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OUR GENERATION

WHAT IS IMPERIALISM?

articles by Paul Mattick, Serge Mallet, André Gorz

THE NATIONAL QUESTION IN CANADA

reviewed by the editors

THE STORY OF THE AUTO PACT

by Mike Gurstein

REVIEWS BY: GRAEME NICHOLSON, FRED CALOREN,

CLAIRE CULHANE and DAVID McREYNOLDS

Vol. 9 - No. 2



Notes to the readers

The literature department has grown substantially in the past eight months. It has evolved from its founding in 1968 as simply a service with reprints from *Our Generation* articles to what it is now: one of the largest mail and retail outlets for radical literature from North America and Britain. We carry a selection of material from not only the big new left outlets like New England Free Press but from a lot of very small printing groups who may publish 2 to 5 items. These items are usually very hard for individuals to get simply because the problems of distribution in North America are enormous and expensive.

We would like to expand a number of areas with readers' help. One example is Canadian Women's Liberation material. Right now we carry items from the Women's Press in Toronto and 2 excellent short pamphlets on working women from the Working Women's Association in Vancouver. Readers with access to additional Canadian women's literature could either draw our attention to it, or send us samples.

The same goes for ecology material. We are gathering a certain amount of it at the office, although we haven't put together a kit yet. We have some good theoretical material, all from the United States, by Murray Bookchin and by Liberation magazine. But we would like material that reflects the current ecological struggles going on right now in Canada like the Dam the Dams movement and the one against the MacKenzie Pipeline. We have our own James Bay reprint from vol. 9/1, and would like to add to that with papers explaining specific projects, or theoretical statements (not news sheets meant for internal distribution within action groups.) This way we can put together a kit that will be of real service to specific ecology groups and will help to give Canadians a feeling of the scope of action within the whole country.

Although we get many orders from individuals for literature, we almost never get any that will clearly be used for class discussions or for study groups within organizations. We would like to urge you to think about these uses of the material. For example, the Ontario Waffle bought 50 reprints of Rick Deaton's article from Vol. 8/4 for distribution at a conference, and a concerned reader bought 50 copies of the James Bay article for personal distribution in the Vancouver area. Reprints bought in this way can either be resold or given away. (The cost is so little that a single donation from a member of your group can defray it).

We can't fill orders of that size for items that we in turn order from groups (besides you could get a better price directly from them), but we can, indeed that is our intention, fill large orders from the material we reprint ourselves. For example, we have on hand up to 500 copies, of the 6 major articles that appeared in the last 2 issues of *Our Generation*. We also reprinted this year 1000 copies of the now-famous Rowntree essay "The Political Economy of Youth". These are all essays that haven't appeared elsewhere in pamphlet form. We urge you to use them.

And finally, there are the back issues of the magazines themselves. The issues through volume 6, are scarce and on the whole are available only to libraries at increased prices. Volumes 7 and 8, however, are still numerous and we have up to 500 copies of some of them. We are eager for them to be read and used. The contents are described in the ads in 8/4 and in this issue. The cost is half on large orders which is only a little more for the whole issue than the reprint cost for one article.

So, teachers, professors, programme chairmen, think about it!

Black Rose Books has just published an excellent book, *THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE STATE*. It carries reprints of the articles that appeared in the *Our Generation* issue: *State and Capital* (the one issue of which we don't have too many left) plus one new outstanding essay: "On Revolution in the Metropolis" by the Rowntrees. This essay holds 2 years of independent research into the present nature of the United States economy and its imperialist nature, the role of the American state in this economy, the inherent contradictions in these two, the role of minorities like youth, blacks, and the chronically unemployed, and the revolutionary potential of all these contradictions. The \$3 charge for this book was called by the author of one of the essays as "a real bloody bargain!"; that is, if the research that went into the book had all been paid for and not done on a volunteer basis, the book would have to cost at least \$15.

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INTRODUCTION

A number of essays in this issue of OUR GENERATION contribute to a new appraisal of the highly controversial topic of imperialism. What is set out is an analysis of the elements that underlie the doctrines of power and profit which animate this form of domination.

"The Driving Force of Imperialism in the Modern Era" by Paul Mattick, and "Contradictions in States with Socialist Constitutions" by Serge Mallet were papers submitted to a symposium on "Spheres of Influence in the Age of Imperialism" which was held under the auspices of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation and the Vienna Institute of Development. This symposium was held at Linz, Austria in September 1972 and was convened by Vladimir Dedijer, Jean-Paul Sartre and Noam Chomsky.

Some seventy papers were submitted on the development of economic imperialism since the beginning of the nineteenth century, and the politics of spheres of influence during the same time. The meeting also considered many detailed papers on Latin America, Asia and Africa, the text of which will be edited into book form by Professor Dedijer. One of our editors, Dimitrios Roussopoulos was invited to the symposium, and we thus had an opportunity to have access to all the submitted papers. Some of the outstanding papers have been selected by us and reproduced in the literature department in the *Study of Imperialism Kit*.

We had intended to publish in this issue another Linz paper Lelio Basso's "Analysis of the Classical Theories of Imperialism". This paper we considered a useful background piece which critically assessed the ideas of Rosa Luxemburg, Nicholai Bukharin, and Vladimir Lenin. Unfortunately lack of space prevented us from presenting it here, but it is available in the Imperialism Kit.

Paul Mattick asserts that while capitalism is international the "contradiction between the national form of capital and its need for expansion which recognizes no boundaries is intertwined with the contradiction between its competitive nature and its urge for monopolization." Mattick deals in effect with various forms of imperialism, including those which emerged in eastern Europe.

This was one of the interesting aspects of the Linz symposium, as there were also several east European scholars present, and very frank discussions were held. Mattick finally insists that to avoid world ruination the emergence of anti-capitalist movements in the advanced imperialist nations and their success is our only hope.

Serge Mallet deals with the question of Czechoslovakia, Soviet rationalization and their policy towards the Middle East, and the nature of the Soviet system and its basic internal conflicts. Mallet is recognized as an authority on the whole question of regional disparities and ethnic minorities in western and eastern Europe, and here elaborates on some of the themes he developed in his book *Le Pouvoir Ouvrier, Technologie et bureaucratie dans les pays socialistes*.

André Gorz advances the important concept that colonialism is not simply the external practice of one country against the interests of another. On the contrary, he maintains and rightly that it is from the first an internal practice. "Its victims are not just the exploited, oppressed, dismembered nations, but the populations living in the metropolises, in the dominant countries." Thus although the super nation-state is the dynamic of imperialism on the international scale, the State also internalizes this form of exploitation. One of the best documented illustrations is available to us by examining Canada. The relationship between Ontario and Québec/Maritimes is classic, and is followed only by the example of central Canada and the prairies. Even internally these regions have a parasitic relation towards their sub-regions as with southern and northern Ontario.

An added complication to a simplistic theory of modern imperialism so widespread among the Left is examined by Mike Gurstein in "The Story of the Auto Pact : From Colony to Hinterland". Based on extensive research the paper shows how the US automobile industry first dominated southern Ontario like a colony and as an entry to the larger commonwealth markets, and slowly transformed this relationship to that of an extension of its hinterland self in Canada. This presents the Left with serious problems when looking at the auto industry *from the outside the industry*. This part of southern Ontario for almost all purposes is part of the USA, economically and ideologically. Whether there are any political solutions that can be imposed by Cana-

dians from outside the industry we very much doubt. Perhaps only a radical solution is possible — and that from within the industrial plants, at the point of work or production. This is the reason why the formulation of a workers' control strategy is so outstanding and why we urge a closer examination of the contradictions of capitalism in the realm of day to day life.

This brings us to the major essay which attempts to review the question of imperialism here, or the 'national question' and Canada. Several editors have collaborated on the paper which after a great deal of debate in both Montréal and Toronto tends to present the views of the editors of OUR GENERATION. It first critically reviews the formulations on the national question as represented by the social democratic and the Left-liberal nationalists, from Waffle, the New Democratic Party and Eric Kierans. The essay then reviews the work of the independent Marxists as represented in the book *Capitalism and the National Question in Canada* edited by Gary Teeple. We content that "the primary contradiction is capitalism and that the secondary contradiction is imperialism". Towards the end of the review essay we thus pose an open-ended alternative to the current 'anti-imperialist ideology' hovering over the entire traditional Left in Canada. This ideology make but a partial critique of imperialism by seizing only upon a few of its fragments, failing to recognize the colonialization of our every day lives by the system here and the world over. At the base of much of the Canadian Left's thinking is a facile analysis of capitalism. Capitalism for these advocates of partial solutions, consists of the sum total of its fragments: sexism, racism, imperialism — thus being defined only by its most obvious excesses. The traditional Left thus leaves uncriticized the most basic foundations of our society; the day to day process of dehumanization (the exploitation *and* domination) the colonialization of producers and consumers alike. Nothing short of the abolition of present social relations, including the complete negation of capital and its resulting worship of the commodity will suffice. This means that imperialism will be defeated in advanced industrial society only by social revolution.

THE DRIVING FORCE OF IMPERIALISM TODAY

by Paul Mattick

Paul Mattick has written widely in the radical press, and is the author of Marx and Keynes : the Limits of the Mixed Economy.

This paper was given at the Bertrand Russell Centenary Symposium, "Spheres of Influence in the Age of Imperialism", Linz, Austria September, 1972.

Capital is international. The fact that its historical development paralleled that of the nation-state did not prevent the establishment of the capitalist world market. However, because of political interventions in defense of one national bourgeoisie against competitor nations, the concentration of capital was, and is, more difficult to achieve on an international than on a national scale. Even capitalist crises, acting as world-embracing accelerators of the concentration process, needed the additional measure of imperialistic wars to extend the national concentration process to the international scene. This process is inherent in capital accumulation. The contradiction between the national form

of capital and its need for expansion which recognizes no boundaries is intertwined with the contradiction between its competitive nature and its urge for monopolization. In theory, a competitive economy is thought to flourish best in a free world market. Actually, however, competition leads to monopolization and the free market leads to protected markets secured by political means. Monopolistic competition implies imperialistic struggles to break existing monopolies in favor of new monopolistic constellations. The economic form of competition takes on political expression and, therefore, ideological forms, which come to overshadow the economic pressures at their source.

The apologists of capitalism, of course, deny its imperialistic aspect and see it as an aberration thrust upon capitalism by forces external to itself. J. Schumpeter⁽¹⁾, for example, though admitting that "nationalism and militarism, while not creatures of capitalism, become 'capitalized' and in the end draw their best energies from capitalism," held nonetheless that imperialism "would never have been evolved by the 'inner logic' of capitalism," but found its source in "precapitalist elements in our social life," which were bound to disappear, and thus "imperialism will wither and die." As the bourgeoisie, despite all facts to the contrary, could not admit that its economic system is necessarily imperialistic, it remained for the critics of bourgeois society to evolve a theory of capitalistic imperialism.

THEORIES OF IMPERIALISM

These theories are mainly associated with Hobson, Kautsky, Hilferding, Luxemburg, Bukharin and Lenin, and, though formulated around the turn of the century, are still influential in the contemporary world. Lenin's⁽²⁾ theory of imperialism, in particular, is still held in high esteem, not so much because of its exemplary execution, but because of the legendary quality of Lenin's name. In fact, however, his writings on imperialism, more polemical than theoretical in character, are quite time-conditioned and contribute little to the comprehension of present-day imperialism, except insofar as they make the general and obvious statement that capitalism implies imperialism. This is partly so because even at the time of their appearance and notwithstanding their strictly "economic" treatment of imperialism, Lenin paid more attention to the fleeting political aspects of the imperialist imperative than to its underlying socio-economic dy-

namics. His book on imperialism was intended to unmask the first world war as an imperialist war, which also provided the condition for social revolution, since in Lenin's view imperialism constituted the "highest" or "last" stage of capitalist development. This idea was substantiated by relevant data from various bourgeois sources, a critical utilization of the theoretical findings of J.A. Hobson and R. Hilferding, and a rejection of K. Kautsky's speculative theory of super-imperialism as a way toward a peaceful capitalism. The data and the theories utilized were themselves bound up with a particular historical stage of capitalist development and contained no clues regarding its further course.

Since all these observers were confronted by the same imperialistic activities, there is no real distinction between the descriptive parts of their various studies. It was only in their interpretations of the events, due to varying underlying theoretical assumptions, that differences emerged. Whereas Hobson⁽³⁾ explained the competing imperialistic drives as the result of the underconsumption of the laboring population, which induces the capitalists to find profitable investments abroad, Kautsky⁽⁴⁾ allowed for the possibility of a capitalistic development leading to an integration of international capital and a joint exploitation of the world in a state of ultra-imperialism, which would end the era of capitalist wars. For Hilferding⁽⁵⁾, imperialism was the result of the emergence of "finance capital" and its attempts to overcome its national limitations, a trend which he saw as the precondition for a socialist revolution executed by the state's expropriation of the highly con-

1. *The Sociology of Imperialism*, 1919.

2. *Imperialism: The Last Stage of Capitalism*, 1917.

3. *Imperialism*, 1902.

4. *Neue Zeit*, Nr. 5, April 1915.

5. *Das Finanzkapital*, 1910.

centrated capital. Rosa Luxemburg ⁽⁶⁾ found the origins of imperialism in the capitalistic need for extra-capitalist territories wherein to realize part of the surplus-value which could not be capitalized at home. There was no difference between Bukharin's ⁽⁷⁾ earlier exposition of imperialism and that of Lenin.

"Underconsumption" relative to production is a fact, of course, but one on which the existence and accumulation of capital is based and which designates no more than the production of surplus-value on which the capitalist system rests. The "disproportion" between production and consumption accompanies the whole of capitalist development, not only its imperialistic stage, and characterizes capitalism on a national and international scale. For non-capitalist territories to be able to realize the surplus-value produced in capitalist countries would presuppose the existence of surpluses in the former equal to the unrealizable profit part of the capitalist nations, in which case they would not be non-capitalist nations and the problem of profit realization would not be solved, only generalized. The anarchy of capitalist production allows, of course, for difficulties in the sphere of circulation and therefore for the realization of surplus-value, yet the basic contradictions of capitalism are to be found not in the sphere of circulation but in that of production. However, Hobson's and Rosa Luxemburg's mistaken economic explanation of imperialism does not affect their recognition of the need for such an explanation, which can be differently substantiated as, for instance, by Henryk Grossmann's ⁽⁸⁾ theory of imperialism, which bases itself on Marx's theory of accumulation as determined by the imminent contradictions of capital production.

GROWTH OF COLONIALISM

While imperialism turns into a necessity for capitalism, in the form of colonialism, it started out as a mere opportunity. The non-capitalist world was simply there for the taking, which was at times accompanied by rivalries and wars between the colonizing powers and at other times by common agreements such as, for instance, the division of Africa through the Berlin Act of 1885. The exploitation of the colonies was determined by the changing needs of the colonizers as occasioned by their own development, and subordinated the fate of the non-capitalist countries to the accumulation requirements of the capitalist nations. The profit motive is the propellant of capitalism and it may be satisfied in different ways: through unequal exchange relations, or through the direct exploitation of subject populations, that is, by commodity exchange, by capital exports, or by both at once. The greater the need for profits, the stronger are the imperialistic tendencies, turning from colonialism to the world at large. While imperialism has been a part of capitalism from its beginning it became increasingly accentuated by the mounting difficulties of maintaining an accelerating capital accumulation, and led to inter-imperialist wars for national privileges in the possession and exploitation of the world's markets and resources.

Although the compulsion to imperialism is inherent in capitalism it is the development of the latter which accounts for its specific manifestations at any particular time. For Lenin, however, capitalism became imperialism "only at a definite and very high stage of capital development", a stage which implied the rule of national and international monopolies, which, by agreement or force, divided the world's resources among themselves. Following Hilferding, Lenin associated imperialism with the emergence of a "new type of capitalism",

6. *Die Akkumulation des Kapitals*, 1912.

7. *Imperialismus und Weltwirtschaft*, 1917.

8. *Das Akkumulations- und Zusammenbruchsgesetz des kapitalistischen Systems*, 1929.

brought about by the fusion of banking and industrial capital. However, this "finance capital" did not represent a new type of capitalism but merely characterized a specific and historically limited phase of German capital development. Even if this fusion had been a general occurrence, it would still not represent a new type of capitalism but simply its further concentration and centralization. For Lenin, however, finance capital represented "a new social order, which marks the transition from free competition to the socialization of production." But since capitalism combines at all times, not only under monopolistic conditions, the socialization of production with the private approbation of surplus-value, what Lenin meant to say was, of course, that we were witnessing the transition from competitive to organized capitalism. Yet this strange equation of organized capitalism with the socialization of production may account for Lenin's later concept of socialism as the next step from monopoly capitalism, that is, as the state-monopoly of production made to serve the whole of society.

In Lenin's view, the imperialistic stage of capitalism was characterized not so much by commodity exports as by the export of capital, which allowed the big imperialist powers, and a part of their laboring populations, an increasingly parasitical existence at the expense of the subjugated regions of the world. In this way, imperialism explained for Lenin not only colonialism, the capitalist competition for raw materials, the annexations of desired territories and the establishment of spheres of interest, but also the reformism of the labor movement in the leading capitalist nations, which presumably partook in some measure of the extra-profits of the financial oligarchies. He perceived this situation as the "last stage" of capitalism because he expected that its manifold contradictions would

lead directly from war to social revolution on an international scale, thus ending both imperialism and capitalism.

This revolutionary optimism proved to be premature. Although the First World War led to the Russian Revolution, imperialism was not, as Lenin surmised, "the eve of the proletarian world revolution." But without ensuing revolutions, the imperialistic capital expanded through a forced restructuring of the world economy. This was the case after the first as well as the second world war, which also involved the de-colonization of previously subjugated nations. Though this changes nothing in the imperialistic nature of capitalism, it altered the methods and even motives of imperialistic activities.

SO-CALLED SOCIALIST ECONOMIES

The changes brought about by a series of depressions and wars led, not to a confrontation of imperialism and socialism, but to the division of the world into more or less centrally controlled economic systems and to a widening of the gap between capitalistically developed and under-developed nations. It is true that this division is generally seen as one between capitalist, socialist and "third world" countries, but this is a misleading simplification of rather more complex differentiations between these economic and political systems. "Socialism" is falsely but commonly understood as a state-controlled economy within a national framework, wherein planning replaces competition. As such, it is no longer capitalism in the traditional sense, nor is it socialism in the Marxian sense of an association of free and equal producers. Functioning in a capitalistic and therefore imperialistic world, it cannot help partaking in the general economic and political power competition and, like capitalism, must either expand or contract. It must grow stronger in

every respect in order to limit the expansion of capitalism by which it would otherwise be destroyed. The national form of so-called socialist or state-controlled regimes sets them in conflict not only with the capitalist world, or particular capitalist nations, but also with each other; they must give first consideration to national interests, i.e. the interests of the newly-emerged and privileged ruling strata, whose existence and security are based on the national state. This leads to the spectacle of a "socialist" brand of imperialism and the threat of war between nominally socialist countries.

Such a situation was inconceivable in 1917 and for that reason neither confirms nor disproves Lenin's analysis of imperialism, or any other made at the time, but simply makes them irrelevant. What happened since that time was not a clear-cut struggle between the opposing forces of imperialism and socialism, but the emergence of national-revolutionary regimes in a number of forms of colonialism. However, because imperialism has been identified with capitalism, the anti-imperialist struggles were waged with anti-capitalist and socialist ideologies, even though the objective presuppositions for socialism did not exist in the rebelling nations. What these nations could accomplish, or tried to accomplish, was to modernize themselves by way of industrialization, which had not been possible within the world market relations dominated by the great imperialist powers.

Contrary to Lenin and other Marxists, the export of capital was not designed to industrialize the subjugated countries and thereby increase their profit-producing capacities, but was limited to their exploitation as foodstuff and raw material producers and as customers of goods manufactured in the industrial nations. The profits extracted in this fashion aided the more rapid accumulation of capital in the imperialist nations and

therewith their ability to extract more surplus-value out of their own laboring population. The capital concentration and centralization process divided the world into developing and stagnating, into "poor" and "rich" nations, just as it polarized the classes in each particular capitalist nation.

THIRD WORLD REVOLUTIONS

Anti-imperialist revolutions were required to change this state of affairs, but their successes implied, at best, no more than the possibility of a more rapid development. Because of the already achieved highly monopolized nature of modern capitalism, this development could not be initiated on a *laissez-faire*, or private-property basis, but demanded a state-controlled economy in order to offset the as yet incomplete centralization and organization of capital in the imperialist nations by a stricter, more effective, centralization in the newly developing countries. But the state-controlled economy implies, in principle, not only the nationalization of capital, but also the exclusion of foreign capital. Thus it delimits with its own expansion the international extension of the monopolistic private-enterprise capitalism. Actually, of course, by force of circumstances, the economic relations between the state-controlled and the private-enterprise economies are not completely severed and, where possible, they now involve the recognition of at least partial mutual interests rather than complete incompatibility.

The growing number of nations adopting the state-controlled road of development weakens the domination of the world market by the great capitalist powers and makes their own further expansion increasingly more problematic. They are thus forced to attempt to stop this development, and this the more so as the state-controlled economy implies the end of the traditional capitalist class relations. For private enterprise-

based capitalists, the state-controlled economy implies as much as socialism would, since it deprives them of their ruling class position. For that reason, present-day imperialism is not only a question of the direct or indirect appropriation of the surplus-value produced in other countries, but also an attempt to arrest the further spread of state-controlled systems by opposing national-revolutionary movements going in that direction. However, no capitalist nation, or combination of such nations, has thus far had the power to prevent the transformation of hitherto-underdeveloped countries and — to employ the common usage — no “socialist” nation, or combination of such nations, has had the power to defeat the capitalist world.

In this stalemate, which impairs the expansion of both the capitalist and “socialist” world, each nation, in either grouping, and notwithstanding its needs for allies, tries first of all to safeguard its own special interests. There is then no real but only an opportunistic solidarity between the nations in the capitalist as well as in the “socialist” camp. In this situation alliances are formed between nations of different social structures, and enmities arise between countries which were expected to cooperate. This indicates, of course, that nationalism and imperialism are not opposites but imply each other, even though the national survival of some countries may depend on the imperialism of some other nation. Under these conditions, the so-called “third world” countries are not only objects of the rivalries between different capitalist nations, not only of those between capitalism and “socialism” as such, but also of the rivalries between the “socialist” nations themselves. “Socialism” and imperialism are now so inextricably intertwined as to negate Lenin’s thesis that the socialism of his conception would succeed monopolistic imperialism.

Lenin’s theory of imperialism as “the eve of world revolution” was an extension of his theory of the Russian revolution to the world as a whole. Just as in Russia different classes combined under proletarian leadership to overthrow autocracy, so on an international scale, nations, at various stages of development, combine under the leadership of the industrial workers in the imperialist nations against the common enemy — monopolistic imperialism. Under such conditions, it would be possible to bypass the otherwise inevitable capitalistic development of semi-feudal countries and, through their liberation, to integrate the colonial regions into the emerging socialist world. It was this theory which, in Stalin’s view, made “Leninism the Marxism of the age of imperialism.” Based on the presupposition of successful socialist revolutions in the advanced capitalist nations, the theory could neither be proven right or wrong, as the expected revolutions did not materialize.

DIFFERENT FORMS OF IMPERIALISM

In Lenin’s opinion, as stated in “Imperialism,” the “territorial division of the whole earth by the great capitalist powers was already completed”, and the imperialist war was waged for the re-division of the world, including the territories of the imperialist powers themselves. Actually, the war weakened the colonial powers and in the course of the second world war deprived them of their colonies and special spheres of interest. Colonialism, that is, the direct political-military control of markets and raw materials, proved to be only one historical form of imperialism, which could be replaced by more subtle methods of domination. The monopolistically-determined international “division of labor” which incorporated colonization, continued to determine the economic conditions of the colonial countries even after they had gained their political in-

dependence. Their continued economic dependency forced them to maintain or re-establish commercial relations with the great powers, which for the latter are no less lucrative than those enjoyed under colonial conditions. Independence brought new ruling elites into being whose interests are vested in the maintenance of the prevailing world-market relations. In this way the fruits of imperialism can be gained with smaller expense, even though there is now less security with respect to investments than there was before because of the danger of further revolutionary developments. To maintain the *status quo*, it is then essential for the capitalist powers to assist all collaborating national governments in the former colonies, and to prevent the rise of governments which would be unwilling, or unable, to continue the existing relationships. This is largely done by economic means but also, if necessary, by military interventions.

The end of colonialism has thus led only to neo-colonialism through which the dominating powers exercise their control of dependent countries via their own national governments. However, imperialism as neo-colonialism is no longer the exclusive privilege of the capitalist world, and in a somewhat modified form appears in the "socialist" part of the world as an aspect of the continued competition between these different socio-economic systems and for its own sake as well. To be sure, there are small capitalist nations which flourish without engaging in imperialistic activities. But such nations, operating within the frame of the capitalist world market, partake nonetheless, albeit indirectly, in the imperialistic exploits of the larger imperialist powers, just as — on the national scale — many small sub-contractors profit from the business given to them by the large prime-contractors producing for the war economy. Not all capitalist countries can expand imperialistically. They find themselves more or less under the

control of those nations which have this opportunity, even if the control restricts itself to the economic sphere. It is for this reason that some European observers see in the recent expansion of American capital in Europe a form of neo-colonialism and others press for a more integrated Europe able to act as a "third force" in a world dominated by imperialistic powers.

THE INDOCHINA WAR

The great power blocs which were formed in the wake of the second world war are now beset with various dissolving tendencies, and the imperialist world remains in flux. It is often assumed that all capitalistic activities are directly determined by their immediate needs to make profit and to accumulate capital and when such obvious reasons are not directly discernible, the critics of capitalism are somewhat at a loss to account for the rationale of imperialist aggression. In the case of Indochina, for example, the apparent absence of important incentives for American intervention has been a troublesome fact, which was seemingly mitigated by the recent discovery of offshore oil potentials, which were supposed to explain, at least in part, the war. It should be clear, however, that the Indochina war was there, and would be there, without this discovery, and explanations must be found in other than some definite but isolated capitalistic interest. It will also not do to speak of an "industrial-military complex" conspiring within the American system to serve particularistic interests in disregard of those of society as a whole. While it is true that imperialism is economically motivated and spear-headed by groups particularly favored by it, such explanations fail to do justice to the complexity of the problem by failing to consider the fundamental contradictions of capital production.

In capitalism, on a social level, neither the production nor the accumulation of capital is a consciously-controlled process. Each capitalist entity, be it the entrepreneur, the corporation, the conglomerate or the multinational enterprise, necessarily limits its activities to the enlargement of its capital, without regard to, or even the possibility of having regard for, social needs and for the course of social development. They are blind to the national and international social consequences of their relentless need to enlarge their capital. Their enormous weight within society determines social policies and therewith the policies of government. They know what they are doing, but not where it will lead them; they cannot comprehend the consequences of their activities. War may be initiated not because of some definite economic expectations, such as possession of specific raw materials, entry into new markets, or the export of capital, but because of past economic policies whose consequences were not foreseeable. This is quite clear, of course, in the case of imperialistic activities in defense of capitalist property which stands in danger of being expropriated, or has been expropriated, in nations which try to gain, or regain, some measure of independence in economic as well as in political terms. This explains recent interventions such as those in Guatemala, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, the Congo and so forth. It is not clear with respect to Indochina, where American interests are minimal and their possible loss of no consequence to her economy. Yet, this intervention, too, was the unforeseen outcome of past economic and political developments, even though it cannot be related to any immediate and specific economic need or opportunity on the part of American capitalism. There is only one way to secure the capitalist market economy and that is through the continuous expansion of capital. It is this expansion which is the

secret of its prosperous stages of development, just as a lack of expansion results in periods of depression. For American capital, the last depression, that of 1929, did not lead to a new period of prosperity but to an era of relative stagnation, which was overcome only through transforming the economy into a war economy, that is, the growth of production not by way of capital accumulation, but through the accumulation of the national debt and production for "public consumption" such as is required by war and preparation for war. Even the war failed to restore a rate of capital expansion sufficient to assure the full utilization of productive resources and the available labor power. The government found itself forced to continue to support the economy by way of deficit-financed public expenditures which, by the nature of the capitalist system, are expenditures which are non-competitive with private capital and are therefore largely military expenditures.

Military expenditures are, of course, a deduction from the national income and can neither be capitalized nor consumed in the usual sense of the term. A steady growth of expenditures for war is possible only at the expense of capital accumulation and living standards. It is, therefore, no solution for the problems caused by an insufficient rate of capital expansion; rather, it makes it more difficult to achieve a solution. Capitalistically, war makes "sense" only if it can serve as an instrument for bringing about conditions more favorable for a further expansion and extension of capital. But war or no war, short of an accelerated rate of private capital expansion, there is only the choice between a deepening depression and its amelioration through the further extension of non-profitable "public expenditures". However, whereas war might eventually yield the preconditions for an American penetration into East Asia and elsewhere, and its present expense be recompensed by future pro-

fits, public expenditures for other purposes do not have such effects. Experience shows that war does open up possibilities for further capital expansion. From a consistent capitalistic standpoint a successfully-waged war is more "rational" than a steady drift into capitalistic decline, as manifested by an increase in government-induced production outpacing the expansion of private capital.

Even if the "mixed economy" has found acceptance as a probably unavoidable modification of the capitalist system, the "mix", that is, governmental interventions in the economy, are supposed to be only such as benefit private capital. To keep it that way, interferences in market relations must be limited on the national as well as on the international level. Just as internally a general expansion of government production would spell the certain end of capitalistic property relations, so the extension of a state-determined social system of production within the world economy points toward the contraction of the free-enterprise economies. It is thus as important to contain the spread of state-controlled systems of production as it is within each private-capitalist nation to restrict governmental interventions in the economy. Both these necessities are interrelated. With more nations adapting the state-controlled form of capital production and therewith limiting the expansion of private capital, insufficient expansion of the latter calls forth more intensive government interventions. To halt the trend toward state-capitalism in the market economies requires the containment and possibly the "roll-back" of already-established state capitalist systems. But, while at home the capitalists control their governments and thus determine the kind and degree of the latter's economic interventions, they can only halt the dreaded transformation abroad by either gaining control of the governments of other nations or by imperialistic interventions.

There is, then, no special reason for America's intervention in Indochina, apart from her general policy of intervening anywhere in the world in order to prevent political and social changes that would be detrimental to the so-called "free world", and particularly to its dominating power. Like an octopus, America extends her suckers into all the underdeveloped countries still under the sway of capitalistic property relations to assure their continued adherence to the free-enterprise principle or, at least, to the world-market relations which made them appendages of Western capitalism. She tries to rally all pro-capitalist forces into various regional alliances; arms and finances the most reactionary regimes; penetrates governments and offers aid — all to halt any social movement which might strive for the illusory goal of political and economic self-determination. Because self-determination is not a real possibility, the United States recognizes that attempts to attain it could only result in leaving the orbit of Western capitalism to fall into that of the Eastern powers.

Separately, none of the small nations which experienced American intervention endangered the United States hegemony in world affairs to any noticeable extent. If they were hindered in their attempts to rid themselves of foreign domination and of their collaborating ruling classes, it was in recognition of the fact that their national-revolutionary activities are not accidental phenomena, but so many expressions of an as yet weak but world-wide trend to challenge the capitalist monopolies of power and exploitation. They must, therefore, be suppressed wherever they arise. In this respect, the present differs from the past in that past imperialistic interventions took place in order to create empire, or to subject other nations to the over-rule of expanding foreign capital, whereas at present they serve to prevent the destruction of capitalism itself.

THE D'ENTENTE

For this reason the imperialist imperative is more demanding than ever before; while, at the same time, anti-imperialist activities find their accentuation in a developing world-wide economic crisis. The recovery of European and Japanese capitalism implies the return of their imperialistic potentialities, and the diverging national interests between China and Russia are additional elements simmering in the cauldron of contradictory capitalist, imperialistic and nationalistic aspirations. "Peace" is no longer secured by the "balance of terror", exercised by the great atomic powers. Independence has proved to be no solution for the permanent crisis conditions of newly-formed national states. But national aspirations can assert themselves only through separate rivalries of the great imperialist powers, just as these powers exercise their foreign policy options via the various national rivalries. Any small-scale war has thus the potentiality of issuing into a new world war. The explosive situations in India, the Middle East, Indochina, and elsewhere, involve issues at once nationalistic and imperialistic, affecting in one measure or another the economic interests of all nations. To avoid a new world conflagration, and yet to safeguard and expand the nationally-organized capitals and their profitability, brings about a feverish diplomatic activity in search of favorable political-military combinations which form one aspect of capitalist competition.

The recent deliberations in Peking and Moscow revealed clearly that wars of national liberation can be waged only within the framework of overriding big-power interests, in which the latter are the decisive elements. For example, the situation in Indochina is what it is because neither Russia nor China has been willing to risk a world war to drive the Americans out of Southeast

Asia, just as they were equally unwilling to allow the United States to become the unchallenged power in the Pacific. Although it is asserted that nothing but the wish to pacify the world accounts for the various diplomatic moves of the imperialistic powers, this general desire does not affect the actual national or imperialist interests, and the economic pressures at their base, which turn the "search for peace" into so many preparatory steps toward a new world war.

