basic realization of Canadians that the chief source of their problems is the American control of their economic, political, and cultural lives. All people dominated by imperialism develop these feelings sooner or later, and all imperialists and their servants try to prevent such feelings from gaining effective political expression. Where foreign imperialism is in control, such feelings are basically progressive. That is, socialists and revolutionaries can relate them to a progressive program. We have seen that it is the Pearsons and the Trudeaus that equate the nationalism of the oppressed with the nationalism of the oppressor. We have seen that it was the pro-U.S. union national council of the NDP led by David Lewis who declared that "anti-Americanism is as barren and negative a concept as is anti-French or anti-

## B. Tasks of the Independence Movement At This Time

What would be the tasks of such a movement at the present time? Obviously at this stage, the independence movement must play a primarily educational role, in the broadest sense of the word "educational". We must educate people in the necessity of independence, in the necessity of waging a struggle if independence is to be

English or anti any other country or people." We have seen that after the publication of the Watkins Manifesto, it was the imperialist-dominated media in Canada that would not tire of attacking the "anti-Americanism" of the NDP faction. Is it not obvious that it is precisely this pro-independence sentiment of the Canadian people that most frightens the Canadian servants of U.S. imperialism? They understand only too clearly what the main contradiction in Canada is.

Recognizing U.S. domination as being the chief obstacle on the road to socialism, socialists should direct their efforts towards removing this obstacle. Only an independent Canada can move unhindered towards socialism, and only an active and vigorous independence movement can provide the leadership in the struggle for independence. Socialists should participate in and help build such a movement. This means working amongst the various sectors of the Canadian population and uniting as many Canadians as possible against their number one enemy, U.S. imperialism. A broad coalition must be built, a broad coalition whose purpose is the breaking away of Canada from the American empire, the achievement of the power of self-determination of the Canadian people. This movement must be built everywhere--on the campuses, in the labour movement, in the community. It must be comprised of Marxists and non-Marxists, socialists and non-socialists--all those who are ready to struggle against the American domination of Canada.

achieved, and in the possibility of success when such a struggle develops. We must actively involve people in the development of the fight for independence. In other words, the ideological hold of imperialism over the Canadian people must be broken.

## Exposing the Liberal, Conservative, and Social Credit Parties

We must expose to people the anti-national role of the comprador bourgeois class and its political representatives. It would be the task of the independence movement to thoroughly discredit the Liberals and the Conservatives as having been nothing but the Canadian bailiffs of U.S. overlords, to show how they have sold out their country in return for a share of the profits and the right to govern. We must thoroughly expose the

Social Credit governments of British Columbia and Alberta as having distinguished themselves from the Liberals and Conservatives only in that, if possible, they have been even more eager to sell out their provinces to the Americans. And we must show people that the NDP leadership is struggling for no more than the right to behave in the same way.

## Winning the Progressive Section of the N.D.P.

It is important for the independence movement to maintain a correct, well-considered policy towards the NDP for the obvious reason that both amongst the rank and file members and the general supporters of the NDP there are many people who either now support or readily can be won over to a pro-independence, pro-socialist position. As social democratic parties everywhere do, the NDP appeals for mass support precisely to those people who want social change but think social change can occur under imperialism. Historically, social democracy has been one of the major political developments of imperialism and on more than one occasion it has stepped in to save imperialism from collapse. The Labour Party of England is just the latest of social democratic regimes to completely betray the very workers whose interests they are supposed to serve. There is no reason to suppose that the NDP will behave any differently from its European social democratic predecessors; we do not have to project into the future to see the role played by the NDP government of Manitoba or the labour bureaucrats who control the party federally and provincially.

The same labour bureaucrats who keep the Canadian trade union movement suffering under the misrule of the pro-imperialist AFL-CIO leadership control the NDP. It is naive to believe that these people will either give up their control voluntarily or will allow their bureaucratic and dictatorial control to be taken from them by any democratic means. They will certainly allow some debate to take place within the party; it is even in their interest to do so--it helps maintain the image of the NDP

as a democratic, progressive force in Canadian politics. As long as the opponents of American domination within the NDP restrict their activities to the harmless plane of debate, they will be permitted to continue. But clearly any attempt to wrest control of the NDP from the bureaucrats would necessitate some hard organizing and sharp struggle--and that is precisely what they will not be allowed to engage in. To repeat the warning of David Lewis, deputy leader and the grey eminence behind Tommy Douglas: "If they attempt to build a machine, that's a different story. If they try to push the party around, the party is not going to be pushed around." Lewis' warning should leave no illusions: those people now in the NDP who sincerely want to work for Canadian independence must be ready at some point to make a decision between their political objective and their present political affiliation.

It is not to be expected, however, that people will recognize immediately the validity of our position and leave the NDP just on our say-so. The independence movement must therefore be ready to maintain close ties with the progressive elements amongst the NDP following and to encourage the latter to carry on their pro-independence fight within the NDP up to and including the inevitable split with their leadership. Meanwhile the anti-imperialist struggle will not wait for internal developments within the NDP. Those who want to work for independence now and harbour no illusions about the NDP must organize their movement outside the NDP. In fact, the emergence of a genuine pro-independence movement outside the NDP will be a major factor in

forcing the split between the pro-U. S. NDP leadership and the many honest people who still hope to see that

party lead the nation against American domination.

## Anti-Imperialist Work on Campus

On the campuses it is necessary to build student movements on as broad an anti-imperialist base as possible, actively uniting all those who are willing to help in propagating an anti-imperialist, pro-independence perspective at the universities. All too often the student movement in Canada has ignored (or failed to recognize) Canadian realities and has merely copied the issues and tactics of the American student movement. Some students have fallen into the habit of talking about the war "our" society is waging in Vietnam, the slums "our" cities have allowed to develop when they mean the United States. This is the reflection of a colonial attitude. Canadian students must see the great necessity of developing our own analysis, strategy, and tactics to deal with the Canadian situation. It is true that the Canadian

university serves the same ruling class as the American university, but it does so in different ways. It does so by furthering the cultural domination of Canada by the U. S., by doing research and training technicians for our "branch plant" economy. The struggle must begin at the universities against the specific role Canadian universities are playing, against the specific way they serve U. S. imperialism in Canada. This means, for example, a fight against the rapid and continuing Americanization of our universities, or some sharp ideological struggle against the pro-imperialist ideology taught in many of the courses. Whatever the tactics, they must be part of a strategy that recognizes Canada's colonial relationship to the U. S. and is aimed at ending that relationship.

## Work In Single Issue Organizations

In the community we must develop an anti-imperialist analysis to provide a perspective for struggle that goes beyond any single issue and deals with fundamental causes. We must point out to people that, in the final analysis, every issue finds U. S. imperialist domination as its root cause. For example, for people concerned about pollution, we have to point out exactly who is responsible for pollution, that with an economy dominated by giant American corporations our environment is being destroyed in order to increase the profits of imperialism, and that it is politicians servile to foreign masters who allow this to take place. On the question of Vietnam, we must point out what is the true relationship of Canada to the Vietnamese struggle for self-determination. We must explain that it is not merely a matter of "Canadian Complicity," as the Trotskyist influenced peace groups put it, but that Canadian raw materials and weaponry are placed at the service of the American war machine precisely because the same people who are waging the war against the Vietnamese control Canada as well. This is how the slogan, "Their fight is our fight!" will really

become meaningful. On an issue like the underground nuclear blast at Amchitka Island, it is not enough merely to protest against the callousness and irresponsibility of the Americans towards Canada, we must also point out to Canadians that it is their own docile politicians who allow such potentially dangerous nuclear tests to continue without more than a few token words of displeasure. In the women's liberation movement, anti-imperialist women must show that the oppression of women is part of a social order supported by U. S. imperialism. In the unemployed organizations, we should not only attempt to build unemployed groups that can wage an effective struggle for employment and fair treatment; we should also explain that it is the American control of the Canadian economy that ties our economic fortunes to the uncertain fluctuations in the American economy, and which prevents job-producing secondary industries from developing in Canada. In other words, at every level on every issue we must provide an anti-imperialist, pro-independence perspective to the struggle.

## Trade Union Struggle

If an effective struggle for independence is to take place in Canada, it is absolutely vital that an independent labour movement be built. This is not because Canadian unions can win better contracts than the "Internationals" (although this is usually the case). The real damage that American unions do to Canadian workers is not measured in so many nickels-per-hour on a contract. More destructive is the effect that the AFL-CIO controlled unions have on the working class movement, not only in Canada but also in the United States. For example, by organizing only a section of the working class (about 30% in Canada), the working class is divided and poorer paid workers abandoned. Also the stultifying bureaucracy of the "Internationals" makes the workers feel apathetic not only about their own union, but in general about the possibility of organizing in any way to improve their lot. But the most important aspect of the AFL-CIO control is the political control that goes with it. While a trade union organization is not itself a political party it can support political parties (like the Democratic Party in the U. S. and the NDP in Canada). Furthermore, its activities can have important political consequences--for example, a trade union centre could support, or refuse to support a political general strike at a critical point in a nation's development. Because of this kind of political power, the CIA has been interested in trade unions for years, and the CIA's influence in the AFL-CIO is well documented.

In Canada, the AFL-CIO uses its political power mainly to oppose the development of an independence movement (note, for example, its activities at the last NDP conference). This is in its interest both from the point of view of the dues that would be lost if an independence movement engulfed the trade unions, and also from the point of view of the rewards that come from being a faithful servant of imperialism.

An independent Canadian trade union centre cannot substitute for an independence movement. But an effective independence movement in Canada will not be possible as long as the political aspect of the trade unions basically reflect the needs of U. S. imperialism. Some people say that the policy of Canadian unions for Canadian workers would "divide the international ranks of labour," that it would place Canadian workers in antagonism with the American working class. Our position is that a struggle for Canadian independence would no more put us into opposition to the American working class than has the Vietnamese struggle placed the Vietnamese people in opposition to the American working class. It is the duty of the working class in the imperialist country to oppose the imperialism of its ruling class

--if it fails to do so, that cannot be blamed on the people of the oppressed country. The highest form of internationalism is to fight against the common enemy of all the world's working and oppressed people, U. S. imperialism. Only if the American workers choose to side with imperialism would we find ourselves in opposition to them. It is an absolute necessity that an independent Canadian working class movement provide leadership in Canada's anti-imperialist struggle. Class conscious workers in the United States can only welcome the development of such a labour movement. (For a more detailed position on our attitude towards the American working class, see the Appendix.)

