STRIKES AS A POLITICAL WEAPON OF THE PROLETARIAT: THE CANADIAN CASE

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by

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A Thesis

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies

in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

for the Degree

Master of Arts

McMaster University

September 1979

MASTER OF ARTS (1979) McMASTER UNIVERSITY

(Political Science) Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: Strikes as a Political Weapon of the Proletariat: The Canadian Case

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SUPERVISOR: Professor Marshall Goldstein

NUMBER OF PAGES: 209

ABSTRACT

Within the confines of this thesis a theory of capitalism and the state apparatus is related to the class struggle by an analysis and scientific investigation of work stoppages. The intensity as well as the geographic, industrial, and historical context of strikes is examined in the bi-national political economy of Canada. The overall patterns of strikes, the economic and political settings in which they are generated and resolved, are examined, as are the effects of strikes on society in Canada.

In all this thesis is the presentation of a theory of class transformations in the bi-national political economy of Canada. It is a theory of capital accumulation as class struggle.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to the many people who have helped me complete this project. In particular I want to thank my thesis advisor, Marshall Goldstein, for his patience and many helpful insights. Secondly, I want to acknowledge my debt to Wallace Clement and Derry Novak for their assistance during the course of this work. Thirdly, I wish to extend my gratitude to Carl Cuneo, Dusky Lee Smith and Cyril Levitt for their critical comments and suggestions during the course of this work. Fourthly, I wish to thank my fellow students in Social Inequality in Canada, Social Theory, and Political System Change and Alternatives for their supportiveness during the 1978-1979 academic year. Fifthly, I would like to express my appreciation to Eva Guzewski, my companion, for discussing and encouraging this work. Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to Darlene Jones and Marlene Moore for typing the final copy of this thesis.

McMaster University
September 1979

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE

One of the major theoretical debates in Canada today has concerned the "national question".[1] One approach to that question has been the specification of the development and maturity of industrial capitalism.[2] This thesis will attempt to extend the debate by relating a theory of capitalism to the conception of the nation being used in the debate, and to do this through on analysis of strikes as political acts particularly in the two nations that have been developing within post-World War II Canada.

For us the chief proposition which is of interest in this debate is the assertion that industrial capital has, in Canada, attached great importance to the development of circulation activities. The decisiveness of the circulation form of industrial capital in Canada and its rapid pace of growth relative to the production form of industrial capital appears as an underdevelopment of production industries. This means that Canada appears to be in a state of semi-industrialization chained to foreign control policies in its resource extraction and manufacturing sectors.[3] This situation restricts domestic social mobility and constrains economic diversification in production, limiting it to processing staples.[4] It is what is at the root of such appearances which interests us in the present undertaking. The substance of such speculation has

been corporate concentration and centralization in Canada, and internationally, which may serve as a measure of Canadian capital's maturity.

This is the approach that we will take to the national question: through a specific study of the development of industrial capitalism in Canada this thesis will relate a theory of capitalism to the national state by an analysis of work stoppages, particularly in a context which relates the development of national culture to the development of class struggle.

Our approach also hangs on the horns of a methodological dilemma. Is it adequate to proceed by empirical investigation of the immediate historical conjuncture, or must there instead be a concrete examination based on a prior abstract analysis? Harry Braverman, for example, has distinguished between the two methodologies noting that it is "...common sense empiricism which stunts and discourages reflective thought and basic scientific research...".[5] Among others, Braverman opted for a more dynamic understanding recalling that we cannot abolish philosophy before we have realized it.[6] We must proceed materially, that is scientifically, with our investigation. We understand then that the laws of capitalistic production pre-suppose and postulate the class struggle. The social formation of capitalistic production determines the class struggle.[7] This is where we situate our theory.[8]

Our strategy in this thesis is to review, critique and

synthesize a body of writing on the Canadian economy, culture and the state from the point of view of the class struggle, asking what role the workers have had in this process beyond being so far its victims, and what opportunities are available to workers, primarily through the use of their political weapon, the strike, to shape the future course of development.

This study is therefore a class analysis. James O'Connor has observed that this allows the author to appreciate the basis of power in society.[9] He has concluded that "...power is based on the ability to exploit labour-power (i.e. the existance and reporduction of wage-labour)...."[10] This, in turn, is why the labour process occupies a central place in this thesis. It examplifies the development of the forces and relationships of production.[11]

Concretely the debate on the national question in Canada expresses itself in several key poles of attraction in the bi-national labour movement. These include the national/international union conflict on matters of national autonomy and the distribution of international dues from union members,[12] the weakness of the bi-national Canadian central labour conference and the lack of cohesion between the rank-and-file membership and this central bi-national labour conference,[13] the polarity between Quebec's and Canada's labour movements, conditioned by the colonial/imperialist relation which links the two social formations,[14] as well as the tension between craft and industrial union organizations.[15] To this summary

list may be added the dialectic of male and female labourers,[16] the linkages and discontinuities in the public and private workforces,[17] and the relation between production and non-production labourers,[18] as well as the "bridges" between the active and reserve bodies of labour.[19]

The trade union is an institution of capital. Outside of a revolutionary period workers are nothing more than the variable fraction of capital. The trade union, which is distinguished from a genuine working class organization by the fact that it contracts out labour-power, functions to regroup and consolidate labour-power as an institution for the self valorization of value.[20] It is indicative of the purpose of trade unions that their structure allows the organization of a fraction of the proletariat while underdeveloping other sections of the proletariat during valorization crises. These circumstances are given expression within the union movement in policies of class collaboration and an attendant corporatist philosophy. As James Rinehart has noted:

> With the emasculation of collective bargaining, unions become less relevant to the needs of their members, and union officials lose one of their major functions. Consequently, we can expect union leaders to attempt to replace their role as economic bargainers with one that involves negotiating over matters of power and control- both at the level of the enterprise and of the state. Again, because of structural constraints it is difficult to see how the union can realize genuine workers' control demands. 21

The prevalence of market or business unionism, for Rinehart, integrates unions into capitalist social relations of production. For the most part, though not in all cases, unions have met with success in disputes for higher wages. As Rinehart has understood, "'wage strikes' which have threatened capitalist power ordinarily have done so not because of the trade union but in spite of it."[22]

This understanding, outlined above, provides us with a key to understanding the solution of the national question. The development of capitalism in Canada can be specified by the character of the strike's elaboration in a late industrial capitalist social formation. As the study by Evelyn Dumas indicated:

> It is as if the strike makes a vertical cut through the superimposed layers of economic and social life, laying bare, sometimes by caricature or distortion, the diversified network of relations which make up the fabric of a society. 23

Dumas mentions a study by Touraine as a valid methodology for interpreting the evolution of the social relations of production which utilizes the type of labour organization, forged together by workers, as a societal indicator.[24] Three periods are specified. The first is a revolutionary period in which unions have no legitimated power or right. A subsequent period tends to evolve a system in which the execution but not the design of social relations is shared by labour organizations of the working class. In still a later period of social evolution the complete design of society might rest

in the hands of workers' syndicates. This last stage has a marked tendency to arise in newly independent social formations.