A Chinese-American rapprochement has nothing to offer the Russians except the possibility of undoing such a strange alliance by way of accommodation with the Americans at the expense of Russian ambitions, not only in the Pacific but on a global scale. With this overture to China, the American administration finds itself in a position to exploit the frictions between Russia and China for its own imperialistic ends, even though each of these powers remains, by virtue of its different social structures and economic systems, in opposition to the United States. However, both the Stalin-Hitler pact and Russia's alliance with the anti-fascist powers during the second world war show that different socio-economic systems may unit for a specific common goal without, therefore, losing their basic incompatibility. As with all other nations, it is the overriding need to secure and aggrandize the national state in the imperialistic environment which determines Chinese foreign policies. If at one time this required an anti-American attitude, at another time it may well lead to an alliance with the former enemy.

Because capitalism and nationalism cannot cease being imperialistic, it is their prolongation, in no matter what modified form, which raises the spectre of new wars, even in the various attempts to avoid a new holocaust. Since the "uneven development" of the great powers is the cause and effect of the concentration and centralization process of capital accumulation, as well as the

basis of imperialism, its detrimental effects upon the peace of the world could only be removed through the abolition of both capitalism and nationalism. And though this pressing need expresses itself in a continued integration of the world economy, this integration itself appears in the form of an intensified imperialism. As matters stand at present, the probability of avoiding new imperialistic wars, either as national liberation struggles under the tutelage of one or another of the

competing imperialist powers, or as the out-come of a newly-arising economic world crisis involving the imperialist powers themselves, is rather low. To avoid the threatened destruction of the world requires the emergence of anti-capitalist movements in the advanced imperialist nations and their success in restructuring the world economy in accordance with the real needs of their populations through the transformation of their own societies.

THE DECOLONIZATION OF QUEBEC

*Sheilagh Hodgins Milner
Henry Milner*

In recent years, Quebec has produced a popular and powerful movement united by aims fundamentally opposed to the status quo of this province. The movement is characterized by a strong separatist, left-wing ideology, and a broad representation from labour and professional classes. This volume presents a radical and comprehensive analysis of the movement and its roots in the economic, social and historical conditions of Quebec. It is sympathetic to the movement's goals, and as such is a unique contribution to the present debate on Quebec's future.

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COLONIALISM AT HOME AND ABROAD

by André Gorz

Colonialism is not an *external* practice of monopoly capitalism. It is from the first an *internal* practice. Its victims are not just the exploited, oppressed, dismembered nations, but the populations living in the metropolises, in the dominant countries.

This is the thesis I would like to expound here. This thesis may be surprising or shocking; it runs counter to simplified explanations which are all too easy and all too widespread. In fact, it is usual these days to divide the world roughly into two camps: that of the imperialistic, highly developed nations, on the one hand; and that of the dominated and exploited nations on the other. It is usual today to view the problem of the coming decades as the problem of the emancipation of those nations which represent 54% of the world population but which share in only 16% of the wealth produced in the world. The rich nations and the "proletarian peoples" are set in opposition to one another in a rather facile manner as if they were both monolithic blocs. This conception of a *global* antagonism may be useful and natural for people who are engaged in an

armed struggle against the troops of an imperialist power. But it is a conception which in the long run threatens to turn against the very people who promote it.

First of all, there is a danger that the division of the world into imperialist *nations* and oppressed *nations* will encourage a belief in the possibility of a *national* unity of peoples in struggle against imperialism. This belief in "national democratic States" was in high repute in the U.S.S.R. during the last phase of the Algerian War. Since then, it has been played down. For although *certain* wars of liberation — in North Africa, South Asia, the Caribbean have been, *at certain moments* national wars in which the bourgeoisies participated as co-leaders, subsequently it has rapidly become apparent that once national independence had been obtained on the legal and formal level, the newly liberated nations very quickly became divided within themselves over the question of the *content* that should be given their independence. And the national bourgeoisies, even when they had played a major role in the liberation struggle, came to make alliances with the former

external enemy against their domestic class enemy and to relinquish a substantial portion of national independence in their class interest. In Africa most particularly, all the newly emancipated nations have fallen back into the political and economic dependence of imperialism, except for those notably Egypt in which national liberation led ultimately to the establishment of a socialist-oriented State.

The division of the world into imperialist and oppressed *nations* has the further disadvantage of cutting the world revolutionary movement in two. It is easy to reply that the working classes of the developed capitalist world are not, today, revolutionary, and that unity with them is of little concern. This thesis may have a *tactical* and circumstantial truth and efficacy. However, in a long-range strategic perspective it is untenable. It is tantamount to a final burial of the chances for socialism in the advanced capitalist world; it tends to erect a universe in which the so-called rich people would all be found on one side of the barricade and the others on the opposite side, and in which socialism could be extended to the developed nations only as the result of a worldwide conflict.

This is why it seems to me important to emphasize that the frontiers between development and underdevelopment, between dominant economic powers and dominated populations, between colonizers and colonized, do not pass simply *between nations*; that these frontiers exist also *within* each nation of the capitalist world. The problem of the unity of the world revolutionary movement should not be posed only in terms of political/ideological solidarity with anti-imperialist movements; it must also try to show a concrete convergence and solidarity between the interests and struggles of underdeveloped and developed peoples. This can best be done, I be-

lieve, through a critique of the monopolistic model of development — for this type of development reveals that colonialism is not just an *external* practice of modern capitalism but also an *internal* practice going on within the imperialist country itself and continuing, without a break, beyond this country's own frontiers.

This fact is starting to be perceived in the U.S. by the American "new left," as it has been called: This "new left" arose out of moral indignation at racial oppression and poverty in the U.S.; very naturally it was led to connect the struggle against poverty and oppression at home with the struggle not only against the *manifestations* of American imperialism, but against the economic *system* itself which is the basis of imperialism abroad and of poverty within the U.S.

The fact that monopoly capitalism is incapable of finding solutions to its internal problems employment (or unemployment), education, the balanced development of the national economic "space," disparities in income, inequality of opportunity, conservation of natural resources, collective services and social infrastructure, etc. — this fact is fundamental for any critique of the new forms of economic imperialism. For this fact not only shows that the anti-imperialist struggle abroad has potential allies within the imperialist country — provided that this struggle fights imperialism in the name of an alternative model of development and civilization — it also shows that neo-colonialism is incapable of solving problems in the dependent countries, since exactly the same sorts of problems continue to be unresolved in the dominant countries themselves. I would begin, then, by recalling several facts concerning the U.S. and other advanced capitalist countries.

The United States, then, presents certain features characteristic of a dualistic economy, with social and regional contra-

dictions which recall the relations between dominant economy and dominated economy. The internal development of the United States has on the whole been directed from the urban poles of the eastern part of the country, with its industrial concentrations and financial dynasties. The power of the New England bourgeoisie over the development of the economy long was unchallenged. Oil strikes (Texas) or public underwriting of bases of private accumulation (creation of military industries in California) have been necessary in order for other great industrial and financial poles to emerge at the other end of the country.

The existence of several poles of development, centers of decision-making, and seats of economic power, has not in the least, however, produced a balanced development of the nation's human and natural resources. On the contrary. The geographical concentration of the process of capitalist accumulation has necessarily gone hand-in-hand with the relative — or even absolute — impoverishment of other regions. These latter regions have been used by the industrial and financial centers as reservoirs of labor, of primary and agricultural material. Like the colonies of the great European empires, the "peripheral" regions have provided the metropolises with their savings, their labor-power, their men, without having a right to the local reinvestment of the capital accumulated through their activity. Thus, no new activity came to take the place of the miners' work, for example, when the coal-beds were exhausted or became unprofitable. In this way, whole territories have become zones of unemployment and poverty, or regions emptied of their substance to the point of no return that is, to a point where, lacking a sufficient proportion of youthful inhabitants as well as industrial and cultural centers, these regions cease to have the capacity for development. Sometimes they revert to desert or wasteland.

Because of this quasi-colonial type of development, the structural crises of old industries (textiles, copper, coal, iron, shipbuilding, etc.) and of agriculture are expressed in dramatic regional crises. And nowhere are these crises resolved by the readaptation of activities in line with local resources and needs. This process of reconversion would be possible only if the regions and their communities possessed an economic and political power of initiative. The latent potentialities and the economic and the human optimum of a region could be mobilized, only if the region had a real autonomy, had elected assemblies, and above all if the economic centers of decision-making were subject to a democratic and popular power of orientation and control—which is obviously incompatible with their private management.

The policy of poles of industrial development which has been adopted in most capitalist countries is undoubtedly advantageous from the standpoint of large private groups, but not from the point of view of the economy as a whole. The pole is generally a big or middle-sized city on whose periphery the State at the expense of the collectivity, lays out industrial zones in which private industry will then be "induced" to establish itself by fiscal allowances, subsidies, gifts of land, buildings, roads, etc. The industries installed are most often subsidiaries of indigenous or foreign monopolies. Their activity does not tend towards the development of the region but towards the establishment of *export industries* oriented towards already developed regions things such as assembly workshops, heavy industries in the first processing stage, subcontracting plants.

These industries, established in accordance with a calculation of "middle-term" profitability, stimulate migrations towards the "pole" from tens of kilometers around. The rural population which

flocks in is not hired only — or even principally — in industry ; an important proportion flows towards parasitical and tertiary activities, increasing the number of *bistros*, of petty worthless traffickers, of middle-men who interpose three, four, ten speculative transactions between the producer and the consumer of food products or the latest consumer goods. The industrial "pole," instead of raising the regional society to a new internal equilibrium, instead of diversifying and enriching local activities, human relations, and regional culture, thus causes a deterioration in — indeed a destruction of the regional culture, a sub-proletarianization of the population, the creation of a mass of vagrants. This population will know the frivolities and perversions of industrial civilization but none of its advantages, in educational matters in particular.

The proliferation of speculative activities, especially in the areas of commerce, land, and real estate — and the cost of the urban infrastructure, of urban services, of the losses of agricultural production, will ultimately amount to far more than what a progressive and balanced development of the region in terms of needs would have cost.

It is a *fortiori* absurd, not to say criminal, to distribute "affluent" goods, or allow them to be distributed, in countries which are in the initial stage of their industrialization. The sudden appearance of the technical gadgets of advanced industrial civilization in the hands of a privileged minority, native or foreign, necessarily has a corrupting effect on the Andalusian, Calabrian or Mexican peasant. This corrupting effect is exerted on a popular mass which is discovering the results and by-products of the technical-scientific praxis in which these inventions originate. These foreign by-products — in the eyes of the mass which receives them in such a direct, unmediated fashion — have an appropriately

magical character. The time-lag between the civilizations which abruptly confront one another is so great that no means of passage from one to another can be imagined. The only way of obtaining the by-products of the technical-scientific civilization, for the Andalusian laborer for example, is money ; but no *labor* will be able to get him the necessary money. In a flash, all his needs become perverted and mystified into money needs.

Moreover, in the metropolises themselves a comparable effect takes place among poorly-educated adolescents in poor neighborhoods. Their reaction is violence and the taste for violence ; and violence is not just an immediate, desperate negation of the social order and its privileges, but also a magical mode of appropriation — by consumption/destruction — of the surrounding civilization. The immediacy of violence is the spontaneous response to a civilization which portrays itself as consuming and not as *creating*. Violence is the truth of a civilization which has cut off the consumer from the producer, the producer from the product ; which has uprooted the individual from any human, natural life-situation ; which has quantified — that is, has reduced to reified relationships the relation (in work) between man and his tools and man and nature, the relation (in his habitat) between man and his environment, and the relation between men.

In underdeveloped countries, thus it is of primary importance — as Rene Dumont, Frantz Fanon and Mao Tse-tung have all emphasized, each in his own way — to base a strategy of development not upon poles of growth and upon the injection of advanced industries into a rural setting, but upon a whole series of transitions aimed at a qualitative and quantitative development of human resources. One of the great lessons of the Chinese Revolution — a lesson which is today being recognized by Polish Yugosl-

lavian and Soviet economists — is that a healthy, solid agriculture which is able to ensure its own expanded reproduction, is an essential condition for long-range development.

Industrialization should never give rise to the pillage of the rest of the economy. It should, on the one hand, progress from below — that is, be accomplished in terms of the needs of the majority of the population, which is rural, under the control of agricultural working communities and at their initiative, by the creation of local industries which complement agriculture; and it must, on the other hand, take place from above only insofar as the creation of modern industrial complexes near big cities contributes to the elevation of the level of agricultural productivity and that of the local industries complementary to agriculture. In other words, large-scale industry will be a stimulus for the whole economy and will result in balanced development only if it begins by providing other sectors — the agricultural sector, to start with — with production goods which raise the productivity and capacity for accumulation of each sector.

For example, between the extremes represented by the wooden plough drawn by men or animals and the mechanized, automatic plough, there is a whole series of intermediary stages that have to be taken into account — not only in order to maintain full employment, but also because a national culture can be forged only through the elevation of culture into labor by the appropriation of nature, and not by the brutal destruction of the traditional relations between labor and nature.

I do not mean by these remarks that development has to be completely self-sufficient. It should be autonomous, which is something quite different. And this autonomy does not in the least exclude recourse to foreign technology nor even to loans, gifts or, under certain

conditions, foreign investments. Autonomy of development means that the impulse for growth comes from within the society, is founded on the development of its own material resources and human energies. It does not mean that the developing society must, on its own, go through all the historical and technical stages which have in the past led from an essentially agrarian economy to an industrial, mechanized and automated one. If this were true, then the chasm separating the developed world from the underdeveloped world would continue to grow rather than being closed.

Nevertheless, even though foreign aid and even foreign investment should be sought, these in themselves are incapable of resolving the problem of development, as much from a quantitative as from a qualitative point of view. They can contribute to balanced development only under the following conditions:

1. That foreign aid or investment is placed within the framework of an overall plan for the economy and is held strictly to respect the objectives of that plan;
2. That the foreign technical personnel charged with the implementation of aid programs is placed under the administrative and technical control of the beneficiary country, which obviously presupposes the existence in this country of competent technical personnel trained in several foreign schools and industries and who are thus able to evaluate the comparative advantages of the existing techniques of different countries and to combine them in optimum ways. A multi-national aid program is always preferable to aid from only one large country;
3. That the resources are "normalized" so that they are not tributaries of the techniques and raw materials of the country providing them;
4. That, in the case of private aid, the facility is provided according to the sys-

tem of rental-sale — that is, following amortization and normal remuneration of the capital involved, the facility becomes the property of the beneficiary country ;

5. That techniques of foreign origin (licenses and patents) also become the property of the beneficiary country following amortization, that they can be developed and modified during the amortization period and can be exploited with no restriction whatever.

There is no need for yet another demonstration that foreign investment, particularly North American investment, has never had the aim of stimulating the process of industrialization and development, and that it has not in the least had this effect. I will limit myself to mentioning certain aspects of the new economic imperialism, basing my remarks on the remarkable study by the Pakistani economist Hamza Alvali.¹

I believe that the situation and problems of the working-class and socialist movement in the advanced capitalist countries concern and interest the peoples of the whole world. This is why the retarded development of this movement is doubly unfortunate. For the setbacks and misfortunes sustained by the Western working-class movement over the last decades : its frequently low level of internationalist consciousness ; the fact that capitalism has not, up to now, been destroyed in any developed country and that its defeat is not in sight in any such country — all this explains, in large measure, the division of the world revolutionary movement, the impatience and skepticism of certain anti-imperialist forces regarding the European workers' parties. All this, too, makes a centralized anti-imperialist strategy on a world scale an impossibility.

Today, there can only be a number of strategies with a high degree of autonomy — as tends to be confirmed by the

recent tricontinental conference in Havana and by the creation of an organ of F.S.M. (*Fédération Syndicale Mondiale* — World Labor Federation) for Western Europe. However, the necessity for autonomous regional strategies does not in the least mean that the fragmentation of the anti-imperialist forces has to be accepted. Quite the contrary : the diversity of strategies only makes their *coordination* more necessary. It is likely that the Vietnam war would never have become so large, nor have taken the course it had, if it hadn't been for the Sino-Soviet conflict. Each region of the world is related to the problems, difficulties and struggles of all the others.

Nationalism, which is the spontaneous reaction to this situation of dependence, is obviously neither an adequate response nor, above all, an appropriate one. For each country, the attainment of democracy and internal autonomy takes place through the conquest of its real sovereignty, but this sovereignty can no longer be attained on a national basis in the face of monopolies whose strategy is international. Moreover, the desire for national sovereignty may have a political and economic content which is just as reactionary as servility to the dominant country. Specifically, anti-Americanism — in the case of Gaullist France, Franco's Spain, Pakistan, etc. — may reflect the conflicts of two imperialisms, of unequal strength but equally disastrous, between which there is little to choose ; it may only be a matter of using their rivalry to achieve freedom from the domination of both.

These remarks bring me back to my starting point. Nationalism may be a positive, progressive, legitimate reaction from the cultural point of view, but it is a completely inadequate ideological base for a fight against imperialism on the economic and political plane. In fact, it may even enable imperialism to play off its subject countries against one another,

to profit from the traditional rivalry of the weak and oppressed, to create oppressors which dominate their neighbors to the advantage of the imperialist power and which compensate for their own humiliation by taking it out on those that are weaker.

The real terrain on which political autonomy and self-determination of the process of development might be reconquered is the political-economic terrain. But on this terrain, the struggle can effectively be waged only through a coordination of the efforts of several nations on the same continent, and even of those

on different continents. This coordination itself will lead to liberation only if its objectives and themes of struggle also speak to the hearts and minds of those forces within the developed capitalist world which are fighting against the monopolistic model of development, against the myth of "affluence" and the "consumer society," against internal colonialism. Imperialism cannot be defeated on its periphery unless it is also attacked in its metropolitan positions.

(Reprinted in abridged form from Liberation, November, 1971.)

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WHY FOOD PRICES ARE HIGH

Total food prices rose 42.5% from 1961 to July of 1972.

The prices farmers received for their produce rose by 25.4% during the same period.

That 25.4% increase was wiped out by a rise in the farm production costs of 40.2%.

This means in reality farmers lost 14.8% in income from 1961 to July of 1972 due to increased costs.

While farmers were making less money to meet those rising costs, the economy was booming.

Canada's Gross National Product increased steadily.

The National Farmers Union did some research into the cost of producing one bushel of wheat four years ago.

If farmers in 1968 were going to earn the poverty level as established by the Economic Council of Canada, they must receive between \$2.35 and \$2.65 per bushel of wheat produced in Saskatchewan. This would represent an approximate 8% return on their investment or just enough money to cover the interest payments on the money they borrowed to keep farming.

The highest price Canadian wheat ever fetched on the world market was \$2.24 per bushel in 1918!

The Wheat Board sells wheat at a wholesale price mainly to overseas buyers. However the price wheat is sold for is not the price the farmer receives. In 1968 Number 1 wheat sold for \$1.94 per bushel. After deducting shipping, cleaning and other costs, farmers received 1.70 per bushel.

Suddenly last year wheat prices climbed dramatically after hitting a low of \$1.68 in 1971. At the end of July 1972 the price reached \$1.70 per bushel. One month later the price jumped to \$1.84. By the end of September the price leaped up to \$2.31 per bushel. Throughout October and Nov-

ember consistently high prices prevailed.

Just by some strange coincidence, Canada suffered through a federal election during that period of high prices.

A farmer who can't cover his cost of production is called unviable and in the spirit of the Task Force must be "rationalized" off of his land. The farmer really has only two options for survival: buy more expensive machinery or buy more land thereby owing the banks more money.

The natural question of why doesn't the farmer get a fair price for his produce arises. Here lies the crux of the dilemma. The food industry is probably one of the most profitable in this country.

The price of farm-produced foods increased by \$2.8 million between 1961 and 1970. The corporations received 64% of that increase.

The list below shows the return on capital employed for the year ending in 1971.

Canada Packers	7.63%
Canada Safeway	8.73%
General Foods	10.30%
Oshawa Group(IGA)	5.03%
Steinberg's	4.78%
weighted average	6.99%

Between 1968 and 1971, the five companies made a total profit of \$173.2 million. This represents a 23.3% increase in profits for the period.

Canada Packers	68-72, 24.7% increase, from \$8.1 to 10.1 million
Canada Safeway	68-71, 25.3% increase, from \$12.0 to 15.0 million
General Foods	68-72, 36.2% increase, from \$6.8 to 9.2 million
Steinberg's	68-71, 47.8% increase, from \$6.4 to 9.5 million

Don Humphries, CUP

Thanks to Statistics Canada, federal Department of Agriculture, National Farmers Union, NDP research, Harold Bronson and especially Don Mitchell who knows more about agriculture than anybody in this country.

CONTRADICTIONS WITHIN STATES WITH SOCIALIST CONSTITUTIONS

by Serge Mallet

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During the Cabris conference, organized in September, 1970 by the journal *L'Homme et la Société*, Franz Marek asked the difficult question regarding a situation such as occurred in Czechoslovakia for the world perspective on the development of socialism: a Marxist must ask himself, what is the real nature of the social system established in the Soviet Union? The second question follows immediately: what relationship does the U.S.S.R. have with those socialist countries that make up its sphere of influence?

To these two questions political answers are, for the most part, oversimplified, and do no more than confirm prejudices that were adopted around the period of 1968 or earlier.

Those parts of the working class movement that disapproved of the Soviet intervention were still trying to hold their special relationship to the Soviet Union. (I think especially here of, not only the Communist parties of Western Europe, but also of certain Trotskyist views or leftwing social democrats) Those parties considered the

Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia as a "serious error" whose consequences would be rapidly erased.

From the point of view of their own political development, they could hardly have adopted any other attitude since their own capacity for political growth is tied to their need to keep the Soviet model. Western public opinion forced them, on the other hand, to publicly criticise the Czech situation. It is obvious that the recent Prague events were used by the Pompidou propaganda machine in France preparing for the parliamentary elections of 1970. The Prague events also destroyed the credibility of the "democratic proclamations" included in the unity pact between the Socialists and the Communists. (The "democratic proclamations" were insisted upon by the Socialists as the price for an electoral alliance with the Communists.)

In Italy and in Spain the image of Soviet tanks in Socialist Czechoslovakia weighs heavily on the Communist parties of those countries in spite of more rigorously critical positions taken by them. Both of these parties which appear to be the principle political oppositions in their respective countries have been held back by useless and limiting alliances with the Center or moderate Right in order to prove their democratic commitment. There was a time when in order to prove their intention of not operating as the Soviets did, Communist parties were satisfied to seek alliances with liberals; since Prague they feel obliged to go even further by approaching the "enlightened capitalists" of Italian Christian Democracy. The Italian CP is currently considering the possibility of an eventual governing alliance with these groups. This attitude has provoked permanent conflicts with its own constituency, of which the most important and serious result will be the emergence of the Communist trade unions as an autonomous political and social force outside the Communist party.

SPAIN

In the same way the Spanish CP sees the overthrow of the Franco regime only through an alliance with moderate Monarchists and the liberal wing of Opus Dei, the most monopolistic elements of Spanish capitalism. But the CP is paying for this political opportunism with a continuing split between itself and the most revolutionary elements in the national minorities such as the Basques and the Catalonians. It is these two groups that are in the vanguard of opposition to Franco, and are the groups inside Spain which have genuine mass support. The Basque and Catalan churches, hierarchy included, have the luxury of being to the left of the CP and the working class. In short, the more the Communist parties of Western Europe, which are serious contenders for political power — and this is the case in France, Italy and Spain — hold to their special relationship with the Soviet Union and the legacy of its state system, the more they are forced to seek right-wing alliances, which raises the question of how seriously they want to come to power.

And they are the ones in fact who have difficulty answering the arguments of their adversaries. Once the CP comes to power or plays a leading role, what will prevent even a minority faction from using the "Breznev Doctrine" and appealing for Soviet tanks when difficulties arise? Or put another way, what would be the nature of state relations between a France governed by a Communist-Socialist alliance, and the Soviet Union? The same question could be asked of Italy or Spain. The Soviet Mediterranean fleet could arrive very quickly at Marseilles or Malaga. What would be the nature of economic and commercial relations? Would they be between equals or not? The Communist parties of Western Europe reply, cor-

rectly, that France and Italy are powerful countries, heavily industrialized. But this was exactly the case of Czechoslovakia in 1948, and this did not prevent the development of a one-sided relationship with the USSR. (How much more vulnerable were backward agricultural countries like Poland and Bulgaria!) And further, would a Communist-Socialist government accept peacefully being voted out of office, or would there inevitably follow a serious deterioration in internal and external relations, leading to an appeal for the "Fraternal aid" of the Soviet Union, and permitting at the same time a beginning of the process of unequal integration such as Czechoslovakia has witnessed.

Therefore the decisive question regarding the change to socialism for those countries of Western Europe where exists a powerful Communist party is the real nature of the Soviet Union and the nature of its relationship with its neighbors of the Socialist camp. However these fears were expressed over and over again in clear and public terms by the leaders of the Western Communist parties to the Communist party of the USSR BEFORE the intervention in Czechoslovakia. These questions were asked again at the announcement of each series of political trials, but the leadership chose to ignore them, preferring to run the risk of a split with these parties.

SOVIET RATIONALIZATION

At the time of the invasion, the main Soviet defense was the prevention of Czechoslovakia's becoming the training ground for German-American imperialism. It was the only one of the Soviet arguments that has any credibility; this credibility spread beyond the Soviet sphere of influence to the Gaullists, for example. The armed intervention of the Soviet forces in Czechoslovakia, as deplorable as it is in terms of the Leninist doctrine on nationalities, could be jus-

tified in terms of Stalin's restricted military intervention just prior to World War II. This intervention, for example into the Baltic countries and Eastern Poland, the Western Ukraine and parts of Finland, was a preventive strategic operation to protect the Soviet Union.

Since the German-Russian pact, and the German-Polish pact, this argument no longer exists. Strange that the Western Communist parties have not used the normalization of relations between the USSR and West Germany to tell the USSR that the Soviet military occupation is no longer justified! They did not do it because they knew very well that they would not be listened to, but that instead the argument would be considered a rupture between the USSR and the other Communist parties, although under other circumstances the argument would have been considered a principled one.

Continued Soviet occupation and internal repression in Czechoslovakia despite the normalization of relations with West Germany with the *de jure* recognition by West Germany of the Oder-Neisse Line, and the existence of East Germany (only a few months after August, 1960), show that the Soviet intervention was not determined by any foreign policy, but rather by considerations of national defense. National defense also played a large role in the Soviet aggression of 1939 even if eventually these interventions became annexations, and as early as 1945 a policy of forced Russification in the Baltic states and Bessarabia was developed. We cannot deny either the preoccupation with national defense of certain Soviet generals like Youkov whose initiative led eventually to the invasion into Hungary in 1956, although the repression of the workers' councils and the physical liquidation of the Communists around Nagy showed that after all internal preoccupations were more important. (The non-Communist element that participated in the Hungarian revolt escaped the re-

pression or got away with a few months in jail.) But the strategic factor was only part of the problem with Czechoslovakia. It was essentially due to some internal logic within the Soviet state that the tanks of Marshall Gretchko broke the hopes that the Prague Spring raised in the non-Communist countries.

THE MIDDLE EAST

To the detriment of the long-term Soviet interests, I recall that I publicly warned the left-wing supporters of Nasser, two years ago, against the internal consequences of their unconditional support of the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia as I warned them of the political danger of the take-over by the Soviet technicians of the military equipment of the Arab armies of Machrek. They paid twice: they were forced by the Soviets to abandon the Palestinian resistance movement which lost them their popular support, and which further made it easy for the right-wing nationalists to eliminate them from the political scene.

Ali Sabri was imprisoned for not resisting the Soviet technicians; in addition the Soviet Union lost fifteen years of work in the Arab world because of the departure of the Russian technicians. The take-over of Sadat that led Egypt to leave the positive neutralist camp and realign itself with the capitalist Western world was possible only because the Soviet Union, even in her relations with allies as unreliable as the Arab nationalist movements, could not get rid of her complex of being a great power. None of the Arab leaders ever believed in the disinterested motives of their great Soviet ally. The tanks of Prague re-inforced among them this conviction that the existence of Soviet military bases on their territory constituted a danger that had to be stopped one day. That day was never chosen, and even if Iraq is celebrating today its acquisition of Russian MIGs, a gesture it criticised the

Egyptians for, it is a fact that the departure of the Russian technicians from Egypt is the first big blow to the Soviet zone of influence.

Can't the mistrust of the Arab leaders be explained by the fact that those leaders who never had close rapport with Marxist ideology only saw the Soviet Union as the powerful Czarist empire interested in having a foot in the Mediterranean, and that they could use to get rid of the British influence and stop the American one? Couldn't the Arab leaders take a completely different course if they felt that the Russian influence was too great? Didn't the non-Marxist Sadat then succeed in doing what the Marxist Dubchek could not even imagine?

What can we learn from this progressive elimination of the Soviet influence in the Arab countries. What can we learn from the impotence of the Russian diplomacy in having any influence in Black Africa, and of the gigantic errors made by the representatives of the USSR in Guinea, the Congo, in Tanzania, as in Egypt or in Syria? It is beyond all strategic calculation. The present nature of the Soviet state, the nature of the political class that it has created is such that it cannot any more than the U.S. hide the fundamental imperialist character of the relationship that it develops with the small nations.

Throughout Western Europe the USSR still benefits from the ideological effects of her revolutionary past. Like a dead star, the light of the Red Kremlin still illuminates, albeit weakly, working class consciousness. A country that has just entered world history cannot be sensitive to this dead star. Whether it turns its eyes toward Red China, or tries to create new revolutionary ideologies, it can only take the Soviet Union for what it has become. Such a country can only hold tactical and short-term alliances with the Soviet Union.

THE NATURE OF THE SOVIET SYSTEM

However, it is simplistic to merely list these phenomena and then conclude that the U.S.S.R. has evolved towards a return to capitalism. The nature of its social system has not changed since 1925-35, although the growth of the productive forces and the stabilization of the international situation make the social consequences of some of these characteristics more visible today. Whereas the privileges of the bureaucratic class were limited to extra tea or coffee during the famines of 1923-27, now they are likely to be more spacious apartments, country houses, or "private" cars.

In 1956, Mao Tse Tung recognized the existence of what he called "contradictions in the heart of the people," and stated that "socialist societies also develop through a contradiction between productive forces and productive relationships."

To refresh certain memories, these "April theses" of Mao Tse Tung were some of the most important politico-theoretical texts used by the "revisionist" Polish and Hungarian intellectuals as support for their radical criticism of the Stalinist model. A few extracts will show how these texts were relevant to their situation.

"Certain naive ideas seem to suggest that contradictions no longer exist in a socialist society ...

"A socialist society also develops through a contradiction between productive forces and productive relationships. In a socialist or communist society, technical innovations and improvements of the social system inevitably continue to take place ... Contradictions such as those between progress and conservation, the advanced and the retarded, the positive and the negative, are produced constantly in changing conditions and different circumstances ... One contradiction leads to another; when old contradictions are resolved, others appear ...

"Thus there will be a struggle between people even though its nature and its form must be different from those of class societies. From this point of view there is nothing strange about the existence of contradictions between the individual and the collective in a socialist society ..." (*)

Analysing these texts, Pierre Naville says "Thus, this somewhat entangled framework involves two types of contradictions: first, within the system of production, those who oppose the workers, and second, within the system of social forces, those who have some control over the means of production oppose those who do not. These two contradictions express the same relationship, however; in the first case, it occurs within the framework of the system of production, and in the second case, it occurs within the system of property. *Thus consumption and control are the two aspects of a double social antagonism.*

"But what becomes of this explanation when the political, juridical, and economic power of the capitalist bourgeoisie are largely abolished? If we are to believe Mao Tse Tung and the Chinese communists, it remains valid, with one difference: the contradictions it reveals will not stay antagonistic. They can be surmounted, little by little, by an appropriate programme and control of their evolution. They do not engender a revolutionary situation.

"There are two methods of analysing these 'non-antagonistic contradictions'. The first consists of defining them formally but somewhat vaguely: the new against the old, the individual against the collectivity, the incorrect against the correct, the bad against the good. However, these characteristics are somewhat removed from Marxian methods of analysis. The second manner, which is preferred by Russian economists, consists of characterizing the (non-antagonistic) contradictions in a more concrete way, having to do with work, income and profession: farmers/workers, intellectuals/manual workers, urban/rural, productive/non-productive people.

"But both methods avoid the question of how these (non-antagonistic) oppositions or

(*) Quotations from the "People's Journal" of Peking, of April 5, 1956. Cited by Pierre Naville in "La Bureaucratie et la Révolution," Ed. Anthropos, Paris, pp. 273-74.

distinctions are linked to the more general and fundamental opposition between productive forces and productive relationships, which, according to Marx, *must* have an antagonistic nature."

Naville has to conclude that "it is difficult to understand what is meant by a contradiction (even a non-antagonistic one) between productive forces and productive relationships."

Since then, Chinese thought has evolved at least as much as the practice. The contradictions have become so "non-antagonistic" that today Chinese thought is being called upon to aid the awakening of the Russian revolutionary movement against the "new capitalist class which has usurped power". But let's stay for the time being with our theoretical enquiry.

BASIC CONFLICTS IN THE U.S.S.R.