It is an undeniable fact that broad sections of the Canadian working class are thoroughly disillusioned with the policies and leadership of the "internationals" and would welcome an opportunity to effect a change. The important factor that has been missing was the existence of an alternative Canadian labour center which would provide leadership and a rallying point in the exodus of Canadian workers from the American unions.

Earlier in this paper we described some of the difficulties Canadian workers must face when attempting to organize their own independent unions. But the situation is far from hopeless, the stranglehold of U. S. unions over Canadian workers can be broken. Some small steps toward the establishment of an independent Canadian trade union center have already been taken. The Council of Canadian Unions, a newly formed association of independent Canadian unions, has made the most significant contribution toward such an independent Canadian alternative to the U. S. controlled "internationals" and their "Canadian" Labour Congress. At this point the CCU represents twenty-thousand workers. The creation of a vigorous Canadian trade union movement should do much to destroy the disillusionment, apathy, disunity, and demoralization that now pervades the ranks of organized labour.

Very often, of course, the fight for Canadian trade unions will begin over questions of internal democracy and local control rather than out of a larger political perspective that recognizes the need for a nation-wide independence struggle. Once more, it will be the task of the independence movement to show the relationship between the way the "international" bureaucracy oppresses the Canadian worker and the overall control that the U. S. exercises over Canada. Socialists must point out the necessity for the working class to take a leading role in the independence struggle.



# Independence Party

At some point in the development of the independence movement in Canada, an independence party must arise in order to advance in the educational phase of the anti-imperialist struggle. The task of this party will be to lead the fight to such a stage that the U. S. rulers will no longer be able to control their Canadian colony by purely ideological and economic means. In other words, the Canadian comprador bourgeoisie will have been completely discredited and the U. S. will no longer be able to use them to mask its control of Canada.

## C. Future Military Struggle

At the point where the Canadian compradore ruling class becomes unable to continue administering the country on behalf of their U. S. masters the independence struggle will have to move to a higher stage--unless we believe that the Americans will peacefully give up their most prized possession. Some people do seem to believe this. Cy Gonick, editor of Canadian Dimensions and NDP MLA in Manitoba who as we have seen clearly understands Canada's primary importance to the American empire, has written:

Talk of American invasion of Canada is clearly absurd and irresponsible. No doubt the Americans could retaliate in ways short of military invasion. \*

But that is just the point. We are speaking of the moment when the U. S. can no longer keep Canada in line by whatever peaceful means; political, ideological, economic: at that moment, they will not hesitate to do here what they have done elsewhere when their empire has been threatened.

Not everyone is so naive as Gonick. George F. Ferguson, editor emeritus of the Montreal Star has stated recently:

Canada is no Cuba. It is far more important to the United States than a small, impoverished island. Apart from the huge American investment in Canada, we occupy here a landspace between the United States and the Soviet Union . . . if a Canadian Castro followed the same line that the Cuban Castro did, we would be immediately overwhelmed. \*\*

Not that we must mistake Mr. Ferguson for a dedicated

In general terms, the party will be the organized expression on a nation-wide basis of the various tasks that will have to be carried out in working for Canadian independence. In addition to the various organizational tasks, such as the ones we have been outlining here, the independence party will be able to make use of the electoral process to publicize and agitate for the goal of national independence.

anti-imperialist. For him, this was an argument against, instead of for, attempts to gain control over our own economy.

At the point of U. S. military interference the struggle will assume a military character. But does this mean that at the present time we should unite only with those who recognize the eventual necessity of military struggle? Far from it. We should unite in the independence movement all those with whom we have a basis of unity for action right now, in order to perform the tasks we can agree are necessary right now. As we have stated, the present phase of the struggle is primarily educational, therefore all those who are willing to agitate for Canadian independence should be considered allies in the anti-imperialist struggle.

We must understand that the "educational" phase deals only with the superstructure of society, the political and ideological means by which control is maintained over us. But the power of U. S. imperialism rests on its control of the economic base of society; in Canada it rests on its control of the Canadian economy. An independence party could conceivably be elected as the dominant governing body--but if it began and persisted in meddling with the U. S. control of the economic base, the retaliation would ultimately be military. Either Canada would be invaded or the elected government would be attacked by an imperialist-supported force of right-wing Canadians. The response of the Canadian people would therefore have to be a military one--defending our country from an actual invasion or from an imperialist-supported right-wing coup--or the advance to independence would be cut dead.

But until then we must direct our blows at the superstructure of politics, culture, and ideology in order to

achieve a position of being able to threaten the imperialists' rule over Canada at its economic base. And until then we

must not expect everyone to agree with us on every point of our analysis before we are ready to unite with them.

## D. Role of Socialists in the Independence Movement

The necessity is to build the broadest possible united front in order to free the nation from foreign domination. Socialists must be ready to unite with non-socialists in the struggle for independence. We must not be afraid of such alliances; we should attempt to build them. As Lenin wrote in "Left Wing" Communism:

The more powerful enemy can be vanquished only by exerting the utmost effort, and without fail, most thoroughly, carefully, attentively and skillfully using every, even the smallest "rift" among the enemies, of every antagonism of interest among the bourgeoisie of the various countries and among the various groups or types of bourgeoisie within the various countries, and also by taking advantage of every, even the smallest, opportunity of gaining a mass ally, even though this ally be temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable and conditional. Those who fail to understand this, fail to understand even a particle of Marxism, or of scientific, modern Socialism in general.

(p. 67) \*

"Socialists" who do not see the necessity of waging this anti-imperialist struggle in Canada have no place in the united front. If they oppose the struggle for independence, they will be helping to maintain imperialism--and therefore capitalism--in Canada. At this stage, the struggle for independence is the struggle for socialism.

This is not to say that nationalists and socialists have the same perspective. Socialists will realize that replacing the imperialists with a crop of home-grown exploiters is not only undesirable, but as a long term "solution", it would be impossible. For, in the period when various imperialisms have divided up the entire non-socialist world, no emerging national capitalist class has the power to maintain itself as the ruling class. In order to defend independence, the working class must be the dominant force in the independence struggle. This means that, for example, the independence movement must demand that foreign controlled property be nationalized (without compensation) and be turned over to the Canadian people, i. e., to Canadians generally, not the

handful of Canadian bourgeois.

As long as any property is in the hands of capitalists, no country can be completely socialist, i. e., communist. (Even China, in that sense, is not completely socialist). But if the section of the Canadian economy that is now dominated by foreign capital were in the hands of the Canadian people (which, as we have pointed out, could only take place with a military struggle), then we would have taken a giant stride towards socialism. The struggle against the national exploiters (which is now being waged by the foreign exploiters in their own interest) could be waged by the Canadian people with the former assets of the imperialists plus the power of the working class which will have gained military experience in the struggle against imperialism.

However, if the independence struggle takes place under the leadership of the national bourgeoisie with the result that they become the ruling class, not only would Canada remain capitalist, but also it wouldn't remain independent for very long. Faced with the alternative of either mobilizing the working class or capitulating to imperialism in some new form (or perhaps a different imperialism--eg. Russian), the national bourgeoisie would undoubtedly choose capitulation. The Canadian independence struggle would have been diverted down the same blind alley as, for example, was the Algerian struggle.

Obviously then, it is critical that the working class have the leading role in the independence movement, and put forth demands that will ensure that Canada's independence, once achieved, will be lasting and that Canada will ultimately progress into a socialist state. Thus, socialists within the independence movement must not commit the mistake of making our minimum basis of unity with non-socialists our maximum basis of action. This was the mistake committed by Communist Parties in several countries during the united front period in the thirties. Having joined a broad "democratic" united front against fascism, they forgot about socialist aims and restricted their activity to the confines of the non-socialist united front. Just as we must avoid the sectarianism of refusing to unite with non-socialists, we must avoid the opportunism of attempting to gain acceptance

by hiding or ignoring our socialist principles. In other words, we must continue to work openly for socialism both within and outside the independence movement.

There will no doubt be bourgeois nationalists in the independence movement; and, if they are genuine in their opposition to U.S. imperialism, they belong there. But, as pointed out above, their leadership would be disastrous. In opposition to bourgeois nationalist ideas, socialists will have to emphasize the socialist and internationalist aspects of the struggle. In particular:

(1) That nationalized property belongs to the Canadian people and not to any bourgeois elite.

(2) That our quarrel is not with the American workers, unless they allow themselves to be used as tools of

imperialism against us. The defeat of U.S. imperialism is in the interest of the American people as well.

(3) That we support the right of all nations to self-determination. This includes Quebec's right of secession (our emphasis on the point will lay the basis for unity of English and French speaking workers in the fight against their common enemy).

(4) That we ask for Canada no more than we ask for any nation. We don't want Canada to advance at the cost of other nations--on the contrary, if Canada advances, we want to help others to advance as well. Our ultimate aim is not to raise our nation above others, but that all nations can be equal--providing one of the necessary conditions for the "withering away" of the various states.

## E. The Necessity for a Marxist-Leninist Party

It is clear that socialists, specifically Marxist-Leninists, will not be able to provide leadership in the independence movement and lead that movement in a socialist direction without a party built on Marxist-Leninist principles. It is up to the revolutionaries to give the independence struggle socialist content, but as individuals or as small unconnected groups our effect would be minimal. Only a nation-wide party can provide nationwide leadership. Such an organisation could examine the problems and tasks facing it collectively and scientifically, and act in a collective and disciplined manner that cannot be matched by individuals, no matter how ideologically advanced.

To give a specific example, there are many sincere people who regard themselves as socialists, recognize the necessity of independence as the basis for building socialism, but do not agree that armed struggle must inevitably take place if independence is to be achieved. We have already stated that such people must be regarded as our allies--but it is evident that we must not abandon

our own analysis and principles in order to work with them. We must therefore continue to point out the eventual necessity of armed struggle--and only a party organisation can do that on a consistent and nation-wide basis. Needless to say, there are numerous other questions on which Marxist-Leninists will have to carry out their own separate propaganda and organizational work both within and outside the independence movement.