Touraine also shows levels on which unions stake their claims for influence.[25] There is the political level on which unions attempt to redistribute power, the economic level on which unions attempt to redistribute goods and services, and the level of the "labour revolt" which pertains to a fundamental restructuring of the social relations of production and the technical restructuring of work organizations initiated by the rank- and -file labourers at the point of production.

This study of strikes will need to develop a clear and consistant relation between the theory of capitalism being articulated and the practical class struggle. This linkage will be cemented by placing the study of work stoppages in the context of an overview of strikes in Canada and Quebec to situate them geographically, historically, and by intensity. This requires an analysis of the overall patterns of strikes, in terms of their industrial location and also in terms of the economic and political setting which generates and resolves the work stoppage.

The sources of information for this thesis will include government publications, academic journals, trade union publications, and newspaper accounts. Taken together the quality of the information generated by these sources should be fair and balanced.

In conclusion this thesis will contribute to our exist-

ing knowledge of social labour's development in Canada by clarifying our understanding of the national question. This will be accomplished by study of strikes, in so far as they display the relations between producers in society at determinate stages of economic development, with a view towards establishing to what degree the bourgeoisie has carried out its historical project as capital.[26]

NOTES FOR PREFACE

1. Literature on the subject of this debate has included Harold Innis', The Fur Trade in Canada and Essays in Canadian Economic History; as well as studies such as Donald Creighton's, The Empire of the St. Lawrence; Tom Naylor's, The History of Canadian Business; and Wallace Clement's, The Canadian Corporate Elite and Continental Corporate Power. The thesis, broadly speaking, which has been propounded by these authors has laid down a set of political implications engendered, more or less, by geography, under utilization of economic capacity and the financial emphasis of the binational, industrial, Canadian capitalist class.

   Popular treatments of this debate on the national question have included the collection of essays edited by Gary Teeple, Capitalism and the national question in Canada; and Craig Heron's edition, Imperialism, Nationalism and Canada, both of which have outlined the staple theorists position and that of their detractors. These These detractors have included Stanley B. Ryerson who has posed the persistant flaw in a staple theory of industrial capitalist development in Canada. It does not account for the imperialistic domination of the Quebec nation by the pan-Canadian bourgeoisie. He has also understood in his book, Unequal Union, that the staple theory approach to the Canadian development of industrial capitalism ignores the class and property forms of class relationships which bound the production process. In the article, "The Myth of Canadian De-industrialization" in Imperialism, Nationalism and Canada Steve Moore and Debi Wells have also argued that one cannot conclude that the shrinkage in manufacturing as a proportion of the gross national product (G.N.P.) means Canada's industrialization is being retarded as this is an international trend. As well the fact that Canada has the lowest percentage of manufacturing in the G.N.P. of late capitalistic nations does not mean manufacturing activities are diminishing only that they are increasing less rapidly than other economic sectors. It seems to me that the relation between high corporate concentration and the rapid growth of non-production industry, relative to production industry, still needs to be investigated further.

2. Karl Marx, Capital, Volume I, noted that the hallmark of a mature capitalistic social formation was industrial capital (pp. 918-922). V.I. Lenin equated the development of industrial capital with the extention of the home market or what is at bottom the detail division of labour's elaboration while writing "The Development of Capitalism in Russia" which is today contained in his Collected Works, Volume III. Karl Korsh, Karl Marx, has understood that the specificity of commodity production as a capitalistic system of production is the conversion of labour-power to a product for sale on the market in order to accumulate capital (pp. 35-37). "Only at this stage", says Korsh, "are we able to grasp the full importance of industrial capital as the only form which adequately represents the nature of modern capitalistic production. "Industrial capital," according to an express assertion of Marx which we may safely take to be his final and most complete statement on this matter, "gives to production its capitalistic character. Its existance includes that of class antagonism between capitalists and labourers (p. 37)."

3. Wallace Clement, Continental Corporate Power, pp. 17-18.

4. Daniel Drache, "Staple\ization: A Theory of Canadian Capitalist Development" Imperialism, Nationalism, and Canada, pp. 22-24.

5. Harry Braverman, Labour and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century, p. 160.

6. Ibid., p. 21.

7. John Holloway and Sol Picciotto, "Introduction: Towards a Materialist Theory of the State" State and Capital: A Marxist Debate, p. 28.

8. James O'Connor, "The Twisted Dream" Monthly Review 10 (1975): 42-43.

9. Ibid., pp. 44-45.

10. Ibid., p. 45.

11. Ibid., p. 45.

12. J. Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, pp. 318-319. c.f. M. Piva, "Gompers in Canada (Babcock)" Our Generation, 11 1976, E. Duma, The Bitter Thirties, p. 44.

13. J. Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, p. 320.

14. Ibid., p. 331. c.f. Fred Caloren, et. al., "The November 15th Elections and Quebec" Our Generation, 11, 1976 pp. 3-10.

15. J. Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, pp. 335-336.

16. M. Patricia Connelly, in her book, Last Hired, First Fired, has studied this matter.

17. James Rinehart, The Tyranny of Work, pp. 111-123.

18. Ibid., pp. 119-123.

19. Karl Marx, Capital, Volume 1, p. 784, wrote: "But if a surplus population is a necessary product of accumulation or of the development of wealth on a capitalist basis, this surplus population also becomes conversely a condition for the existance of the capitalist mode of production. It forms a disposable industrial reserve army, which belongs to capital just as absolutely as if the latter had bred it at its own cost." He also understood, Ibid., p. 789, that: "The overwork of the employed part of the working class swells the ranks of its reserve, while, conversely, the greater pressure that the reserve by its competition exerts on the employed workers forces them to submit to overwork and subjects them to the dictates of capital."

20. This has been indicated in the researches of S. Aronowitz, False Promises, pp. 13-14, 217-220, 424, H. Braverman, Labour and Monopoly Capital, p. 150, J. Brecher, Strike! p. 254, A. Gramsci, Selections from the Prison Notebooks p. 187, f. Karl Marx, Grundrisse, p. 649, Karl Marx, Capital Volume 1, p. 583, and James Rinehart, The Tyranny of Work, pp. 153-155.

21. James Rinehart, "Wage Controls and Unions in Canada", Our Generation 11 1976: 29

22. Ibid., p. 29.

23. E. Dumas, The Bitter Thirties, p. 136.

24. Ibid., p. 140.

25. Ibid., p. 140.

26. "The class which stands in the midstream of historical development and by its own movement determines that development, must by its conscious activity finally prove the maturity reached by the productive forces within the existing production-relations. They must with their own hands break the fetters that obstruct

the development of the productive forces and establish the higher production-relations of a new progressive epoch of society." (Karl Korsh, Karl Marx, p. 213.). The method of proof is the character of the strike which is the refusal to engage in "...the specific bourgeois form of wage-labour, the forced labour of the property-less labourer for the benefit of the non-labouring owners of capital." (Karl Korsh, Karl Marx, p. 40.).