The U.S.S.R. represents, compared to other socialist countries, an extreme form of bureaucracy. This difference has always been recognized by the soviet theoreticians who consider this to be precisely "the proof that the U.S.S.R. is the most advanced form of socialism". And the social contradictions which arise, openly or not, are the result of this "unresolved antagonism" between productive forces and productive relationships. That is to say between producers and collective owners of the means of production.

As in the capitalist system, in socialist societies, it is the secondary conflicts produced by these social contradictions which tend to erupt most vigorously :

1) Conflicts between monopolistic state industrial production and the peasantry who still form the numerical majority. (This, for example is the point of departure for the Hungarian uprising of 1954-56). The peasantry often first express themselves through the wave of new students who come from the peasant class. (To what extent is the Cultural Revolution in China a reflection of this ?)

2) Conflicts between the rising technocratic sector, which wants to rationalize the economy and render it more flexible, and the political bureaucracy which attempts to conserve absolute control over the productive apparatus. This, of course, was the conflict that underlay that "springtime in Prague".

3) Above all, conflicts between the nationalist tendencies of the bureaucracies of the socialist states — reflecting closely the feeling of national oppression felt by the masses towards the Soviet State. (It sometimes happens that the national revolt organizes all sectors of the society against Soviet control and that a part of the controlling bureaucracy uses the national revolt in order to gain concessions from the Soviets, ie. that the national question is used to mask internal divisions . . .).

4) The same aspect in another framework can also be seen. National minorities, or more exactly, nations forcibly integrated into the Russian State, struggle to obtain their independence, whether this results in a national socialism or something else. Although the struggles are still severely controlled, they will probably explode through the decades to come.

But don't these secondary contradictions mask the principal contradiction between producers and directors of the apparatus of production ?

THE DEMAND FOR WORKERS' COUNCILS

Here it must be remembered that there is a constant factor in all the revolts which occurred in the socialist countries : whether these revolts were the initiative of liberal intellectuals and technocrats — as in Czechoslovakia, or whether their base was always the nationalist movement — as in Yugoslavia in 1948 or Hungary in 1956 ; whether the movement was directed by the controlling national bureaucracy and

was organized against the soviet bureaucracy without the appearance of open internal splits (Albania, Rumania), or finally, whether it directly expresses the discontent of the working class itself (Berlin 1959, Poznan 1956, Gdansk 1970), every movement protesting against the system of centralized State socialism results in the setting up of or at least the demand for, workers councils. And it is at this moment that the Russian tanks appear.

This means that the principal contradiction lies in the question of control of the productive apparatus. It is a social contradiction in the sense that in practice it opposes the sector of society which monopolizes the surplus value against the producers. (The monopolizing sector is composed of diverse social groups with sometimes antagonistic interests. To take an example from the U.S.A., there is the army on the one hand, and the managers of the consumer society on the other, who often have a slightly more "liberal" conception of planning.)

The difference between the U.S.S.R. and the developed capitalist countries is that the U.S.S.R. does not have any buffer classes — middle classes carrying on a relatively autonomous economic activity. Agriculture, commerce and services are equally collectivized, and the promotion of each individual depends on the famous "nomenklatura". On the one hand is the central political bureaucracy and on the other a single homogeneous class of workers without responsibilities, without the power to participate in decision-making.

"The result of the revolution is determined by the fight between the two essential social classes; the working class and the bureaucracy. State ownership of the means of production is just another form of ownership depending on the social groups to whom the State "belongs". In a nationalized economy,

the only people who can influence the bulk of the economic decisions, and thus the means of production themselves, are those who participate in the decisions of the public authorities or those who can influence them. Political power is linked to power exercised over the process of production and distribution. Who holds power in our State? Only one party, practically a monopolistic one... The working class does not have the chance to organize and form other parties. Thus it lacks the power to formulate and diffuse programmes of struggles for the realisation of different methods of dividing the national income. In short, the working class lacks the power to formulate and disseminate political concepts other than those of the United Polish Workers Party..

"This Party-State is a power elite, free of all control by the society and taking all economic and political decisions completely independently... (*)

The absence of homogeneous social groups prevents the crystallization of any serious economic opposition and explains the fact that the only manifestations of opposition are those of individuals grouped together by ideological decision. For example we might mention the religious groups, and the importance which the police attach to them since to some extent the Churches represent the only form of opposition possible, as they were in the centralized monarchies of the 17th and 18th centuries.

However these groups are no longer accorded any legitimacy and are seen as "erratic deviancies"; the soviet police have officially adopted this point of view: the "deviant" belongs in a psychiatric hospital and not in a prison.

Furthermore, it is for this reason that in spite of the pressures exerted by in-

(*) Points of view of Modzelewski and Kuron cited in Pierre Naville, *op. cit.*, pp. 288k.

dustrial managers, there is little chance to see firms obtain a minimum of independence. The downgrading of Kosygin, who has long been seen as the voice of the technocrats certainly seems to support this contention.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The evolution of the situation in Czechoslovakia showed how the loosening of centralized planning created the conditions for the appearance of a structured workers opposition based on the demand for workers' control. Under decentralized planning the profits of the firm and the real functions of State power are clearly revealed.

This leads us to examine the apparently capitalistic forms that the Czechoslovak movement may have taken and the quick transformation from the "re-establishment of market mechanisms" to workers management.

Judgements on the re-establishment of market mechanisms and the return to resale prices are generally seen in the West from the point of view of the existing capitalist systems. Consequently, one is happy or suspicious according to one's opinions of this system.

However, if we consider that we are dealing with another type of social system — and Kuron and Modzelewski's description strongly reminds us of "the ideal Asiatic mode of production" as it is described by Wittfogel for example — then it would be logical and inevitable under these conditions, that the process of creating socialism in Czechoslovakia would first have to enlarge the sphere of influence of the market. There does not exist an historical example which develops beyond the Asiatic mode of production without the previous growth of market relationships. Thus this development can appear as regression. One of the fundamental difficulties that we encounter is that we rather

naively limit ourselves to the idea that there are only two possible modes of production: capitalism and socialism. We continue to project our old "Euro-peo-centricism."

While the phenomenon that is currently developing in the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries is of a different nature, it is still true that the transition process raises problems for the movements that develop in these countries. The forms of liberation and the transition to a socialist society, that is, the struggle against the exploitation of man by man, does not necessarily take the same forms as in capitalist societies.

Indeed, we know that one of the necessary, but not sufficient, conditions for the liberation of man in a developed capitalist mode of production is obviously the suppression of the private possession of the means of production. But if the exploitation of man continues, even when the private ownership of the means of production has been abolished, it is clear that there are other steps to liberation. This can lead the liberation movement in socialist countries to adopt forms that may seem to be capitalist but that when considered in their context may be completely different. For the moment, let us leave the problem open.

Concerning the modes of production, Marx and Engels have often explained that at a certain stage in the development of the productive forces, the transformation from a primitive mode of collective production to individual exploitation of land is a progressive development.

In my book, *Le Pouvoir Ouvrier* (*), I have dealt at some length with the contradictory process that seems to me

(*) *Le Pouvoir Ouvrier, Technologie et bureaucratie dans les pays socialistes*, Anthropos Paris, 1971, pp. 44-85.

to have been present in the dialectic during that "springtime in Prague"; how the more experienced Czech technocratic managers had largely replaced the Soviet technocrats and sought to create the conditions of a more varied development that corresponded more closely with individual demands of the new and enlarged dominant classes. The technocratic milieu that produces the "economic reformers" in the U.S.S.R. as well as in the other socialist countries, still comes from a political-bureaucratic social background. The development of this technocratic milieu is due more to functional differentiations than class differentiations. On the whole, the reformist technocracy expresses the individualist aspirations of the new directing groups. Its reformist character is exercised within the directive apparatus which it seeks to influence.

The Soviet Union seems to have remained at the stage of the conflict where the antagonism that exists between the "old guard" and the new has not come out into the open. The weakness of public opinion, the conformism of the press, the undoubted influence of the army which is called to arbitrate in the name of national defence, are many of the factors which prevent the surfacing of this conflict. Perhaps most important of all, is the extraordinary solidarity that the directing groups have in their sense of responsibility for a world empire. The imperial conscience has always succeeded in smoothing over the sharpest social contradictions, as long as the empire was solid.

REGIONAL DISPARITIES AND ETHNIC MINORITIES

Quite probably, there is only one way that the internal conflict, which to paraphrase Mao Tse Tung we will call the "contradictions within the people's leaders", can be expressed in the political arena and involve the masses. As centralized as the Soviet bureaucracy

may be, it is forced to work through a number of regional outposts. The economic disparities between the various republics are extraordinary; the public differences that exist between the rich and poor republics within Yugoslavia are infinitesimal when compared with these differences in regional development in the Soviet Union. These differences are not simply due to the model of a developed center and underdeveloped hinterland, but rather to at least four types of historical situations:

(1) First of all, we find regions that are very advanced in comparison to Russia itself. This is the case for countries that have come under the Soviet Union's influence more recently and that already had a greater economic and cultural development. These countries were generally in contact with the more developed Western countries. This is the case for the Baltic republics. Local sentiment there, as in Catalonia, Euzkadia and Croatia finds it difficult to accept political constraints imposed by a big country that is less developed than the little country that is more developed.

This is also the case, although for different reasons, in Siberia's "new world" where the "nationalist" reaction is not based on an ethnic base but which also rebels against the centralizing hold of Moscow in the same way the English colonists of America rebelled against their metropolis.

The danger here though is less immediate because of the proximity of China.

(2) Secondly, there is the Ukrainian problem. This is a large, rich republic that provided the basic requirements of Soviet industrialization between 1920 and 1940. The Ukraine fed the urban populations of Russia with its meat and wheat to the point that its best land, once the breadbasket of Europe, was almost exhausted.

It provided hydro-electric power from its great rivers and the iron and carbon from Donetsk. Thus it finds Russification difficult to accept since the essential decision-making powers are taken away and given to a "new class" which is mostly Russian and always concentrated in Moscow. It was certainly largely to satisfy the Ukrainian peasantry that Khrushchev relaxed the pressure on the agricultural collectives. The Ukraine problem greatly concerns the Soviet directors. The first demand put forth by the Soviet delegation at Cernia was the cancellation of Slovak radio programmes in Ukrainian and later the reduction of the broadcasting area for Slovak radio stations, (this language being very close to Ukrainian).

(3) Thirdly, there is the problem of the Asiatic-Moslem countries which, due to Soviet aid, have experienced rapid economic and cultural development but which has created an ever-growing dependency upon Russian development. Influenced by pan-Arabic propaganda, the Soviet republics, with Sultan Galier, have laid the groundwork for a Turanian-Arabic socialism and have created a national class of intellectuals who have been expressing more and more strongly their desire to see the famous "doctrine of nationalities" put into effect. The problem of the Moslem Tartars of Crimea, whom the Soviet government deported to Central Asia and has refused to repatriate, has not only served as a rallying point for "liberal" Russians but has also been the focus of considerable public opinion in the Turanian republics.

(4) Finally, among the internal national contradictions, we must mention the large Jewish population which is very influential in scientific and cultural milieux but which is deprived of any autonomous cultural expression. Jews

who wish to assimilate, probably a majority before World War II, have been becoming increasingly rare. The Jews however, are less of a problem for the dominant Soviet class both because it can use the strong anti-semitic sentiment which is equally throughout the U.S.S.R. and because of the safety valve of Israel.

Thus, unless there is a radical revision of the centralizing policies of the U.S.S.R., and of their essentially Russian character, there is the strong possibility that we shall see the national contradictions break out before any social contradictions. It is difficult to see how the continual build-up of a professional army, already the greatest "private" entrepreneur of the country, facilitates the return to the "Leninist doctrine of nationalities."

The successive crises that have shaken Eastern European nations of the U.S.S.R. (apart from Russia), the deterioration of Soviet-Arab relations and the growth of the Chinese influence in the eastern republics have severely shaken the internal stability of an imperial system, in which the centralisation of economic and political power prevent any serious concession to the nationalist tendencies.

Nevertheless, since the social structure of the non-Russian republics is not different from that of Russia itself, it is likely that any social movement within a national framework will take the form of the revival of workers and peasants soviets, as it did in Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia. This is the only conceivable political expression in a society of homogeneous producers. In return, the impact of such national movements may then — and only then — generate the development of a workers' opposition of the same nature in Russia itself.

THE NATIONAL QUESTION IN CANADA

A Review Essay

Part I The Social Democrats and the National Question in Canada

H. Milner
with B.R. Lemoine

The most recent surge of Canadian nationalism has its primary roots in intellectual events of the sixties. Symbolically it begins perhaps with the publication in 1965 of George Grant's *Lament for a Nation* — a bitter denunciation of the continentalism of the political and economic rulers of Canada. Walter Gordon became the second victim of the Liberal continentalists (according to Grant, Dief was the first) who found even his mild mid-sixties economic nationalism intolerable. (Eric Kierans is the third).

It was just at the end of Walter Gordon's political career that the Watkins Report on foreign ownership, which Gordon had commissioned, was released. While it could not save Gordon, the report became the first major public

portrayal of the effects of American economic domination on Canada. In fact the economic analysis on this issue since 1968 when the report came out, serves mainly to update and to add detail and weight to the work of the report itself. It is little wonder that Watkins remains the chief economic spokesman of nationalist groups, though of course, he has changed his political colours in the interim.

Politically at least, Grant's tone of lament for a nation he saw dying appeared justified. Intellectually, Canada became, beginning with the centennial perhaps, an "in thing": There were study groups to explore Canada's real history Registration in courses in Canadian politics, history sociology, economics, whatever, soared at the universities. Creighton was quoted left and right; Innis was resurrected. But politically, apart of course from the Bobby Gimby CANA-DA sort of centennial chauvinism, the national question was not posed. The Tories, Grant and Creighton's erstwhile heroes had pretty much rejected the accidental anti-continentalism of John Diefenbaker replacing it with the Wasp metooism of Stanfield. But it was metooism vis-à-vis the Liberals — conti-

nentalists par excellence. In other words there was no political outlet for nationalists on the Center and Right. The Creightons were stifled. On the other hand, there was the Left...

The left side of the Canadian parliament is occupied by the NDP. The NDP, like its predecessor the CCF, has not been unconcerned about the national question, nor, however, has it let its concern translate itself into clear policy commitments. For one thing, the founding achievement of the NDP had been its successful winning over of the labour bureaucracy, and the national question has not been dear to the hearts of this group. Apart, however, from leaders and supporters, the NDP has, like all liberal democratic parties of the left, a great many intellectual sympathizers and spokesmen. It is this group of people, expressing the growing intellectual ferment, who constituted the nationalist as well as far left group within the NDP soon to be known as the Waffle.

Just how was socialism or social democracy to be related to the national question? Gad Horowitz, among, if not the, most articulate writers on this question, laid the ground-work for the answer in a seminal essay published in 1966, entitled "Conservatism, Liberalism, and Socialism in Canada."

"Canadian socialism is... unamerican in the sense that it is a significant and legitimate political force in Canada, insignificant and alien in the United States... When Socialism was brought into the United States, it found itself in an ideological environment in which individualism had long since achieved the status of a national religion; the political culture had already congealed, and socialism did not fit. American socialism was alien not only in this ideological sense, but in the ethnic sense as well; it was borne by foreigners from Germany and other continental European countries. These foreigners sloughed off their socialist ideas not simply because such ideas did not "fit" ideolo-

gically, but because as foreigners they were going through a general process of Americanization; socialism was only one of many ethnically alien characteristics which had to be abandoned. A British socialist immigrant to Canada had a far different experience. The British immigrant was not an "alien" in British North America. The English-Canadian culture not only granted legitimacy to his political ideas and absorbed them into its wholeness; it absorbed him as a person into the English-Canadian community, with relatively little strain, without demanding that he change his entire way of life before being granted full citizenship.¹"

For Horowitz the relationship between nationalism and socialism is not intrinsic, it is tactical: within the national culture of Canadians lies a potential class consciousness foreign to the American — and hence continental — political culture. The results have taken form in the present reality of the two countries; as Horowitz put it more recently.

"If the United States were socialist, at this moment, we would be continentalists at this moment. If the possibilities of building a socialist society were brighter in the United States than in Canada, or as bright, we would not be terrified by the prospect of absorption. We are nationalists because, as socialists, we do not want our country to be utterly absorbed by the citadel of world capitalism.²"

It was the presentation of the "Waffle Manifesto" to the NDP national convention of 1969 and the resulting national publicity which made it a cause celebre, that changed what had been an essentially intellectual endeavour into a potentially political one. The manifesto was signed by many of the leading party intelligentsia; it had been the work of Mel Watkins, Jim Laxer and others — the same Watkins of the Watkins report who had moved left — in fact to the left wing of the NDP. As an academic rather than a representative of Bay Street, Watkins drew the final conclusion that Gordon could and

would not. The reason the old parties ignored the national question was because continentalism was in the interest of the class they represented. The Canadian Bourgeoisie profited from continentalism. As E.P. Taylor put it: "Canadian nationalism: how old fashioned can you get!" (We will investigate this question per se below.)

This took Watkins to the NDP and to socialism, but it didn't quite bring the NDP to Watkins and economic nationalism. The youth and intellectual wing of the party was quite attuned to a description of the status quo as follows from the manifesto:

"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 home³."

It did not, however, go over big with the leadership and vocal rank and file. The Waffle Manifesto, which was really a sort of latter day political conclusion to the Watkins report, became the basis for a party (or Movement) within a party — the Waffle. The Waffle has played an important role in educating the Canadian people on the national question, but it has failed in general, to turn this education into the creation of a political force outside the intellectual community and the NDP.

The last 5 years have seen increasing investigation of American domination of Canada. Kari Levitt's important work which was published in book form as "Silent Surrender", the work of Gonick, Taylor and others in DIMENSION, articles by Wafflers such as Watkins

and Laxer, and anthologies especially that of Lumsden in 1969 added completeness to the analysis. The most-up-to-date figures were provided by the "leaked" Gray report to the federal cabinet published by Rotstein in CANADIAN FORUM. Furthermore occasional case studies began to be attempted of the auto pact for instance. Another area was non-renewable resources, especially those producing energy, and it grew to be the most important locus of the nationalist thrust. Cultural imperialism was not omitted either; Matthews and Steele documented the "Americanization" of the universities, and were part of a group who took upon themselves the cultivation of Canadian literature and culture. In much of this work there is little distinction to be found between the center Liberal position and that of the social democratic left; many share the same criticisms based on data provided by the same analysis. However a short description of the positions of the relatively few but influential Liberal nationalists is warranted.

It is thus rather difficult to distinguish the spectral differences between the liberal and social democratic positions on the national question. We could add some reasons for this. To begin with, we have the transient nature of the metropole in the Canadian situation; Canada has served as hinterland area for France, Britain and the U.S.A. in that order — obviously a rather unusual situation if one compares the situation with the various third world countries.

A second major source of difficulty in defining the Canadian liberal position is the singular absence of an acceptable historical definition of the Canadian power structure. It would certainly be easier to interpret the philosophical position of the various ruling strata in Canada if these were scientifically delineated as to their economic and political role and power.

The lack of a clear distinction between the liberal nationalists and their social democratic counterparts on the national question is very evident in a special issue of THE CANADIAN FORUM where a representative group of liberal and social democratic economists and other intellectuals were asked to present their respective concepts of an industrial strategy for Canada in answer to the problem defined by the Gray report. In general, the authors offer a collection of technocratic solutions which attempt to answer the limitations of the Gray report. Most of these technocratic models for a new industrial strategy involve the innovative use of federal fiscal and monetary policies, high priority, is given to industrial reorganization and manpower policies to go with it. Unfortunately none of these models for change is presented within an original perspective; everything is oriented towards greater productivity and more consumption. There is no "vision" in the liberal strategy for ensuing Canadian economic independence; and the "just Society" is not clearly perceived. Even the preoccupation with natural resources, which they share with both the social democratic and socialist Canadian left, is seen simply as a weapon in bargaining with the U.S.; the ecological dimension is absent. The limitations of the liberal path to national independence is most clearly seen in the proposal for an industrial strategy put forward by Abe Rotstein and Viv Nelles, both editors of the Canadian Forum.

"Our modest proposal is to begin the decentralization of economic planning and the fortification of business in it, through the creation of Industry Councils for each sector of the economy. Businessmen themselves would be brought together to state their own long-range goals for their particular industries, including the survival of a Canadian business sector, and to consider strategies of improving productivity, employment and export per-

formance. In our minds such councils would initiate the process of business thinking in national terms once again, and at that stage the co-ordination of public and private planning would at least be theoretically possible".⁴

"Modest proposal" is clearly an understatement; business is given the central role in economic planning; there is no mention of cooperatives, trade unions, or citizens committees. Should we have expected anything more, radical or innovative from the editors of a magazine which is so closely identified with the Committee for an Independent Canada which itself recently proposed a plan for the Canadianization of International unions as its first major contribution to the struggle for Canadian independence? It is significant that the C.I.C. proposed a program for the nationalization of unions before presenting detailed proposals for the socialization of Canadian industry: one more reason to question the desirability of a national liberation strategy in concentration with the liberal nationalists.

Only Eric Kierans among the better known liberal nationalists seems to be capable of an opening to the left. Perhaps this is due to the variety of experience Kierans has been exposed to — academic, business and political, and to the activist approach he has favoured in all three. There is an obvious link between Kierans' direct protest to the American government against certain imperialist economic policies while he was a member of the Quebec government, in contravention of acceptable diplomatic protocol, his open opposition to the Trudeau government's economic policies, and finally his role as an active advisor and consultant to the NDP governments in Western Canada.

On the question of natural resources Kierans certainly shares the concerns of Canadian socialists and social democrats.

"A nation's natural resources are not past production. They are the wealth

of its soil and waterways. As such, they cannot be viewed in the same light as current production, to be disposed of at will by the factors that created the new goods and services. They are a trust received from the past, to be husbanded by the present and to be passed on to future generations. A generation that deliberately squanders a nation's natural wealth to enhance its own standard of living, to live high off the hog, will have much to answer for. A government that deliberately pursues a policy of selling off the natural wealth of its people to achieve short run gains in GNP breaks forth with its own future. It reveals, by the forced sale of its assets, its inability to devise the set of objectives and policies that will increase output and distribute it more equitably on an annual basis".⁵

And on the limitations of the Gray report and liberal economics generally :

"It is only in the context of an overall mix of economic policies and a declaration of basic economic objectives, that one can draft an economic policy. Such a policy comes after a society has defined its major purposes and priorities. It cannot come before. Once a society's ends are stated, the trust of its industrial policy can be determined; those aims dictate the emphasis, whether it be civil or military efforts, a rising standard of living, concentration of wealth and industrial might, technologies that improve the environment or conquer space."

"An industrial policy will be meaningless unless there is a definition of what Canada is, what are its aims, where it is going and how it proposes to get there. An industrial policy, a screening board and a Canada Development Corporation are, no doubt, useful — but they are only the fringes on top."⁶

The above quotes clearly indicate the philosophical and ideological framework in which Eric Kierans drafted the recommendations to government to nationalize the three large mining companies functioning in that province. These proposals are not too different from the program being carried out in Chile in the area of non renewable resources.

In essence, then, the case of Kierans shows the close relationship between the nationalists of the center and the social democratic left.

On the whole, the major work of the left-nationalists has been the documentation and analysis of the Americanization of the economy of Canada. The Gray report cleared up any remaining doubts about the facts. The Canadian economy is roughly half American owned. Furthermore, in the manufacturing and heavy industry sector, where there are high profits and a particularly important impact on the very shape of the Canadian economy, the proportion goes up almost to two thirds. And even further, within manufacturing and heavy industry, it is the highly profitable, highly technological, capital intensive sectors where American ownership is most pronounced, in several cases at or near 100%. Add to that the fact that this relationship is one that is growing and has been growing; add as well that opposition to it, nay even recognition of this problem, is stymied by cultural domination on the part of American media and intellectual frameworks, and the domination of organized labour by American oriented bureaucrats (see below), and the situation becomes more than critical, it becomes desperate.

Without going at all deeply into the economics involved, we can sum up the major consequences for Canada of the present economic condition as outlined in the different works of the social democratic observers.

1) Our economy is based and dependent on primary industry : non-renewable resources are mined, cut down, or whatever and then sent to the U.S. for processing. This results in the fact that we export mainly raw materials and import mainly processed ones — the classical pattern of economic underdevelopment. It means that we fail to

develop the economic infrastructure in manufacturing leaving ourselves open to depression when the resources are depleted. Finally, primary industry of this sort provides few jobs per dollar investment, hence causing unemployment.

2) Our economy became inefficient because it is generally structured to serve the needs of continent-wide industrial concerns. This results, in many cases, in the production of items not directly suited to the Canadian market, in over-production, in higher costs. A documented occurrence is one where the multinational overcharges its Canadian subsidiary for the materials or components of production it purchases there-hence artificially decreasing profits in Canada, raising prices, and withholding taxes from the different levels of Canadian government. These kinds of practices make branch plants in Canada almost impossible to regulate according to Canadian law.

3) Because branch plants import technology, the economic domination of Canada, has, as the science Council has shown, the effect of discouraging R and D of any kind in Canada, resulting in unemployment among scientists and engineers, the brain drain, and a lack of sufficient research into Canadian needs.

4) Canadians are more and more excluded from any influence over the major corporate concerns that shape its future. It is, for example, impossible to buy shares in many of the major Canadian branches of large American corporations; they are 100 per cent owned by the parent and only shares for the parent are sold. This also has the effect of directing much of Canadian investment outside of Canada.

5) Politically our governments exercise little control over the multinationals whose political sensitivities must be primarily tuned to Washington. Hence political pressure from D.C. will result

in the loss of Canadian jobs — e.g. through D.I.S.C. Furthermore branch plants fall under American law and this has led in some cases to Canadian foreign trade policy effectively vetoed by American owned corporations that dominate the relevant sector of the economy.

In sum the facts are clear. Economically Canada is effectively a colony — a prosperous one to be sure — but still a colony. The economy of no other comparable country is as completely dominated from outside its borders. Unfortunately, the weaknesses of the work of social democratic nationalists are also apparent. First, is its inability to find sufficient popular roots outside of intellectual circles*. The second is its essential economism, i.e. it has made economics the central issue, so that the consequence of American control is only economic — dollars and cents. Even where the cultural aspect of imperialism has been raised by Matthews and Steele, it has tended to be in numbers and jobs, i.e. 80% U.S. professors here, 60% there, — quota demands. In this way it has neglected the socio-psychological level of cultural nationalism; there has been no English Canadian Parti Pris to spell out the reality of the Colonisé as it applies to Canada.

The conclusions drawn from their economic analysis by the social-democratic nationalists bear close examination. These, we should add, are never spelled out anywhere nearly as clearly as are the effects of economic domination. These conclusions are:

1) Canadian nationalism is not in the interests of the bourgeoisie; hence it must come from below.

2) There is a visceral, though not articulated, national anti-continentalism that can be found among ordinary Ca-

* For further thoughts on this, see Walter Johnsons piece in the Discussion Section of this issue.

nadians and this nationalism can be tapped to achieve 3 and 4 below.

3) The political instrument of this drive and the political education that must go with it is to be an NDP party reformed from without and within (or some other national left wing party if the NDP ultimately proves unamenable).

4) The administrative instrument of the reassertion of Canadian national sovereignty is the Canadian state through nationalization. (On this point they are often vague; typical is Mel Watkins: "We will advocate that the only sensible alternative to foreign private ownership of the Canadian economy is Canadian public ownership, a Canadian economy owned and controlled by Canadians for Canadians.")

It is our position that the argument stated in points one and two is essentially correct: the bourgeoisie as we shall argue below, is continentalist, and there is a visceral nationalism among Canadians which expresses itself particularly on issues of non-renewable resources, water, fuels. The question is whether one can accept points 3 and 4 based on these facts.

We might put this question in this way:

1) Can Canadians be mobilized NATIONALLY, i.e. 'ad mare usquam ad mare', on the national question?

2) Is the Canadian national state an instrument which will lend itself to the creation of "an independent socialist..." If not, then how else?

Any response to these questions must begin with the question of Quebec — though this is one that Canadian nationalists would too often rather avoid seriously considering.

On the Quebec issue, it appears, there is some disagreement among English Canadian nationalists. The official Waffle position calls for self-determination for Quebec but takes no position on the desirability of an "independent

socialist" Quebec. This permits Waffle types to be divided among those who support the liberation struggle and those who keep alive a pan-Canadian vision with Quebec adding appropriate colours to the national rainbow. With this second view we have no sympathy whatever, for not only is it contradictory to the principles of left nationalism, and unrealistic in view of Quebec's reality, it is essentially condescending. As long however as "self-determination" remains the official line this kind of position will remain legitimate.

Let us, however, attribute to the left-wing Canadian nationalist a view of Quebec like the first one posed. He accepts that Quebec too must develop its own struggle for national independence through socialism and hopes that some kind of alliance can be worked out between left nationalists of each nation. Then the next step is a rather demanding and treacherous one, yet the Canadian nationalist on the left must take it. We have not as yet, however, seen much evidence that this step has been seriously undertaken anywhere. What is required is that if Quebec is to be taken seriously, and not merely rhetorically, as a sovereign nation, then the existing nation of Canada, in its political institutions, in almost every aspect of its reality, must be negated and transcended: the federal system of 10 provinces including Quebec, the bilingual nature of Canada, the geographically-based myths; and most important of all, the institutions of the central government, parliament, bureaucracy and judiciary in Ottawa.

All of these as well as other political institutions have been structured to perform certain functions and a major one among them has been preserving Canada, as it was set up, that is keeping French Canada down and in. As long as one sets one's sights on capturing these institutions one is likely also to confirm the status quo. Parliament is not merely

an instrument, it has a certain reality based on its real functions; the same is true of the federal bureaucracy. Anyone wishing to take over these institutions is likely to continue to perform these same functions.

This process has shaped our central institutions not only in relation to Quebec but to other regions as well. Class voting has generally been weaker federally than provincially because quite often regional rather than class representatives are sent to Ottawa; this was the case in 1972 (In Quebec this has become a clear cut rule). Other factors have added to this process of regionalization.

1) The constitution has placed in the hands of the provinces jurisdiction over two important areas.

a) Social welfare widely defined: as this area becomes more and more basic, the provinces come closer to the people and Ottawa, though it has attempted to preempt this field, more distant.

b) Resources: as American domination of the economy increases it will be on the question of resources that this issue will be fought out, and resources are under provincial jurisdiction.

2) The increasing American influence has had its basic impact on the federal level of government especially the bureaucracy. What we see is a greater degree of coordination of the U.S. and Canadian federal bureaucracies, especially in the areas of finance, trade, technology, foreign policy, and defense. The predominance of the American political-economic structure leads to the creation of a continentalist ethos and culture at this level, making it unamenable to national considerations.

3) Opinion polls have shown that there is popular attachment to the central government slightly greater than to

the provincial governments everywhere except in Quebec. Nevertheless these same polls show that the attachment to the federal government is more symbolic than practical and that most Canadians look to the provinces for pragmatic purposes in the forms of concrete actions. One might conclude that it is the provinces that are seen more and more as the scene of real action and the central apparatus as an interesting but essentially irrelevant and externally dominated United Nations. With the trend toward regional integration in the Maritimes and the West, such sentiments appear likely to increase. This tendency goes hand in hand with what might be the most lasting contribution of the New Leftism of the sixties — a fundamental distrust of large, impersonal and distant organizations whether they be private or state-run and a willingness to place trust in the people in their own communities and regions to know what's best for themselves.

M.I.S.C. (the Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada) recently changed its name back to the Ontario Waffle. The implications of this change based on the admission that M.I.S.C. was a "non-starter" — should be seen in light of the points made above. Perhaps Quebec is not alone; perhaps the nationalist mood and thrust should be a regional one, that the preservation of the Canadian *nation* lying paradoxically, not with its national institutions but with its regions. Perhaps the new slogan of the Left in Canada should be "Two, Three, many Quebecs".

We might hypothesize all this as follows: supposing that a government were to come into power in Ottawa and prepared to use the federal state to preserve our economic sovereignty: could this come about. Perhaps nationalization would still allow further continental integration, given the close-

ness of the Canadian federal apparatus to the continental structures of power. The previous question, that of the instrument of mobilizing Canadians, poses itself here. Canadian social democrats will contend that the assumption of power by left nationalists will only come after the success of a major campaign of political education on the socialist alternative to foreign domination; hence the national institutions could be thus transformed. We suspect that even here the national ARENA will not do for this kind of campaign — especially given the contemporary role of Quebec. Consider this contradiction:

As long as Quebec remains capitalist, it will fight, through its provincial and federal political hierarchy, any attempt on the part of Ottawa to acquire greater powers even if these are in the realm of Canadian economic self-determination. Furthermore, the representatives of the dominant classes in Quebec will always direct nationalist feeling toward Ottawa while taking a disgustingly-cap-in-hand attitude before the bankers of Wall Street. This was true of the rural oriented conservatism of Duplessis and is equally true of the urban, technocratic, slightly progressive, Bourassa. This does not mean that Quebecers are Yankee-philas. What it means is that as long as socialists are not in power in Quebec, anti-continentalism will not enter the political fray. And in Quebec the socialists are, practically to a man, *indépendistes*. Hence, within Canada, Quebec will continue to have a powerful continentalist influence; on the other hand, were Quebec independent, there is potential for an anti-imperialist alliance. This same pattern may be seen in the total lack of support from Quebecers of Canadian nationalist-left parties and the resultant impact of Quebec on the political party constellation of Canada.