The formation and development of a genuine Communist Party of Canada must therefore be considered one of the primary tasks now facing Canadian Marxist-Leninists. This is not to say that any group of people can just arbitrarily announce themselves to the world as the Marxist-Leninist vanguard in Canada--they would be misleading only themselves if they did. But it does mean that Marxist-Leninists, no matter where in Canada, must organize groups and movements that can lay the basis for a genuine revolutionary party of the working class.

As we said in the introduction, we cannot claim to be absolutely correct in every detail of our analysis. We feel, however, that our position is fundamentally correct. We realize many people will not fully agree with us and that there are other progressive groups across

the country whose analysis might be somewhat different from ours. We feel that a thorough and extensive discussion of the issues of independence and socialism which we have raised here and which other people have raised elsewhere must take place throughout the Canadian left.

We are a small Marxist-Leninist movement operating mainly in the Vancouver area. We see our task as organizing along the principles laid down in this paper, in linking up with other groups across Canada who share our analysis, and in entering into discussion with those with whom the possibility of agreement exists. Although we exist organizationally only in the Vancouver area, we do have contacts across the country; in particular, subscribers to *Progressive Worker* which (in its previous monthly format) has been distributed nationally for five years. We hope other people will get in touch with us and let us know their opinions, criticisms and suggestions on our position.

## Marxist Theory On The National Question

Some of our readers may wonder why we did not quote more extensively from the Marxist classics in order to "substantiate" our position. We have not done so for the simple reason that nothing is easier than to find some relevant quote from Marx, Lenin, etc. to "justify" virtually any position, including the various positions on the national question. A recent issue of *Progressive Labour*, published by the Progressive Labour Party in the U.S., declared for example that they (PL) have read everything that Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao have ever written on the national question and could find nothing that said nationalism could ever be progressive. Having said this, PL quoted several statements by the above-mentioned authors supporting this view. We looked up the original sources and found these statements to be authentic--but quoted very much out of context by PL.

The first necessity in studying the works of the founders and developers of Marxism-Leninism is to study them in historical and political context, and not to seize on individual quotes as dogma. We could have reprinted many pages of quotes from Marx through Lenin to Mao to "prove" the correctness of our position--but without an explanation of the historical background this would not have been much more useful than the quotes used by PL. We have therefore prepared a full-length article on *The Historical Development of Marxist Thought on the National Question*, and had intended this article to serve as part of the Appendix. Lack of space, however, has prevented us from including the article in this edition of the *Progressive Worker*--it will therefore appear in the next edition of our quarterly journal.

## F. Conclusion

In summary, we see the necessity of building a broad independence coalition in Canada and, specifically for Marxist-Leninists, the development of a revolutionary Communist party to work both within and outside the independence movement.

# 6. APPENDIX

Although we have stated our position as clearly and as simply as we could, there are many questions and arguments we could not fully deal with in the main body of the paper without frequently interrupting our analysis. Therefore, we have prepared this Appendix in which we hope to discuss certain theoretical questions in greater detail.

In the first section of the Appendix, we discuss those arguments against our position that we have come up against in our previous work. We have tried to present

such arguments as clearly and honestly as possible. Nevertheless, since we are stating them in order to refute them, people who wish to examine them in greater depth would have to turn to some of the literature of those groups who put such positions forward.

The other parts of the Appendix are self-explanatory. They concern questions on which we could only touch in the main body of the paper, but which we think are questions of importance and should be discussed more fully.

## A. Incorrect Ideas on the National Question "All Nationalism is Reactionary"

The first of the arguments usually raised against those who are fighting for national independence is that all nationalism is reactionary. Although the main proponents of this theory in this part of the world are foreign, namely the Progressive Labour Party in the United States, it is necessary to deal with this position because PL has a certain following in the Canadian Party of Labour and because some other Canadians hold this view, although they may not have worked it out in such detail as PL.

The clearest and most precise explanation of this position appears in the August 1969 issue of PL. Already in May 1969, PL announced "there is no such thing as revolutionary nationalism." The August issue develops this position in full.

The first argument in support of the anti-nationalist position is that national struggle denies class struggle, thus playing into the hands of reaction. To quote PL:

National struggle instead of class struggle must lead to imperialism. National struggle denies class struggle. And national struggle does not automatically lead to class struggle. Communists must intervene and put forward a Marxist-Leninist line. This gives the workers and oppressed people the correct and only alternative to capitalism.

This whole formulation is very confused. For a Marxist it is not a question of national struggle versus class struggle. The national struggle--like every other political struggle--is a class struggle. The national banner is always raised by a particular class or classes. It depends on who these classes are and why the banner is raised as to whether, in that particular example, nationalism is progressive or reactionary.

We agree, of course, that communists must "intervene and put forward a Marxist-Leninist line" during the national struggle. National struggle does not automatically lead to a struggle for socialism (which we presume is what PL means by "class struggle"). Communists must provide leadership beyond the national struggle if socialism is to be achieved. But the question is, what is to be the attitude of communists while the national struggle is being waged? For example, should communists in Vietnam have condemned as bourgeois nationalists and reactionaries all those peasants, students, workers, intellectuals, and others who are not socialists but who have taken up armed struggle to free their country of American rule? This would seem to be the logic of the PL position. If all nationalism is reactionary, then all non-socialist Vietnamese nationalists are fighting in a reactionary cause and should be condemned as the agents of imperialism. In fact, the more fervently they fight in this reactionary nationalist cause, the more they serve

the imperialist. And thus every defeat for the Americans in Vietnam is actually a victory for U.S. imperialism!

Unless we are prepared to accept such absurdity, we have to see that it is the PL position which is absurd. Clearly we cannot condemn all national struggles as inevitably leading to imperialism. As we have already pointed out, we must examine each manifestation of nationalism in its own context and judge its relationship to its specific situation. For Vietnamese communists to have rejected the national struggle would have meant their isolation from the Vietnamese masses at a time when everyone possible had to be brought into the struggle against the main enemy, U.S. imperialism. In a country dominated by imperialism, the nationalism which seeks to free the country from the foreign ruler has to be seen as having an overwhelmingly progressive character. If this means an alliance between classes and groups that in other arenas have opposing interests, then this alliance has to take place. If Marxist-Leninists maintain their own clear perspective and independent organisation, they have nothing to fear from such alliances.

The second argument marshalled by Progressive Labour in their attack on all forms of nationalism is not so much theoretical as historical. They point out that in a number of cases, nationalism has been used by native ruling classes to usurp the revolution and thus the removal of the foreign ruler through national struggle did not really change the oppression suffered by the mass of the people. Indeed, in the case of Algeria and Indonesia the imperialists have managed to return and renew their domination.

It's true that Algeria and Indonesia do provide us with examples of national revolutions that led not to socialism but to neo-colonialism. The question is though, why did this happen? Was it the national aspect of the liberation struggle or some other factor that caused these setbacks? In order to prove their point, PL would have to show: (a) that in no case did a national struggle ever lead to socialism and (b) that in all the cases where a national struggle was later subverted by either a local ruling class or by foreign imperialists, it was the national aspect of the liberation movement that caused or allowed this to take place.

In the first place, PL knows very well that there have been successful struggles of national liberation which have led to the establishment of socialist states--China is the most prominent example. But in order to be consistent, PL is forced to be dishonest--they blatantly state the very opposite. According to them, China achieved socialism in one stroke:

During the Chinese Revolution, there were those who said that you couldn't skip stages

and go from feudalism to socialism. They said China had to have capitalism first. It was claimed there were very few workers, and China, of course, had very little industry. One of the great contributions of the Chinese communists was to smash this idea. By leaping from feudalism to socialism they speeded up the revolutionary process and greatly intensified imperialist contradictions. Actually, a similar argument is being advanced today. There are those who claim local nationalists must first defeat the imperialists. Then this nationalist revolution can be transformed into the socialist revolution.

Unfortunately for this argument, the Chinese themselves have a very different view of what happened in their own country. Lin Piao has written in Long Live the Victory of the People's War:

It is very harmful to confuse the two stages, that is, the national-democratic and the socialist revolutions. Comrade Mao Tse-tung criticized the wrong idea of 'accomplishing both at one stroke', and pointed out that this utopian idea could only weaken the struggle against imperialism and its lackeys, the most urgent tasks at that time.\*

And in case there should be any doubt as to the necessity of waging a national struggle against imperialism (at least in the situation that existed in China), Lin Piao further writes:

In the struggle against imperialism and its lackeys, it is necessary to rally all anti-imperialist forces, including the national bourgeoisie and all patriotic personages. All those patriotic personages from among the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes who join the anti-imperialist struggle play a progressive historical role; they are not tolerated by imperialism but are welcomed by the proletariat.\*\*

That is, the Chinese communists from their own experience acknowledge the existence of such a thing as progressive nationalism and point to the necessity of utilizing this force wherever possible.

Now we must ask, what enabled China to succeed where Algeria failed? It could not have been the national aspect of the struggle in itself that was responsible for the success of the one and the failure of the other, for this aspect existed in both cases. The difference was that in the Chinese national struggle, a well-organized and experienced Marxist-Leninist party provided the leadership and protected the interests of the working masses,

whereas in Algeria the Marxist-Leninists played a very minimal role. If anything, these two examples prove the necessity for Marxist-Leninists to take an active leadership role in the liberation struggle where foreign imperialism is the main enemy. It is true that if they put their faith in the goodness or progressivism of the national bourgeoisie, they will suffer great defeats, as in Indonesia--or as in China in 1927. To rely on the non-socialist elements to bring about socialism is a mistake on the right--but to refuse to recognize the necessity of unity

## "Canadian Nationalism is Reactionary"

We must now turn our attention to arguments that deal specifically with the Canadian situation. Such arguments may or may not acknowledge that nationalism can be a progressive force in some circumstances, but they agree that in the case of Canada, nationalism is definitely reactionary.

### "Canada is an Imperialist Power"

The first of these arguments states that far from being a neo-colony of the United States, Canada is in fact an imperialist power in her own right. Since much of our paper has been devoted to showing Canada's colonial past and present, we need not repeat ourselves here. But certain aspects of this argument have to be dealt with.

The major "proof" of Canada's imperialist nature is Canadian foreign investment and the existence of certain Canadian companies which derive huge profits from such investment. There are four questions that we have to ask in looking at Canadian foreign investment. How much Canadian foreign investment is there? Where is it located? Who controls it? And finally, does the fact of foreign investment characterize the fundamental nature of the Canadian economy? In other words, is the Canadian economy, like the American economy, essentially based on imperialist exploitation abroad?