THE POSITIONAL PROCESS OF CAPITAL ACCUMULATION

This thesis is a criticism of political economy. It is a theoretical criticism. The subject of this thesis is the social relationships of people engaged in the production of their daily lives. The object of this thesis is the forces of production, such as science, technology and the self-organization of the working class. The forces of production are themselves the social organization of production relationships between creative labourers engaging a historically specific means of production.[1] This thesis takes up the dialectic of production relationships and the productive forces.

The present is characterized most succinctly by the completion of the bourgeoisie's historical project as the representatives of capital and finds formal expression in the universalization of the capitalistic mode of production. This is the position from which we assess the political movement of the present period and chart its probable course. In this process is revealed the solution to the national question and the revolt of the public employee.

The course of this study proceeds from the abstract to the concrete. As Karl Marx once observed:

> Money may exist and actually had existed in history before capital, or banks, or wage-labour came into existance. With that in

> mind, it may be said that the more simple category can serve as an expression of the predominant relations of an underdeveloped whole which had historically existed before the whole developed in the direction expressed in the more concrete category. In so far, the laws of abstract reasoning which ascends from the most simple to the complex correspond to the actual process of history.[2]

Value is the most abstract and general category.[3] It is also the most simple category of analysis. Value is a social relationship. The form in which this social relationship became the dominant social relationship of production is capital and wage-labour. The historical specificity of an industrial capitalistic social formation is the conversion of labour-power to a product for sale on the market in order to accumulate capital.[4]

The accumulation of capital is the accumulation of wage-labourers also if we assume that the composition of capital is constant.[5] However the composition of capital increases and causes the variable constituent of capital to decline relative to the growth of the total social capital.[6] In turn this means that the relative value of capital turned into labour-power diminishes.[7]

The increasing composition of capital's historical basis is the imposition of the detail division of labour.[8] This division is commonly called the degradation of labour.

Increases in the total capital can serve to make the existing exploitable labour-power too little for the requirements of setting in motion the given additional capital at a

given time.[9] Between 1948 and 1973 Paul Bullock and David Yaffe have noted that precisely such a production expansion took place.[10] Wages also grew during this period in real terms.[11] These wages did not grow as fast as productivity however.[12] I take it as self-evident that the level of moral and material subsistance grew also in those countries where the conditions of modern capitalistic production prevailed during this post-war boom.

On the other hand it is the increased amount of labour produced per production worker which allows an increased standard of living for the employed part of the working population.[13] However this also serves to restrict employment opportunities in so far as productivity increases are not derived from the employment of new workers but instead from an increased intensity of labour and rationalization.[14] Then again the increasing intensity of the labour in production industries, urged on by the desire of capital to keep constant capital outlays to a minimum, among other things, requires the extention of non-production and 'luxury' goods production sectors also in order to reproduce the labour-power fully. During the post-war boom public, luxury production and financial employments increased rapidly, relative to the production industries employment opportunities[15] in order to accomplish this reproduction. We understand that it was in this way that capital was forced to further increase the social productivity of labour, in order to count-

er these deductions from the total social variable capital, and thereby exerted a downward pressure on the average rate of profit. As well it is the case, we will argue, capital employed mostly marginal strata of the working class, such as women, the young, Quebecois, and other formerly rural labourers to reduce the costs of these expenses.

With the end of the post-war boom and a continued decline in the average rate of profit capital has moved to increase unemployment by the curtailment of public spending and the rationalization of many circulation activities. At this point the crisis has reached a political conjuncture. It is this author's opinion that we must then investigate a revolutionary socialist alternative because the capitalist state offers nothing but hostility for working people.

As working people have found no redress from the capitalist state in Canada, as during past crises, workers should turn to syndicalist tactics such as the mass or general strikes in order to press their grievances one would expect. In this way the solidarity of the working class is developed. The material premises of libertarian socialism can thereby be established by this increased co-operation also.

Let us depict more closely those accessory forms of capital which have been converted to functions of industrial capital.[16] By 'accessory' we mean at bottom those social layers of the working population which provide sources of

cheap labour for the capitalist class. These sections of the working population are those most recently habituated to the specifically capitalistic mode of production. It is these sections of the labour-force which occupy the job ghettoes of Canadian society. It is these groups which have brought industrial unionism to the forefront of our social tapestry again. All these former members of non-capitalistic modes of production now serve as extra bodies of labour for capital in times of socio-economic expansion. It is in the struggles of this social strata waged at the point of production that the political character of strikes is presented most starkly. From our investigation we conclude that the 'marginals', these sections of the work-force who are part of the 'subordinate modes of existance',[17] which act as needed by industrial capital, are most likely to be thrown into revolutionary motion during a period of capitalistic crisis. These marginals include women, young people, Quebecois, Amerindians and Eskimos. Historically, all women have been regarded as chattels in capitalistic society and as such must be taken to be a discrete social layer of the proletariat bound to the familial patriarch. The Quebecois constitute an oppressed nation subjugated to the pan-Canadian state apparatus. As such there exists, except potentially, no ruling class native to the nation of Quebec. The vast majority of the Quebecois constitute, thereby, a discrete social component of the proletariat coercively bound to a foreign, in the true sense of the word, social formatic Their access to the means of production is not even formally

free. This is because they are a conquered people.

Many of these marginals work in the public and private non-production sectors of the political economy. The present animation of the public and private non-production work-force and mounting social protest by specially oppressed sections of the labour-power at society's disposal can be linked up and will be explained in this framework. The political antagonisms of the general law of capitalistic accumulation in contemporary Canada are most acute one would think, among the marginals because of their accessory relation to industrial capital. For example the subordination of the public, as opposed to private, industrial sector of capital has been the basis for public sector labourers' activism in this author's opinion. As Aronowitz pointed out it is only recently that the state employees have experienced job insecurity[18] which is a defining characteristic of industrial capital's labour market according to the late H.C. Pentland.[19]

Result of the erosion of the "middle class"

The formal conversion of social and domestic labours to wage-labour has transformed, and is transforming, the occupational structure around the world. The attendent displacement of labourers from ownership of the means of production and the situation of many of them in the public sector as wage-labourers subject to proletarianization in an immediate fashion, since 1972 in Canada, accounts for their dissatisfaction.[20]

The expression of dissatisfaction with the premises and content of capital and wage-labour appears overtly as a

strike. This is the primary coherent overt expression of work dissatisfaction as Jamieson has observed.[21] This thesis then will develop a study of the mass strike as a political weapon of the proletariat. We locate the historical sites of strike activity in Canada and discuss their development into refusals to engage in the bourgeois form of wage-labour at the present period. Strikes are refusals, temporary or permanent, to engage in wage-labour as opposed to resistance to engaging in wage-labour which is manifested, as Rinehart has understood, in incidents of sabotage, the fusion of work and play, gold-bricking, and restricting output.[22]

Rising expectations and the Falling rate of profit

Since 1974 the world system of capital has been engulfed in a valorization crisis.[23] By this I mean that capital has been faced with a rapid decline in the socially average rate of profit since this year. At bottom this is due to the increased social production of labour. In the United States Stanley Aronowitz noted:

> Among the most suprising and distressing aspects of this fifth post-war recession was the unemployment of categories of workers who had not experienced hard times since the great depression. 24

Notable among these categories were service and public employees. The loss of job security in the public sector and the service sector of the economies of industrial capitalistic nations has sparked unionization drives in these sectors and other forms of industrial unrest as well.