Could we not say the same for other regions of Canada? Could we not

suggest that Canadians are class conscious and potentially open to the implications of outside domination of their economy and society, but that such class considerations are not expressed, at least not primarily, on the level of federal politics? Could we not add that even to the extent that they are expressed they do not have any effect on the content of federal politics due to the continental orientation as well as the circumscribed role of the political institutions of the national government? If this is so, then what strategy for the left in Canada? At this stage any definite answer on our part would be exceedingly presumptuous.

We might suggest at the very least, that among the required tasks of social democratic nationalists in Canada are now: 1) to come to terms with the fact that Quebec is a different nation; 2) to begin a thorough critique of the role and function of the *political* institutions of Canada. Kari Levitt, for example, has recently raised just this call:

"Ultimately the 'foreign investment' issue raises for reappraisal the function and character of the whole Ottawa establishment. By this I mean not only the federal bureaucracy or public service, but the whole show, including the so-called national political parties. Since Canada left the orbit of the British Empire and trading system, and moved into that of the United States, federal authority has waned, and provincial authority has grown. Yet, it seems that Ottawa continues to be modelled on the better traditions of British Colonial Administration. It is an honest, competent bureaucratic, centralizing administration, containing an old boys network in the best English tradition, putting up a valiant fight to pretend that nothing has really changed; that the mandarins and submandarins are in control of the economic life of this country.⁸

and 3) to redirect cultural nationalism from quotas in universities and government grants to Canadian publishers to the more profound lack of discovering Canadian working class culture.

Finally, we cannot obscure the regional realities of Canada as a whole and what this reality contributes to a strategy on the national question. But before consideration of this strategy as such, it would indeed be valuable to clarify the most recent and important theoretical statements of this question and the strategic implications that follow. The nationalism of the center and social democratic left has been surveyed. It is worthwhile to move a bit further left to examine this question.

Part II

Canadian Independence and the Marxist Left

D. Roussopoulos

"When the revolution is far off, the difficult task of the revolutionary organisation is the practice of theory. When the revolution begins, its difficult task is more and more the theory of practice."

Anonymous

The relationship between US imperialism and Canada raises the question of the relationship between the development of Canada since its founding as a national-state and its socio-economic system. These two aspects are part of the same process. A complete analysis of colonialism and imperialism north of the 49th parallel cannot in turn be separated from the question of the relationship of Canada to Québec on the one hand, and the relationship of these two principle cultures within their territories to other racial and ethnic minorities. In other words, the pattern of exploitation and domination has many overlapping features. All are interdependent, one feeding on the other. This system of relationships cannot be abolished without a wholesale sweep from the bottom to the top.

What has the Canadian Marxist Left to say about all this?

We will not deal here with the multitude of Marxist-Leninist sects whether they be the Stalinists, Trotskyists or Maoists. With the exception of an issue of PROGRESSIVE WORKER produced in Vancouver devoted to "Independence and Socialism in Canada — A Marxist-Leninist View" which represents a sophisticated view of this position, our efforts in getting the positions of the other vanguard parties of the workers bore little fruit. We can only come to the conclusion that they do not have a developed position on imperialism and the national question in Canada. We do not deal either with the "arrivistes" or "nouveau-marxistes" in Ian Lumsden's confusing book, *Close the 49th Parallel — The Americanization of Canada*. Instead we choose to deal exclusively with the best of the independent Marxists.

In an edited collection of important writings, *Capitalism and the National Question*, by Gary Teeple,⁹ a number of essayists assert some basic positions with which the editors of this journal can only agree. The book has the natural weaknesses of any collection of essays and it is noted by the editor that not all the contributors necessarily will agree with either the entire contents of the book, or some of the basic positions taken by himself or his colleague Tom Naylor with whom Teeple shares a great deal. But the book in the sum total of its parts does clearly put forward that: Canada is not now and has never been an independent country; Canada does not now and has never had an independent ruling class; Canada has no independent trade union movement; the country's social problems are the basis upon which any independence movement must be built. These social problems must be set in their cultural setting which entails an

understanding of the specific cast of these problems in Canada.

In his contributions to the book Teeple maintains that Canada "has the political trappings of independence but not the reality because politics under capitalism are ultimately subordinate to the amassing of capital by individuals and corporations, the most powerful of which in this country are American". Teeple further maintains that there is no Canadian ruling class as such, distinct from American capital. The capitalist group here is basically an extension of US multi-national corporations and has no collectively expressed desire of its own to establish anything different.

"Most of the large concentrations of capital today," he writes, "perform complementary (or at least non-contradictory) roles in relation to US capital — the form of which is more powerful because it dominates the sphere of production, while Canadian capital prevails largely in circulation, that is, in transportation, communication, retailing and finance. The Canadian capitalists who accumulate the capital in the area of "circulation" invest it in turn in sub-imperialist activities, e.g. the Caribbean, Brazil. This is a privilege they are accorded by metropolitan US imperialism.

"The central fact of the Canadian ruling class before and after Confederation was, and is, its foundation in mercantile capital. (A thesis attributed to Naylor — the editor.) This form of capital is accumulated in the process of circulation of goods; that is money is made by buying and selling articles (raw materials or manufactured goods) — not by producing the article, this latter process being the basis of industrial capital. It is this central characteristic of the Canadian ruling class which explains why, even to the present time, Canada has not become the industrial nation with a large population that it might have been. The point is, as Marx argued, that 'wherever merchant's capital still predominates we find backward conditions'."

This thesis is supported with an impressive argument found in Tom Naylor's "The Rise and Fall of the Third Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence".

In it he contends that,

"... conventional liberal studies have failed to give explicit consideration to the peculiarities of the Canadian capitalist class and Marxist studies have misinterpreted its character. By comprehending this class as a mercantile one, accumulating wealth through circulation rather than production, one realizes that the dominance of a few staple trades leads not to independent capitalist development, but to the perpetuation of colonialism and underdevelopment. Canadian Confederation results not from the inability of the Canadian bourgeoisie to find a new dependency. The National Policy was one of mercantilism, of consolidation and expansion within a strong state structure.

Naylor's Harold Innis-inspired thesis which is offered as a neo-Marxist perspective clashes with the traditional Marxist thesis *Unequal Union*, by Stanley Ryerson. Ryerson suggests that Confederation was the result of a drive by growing industrial capitalism to harmonize tariffs among the various British North American colonies: in other words that there was a direct lineage between the old mercantile and the new industrial ruling class. Naylor, on the other hand, writes, "Finance capital emerges, not from industrial capital, as usually supposed, but from merchant capital, through the pooling of merchants' resources and their development of a banking structure, and through the earnings of the entrepôt trade. Corporation capital in its American form thus merged industrial capital and finance capital never became a potent force on its own."

Teeple sees the 'new national consciousness' as a product of certain sections of the middle class professionals. He asserts that without fundamentally challenging the established order, "com-

promise and accomodation will be used to mitigate the nationalist complaints of professors, teachers, artists, lawyers, engineers, government functionaries, and other technocrats . . . But what has not been so subject to appeasement is the struggle between labour and capital — in the main, American capital."

What is important to underline here is that both Teeple and Naylor make clear repeatedly that there is no independent capitalist group either English-or-French speaking which has national interests as a class that are in contradiction with those of the US power elite and ruling class, or with their multi-national corporations. Although in the last few years since the Canadian centennial celebrations many people have been caught up with "a feeling of being Canadian", the process of integration into the American empire is so far advanced that nothing short of a social revolution can reverse the tide. The previously mentioned middle-class professionals do not have the stomach for initiating such a struggle as a group nor do the Canadian capitalists feel their interests clashing enough with those of the Americans to justify allying themselves however cautiously with any radical departure from the status quo.

Unlike Québec where the awakening and active resistance of a small group of cultural workmen had an enormous impact in a society which was isolated by its language, the problem in Canada is quite different. In the broad cultural world we find a tremendous tension between regions in Canada. The small beach-heads established in Toronto and elsewhere among publishers, artists, writers, playwrights are in continual competition for the "too little, too late" handouts that some provincial governments and the federal state offers. And on the whole cultural workmen in Canada are so deeply colonialized that they simply grumble a bit, and accept. In Québec on the other hand we had

a period of tremendous social conflict during the early 1960's; when large sections of the student population were mobilized, a full blown terrorist campaign was underway, and militant minorities were pressing in the streets with all sorts of direct action. The climate into which the small minority of English Canadian middle-class professionals, and the Quebec cultural workmen cried out was dramatically different.*

Teeple goes on to say, "Any profound challenge to the domination of capital, domestic and foreign, must begin, as it has in Québec, in the organised sector of the working class, because this sector has the means — at present poorly used — to organise and raise consciousness of the class which creates wealth but does not benefit from it." "That struggle in the context of the 'national' boundaries of Québec gave rise to a 'common front' of unions and articulated class consciousness in the face of American capital and its administrators in Québec." This needless to say is facile substitutionalism. The forced inter-action between the CNTU and QFL in Québec, not to mention the CEQ, plus the absence of a long-established social democratic party like the New Democrats converges into a particular set of factors underlining the origins of the Common Front. In Canada the powerless strata of the wage-earning population cannot wait for some similar change at the top of the trade union pyramid to say and do the things that its counter-part is doing in Québec. We shall return to this later.

Nevertheless, the primacy placed by Teeple and Naylor on mass actions in the context as they analyze it, places the "social question" well ahead in importance to the national question in

* see Patrick Coleman's review of *The Shouting Signpainters* by Malcolm Reid, in *OUR GENERATION*, Vol. 8, No. 4.

Canada. By the social question we mean that people's desire for social justice is much stronger than any national consciousness which concerns itself with mere symbolism or problems estranged from people's daily lives. Only when the solutions to social problems are impeded by the presence of imperialism, is it logical and necessary to add the national context. This happens to be the case with reference to almost all social problems in Canada today. But this approach to imperialist domination is far wiser and less likely to degenerate into jingoistic chauvinism or to national liberationism which postpones the abolition of a class society and capitalist relations of production for the distant future.

One implication of this primary emphasis on people's social problems and the condition of their daily lives is that there can be no 'first stage' coalition with the few nationally-conscious capitalists. This latter view is usually propounded by Marxists, and is supposed to encourage more individual capitalists to seek their fortunes with the nationalists, and at the same time show still other industrialists or businessmen an alternative to US domination. This is the 'national liberation front' idea. It is a strategy used in "third-world" colonies. Thus national liberationists here appeal to 'all Canadians' and are convinced that once the dynamic of nationalism spreads we can begin the break of US control. It is, then, contended that another "stage" emerges after victory when the working-class settles its accounts with Canadian capitalists.

We are leary of abstract 'stages' of development for coalition movements. If the analysis presented by Teeple/Naylor for instance is a correct one, namely that there is no independent Canadian group of capitalists that have fundamental differences with the American way of doing things, then the social

struggle of ordinary people is the most important hope we have. This class of people must start its own liberation from the bottom of society (and in some instances have begun to do so), without formal alliances with privileged individuals and elites at the top of the power pyramid. The powerless class in Canada has no one to rely on but itself, and its weapons are creative social conflict, class struggle, and mass mobilisation, along the lines of an extra-parliamentary opposition. This is a clear rejection of the national front strategy, whose core idea is collaborationist no matter how 'temporary', consisting of a coalition of various national interest groups and a multi-class approach that puts the growth of nationalism first, and "national independence" before social revolution.

What has been the background to popular struggle for social justice in Canada? Volumes can be written but unfortunately Canadian historiography is blinded by the recording of what various elite or amorphous social forces did and did not do, rather than accounting for popular struggles. "The People's History of Cape Breton" or Jack Scott's forthcoming "Class Struggles in Canada, 1789-1899" represent the kind of approach to history which is most meaningful. In another fine essay in *Capitalism and the National Question*, Roger Howard and Jack Scott in "International Unions and the Ideology of Class Collaboration" add more evidence to the perspective of placing the social question first, and how from this position it relates to the national question. The authors deal with the fight for socialism, and the struggle between classes within the concrete setting of the all-pervasive influence of the reactionary American trade union organisation, the AFL-CIO's presence in Canada. The relationship between the form and the content of the social struggle has two aspects and is squarely

stated. (1) There is a need to break organisationally from the American unions, and this must be done because a full social mobilisation of the working people of Canada must be based, and can only succeed, in the context of the historical experience and capacity of this class set in the particular cultural topography in which it has developed and functions. (2) Howard and Scott, whose essay is superior to that of Lip-ton's in the same book, state,

"It is clear that a total break, organisationally *and* ideologically, with the internationals is a necessary first step towards the building of a movement that will serve the real interests of Canadian workers. If the organisational change is not accompanied, or preceded, by ideological change, there will be no possibility of permanent transformation; for it is in the field of ideology — the policy of class collaboration — that labour and especially its 'left' section, suffers the greatest defeat.... American unions fight furiously for control of Canadian locals and, in recent years, have spent millions to defeat efforts to establish an independent Canadian movement. John L. Lewis once claimed for instance that the United Mine Workers of America poured \$1,124,000 into Nova Scotia up to 1920 to prevent the creation of a Canadian union."

With the rise of industrial unions

"... the leaders of the AFL, in fact, co-operated with the government and employers in destroying industrial organisations, such as the Knights of Labor, IWW and One Big Union. This situation was to continue until grass-root pressure led to the organisation of the Congress of Industrial Organisations."

"The AFL started out as an organisation based on principles of exclusion, and was bitterly opposed to industrial unionism, especially as it was represented by the Knights of Labor".

"Antagonism developed and the AFL appointed John Flett as their paid organizer in Canada, charging him with responsibility for quenching the flames of revolt. At the TLC (Trades Labour Council) convention of 1901, President Ralph Smith dealt with the growing

crisis, saying: 'I think it is of vast importance that this Congress should adopt some method of increasing its own usefulness. There ought to be a Canadian Federation, for, while I believe that unionism ought to be international in its methods to meet the necessity of combatting common foes, this usefulness is only assured by the strength of national unions. A federation of American unions represented by national unions, each working with the other in special cases, would be a great advantage over having local unions in Canada connected with the national unions of America.'

"The pro-internationals element was at a disadvantage at the 1901 convention. To avoid defeat on the issue, they adopted the tactic of tabling Smith's recommendations for an independent Canadian federation until the Berlin (Kitchener), Ontario, convention scheduled for 1902. This gave the AFL organizer Fleet and his colleagues another year to mobilize support.

"Following his report on anti-AFL sentiment in Canada, P.M. Draper, general secretary of the TLC, appealed to the 1901 AFL convention for additional funds to be assigned to Flett, and warned that 'a very strong feeling' in favour of national unions was growing in Canada. The convention delegates responded by voting \$300 to finance Fleet's activities, and a convention committee commented, 'It is to be regretted that... there seems to be a tendency toward severance among our Canadian brothers.' Flett and others busily whipped delegates into line for the 1902 convention, while international executives put pressure on Canadian branches. J.H. Watson, BC vice-president of the Trades and Labor Congress, complained: 'what do we find? Canadian organizers paid by the American Federation of Labor organizing members of local unions and drawing their charter from a foreign country. But Flett's (and the AFL's) concerted and well-financed campaign proved unbeatable. Even Smith failed to get delegate nomination from Nanaimo, BC, branch of the United Mine Workers, whose district he represented as a member of Parliament. Instead, he was delegated by a Vancouver local union.

"A study of the 1902 convention proceedings suggests that the Canadian in-

dependent group realized that defeat awaited them. Only a token fight was offered; and, after a one-day debate, the delegates passed a constitutional amendment which shaped the destiny of the Canadian Labour Congress from then until present. The amendment read: 'in no case shall any body of working-men belonging to any trade or calling at present having an international or national union be granted a charter. In the event of an international or national union of the trade or calling of the unions so chartered being formed, it shall be the duty of the proper officer of the Congress to see that the said union becomes a member of said international or national union. Provided that no national union shall be recognized where an international union exists'.

"That 'international' meant 'American' was made very clear in 1912, when British-affiliated unions were expelled. The congress elected the AFL organizer, John Flett, as president, and he went begging to the American masters in a resolution: 'Resolved that as the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada has placed itself squarely in accord with the principles of international unions, and as such action will reveal the loss of revenues... it is the opinion of the Congress... all federal labor unions and central trades and labor councils should be instructed to take immediate steps to make such arrangements with the American Federation of Labor'.

"The question of charters was referred to the Executive Council, which met with Flett and Draper in Toronto on 25 April 1903. Council minutes show how these two colonials represented Canadian interests: 'President Flett and Secretary Draper said they were willing to concede the issuance of charters to the AFL.' The request for the right to issue charters was withdrawn without even a reference to the Congress which had passed the resolution. The line of capitulation was clearly drawn, and from this point on a long list of American-supported functionaries would attack independent unions as dual organizations.

"The evidence points to a deliberate plan of conquest plotted by the American unionists, and the record of the AFL in Latin America tends to support this thesis..."

Quoting at length from the Howard/Scott essay is justified because of the little known origins of the domination of American unionism in Canada. But we also want to quote at length to outline the resourcefulness and tremendous capacity of the working people of Canada. During the period when American unionism sought to control the labour movement here the One Big Union emerged. It is important to note that the OBU arose during a period of social conflict.

"The most significant attempt to create an independent Canadian trade union movement was the organization of the One Big Union. It was called into existence during the upsurge of labour radicalism by 1921-22. But during this short period of activity, the One Big Union raised some of the central issues involved in the development of an independent movement.

The impetus for the organization of the OBU arose from the dissatisfaction of the more radical union leaders (almost entirely Westerners) with the prevailing policies of the international labour movement. These dissatisfactions centred around two interrelated themes: class collaboration and trade union organization.

The issue of class collaboration came to a head when the conscription bill was introduced into the House of Commons on 1 June 1917, the day the US Congress adopted a draft conscription law. Prior to the war, the TLC had denounced the impending conflict as a struggle between the capitalist classes of various nations in which the working class had no stake. Even after the declaration of hostilities and the shock of the disintegration of international labour solidarity, the TLC opposed conscription either completely or within the context of the demand for 'conscription of wealth' (i.e., nationalization of industry) if conscription of manpower were legislated. But with the passage of the conscription bill and the wholehearted support given to the war by the AFL, the leadership of the Canadian movement wavered.

At the TLC convention of 1917, the radicals proposed a national general strike to block conscription. But the

TLC executive rejected this proposal on two grounds. . . ."

The first objection was because it would break the law, and the executive did not want to oppose the Federal government.

And the second objection was this :

"It is just as well, at this time, that I should point out that the organized workers of Canada stand in a position that has no parallel in any other country of the world. This Congress can only exert its moral influence in the enforcement of decisions, and the economic power to support legislative demands is not vested in our movement, but is under the control of international officers of our representative unions. When the executive council of the American Federation of Labor reaches a decision, members of that council, being heads of powerful international trade unions, can use their influence effectively. The same applies to the parliamentary committee of the British Trade Union Congress, but in Canada we cannot use our economic power without the sanction of the heads of our international unions. . . . In cases where our decisions are at variance with decisions taken by the American Federation of Labor regarding important national issues, it is difficult to secure that sympathy, that support in the exercise of our economic powers, as we otherwise would receive if the executive of the Congress were composed of powerful economic organizations. As a delegate put it: 'President Gompers had committed the workers of the United States to conscription; therefore, a general strike was not feasible.'"

This issue, and the question of labour leaders participating in government bodies, plus the issue of industrial versus craft unionism moved the radicals to organize the Western Labour Conference in Calgary during March 1919. One of the most important debates centred around political activity.

"Although it did not go as far as the IWW stand of rejecting all political activity, the conference did reject the narrow parliamentary view of politics. In the words of one delegate: 'Power in politics is not found in Parliament

but in the country prior to the election. Politics only exists where there are classes, and any action taken by a class in defense of its interest is political action. Hence you cannot define any particular action as political, but any action . . . used to control political power in order to use it for the benefit of that class — that is political action, and it matters not what method it takes.' The founders of the OBU considered ongoing education in class consciousness to be more significant than occasional election campaigns and allocated one-third of its monthly dues to the general executive board for that purpose."

Howard and Scott then proceed to discuss the defeat of the Winnipeg General Strike by the combined forces of the Canadian ruling class and its government on the one hand, and the American Federation of Labor on the other. The authors also criticize the policies of the Moscow Communists in undermining the internal solidarity of the OBU by adopting the policy of the US Communist leader William Z. Foster which was one of working within the AFL and not founding separate trade unions. These people still maintain this permeationist "boring from within" position today in Canada, as do the Trotskyists and the New Democratic Party. We do not support this position. On the contrary, libertarian socialists have never shied away from the task of building new institutions or new organizations from the bottom up as the occasion determines, especially when bureaucratic degeneration has set into the established ones. There we join those who would urge the creation of new independent associations of producers in Canada. This is not simply a call for independent national or nationalist unions, but rather for new unions within a framework of revolutionary syndicalism.

We wish to use the same criteria consistently. To urge the creation of nationalist trade unions in and of itself is to urge a dangerous half measure. It's the previously mentioned 'first stage of de-

velopment' approach again. The working people, both unionized and non-unionized, when they are prepared to move, will see through this 'intermediate' objective. Again as in all other questions the social content of the conflict must come first, and not the form.

Howard and Scott sum up by saying :

"But necessary as it is as a preliminary step in the direction of more important developments, the switch from international to independent Canadian unions will not, of itself, result in any fundamental transformation of the unions from organs of class compromise to weapons of revolutionary class struggle."

They go on to add,

"The roots of the crisis in the unions are internal, not external, and are embedded in the class-collaborationist policy which is built securely into what has become the main activity and proud achievement of the labour movement — the union contract, the signing of which is a fundamental act of compromise with the class enemy."

Finally the authors do well to warn us that,

"It would be a serious mistake to equate the union movement with the working class. The bulk of the working population is not in the organized union movement."

Ending the book, Teeple has an essay called "Liberals in a Hurry: Socialism and the CCF-NDP", and Naylor, adds an appendix on the same question called, "The ideological foundations of Social Democracy and Social Credit." These essays contain many important insights, including some dealing with the origins of the CCF. When we hear certain nationalists in Canada rally against various 'American ideological influences on the Left' while at the same time upholding the NDP as a genuine Canadian invention, they should be reminded if they are at all aware of it, about the disastrous influence of British fabianism on the CCF and later NDP.

Teeple ends his essay by challenging the stream of socialist orthodoxy on the question of State-ownership of the means of production. He rightly takes on this powerful myth, not only to demonstrate the vacuous nature of CCF/NDP socialism but also to bring in the more generous vision of Marx. We shall deal with this later.

With reference to Waffle, Teeple again rightly suggests :

"The Waffle, however, is due some credit for helping to develop a consciousness of the colonial nature of Canadian society. Although, this left wing has attempted to link the struggle for independence from the United States with socialism, these two struggles are linked only in name because the Waffle has not moved beyond democratic liberalism."

To summarize this collection of essays : Canada is not now and has never been an independent country ; it does not have now and has never had an independent ruling class ; it has no independent trade union movement, and the few efforts attempted in this direction were crushed, with the collusion of certain sections of the so-called Left. Finally any independence movement has to be based on a radical analysis of the day to day problems of the working people : namely the primacy of the social question is the only genuine basis for struggle against foreign domination, and for collective self-determination. Further solutions to these social problems must not be sought in vague abstractions but within the cultural backdrop out of which they arise which entails an understanding of the specific cast these problems in Canada assume. The impossibility of finding solutions for some of our social (economic, political, cultural) problems in a thoroughly colonized society under the domination of US imperialism will make the relationship between the social and national question clear. All this is implicit in *Capitalism and the National*

Question and a logical extension of its arguments.

Well and good. Much beyond this point, the book arouses all the disappointments that most collections of essays generate. The book brings together the work of some of Canada's outstanding independent Marxists, a relatively rare event on the Canadian Left. For instance, there is a very competent treatment of the class structure in Canada by Leo Johnson which is recommended although its relationship to the national question is unclear.

Nevertheless, the book collectively demonstrates the limitations of Marxism in Canada, and even more the abject poverty of the socialist project. It is stunning to us for instance, that although the book is called *Capitalism and the National Question in Canada*, there is in fact no thorough discussion of contemporary capitalism. In other words capitalism in Canada is in no way situated in the general development of international capitalism, and the array of contradictions in which its contemporary form is emerged. There is no discussion of the nature of the productive process in Canada, and the relations of production. There is no thorough discussion of the nature and present crisis in the meaning of socialism today, or what a socialist programme should include in Canada. There is no discussion of the Canadian Left, outside of the NDP. And finally there is no discussion of a revolutionary strategy or alternative, namely how and with what new principles can we get from here to there.

Even a bare outline of some of the missing discussions is imperative for our part if we are going to take seriously the present discussion of the social revolutionary project. To begin with, we may be reminded that in an earlier section of this critical review essay, we stated that it is incorrect to pay attention to Canada's ossified "federal" political super-

structures. In effect the different principal regions of Canada, and in some cases the provinces are more genuine geopolitical units than the federal one, and that any revolutionary movement must first and foremost be rooted in this regionalism. This means that movement building will have the quality of regional authenticity. Different regions having different urban/rural relationships will mold a different shape on the movement there than elsewhere. The political economy of the regions and the level of its development will contribute in particular ways to the strengths or weaknesses of the movement.

This means that when we speak of putting social problems in their cultural cast, we mean placing them in their local setting, taking into account the particularity and history of the popular struggles, popular aspirations, and quests for social justice of the region in question. What we are admitting here is reality: namely that the west coast; the prairies; northern Ontario; southern Ontario; the Maritimes; and the North have much more of a cultural reality to them, than the vague abstraction called Canada held together by a powerful centralizing state with its mystified but socially impotent political institutions. Indeed there are probably cultural sub-regions within these larger land masses we just mentioned, as Acadia, or Cape Breton in the Maritimes. Any movement solidly rooted in such organic areas becomes virtually impregnable against outside assault, especially if it is also based on a popular revolutionary consciousness which is itself inter-laced with the daily lives of the people of the area. Any federation based on these genuine units, co-ordinated over the years from the bottom up is more likely to be organic and meaningful.

But in order for this rich diversity not to degenerate into balkanism or fragmentation, the decentralised and loca-

lized social struggle envisaged here must be of a libertarian nature. Not only would it otherwise be reactionary and bankrupt, it would also not work, and this would allow for the complete triumph of U.S. imperialism. The kind of social struggle which is seen here as necessary is identical to a libertarian socialist revolution, for this is the only way it can survive and flourish. Such a mass movement based on small autonomous units blended into local and regional cultures, eco-systems in fact, will not only be self-reliant but will implement large-scale coordination on a more egalitarian and effective way. Such a revolutionary movement would be more of a reflection of the future liberated society, than any vanguard political party ruled by 'democratic centralism' and its consequent military discipline which inevitably leads to Stalinism. What in effect is foreseen here is the exact opposite of the traditional 'revolutionary' group's view of social struggle.

The only realistic defence for areas north of the 49th parallel, is by a people with a high consciousness of solidarity and mutual aid, capable of struggling city by city, community by community, street by street. The actual means of defence are several, and need not be discussed here. All potential enemies would know that any attempt at conquest would meet with total resistance.

But what are the conditions in our society which are laying the basis for the emergence of such a movement? What is meant more precisely by the social question in the light of this perspective? At this point we wish to offer a number of theses.

- (1) THE CHANGES UNDERGONE BY CAPITALISM DURING THE LAST FIFTY YEARS SHOW THEMSELVES PRIMARILY IN THE INCREASING CONCEN-

TRATION OF BOTH CAPITAL AND BUREAUCRACY.

Monopolies, trusts, cartels, multi-national corporations abound in countries of "private capitalism". During this same period of development the State has become the main economic factor and coordinator in these countries. *

This process of concentration has led to certain changes in the economy. The failure to recognize these changes accounts for the shallowness of much that passes as 'marxist analysis' today.

The increase in the mass consumption of commodities has become an essential feature in the smooth functioning of capitalism. "Commodity fetishism" has become an irreversible aspect of this kind of society. The old forms of capitalism as characterized by economic depressions, massive unemployment, and general stagnation must be put aside (see analysis in editorial of OUR GENERATION, Vol. 6, No. 4, "Towards an Extra-Parliamentary Opposition"). Neo-capitalism generates expansion of both production and consumption for the sake of consumption, interrupted by minor fluctuations. This 'ideology of growth' is obtained at the cost of an increased scope of exploitation and alienation of the producers in the course of their work. Labour discipline is bought especially in key industries, at the workplace in exchange for certain wage concessions. Increases in wages on the whole now approximate increases in productivity of labour. This means that the proportion of the total social product going to the workers and to capitalists remains constant.

* See OUR GENERATION, Vol. 8, No. 4, for an analysis of the economic role of the State in Canada and Québec, and THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE STATE published by BLACK ROSE BOOKS for additional information including an analysis of the role of the State in the U.S. economy.

(2) THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE HAS CHANGED WITH THE GROWTH OF BUREAUCRACY

The modernizing of capitalism has meant the 'rationalization' of human activities. The bureaucratisation of all spheres of social life becomes a dominant feature of our type of society. In the process, inherited individual wealth is not the only criterion whereby influence can be gained either in the economy or the State.

The "traditional" ruling class based on the ownership of heavy industry, manufacturing, bank, insurance, is forced to share, on an increasing scale, the functions of administration and management both of the economy and of society at large, with a growing bureaucratic stratum. This has already happened in Canada during the last fifteen years and has brought persons into the power structure whose ideology is part and parcel of Canadian liberalism grounded in the "Pearson Years". In Québec the situation is somewhat different as this stratum developed much later on.*

This stratum, in Canada or in other advanced capitalist societies, has become an indispensable part of the smooth functioning and 'efficient' operation of the economy and shows deep, irreversible changes in its structure.

The bureaucracy has some of its roots in the workplace. The concentration of capital and the 'rationalization' of production from outside create the necessity for a bureaucratic apparatus in the factory, office, or institution. The function of this apparatus is to 'manage' the labour process and the labour force and to

coordinate the relations of the enterprise with the rest of the economy.

The bureaucracy also finds roots in the increasing number of persons involved in the higher reaches of State activity such as public corporations and state economic agencies. This is a result of the profound changes that have taken place in the economic role of the State.

The bureaucracy finally finds its roots in the political process of parliamentarianism and in the trade union organisations. In order to channel people, and to better integrate them into the existing social order, a special political apparatus is necessary. This apparatus participates to an increasing degree in the day-to-day management of society, by muffling conflicts, and seeking modifications of this or that demand from below.

The growth of this bureaucratic and technocratic stratum has profoundly altered the internal structure of the ruling class. New elements have had to be incorporated into this minority, and privileges have had to be extended. In a word, hierarchical relationships have been realigned. This stratum is not a homogenous social formation in Canada. It has developed to varying degrees in various regions of the country. It is important to note that this managerial bureaucracy is not based on any fundamentally new mode of production or new pattern of the circulation of commodities. It is based rather on changes in the economic basis of capitalism's need for survival. Historically such developments usually appear at the end of an era.

(3) CAPITALIST SOCIETY IS BASED ON CLASS DIVISIONS

The social relations at the workplace, in an economy of artificially enforced scarcity based on a centralizing technology remains the basis of class society. In

* See "Classes Sociales et idéologies nationalistes au Québec, 1760-1970" by Gilles Bourque and Nicole Laurin-Frenette, where they deal with the split between the 'technocratic faction' and the 'neo-capitalist faction', reviewed in OUR GENERATION, Vol. 8, No. 2.

all societies the world over these social relations are capitalist relations ; that is, they are based on wage labour. Human beings are obliged to sell their labour like a commodity for money. This makes working persons into objects by selling their labour to someone else in order to survive. Their labour, bought and sold at will by a small minority is the only thing valued by capital, because it alone can produce more capital. The rest of the human is incidental. Those who buy and sell labour power own most of the wealth that it produces and thus control in one way or another society as a whole. Those who are forced to sell their labour power to the highest bidder available, are powerless as individuals.

Working people in factory or office constitute less than half of the total exploited population of Canada. Nevertheless, should they stop working the economy would grind to a halt. Therefore the tension at the workplace, the point of production, dominates directly the whole organisation of the economy and indirectly the whole of society. The organization of work is becoming more and more bureaucratized and is taking the form of an increasing division of labour, of time and motion studies, and a tendency to speed-up the work process. The conditions of the workplace which are not unlike a military operation are subjected to the ruthless will of capital, personified in the bureaucratic managerial apparatus. As a consequence of new forms of both exploitation and domination, this class of working people are becoming more de-humanized, de-personalized ; they are being proletarianized in the sense of 1984 and *Brave New World*. *

The fate of this proletariat in political and social life has not changed over the years. It is as powerless vis a vis established power as ever ; it has no substantial power to affect changes in the quality of its day to day life. The whole pattern of neo-capitalist society, of its

economy, of its State, of its housing, or of its education, of the objects it will consume and of the news it will receive, of the questions of war and peace themselves, remain decided by a self-perpetuating minority. The mass of the population has no control or power over this minority, be the society one of 'private capitalism' and a 'liberal democracy' or 'state capitalist' and a 'dictatorship of the proletariat'.