By the end of 1964 Canadian direct investment abroad amounted to \$3,356 million (DBS)--a sum which fell far short of foreign investment in Canada, less than one sixth. This would make Canada the only imperialist country with more foreign investment at home than it controlled abroad. \$2,025 million, or 60% of this Can-

with them in certain situations is an equally serious mistake on the left.

Certainly nationalism can be reactionary, a weapon in the hands of the ruling class in order to mislead the people. But it can also be revolutionary. It was the latter kind of nationalism that Mao was referring to when he said: "Can a Communist who is also an internationalist at the same time be a patriot? We hold that he not only can be but must be."\*

adian foreign investment was in the United States where it could hardly be looked upon as imperialist investment in the real sense--unless we wish to believe that their investment in the United States gives Canadians some significant measure of control in the American economy. Investments in the United Kingdom, Europe and Australasia amounted to \$789 million, making a total of \$2,814 million in highly developed capitalist and imperialist nations, or almost 85% of all Canadian investments abroad. Only \$542 million of Canadian foreign investments were placed in Latin America, in British, French and Dutch possessions in the Americas, in Africa and in Asia.

The point is that virtually all of Canadian foreign investment is located in areas where "Canadian imperialism" cannot exercise any control whatsoever in order to derive the traditional imperialist benefits of controlled markets, areas of investment, control of resources, and subservient native ruling classes. In fact, Canada would be the only imperialist country which does not possess--and never has possessed--any colonies and neo-colonies.

Of equal importance is the question of who controls Canadian foreign investments. In 1964 United States-controlled Canadian enterprises held \$1,307 million which was 39 per cent of the total. An additional 4 per cent was held by other foreign-controlled Canadian enterprises--a total of 43 per cent of all Canadian investment abroad in the hands of foreign-controlled enterprises in Canada. The trend toward increased foreign control of Canadian investment abroad can be seen from the fact that 56 per cent of the increase in Canadian foreign investment during the decade from 1954 to 1964 was accounted for by Canadian companies under foreign control. It would appear from this that Canada's role as a foreign investor is mainly limited to that of staging point for foreign capital investment in other lands. We have already pointed to Brascan as one example of such

a "Canadian" imperialist company.

This is not to say that no Canadian companies invest abroad. But certainly it is absurd to argue that the roughly 2 billion dollars of Canadian foreign investment which is controlled by Canadian capitalists make Canada into an imperialist country. Can we say, with the evidence presented here, that the Canadian economy is based on imperialist exploitation abroad? As we have shown, Canada is nowhere in a position to exercise control and is in fact herself controlled economically to a greater extent than virtually any other colony or neo-colony on the globe. The Canadian firms which engage in imperialist activities abroad cannot be said to dominate the Canadian economy as the American economy is dominated by the American imperialist monopolies for example. The most important factor defining the nature and shape of the Canadian economy is foreign control, not investment abroad. A few Canadian companies investing abroad no more make Canada an imperialist country than does the sixty per cent of Canadian foreign investment that is located in the United States make the U.S. a Canadian colony.

### "Canada has an Independent Ruling Class"

Another view that condemns Canadian nationalism as reactionary states that the Canadian bourgeoisie is an entity separate from the American bourgeoisie, but one which sees no conflict between itself and the U.S. bourgeoisie. Closely related to the "Canada is an imperialist country" view, this argument is saying once more that Canada is an independent capitalist state and explains our close ties to the U.S. by stating that the independent Canadian ruling class sees its interests as one with the American ruling class. The August 25 1969 issue of Vanguard, organ of the Trotskyist League for Socialist Action wrote:

Thus in reality the relationship of the Canadian capitalist class vis-a-vis the U.S. capitalist class can best be described as that of partner-junior partner.

And further:

If at other times there were conflicting interests which caused the Canadian capitalist class to pursue or attempt to pursue policies that took it into real conflict with the U.S. ruling class, this is no longer the situation. It is now apparent the Canadian capitalist class has arrived at a mutually

agreeable relationship with U.S. capital in their common exploitation of the work force of this country and its vast natural resources.

All of this of course sounds very much like what we ourselves are saying, that the Canadian comprador bourgeoisie serves American imperialism by selling out and administering Canada for the benefit of the United States. There is a world of difference, however, between the two positions. What the LSA would have us believe is that Canada is not a controlled neo-colony of the United States, but an independent country. Our ruling class does not serve American imperialism, they merely cooperate with it because they see it in their interest to do so. In other words, national independence is not a problem at all for Canada, we already have it. What we need to do is simply to prepare for socialist revolution without cluttering our minds with thoughts of independence.

The LSA has for many years maintained Canada is an independent capitalist country; the statement quoted above is attempting to reconcile that view with the mass of evidence proving our colonial status. Since they must account somehow for all the facts which show Canada's position as a colony without actually admitting these facts, they develop the theory of an independent Canadian ruling class which has a "mutually agreeable relationship with U.S. capital."

If the Trotskyist theory were right, it would make the Canadian ruling class the first independent ruling class in history which saw no conflict of interest between itself and the foreign imperialist taking over its country. In fact, the weakness of this theory lies in its failure to recognize the true nature of the Canadian governing class as a comprador-capitalist class, a class which historically evolved and has always existed as the servant of British and American imperialism in Canada. When we say the Canadian comprador bourgeoisie plays the role of junior partner to foreign imperialism, we mean that this is the only role it knows how to play, the only role it has ever been allowed to play. It is nonsense to speak of an independent Canadian ruling class--such a class has never existed.

### "Struggle in Canada and the U.S. is Exactly the Same"

There are two arguments against a national independence movement in Canada which differ from each other slightly, but lead to the same conclusions and can therefore be treated together. The first one states that Canada is no more a colony of the United States than is the U.S. a colony of Canada, but both are oppressed by the

same ruling class--a continental bourgeoisie. The second sees Canada not as a colony of the United States but as virtually a part of the United States. Geographically the border is artificial, goes the argument, an imaginary line drawn by the bourgeoisie. Canada has the same language, culture and economic system as the United States; politically we are controlled from Washington and economically from Wall Street. One can cross from Canada to the U. S. and hardly even notice the difference, this argument concludes.

We feel we have dealt adequately with the premises on which these two arguments are based in previous sections of our paper. We have shown the development of the Canadian comprador-bourgeoisie--obviously it is not part of the American imperialist bourgeoisie, it merely serves the latter. There is no "continental bourgeoisie," except in the sense that the American bourgeoisie rules the entire continent. And we have shown that the border is not "imaginary"--who besides a few "Marxist" intellectuals and our Resources Minister Joe Greene thinks it is?--that Canadians have a sense of nationhood and a desire to keep separate from the United States. But the political implications of these two arguments deserve a closer look.

The conclusion to be drawn from both arguments is the same: we must forget about an independence struggle in Canada and concentrate on the task of organizing socialist revolution in the whole of North America north of the Rio Grande. Thus, when Canadians express a desire for independence, we must tell them such desires are reactionary, for their task is to hang on the tail of the revolutionary movement in the United States. Such

would be the effect of accepting this conclusion of a "continental" struggle for socialism. We would always have to await developments in the United States, for obviously the continental revolution cannot be waged in Canada alone. Since we cannot ourselves overthrow the "continental bourgeoisie" nor the United States ruling class, we would have to wait for the American working class to do so and then make whatever contribution we can. In fact, if we wish, we could actually give up the struggle altogether and simply wait for the American Revolution to liberate us--for obviously once the American working class overthrows its own ruling class, they will have freed us as well--IF there is a "continental bourgeoisie" or IF we are actually part of the United States, that is. These are the conclusions such arguments lead to, reflecting nothing more than the kind of colonial-mindedness some people on the Canadian left manage to share with the Canadian comprador bourgeoisie.

We are not saying, of course, that revolutionaries in Canada must not or should not cooperate and work closely with revolutionaries in the United States. Anything we can do to help each other we must naturally do without fail, and we should at all times be in contact with our American comrades. But to say this is not necessarily to say that the way we carry on our struggle is exactly the same as the way they carry on theirs, or that we must follow only in their footsteps. We must recognize that in Canada we have our own specific situation and problems to deal with, and that these are not the same as the ones faced by American revolutionaries. Above all, in Canada we face the problem of foreign imperialistic control and the necessity for a national independence struggle if socialism is to be achieved.

## 'Nationalism is Irrelevant in Canada'

The final position we shall deal with states its argument thusly: "Nationalism, a sentiment for national independence, may not be reactionary in the Canadian context, but it is irrelevant. In all the other countries where a national struggle against imperialism has taken place, such as in China, Korea, and Vietnam, or in those countries where national liberation movements are in the process of developing, such as in the Latin American countries, the situation has been vastly different from the one we face in Canada. They are all mainly agricultural countries with the poor peasantry forming the bulk of the population. The working class was (or is) a small part of the population, unable by itself to wage a successful fight for socialism, or even to free the nation from foreign rule. Naturally it has had to ally itself with the peasants and with other classes as well. But Canada is, by comparison to the Third World countries, an industrially developed nation. There is no feudalism,

and no peasantry. The working class is the majority of the population, it need not seek class alliances in order to wage its struggle. It can fight directly for socialism; once we have socialism we shall have independence as well."

As socialists, we agree of course that it is desirable to fight for socialism in the most "direct" manner. The question is, what is the most direct manner? Should we ignore the advice of Lenin, and not "carefully, attentively, and skillfully" take advantage of "every antagonism of interest among the bourgeoisies of the various countries and among the various groups or types of bourgeoisie within the various countries"? Should we fail to take "every, even the smallest opportunity of gaining a mass ally, even though this ally be temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable, and conditional"? Would it be more "direct" to ignore all possible allies, and attack

the enemies of the working class as a block, even though they can be divided?

Any capitalist class is an enemy of the working class. But the small Canadian capitalists (i. e. not the comprador bourgeoisie) have contradictions with the imperialists who are squeezing their class out of existence. The small farmers and shopkeepers constitute a potential mass ally of the working class--at least in the struggle against U. S. imperialism.