Aronowitz is of the opinion that many of these workers are less susceptible today to factory discipline because the social formation of industrial capital has overcome, 'chronic scarcity, ethnic, racial and sexual division grounded in the degradation of labour and the phenomenon of immigration; and the hegemony of the ideologies of mobility.'[25] The workers seem to be quite skeptical of trade unions and their largely paralysed leadership as well. Aronowitz has reported:

> ....unions have revealed they are truly a 'dependent variable' in the political economy, structurally unable to defend their own members interests, much less become a tribune for the working class as a whole.[26]

Trade union executives traditionally become more conservative during capitalist downturns.[27] Rank-and-file trade unionists, on the other hand, have become more insistant and comprehensive in their demands for changes of the industrial system.[28] This is indicated by their increasing willingness to protest the work process itself.[29] These protests' overt expression are called 'wildcat strikes'.[30]

We can understand the increasing job insecurity and unemployment in the present period as the socio-natural property of industrial capital. Joblessness, Aronowitz understands, is a method for reinforcing labour discipline and overwork.[31]

Other characteristics are also important to any theory of the working class' reformation. Among them the transformation of the labour process by industrial capital is key.[32]

The particular location of national working classes in the global imperialist network also shapes the history of that class. Aronowitz cites for example the characteristic difference in outlook of the industrial United States work-force and the predominantly commercial work-forces of European nations.[33] We must also take into account the material level of culture, the structure of socialization agencies like the bourgeois family, capitalistic schools, and mass culture which inform the development of sections of the global working class.[34]

The thesis advanced by Aronowitz is concerned in the main with the initially national struggle of the working class in the United States. However it is the opinion of this writer that it is equally applicable to the Canadian context. Aronowitz has remarked that:

> If my thesis is correct that most American workers reared since World War II have grown up with a definite conception of a proper level of material culture, the consistant assault by corporation and government upon this standard will become a moral as well as a practical economic question for these workers. The sustained unemployment may produce rage rather than passivity precisely because of the historical expectations of plentitude.[35]

Aronowitz admits his thinking and analysis were profoundly influenced by the French workers' revolution of 1968.[36] He has written:

> I began to understand that neither the trade unions nor the many left wing political parties in France were compatible with the incipient revolutionary aspirations of the students or the workers who were straining toward taking control of society. [37]

This led Aronowitz to his study of the working class' development. He has argued that the orthodox labour historians and radicals have not examined '...the forces that prevented workers from affiliating with these institutions or the alternatives they found to them.'[38] In order to complete such an investigation Aronowitz has concluded that we must '...reconstruct the story of the working class from the fabric of actual mass struggles or, alternatively the consciousness of rank-and file workers themselves.'[39] The story of the working class' formation must link the everyday lives of the working class and trade union development with political and economic conditions to which they are responses.[40] The point of departure for such a study must be the point of production of material life- the work place. This is where the specific capitalistic division of labour takes place.

The detail division of Labour

Harry Braverman has argued that it is the separation of conception and execution which is embodied in all modern industrial societies which marks them as an epoch distinct, as a world history, from other modes of production.[41] We call this the division of labour in detail. It is also known as the division of labour in manufacture. The division of labour in manufacturing is the specifically capitalistic form of the division of labour.[42] As Braverman has understood:

While the social division of labour subdivides

> society, the detailed division of labour subdivides humans, and while the subdivision of society may enhance the individual and the species, the subdivision of the individual, when carried on without regard to human capabilities and needs, is a crime against the person and against humanity. [43]

It is also well worth noting Kropotkin's incisive comments on the industrial division of labour. He has argued that it is responsible for our difficulties in re-inventing our everyday lives consciously. In The Conquest of Bread he remarked that within the capitalist mode of production:

> The division of labour means labelling and stamping men (sic) for life- some to splice ropes in factories, some to be foremen in a business, others to shove huge coal-baskets in a particular part of a mine; but none of them to have any idea of machinery as a whole, nor of business, nor of mines. And thereby they destroy the love of work and the capacity for invention that, at the beginning of modern industry, created the machinery on which we pride ourselves so much. [44]

Control of the labour process is alienated to capital in this manner also. As Braverman noted this capitalistic division of labour:

> ...shapes not only work, but populations as well, because over the long run it creates that mass of simple labour which is the primary feature of populations in developed capitalist countries. [45]

We can distinguish at least three features of the division of labour in detail. The work process is externally managed.[46] This is the separation of skill and labour activity. An elimination of choice or decisions from the immediate and later the mediate producer's tasks is carried out.[47] Finally

within the work-place, in contrast to the society at large, the tasks of the worker are planned thoroughly.[48] In Canada it was Willy King who first publicized these principles of the capitalistic labour-process.[49]

'Production' and 'Non-Production' Labour

The existance of the working class does not depend on various concrete characters of the labour performed but instead it is specifically defined by its social form.[50] For example labour producing goods is not sharply differentiated from labour which produces services from the point of view of the capitalist. The contours of the working class can not be clarified in such a manner.[51] In both cases commodity production may take place on a capitalist basis. That is for the purpose of a profit.[52] A distinction which does help to clarify the contours of the working class is that between productive and unproductive labours. As Marx says labour is unproductive, under capitalistic conditions, where it does not produce surplus value.[53] 'It is labour which is not exchanged with capital, but directly with revenue....'[54] From the standpoint of industrial capital it is the purchase by a consumer of a merely useful labour.[55] Yaffe has understood that:

> It follows from this that no surplus value is produced here, that wages do not form part of the variable capital and that therefore socially necessary labour is not worked. The labourer, however, will consume the commodities necessary for his reproduction. Much of such labour today provides 'services' through employment by the State. 56

The realization of surplus value as money is not a productive labour. This process of circulation constitutes a deduction from the total social capital.[57] Circulation includes such activities as 'sales effort' which are the costs of converting surplus value to its money form. From the capitalist point of view circulation activities constitute a necessary expense.[58] From the point of view of the potential community of immediate producers it is an unnecessary expense. The present cutbacks campaign which is being waged with increasing fury in the public sector can be understood as a move to cut unproductive, from the point of view of capital, labours which lower the rate of profit. The coincidence of protest by the consumers of public services, such as hospital beds, and public sector workers is explainable in this framework. This framework also explains the difficulties in unionizing bank workers and commercial workers generally. This theory also explains why marginals are so active today. It is because of their concentration in industries which are expensive or non productive from the point of view of capital.