The development and bureaucratization of capitalism today has not lessened its irrationality. Both at the level of the factory and office and at the level of society as a whole, the bureaucratic technocracy is a mixture of despotism and confusion which produces a fantastic human and material wastage.

This then, we suggest, is what preoccupies working people far more than anything else. Unless we speak to these concerns we speak to nothing fundamental. These are the problems of neo-capitalism in Canada. This is the social question. But because Canada is a colony, the social question cannot be dealt with outside the fact that Canadian capitalism is an extension of American capitalism. And that in the end our economy and its social, political and cultural institutions serve the ideology and objective needs of the American empire. Thus the social question must be taken on in relationship to U.S. imperialism. In other words, people in this country can go just so far in their social liberation before they have to deal with the question of outside con-

* With reference to blue collar workers alone, a rash of studies have recently been published documenting this trend : *Where Have All the Robots Gone ? Worker Dissatisfaction in the 70's*, by H.L. Sheppard, *The Hidden Injuries of Class*, by Richard Sennet and J. Cobb, *The Company and the Union — The 'Civilized Relationship' of General Motors and the United Auto Workers*, by W. Serrin, *Bitter Wages*, by J.A. Page, *Work in America*, a HEW study, *Worker's Control*, edited by Hunnius, Garson and Cage.

trol. However, we cannot proceed with the question of outside control first (the national question) and work down to the social question, for this path especially in an advanced industrial society like Canada is dangerous as well as historically blocked.

(4) THE DEGENERATION OF THE LEFT IN CANADA

The roots of the impotent situation in which the Left in Canada finds itself is to be found in two intimately interrelated processes: the evolution of modern capitalism, partly outlined above, and the bureaucratization of the traditional Left groups and the trade union organisations.*

The degeneration of these organisations is not due to 'bad leaders' who 'betray'. The problem is much deeper. It is due primarily to the overwhelming pressures of capitalist society which eventually transform these organisations into a mirror image of itself. Originally created to overthrow bourgeois society, these traditional organisations have increasingly adopted the objectives, methods, ideology and patterns of organisation of the very society they were striving to supersede. There has developed within their ranks, no matter what the theories, an increasing division between leaders and led. Some of these organisations are caught up in this process consciously and indeed cultivate it, others deny its existence in a cloud of 'radical rhetoric'. This has culminated in the development all the same, of a bureaucracy and bureaucratic cast of mind which can be neither removed nor controlled from below. This structure pursues objectives of its own.

These organisations come forward with claims to 'lead' the working class.

* For another analysis see "The Improvement of the Canadian Left" by Marjaleena Repo, TRANSFORMATION, Vol. 1, No. 4.

In reality they see the class as a mass to be maneuvered, according to the preconceived ideas of those who dominate the particular political machinery. They all see the objective of liberation as an increased degree of participation in general 'material prosperity'.

The reformists like the NDP claim that this can be achieved by a better organisation of traditional capitalism. The Stalinists, Maoists, Trotskyists and Waffle claim that what is needed is a change in the formal ownership of the means of production along with State planning, which amounts to a kind of socialism from above. Their *common ideology* boils down to an increase in production and consumption guaranteed by the rule of an elite of managers, seated at the summit of a new hierarchy based on 'ability', 'experience', and 'devotion to the cause'. This objective is essentially no different from that of contemporary capitalism itself.

The degeneration is not due to the intrinsic evils of organisation. Nor is it due to the fact that reformists and Stalinists have 'wrong ideas' and provide 'bad leadership', as sundry Trotskyists and Leninists still maintain. Still less is it due to the bad influence of particular individuals: David or Stephen Lewis, Khrushchev, or Stalin.

What it really reflects is the fact that even when struggling to overthrow capitalism, the working class remains a partial prisoner of the system, and this in a much more subtle way than is usually understood. It remains a prisoner because it continues to conceive of *its* liberation as a task to be entrusted to the leaders of certain organisations to whom the class can confidently delegate its historical role.

The bureaucratised, traditional Left organizations, parties and trade unions, have long ceased to express the historical long-term interests of the working peo-

ple. The reformist bureaucracy aims at securing a place for itself in the management of the capitalist system as it is. The authoritarian socialist bureaucracy of one sect or another aims at instituting a regime of the Russian or Chinese type where it would itself become the dominant social group.

Despite their periodic conflicts with the ruling class, both reformists and authoritarians whether in political parties or in the trade unions have the effect of perpetuating present class society. They have become the vehicles through which capitalist ideas, attitudes and mentality seep into the powerless class. They seek to canalise and control all manifestations of revolt against the existing social order. They seek to limit the more extreme excesses of the system, the better to maintain exploitation within 'tolerable' limits.

These political and trade union organizations are confronted with an, insoluble dilemma. On the one hand they are as institutions tolerated by established society. On the other hand, they aim at maintaining within their framework a class, whose conditions of life and work drive it to destroy that very society.

The organisation which the majority of exploited and dominated people need must be based on a totally different philosophy and structure and use entirely different methods of struggle.

Apathy and depolitization result from bureaucratic degeneration. The working class organisations have become indistinguishable from bourgeois political institutions.

Apathy and depolitisation result from changes undergone by neo-capitalism. Economic expansion, high employment, the gradual increase in wages, pathological consumerism, mean that for a whole period (which has not yet come to an end), the illusion of progress still affects us. This illusion is deliberately and very

skillfully fostered and manipulated by the system for its own ends.

The programme of reformists like the NDP has been realized in a whole variety of ways. Yet the more we have 'changes' the more the basic features of our lives, like boredom, monotony, purposelessness, remains the same. The political path along which the NDP and the various 'Communist' parties proceed proves its futility. After decades and decades of reform and struggle all that has been achieved in this land of incredible wealth and potential is that commodities can be spread more widely than before. The same social powerlessness exists, and the same economic insecurity prevails. What we have still amounts to charity however bitterly we have fought for it.

Historical experience in Canada has shown that society will only be changed fundamentally through the autonomous and self-conscious activity of the proletarianized class. No stratum, category, party or other form of hierarchical organization can achieve socialism 'on behalf of' the proletariat and in its place. Socialism will only be built through social revolution. Socialism can only be built on the destruction of all bureaucracies. Social revolution does not only mean the abolition of private capitalism. It means the abolition of all dominating and privileged strata in society. It therefore implies the abolition of any social group claiming to manage production or the State 'on behalf of the people'.

- (5) THE FORMATION OF A REVOLUTIONARY CONSCIOUSNESS AND OF A SOCIAL REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN CANADA WILL BE MEANINGLESS (INDEED IMPOSSIBLE) UNLESS IT BASES ITS IDEAS, ITS PROGRAMME, ITS STRUCTURE AND ITS METHODS OF ACTION ON THE HISTORICAL

EXPERIENCE OF THE WORK-
ING CLASS IN THIS COUNTRY
AND IN OTHER COUNTRIES,
PARTICULARLY THAT OF THE
LAST 50 YEARS.

This means that such developments as we describe as constituting the social question must draw the full lessons of the period of bureaucratisation and that it must break with all that is mere ritual or hangover from the past. Only in this way will we be able to provide answers to the real and often new problems which will be posed in the period to come.

A radical analysis of the crisis of modern industrial society and of capitalism is imperative. The essence of the social question as outlined here is that the analysis or critique of the organisation of the economy and of work under capitalism must be at the centre of our reconstruction of the revolutionary movement. We must surrender the idea that capitalism creates rational factories and rational machines and that it organizes work 'efficiently' although somewhat brutally and for the wrong ends. Instead we must express what every person in every region of Canada sees very clearly : that work has become absurd, that it means the constant oppression and mutilation of workers and that the bureaucratic organisation of work means endless confusion and waste.

Where it exists, material poverty must be exposed. But the content of consumption under capitalism must also be exposed. It is not enough to criticize the smallness of the education budget : we must denounce the content of capitalist education. We must denounce and work against the concept of the school as an activity apart from life and society. It is not enough to demand more public monies for housing : we must denounce and work against the prevailing ideas on housing and the way of life they entail.

It is not enough to denounce the present government as representing the interests of a privileged class. We must also denounce the whole form and content of contemporary politics as a business for 'specialists', and the idea that parliamentarianism is democracy. A revolutionary movement must break with electoralism, and on this there can be no compromise. It must show that revolutionary politics are not confined to talk of wages and government affairs, but that they deal with everything that concerns people and their social lives. "Les vrais problèmes sont quotidiens", was the insightful slogan of the 1968 General Strike in France, and with reason.

The confusion about the socialist programme created by the authoritarian organisations of the Left must be exposed. The idea that socialism only means the nationalisation of the means of production and planning — and that its essential aim is an increase in production and consumption, albeit on a more egalitarian basis — must be denounced. The similarity of these views with the basic orientation of neo-capitalism itself must be shown.

Socialism is workers' control and management of production and of society and the localist power of workers' councils and community assemblies. The essential content of socialism is the restitution to people of the control over their own life, the transformation of labour from an absurd means of breadwinning into the free and creative action of individuals and groups (see "Toward a Liberatory Technology" by Murray Bookchin, in the OUR GENERATION pamphlet form), the constitution of integrated human communities and the union of the culture and the life of people.

The libertarian essence of socialism should not be shamefully hidden as some kind of abstract speculation concerning an indeterminate future. The perspective with which we looked at the

social question here should be presented for what it is : a prospective for the humanisation of work and of an entire society. Socialism is not a backyard of leisure attached to the industrial prison. It is not what commodities we can play with during the weekend, even though it might be a three or four day weekend. It is not transistors for the prisoners. It is the destruction of the industrial prison itself. *This means the defeat of American imperialism in content as well as in form.* This is the basis of our position. In an industrial society as developed as our own we cannot separate this question of form from content, so the social question comes first and foremost. The limitations of its resolution by the presence of American domination of Canada are dealt with at that point. We are not third-world voyeurs.

In all local struggles the way in which the result is obtained is at least as important as what is obtained. Even from the point of view of efficiency, actions organised and led by the people themselves are superior to actions decided and led bureaucratically. They alone create the conditions of progress, for this approach alone teaches us to run our own affairs.

In Canada, as in other industrial societies, the mobilisation of youth is essential. Canadian society has lost its hold on the generations it produces. The rupture is particularly brutal in politics. Such a mobilization will be impossible unless the broad outlines of a social alternative for the present and immediate future are clearly articulated. The social movement must help young people in struggle and must contribute towards clarifying and generalising their experience, the objective being the development of skills and a lasting social consciousness and ability to manage social affairs themselves.

Organizing on the regional and local level must be based on the principles of

direct democracy and be consciously anti-bureaucratic in manner. This implies a total rejection of 'democratic centralism' and other forms of organisation that encourage bureaucracy. At the local level, and in any regional or large level co-ordination, the principles of autonomy, direct democracy rather than delegation of decision-making, and co-ordination where necessary, should be achieved through delegates elected and revocable at any time by their local groups.

The revolutionary movement should also seek to bring closer together the struggle at the workplace and the broader struggle of other sections of the population, equally deprived of any effective say in the management of the affairs that concern them most. But people, we must remind ourselves, cannot be expected to become participating citizens in their communities actively involved in important social issues, if at work where they spend more than half their day they are beaten down. Nevertheless there are many people who are not part of the regular work force. A large part of educational work should be directed towards these other strata of our evolving society as well as towards new strata of wage earners (various service workers, students, intellectuals).

We have written and spoken at some length on previous occasions about the importance of community work, no matter what importance is assigned to change in the work-place. People who are not part of the regular work force can be organised around questions like housing, transportation, pollution, health, and unemployment. All these issues should be raised within the perspective of community control. The generation of new forms of struggle and organisation is not only profoundly relevant to the socialist future but also capable on a daily basis of eating out the legitimacy of corrupt contemporary institutions in the community. More than a challenge to legiti-

macy, these developing new social forms, whether they are co-operative housing, radical day-care centres, or community clinics, are on the one hand embryonic attempts at self-management, and, given a sense of economic reality, are also supportive in any community of the revolutionary movement. These networks of community groups can create a sense of cultural change which is indispensable to rooting of any new consciousness in a particular section of a city.

Today, no matter how active young women and men workers are at their place of work, support is essential at home and in the neighborhood. This opens the whole question of co-operative living, new life-styles, communalism. The sterile privatism of traditional radical movements, where after one's daily work, a person goes home to the traditional bourgeois setting does not go far enough. Revolutionary consciousness must be nourished in the whole of one's daily life.

But in the final analysis the similarity between the objects of these new social forms and actions and those of the movement of worker's self-management at the workplace should be repeatedly pointed out, as should the only possible solution to both: the complete democratisation of society through social revolution.

The changes in modern capitalism have done nothing to lessen the contradictions of the system which lie in the field of production and of work, reflecting themselves through the rest of society. These are contradictions focussed in the alienation of the worker. In addition to these contradictions, in Canada, by virtue of the domination of American capital, people here are thrown conflicting signals of identity. On the one hand they are told they are Canadians, and that is supposed to be different from being an American. On the other they are surrounded daily by the values and

images of imperial America. Nevertheless this secondary contradiction can only be gotten at by means of the first, that of the objective and subjective condition of working people. Only if people are determined to attain a different way of life, and have a positive alternative in mind, will the struggle be joined. It is simply not enough in Canada to tell working people that we do not want to be controlled by the Americans. Nationalists will use our hostility towards American domination, but towards what end? To a new bureaucratic society, a state capitalist, or authoritarian socialist society directed by centralising State agencies from Ottawa? We must not let our desire to break American control distract us from the more fundamental project of breaking the existing social order. This project cannot come after, it must come at the same time, or it never comes.

Even in Québec where there is a tremendous emotional investment in a distinct language, and a largely different culture, the cultural struggle touched a small minority of the proletariat. When this proletariat mobilised itself into the greatest General Strike in North American history on social issues, and realised that one of the limitations of the situation was foreign control, then that question became meaningful. It is becoming clearer in Québec daily, that socialism comes first. But socialism will not be possible without self-determination, that is, the independence of Québec. It is now, when 30,000 people march on May Day in solidarity throughout Québec, that we see the momentum becoming massive.

The subjective undercurrents bending towards nationalism do not exist in Canada. Nationalism's historical role was to bring the bourgeoisie to power. Where the bourgeoisie was only partly in power, and a country dominated by imperialism, nationalism was used to change the bal-

ance of power. *Nowhere* have nationalists ushered social revolution. To create a nationalist sentiment ex nihilo in an advanced industrial society is extremely dangerous.

The struggle for freedom, for the social and cultural self-determination of Canada and Québec from external control is one and the same with the struggle against all hierarchy, and this in turn is the struggle against the hierarchy of ideas employed by the bourgeoisie to maintain its world.

The opposition between theory and ideology is no mere academic dispute: it is itself part of the struggle. Thus we do not offer this perspective, the outlines of which we stated here, as mere 'ideas', as just one more contemplative interpretation of our society. Ideas are, after all, alienated desire. We hope with dialogue to clarify theory and to practice this theory in our daily lives.

FOOTNOTES:

1. Gad Horowitz, "Conservatism, Liberalism and Socialism in Canada", *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, May, 1966, p. 163-5.
 2. Gad Horowitz, "On the Fear of Nationalism", *Canadian Dimension*, Vol. 4 no. 4.
 3. Mel Watkins et al, *Waffle Manifesto: For an Independent Socialist Canada*, reprint in *Canadian Dimension Kit #3*.
 4. *Canadian Forum*, Jan.-Feb., 1972, p. 64.
 5. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
 6. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
 7. Mel Watkins, "Multi-national Corporation and Socialism", in LaPierre et al, eds., *Essays on the Left*, McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, p. 207.
 8. Kari Levitt — address to the *Canadian Economics Association*, June, 1972.
 9. *Capitalism and The National Question in Canada*, edited by Gary Teeple, University of Toronto Press, \$3.95, 256 pages, 1972.
- The writers wish to acknowledge debt to Kari Levitt in the first section and to Paul Cardan, especially for the essay "Socialism or Barbarism", in the second section.

QUEEN'S Quarterly

Founded 1893

Since the 1890's this Canadian Review has consistently kept watch on our politics, foreign affairs, social and economic issues, arts and letters.

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WHO BUILT THE TIGER CAGES OF CON SON??

Raymond Morrison-Knudson Root Brown and Jones of Saigon

— an American Construction Consortium

The principle members are : Morrison-Knudson of Boise, Idaho and
Raymond International of Houston, Texas

Morrison-Knudson has also built :

- the Grand Coulee Dam
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- the Lowry Titan Missile Factory
- the Whiteman Minuteman Missile Factory
- the Titan Missile Base, Denver

in Latin America

- the Columbian Central Highway
- the Peruvian San Lorenzo Dam & Canals
- the Tres Marias Dam in Brazil
- the Argentine Pipeline

in Canada — 4 subsidiaries

- Morrison-Knudson of Canada
- Northern Construction Company, Vancouver
- J.W. Stewart of Vancouver
- Emkay — which owns 50% interest in mining licenses covering 17,000 acres of coking coal in Elk River Valley, B.C.

Morrison-Knudson's use of cheap foreign labour :

- 5,900 employees in U.S. with \$630 million in contracts in 1971 ;
- 26,900 foreign employees with \$271 million in 1971 contracts

One of the vice-presidents of M-K was an advisor to Chaing Kai Shek, 1946-1951

CURRENTLY : modernizing the vehicles used by Chicago's West Suburban Mass Transit District.

Raymond International :

- specializes in off-shore construction and oil pipelines
- has extensive pipeline holdings in American South-west
- affiliate, Raymond Brown & Root, CA held \$50 million in contracts in South Vietnam in 1971, nearly half their total contracts.
- among Raymonds directors are :
 - the treasurer of Cornell University
 - the retired president of Penn Central
 - chairman of Kidder Peabody & Co., a large NYC brokerage firm

CURRENTLY : building a \$17 million extension to the Washington, D.C. subway.

CURRENTLY : the consortium has been awarded a new contract to construct NEW Tiger Cages that will be 2 sq. feet smaller than the previous ones.

The above information was researched and compiled from public sources by Robert Sweeney.

CANADA and VIETNAM

— little known facts —

- Canada provided the formula that facilitated purchase of CIA-AIR AMERICA military aircraft for the ICCS AIR SERVICES using American pilots who know the terrain...¹ the downed ICCS helicopter of April 7th had been flying for ten minutes in opposite direction...² almost impossible to distinguish ICCS planes from others since the markings are barely distinguishable in bright sunshine (ICCS-white stripes; JMC-yellow; ARVN-none) and easily confused being all AIR AMERICA design helicopters...³ BBC on Feb. 12th announced 1-200 daily ARVN sorties strafing refugees returning home to PRG controlled areas.⁴
- Four hours after the departure of Prof. Georges Lebel (Montreal lawyer) from recent Saigon visit, four ex-prisoners interviewed and five ex-prisoners appointment cancelled, were all re-arrested; charge — guilty of having met with Canadian and American delegations, April 28, 1973.⁵
- Michel Gauvin, Canadian Ambassador to Greece, also head of the Canadian delegation to the ICCS; previous includes Canadian Chargé d'Affaires in the Congo on special mission to the Stanleyville crisis 1964; Canadian Envoy to the Dominican Republic during American intervention 1965; Advisor to Canadian ICC team during critical days of 1956⁶ (when Pres. Diem repudiated the Geneva Agreement by refusing to hold elections) — consistent with present policy announcing alleged violations in S. Vietnam prior to legitimate investigation... the current demand for his recall is futile gesture in the face of Canadian government's ability to produce other Gauvin's.
- Canadian Red Cross Society's abortive trip to Saigon in February 1973 never officially sanctioned... initiated "with the encouragement and assistance of Canadian government following informal approach by one of the parties (USA)".⁷ Polish Red Cross did not join them in Saigon having received no mandate... the trip for which \$50,000 was allocated,⁸ provided Gen. A.E. Wrinch with much gratuitous publicity on return: "We have been blocked completely by the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong"⁹ although it was later admitted that it was the Thieu regime which refused permission to inspect prison camps in Saigon.¹⁰
- More about Intl. Red Cross which has just received donations of CIDA (Canadian International Development Agency — External Affairs) and \$27,500 plus 2 staff members from Canadian Red Cross "to alleviate suffering in Indochina"¹¹ ...their last visit to Con Son Prison S. Vietnam was Jan. 11/69...¹² Saigon government recently refused to allow delegations to bring any medicine with them claiming that the Red Cross had already sufficient medicine in S. Vietnam.¹³

Vietnam...

- Article 3B of the Protocol concerning Supervisory Commission states in part: "...in the case that no unanimity is reached, the Commission shall forward the different views, but these *shall not be considered as reports of the Commission* (emphasis added)... when Canadian Manfred Von Nostitz insisted upon an unauthorized and personal interrogation of alleged North Vietnam prisoners, Hungarian and Polish delegations refused to include this in their report... Gauvin threatened boycott.¹⁶
- Article 2 of the Agreement states in part "...the U.S. will remove, permanently deactivate or destroy all the mines in the territorial waters... of North Vietnam as soon as this agreement goes into effect." According to the Pentagon as of March 6th only 3 of the 20,000 mines have been deactivated and Nixon subsequently halted further removals.¹⁷ No comment from Canadian Delegation.
- How many Canadians are answering these ads: "Communications Center Personnel, Operation & Repair, S.E.Asia assignments, Federal Electric Corp. ITT"; — "Fighter pilots instructors wanted by Aircraft Division Northrop."¹⁸
- N.D.P. Government in B.C. has set up a House Committee to deal with Liberal MLA proposed expenditure of \$2.25 million to establish children's hospitals in Vietnam, allocating \$50,000 for two doctors to tour the area;¹⁹ which would coincide with C.I.D.A.'s fraudulent medical aid programs in S. Vietnam which function as part of the US-AID program, admitted cover for CIA activities. Genuine aid to Vietnam at this moment requires only massive shipments of medical and surgical supplies via established channels (e.g. C.A.V.C. Canadian Aid to Vietnamese Civilians) and not offer of funds which will trickle very sparingly down to victims but will be mainly diverted to corrupt officialdom... military intelligence uses medical facilities in this war as in all others...
- We are warned by Project Indochina Resources Centre that:

There is the most urgent need that the whole issue of future covert war by the Nixon administration receive the fullest possible airing immediately. 1973 began with a peace agreement but unless this covert war is exposed and stopped now, 1973 may end with more war than ever."²⁰

The announcement of Canada's projected July 31st withdrawal from the ICCS underlines the urgent need to honorably fulfill all its moral and legal obligations as a signatory to the Paris Accord, so that the Canadian team will not find itself part of the machinery which may yet set in motion the 3rd Indochina War.

Claire Culhane,
May 29, 1973. Montreal.

Claire Culhane and Gary Teeple are collaborating on a book due to appear in the Fall dealing with Canada's role in Indochina.

— All sources for facts (numbered) available on request

AFTER THE CEASEFIRE:

Something very queer indeed has happened to the Paris Agreements which were supposed to draw the Indochina War to an end. First we had the strange affair of the American POW's. When released, the press noted these were perhaps the healthiest looking American POW's to come home from any war. Some limped, some hobbled, but for the most part they strode briskly off the planes — and vanished into tight security. Bit by bit, flight by flight, they returned to their homes — but refused press interviews on the grounds that nothing should be said about their treatment until the last POW was released.

Then, in a carefully orchestrated series of press appearances, the POW's began to document tortures they had undergone in Hanoi. Did the prisoners look healthy? Yes, but that is because the "worst torture" had stopped in 1969, some four years ago. Virtually every columnist except for Pete Hamill in the *N.Y. Post*, took the side of the POW's and joined in a chorus of anger that helped scuttle any economic aid for North Vietnam.

Somehow overnight the focus shifted from the hideous destruction our men brought to tens upon tens of thousands in North Vietnam, to the torture some few of them suffered up to 1969. No nation can lose a war with good grace, particularly when, having been defeated, we were not conquered. We lost the war with all our powers intact and suddenly a bloody and cruel chapter in world history, a chapter written by three American Presidents, becomes "peace with honor"; whatever debt we might owe the Indochinese, with more than a million dead and millions upon mil-

lions made refugee, is wiped out by the treatment of a few American military men while in prison.

Then the White House began to discover the numerous violations of the Paris Agreements by the North Vietnamese and the Provisional Revolutionary Government. We did not hear about the four PRG delegates ambushed and killed by Saigon forces. We did not hear about the villages bombed by Thieu's air force when they dared raise the PRG flag. We did not pay much attention to the U.S. bombing in Laos right up to the signing of their own peace settlement — bombing in direct violation of the Paris Agreements, and bombing that has in recent days resumed. We did hear about the bombing of Cambodia — massive B-52 strikes — in absolute violation of the Paris Agreements. But such murderous and open violations of the Paris Agreements have not deeply disturbed Congress. There were, after all, the POW's with their stories of torture. (Let me note that most of the POW's are career military; they were held for days for interrogation before being allowed to join their families; their chances of advancing in their chosen careers may well depend on how carefully they follow government scripts written out for them. If it seems incredible to suggest that in some cases the POW's were reading from scripts rather than speaking from experience, we must remember that we are dealing with an Administration which could plan Watergate and hope to silence that story by paying out cash to the families of those convicted. This is an Administration which can arrange — or try to arrange — virtually anything).

Vietnam...

Where the Paris Agreements made it clear the U.S. was not to choose sides in Vietnam, Nixon promptly violated that, bringing Thieu to this country for a political tour, while pressuring the United Nations into refusing visas for the PRG to come to the UN as observers, in the same capacity as the Saigon government.

And so the war isn't over at all. Not only are the two sides in Vietnam *both* violating the cease fire, but Nixon has begun to recommit U.S. bombers to action, ending the mine-clearing operation, said no funds will go to North Vietnam after all, and used the POWs as a pawn — which is all they were to him at any time — to help rally public support for continued U.S. involvement.

It is crucial for pacifists not to take the position of a "plague on both your houses", assuming that the North Vietnamese and the PRG are equally guilty with Thieu's government. The political reality is that Thieu has everything to fear from *political* struggle, and the PRG a great deal to gain from it. Thieu has the third largest air force in the world (rushed in between the November 1972 "peace is at hand" and the signing of the Paris Agreements in March.) He has a million men under arms — and we are continuing to supply and strengthen his armed forces. He has between 10,000 and 20,000 U.S. civilian "advisers" to help run the computers, fix the aircraft, keep the massive military machine purring. (Some of these advisers have been killed already — more will be — but theirs are the invisible deaths of "civilians" who have volunteered their service and are no longer part of any list of battle casualties.) The bulk of the population lives in the cities, under Thieu's control. The bulk of the land is controlled by the PRG. Thieu has no *political* organization — only an efficient secret police that has silenced all political opposi-

tion. The PRG has a network of political cadre throughout all South Vietnam, including the cities. Thieu literally cannot engage in an *open* political struggle: he has no party apparatus, no political cadre, *nothing except the army and secret police*. Thieu labors under an additional burden: not only does he now hold 200,000 civilian prisoners, the vast majority of whom are non-Communist Catholics and Buddhists, but he has compelled hundreds of thousands or millions of peasants to remain in the cities under his political control, in a situation where there is no work, where the artificial economy of the American army is gone. Many PRG territory. The PRG has no economic of those peasants want to return to farms in problems — despite ecological damage, they can support the population in their territory — while Thieu faces absolutely crucial problems in trying to support the refugees.

All of this means simply that the PRG has a vested interest in a genuine *political* contest because they believe they could win. They have a vested interest in the free movement of peoples because it means peasants would return to land in PRG territory. They support the release of political prisoners because they have a vested interest in having those 200,000 non-Communist civilians report to the Vietnamese public the kind of treatment Thieu meted out to Catholics and Buddhists. In another situation it is possible that the PRG would not be taking what we consider the "correct position", but they do take the correct position now and to quibble over *why* they take it is less important than that they do take it. And while one may almost feel sorry for Thieu, a petty if skillful tyrant surrounded by oceans of fear and paranoia, the fact is Thieu would perish politically in any kind of free society. He dare not release the prisoners. He dare not permit village elections. He dare not allow peasants freedom of movement. He dare not abide by the

Vietnam...

Paris Agreements — they would spell his political death.

One confronts a paradox in Vietnam: the U.S., which invariably speaks of its allies as members of the "free world," backs a general who is terrified of free elections; the Communists, who normally do not allow such elections (Russia, Poland, Hungary, etc.) are here defending them, and depending on them. It is this political reality which makes it hard to believe U.S. reports of Vietnamese violations of the cease fire — for the PRG has the most to gain and the Saigon regime the most to lose from an end of the fighting and a beginning of the political process.

In Cambodia, where the press talks "North Vietnamese troops" the reality is that the regime of Lon Nol is threatened not by North Vietnamese but by Cambodian rebels. Malcom Browne in the *New York Times* of April 22 reported that, "The enemy these days is mostly Cambodian. *Official American sources* [emphasis added] here say that since the Vietnam ceasefire three months ago there has been no documented evidence of Vietnamese troops serving in Combat roles in Cambodia." And yet the bombing goes on here, as heavy as any bombing in the long cruel years of the official war.

Nixon, a politician with extraordinary luck, has for the moment defused public opposition to his policies: our prisoners are home, our troops are home, and "air strikes" are something invisible, distant, and non-controversial. Yet Nixon is trapped, in Indochina as elsewhere, with realities that will not yield to Kissinger's brilliance. The Thieu regime cannot survive without our support, the Vietnamese (North and South) will continue to seek the end of our foreign intrusion. Bombers are effective only up to a point — and then Nixon must either recommit ground troops or accept defeat.

In the meantime Nixon's luck has changed on the home front as well as in Indochina. The meat boycott was a forceful political show of opposition to the government. Watergate has come home, with talk of possible impeachment. Prices continue to rise. Nixon's long run of luck, of "total rule" in opposition to Congress and defiance of the Constitution, seems to have run out. Nixon, having brought the nation to the brink of fascism, now seems to have generated new forces, at home and abroad, which finally challenge that absolute power and make doubtful the ability of the government to wage a Third Indochina War.

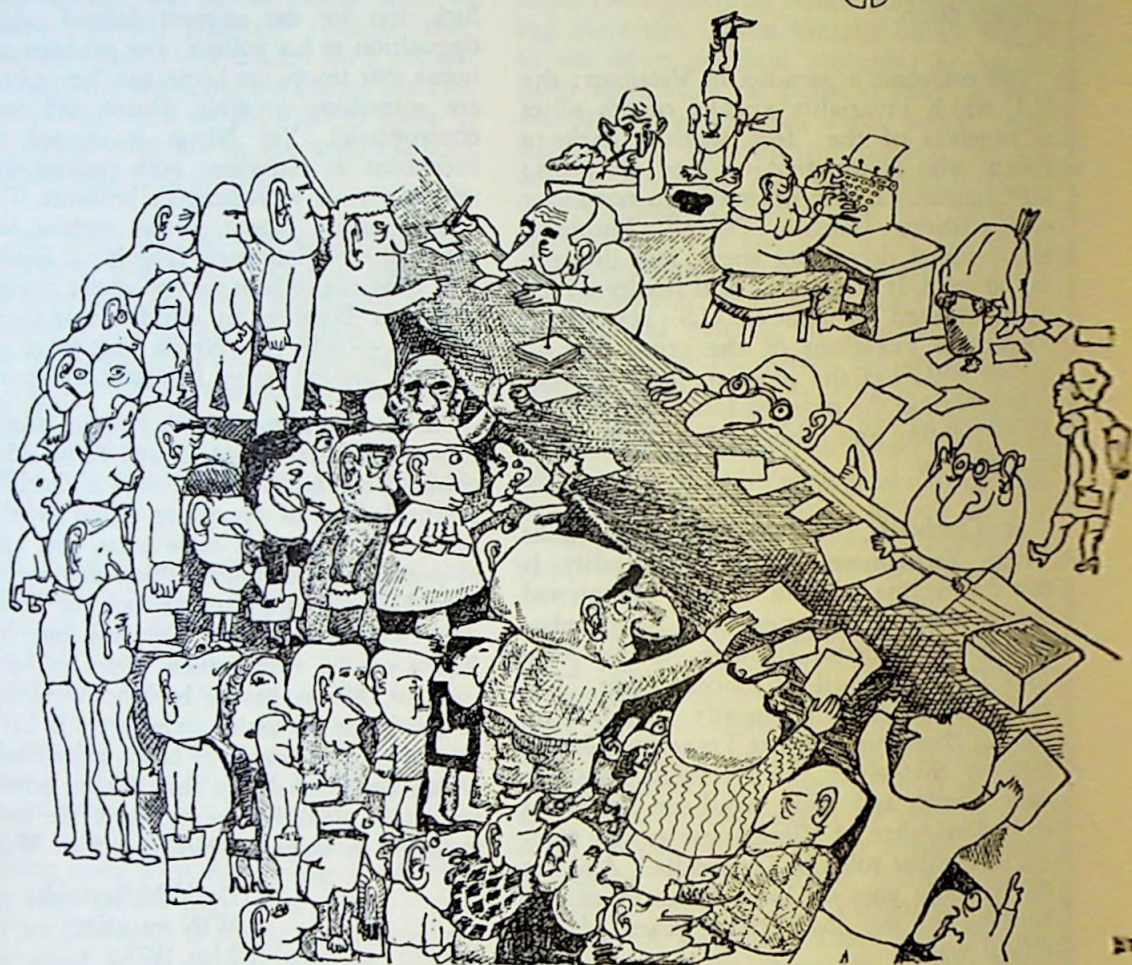
David McReynolds
WIN magazine
May, 1973.