There is another consideration, as well as the question of class allies. Within the working-class there are many people who are not socialists, who are even anti-socialists, but who still support the idea of opposing U. S. domination. This group constitutes an important ally in the struggle against imperialism. With correct leadership, it should ultimately be possible to win many of them to a socialist position. But there is nothing unprincipled about uniting with them on the basis of their anti-imperialist sentiments. (Opportunism consists of uniting on some unprincipled basis.)

An independence movement is inevitable. The various bad consequences of being a neo-colony will worsen considerably as time goes on, particularly with a deterioration of the economic position of the United States. This will result in a deepening feeling of resentment about U. S. domination. With leadership, this sentiment can be translated into a movement capable of political action. The question of who will give this leadership, however, is another matter. If socialists do not take an active part in struggling within the independence movement, various bourgeois and petty-bourgeois tendencies will undoubtedly gain leadership

## B. Quebec

The following general comments outline what we feel is the correct attitude towards the struggle of the Quebecois

(1) English-Canadians should support the right of the Quebecois to enjoy the basic democratic freedoms--such as freedom of speech, assembly, etc. These freedoms are presently being curtailed and increasingly denied the Quebec people.

(2) In particular, we must support the right of the Quebec people to secede from Canada, if they so desire. It must be understood that this too is a basic democratic right that should be supported unconditionally--whether or not it is our opinion that Quebec should secede. There will never be any possibility of solidarity between the peoples of English-Canada and Quebec if English Canadians support the forcible retention of Quebec within the

Canadian state.

roles. This will mean that the socialists will have abandoned the non-socialist workers to the influence of representatives from other classes. As we pointed out in a previous section, the result of national bourgeois leadership would be disastrous.

Certainly the fact that Canada has an industrialized economy and a much different class composition than the Asian, African, and Latin American colonies will mean that the struggle for independence and socialism will take different forms and must employ different strategies and tactics to meet the specific needs of the Canadian situation. But one necessity exists in all situations faced by revolutionaries everywhere: the necessity to isolate the main enemy and to unite against him as many forces as we can. To say that the main enemy is capitalism and the antagonists in the struggle are the working class and the bourgeoisie is merely to state a truism, but it does not deal with the particular Canadian situation. Who, we must ask, is the most important force behind capitalism in Canada? We have shown this to be the imperialist ruling class of the United States. It is therefore necessary to isolate this enemy and concentrate as many forces against him as possible. All Canadians who oppose American domination, working class or not, socialist or not, and for whatever reason, must be seen as allies (or at least potential allies) at this stage of the struggle. It is up to socialists to develop their own strength by giving effective leadership to the working class, to the independence movement in general, and by developing a genuinely revolutionary Communist party in Canada, and thus to ensure that the fight for independence does in fact lead to socialism.

state.

(4) The above points (support for the Quebecois' democratic rights, including the right of secession; and opposition to English-Canadian chauvinism) should be supported--as a matter of simple justice--by all Canadians, not only socialists.

But as anti-imperialists and socialists, we must go beyond this, and determine our attitude towards the independence movement in Quebec. Do we support it, support it under some conditions, or oppose it? For it is perfectly consistent to unconditionally support the right of a nation to secede, but at the same time attempt to persuade the people not to exercise that right.

Whether or not socialists support a secessionist movement depends on how that movement affects the struggle for socialism--does it advance the cause of socialism or hinder it?

In both Quebec and English Canada, the main obstacle on the road to socialism is the economic, political and cultural domination by U.S. imperialism. Anything that weakens this domination contributes to the struggle for socialism. The question is, then, does the independence movement in Quebec contribute to the weakening of U.S. domination?

To take a particular example: in Quebec the working people have a trade-union federation, the CNTU, which has broken with the imperialist dominated AFL-CIO to an extent unheard of in English Canada. This has weakened the "International" unions and U.S. domination in general. The CNTU is basically a Quebec body, not a Canadian one. Its formation reflects the nationalist sentiment of the Quebec people. This is not altered by the fact that some of the CNTU's former functionaries--like Jean Marchand--went on to become spokesmen for Trudeau's version of Canada. The CNTU shows that nationalist sentiment in Quebec can contribute to the weakening of U.S. imperialism.

But the 'separatist movement' in Quebec is actually many movements. Many different groups claim to support the idea of independence. Pierre Bourgault (leader of the now-defunct R. I. N.) claimed to favour independence--from the Canadian state, but not from U.S. imperialism. Bourgault once said that an "independent" Quebec might well choose to join the United States! This kind of separatist politician plays upon the justified resentment of the Quebecois at English-Canadian chauvinism; at English-Canadian capitalists (who are often more

visible in Quebec than the imperialists, although much weaker); and at the English-Canadian agents of U.S. imperialism in Quebec (the same comprador bourgeois class that is an enemy of the English-Canadian workers as well). However, while these grievances are justified, "independence" from the Canadian state will not be true independence for the Quebec people, if it means continued national oppression by U.S. imperialism. And U.S. imperialism is capable of trying to fan national animosities between the Quebec and English-Canadian workers in order to divert the Quebecois from the main enemy and to create a climate in English-Canada that would make it possible to raise an army to suppress a genuine independence movement in Quebec.

Obviously, socialists in English Canada cannot support pro-imperialist separatism. But the best way to oppose it is not to lecture the Quebecois but rather to build support in English Canada for the Quebecois' right of secession. In this way, we can make it clear that it is not English-Canadians as such that are the enemies of the Quebec people, but only those English-Canadians who allow themselves to be used as tools of U.S. imperialism.

The reactionary form of separatism is no doubt unacceptable to the rank and file of most independence organizations. In general, the anti-imperialist aspect is dominant in the separatist movement--sometimes in spite of the leadership. English-Canadians should support this because it will weaken our common enemy.

It may be that the independence struggle in English Canada will develop and sharpen to the point where we will find ourselves fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Quebecois to free the northern part of our continent from U.S. imperialism. It may be that, under those circumstances, solidarity between English-Canadians and the Quebecois could develop to the point where both would want to be part (as equal nations) of the same state. But this situation, if it occurs, lies in the future. English-Canadian radicals cannot ask the Quebecois to wait for us before they begin to take on U.S. imperialism. If they want to do it in the near future by struggling for a truly independent national state, it is our duty to support them every way we can.

However, it is not up to us to start a campaign in English-Canada for Quebec's separation. We can best help the cause of anti-imperialism and worker-solidarity by building support for the Quebec people's fight against repression and their right to self-determination.

# C. Canada's Peculiarities as a Colony

The point we have made throughout our paper is that Canada has always been a colony, at first of Britain and later of the United States. At the same time it seems on the surface that Canada has more in common with the Western, industrialized, Christian and white imperialist countries, specifically the United States, than with the colonial countries of the Third World, which are for the most part agricultural, non-Western, non-Christian, and non-white. Certainly, Canada is a colony of a type different from other colonies in the world. In this section we shall briefly discuss what factors in Canada's historical development have caused this difference.

To begin with, most countries we regard as colonial possessions were settled territories with a high level of pre-industrial civilization long before the coming of the colonial powers. In these countries, such as the colonies of Britain, France, and Spain in Asia and Latin America the colonists would form a small minority of the population and would force the local populations to provide the work force in the exploitation of the natural resources. Capitalism would thus be introduced by the imperialist, but it would employ a relatively small part of the population. Most of the country would remain feudal, most of the population would remain agricultural.

In North America, the human population was sparse and the economy had not even reached the feudal agricultural level in many places. Furthermore, the native population was not ready to be reduced into slavery and the service of the foreigner. They simply had to be wiped out, and the remnants placed outside the economy--i.e., the reservations. Who was to be the work force then? Clearly the work force had to be imported from Europe, much of it from the colonialist countries themselves. This made it relatively easy for the imperialist powers to impose their own cultures upon the population. Specifically today we can see how our close proximity to the United States, our common language, plus the fact that our population comes from substantially similar cultural roots enables the United States to impose her cultural domination over English Canada. Naturally in Canada, the cultural and racial differences between the local population and the imperialist would not be as readily noticeable as in Latin America and Asia.

Too, our economic development has been quite different from that of most other colonies. We were not, except for Quebec, a feudal country taken over by foreign capitalism. Feudalism never developed in most of Canada. Most of our population arrived here when capitalism was in full control and our economic growth has

taken place along capitalist lines. All along we have developed as a capitalist colony. Thus we have no feudal landlord class and no landless peasantry congregating around urban areas and acting as a depressant on incomes and living standards. We have a large country whose abundant natural resources have to support a very small population, again unlike the colonies of the Third World.

The capitalist form of economy puts our working population in a much better position to gain for itself a higher standard of living than is possessed by the populations in non-industrial colonies. The fact that our working population is industrial and heavily concentrated gives it much greater economic power--the ability to withdraw labour power, to strike. Advanced technology makes it possible for relatively few workers to produce many goods at a high rate of profit, but it also increases the profit loss in case of work stoppage.

As we have shown, Canada is of crucial importance to the American empire. It is the U.S.' richest colony, on whom the U.S. is increasingly dependent not only for many of her strategic raw materials but for sources of energy as well. We are in every sense of the word the most important reserve area of American imperialism, one that has to be kept relatively stable at all times. This necessitates that our working population, or at least significant sections of it, be treated better than the native populations in many other areas. Clearly the white, English speaking working class of Canada would not accept a standard of living that was grossly lower than that of their fellow workers a few miles to the south. Also, a good part of our population is engaged in the low-cost, high-profit work of extracting, low-level processing, and shipping of raw materials to keep the wheels of U.S. industry turning. As well, we are close to the dominant imperialist market which keeps transportation costs at a minimum. All this enables the foreign exploiter to pay slightly higher wages to a section of the working class without doing any damage to his profits.

But we must repeat: it is not the cultural or racial composition, internal economy, or standard of living that decides a country's colonial status, but the relationship of that country to other countries. India is not a colony because it is Asian, poor, and mostly feudal, but because her economy and consequently her political life are controlled from abroad. It is the same with Canada: we are a colony because foreigners rule us.

# D. Attitude Towards the American Working Class

Some people on the left argue that to demand the independence of the Canadian labour movement from the control of American unions is to "divide the international proletariat" and hinder the struggle against capitalism. Corrupt, they say, as the U.S. "international" unions may be, we should stay in them and fight from within to change their character from reactionary to progressive. We have shown how the Communist Party of Canada has pursued this "boring from within" policy for the last four decades with disastrous results. But we should say a few more words on the question of the relationship of the Canadian working class, and of Canadian revolutionaries in particular, to the American working class.