The National Question

The state's 'programmed austerity' policies, I think, are responsible for working people's refusal, thus far, to respond to calls for national sacrifice. As Bourque and Laurin-Frenette put it:

> The nation as stressed above is the effect of certain economic, political, and ideological

> features of the structure of the capitalist mode of production. It therefore follows that when we make use of the concept of nation, we are referring to a class structure characterized by a certain type of domination, that of the capitalist mode of production, even when we are discussing a dominated nation. 59

It holds nothing of positive interest for a proletariat. Roussopoulos has understood therefore that it is precisely this which allows the observer an appreciation of anarcho-syndicalism as the working people's response to the national question.[60] This is also why Bourque and Laurin-Frenette's speculation on the configuration of a possible workers' nationalism, a reactionary course, is disturbing.[61]

A good example of how the national question is related to workers' self-management is provided by the national situation of Quebec. There are at least three distinct responses to the national question there. The first is that of the neo-capitalist petite bourgeoisie which demands a juridical cultural autonomy.[62] Its political representatives are the Liberal Party and especially Pierre Trudeau and Claude Ryan. Its primary basis are the private sector French executives and professionals. The second is that of the dynamic technocratic faction of the Quebecois petite bourgeoisie which demands a political independence. Its political representatives are the Parti Quebecois and especially Rene Levesque and intergovernmental affairs minister Claude Morin. Its basis are public sector personnel centred around universities, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Hydro-Quebec, and trade union executives. The third

direction is that of the organized workers who demand an economic independence. It does not find representation, politically, at the level of the bourgeois parliament.[63] Politically it presents itself directly in such projects as Operation Liberty, the Common Fronts of the unions, the Montreal Citizens' Movement and revolutionary combinations of a general character. Its basis is the working class and it struggles for relief from national oppression per se. It is consolidating as a class in the classic anarcho-syndicalist direction and in so doing learning to conduct the affairs of the potential community of immediate producers.

Canada also presents a good illustration of the relation between the national question and the self-emancipation of the working class. Pentland has emphasized that:

> It must constantly be kept in mind that Canada has had a rural background in fact, and still more in ideology. Half the population was engaged in farming until late in the 19th century, and more than a quarter was still so engaged as late as 1941. [64]

It was not until the 1960's that Canada could be called a really urbane nation or mature capitalistic social formation.[65] This accounts for the rural "aura" of Canada even into the 1960's.[66] Pentland also notes that:

> It seems significant too that after decades of acceptance that western agricultural settlement was the key to Canadian expansion in the twentieth century, economic historians have only begun recently to notice that manufacturing contributed a great deal more directly to the growth of G.N.P.. 67

This is indicative of class consolidation along the lines of capital and wage-labour. Pentland has also conceded the unity between urban and rural producers.[68] It is the opinion of this writer that this unity basically proceeded apace with the fusion of their class location as wage-labourers.

Of the ruling class in Canada Pentland has remarked:

> And a vital point about this elite is that its attitudes have been predominantly commercial rather than industrial. There is, to be sure, variation. Hamilton, in particular, and southern Ontario cities generally, have had much more than the usual industrial context and outlook. Montreal, on the other hand, has had and still has a commercial outlook, notwithstanding considerable industrial growth. Prairie cities and the main Atlantic urban centres, exhibit almost untainted commercialism. Vancouver is somewhere in between.[69]

The factory system's extention has been primarily responsible for the growth of Canada's urban centres.[70] It is the opinion of this author that Canada's ruling class marches under the banner of industrial capital at the present time.

Two other types of municipalities exist in Canada besides the predominantly industrial city centres. They are small towns and company towns.[71] In the former the shop keepers form the local elite while in the latter there is a clear class division between the absentee owners, and their on site representatives, and the working people of these one industry towns. Examples approximating the company town model are the mining and fishing towns of Nova Scotia, the lumber industry around Kenora, Ontario, the British Columbia lumber camps,

and the nickel works owned by INCO Metals Limited in Sudbury, Ontario, and the asbestos industry owned by Canadian Johns-Manville at Asbestos, Quebec. Pentland argues it is these company towns which "breed" syndicalist unionism because the owners of industry in such towns enact very arbitrary policies.[72]

The historically atomistic character of the wage-earner in Canada argues Pentland is the explanation for their under representation in dominant social institutions' design functions.[73] If workers are to invent their own lives socially they must display solidarity.[74] The level of working people's solidarity is expressed by their level of activity which is independently expressed, at the work-place.

We can also understand the logic of public sector revolts against work in Canada with Pentland's astute observations. He noted that the state in Canada has had a highly prominent location in the economy.[75] Historically dominant public opinion has perceived public ownership as a solution to some problems such as post-war employment or foreign ownership. However, Pentland insists, for the most part twentieth century Canadians have preferred the private interest to the public interest, in a juridical sense, and immediate reforms rather than long-term solutions.[76] Still though, as Rick Deaton has understood, in fact, Canadians tend to dispose of their "problems" in the public sector.[77]

Pentland concluded in his study that the syndicalist approach to social relations characterizes much of Canadian

daily life. "It has also encouraged a marked syndicalism that has characterized a large part of Canadian unionism at most times."[78] He also was of the opinion that the antiquated view-point characteristic of our industrial relations, and examplified by the rural, small town, commercial outlook in Canada, was essentially the root of work dissatisfaction.[79] This dissatisfaction has mounted with the actual descent of the middle class into the proletariat. Let us examine the effect of this descent on the structure of the collective worker.

Job Structure

Table I

Proportional distribution with the blue collar sector, 1901-61

	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Mfg. & mechanical workers	49.4	38.0	36.4	34.0	47.9	46.2	47.0
Construction	14.6	13.0	15.0	13.9	14.1	14.9	15.2
Trans. & communications	13.7	15.8	17.6	18.9	19.2	20.9	22.3
Labourers	22.4	33.0	31.0	33.4	18.9	18.0	15.6
Total	100.1	98.8	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.1

Source: Leo A. Johnson, 'Development of Class' p. 170.

Of Table 2 reprinted above Johnson has observed three distinct shifts in the occupational structure of the classical proletariat. He notes:

First the period 1901-11 shows a huge decline in the

> proportion of manufacturing and mechanical workers from 49.4 to 38.0 per cent of the blue collar sector. At the same time the proportion of menial labourers rose from 22.4 to 33.0 per cent. During the second period, 1911 to 1931, the proportion of menial workers remained constant at 33.0 per cent of the blue collar sector, while manufacturing and mechanical workers declined from 38 to 34 per cent. The third period, 1941 to 1961, saw a remarkable reversal of 1901-1931 trends: the proportion of labourers declines sharply to 18.9 per cent in 1941 and continued to decline to 15.6 per cent in 1961, while the manufacturing and mechanical sector jumped sharply to 47.9 per cent in 1941 where it remained until 1961. 80

Immigration policies and investment strategy are key to understanding these occupational changes Johnson has stated.[81]

> . . . High immigration, the the 19th and early twentieth century, has fostered cheap labour, national, policies as has extensive facilities expansion, based on labour intensive production methods, particularly in Western Canadian resource extraction industry, rather than more intensive capitalization and production rationality, up till the second world imperialist war.[82] Charles Lipton has observed that at this historical junction:

> Production expanded enormously- between 1939 and 1944 the value of manufactured goods anually produced increased from 3 billion to 9 billion dollars.83

Between 1945 and 1959 industrial safety was brutally sacrificed to productivity gains.[84] As well the increasing social productivity of labour was relatively depressing job opportunities and real wages.[85] Lipton has commented that:

> This rising productivity was caused by tech-

> nological innovation. But it was also caused by intensification of labour- the increase in the workload. In the 1950's, there was much job evaluation, much time study, many bonus incentive plans. Conflicts over the workload became an issue in a multitude of greivances and strikes.[86]

As well job deskilling and combinations and discriminatory wage practices for "marginals" doing tasks formerly done by the labour aristocracy sparked much covert and some overt industrial disputes.[87] Lipton has added:

> This was the workload. Then there was technological innovation- something distinct from the workload, but in real life meshed in with it. An example is dieselization in the railroad. Between 1950 and 1957 the proportion of diesel locomotives increased from 25% to 80%. In the railroad shops, the total of machinists, machinists' apprentices and helpers decreased from 8,000 to 5,600, and the total of baler-workers and black smiths decreased by 70%. Then there was a new type of technological innovation- automation. This was spreading rapidly in offices and also in industries like railroad (the freight yards), communications, and the larger postal depots.[88]

Johnson has reported that after 1945 clerical and service industries expanded and being for the part unproductive, because either the labours of society are to a greater extent unproductive, and hence a growing proportion of the population which labours is relatively unproductive, and so any services provided to this portion of the labouring population are unproductive, or they only aid in the realization of capital and not its production in the clerical industry,[89] we understand that they force capital to increase the social productivity of labour in order to counter these deductions from the total social variable capital and in this manner exert a downward

pressure on the rate of profit.[90] The state and the private sector fight to reduce the costs of such expenses by employing the marginal strata of the working class such as women, the young, the Quebecois and formerly petite bourgeois labourers who are the least well organized parts of the class, initially, to withstand these hostile forays.[91] Cost reduction becomes primary during periods of capitalist crisis. Canada has recently entered just such a period.

The end of the 'Boom'

Capitalistic transnationals are today shutting down shop in Canada in the face of what appears to the capitalists as an intensified market competition internationally.[92] As Michel Chossudovsky has observed:

> Economic recession in Canada is not cyclical but structural. It is characterized by stagnation in many areas of manufacturing industry, cutbacks, layoffs and unemployment in mining and primary resources industries and a more or less total vacuum in the development of high technology industries. The "more visible" cutbacks of large mining operations (e.g. INCO Limited and Falconbridge in the Sudbury area) the layoffs in the pulp and paper industry, and the slowdown in traditional manufacturing cannot be explained in terms of cyclical variations in the level of economic activity. Not only are firms closing down but also investment in "traditional" manufacturing and primary producing industries is at a standstill. 93

The degree of transnational penetration in Canada is acute and in this period of global industrial capitalistic crisis competitive international movements of capital are

accentuated in Canada.[94] It is interesting that in both the United States and Canada the rate of profit has been falling since the 1950's.[95] Chossudovsky has correctly understood that:

> The government's policy of "programmed austerity" involving the curtailment of public spending, the reduction of unemployment insurance benefits and family allowances and policies which in one form or another are directed to reducing the real earnings of working people contributes to rather than resolving the economic crisis.[96]

Canada's entrance into the orbit of the world system of capital has quickened the pace of competition and promoted international transfers of capital. Chossudovsky has explained that:

> The substantial profit rate differential and the fall in the rate of profit in the North-American economy generated a considerable increase in capital exports to the third world by U.S. based corporations. [97]

This net loss of production facilities for Canada also induces greater corporate concentration and centralization of capital but no expansion because of transnational ownership and loyalty.[98] This is resulting in high domestic level unemployment as investment is tapped from Canada to low-wage areas of the globe. Chossudovsky has explained how these low wages are maintained:

> Political repression and state violence by non-democratic forms of government constitute the means for enforcing sub-subsistance wages in Taiwan, Chile, the Phillipines, Indonesia, Brazil, Argentina, etc.. So-called "politically stable" conditions and the absence of labour legislation and trade unions encourage multi-nationals to transfer their operations to these countries, thereby contributing both to unemployment and economic stagnation as well as to the weakening of the labour movement in the so-called advanced industrialized countries.[99]

Canada has its own share of firms with transnational capacity.[100] While international capital based in Canada is not interested in developing domestic manufacturing capacity because of already existing international manufacturing capacity surpluses it does maintain tight control over the domestic financial market.[101] It is the attempt by capital to become independent of its basis and limit- the proletariat- which has led Chossudovsky to conclude that:

> "Solutions" to the current economic crisis, therefore, will not emerge from the abstract policy blueprints and forecasting procedures of orthodox economics at the service of the capitalist state. Changes will only come about through forceful and organized action by working people at the plant level as well as political action which forcefully opposes the economic policies of the state. [102]

The Left-wing Alternative

So it has become necessary to pose the question of life's reconstruction by the social revolution materially. Peter Kropotkin has said that "it is clear that only the workers through their own organizations would ever be able to achieve this...."[103] Kropotkin understood that the unions of workers were organizations capable of exproporiating the capitalistic expropriators potentially. This is precisely because the unions are organs of the working class' self activity based on the work place.[104] Errico Malatesta understood that:

> Today the most powerful force for social transformation is the working class movement (the trade union movement), and on its intentions

> depends to a large degree the course that events will take and the objectives of any future revolution. Through the organizations established for the defence of their interests, workers acquire an awareness of the oppression under which they live and of the antagonisms which divide them from their employers, and so begin to aspire to a better life, get used to collective struggle and to solidarity, and can suceed in winning those improvements which are compatible with the continued existance of the capitalist and statist regime. Later when the conflict is beyond solution, there is either revolution or reaction. [105]

Union actions for immediate gains contain both reformist and revolutionary tendencies according to Max Nemni.[106] Unions are inherently reformist insofar as they seek to determine the conditions for the sale of the labour-power commodity. They are revolutionary, however, insofar as the imposition of a firm wage floor and limit to the working day forces upon the bourgeoisie the completion of their historical task as the will and consciousness of capital. We have already noted how "excessive", from the point of view of the capitalist, wages compell capital to replace living labour with dead labour, or fixed capital such as machinery, and to cut back non production industry. Unions produce a tendency for the replacement of living labour with machinery in so far as they provide a wage floor which makes it relatively less costly for the capitalist to buy a machine than the labour power it replaces.[107] On the other hand only creative labour produces surplus value for the capitalist. The fall in the rate of profit is at bottom this increase in the social productivity of labour.[108] So Nemni can observe on the trade union that:

> It is revolutionary in as much as it favours the socialization of the process of production by quickening the pace of capitalist development and sharpening its contradictions. Thus it can be a way of establishing the material foundations of socialism while acting in a manner that is compatible with the socialist goal of greater personal freedom for self-directed activities. 109

The self movement of the workers then expresses the demand for necessary production as against profitable production as the class of capital would have it. Within the society which has a political economy wage-slavery can only be abolished by political action however. That is this impulse must become conscious of its own revolutionary intention. As Maletesta understood:

> Just because I am convinced that the unions can and must play a most useful, and perhaps necessary, role in the transition from present society to the equalitarian society, I would wish them to be judged at their true worth and by never forgetting that they have a natural tendency to become closed corporations limited to making narrow, sectional demands, or worse still, for their members only; we will thus be in a better position to combat this tendency and prevent them from becoming conservative organisms. 110

This is precisely why a general party of anarchy, composed of people with imagination, must struggle both within the unions and outside them for the reinvention of social revolution.[111] This understanding flows from the conclusion of Malatesta that "The Unions will be most valuable in a revolutionary situation, but on condition that they are... as little like Trade Unions as possible."[112] If unions are to be revolutionary they must overcome their very premise which is the wage system. It is

the opinion of this authour that the manner in which this must be accomplished is by the generalization of the trade union movement not its inhibition or attempts to bypass this necessary development.