MASS STRIKE IN QUEBEC

In May 1972 Quebec workers launched the largest general strike in North America in this century. Workers seized control of several key industrial towns, and occupied many radio and TV stations. The background and course of this strike are detailed in a special issue of *Radical America*.

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PERMISSION was given.



"Revolution in the Metropolis"

by Margaret Ellinger and John Rowntree

— a major article (86 pages) in

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE STATE

— just released by Black Rose Books — \$2.95.

The Story of the Auto Pact:

From Colony to Hinterland

by Mike Gurstein

Mike Gurstein is with the Division of Social Science, York University.

This paper is based on a formidable piece of research carried out by the York Research Group, especially Ellen Barr, Larry Olivo, Dan Meany, Ellie and Len Prepas, and Doris Yancy. Not only is this article a summary, but it was further cut by the editors due to space requirements. Sections on the Auto Parts Industry and on the Domestic International Sales Corporation (DISC) were removed. Anyone wanting this material can freely write to Our Generation or directly to Mike Gurstein.

Discussions on the role and significance of foreign ownership in Canada have tended to treat foreign control as an undifferentiated whole. General distinctions are drawn between primary and secondary industries, but this is as far as it goes. Such a position on the part of those critical of foreign control ignores the very significant differences between different sections of the industrial sector in the Canadian economy. This leads to misjudgements in the attempt to link a political strategy to the question of foreign ownership.

The motor vehicle assembly and parts-producing industry in Canada is one of the largest sources of manufacturing employment in Canada and probably the largest in Ontario, the heartland of Canadian industry. The industry is very largely foreign controlled (probably over 80% of production) and since 1966 Canada has participated in a virtual free-trade relationship (the Auto-Pact) with the U.S. The "auto-pact" was a new stage in the development of the dependency of the Canadian economy.

The elimination of tariff barriers con-

continentalized the industry, changed its overall status from that of a satellite industry within a colonial economy to that of a segment of the over-all domestic hinterland of the U.S. industry. It effectively has become part of the domestic U.S. economy while "nominally" remaining under Canadian political jurisdiction.

BEFORE THE AUTO-PACT

Canada had developed a localized and small scale carriage making industry in the 19th century.¹ This was protected by a 35% tariff. The first motor vehicle, an electric car, was probably produced in Toronto in 1893 but nothing of commercial significance developed. It was only with the organization of the Ford Motor Company of Canada in Windsor in 1904 that motor vehicle manufacture became of commercial importance. This company, organized independently from Ford of the U.S., bought engines and chassis from Ford in Detroit, ferried them to Windsor and attached bodies and wheels. In 1911 it obtained from Henry Ford the exclusive rights to manufacture and sell Ford cars in all parts of the British Empire outside of the British Isles. This concession was undoubtedly granted in order that Ford (U.S.) could begin penetration of international markets with the tariff advantages of Imperial Preferences. Controlling interest in the company very early was sold to Ford of the U.S.

Colonel Sam McLaughlin who had inherited a carriage works in Oshawa formed the McLaughlin Motor Car Company in 1907. He manufactured the Buick automobile under license from Buick of the U.S. In 1915, the company acquired Canadian rights to the Chevrolet. In 1918, the two McLaughlin companies were merged into General Motors of Canada with controlling interest held by General Motors of the U.S. Colonel Sam, retained his position as president and received large amounts of stock in the parent company.

By 1910 when the industry first appeared as such in census reports, there were

eight plants employing over 2,400 persons manufacturing automobiles in Canada with a combined production valued at \$6,250,000. The infant industry was allowed to develop with some independence. It was protected by the 35% tariff on carriage imports. Its growth owed much to its access to the protected "empire preferred" market. Overall however a pattern of the importation of parts from the U.S. and their assembly in Canada prevailed. Canadian exports had limited access to the American market as a result of a high tariff protecting U.S. manufacture and by high Canadian costs, the product of a small domestic market.

A PATTERN DEVELOPS

In the period to 1926 employment increased from the 2,400 in 1910 to 12,000 in 1926 and the value of production increased by twenty times from \$6 million to \$133 million indicating the development of a highly productive and efficient industry. The "preferences" facilitated the rise of a Canadian export industry of some strength. In the period 1926-30 Canada was one of the world's largest exporters of automobiles chiefly to Britain, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. This market drew American investment into Canada and the location of branch plant assembly and manufacturing operations to take advantage of the preference. The origins of the first and still the largest of the multinational corporations can be seen in the attempt by American capital to exploit the lower tariffs within the "British empire" by locating production in Canada for export overseas.²

This pattern had a number of consequences for the Canadian industry. Protection on importation from the U.S. meant that Canadian manufacturers could charge more for their automobiles in Canada than in the U.S., establishing a pattern which continues to the present day. The size of the industry meant that the local companies, through branch plants,

could develop a certain degree of independence from the head-quarters in the U.S. But foreign ownership ensured Canadian dependence on the U.S. for technology and capital.

Along with all domestic industry but more severely than most, Canadian automobile and parts production was hit by the Great Depression. It was not until the late thirties that production again reached levels achieved as early as 1920. Pre-depression production levels of 1929 were not reached again until 1950. Employment declined by over 50% from 1929 to 1930 (compared to an overall decline of 30% in manufacturing as a whole). The depression also severely undermined exports which declined from \$39.5 million in 1925 to \$6.6 million in 1931.

In 1936 the Canadian government in a tariff revision instituted the principle that a certain minimum content (60%) of production was to originate within the Empire (in practice this meant Canada). The particular parts to be manufactured in Canada were not specified, but it did spur additional manufacturing in Canada. "With pressure to achieve the higher content (requirement) of 60 per cent, purchasing departments of the major manufacturing companies were forced to canvass Canadian sources of supply more carefully and where possible award business locally."³ Nevertheless Canada was and remains a net importer of automotive parts and accessories.

DETROIT AND THE DIEFENBAKER DEBACLE

In the post-war period, the freeing of a suppressed demand and a buoyant economy led to the rapid transfer of military production to domestic automobile production. Though domestic production increased from 172,000 vehicles in 1946 to 390,000 in 1950, net exports fell during the same period from 40% to less than 10% of total production with net imports increasing very substantially. This was a

result of the lack of foreign exchange in countries re-building after the war. Many countries developed or rebuilt local automotive industries, some financed by the American Big Three, even in some cases using the Canadian corporate shell for financing.⁴

This period saw a very large and rapid increase in the size of the industry in Canada with employment jumping by over 25% between 1949 and 1953, and production increasing by 79%. Even with this expansion the demand for automobiles outstripped both manufacturing and parts-producing capacity, and the importation of both parts and finished autos accelerated. In the mid-fifties the percentage of "Canadian content" of automobiles and parts sold in Canada was less than it had been in the 1930's. This occurred even though there was a considerable discrepancy between wages in Canada and those in the U.S. Inevitably the outflow of exchange to pay for this trade led to a balance of payments problem. The visible deficit did not include the outflow of profits and payments resulting from the almost complete American ownership of the industry. By 1959 the annual trade deficit had risen to \$505 million. Canada at the same time became a large net importer of overseas automobiles reflecting a demand for the cheaper small European product which "domestic" producers were unwilling to meet.

"Canada's total deficit on current account averaged \$1,364 million for the period 1956-9, and all of this deficit was attributable to trade with the U.S. Her trade accounts with the rest of the world were favourable in every year except 1959. And 28.5 per cent of her (our) deficit with the U.S. was due to the unfavourable automotive trade balance."⁵

95% CONTROLLED BY U.S. CAPITAL

Automotive related exports were declining. Canada was almost completely frozen out of her former export markets through the development of American

owned but locally producing industries in her former markets. She was unable to export to U.S. markets because of tariff restrictions and the relatively higher costs of the goods produced in less efficient branch plants. At the same time imports of parts from the U.S. were increasing as they were directly tied to the size of overall automobile sales. Certain parts, accessories and models were produced only in the U.S. The accelerating deficit eventually contributed to the monetary crisis of 1962 when Diefenbaker was forced to devalue the Canadian dollar. An earlier effect was the appointment in 1959 of a one man Royal Commission to study the automobile industry under the direction of Dean V. Bladen of the University of Toronto.

According to figures quoted by Levitt the industry in 1954 was 95% controlled by U.S. capital.⁶ The pattern had been established early and nothing had been done to inhibit it. The Imperial preference had allowed for the expansion of the industry from its Canadian base but under U.S. control. Thus a partially independent Canadian branch plant operation had come into existence. With the loss of the export market the need for an independent industry in Canada was eliminated and it settled into a typical branch-plant status. Given however, the size and significance of the industry and its peculiar dependence on the direct importation of manufactured components from the U.S., the status quo which meant secure profits for the Canadian companies, higher prices for Canadian consumers and a weak and relatively inefficient industry could not be allowed to continue. A further goad to a change in the situation was the competition from lower prices European imports which could absorb the tariffs and still sell their products significantly cheaper than the Windsor/Detroit specimens.

Given the critical position of the economy (although relative health of the industry) there were basically only two options open

to Bladen and the Canadian government if it was to stop the "hemorrhaging" of foreign exchange (in Peter Newman's notable term). The industry might be continentally integrated such that the prices of Canadian automobiles would be made competitive with imports and Canadian parts manufacturers and assemblies would be given access to the American market where the relatively lower wage and cost scale in Canada would make the industry competitive. Or they might opt for a Canadian industry on the European model with limited models and style changes, lower prices and massive government investment behind a high tariff wall. There really was no question which option would be chosen.

Reasons for the "inefficiency" of the industry are interesting. James M. Roche, President of General Motors Corporation (U.S.) says:

GM of Canada's Oshawa plant is assembling this year (1965) a total of 595 different passenger car and truck models. By contrast, the most complex assembly operation in the United States has to turn out only 256 models, less than half the Oshawa total. The Canadian operation is further complicated by the fact that customers have substantially the same choices of colours and trim, equipment and accessory options as do those in the United States.⁷

This diversification was clearly a source of higher costs to the Canadian car owner. It was used as a justification for the suggestion of a common market in automobile products between Canada and the U.S. allowing the automakers to rationalize their production. With the Canadian industry completely U.S. controlled the border was an artificial impediment to efficient production.

The lunacy of resource waste involved in such a situation was not even questioned by Bladen, although between 15 and 25 percent of all Canadian new car buyers had been voting with their pocket books by opting for "off shore" imports. These imports represent a total loss of domestic

production and associated jobs since almost all of these are imported fully assembled from parts produced overseas.

THE BLADEN REPORT

Bladen, who was professor of Political Economy at the University of Toronto, was given the assignment of sorting out the mess. Making the assumptions necessary to his profession he accepted completely the status quo with regards to the foreign and private ownership of the industry. Given these assumptions his conclusions were unsurprising:

The most important characteristic of the Canadian motor vehicle industry is its dominance by that industry in the United States. The vehicle manufacturing companies are owned and controlled by parent organizations in the U.S. Their products are designed in the United States, their techniques of production follow closely to those developed by their parent companies, and many parts are manufactured in the United States along with the large volume required for the vast market. Canada thus shares, to some extent, in the process; it must accept some features of the industry in the United States, such as the multiplicity of the models and the frequency of model change, which are less desirable especially in a smaller market.⁸

He summarizes and recommends, "the fundamental principle... that of protection of the parts industry through "content", and that of reduction in the cost of such protection through a concept of "presumed" content whereby Canadian parts incorporated in motor vehicles produced outside of Canada for sale anywhere in the world may count for content."⁹

That is, there would be no necessary minimum content for "Canadian content" or "value-added", and there would be a free trade in automobiles and parts along with this minimum content control. The minimum content would vary with the numbers of cars sold in Canada with cars of very low sales requiring 30% content and cars of over 200,000 sales requiring 75% content. Similar restrictions were to

be placed on commercial vehicles. Some production would be maintained in Canada but the industry would be further integrated into the continental economy.

THE DUTY REMISSION SCHEME

The government chose not to adopt the Bladen plan, but substituted what was called "The Canadian Duty Remission Plan". This was an order-in-council meant to deal with the immediate balance of payments problem and was instituted in 1962 the same year as the Diefenbaker devaluation.

Under this first plan, the duty that a Canadian producer of vehicles paid on imports of automatic transmissions and stripped engines would be remitted, dollar for dollar, to the extent that the Canadian content of all automobile parts exported by the producer both of the replacement market and the original equipment market exceeded that of the designated "basic period" (the twelve months ending October 31, 1962). The following year, effective November 1, 1963, the plan was expanded to include all imports of motor vehicles and original equipment parts.¹⁰

This meant that exports exceeding 1962 levels would be matched off against imports on a duty-free basis. The plan seems to have been successful in spurring exports of Canadian parts to the U.S. U.S. imports of selected automotive parts from Canada increased from \$8 million in 1962 to \$18 million in 1963, then to \$27 million in 1964.¹¹

The plan appears to have been so successful, in fact, that it elicited a very strong response from U.S. parts manufacturers. They put strong pressure on their Administration through certain sympathetic Congressmen to have the U.S. government take punitive measures.

U.S. independent producers of parts for the automotive industry complained strenuously about the Canadian remission plans. The plans made no distinction regarding the end use of the exported parts which were the basis for the duty-remission credits to the Canadian vehicle

manufacturers, and they had been adopted without consultation with or agreement by the U.S. government. The exported Canadian parts could be disposed of at will in the U.S. either as replacement parts for the "after-market" or as original equipment parts for use in the assembly of new motor vehicles. This possibility was seen by the American manufacturers of placement parts as a threat that "low cost" Canadian parts would invade their market place. Some also viewed it as a means by which the motor vehicle manufacturers, who also supplied the U.S. after-market, could gain greater control over that market by supplying it with "cheaper" Canadian-made parts. On similar grounds manufacturers of original equipment parts also regarded the Canadian plan as a threat.¹²

The parallel between the "duty remission plan" of the Canadian government in response to a balance of payments crisis and the recent "DISC" plan of the U.S. government (see below) in response to a similar crisis is quite revealing. In one case, the first, those affected were in a position to influence their government to make strong demands to rectify the situation. In the latter case, whether through lack of interest or because such a large number are foreign owned, the Canadian parts manufacturers affected by DISC have *not* made similar representations to the Canadian government. The U.S. government insisted on negotiating alternatives to the "Duty Remission Scheme" and the Canadian government agreed. A move was made through the American courts to disallow exports under the scheme as being contrary to a U.S. law prohibiting the importation of goods whose price is subsidized by the actions of a foreign government.

THE AUTO PACT

In the subsequent negotiations it seems that the Canadian government had the strength of desperation. The Canadian dollar had been forced to devaluation as a result of a huge balance of payments deficit much of which could be directly attributed to the automotive industry. It remained weak, and export markets other

than the U.S. were denied to Canada because "the Canadian automobile factories are owned by the American producers and are hence a part of the international network that includes all the manufacturing and assembly operations carried on overseas by American vehicle manufacturers."¹⁴

The Canadian government had no real choice. If unilateral action of the "duty remission" type was impossible then they would be forced to unilateral action of some other sort, perhaps one of greater damage to the interests of the auto-makers and other American industrialists hungry for Canadian resources. The U.S. government did not want to provoke steps leading perhaps to a "national" Canadian industry and/or a trade war as this might involve a more general restriction on foreign investment and ownership in Canada.

There is no evidence to believe that the real reason for American acceptance of the Auto-pact was a promise from Canada of support for the U.S. in Viet Nam as has recently been suggested. It is more likely that long term undertakings associated with energy and resources provided sweetening to the American government. Senator Hartke of Indiana who first made the Viet Nam suggestion is the spokesman in the Senate for the small Midwestern parts producers most of whom opposed the pact at the time of its ratification by Congress. Hartke led the fight against the pact and appears still to be doing so.

The basic principles of the Canada-U.S. auto-pact are set out as follows.

The Governments of the United States and Canada... shall seek the early achievement of the following objectives:

- a. the creation of a border market for automotive products within which the full benefits of specialization can be achieved;
- b. the liberalization of United States and Canadian automotive trade in respect of tariff barriers and other factors tending

to impede it, with a view to enabling the industries of both countries to participate on a fair and equitable basis in the expanding total market of the two countries;

c. the development of conditions in which market forces may operate effectively to attain the most economic pattern of investment, production and trade. It shall be the policy of each government to avoid actions which frustrate the achievement of these objectives.

The basic provision may be summarized as follows:

1. Canadian assembled automobiles are allowed to enter the U.S. duty-free.

2. Only certified automobiles manufacturers are allowed duty-free importing privileges only as long as the rate of Canadian assembly, relative to total Canadian sales, continues at the rate it was for the year ended July 31, 1964 and if the ratio of Canadian production to total sales as of July 1964 remains the same.

In addition to this the major auto manufacturers signed "letters of undertaking" with the Canadian government to invest \$250 million in Canada over the following three years and to ensure that Canadian value added increased by 60% of the increase in the Canadian sales of the company, at the same time as engaging in the rationalization consequent to the treaty.

THE SAFEGUARDS

Certain safeguards to the retention of Canadian production were included in the treaty. The retention of these safeguards have formed the basis for the American attack on the treaty. These safeguards were as follows:

1. that production in Canada would not fall below dollar levels of Canadian production achieved in 1964 nor could the ratio of production in Canada to sales in Canada fall below that achieved in 1964 (the percentage was approximately 58%). The higher figure was to apply;

2. auto production in Canada was to increase by a certain percentage of the increase in the sale of North American autos in Canada (60% for cars and 50% for commercial vehicles);

3. in separate undertakings the Big Four Automakers signed letters of undertaking to increase Canadian production by specified amounts and to make certain capital investments in Canada. These were achieved by 1968;

4. parts and assembled vehicles could be imported only by registered companies;

The first three safeguards ensured a certain minimum level of production to be maintained in Canada. This minimum has now been greatly surpassed. The final safeguard prevented the importation of vehicles from the U.S. into Canada by individuals. This meant that higher Canadian prices for new and used cars could be maintained in Canada.

The possible effect of the removal of the safeguards has been pointed out by Jim Laxer:

The removal of the safeguards would allow American auto producers completely free access to the Canadian market, no matter what the level of their production here. It means they could shift production out of this country, and even more important, locate future growth in the industry on the American side of the border. Without the safeguards there is no guaranteed future for the industry in Canada.¹⁵

A more immediate effect would be the partial or complete elimination of the cost difference in new and used cars between Canada and the U.S. This would seriously damage the retail sales section of the industry and lower the value of Canadian used cars to the levels of the U.S.

SOME POLITICS

The political back-ground to the treaty is illuminating. It was not universally welcomed though some change was universally seen to be necessary. The Canadian

government and Canadian labour realized the need for such a plan. (It was very similar to the plan suggested by the United Auto Workers to the Bladen Commission), but manufacturers were in general either hesitant or opposed. The reasons for this ranged in Canada from conservatism on the part of Canadian managers of U.S. manufacturing subsidiaries who realized that their independence and thus power and status would suffer with the transfer of decision making to Detroit, to fear of U.S. competition from the smaller and less technically sophisticated Canadian owned parts producers. American parts producers mostly located in the American mid-West opposed the scheme fearing competition from the "cheap-labour" producers in Canada. That is, it was recognized that the competitive advantage open to Canada would rest in having lower wage rates than that in the U.S.

The Big Three auto-makers whose agreement was obviously crucial to the plan were at first reluctant to modify their operation for such a small portion of their over-all market. The possibilities of further rationalization which would lower over-all and especially Canadian costs to counter cheap foreign imports was however a point in favour of the plan, and so was the possibility of taking advantage of labour cost differentials between Canada and the U.S. One can also speculate that at least implicitly or perhaps even explicitly the deal was sweetened by the Canadian government's extending the offer of extra profits which would arise from the higher prices which the big four would continue to be allowed to charge in Canada for a "transitional period" even though the two markets were supposedly integrated.

Tariffs on imported items had brought the Canadian government \$50 million a year and this would now go directly into the pockets of the Big Four auto-makers. The current scandal regarding over-charging by auto-makers in Canada and the very lame response to this by the government leaves one very suspicious of what induced

the Big Three to change their minds and agree to a plan which was so clearly in Canada's interests and so marginal to their own long-term interests. Ford admitted at the time that Canadian assembled automobiles were being sold in the U.S. for \$400 less than the same automobile would cost in Canada.

It should be noted that the larger Canadian auto-parts manufacturers most of whom were subsidiaries of American companies supported the treaty probably because it would allow them to extend their share of the market and put the smaller less efficient Canadian plants out of business. Fear was also expressed both in Canada and the U.S. that the pact would lead to more in house or "captive" production by the auto-manufacturers.

It appears that the pact was accepted for different reasons in the two countries. In Canada, the pact was seen as being a means whereby the amount of production of automobiles and parts would rise to a point more in line with the proportion of Canadian consumption of the North American market. The "side-effect" of lowering the price for automobiles in Canada was not emphasized by the Canadian government and in fact was put off as a long-term goal. In the U.S. the pact was seen as a means of rationalization to increase efficiency and lower prices and as a result, increase sales and profits.

Lester Pearson on signing the pact stresses the expansion of Canadian "production and trade through a dismantling of tariff and other barriers"... and adds that "*eventually* the consumers on both sides of the border will share its benefits."¹⁶ Johnson in his statement on signing the pact stresses the fact that "Canadian citizens have already begun to benefit from lowered prices on automobiles",¹⁷ and Mr. Fred B. Savest, Vice-President of Ford Motor Company, expressed his company's support as follows: "... We believe that the Agreement will (1) increase the efficiency of the automotive industry, and

promote a more rapid rate of growth in its output and its employment, in the U.S. and Canada; (2) maintain a major Canadian export market for U.S. producers of automotive products, and insure continuation of an automotive trade balance between the two countries that is favourable to the U.S. and yet acceptable in magnitude to the Canadian government."¹⁸ There is a clear divergence in the conception of the pact which leads directly up to the present controversy over its renegotiation.

THE EFFECTS OF THE PACT

From the Canadian point of view the auto-pact has been a mild success. From an over-all deficit of \$600,000,000 in 1964, by 1970 Canada was showing a slight surplus on exports over imports for assembled autos, although there was still a \$1 billion dollar deficit in the parts industry. This means that the expansion in the industry has taken place by and large in the assembly portion of the industry and that the position of the parts industry has not expanded at anything like the same pace. The industry was producing about 38% of the value of new Canadian cars in 1961, 45% in 1965 and 60% in 1969. This seems now to be decreasing once again. Most of the increase in Canadian value added now appears to be coming from increases in assembly costs and overhead.

In all it appears that a bigger jump in production occurred following the introduction of the duty remission plan than has resulted in the period following the pact itself. For example, in numbers of persons employed, in value of goods produced, in values of materials consumed by parts producers and the greatest per cent increase in the 1960's was in 1964 in all cases. From 1961 to 1965 the numbers of employees in motor vehicle parts and accessories manufacturers increased by over 50% while from 1965 to 1969 it increased by less than 33%. New capital investment increased by

115% between 1961 and 1965 and 70% between 1965 and 1969.

The purpose of the so-called safe-guards, it should be noted, were to act as a "fail-safe" device that is a means by which the Canadian government could ensure that the automobile industry would not disappear entirely given acutely unfavourable economic conditions. They, along with the letters of intent, could influence the companies who, by being forced to maintain some production in Canada, would make that portion an economic part of the whole and also ensure that it would expand as the market expanded. It has been noted that the present level of non-productive overhead and distribution costs for the Big Three might themselves cover the computed value of the "safeguards".

CONCLUSIONS

DISC, the attacks on the auto-pact safeguards, and the petty harassment of Canadian automotive exports to the U.S. (such as at border points) must be seen as all part of the same pattern. The United States is going through severe economic problems highlighted by the recent devaluation of the American dollar and the Nixonomics measures. These were designed to improve the U.S. competitive position in an increasingly hostile and competitive world market. The logic of the auto-pact was the formation of a community of interest between Canada and the U.S. in this particular and extremely significant area of their mutual economies. This community of interest should have precluded attempts to obtain short term competitive advantage by one over the other. However, it is clear that the United States views Canada as a client state with whom such community can only exist within a pattern of clearly established dominance and subordination. Co-operation and community can exist so long as the American self-interest is not endangered. The comparative success of the pact from the point of view of Canadian balance of payments is seen to threaten U.S. self-interest.

The auto-pact was entered into to prevent a trade war between Canada and the U.S. which would have damaged the Canadian economy but which might have led to increased resistance to American ownership and control in Canada and to the formation of independent domestic industries utilizing locally available resources and skilled labour. The Canadian intention in this was quite clear—to protect Canadian jobs and to increase the share of Canadian production in the automobile industry in Canada. The different interpretation which the U.S. placed on the pact is clear. It was entered into "to prevent a trade war" in short run and to "allow the development of a single North American automotive industry on the basis of efficient and rational production" (both from Majority statements in the House of Representatives 1965).

The auto-pact is and should be a classic study for our "continentalist" academics and civil servants. Their models which are based on the simplistic myths of free markets, unimpeded competition, perfectly rational decision makers unfortunately do not exist in the real world. Unfortunately the only people who seem to heed such foolishness are Canadian civil servants and vest-pocket Liberal politicians who fail to realize that in the real world, interest frequently comes before consistency and that the U.S.A. is perhaps the most completely self-interested country in the modern world. Free markets might be all right if it weren't for the nasty habits of politicians of putting impediments into that perfectly rational free market in pursuit of their own self-interest.

The Canada-U.S. auto-pact represented an evolutionary advance in the system of branch-plant dependency and control in Canada's manufacturing sector. It is a new phase of integration. The Canadian industry prior to the auto-pact had a relative degree of independence from the U.S. head offices. Subsequent to the pact this degree of independence was virtually eliminated and control and decision-making were trans-

ferred to Detroit. The industry in Canada ceased to be branch plants responding to locally specific economic conditions and became instead a somewhat remote domestic hinterland subject to week-to-week if not day-to-day supervision and control from the centre.

The pact gave organized labour the opportunity to demand and achieve wage equality with their counterparts in the U.S. On the other hand there was increased pressure on wages in the unorganized section of the industry as jobs could be transferred to low wage and unorganized areas in the U.S. Among the most lucrative incentives which a region, state or province could offer for new assembly or parts production is a passive, unorganized work force willing to work at or near the minimum wage. The pressure for management and governments to engage in union busting, and strike-breaking is great. Given built-in incentives (apart from direct pro-U.S. legislation) the pressure is strong to relocate production or to locate new production in the U.S.

The corporations, however "multi-national" their operations, are nevertheless based largely in the U.S. Political pressure in the U.S. to favour local production over production elsewhere is more likely to be effective than similar pressure if it were to be exerted from within Canada. The over-all Canadian economic dependency on the U.S. gives the U.S. much more leverage in a conflict over the future location of industrial jobs. The companies will pursue the highest profit locations but one can hardly expect them to defend Canadian workers against nationalist pressure from the U.S.

FROM COLONY TO HINTERLAND

Much of the political direction on the left around the national question has concentrated on the notion of Canada as an industrially developed colony of the United States. Research has tended to concentrate on linking the Canadian economic situation

into the large body of work and analysis on dependent colonial economies. It should be clear from the above discussion that until the 1965 agreement the automotive industry could be seen as a classical example of this. The industry was almost completely foreign owned, little research or product development occurred in Canada, access to export markets were restricted, there was a continual flow of profits and payments back to the parent company. Concomitant with this was inefficient high cost production in Canada and higher consumer prices. At the same time the industry in Canada retained some degree of managerial independence and was to some extent subject to control and direction by the Canadian government responding to economic conditions in Canada.

Workers in the industry negotiated with local management over wages and conditions of employment. The dominant political force governing the context of labour-management relations was the Canadian state. This situation, it should be remembered, led to a pre-pact disparity in wages of 25% between Canadian and American auto-workers.

With the auto-pact the situation changed. The branch plant status of the Canadian industry was eliminated and Canadian automobile assembly and parts production became part of a continental system. The relative autonomy of Canadian management was removed. Allocation of production no longer significantly reflects the international boundary. Canadian automotive production has become part of the hinterland of the U.S. domestic market and is no longer a colonial or branch-plant Canadian industry.

For the workers employed by the big four automakers this has made possible the negotiation of parity wages with American workers. It has also meant that the Canadian workers have been forced to accept (though not without opposition) the effects of American economic policy such as Nixon's wage controls. It has reduced

almost to the point of disappearance the capacity of the Canadian government to significantly direct the development and over-all impact of the industry. It should be remembered that automotive products represent 75% of all manufactured products exported to the U.S. which of course, is Canada's major market for all export items. The effect of this on the ability of the Canadian government to exercise control of other segments of the Canadian economy or on Canada's international trade position has thus been drastically reduced.

The major intervening determinant of the economic condition of these workers is no longer the Canadian state.

The political effects of this are also likely to be significant especially if increasing pressure is exerted from the U.S. for a shift in production back to the U.S. The Canadian state it should be recognized is relatively powerless to control the industry, having transferred that control to the companies involved and the U.S. state. It retains of course, the right of completely abrogating the treaty, a step which in the present "rationalized" state of the industry would lead to very large scale disruption in production and the loss of the most significant sector of Canada's industrial trade capacity.

A major problem is that the workers are Canadian while the industry is American. Though they are workers in the hinterland of the American industry, if the industry were to be phased out they would not have the option of relocation which Americans in the hinterland would have. Nor would they have the political strength of the American workers to force concessions from the Big Four companies. Their jobs may whittle away and they are powerless, nor can the Canadian government protect them without threatening the entire industry. What has happened is that short term responses to long term crises have left the workers in a dangerously exposed position.

The resolution is likely to be for the Canadian government to buy the good favour of the U.S. with concessions in other areas such as energy. With the U.S. unlikely to be able to resolve its economic problems in the near future, however, Canada is likely to be forced to be continuously paying ransom for these jobs.

It has in the past clearly been a policy of Canadian governments to seek increasing integration or continentalization of industry. In the one major industry which has been continentalized the effects have the potential of a true disaster. If the present "colonial" status of the Canadian economy is unsatisfactory the most obvious alternative for our branchplant politicians is probably continentalism.

The lesson from the automotive industry is clear. Continentalism in whatever form without *political* continentalism would be disastrous. We can presume that political continentalism might be equally or more disastrous.

It is likely that the continuing difficulty of the American economy will provoke an increasing nationalist response. In the context of the automotive industry this has very serious ramifications. Unable to develop a graduated reply to this pressure because of its loss of control over the industry the Canadian government must either abandon it to the vagaries of American domestic politics or seek some alternative to the present hinterland status. The options in this direction include public ownership, or public co-ownership of a truly national industry.

FOOTNOTES

1. For a discussion of the early history of the industry in Canada see C.H. Aikman, *The Automobile Industry of Canada*, Montreal, n.d.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 16 ff., see also M. Wilkins and F.E. Hill, *American Business Abroad: Ford on Six Continents*, Detroit, 1964, p. 113-33 for a discussion of the high degree of independence in Ford of Canada.
3. The Sun Life Assurance Co. of Canada, *The Canadian Automotive Industry. Studies for the Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects*, 1956, p. 17-8.
4. For example Ford of Canada was the nominal owner of Ford in Australia, South Africa and the Phillipines.
5. H.O. Helmers, *Some Effects of the United States-Canadian Automobile Agreement*, un-

- published Ph.D. dissertation, U. of Michigan, 1967, p. 29.
6. Kari Levitt, *Silent Surrender*, Toronto, 1970, p. 122.
 7. U.S. Congress, House Committee on Ways and Means, *Hearings on H.K. 1960 United States-Canada Automobile Products Agreement*, 89th Congress, 1st Session, 1965, p. 181.
 8. Report: Royal Commission on the Automotive Industry, Queen's Printer, 1961, (The Bladen Report), p. 21.
 9. *Ibid.*, p. 67.
 10. Helmers, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
 11. *Ibid.*, p. 29-30.
 12. *Ibid.*, p. 30-31.
 13. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
 14. The information in this section comes mostly from an excellent unpublished paper by Lawrence Fast: *The Automotive Products Free-Trade Agreement of 1965: A Case Study*.
 15. J. Laxer, "Lament for an Industry", *The Last Post*, V. 2, n. 3, Dec.-Jan. 1971-2, p. 33.
 16. L.B. Pearson, "Remarks with Prime Minister Pearson upon signing U.S.-Canadian Agreement on Automotive Products", Jan. 16, 1965 in *Canadian-American Relations 1867-1967*, V. 2, Ottawa, 1967, p. 120.
 17. Proclamation by C.B. Johnson on signing of U.S.-Canadian Automotive Agreement, *Ibid.*, p. 130.
 18. Quoted in L. Fast, *op. cit.*

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DISCUSSION DISCUSSION DISCUSSION

THE STATE IS NOT A CONSPIRACY

BY JONATHAN CLOUD

Thank you for sending me a sample copy of your publication; I am enclosing \$5.00 for a subscription for 1973 (I would be grateful if you could start it with the January issue already published). I would also like to pass on my comments on the issue which you sent me (vol. 8, no. 4, on 'State and Capital'). As one of "those radicals who accept working for the government as a legitimate channel for bringing about real change," at least in Canada, I welcome the opportunity offered in your

editorial on the state to set down a few thoughts on my experiences in Ottawa over the last two years. As one of the authors of the Evaluation Task Force report on Opportunities for Youth, I also feel qualified to comment on the Lorne Huston article in the same issue. Finally, as a freelance consultant to various government departments, I may perhaps be less inhibited in my remarks than a career civil servant. (I hope the delay between your offer and my response has not diminished your interest in the issues, which, quite apart from specific programmes, remain significant problems for the radical critic.)