An example of what we consider to be the true spirit of working class internationalism was given by the London Working Men's Association in 1837, the year of a growing struggle for independence in both Upper and Lower Canada. The London workers wrote thusly to the Canadian fighters for independence:

"Brother Canadians, do not let yourselves be deceived by fair promises. Trust in the sacredness of your cause. You have the full approval of your distant brothers. Have faith in your leaders. We augur your triumph. . . . May the sun of independence shine on your growing cities, your joyous hearths, your deep forests, and your frozen lakes--such is the ardent wish of the Workingmen's Association."\*

By this message, and by mass rallies held in support of the Canadian struggle, the workers of England did their internationalist duty in the fight against the common enemy.

In the struggle against U.S. imperialism, the responsibility of the Canadian working class to themselves, to the nation and to the international movement--including the U.S. working class--is to take the lead in the struggle for national independence and to ensure that the national struggle opens the road for an advance to socialism. This is a struggle which Canadian workers must take up regardless of the present attitude of the U.S.

labour movement or of the state of the progressive movement in that country. Regardless of the odds that may confront us it is both our national and our international duty to raise the struggle for the nation to the highest possible level. Those who harp upon our responsibilities toward the U.S. workers should give a little attention to our responsibilities to Canada and to the whole international labour movement which is much wider than the United States of America. What greater service to the cause of the international working class movement could we perform than to remove Canada from her position as the great reserve area of U.S. imperialism?

So far as the U.S. working class is concerned, they too have responsibilities. Their most important responsibility demands that they support all movements for national self-determination wherever--including Canada--such movements are directed against U.S. imperialism. This is not only a question of a correct internationalist attitude, it is also the only way in which the U.S. workers can ever hope to put an end to their own exploitation. Because the organized workers in the U.S. have so far failed to measure up to their responsibilities is no reason for us to fail in ours. Nor can we suspend our struggle against U.S. domination because it might prove embarrassing to the U.S. workers and cause them to feel unfriendly toward us. The way in which to change the outlook of U.S. workers and help them to achieve their own emancipation is to intensify the struggle against imperialism, not hold it in abeyance.

Though we must never define the U.S. working class as the enemy, and must always emphasize--as do the Vietnamese--that the enemy is U.S. imperialism and not the American people, we cannot restrict our own struggle simply because the American ruling class may manage to mislead its people into opposing Canadian independence, as many Americans oppose Vietnamese independence today. At the same time, we repeat, we must always be ready to work closely with progressive elements in the United States--with mutual respect for the right of the movements in both countries to follow the course dictated by conditions in their own land.

# E. Watkins Manifesto And P.W. Commentary

(NOTE: The following is the "Watkins Manifesto" or so-called "Waffle Manifesto", introduced at the 1969 Winnipeg Convention of the N. D. P. We publish it as a contribution to the discussion on principles and tactics in the struggle for independence.)

## Manifesto

Our aim as democratic socialists is to build an independent socialist Canada. Our aim as supporters of the New Democratic Party is to make it a truly socialist party.

The achievement of socialism awaits the building of a mass base of socialists, in factories and offices, on farms and campuses. The development of socialist consciousness, on which can be built a socialist base, must be the first priority of the New Democratic Party.

The New Democratic Party must be seen as the parliamentary wing of a movement dedicated to fundamental social change. It must be radicalized from within and it must be radicalized from without.

The most urgent issue for Canadians is the very survival of Canada. Anxiety is pervasive and the goal of greater economic independence receives widespread support. But economic independence without socialism is a sham, and neither are meaningful without true participatory democracy.

The major threat to Canadian survival today is American control of the Canadian economy. The major issue of our times is not national unity but national survival, and the fundamental threat is external, not internal.

American corporate capitalism is the dominant factor shaping Canadian society. In Canada, American economic control operates through the formidable medium of the multi-national corporation. The Canadian corporate elite has opted for a junior partnership with these American enterprises. Canada has been reduced to a resource base and consumer market within the American empire.

The American empire is the central reality for Canadians. It is an empire characterized by militarism

abroad and racism at home. Canadian resources and diplomacy have been enlisted in the support of that empire. In the barbarous war in Vietnam, Canada has supported the United States through its membership on the International Control Commission and through sales of arms and strategic resources to the American military-industrial complex.

The American empire is held together through worldwide military alliances and by giant monopoly corporations. Canada's membership in the American alliance system and the ownership of the Canadian economy by American corporations precludes Canada's playing an independent role in the world. These bonds must be cut if corporate capitalism, and the social priorities it creates, is to be effectively challenged.

Canadian development is distorted by a corporate capitalist economy. Corporate investment creates and fosters superfluous individual consumption at the expense of social needs. Corporate decision-making concentrates investment in a few major urban areas which become increasingly uninhabitable while the rest of the country sinks into underdevelopment.

The criterion that the most profitable pursuits are the most important ones causes the neglect of activities whose value cannot be measured by the standard of profitability. It is not accidental that housing, education, medical care and public transportation are inadequately provided for by the present social system.

The problem of regional disparities is rooted in the profit orientation of capitalism. The social costs of stagnant areas are irrelevant to the corporations. For Canada the problem is compounded by the reduction of Canada to the position of an economic colony of the United States. The foreign capitalist has even less con-

cern for balanced development of the country than the Canadian capitalist with roots in a particular region.

An independence movement based on substituting Canadian capitalists for American capitalists, or on public policy to make foreign corporations behave as if they were Canadian corporations, cannot be our final objective. There is not now an independent Canadian capitalism and any lingering pretensions on the part of Canadian businessmen to independence lack credibility. Without a strong national capitalist class behind them, Canadian governments, Liberal and Conservative, have functioned in the interests of international and particularly American capitalism, and have lacked the will to pursue even a modest strategy of economic independence.

Capitalism must be replaced by socialism, by national planning of investment and by the public ownership of the means of production in the interests of the Canadian people as a whole. Canadian nationalism is a relevant force on which to build to the extent that it is anti-imperialist. On the road to socialism, such aspirations for independence must be taken into account. For to pursue independence seriously is to make visible the necessity of socialism in Canada.

Those who desire socialism and independence for Canada have often been baffled and mystified by the problem of internal divisions within Canada. While the essential fact of Canadian history in the past century is the reduction of Canada to a colony of the United States, with a consequent increase in regional inequalities, there is no denying the existence of two nations within Canada, each with its own language, culture and aspirations. This reality must be incorporated into the strategy of the New Democratic Party.

English Canada and Quebec can share common institutions to the extent that they share common purposes. So long as Canada is governed by those who believe that national policy should be limited to the passive function of maintaining a peaceful and secure climate for foreign investors, there can be no meaningful unity between English and French Canadians. So long as the federal government refuses to protect the country from American economic and cultural domination, English Canada is bound to appear to French Canadians simply as part of the United States. An English Canada concerned with its own national survival would create common aspirations that would help to tie the two nations together once more.

Nor can the present treatment of the constitutional issue in isolation from economic and social forces that transcend the two nations be anything but irrelevant. Our present constitution was drafted a century ago by politicians committed to the values and structure of a capitalist society. Constitutional change relevant to socialists must be based on the needs of the people rather than the corporations and must reflect the power of classes and groups excluded from effective decision-

making by the present system.

A united Canada is of critical importance in pursuing a successful strategy against the reality of American imperialism. Quebec's history and aspirations must be allowed full expression and implementation in the conviction that new ties will emerge from the common perception of "two nations, one struggle." Socialists in English Canada must ally themselves with socialists in Quebec in this common cause.

Central to the creation of an independent socialist Canada is the strength and tradition of the Canadian working class and the trade union movement. The revitalization and extension of the labour movement would involve a fundamental democratization of our society.

Corporate capitalism is characterized by the predominant power of the corporate elite aided and abetted by the political elite. A central objective of Canadian socialists must be to further the democratization process in industry. The Canadian trade union movement throughout its history has waged a democratic battle against the so-called rights or prerogative of ownership and management. It has achieved the important moral and legal victory of providing for working men an effective say in what their wages will be. At present management's "right" to control technological change is being challenged. The New Democratic Party must provide leadership in the struggle to extend working men's influence into every area of industrial decision-making. Those who work must have effective control in the determination of working conditions, and substantial power in determining the nature of the product, prices and so on. Democracy and socialism require nothing less.

Trade unionists and New Democrats have led in extending the welfare state in Canada. Much remains to be done: more and better housing, a really progressive tax structure, a guaranteed annual income. But these are no longer enough. A socialist society must be one in which there is democratic control of all institutions which have a major effect on men's lives and where there is equal opportunity for creative non-exploitative self-development. It is now time to go beyond the welfare state.

New Democrats must begin now to insist on the redistribution of power, and not simply welfare, in a socialist direction. The struggle for worker participation in industrial decision-making and against management "rights" is such a move toward economic and social democracy.

By strengthening the Canadian labour movement, New Democrats will further the pursuit of Canadian independence. So long as Canadian economic activity is dominated by the corporate elite, and so long as workers' rights are confined within their present limits, corporate requirements for profit will continue to take precedence over human needs.

By bringing men together primarily as buyers and sellers of each other, by enshrining profitability and material gain in place of humanity and spiritual growth, capitalism has always been inherently alienating. Today, sheer size combined with modern technology further exaggerates man's sense of insignificance and impotence. A socialist transformation of society will return to man his sense of humanity, to replace his sense of being a commodity. But a socialist democracy implies man's control of his immediate environment as well, and in any strategy for building socialism, community democracy is as vital as the struggle for electoral success. To that end, socialists must strive for democracy at those levels which most directly affect us all--in our neighbourhoods, our schools, our places of work. Tenants' unions, consumers' and producers' cooperatives are examples of areas in which socialists must lead in efforts to involve people directly in the struggle to control their own destinies.

Socialism is a process and a programme. The process is the raising of socialist consciousness, the building of a mass base of socialists, and a strategy to make visible the limits of liberal capitalism.

## P.W. Commentary

The statement has a number of positive aspects which must not be lost sight of. It no doubt represents an honest desire for the realization of socialist objectives on the part of at least some of the signers, and as such (although unclear on some basic points), offers a reasonable basis for broad unity on the left on some important issues.