The General Strike

In any case as Karl Korsh realized it is precisely when the working class ceases to function as a productive force of capital that the labourers' mode of cooperation itself becomes capable of developing further the social productivity of labour.[113] This capability is partially manifested in the industrial disruption which consolidates this productive force as the class for itself.[114] Let us call this phenomenon the mass or general strike.

Jeremy Brecher has emphasized three aspects of the general strike during periods of open class struggle.[115] These are ". . . the challenge to existing authorities, the tendency of workers to begin taking over direction of their own activities, and the development of solidarity with each other."[116] This is what links up all the apparently isolated, localized, work stoppages in periods of capitalistic crisis.

The organization of labourers within the specifically capitalistic mode of production has its private specific character and its social, general, form. The labour groups located at the point of production are the substance of the mass strike. Brecher has remarked of their content that:

> They are communities within which workers come into opposition to the boss, begin acting on their own, and discover the collective power they develop in doing so. The end product of this process is precisely the rejection of management as "authority and leader" and the transformation of the work group into what one industrial sociologist has described as a guerilla band at war with management. 117

The consciousness of these work groups as groups of workers is engendered within many of the strikes in Canada during periods of open class war by such specific issues as speed-up, wage-cuts, heat, cold and especially the relative tedium of the work itself. In any case though these are the soil of liberty. As Brecher has comprehended:

> Whether triggered by a relatively trivial incident or by a strike call, at some point in the accumulation of resentment workers quit work. Already this is a kind of revolt, as Alvin Gouldner put it, "a refusal to obey those socially prescribed as authorities in that situation, that is management.
>
> Workers are immediately faced with the problem of making the strike effective by preventing production. This means in effect denying the owner free use of his own property. The result is a natural tendency towards defacto seizure of the productive apparatus by sit-down strikes, crowd action, and mass picketing.118

Self-management and solidarity are the logical responses to class divided society when it has reached the productive limits of its existance. The mass strike is the fusion of individual and collective practice--socialism. The distinction between private and public interest is blurred by these realizations of the common interest of immediate producers.[119] As Brecher says:

> Most people in their work life and community (sic) life are passive- submitting to control from above. They are also atomized- separated from each other. What we see in mass strikes is the beginning of a transformation of people and their relationships from passivity and isolation to collective action. 120

We understand then also that the revolutionary intention of the strike is developed within the process itself.[121] It is not on an priori assumption of the participants but rather a latent relationship between them.

The mass strike is a specific feature of the society of modern industrial capital.[122] It requires a maturity of capitalistic social relations of production. As Brecher has understood this is why the transport industry is the first sector to undergo the mass strike historically and serves as the barometer of social density and volume which is determined by the relative advance of transportation and communications facilities.[123] As Brecher has noted:

> Even when workers discovered their own power, they retained the gravest doubts about its legitimacy for it contradicted all the long-inculcated values of law, order, authority, and property. They understood instinctively that such action undermined the "republican" form of government by substituting direct action for state action. The belief in existing political forms has thus served as a constant brake on more radical forms of action. 124

We consider that the question has nothing at all to do with legitimacy. The failure of previous mass strikes is a function of the ability to further develop the productive forces within the production relations of capital and wage-labour and the

neglect of the political principle. The gendarme of the capitalistic state must be confronted and sublated. If we are to rid ourselves of economic slavery we must eliminate political servitude.[125]

Through the process I have described in this essay I have concluded that general strikes indicate the consolidation of the workers as a class who share a common concern and act for themselves. Their increasing number and duration at present in Canada is emblematic of the formation of the proletariat as the working class united in its refusal to do bourgeois forms of wage labour. These are the conditions necessary for the emergence of conscious participation in the reconstruction of our own daily lives. Within any strike of a crisis period, such as the present, the socialist alternative- the <u>conscious and masterful control</u> of our own daily lives is presented starkly for us.[126]

NOTES FOR CHAPTER I

1. Lawrence Krader, The Asiatic Mode of Production, p. 1.
2. Karl Marx, A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, p. 296.
3. Karl Korsh, Karl Marx, pp. 31-32.
4. Karl Korsh, Karl Marx, pp. 35-36.
5. Karl Marx, Capital Volume I, p. 764.
6. Ibid., pp. 781-782.
7. Ibid., p. 781.
8. Ibid., p. 775.
9. Ibid., p. 770.
10. Paul Bullock, and David Yaffe, "inflation, the Crisis and the Post-War Boom" Revolutionary Communist I (1976): 5.
11. Ibid., p. 37.
12. Ibid., p. 37.
13. Karl Marx, Capital Volume I, p. 788.
14. Ibid., p. 788.
15. Leo A. Johnson, "The development of class in Canada in the twentieth century" Capitalism and the National Question in Canada, ed., Gary Teeple, pp. 172-173.
16. Karl Korsh, Karl Marx, pp. 24-29.
17. Ibid., p. 29.
18. Stanley Aronowitz, False Promises, p. vii.
19. H.C. Pentland, "The development of a capitalistic labour market in Canada," CJEPS 25 (1959): 456.

20. I say since 1972 because as Deaton says this was the year government austerity measures became a major policy target in Canada with the onset of the fiscal crisis, "The Fiscal Crisis of the State and the Revolt of the Public Employee," Our Generation, 8 (1972): 30.

21. Stuart Jamieson, Times of Trouble: Labour Unrest and Industrial Conflict in Canada, 1900-66, pp. 13-14.

22. James Rinehart, The Tyranny of Work, pp. 73-82.

23. David Yaffe and Paul Bullock, "Inflation, Crisis and the Post-War Boom," Revolutionary Communist I (1976) :5.

24. Stanley Aronowitz, False Promises p. vii.

25. Ibid., p. viii, c.f. Karl Marx, Capital Volume One p. 590. Marx had observed that: "The solid crystallization of a hierarchy of specialized processes, which arose from the old division of labour, ceases to exist; it is dissolved, and makes way for constant changes. Quite apart from this, a fundamental transformation takes place in the composition of the collective labourer or, in other words, the combined working personnel. In contrast with the period of manufacture, the division of labour is now based, wherever possible, on the employment of women, of children of all ages and of unskilled workers, in short, of 'cheap labour', as the Englishman typically describes it." So while the old division of labour is overcome it is overcome capitalistically.