In relation to your over-all treatment of the area, I think there are three major points to be made. The first is about the concepts of 'state' and 'government,' and the problems of treating the two as equivalent. The second is about the conspiracy theory of government, which is evidently espoused by Mr. Huston, and is irrationally popular in the left generally. The third is about the reasons for choosing work in the government as a means of bringing

about change, and my own experiences of success and failure in that endeavour.

I. The term 'state' is primarily useful to critical analysis as a theoretical concept embracing the coercive aspects of the general political organization of society. It is usually meant to include the police, the army, and the judiciary as well as the legislative and administrative branches of the government; but in such phrases as "the withering away of the state" it is presumably meant to *exclude* the organization of public services such as the postal system or the provision of electric power, however inadequate their present operation. The 'government,' on the other hand, is a concrete reality rather than an abstract concept: it is that congeries of institutions, departments, and programmes which actually operate to bring about the varied and sometimes contradictory ends of the liberal-democratic society. While the state is, by definition, coercive (i.e., it controls the 'legitimate' means of violence in the society), the preponderance, direction, and effectiveness of the coercive elements in the government at any given point in time is an empirical question.

The mere substitution of the term 'state' for the term 'government' does not suffice to raise the analysis to a critical level; it is, moreover, false to experience. As an employee, one's immediate experiences are with the administrative structures of government, and not with persons performing in the role of 'agent of the state.' The interests of the Canadian state are, as you note, the interests of corporate capital; but the purposes of individuals working in the government vary as much as those of private citizens.

II. It is this diversity, coupled with the size and complexity of government operations, which belies the conspiracy theories taken for granted by so many 'radical' critics. Huston's analysis of OFY and LIP is a good example; while heavily based on the Task Force report, it draws the presumably radical but actually unlikely

conclusion that these programmes are part of a "general strategy of social control." To anyone who has worked in Ottawa, the idea that the bureaucracy is cohesive enough to devise a general strategy of social control, let alone get the lower echelons to understand it well enough to embed it in social programmes, is a wholly fanciful one.

In the case of OFY, the Task Force studied the development of the programme's concept very carefully (one researcher was employed full time for about five months purely on the history of OFY), to try to discover the intended meaning behind the programme. In fact, as outlined in the report, there was no single intended meaning or purpose behind the programme. It was first proposed in a somewhat different form by an ex-CYC staffer as a more humane and possibly creative way of providing make-work programmes; it was subsequently endorsed by various people, who only partly understood it, for various reasons of their own (including, in at least one case, the explicit desire to channel off the anti-establishment energies of vocal students); but most of the meanings and purposes attached to it have grown up after the fact. Whatever its manipulative elements, or its diversionary consequences, it clearly (and perhaps unfortunately) was not part of a coherent plan to do anything about anything. In fact, it represented an abdication by the government of any role or ability in dealing with the whole bag of issues raised by the 'youth culture'; it was dubbed 'planned anarchy' because it simply turned money over to kids, and left them to decide (within limits) the best allocation of these social resources.

The very fact that the Task Force report, itself critical of an already popular programme, was ever written is evidence of cracks in the monolithic structure. Of course the report was edited, changed, and delayed; it was never a wholly acceptable document to any official level of government; but it was at least partly successful in drawing attention to, and providing information about, many of the aspects of

OFY and similar programmes which merit the attention of critical thinkers. It provided the necessary ground-work for Huston's article (and for a couple of others I have seen put out in Quebec); but it could barely hint at the much more sophisticated and theoretically informed analysis which, it seems, still remains to be done.

It is unclear to me as to why anyone would want to maintain or accept the conspiracy theory of government; perhaps it makes it easier to think of revolution as overthrowing the 'baddies.' But in fact it is false, and radical thought needs to begin with a correct analysis of the structures of state and society as they are today if it is ever to arrive at a programme of historically-appropriate action. All I can offer at this point is the perception of the Canadian government as hyperactive in an ad hoc and frequently uncoordinated way, constantly responding to unforeseen and uncomprehended 'crises,' which eventually go away if only because the opposition to government is equally disjointed. There are, of course, thousands of conspiracies going on every day, some good and some bad; but in the main these conspiracies are hampered by lack of information and coordination from achieving their ends.

III. This brings me to your editorial question: "can the state be used or is it not more likely that the state is in fact using us?" I assume you do not expect an either/or answer. If we recognize that the problems of present-day Canadian society require changes in the fundamental structures of that society, we shall be forced to the conclusion that existing governmental institutions are incapable of bringing about these changes. If we also recognize, however, that the objective conditions for bringing about these changes are absent, that there exist no alternative structures for radical action, no class consciousness, then we may be forced into a sterile impasse. In fact, present-day radical analysis is antiquated and inadequate, and radical action is sporadic and disorganized. In particular, the only real possibilities for radical

change in Canada at the moment are to be found in Quebec, and these possibilities have been ignored or misunderstood by radical English Canadians.

The only choice as I can see it is to attempt to create a situation in which radical analysis and change might have a chance of occurring, let alone succeeding. Barring the successful separation of Quebec and the collapse of U.S. imperialism, we cannot expect revolutionary change to come about in Canada through a violent overthrow of those in power. Certain progressive changes may be brought about, however, by the correct manipulation of existing power structures. Certain kinds of government actions can help to increase consciousness and promote acceptance of egalitarian if not overtly socialist institutions. These changes are not to be sought as final end-states, but as means to the further historical development of the society. The existence of NPD governments, however social-democratic their outlook, is a progressive development *for Canada at the present time*, as is the existence of programmes such as OFY and LIP, whose funds can be used to promote community development.

Such work, especially within the government, will ultimately be limited by the overt emergence of vested interests which are antithetical to change. But in a preliminary way this work is possible because of two factors: A) because it falls within the range of what is acceptable to the liberal-pluralist ideology espoused by the state, and B) because civil servants and government employees are not personally and directly tied to corporate interests in the way that many political figures are. In the first case, the dominant liberal ideology legitimizes peaceful action aimed at consciousness-raising, the improvement of social conditions for the oppressed, etc. without considering their long-range purposes or consequences. If this action is successful, the establishment is ultimately forced to suspend its tolerance because its own existence is being undermined: at that point it

reveals itself as illiberal, and alternative structures must be formed. But except in the case of Quebec this confrontation is a long way off. In the second place, the majority of persons engaged in administering and planning government programmes are not politicians but career civil servants and permanent employees of the government. They are not dependent upon corporate support to maintain their positions (although they must tread warily with politicians who are), and they have no objective class interests to fear progressive social legislation. Indeed, most regard themselves as above or beyond partisan politics and vested interests, and promote such legislation for 'humanitarian' reasons, being restrained only by an attitudinal conservatism which is not intrinsic to their position. This is what makes it possible to conceive of organizing public employees and educating them about their own roles in mediating between the state and civil society.

Finally, I do not want to minimize the difficulties and uncertainties of this type of action, or to imply that it is necessarily better than alternative strategies outside the structure of government. The critical thinker who accepts employment in government must be aware of attempts to use his work for reactionary or conservative purposes, and he must constantly resist pressures to acquiesce to policies he disagrees with in order to maintain his own position. At the same time, he must utilize whatever means are available to him to promote socially desirable programmes and develop the consciousness of his fellow workers. It is an unstable and ultimately inadequate position, but it is forced upon him by the absence of viable alternatives. And it is only partly palliated by the recognition that there are a few others, such as yourselves, attempting to promote the development of these alternatives outside government.

Ottawa
February 11, 1973

RESPONSE TO CLOUD

BY LORNE HUSTON AND
HENRY MILNER

The editors felt that Mr. Cloud's letter was an interesting one which raised a number of important questions. As such it merits a serious response. We have responded to each of his three major points. First, to his comments concerning the distinctions to be made between the government and the State, and his critique of the LIP/OFY article and second, in a more general way to his contention that the state can be used for progressive change.

1. Jonathan Cloud raises one of the most crucial and interesting problems in the analysis of the State when he writes: "The interests of the Canadian state are... the interests of corporate capital; but the purposes of individuals working in the government vary as much as those of private citizens." In fact, through-out his letter, he makes the point that the internal functioning of the bureaucracy is in fact characterized by compromises, diversity, adhocery, etc... rather than a single conspiratorial attempt to undermine opposition.

Agreed. But so what? Is it necessary, in the analysis of the impact of a particular programme, to take into account the political opinions of the individual civil servants who are involved in the elaboration and application of policy? Are we interested in the admittedly diverse "purposes of individuals working in the government" or, on the other hand, the empirically verifiable effects of the policies that they devise and apply?

The intention in our article was not to argue that the government was composed of "baddies" or "goodies" since this is not as important as the objective consequences of its actions. We tried to show that the programmes contained a built-in definition

of what was good for the community and that they contained limits on how and how far this could be applied. We wanted to argue that there was a whole realm of activity, a whole method of dealing with social problems which was systematically excluded from these programmes.

It is quite possible that social aid programmes are motivated by noble motives, but it is amazing how noble feelings seem to be triggered by the threat of social unrest.

It is also possible and more significant that policy makers, on the whole, are restricted by class blinkers in their perception of socio-economic causes of problems, and that since their response to the problem springs from a non-conflictual or pluralistic vision of society, it is bound to contradict and undermine a logic which springs from class analysis.

For example, the policy of the government's giving preference to larger projects (10-15 persons) is a technique of control of these projects. That does not say that there is any explicit theory of flooding projects. What is important however, is that a large staff is a manifestation of a service-type orientation rather than a collective-type orientation. From a "rehabilitative" viewpoint, one has a team of social workers that provide a service to the population according to a rather static perception of its needs. Thus a team of 10-15 people is not illogical from this viewpoint. But a staff of 10-15 persons effectively paralyses any organization that seeks to be based on the equal collective action of its members. So here is a case where obstacles are set in the way of collective action not because the policy-makers are "baddies" or "conspiratorial" but simply because the institutional strategy within which they operate contradicts the strategy of collective action. Whether the civil servants be well-intentioned or not, whether they have consciously or unconsciously designed a programme that undermines collective action, it nevertheless remains that LIP projects paralyse collective-action projects, create artificial

dependencies, and distort the development of voluntary, self-administration.

The crucial point here seems to be the impact of the institutions in this analysis. LIP and OFY are part of a general strategy of social control in the sense that social aid in general, (starting with unemployment benefits during the depression and later with welfare programmes) has historically been tied much more closely to social unrest than to economic conditions of the poor. We are not criticizing the individual purposes of the people in Manpower or the United Fund saying that these programmes have integrating and stabilizing effects on their clientele. It seems that LIP and OFY fulfill the same functions for a more particular marginal group and in a more subtle way. The conscious intentions of the policy makers then, and the multiple compromises which such a programme must go through is only of secondary importance.

Thus we agree with Cloud in his criticism of a conspiratorial theory of government. Moral indignation on the part of those outside the government changes as little as the "individual purposes" of those who work within it. What is needed, is a more developed critical perspective that enables us to analyse the objective role of the State and to develop an effective response to it.

II. Cloud says given no "structured alternative" for radical change in Canada, the Canadian state can be used. Let us accept his "given" and see if his conclusion is justified. There are two aspects to such a justification. The first is empirical. Cloud might have pointed to "progressive work of manipulating government structures" done by individuals working for the government; he chose not to attempt to do so. To do so in fact, we would suggest, is difficult, indeed, impossible except in the case perhaps of provincial administrations with social democratic governments.

He chooses to make his argument on the second aspect, i.e. to attempt to de-

monstrate that objective conditions exist within government service such that a person with a predilection toward radical action can in fact take advantage of these conditions.

Individuals working through the government can help to introduce progressive changes because 1) these "fall within the range of the liberal pluralist ideology espoused by the state", and 2) because civil servants are not personally and directly tied to corporate interests.

Cloud admits that there is an attitudinal conservatism among public employees but he tells us that this is not intrinsic to their position and that both their disinterestedness and their acceptance of the humanitarian ideology that government serves the people makes them potentially open to being organized toward progressive actions.

While Cloud admits there are difficulties, he says that in the present unripe situation we must accept them and try to overcome them as much as possible. Government service is not the only nor necessarily the best avenue of social change but for Cloud it is an avenue.

Unfortunately, we cannot agree with this formulation. It is indeed an avenue then we must see concrete evidence of accomplishment or at least a strategic outline for organizing civil servants. Of this we are very skeptical. In opposition to the objective position of civil servants that Cloud sees, we offer our own picture. (Note that we exclude from consideration those working for social democratic governments; such cases would require a separate analysis.) The main point we have made in OG 8/4 and one somewhat ignored by Cloud, is that the basic function of the state in capitalist society is to serve capitalism. (See also Miliband). To understand the role and potentials of the public employees we must begin by situating them within this reality. Whatever the individual may think, whatever the prevailing ethos in the part of the service in which he acts, his

function is to serve the long term interests of the capitalist ruling class.

Thus the first objective factor cited by Cloud, the prevailing pluralist or humanitarian ideology, we interpret as follows: apart from providing the capitalist class with its concrete needs, the state increasingly plays a socializing or mystifying role. It must convince its clients and the population at large that it is in fact a "public" service and that there are no classes but rather one government of all the people. Hence this very pluralist ideology which Cloud says gives the civil servants room to act, in our view, tends to result in their performing their function better, and their function is not promoting progressive change (i.e. change that opens possibilities for social revolution) but inhibiting it. Hence the "humanitarian" justification for the action of public employees is not likely to lead to "progressive" actions — though they indeed may be humanitarian. Rather such humanitarian actions are likely to be regressive in the sense of inhibiting the development of class consciousness.

The second factor cited by Cloud, we suggest, can be seen in the same way. It is true that the public servant does not take his orders directly from the economic ruling class, however, because he is part of a machine designed to implement the policies of those who do, this makes little difference. While it is true that his career is somewhat more secure than that of a politician, it is true on the other hand, that the politician at least is able to understand the extent to which he serves the ruling class and thus potentially to refuse. This is harder, far harder, for the civil servant.

The above brings on the whole issue of complexity — one ignored by Cloud. Is it possible to fight capitalism caught up in the web of a complex bureaucracy the ultimate function of which is to preserve capitalism?

We remain skeptical, Cloud's arguments notwithstanding. It appears to us that given

the complexity, the ideological mystification etc., that at the very least, we can conclude that individuals in the public service are automatically rendered harmless. Hence further discussion requires a careful treatment of the possibility of organizing public servants into politically active and sophisticated bodies either totally within government or combined with client or labour groups. The questions remain.

WORKING CLASS ATTITUDES IN TRANSITION

BY WALTER JOHNSON

There are few issues which arouse more intense emotion or prolonged debate than the status of the worker in modern industrial society. Workers are the unsuspecting victims of analysis, appraisal and the inevitable categorization that 'rational' society demands. The resulting confusion has spawned several myths which many writers have a vested interest in perpetuating. Nowhere is this more evident than in the recent movie *Joe* which has enjoyed wide distribution and generally favourable criticism. The film depicts the frustrations and prejudices of a middle-aged blue collar worker who feels increasingly threatened and isolated by the changing society around him. Joe's inability to cope causes him to complain bitterly that "Life is a crockful of crap." The worldlywise might nod their jaded heads in agreement but Joe hasn't finished yet. He snappishly announces that "forty-two percent of all liberals are queers." Statistics, you know. Blacks, social workers and welfare recipients also find themselves targets for Joe's acidulous barbs.

Joe is a disturbing contrast to the vir-

tuous and idealistic worker of the thirties so heroically portrayed in movies like *How Green was My Valley*. I can still remember Donald Crisp lining up his coal mining sons for their daily bath. Times change and within the span of three decades the noble worker has been miraculously transformed into a narrowminded, fearful bigot. Cinematic conceptions of the worker, either idealized or vulgarized, usually reflect prevailing intellectual fashions but why the drastic change of opinion (prejudice)?

Left intellectuals and film-makers were once sympathetic allies of the worker but the relationship was always tenuous. The esoteric goals of ideology were not the prime concern of the average man; instead low wages, job insecurity and poor living conditions attracted workers to the union movement with its aura of radicalism. The exploitation theory was more relevant to the man who could lose his job through the capricious whim of an employer or his managers. Unionism flourished and with its growth came collective bargaining, grievance procedures and fringe benefits. The improvements diluted labour-management antagonisms but also weakened traditional alliances with the Left. Many genuinely radical intellectuals suspected that labour's gains were transparent and a radical transformation of society was still essential but workers increasingly rejected the ideological arguments culminating with the expulsion (a mistake) of Communist union members in the late forties. The Liberal Left applauded the "pragmatism" of the anti-ideological purge. Intellectual influence was further eroded by changes in the nature of the economic system.

The anticapitalist tirades became less potent as the founding entrepreneurs were replaced by faceless managers and organization men. Education competed with capital and the corporation was hatched with its technical and managerial elite often including the children of the working class. Psychological techniques promoting worker-company identification (The team spirit,

pulling together, corporate socialism ad nauseam) became common and the conflict between union and management decreased markedly.

Marx's dream of workers controlling the factories and the surplus value of their labour seemed remote. Many workers concluded that manipulation by the new managerial elite would be more profitable than a continued dependence on leftist academics and theoreticians. Much of the left retreated — not reluctantly — to the elitist ivory towers of Academia. As conditions improved the influence of the ideologues became even less persuasive and only a few unreconstructed Marxists and anarchists resisted the change with any vigour.

Some interesting social re-alignments furthered the estrangement with the Left. The children of the affluent middle class became the unexpected champions of a variety of causes which previously the worker considered his domain. Such causes as anti-poverty, civil rights, anti-war protest attracted some blue collar support but other less tangible themes disturbed. The attack on material prosperity baffled those who for years considered upward mobility a positive goal. To the worker, newly accustomed to acquisition, the assault on technology was absurd and the ensuing frustration often manifested itself in the now stereotyped hippie-hardhat confrontation. The dissatisfied young (The Kids) received sympathetic attention from many liberal intellectuals, those same intellectuals who had always extolled the virtues of the working class. Hence a mounting disillusionment with liberalism — its methods and objectives — grew.

The desertion of familiar intellectual support created confusion among the working class and several enterprising individuals quickly capitalized on the disorientation. In the United States Vice President Spiro Agnew pricked the balloon of liberal pomposity with his alliterative bombast and spirited defence of working men. Many suspected that his motives were disinge-

nuous and the new alliance was abruptly terminated. The intellectual confusion remained and among workers cynicism has become a fashionable substitute for constructive thought. The media has interpreted this reaction as bigotry, selfishness and insensitivity, not realizing that these are defensive emotions fostered by lack of intelligent leadership.

* * *

It should be evident that much of the working class has become "bourgeoisified" to the point where they support even such right wing sentiments as super patriotism and social darwinism. This is to be expected since the broadbased and eclectic coalitions of the thirties catered to self-interest or getting ahead. Workers were urged to obtain a bigger "piece of the action" so it is not surprising that having acquired more "power" they would try to consolidate and protect it.

Nowhere was the conservative trend more evident than in the recent United States presidential campaign where Senator George McGovern failed to attract any sizable blue collar support. Workers, in overwhelming numbers, deserted the Democratic Party to support a man who has never championed their interests. It was the final repudiation of the left-liberal-reformist-academic complex which once had been the staunchest upholder of working class interests.

Senator McGovern conducted his campaign as if the nation was in the midst of a staggering Hooverlike depression. His speeches were riddled with altruistic pronouncements and slogans that grated upon the ears of high earning, unionized workers who had become the pillars of the new middle class. All the "pragmatic" goals of the thirties had been achieved and many workers turned to the party of special interests and entrenched power; The party that would justify self-interest as a respectable political ideal. Nixon and Agnew succeeded in converting blue collar types

by suggesting that the Democratic Party (more specifically McGovernites) was now an elitist coalition which might sacrifice some of the prosperity unionists are enjoying. McGovern's evangelical self-righteousness (A.T.C. Douglas handicap) confirmed the suspicions that some sacrifice might be involved if he was elected. The fear of loss (always ill-defined) intimidated labour to the extent that Nixon and Agnew (the highest paid flunkey in America) were allowed to give absurd lectures on the "work ethic" and the "competitive spirit". It was obvious that the Democratic Party was no longer the only vehicle for the interests of labour.

A similar situation exists in Canada where the Waffle movement represents a threat (real or imagined) to the status quo. Workers, who have obtained higher salaries by belonging to the powerful international unions, distrust the "idealistic" (possible loss of money) goals the Waffle embraces. I quote a worker on the issue of Canadian industrial autonomy: "These Waffle guys will always have a soft job at the university or get grants but I'll still have to bust my ass on the line for forty hours a week and a lower standard of living". Much of the working class dismisses the Waffle as a semi-precious fraternity of academics and intellectuals dedicated to internecine feuding. The Left reciprocates by viewing workers as consumption crazed slobs who dutifully support any group which will maintain a superior bargaining position with the multi-national corporations.

A confusing situation exists in Quebec where the working class and the Left share the same bed but the mutual discomfort is almost unbearable. The common enemy is the residue of English colonialism. Quebec nationalism (pragmatic) is the great unifier while Socialism (idealistic) seems vaguely threatening. It is true that the leadership of the unions is radical (worker controlled state) but the rank and file membership would be more comfortable with a "bourgeois leftist" Parti Québécois government.

A dissident group of unionists have recently broken away from the C.N.T.U. to form a more conservative union (Centrale des Syndicats Démocratiques) that wishes to remain totally non-political. In an effort to assuage conservative rank and file membership the C.N.T.U. and Q.F.L. have become increasingly sympathetic to the Quebec Nationalism of the Parti Québécois. Q.F.L. leader Louis Laberge has dropped the slogan "break the regime" and now favours change through parliamentary reform. Right-Wing sentiment in the Quebec labour movement is as pronounced as it is in the United States and Ontario but high unemployment, separatism (Quebec nationalism) and a radical labour leadership have camouflaged its presence.

The emergence of blue collar conservatism annoys many liberals who feel that they have been betrayed by the grubby, ultra-materialistic working class. They conveniently forget that the old alliance between labour and the Left was based on mutual self-interest. The so-called radicalism of the thirties was a weary attempt to sustain classical liberalism while soothing the troubled conscience with patchwork humanism. A consensus of ideas pruned from disparate groups; some socialism, a hint of libertarianism, no small measure of fascism. Present working class attitudes are the natural result of this philosophical hodgepodge yet liberal intellectuals either ignore or refuse to recognize the fact, preferring instead to lampoon the class which they helped create. It is, therefore, understandable when blue collar types resent the smug elitism or haughty condescension of liberal or leftist intellectuals.

A rapprochement between the Left and the working class must be achieved since any alliance with the Right would merely be a delusion. Changes in the corporate system are essential and most workers will respond to reasoned arguments and positions. The danger lies in demands that workers make sacrifices to achieve intangible goals. There is little sympathy for

hysterical anti-technological crusades and workers fear a New Left type of Luddite activism more than anything else. It is recognized, however, that people and technology must be symbiotic rather than antagonistic. Social objectives (eg. Canadian industrial autonomy, guaranteed annual income, individuality as opposed to corporate manipulation) must be clarified and presented in a manner which is not condescending or prattling. An end to the misrepresentation of the working class in films and television is essential. The oversimplified "Archie Bunker" blue collar stereotype is a demeaning, elitist concept which identifies bigotry and stupidity as the sole prerogative of the working class. It is the same type of prejudice which once labelled academics as "absent minded professors" incapable of any "practical" tasks. The image of academics as flighty, irresponsible creatures is now firmly ingrained in the public consciousness. Such simple-minded generalizations, under the guise of humour, are really examples of virulent anti-intellectualism. An attempt to substitute preconceived prejudice for a more thoughtful analysis of people's opinions and behaviour. Such prejudice is now evident in many articles and films about the working class.

The Left can re-establish a rapport with labour but it will not be achieved by scorning workers as stupid, materialistic automations. The campaign of David Lewis has struck a responsive chord among the working class. The attack on the "corporate welfare bums," exposed the inequity of the taxation system. The same approach can be used to challenge the life sucking advertising hucksters, the finance and loan companies, and the unfairness of a welfare system which subsidizes unemployed youngsters of the middle class (O.F.Y., L.I.P.) but deprives the poor (working or otherwise) of really adequate income or living conditions. It must be demonstrated that it is in the workers' self-interest to support non-unionized or dispossessed people in achieving a better deal.

The importance of Canadian industrial autonomy should be more carefully explained using concrete examples like the recent "political" lay-off which occurred at the Ste. Therese, Quebec General Motors Plant. Fifteen hundred men were informed (they first read about the lay-off in the newspaper) that General Motors no longer required their services due to "market conditions". The social upheaval in the area is terrific since most workers had accepted the work-consumption-debt ethic completely and now face, empty handed, the car debts, the mortgage payments, and the nagging wives. It is a classic example of our overdependence on the American economic colossus.

Many workers believe the Left has become too elitist and exclusive in nature. It might be useful to examine the Left-wing role in creating present blue-collar attitudes. The enormous changes wrought by technology have created an entirely new set of problems and frustrations for industrial workers and society in general. By clinging to the universities, the Left has become prone to rigid and elitist perspectives. The broader framework of radicalism has been largely abandoned in favour of the "pragmatic" obsession with statism and power through electoralism. Labour is repelled by the manipulative, power-hungry nature of the Waffle, the Parti Québécois and the McGovernites. Nothing less than a complete re-appraisal of current Left-wing goals and attitudes is required to understand present working class antagonisms. Workers possess the same qualities the Left admired in the Thirties. They have not become ogres.

(Walter Johnson is a young worker on the assembly-line at the Ste. Thérèse General Motors plant)

MAN AND RESOURCES ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

BY EVE SMITH

To protect the environment, ecological consideration must take precedence over economic, and more than lip-service must be paid, to prevent further degradation of the environment.

Ecology is the relationship of all living things with one another, and the process of interaction, and inter-dependency, between all living things with the chemical and physical environment.

Lack of knowledge and lack of concern for these principles are responsible for the series of crises that have given rise to the endless conferences that are held to determine how best to deal with the problems that face us — which, actually, is one problem, disregard for the total environment and how it works.

So we have Stockholms, and Man & Resources, and government agencies and ministries for the environment, and the fiddling continues while the environment burns.

Having attended some of the Man & Resources meetings, and read the literature before and after the Montebello meeting, I find myself in agreement with Don Nixon in "Bonjour" (Nov. 2/72) who said, "Could it be that Public Participation is the latest catch phrase in a government attempt to keep the public ignorant and quiet?" It seems the public is being given a chance to talk in order to make them think that something will be done.

And as Roderick Haig-Brown was quoted in the "Vancouver Sun" as saying of the Stockholm Conference, "There will be money there, oil money, government money, military money, to frustrate anything that might be achieved."

The words "Ecology" and "Environment" are prostituted by commercial companies in their advertising, while they continue along their destructive courses; governments set up ministries and committees of the environment, in most cases it appears that they are there to make us think that Something is Being Done.

The natural resources of the country are privately owned or leased, as in the case of Crown lands being leased for mining and logging; and production, trade and commerce, is carried on primarily for profit-making, while human needs have become a secondary consideration. Concern for the natural world and wild creatures is minimal.

I see no hope for any significant improvement with governments, private industry, trade unions and commercial enterprises constituted as they are now.

If governments were sincere in their expressions of concern for environmental protection they would have taken far more drastic measures to that end. Perhaps the beautiful prairie and wild animals in the Suffield area would not now be burning up as a result of practice fire from British guns, brought here by the Canadian Defense Department. Who is being defended? Not the antelope, not the land, not the rare prairie wild flowers. NOT the ecology.

Instead of subsidizing oil exploration in the north, we should be subjected to an intensive educational program to save and conserve power. Preparations for the gigantic James Bay Development are going ahead, roads are being built, airfields in the making, with only token ecological study having been done. Quebec's business? It is *everyone's business*. The Federal Environmental Department surely has some say in the disposition of the environment?

Rationing oil and gas would help; increasing electrical rates the more power is used; restricting the production of gadgetry; — but industry does not take kindly to controls, and if, as a result of public pressure some restrictive legislation is brought in, then there are many legal loopholes for exemptions or postponement. As Professor Willard Miller said in an article in "Not Man Apart" (Journal of Friends of the Earth), "What legislative body is prepared to legislate the death of corporate capitalism? How many of our legislators, many of whom receive a large portion of their campaign funds from corporations, are willing to bite the hand that feeds them?"

Conditions have to arrive at the desperate crisis stage before action is taken. Endangered species would not have become endangered had it not been for furriers, hunters, gunsmiths, logging, mining, companies continuing their profitable ways, using unnecessarily wasteful, cruel, and destructive methods, in almost total disregard for ecological conditions.

There have been plenty of warnings, to this writer's knowledge, regarding the dangers of pesticides, for twenty-five years at least; yet it is only in recent times that agricultural and wildlife departments have become concerned. Evidence has been piling up for years that soils are depleted by inorganic chemical fertilizers and the soil micro-organisms destroyed — the acadamecians notwithstanding. Chemical companies are very powerful and their influence is far-reaching, in the form of grants, advertising, etc.

Logging and mining companies have ruled almost supreme, in many provincial parks, 'our' parks — but now we see a ray of hope in British Columbia with the new government: — falcons are to be protected, no more falconry; the Roosevelt elk are to have a chance of survival now that there is a moratorium on logging in their habitat, the Tsitika Valley, almost their last refuge, as much has been logged already.

And are not many of the great whales nearly extinct? And what did Canada's delegate to the International Whaling Commission, held last summer, do? He did not vote for the ten-year moratorium on whales; that 10 years might have given the whales a chance at a comeback.

At the Stockholm Conference, June 1972, the ten-year moratorium motion was passed. Canada was among those who voted *for* ten-year moratorium on whaling at Stockholm. So why did Canada's delegate refrain from voting at the International Whaling Commission meeting in London? The Ecologist (October 1972) suggests that the secrecy under which the I.W.C. meets tends to alter people's attitudes; whereas there was great publicity at Stockholm and delegates tended to do what was expected of them.

Our society is based on lavish, wasteful use and misuse — our attitude is that we have dominion over palm and pine — and that all living things are put on earth for our benefit, a most immoral concept. We have not learned that we are only part of a whole and that in destroying other things we are destroying ourselves. If we are to survive, then we must learn one fundamental lesson, co-operate with nature and natural law, not 'conquer' nature, not subvert nature, not 'bear' nature.

Our National Parks Act is one of the better pieces of legislation in this country, but the National Parks department has had to fight the private sector to maintain many of its policies. The three new northern parks are a great achievement but none of them contains an entire life system within its borders — mining influences are too great.

Man & Resources publication November 1972, refers to "holistic total environment or eco-systems approaches to administration of natural resources" — when is this going to start? For many years we have had all the evidence we need of gross pollution, fish kills, wild creature decimation; overcutting and overgrazing causing floods; depletion of soil, reduction of soil health resulting from pesticides and herbicides and artificial fertilizers with consequent deterioration of valuable nutrient content of food; yet how much has been done? When will we learn that prevention is better and cheaper than cure? That what we need for good health is *food*, not over-processed, refined, chemicalized, 'long-shelf-life' foodless food.

This land has been plundered, from the early days when the fur trading companies debauched Indians with rum and brandy in return for millions of furs, to the present, where natural resources and human beings are exploited by private interests to keep a few in obscene luxury, and many in uneasy comfort or actual want.

At this time in history we see the increasing paradox of great scientific knowledge, mass production of commodities on the one hand; and great poverty and destruction on the other.

Waste is the hallmark of our society — land, water, building materials, goods and services; *people* "waste the goods" is the expression used in Vietnam by one lot of human beings in the destruction of their fellow humans, and Canada has aided and abetted this monstrous example of waste.

Modern inventive genius has produced nuclear-fission, but has not found a way of disposing of *radioactive wastes*. It is still primarily an "economic" concern. The demand for power is so great that many nuclear plants have been built despite the dangers. We are still being conditioned to 'demand' more power, rather than to conserve it, because those who own and control power production do not want their profits decreased.

Says Dr. F. H. Bormann, Professor of Ecology at Yale, "It is hard to measure the psychic effects of growing population and technology... Every day all of us are assaulted by the spectacle of decaying cities, and a callous disregard for all other organisms that share our planet. It is most unlikely that people will work for evolving drastic reorganization of society unless they are energized by a clearer vision than now exists of what life might be like under new conditions. It seems to me that the creation of that vision is the awesome challenge of the 1970s."

The vision has been with many of us for a long time — making it a reality is what we must do — if life is to survive in a reasonable humane co-operative society, where equitable sharing is the goal; a wise, if limited use, of natural resources to supply the needs of all living things.

(Eve Smith is a long-time subscriber and activist from South Pender Island, B.C.)

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BOOK REVIEWS

ANARCHISM : FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE

BY DANIEL GUÉRIN. TRANSLATED
BY MARY KLOPPER. INTRODUC-
TION BY NOAM CHOMSKY.

NEW YORK AND LONDON :
MONTHLY REVIEW PRESS. 1970.