The authors of the document certainly state the problem clearly and fairly correctly. U.S. domination of our economy and the sell-out policies of the Canadian capitalist traitor class are the root cause of most of Canada's ills. The statement is also on the right track in presenting the alternative--an independent Canada that begins the task of socialist construction as a sure guarantee that the nation will remain independent.

While we welcome the positive aspects of the statement and particularly congratulate the sponsors for placing on the agenda for discussion some of the most important and complex problems facing the Canadian people and the left in particular, we consider it necessary to voice some dissent on several points of principle. There are two areas in which we consider it important to offer different points of view: (1) on the trade union movement, and (2) on revolutionary change versus parliamentary manoeuvring.

The document is, to say the least, quite ambiguous on

While the programme must evolve out of the process, its leading features seem clear. Relevant instruments for bringing the Canadian economy under Canadian ownership and control and for altering the priorities established by corporate capitalism are at hand. They include extensive public control over investment and nationalization of the commanding heights of the economy such as the key resource industries, finance and credit, and industries strategic to planning our economy. Within that programme, workers' participation in all institutions promises to release creative energies, promote decentralization, and restore human and social priorities.

The struggle to build a democratic socialist Canada must proceed at all levels of Canadian society. The New Democratic Party is the organization suited to bringing these activities into a common focus. The New Democratic Party has grown out of a movement for democratic socialism that has deep roots in Canadian history. It is the core around which should be mobilized the social and political movement necessary for building an independent socialist Canada. The New Democratic Party must rise to that challenge or become irrelevant. Victory lies in joining the struggle.

the question of trade unionism and the role of the working class in the fight for the nation. The statement's authors appear to see the working class only in the role of pure and simple trade unionists. "The New Democratic Party," reads the statement, "must provide leadership in the struggle to extend working men's influence into every area of industrial decision-making. Those who work must have effective control in the determination of working conditions. . . ." and further on, "The struggle for worker participation in industrial decision-making and against management 'rights' is such a move toward economic and social democracy."

We contend that workers must go beyond simple trade unionism and take up the struggle for political objectives. If the battle for socialism is to be won, the role of the workers must be something more than "participants in industrial decision-making"; they must become the leading force in the fight for the independence of the nation so that more advanced objectives may be the more easily achieved.

Even more difficult to understand is the apparent acceptance of the trade union movement in its present basic form. The statement calls only for "the revitalization and extension of the labour movement" and offers no suggestions for any basic changes in forms and methods of organization.



A fact well known to everyone is that more than 70 per cent of Canada's trade union movement is under the domination of the AFL-CIO. Also known to all who can read and observe is the well-documented fact that the American so-called 'labour movement' is nothing more than a front for U.S. imperialism, that it defends U.S. foreign policy in its most reactionary and aggressive aspects, and that it provides a cover for CIA operations in labour movements around the world. It must be obvious to any thinking person that Canadian workers held captive in this type of union organization are very unlikely candidates for a lead role in the fight for the independence of the nation. If the sponsors of the statement are really serious about their call for a struggle for independence, then they cannot afford to limit themselves to a demand for a "revitalization" of the labour movement. They must (even at the risk of losing some of their union bureaucrat friends who, in private, pretend "sympathy" for Canadian independence) support the fight for an independent Canadian union movement. Without this necessary ingredient, the demand for an independent Canada will remain just talk.

While we can find a broad area of agreement with the way in which the NDP left states the problem and with their general proposals on the solution, we cannot agree with the way in which they propose to solve it. The authors seem unaware of the realities of the struggle for socialism.

We agree that what we have now is thoroughly unsatisfactory and must be replaced by an entirely different social system; one which will free the productive forces of the nation and permit Canada to determine her own destiny. But this statement is vague on the way in which this new society will be brought about. Judging from the statement, the activities of the trade unions (discussed above), plus tenants associations, etc., plus parliamentary activity of the NDP will be enough to achieve "an independent socialist Canada."

PWM believes that the struggle is going to be a good deal harder than that. The following few paragraphs will outline the course we feel the struggle for national independence and socialism will take and the role that socialists should take.

First of all, it should be stated the U.S. imperialism controls Canada not only economically and politically, but also culturally. That is, the Canadian people (in spite of strong anti-imperialist sentiments which rise periodically to the surface) are generally confused as to the causes of our national woes. They have been brainwashed (or rather braindirtied) by all kinds of propaganda from all kinds of sources--including not only the Americanized press, the Liberal and Conservative parties, but also most of the NDP leadership and trade union bureaucrats. All of us have been affected by this process to some extent or another. (The more

confused Canadians can be heard phoning open line shows to complain that everything would be fine in Canada if it weren't for "student troublemakers" or the "frenchmen".) Obviously, it will not be possible to build an anti-imperialist movement of any significance as long as most Canadians have no clear idea of what the basic problem is.

Thus, at this stage of the struggle, the main function of anti-imperialists--and particularly of socialists--is educational: we've got to help clear up this tremendous confusion and point the finger at the real enemy of the Canadian people.

Educational work, however, involves a lot more than giving out pamphlets. The various tenants, etc., organizations mentioned in the statement are useful in resisting the worst effects of imperialism, but they will not in themselves fundamentally change the nature of Canadian society. The long range importance of these organizations is that they will educate the people through practical struggle to recognize the need for fundamental change.

This educational work has to be carried on at every area possible. Workers must fight to rid the labour organizations' domination by the AFL-CIO hierarchy. Progressive students must expose the imperialists' control of the university to their fellow students and the whole community. The Liberal and Conservative parties must be exposed to everybody as puppets. A struggle must be carried on inside the NDP which will result in either (1) the NDP becoming a genuinely anti-imperialist party over the dead bodies (figuratively speaking, at least) of the opportunists and labour fakers who now dominate the party, or (2) winning away the many sincere people who presently support the NDP to build a new party. (The significance of the "Left Manifesto" is that it has helped open the NDP for discussion which could be the beginning of such a struggle within the party.) Nationalists and socialists outside the NDP are also promoting the idea of a struggle for independence and the culmination of the work of all those groups must be one unified independence movement.

A pro-independence party is a necessary step in the struggle for national independence. The culmination of the early (educational) phase of the struggle will be reached when a decisive number of Canadians support the new party. This will signify that the U.S. will no longer be able to rule via puppets and quislings like Trudeau (or New Democratic 'Trudeaus' like Ed Schreyer).

At this point something will occur of which the statement makes no mention at all. The U.S. imperialists--like every other exploiting class in history--use two methods for controlling their vast economic empire: deception and violence. When the deceit is effective, they don't have to use violence. (For example, there is no need to land the marines in Canada now.) When the

deceit no longer works, in come the troops and the most brutal open forms of repression--just like in Vietnam, the Dominican Republic and many other countries in the 'free world'.

If the first stage of the independence struggle can, broadly speaking, be called "educational", the last stage will be military. It is impossible to predict, at this point, the details of the military stage of the struggle. (Much depends on developments within the United States and the rest of the world.) But we can draw our general conclusion from the historical truth that no exploiting class has ever voluntarily given up power. Hopefully the American working class will not always allow itself to be used as the executioner of imperialist aggression. But there is no reason for Canadians to wait for the U.S. working class to clean its own house and then grant us national independence. Our internationalism does not consist of subordinating our country to U.S. imperialism because we are afraid that the imperialists will be able to use the American working class against us. Our internationalism can find expression in depriving the U.S. imperialists of one of their greatest reserves--the country we live in. The internationalism of the American

working class can find expression in supporting our struggle--and the struggle of others around the world--for national independence.

But when the time comes that the imperialists will have to use violence in order to maintain Canada as a colony, then Canadians must be prepared to fight, or else the imperialists will be able to achieve a good deal of repression with a minimum of forces. If we are prepared, and the American soldiers rebel--so much the better. In any event, we must be prepared to defend ourselves.

The military stage is still in the future. Serious educational work, in fact, has scarcely begun. At the present time, anybody who will participate in any capacity in the struggle for national independence (regardless of his or her attitude on armed struggle) is a potential ally. Within the NDP, the supporters of the Left Manifesto have their task cut out for them in winning over party supporters to a militant socialist pro-independence platform, a true grass-roots movement that could be an important component of the struggle for the liberation of Canada.

## FOOTNOTES:

- p. 6: \*Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1953.  
p. 7: \*Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow.  
p. 9: \*Edwin C. Guillet, The Lives And Times Of The Patriots, Thomas Nelson and Sons, Toronto, p. 256.  
p. 10: \*Gankin and Fisher (eds.) The Bolsheviks And The World War, p. 223  
\*\*Lenin, The Right Of Nations To Self-Determination, International Publishers, 1951, p. 68.  
p. 13: \*Quoted by Stanley B. Ryerson, Unequal Union, Progress Books, 1968, p. 30.  
\*\*As above, pp. 77-78.  
\*\*\*As above, p. 90.  
p. 15: \*As above, p. 162.  
\*\*As above, p. 166.  
p. 17: \*Quoted by Patricia M. Johnson, Canada's Pacific Province, McLelland and Stewart, 1966, p. 34.  
p. 19: \*Quoted by Donald Creighton, Dominion Of The North, Revised edition, Macmillan, Toronto, p. 375.  
p. 20: \*As above, pp. 388-389.  
p. 23: \*Quoted by Margaret Mackintosh, Dept. of Labour, An Outline Of Trade Union History in Great Britain, the United States, and Canada, published by District 8, Sudbury Mine Mill, 1943, p. 9.  
\*\*A. Innis (ed.), Labour in Canadian-American Relations, Ryerson Press, Toronto, p. 28-29.  
p. 24: \*Quoted by A. Logan, History of Trade Union Organization in Canada, p. 409.  
p. 28: \*Lenin, Imperialism, The Highest State of Capitalism, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1966, p. 85.  
p. 29: \*The Christian Science Monitor, Nov. 26, 1969.  
p. 30: \*Horowitz, Taylor, and Gonick, Nationalism, Socialism, and Canadian Independence, p. 15.  
p. 31: \*Charles Taylor, as above, p. 11.  
p. 32: \*Cy Gonick, as above, p. 19.  
p. 34: \*Nov. 26, 1969.  
p. 35: \*Hansard, Quoted by Tim Buck, Canada: The Communist Viewpoint, Progress Publishers, p. 32.  
\*\*As above, p. 35.  
\*\*\*As above, p. 33.  
\*\*\*\*Nov. 26, 1969.  
p. 38: \*Macmillan of Canada, Toronto, 1968.  
p. 39: \*The Vancouver Province, May 12, 1969.  
p. 43: \*On Contradiction, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1964, p. 33.  
p. 48: \*Gonick, as above, p. 21.  
\*\*The Vancouver Province, Dec. 3, 1969.  
p. 49: \*Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965, p. 67.  
p. 53: \*Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1966, p. 51.  
\*\*As above, p. 50-51.  
p. 60: \*Quoted by Stanley Ryerson, as above, p. 63-64.

# GLOSSARY

**BOURGEOIS:** Used originally in reference to a burgess, a free citizen of a burg--a fortified village or town. Applied to the middle-class town merchants in feudal society to distinguish them from the land-owning feudal nobility and the peasants. Collectively known as the **BOURGEOISIE**, this class gave the leadership in the development of the capitalist economic system. When feudalism was overthrown and capitalism established as the dominant economic system, the bourgeoisie established itself as the new ruling class, replacing the old feudal nobility. In capitalist society, the bourgeoisie owns the means of production; that is, the resources, raw materials, factories, machinery, transportation systems, etc., by which goods are produced. They also control the political machinery and institutions of the capitalist state; that is, the government, the educational system, the media, the police, the courts, the army, etc., and exercise this political control in order to maintain their economic rule. Hence, in Marxist terminology, **BOURGEOIS** is used to denote a member of the ruling class in capitalist society. The word is also used as an adjective, as in **BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY**, the ideology which serves the economic and social interests of the ruling class. Obviously, a person does not have to be a member of the ruling class to maintain and put forward such ideas.

**BOURGEOIS NATIONALISM:** Those ideas and concepts of nationalism which (a) recognize the right of self-determination only of some nations, but grant to these nations the right to dominate and exploit others, and/or (b) demand the self-determination of a nation oppressed by a foreign exploiter not so that the people of that nation can be free, but so that the native bourgeoisie can achieve the ruling position. Bourgeois Nationalism accepts the idea of the nation as a base for capitalist exploitation of the working class and for territorial expansion.

**BOURGEOIS-DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION:** Those revolutions which in a number of countries overthrew feudalism, won state power for the bourgeoisie, and cleared the way for the development of capitalism and industrialisation. In order to win the following of the peasants and the workers in the fight against feudalism, the bourgeoisie had to put forward certain democratic demands and upon winning power establish at least the outward forms of democracy. Bourgeois democracy is, however, merely the political means by which the bourgeoisie maintains and disguises its rule. The classical bourgeois-democratic revolutions took place in England (in the seventeenth century) and in France (in the eighteenth century). Under conditions of imperialist rule, such revolutions are directed against the foreign exploiter with the aim of establishing an independent bourgeois state.

**CHAUVINISM:** A term derived from the name of Nicholas Chauvin, a soldier of the French empire whose exaggerated and demonstrative patriotism was ridiculed by his army comrades. National chauvinism results when the people of a nation are extensively affected by like sentiments, and is particularly evident in times of war and imperialist expansion.

**CAPITALISM:** Is the social and economic system which replaced feudalism and is based on the private ownership of the means of production (see above, **BOURGEOISIE**). Whereas feudalism (see below) was an economic system based on agricultural production, capitalism is based on industrial production. The extraction of surplus value; that is, the ability and the right of the capitalist to make a profit on the work performed for him by others, is the basic law of capitalist production. In theory, unhindered competition, so-called "free enterprise", characterizes capitalist economies, but in practice the development of monopolies has greatly restricted and all but eliminated competition in all important areas of production. Lack of social planning of economic development, periodic crises--recessions, depressions, inflation, etc.,--unemployment, poverty, and war are characteristic features of capitalism.

**CLASSES:** Large groups of people differing from each other by the place they occupy in a particular social-economic system, by their relation to the means of production, by their role in the social organisation of labour, and consequently by their ability to acquire for themselves a share in the wealth produced by society. In Lenin's words: "Classes are groups of people one of which (the Ruling Class) can appropriate the labour of another (the Working Class) owing to the different places they occupy in a definite system of social economy." The existence of classes is associated only with definite periods in the development of social production: classes appear and disappear at specific stages in history. For example, capitalist society does not have a class of slaves such as existed in, say, ancient Rome. The role and social position of a given class varies with each historical period. For example, in feudal society, the bourgeoisie was the middle class but became the ruling class in capitalist society. Similarly, the relationship of one class to another and the degree of antagonism between them varies with each historical and political situation. For example, under feudalism, the bourgeoisie and the working class had antagonistic interests because the former made its wealth off the labour of the latter, but they also shared a unity of interest in the sense that both faced the necessity of overthrowing feudalism.

**CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS:** The recognition and identification with the interests of one's own class.

**CLASS COLLABORATION:** A member of the working class, especially one who is elected to a position of leadership and trust, who co-operates with the ruling class in opposition to the basic interests of his own class is a Class Collaborator.

**COLONY:** A nation suppressed, occupied and openly ruled by a foreign imperialist power is a colony. A **NEO COLONY** is also a colony but is characterized by a form of rule whereby the imperialist power no longer openly occupies the colony but relies on a more or less temporarily stable section of native capitalists to rule on their behalf.

**COMPRADOR BOURGEOISIE:** Originally a native house-steward in India and in China a native servant employed as head of the native staff or as an agent of European firms. Now applied to the section of the capitalists in a colony or neo-colony, who serve the interests of the imperialists. The dominant group of Canadian capitalists have always fallen into the category of comprador, serving first the cause of British imperialism and then entering the service of U.S. imperialism when it became the dominant power in the economy of Canada.

**COMMUNISM and SOCIALISM:** In the early years of the development of Marxist thought, when it was believed that the overthrow of capitalism would be rapidly followed by the building of a socialist society, the two terms were interchangeable. Following the Paris Commune, the Marxists concluded there would be a transition period between capitalism and full communism. This transition period came to be referred to as Socialism to distinguish it from the period of full Communism. The socialist concept is "From each according to his ability, to each according to his labour." Communism is summed up as: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." Some countries, Scandinavia, for example, are often popularly called "socialist," but they are really capitalist since the main means of production are privately owned by capitalists who operate for profit. These countries operate an advanced welfare system but, ultimately, will be subject to crises of unemployment as capitalism disintegrates on a world scale.

**FEUDALISM:** Feudalism was the form of social and economic organization that displaced slavery and preceded capitalism. Feudal lords and peasants were the main classes in feudal society. The ruling and exploiting feudal class included the nobility and the clergy. Within this ruling class there was a hierarchic division, the church being one of the largest owners of property. The peasantry were deprived of all political rights. The bulk of the population in the towns consisted of masters, journeymen, apprentices and unskilled workers. The prevailing production relations were based on the feudal lord's ownership of the means of production--on the land in the first place--and the workers incomplete ownership

expressed in different forms of personal dependence of the peasant on the lord.

**IMPERIALISM:** In general, imperialism is the domination and exploitation of peoples, nations, and countries by a foreign empire, such as the Roman Empire, the British Empire, and so on. Although the imperialism of one historical period bears certain similarities to that of another, the specific nature of imperialism is defined by the economic and historical conditions which give rise to its development. When we speak of imperialism today, we mean the highest, monopolistic stage of capitalism which began shortly before the turn of the century. Lenin presented a detailed exposition of the theory of imperialism in his **Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism**, published in 1916. The main features of imperialism are: (1) Production and capital concentrated to a degree that gives rise to monopolies, which play the decisive part in the economic life of capitalist states. (2) Banking capital merges with industrial capital, forming finance capital, the financial oligarchy. (3) Export of capital, as distinct from the export of goods, acquires particularly great importance. (4) The process of monopolization brings about the formation of international monopolies which seek to divide the world between themselves. (5) The transition of capitalism to the monopoly stage turns it into decaying, parasitic capitalism.

**PROLETARIAT:** In ancient Rome, "proletarius" signified one whose sole wealth consisted of his offspring, otherwise he was propertyless. Subsequently, they became the core of the army and were kept by the state in times of both peace and war. Marx points out "that in classical Rome the class war was carried on within the pale of a privileged minority, between the free rich and the free poor. . . . People have forgotten Sismonde's notable utterance, 'The Roman proletariat lived at the expense of society, whereas modern society lives at the expense of the proletariat.'" In the first half of the 19th century the word "proletariat" came into use to describe the class of propertyless wage workers. Engels writes: "The proletariat is that class of society whose means of livelihood entirely depends on the sale of its labour and not on the profits derived from capital; whose weal and woe, whose life and death, whose whole existence, depend upon the demand for labour, depend upon the alternations of good times and bad, upon the fluctuations which are the outcome of unbridled competition. The proletariat, or class of proletarians, is, in a word, the working class of the nineteenth century."

**STATE:** The political organization of the class dominant in the economy; its purpose to safeguard the existing order and to suppress the resistance of other classes. The state appeared when society divided into classes, as a tool of the exploiting class for the repression of the exploited population. The emergence of the state consisted in the formation of a special public authority, with an

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army and police, with prisons and various institutions of coercion. The nation and the state are not always synonymous. For example, Quebec has all the attributes of a nation, but it is incorporated in the Canadian state.

BASE and SUPERSTRUCTURE: Concepts of historical materialism that reveal the connection between economic social relations and all other relations within a given society. The BASE is the totality of production relations that make up the economic structure of society. The SUPERSTRUCTURE includes ideas, organizations and institutions. Superstructural ideas include political, legal, moral, aesthetic, religious, and philosophical views, which are also termed forms of social consciousness. All forms of social consciousness reflect econo-

mic relations in one way or another; some of them, e. g., political and legal forms of consciousness, reflect economic relations directly; others are indirect reflections-- e. g., art, philosophy. These latter are connected with the economic base through such links as politics. Superstructural relations include ideological relations. Although superstructural phenomena are determined by the basis they are relatively independent in their development. Certain organizations and institutions are connected with each form of social consciousness--political parties are connected with political ideas, state institutions, with political and legal ideas. Each socio-economic formation has definite basis and a corresponding superstructure. Changes in basis and superstructure result from the change of one socio-economic formation into another.

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