Daniel Guérin is a French anarchist historian. This little book was published in Paris in 1965, and by now it has been translated into ten languages. He has since followed it up with a historical anthology of the anarchist movement, *Ni Dieu ni Maître* (Lausanne, 1969), which is probably the best single source book on the subject. An English version of the later book would certainly be welcome too.

Guérin is best known in France as the author of *La lutte de Classes sous la Première République* which was published in 1946 and appeared in a second edition in 1968. It focuses on the struggle of the working classes of France against the ascendant bourgeoisie during the second phase of the French Revolution, 1793-1797, and since it anticipates the guiding theme of the book under review here, I shall say a word about it first of all. Guérin seeks to show that the popular movements of 1793-7 contained the nucleus of a proletarian revolution. The internal dynamic of the Revolution thus led beyond the bourgeois state into social forms which were to be realized only in the 19th and 20th century. Guérin agrees with the traditional Marxist view that objective conditions did not allow anything more than bourgeois democracy to be attained at the time. But that is not the main lesson he draws.

What he seeks to show specifically is that in their struggle with the bourgeoisie the working classes were able to generate non-parliamentary organs of popular power. The sections and the communes of 1793-4 manifested an astonishing degree of spontaneous organization, and Guérin holds that their challenge to the Convention was the challenge of the workers to the bourgeoisie. The drive of the working classes was necessary to the bourgeoisie for attaining their own ends — but this ought not to lead us to see the workers in a merely subordinate role. It ought not to obscure the specific nature of the workers' organizations. And here is the real theme of the book. In the course of a revolutionary movement, large masses of people are able to generate organs of direct democracy which are suited to them. They do it spontaneously, out of the dynamic of the revolution. Programs devised by intellectuals are not necessary for this. Indeed such programs by intellectuals are always less advanced in their content than what the people achieve spontaneously under such conditions. Guérin's study of the class struggle during the first republic is a laboratory analysis of this process.

The book on *Anarchism* seeks again to demonstrate the power of the people to generate the forms of direct democracy. The challenge to parliamentary government appears early in the book :

In Proudhon's view "democracy is nothing but a constitutional tyrant." The people were declared sovereign by a "trick" of our forefathers. In reality they are a monkey king which has kept only the title of sovereign without the magnificence and grandeur. The people rule but do not govern, and delegate their sovereignty through the periodic exercise of Universal suffrage, abdicating their power anew every three or five years. The dynasts have been

driven from the throne but the royal prerogative has been preserved intact. In the hands of a people whose education has been wilfully neglected the ballot is a cunning swindle benefiting only the united barons of industry, trade and property. The very theory of the sovereignty of the people contains its own negation. If the entire people were truly sovereign, then it would be reduced to nothing; the State would have no raison d'être, would be identical with society and disappear into industrial organization. (p. 17)

The subtitle of the book, "From Theory to Practice", reflects its structure. First Guérin sketches a few principles of anarchism, then he recounts the historical achievements of the movement. The actual value of the book lies in this later part. Unlike such studies as Joll's and Woodcock's, the book secures the central point firmly: that anarchism is not merely an abstract theory but a movement. For too long now, we have had a literature on anarchism which presents it as a few articles of faith. Bakunin, Malatesta and the others appear as eccentrics thundering abstractions about the state. But anarchism is far more than that. From 1870 to 1939 the anarchists formed one of the major social movements in western and eastern parts of the world. Hundreds of thousands of workers organized revolutionary unions (syndicates) in the decade before World War I. Major revolutions have been attempted on anarchist lines, mainly in Russia and Spain. Though they were defeated, their legacies were great. For today thousands of workers in Yugoslavia and western Europe are demanding control over production. The effects of anarchist organizations on the Chinese revolution were considerable and will receive increasing documentation in years to come. Perhaps we shall come to see it as our own history.

The account of anarchist actions during the Russian Revolution is drawn mainly from the work of Voline (V.M.

Eichenbaum), *La Révolution Inconnue 1917-1921*, which is only partly translated into English as *The Unknown Revolution* and *The Revolution Betrayed*. The element which Guérin saw in the French Revolution, the spontaneous movement of the people to create organs of direct democracy, reappears here. The soviets (councils of workers deputies) were created in 1905 in the factories of St. Petersburg in the course of a general strike. They had not been advocated or predicted by any revolutionary group, Marxist or anarchist. From October 1917 to the spring of 1918, workers' control through the soviets was a reality in Russia. A similar development occurred in vast rural sections of the Ukraine, where peasants formed agricultural communes federated into districts. But the power of the soviets and communes was neutralized by the Bolshevik party, and in part violently crushed. Guérin's view is that this was owing to the lack of a clear anarchist ideology. The non-anarchist elements in Lenin's thought prevailed over these institutions. Here we have come upon an evident and difficult problem. What is the role, in fact, to be played by theories and programs? On the one hand, we have a celebration of spontaneous popular action. On the other hand, we read that it was the lack of a coherent anarchist theory which enabled the statist Bolsheviks to undermine the soviets and communes. If we look at the problem in Guérin's terms, it seems that intellectuals have a role to play *after* the people have created democratic institutions, for then economic and social systems must be devised which are in accord with the organs already created. However, there is one key premise on which theoretical work, even in a pre-revolutionary situation, may now be based. That is the premise of the continuity of history. Intellectuals today can study forms which workers have devised in past struggles. They can hope to employ their analysis of these forms in the future *if* it is true that, for generations, we have been engaged in one and the same revolutionary struggle. For then

the aspirations of the people in a future revolution will not differ substantially from those of 1794, 1848, 1871, 1917 or 1936. Social and economic programs drawn up now, which are informed by a knowledge of the upheavals of the past, will not be irrelevant in the future. But if the thesis of the continuity of revolutionary history is not true, then Guérin's problem seems to defy solution. However, if the thesis is true, then we must disagree with those revolutionaries who hold that the 20th century has brought wholly new conditions and therefore wholly new demands. We also need to differ from Marx, who, in the *18th Brumaire*, mocked the tendency of revolutionaries to be waging struggles of the past.

Among the major thinkers in the anarchist tradition, it is Proudhon whose work receives the most clarification from Guérin (pp. 43-57). In France, Proudhon is better known than any other anarchist, but outside France he is the least known. One of the merits of this book by a Frenchman is to sort out the confusing mixture of themes in Proudhon. According to Guérin, Proudhon first observed spontaneous self-management by production workers during the 1848 rebellion. On this observation he based his theory of a worker-controlled economy, and this is the specific contribution of Proudhon, whether it be called anarchism, mutualism or association. Guérin quotes many of Proudhon's provisions for such an economy in some detail. He establishes convincingly that it was this, rather than a petty bourgeois liking for property, which motivated Proudhon — for example, Proudhon took for granted that large-scale industry was necessary and that it would need to be collectively owned. Yet his conception is free of the spectre of state ownership and state control, and, since this is a critical problem in contemporary programs of workers' control, it would seem that the time has come for a thorough study of Proudhon. Proudhon's hostility to the state was such that he preferred to admit a considerable element of competition into his economic model rather

than allow a state monopoly to direct it. The model is a very attractive one, particularly since Proudhon seeks to show that these elements of competition are subject to natural constraints in an anarchy. (Guérin, pp. 52-4)

The Proudhonist heritage was nearly destroyed, in Guérin's view, by a kind of anarchist purism which developed after 1880. This was the period of adventurism, assassinations and conspiracies. Guérin shows that is was mainly caused by the repressions visited on the working class after the Paris Commune of 1871. As the frightened workers were drawn to social democracy, anarchist purists abandoned them in contempt, and began a period of "propaganda by the deed." Needless to say, this drove the workers out from their midst in large numbers. The main villain in the piece, by Guérin's account, was Malatesta. Nevertheless, the rift was healed, and a new movement with an awkward name, anarcho-syndicalism, spread rapidly through France, Spain and Italy after 1900. It was a return to the heritage of Proudhon, with an attempt to graft it upon the realities of industrial production in the modern world.

Overall, it is clear that Guérin is seeking to resolve a tension which has always existed between two strains in anarchism. The first tendency, anarcho-syndicalism, he has traced back to Proudhon. The second tendency, anarcho-communism, he attributes mainly to Kropotkin. This tension is not between activists and workers (like the struggle between the purists and the syndicalists) but between workers (syndicalists) and peasants (communists). It comes to a head in his study of the Spanish revolution. Guérin does not conceal his basic sympathy with syndicalism. For him, it was syndicalism which appeared in the soviets of 1905-1921, it surfaced again in the workers' control movement in Yugoslavia after 1945 and in some anti-colonial revolutions, notably Algeria. The conclusion of his book points to the movement for workers' control as

the most vital possibility for the transformation of present society into anarchy.

The other strain, anarcho-communism, appears to him romantic and utopian, fundamentally a longing for an earlier time, characteristic of the more backward peasant class.

Communalism was expressed in a more local, more rural spirit, one might almost say: more southern, for one of its principal bastions was in Andalusia. Syndicalism, on the other hand, was more urban and unitarian in spirit — more northern too, since its main centre was Catalonia. Libertarian theoreticians were somewhat torn and divided on this subject. Some had given their hearts to Kropotkin and his erudite but simplistic idealization of the communes of the Middle Ages which they identified with the Spanish tradition of the primitive peasant community... Bakunin was the founder of the Spanish collectivist, syndicalist and internationalist workers' movement. Those anarchists who were more realistic, more concerned with the present than the golden age, tended to follow him... (pp. 119-120).

But aside from the Spanish communalism of the 30's, about which I know much less than Guérin, I see no reason to reject anarcho-communism as such. The sort of communism one has, whether it is a romantic dream or whether it is not, depends on the sort of commune one has in mind. The commune need not be a medieval one, nor need it be the Greek polis. The central points intended by the term "commune" are (a) that the local community, in most cases a city with its hinterland, is the only political unit; (b) that it runs itself as a direct democracy; (c) that private capital, if not private property as a whole, be vested in it. Certainly there are difficulties in reconciling this conception with syndicalism. For one thing, a worker-managed economy would entail

linkages from commune to commune, and the syndicates would possess considerable authority in regulating these relations. Again if production units are truly to be run by the workers rather than a state, then the powers of the commune to intervene in industry would likewise be limited. And above all whether the means of production and industrial capital will be owned by syndicates or by communes is a thorny question. These are some of the practical questions of an anarchist economy. What is important is to realize that they are practical questions. A hundred different answers can be formulated to them, and the question is, which of them would work? Anarchism does not need to founder on the issue of community control and workers' control, and while much work needs to be done on this, there is no reason to become alarmed at the contradiction. What is urgent at the present time in Canada, where the arrogant authoritarianism of our government becomes increasingly evident from day to day, is to encourage both tendencies to a maximum degree. Should the day come when community groups and workers' groups confront each other in a power struggle, without a state authority to benefit from the clash as it has done from all struggles in the past, we should be glad. For that will be the critical issue of our future.

GRAEME NICHOLSON

LOUDER VOICES: THE CORPORATE WELFARE BUMS

by David Lewis, Toronto, James Lewis & Samuel, 1972, 118 pp.

CAPITAL, INFLATION AND THE MULTINATIONALS

by Charles Levinson, London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1971, 229 pp.

Louder Voices... is the handy textbook to David Lewis's lively electoral lectures on the corporate ripoff. What

makes it worth recommending is that the issue developed by Lewis, in what has to be one of the most remarkable public education jobs in basic political economy ever carried off in this country, is far more than an election gambit. And the clearly written highly readable little book is far more than the usual candidate's literary endeavour intended to demonstrate that he has ideas as well as glamour.

In attempting to document the hand-in-hand — "in your pocket" — relationship of government and big business in Canada, Lewis's writers have produced a valuable collection of information on the tax arrangements and state grants which integrate profit making and corporate exploitation with government economic and social policy, or, to put it more accurately, which effectively turn the state into an appendage of the corporations. I say this is useful because the kind of material produced by this kind of political and economic digging is so hard to come by in the work of either academics or journalists in this country.

The book fails, of course, at the points where Lewis and the NDP fail too. That is, in the inability or unwillingness to read the full implications of the evidence before them. There's not much indication here that the whole impetus, the whole orientation of corporate capitalism is what, in fact, *produces* the situation where people are subordinated to profit seeking and institutional aggrandizement by both corporations and governments. Rather, for Lewis, it is a case of bad corporate citizenship abetted by acts of irresponsible government. On the other hand, one finds little indication here that the "corporate welfare state," dating back some 20-25 years, according to Lewis, is anything but the result of a succession of bad governments. That is, there is little admission here that the exploitive alliance of state and corporate establishment is endemic to the structure, role and function of the state itself under corporate capitalist arrangements, no matter what the government.

"What concerns you and me, writes Lewis, is simply who is putting the money in, who is getting it out, and what good it does." The problem for Lewis is the problem of the distribution of wealth, rather than the social structures and relationships which *determine* the pattern of distribution... In this respect there can be no doubt that an NDP government would seek to establish a more equitable sharing of the social product than the Liberal party. But the more fundamental question raised by the book is, how far, or indeed, whether, under the current system, a state run by an NDP government would or could act in a way that is essentially different in its relationships to the corporations.

The Lewis study brings ammunition to the attack upon a Liberal social and economic policy that is coterminous with corporate profit-taking and expansion. The explanations of the various tax concessions; the arm-long list of industry grant programmes; the fabulous amounts of money involved; the names and condition of the beneficiaries... there's a lot of hard information, shocking information, laid out here. On the other hand, if the data produced here are seen in a wider perspective, what we have is a further fragment of the picture of the role of the state, one is tempted to say *any* state, under corporate capitalist economic arrangements.

The question remains, therefore, especially in the light of some of the information adduced about the sheer magnitude and range of corporate power, as to whether the state is not so integrally bound up with and subservient to the interests of these institutions that the thought of rectifying the situation through parliamentary control of the state is not a vain and illusory one.

The theme of corporate and state relationships and the shift in their relative power is adumbrated in much more satisfactory fashion in *Capital, Inflation and the Multinationals*. Levinson, an economist who has lived and worked in Canada, is Secretary-General of the Chemical and General Workers' Unions

in Geneva. The book is of immediate use in a context like ours where unemployment is massive, inflation high and economic development terribly unequal. In an attempt to link the three phenomena mentioned in the title, the study constitutes a thoroughgoing attack upon the kind of thinking about inflation which prevails almost universally in this country. Levinson debunks the cost-push, wage-based theories of inflation, and offers fascinating and simply-stated analyses of unemployment, capital formation-investment and multinational corporate behaviour which throw into high relief the ill-inspired policies and measures used in this country of late to deal with rising prices, rising unemployment and regional (and local!) inequality.

The fastest growing and increasingly important sectors of industry are highly capital intensive. So much so that "the need for capital in the seventies will escalate into the decade's special dilemma. It is already a problem of today's society in transition, and the principal cause of its new strain of global inflation... Already 65% of the West's total capital investment is for greater technological efficiency or labour displacement, and only 35% for augmenting capacity upon which employment and living standards ultimately depend."

Levinson demonstrates that both unemployment and inflation are in large part produced *together* by the technological development policies of long-tentacled capital-hungry companies seeking to maximize cash flows, and doing so, indeed, by pricing practices that are inflationary, even in the face of falling sales!

Obviously Levinson's insights and arguments cut through much of "the irrelevance of economic theory under modern conditions." His pages on unemployment illuminate most satisfactorily the blight faced by the work force of this country, particularly certain parts of it and certain categories of workers. We are presented at length with material elucidating the structure, policies and operations of the emergent prototype industries and firms of multinational

corporate capitalism. "In many respects they refute most assumptions on economic behaviour, and violate most political, social and moral standards still assumed to be applicable to corporations."

In keeping with this refreshingly pertinent understanding of the organization and dynamics of production which Levinson sees as nothing less than a "structural revolution," some "economic and labour responses" are set forth in the conclusion of the book, which are equally important to note. Aside from wage and pension escalators, Levinson advocates what is known as "asset formation for workers" ("the creation of equity and savings for workers in the accumulated assets of industry"). This measure, it will be of particular interest to *Our Generation* readers to note, Levinson sees as addressing itself particularly to the following problem: — "the transformation of the principle of social justice to include both equality of income and equality in ownership of wealth;" — "Socially to strengthening the campaign for industrial democracy and participation by workers in the decision-making process, through sharing in the power which ownership of the assets confers on management;" — And, "politically to confronting the threat to democratic processes posed by the unprecedented rise in the concentration of ownership of capital assets, which governments and political policy, usually the slowest and most recalcitrant to change, cannot carry out alone."

Rarely does a voice for organized labour — or left politics or economic and social analysis for that matter, — speak with such a sure grasp of the current economic situation, and hold, in combination with that kind of analysis, such bold hopes for the reversal (in a radical sense) of the current processes. For that reason alone the book would be worth reading. But as an instrument for understanding basic current characteristics and movements of social and political economy as they affect Canadians, the book should not go unread and unmeditated.

Fred Caloren

**OUR GENERATION
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With the revised list as presented in this issue, the Literature Department is adopting a new policy regarding mail orders. What the policy amounts to is simply that in order for the Lit Department to continue to be able to offer a good selection of books and reprints at reasonable prices, we are asking our readers to pay the postage and a slight handling charge, which up until now we have been absorbing as a deficit. The benefit is, of course, that we can continue to offer reading material much of which is not available elsewhere — and that we can increase the range of such materials which must be sought out from diverse sources.

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MOTHER WAS NOT A PERSON

edited by
Margret Andersen

This book is an anthology of writings by Montréal women. It deals with the politics, poetry, educational and related dimensions of women in our society. It is mandatory reading for the general public in Canada, as we are flooded with books on women from the USA.

Dr. Margret Andersen teaches at Loyola College in Montréal. Her previous work includes *Paul Claudel et d'Allemagne*. Contributors to *Mother Was Not A Person* include Marlene Dixon, Lise Fortier, Katherine Walters, Christine Garside, Lilian Reinblatt, Mary Melfi and Lucia Kowaluk. This book was published with Content Publishers.

274 pages / Hardcover \$9.95 / Paperback \$3.95

BLACK ROSE BOOKS No. D7

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE STATE Canada/Québec/USA

edited by
Dimitrios Roussopoulos

This new book subjects the State in our society to a rigorous examination. Both the enormous growth of the State bureaucracy and the myth of its neutrality in social and economic affairs is carefully studied. Rick Deaton in "*The Fiscal Crisis of the State in Canada*", deals with the whole range of activities in the public sector as well as the enor-

mous growth of the Federal State, while B. Roy Lemoine in "*The Growth of the State in Québec*" examines the new role and function of the State since the "quiet revolution". Graeme Nicholson in "*Authority and the State*" studies the relationship of authoritarian patterns of behaviour and hierarchical institutions which are inter-laced with the State at their highest expression, while John and Margaret Rowntree in "*Revolution in the Metropolis*" submit a major essay that pulls many of the themes of the book together. Finally Lorne Huston comments on the effect of *Local Initiative Projects* and *Opportunities for Youth* grants on citizens groups.

The Political Economy of the State begins an important new approach to the study of government and society which political science has ignored for a very long time.

200 pages / Hardcover \$8.95 / Paperback \$2.95
Publication Date : February 1973

BLACK ROSE BOOKS No. D8

QUEBEC/CANADA AND THE OCTOBER CRISIS

edited by **Dan Daniels**

This book is a collection of some of the most perceptive essays published on an event which shook the whole country. It looks at the 1970 October crisis from a number of vantage points. Included is the widely acclaimed essay by Fred Caloren, "*The War Measures Act and the Politics of Functionalism*", "*The Roots of Extremism: State Capitalism in Canada*" by Jim Harding, "*The Urban Guerillas and the Crisis in the Western Hemisphere*" and "*Revolutionary Strategy in Québec and the Role of the Avant-Garde*" give a documentary flavour to the subject-matter. Peter Katadotis deals with the question of the relationship between the

citizens movement in Montréal, FRAP, the FLQ and Mayor Jean Drapeau, while Herbert Marx gives a detailed legal background to the War Measures Act. Gérald Godin, one of those arrested, writes on how it feels to be a prisoner of war.

In addition to other essays, the book includes a preface, an epilogue and the poetry of Paul Chamberland, Gérald Godin, and Gaston Miron in both French and English.

134 pages / Hardcover \$7.95 / Paperback \$2.25
Publication Date : May 1973

BLACK ROSE BOOKS No. D9

THE CANADIAN GENOCIDE MACHINE *The Pacification of the North*

by Robert Davis
and Mark Zannis

The two authors examine the Canadian North thoroughly with a documentation that is impressive. This book will shock. It assesses the impact of such activities as "Project Chariot", "Icefield Ranges Project", the work of the "Defence Research Board", and the Department of Health and Welfare.

The role of the courts, legal profession, the RCMP are all critically observed as to their negative influence on the native people and their economy. The question of 'scientific' planning by various institutions like the Arctic Institute of North America is also examined in the light of the United Nations Convention on Genocide.

300 pages / Hardcover \$9.95 / Paperback \$2.95
Publication Date : April 1973

BLACK ROSE BOOKS No. D10

QUEBEC LABOUR STRIKES *edited by BRB Collective*

Since the publication of the widely acclaimed "*Québec Labour*", the greatest General Strike in North American labour history has taken place. A Common Front of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, the Québec Federation of Labour, and the Québec Teachers Corporation while in a protracted struggle with the Québec government provoked a spontaneous revolt of some 350,000 workers in public service as well as private industry. What are the facts behind this upheaval? What has happened to the labour movement since the General Strike? What does the breakaway CSD trade union represent? What has happened to the growing radicalisation of the teachers union? How has all this affected the whole social movement consisting of the multitude of citizen committees, tenant associations, welfare recipients, unemployed workers, community medical and legal clinics and so on? These and many other related questions are examined in this thoroughly documented book.

225 pages / Hardcover \$9.95 / Paperback \$2.95
Publication Date : April 1973

BLACK ROSE BOOKS No. D11

CANADA AND RADICAL SOCIAL CHANGE

edited by
Dimitrios Roussopoulos

This collection of outstanding essays on various social questions in Canada are taken from the radical quarterly journal, OUR GENERATION which was founded in 1961. The journal, which has the highest circulation

among the publications of this type in the country, has made a lasting contribution to the serious discussion concerning the Canadian social crisis.

The essays deal with unemployment, youth politics, poverty, economic continentalism, the new left, urban renewal, electoralism, and parliamentary democracy, and the student revolt.

Contributors include some of our most outstanding commentators: Fred Caloren, B. Roy Lemoine, Philip Resnick, Gerry Hunnius, George Grant, Jim Harding, Evelyn Dumas, Mel Watkins, Jim Laxer, Christian Bay, and many others.

250 pages / Hardcover \$9.95 / Paperback \$2.95
Publication Date: June 1973

BLACK ROSE BOOKS No. D12

THE KRONSTADT UPRISING

by Ida Mett
with a preface by
Murray Bookchin

The full story at last of the monumental 1921 events: the first workers' uprising against the Soviet bureaucracy. This book contains hitherto unavailable documents and a bibliography.

The book is in effect a different kind of history. It is written from a perspective that is concerned with the *people* as the primary social force in changing society and not leaders, conventions, manifestos and the like.

Murray Bookchin puts this recently translated book from the French into its contemporary setting.

100 pages / Paperback \$1.45

BLACK ROSE BOOKS No. B3

LET THE NIGGERS BURN! Racism in Canada The Sir George Williams Affair and its Caribbean Aftermath edited by Dennis Forsythe

From the black point of view, Dennis Forsythe, who teaches sociology at Sir George Williams University has edited a collection of essays by other blacks which include: the problems of the black immigrant, the background to the "Anderson Affair" at Sir George Williams and what happened and the subsequent upheaval in the Caribbean area.

These and other essays in the book contribute to the publication of an important book in the growing literature of social criticism in Canada.

Contributors include: Delisle Worrell, Bertram Boldon, Leroi Butcher, Carl Lumumba, Roosevelt Williams, and Rawle R. Frederick.

200 pages / Hardcover \$6.45 / Paperback \$2.45

BLACK ROSE BOOKS No. B4

QUEBEC LABOUR

Preface by Marcel P  pin,
president of the CNTU

What is the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU) in Qu  bec? How did it develop from its Catholic origins into a mass militant trade union movement representing 250,000 workers? How does the CNTU differ from the AFL-CIO affiliated Qu  bec Federation of Labour? How did the CNTU move beyond collective bargaining to become a uni-

que trade movement in North America? What is the CNTU's SECOND FRONT and what has been its effect in radicalizing both the organised labour force in Québec and the working population in general?

Why has the CNTU now adopted a uniquely anti-imperialist, socialist, and workers' control policy? What is the relationship of the CNTU to the national liberation movement in Québec? How does the CNTU analyse the 'Quiet Revolution'?

These and other questions are dealt with in this book, the content of which include:

A long historical introduction, the official translation of the document of the SECOND FRONT, and the exclusive official translation of the historic, "*Ne comptons que sur nos propres moyens*".

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THE LESSONS OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

BY VERNON RICHARDS

The struggle in Spain (1936-1939) which was provoked by the rising military, aided and abetted by wealthy landowners and industrialists as well as by the Church, has generally been regarded in progressive circles outside Spain as a struggle between fascism and democracy, democracy being represented by the Popular Front government which had been victorious in the general elections of February 1936. Such an interpretation is the narrowest possible.

It was the revolutionary movement in Spain — the syndicalist movement — which took up Franco's challenge on July 19, 1936 not as supporters of the Popular Front government but in the name of social revolution. This book is all about this revolution.

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THE CRISIS OF BRITISH SOCIALISM

BY KEN COATES

After the 1970 defeat of the Wilson Government, the future of the Labour Movement appears more than a little bleak. Rapidly falling membership, financial crisis, widespread loss of morale, serious disputes separating the major trade unions from the political leadership: all these difficulties reflect a deeper malaise. The Labour Party has lost its way.

Whatever its future as a political force, whether or not it is capable of resuming office, the socialist basis of its traditional philosophy has become more and more obviously incompatible with the short-run policies which have become the mainstay of its practical strategy. This book assesses the "Wilson years".

012/243 pages

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A TRADE UNION STRATEGY

EDITED BY KEN COATES

This book is a translation of the Workers' Control programme adopted by the Belgian trade union movement (FGTB) at their 1971 congress. It is the only book in English that highlights the major advances being made by a trade union centre that has often blazed a path for the whole of European trade unionism. Ken Coates outlines the Belgian situation, M.B. Brown deals with the public accountability of companies, and Louis de Brouckere deals with how workers' control can be set up.

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MALCOLM CALDWELL, KEN COATES,
ROBERT JUNGK, K.W. KAPP and
COLIN STONEMAN

Socialists need to elaborate an aggressive strategy, calculated to present the bills for the damage and waste of capitalism to those who have incurred them, and to prepare the ground for an alternative society. It is perfectly clear however that the struggle against pollution, the problems raised by ecologists combine to challenge not only the performance of our given economic system, but also the traditional socialist critique of that system.

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KEN COATES, EDITOR

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BY MAURICE BRINTON

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EDITED BY FLOYD B. BARBOUR

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Essays by authors from Nat Turner to Stokely Carmichael trace the concept of black power from past to present. Contributors include Leroi Jones, Chuck Stone, Malcolm X, Nathan Wright Jr., Adelaide Cromwell Hill, Charles V. Hamilton, and Bryon Rushing. A bibliography and appendix of documents complete this important history of the past and present of Black Power. The essays have been proclaimed by educators and members of the black community for their honesty and the reality of their perceptions. The text is being used in colleges and universities.

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BY RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

PREFACE BY HARRY McSHANE

This book has appeared in Italian, French and Japanese translations. A new British edition was published in 1971. In a preface to the first American edition, Herbert Marcuse wrote: "Dunayevskaya's book goes beyond the previous interpretations. It shows not only that Marxist economics and politics are throughout philosophy, but that the latter is from the beginning economics and politics."

03/378 pages

Paperback \$5.00

MUTUAL AID

BY PETER KROPOTKIN

This book is perhaps the most famous of Kropotkin's works. It is a classic. The perspective it offers has slowly but steadily made its way, and, indeed, we are not far removed from the time when it will become part of the generally accepted cannon of evolutionary biology. It is a work that is constantly out of print, and is always being reprinted.

Mutual Aid deals with the evolution of mankind from the point of view which stresses the importance of co-operation in humanity's survival. It does not do so by excluding the ideas of Darwin, but as a corrective to them. This book also includes "The Struggle for Existence" by Thomas H. Huxley.

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MALATESTA Life and Ideas

EDITED BY VERNON RICHARDS

Writers and social historians are unanimous in considering Errico Malatesta (1853-1932) to be the outstanding anarchist agitator since Bakunin but they almost all overlook the fact that he also was one of the most original and realistic of anarchist thinkers, and one who expressed his ideas with clarity and conciseness.

The editor has extracted the principal arguments from several hundred articles and classified them under twenty-seven subject headings. The second part of this volume offers notes for a biography, and the third part assesses the relevance of Malatesta today. The appendices include the text of Malatesta's articles against the First World War, and his long article on Kropotkin.

01/311 pages

Hardcover \$5.50

THE STATE : Its Historic Role

BY PETER KROPOTKIN

This anarchist classic, long out of print and still in great demand was first to be delivered as a lecture in Paris in March 1896. Kropotkin however, when he landed in France on his way from London was refused entry. The book develops the thesis of how the State grew over decades into its modern form. It deals in particular with the conflict between the free cities in the Middle Ages and the growing power of central states.

021/56 pages

Paperback \$1.75

ABC OF ANARCHISM

BY ALEXANDER BERKMAN

This classic has also been out of print for some time. First published in 1929, and again in 1936, 1942, 1945, 1964, 1968 it has a very wide appeal. This edition has a new introduction by Peter Newell. The book deals with such questions as — Is Anarchism Violence ? What is Anarchism ? Is Anarchy Possible ? Will Communist Anarchism Work ? Why Revolution ? The Idea is the Thing, Preparation, Organisation of Labour, Principles and Practice, Consumption and Exchange, Production, and Defence.

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And speaking of research that's a real bargain... There's Peace Press.

The ICDP (International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace, London, England, of which Our Generation is a member) publishes monthly or bi-monthly a mimeographed newssheet, about 15-20 pages long which compiles from world sources (this is particularly good for us North Americans) information on world areas of conflict or topics of vital interest. Dealing from a radical peace perspective, the sources of information include Le Monde, Amnesty International, and official U.S. State Department bulletins. The last 3 issues (all bi-monthlies) were on, respectively, Czechoslovakia, Iran and the Phillipines (the next Vietnam?). Past issues have dealt with Northern Ireland, the U.S. use of Grand Juries, new methods of surveillance, and the Québec Liberation Movement.

We urge our readers to avail themselves of this material. The cost is only \$4 a year for surface mail, and \$8 for airmail; and since the material does not become dated quickly surface mail is appropriate in most cases. An index of all bulletins published since 1968 is available from our office. The ICDP is at 6 Endsleigh St, London W.C.1.

* * * *

Two authors whose writing we carry in the literature department were in Montreal recently. Selma James spoke along with Maria Della Costa at a feminist conference the first weekend in May, and Ms. James spoke again at another feminist conference June 1. We have on hand "Women and the Power of Subversion in the Community" by Maria Della Costa with comments by Selma James both in a pamphlet from England and slightly abridged in an issue of Radical America.

Maurice Brinton whose thoroughly documented Bolsheviks and Workers' Control, 1917-21 deals with workers take-over of their own plants during 1917 and their subsequent repression by the Bolsheviks, was in Montreal for a few days around June 5. The editors were fortunate in being able to meet with him, as were a group of Caribbean revolutionaries who have been using Brinton's book in their study groups for the past year.

* * * *

May 5 and 6 saw an anarchist conference, first of its kind, held in Toronto attended by 120 people. Questions and discussion showed clearly that there is a great deal of interest in both the theory and practice of anarchism. Several editors played a prominent role in organizing and leading the conference. A follow-up one-day meeting was held June 2 in Toronto. Interest can be pursued by contacting the Toronto or Montreal editorial groups. A week long summer camp is being planned for liberation revolutionaries for the end of August in the Laurentians. For those interested, please write us.

Coming! Next issue of OUR GENERATION Sept. '73 Vol 9 #3

EDUCATION AND MISEDUCATION

articles on:

- the financing of post secondary schools
- critiques of government policy statements
- radical strategies for universities
- the crisis of the student
- syndicalization of teachers

WHAT DID YOU TELL
THAT MAN JUST NOW?

I TOLD HIM TO
WORK FASTER!



HOW MUCH DO YOU
PAY HIM?

FIFTEEN
DOLLARS
A DAY!



WHERE DO YOU GET THE
MONEY TO PAY HIM?

I SELL
PRODUCTS!



WHO MAKES THE
PRODUCTS?

HE DOES!



HOW MANY PRODUCTS
DOES HE MAKE IN
ONE DAY?

FIFTY DOLLARS
WORTH...



THEN INSTEAD OF YOU
PAYING HIM, HE PAYS
YOU THIRTY FIVE DOLLARS
A DAY TO TELL HIM
TO WORK FASTER!

HUH?



WELL... I OWN THE
MACHINES!



HOW DID YOU GET
THE MACHINES?

I SOLD
PRODUCTS
AND BOUGHT
THEM!



AND WHO MADE
THOSE PRODUCTS?



SHUT UP... HE
MIGHT HEAR YOU!



ue news/arm b5