26. Stanley Aronowitz, False Promises p. ix.

27. Ibid., p. ix.

28. Ibid., p. ix.

29. Ibid., p. ix.

30. Ibid., p. ix, c.f. Malcolm Fisher, Measurement of Labour disputes and their economic effects, pp. 38-39, who argues that wildcat strikes are moments where the revolutionary technical basis of industry expresses itself as the self-organization of the working class arising out of and in opposition to any existing trade union structure.

31. Stanley Aronowitz, False Promises, p. ix.

32. Ibid., p. x.

33. Ibid., p. x.

34. Ibid., p. x.

35. Ibid., p. xi.

36. Ibid., p. 2.

37. Ibid., p. 2.

38. Ibid., p. 4.

39. Ibid., p. 4.

40. Ibid., p. 5.

41. Harry Braverman, Labour and Monopoly Capital, p. 15.

42. Karl Marx, Capital Volume One, p. 480.

43. Harry Braverman, Labour and Monopoly Capital, p. 70, c.f. Karl Marx, Capital Volume One p. 469.

44. Peter Kropotkin, The Conquest of Bread, p. 178, c.f. Harry Braverman, Labour and Monopoly Capital pp. 131-132.

45. Harry Braverman, Labour and Monopoly Capital, p. 83.

46. Ibid., p. 113.

47. Ibid., p. 113.

48. Ibid., pp. 118, 125.

49. W.L.M. King, Industry and Humanity, pp. 183-185, 188, 189, 195.

50. Ibid., p. 410, c.f. Karl Marx, Theories of Surplus Value Part 1, pp. 156-158.

51. Ibid., p. 410

52. Karl Marx, Theories of Surplus Value Part 1, p. 156.

53. Ibid., p. 156.

54. Ibid., p. 157.

55. David Yaffe and Paul Bullock, "Inflation", p. 16.

56. Ibid., p. 16.

57. Ibid., p. 17.

58. Harry Braverman, Labour and Monopoly Capital, p. 41.

59. Dimitri Roussopoulos, "Social Classes and Nationalism in Quebec," Our Generation 8 (1972): 54.

60. Gilles Bourque and Nicole Laurin-Frenette, "Social Classes," p. 192.

61. Ibid., p. 56.

62. Gilles Bourque and Nicole Laurin-Frenette, "Social Classes" pp. 193-200, provide the reference for this paragraph unless otherwise indicated.

63. Ibid., pp. 201-204.

64. H.C. Pentland, A study of the Changing Social, Economic and Political Background of the Canadian System of Industrial Relations, p. 21.

65. Ibid., p. 21.

66. Ibid., p. 22.

67. Ibid., p. 22.

68. Ibid., pp. 22-23.

69. Ibid., pp. 24-25.

70. Ibid., p. 26.

71. Ibid., pp. 26-30.

72. Ibid., pp. 26-30.

73. Ibid., pp. 30-31.

74. Ibid., p. 31.

75. Ibid., pp. 33-34.

76. Ibid., p. 34.

77. Rick Deaton, "The Fiscal Crisis and the Public Employee" Our Generation 8 (1972): p. 40.

78. H.C. Pentland, Industrial Relations p. 36.

79. Ibid., p. 36.

80. Leo A. Johnson, Development of Class, p. 169.

81. Ibid., p. 169.

82. Ibid., p. 171.

83. Charles Lipton, The Trade Union Movement of Canada 1827-1959, p. 266.

84. Ibid., p. 302.

85. Ibid., p. 302.

86. Ibid., p. 303.

87. Ibid., p. 303.

88. Ibid., p. 304, c.f. H.C. Pentland, Industrial Relations p. 248.

89. David Yaffe, "Inflation" pp. 33-34.

90. Leo A. Johnson, Development of Class pp. 172-173.

91. Ibid., pp. 33, 35.

92. Michel Chossudovsky, "Is the Canadian Eocnomy Closing Down?" Is the Canadian Economy Closing Down? ed., Fred Caloren, et. al. p. 132.

93. Ibid., p. 131.

94. Ibid., p. 133.

95. Ibid., p. 135.

96. Ibid., p. 135.

97. Ibid., pp. 135-137, 145.

98. Ibid., pp. 139-140 c.f. pp. 172-173.

99. Ibid., p. 143.

100. Ibid., p. 135.

101. Ibid., p. 135.

102. Ibid., p. 159.

103. Peter Kropotkin, "Words of a Rebel" Kropotkin's Revolutionary Pamphlets ed., Roger N. Baldwin p. 76.

104. Ibid., p. 78.

105. Errico Malatesta, Life and Ideas, ed., Vernon Richards p. 113.

106. Max Nemni, "The Political Potential of Trade Unions," Our Generation 13 (1979): p. 29.

107. David Yaffe, "Inflation" p. 18.

108. Ibid., p. 19.

109. Max Nemni, "Trade Unions" p. 29.

110. Errico Malatesta, Life and Ideas p. 115.

111. Ibid., p. 114.

112. Ibid., p. 120.

113. Karl Korsh, Karl Marx p. 199.

114. Ibid., pp. 199-200

115. Jeremy Brecher, Strike!, p. 233.

116. Ibid., p. 233.

117. Ibid., p. 234.

118. Ibid., p. 236.

119. Ibid., pp. 238-240.

120. Ibid., p. 238.

121. Ibid., p. 240.

122. Ibid., p. 243.

123. Ibid., p. 243.

124. Ibid., p. 258.

125. Errico Malatesta, Life and Ideas, pp. 114-115.

126. Harry Braverman, Labour and Monopoly Capital, p. 446, uses this expression.

THE CULTURAL EXPRESSION OF WORKING PEOPLE'S CONDITION IN CANADA: LOOKING FORWARD

A discussion of the class struggle which does not reference itself explicitly to everyday life is like speaking of rope in the house of a hanging man. I have only criticized our political economy in order to understand how to undertake a materialistic, and hence scientific, investigation of our present social circumstances.[1] In this chapter we shall review present economic conditions and their relation to labour-force stratification by accounting for the culture or ideology which reproduces this relation.

Ideology

As Wallace Clement rightly points out, citing Karl Mannheim, thought must be comprehended within a concrete, historical setting which at present is not generated anew by each age but transmitted directly from the past.[2]

The division of society into classes calls into question any dominant value system to a greater or lesser extent. The fascade of ideology is the articulation, symbolically, of the life situation of those who elaborate a particular ideology. Ideas change with their social background. It is the three great historical classes of landed property, capital, and wage-labour which are the present "carriers" of ideology.

The dominant ideology is the presentation of the status-quo. It is the most powerful and comprehensive.[3] Counter-ideologies seek to alter the status-quo insofar as they are expressions of an actual class antagonism and, it is argued by Clement, therefore disrupt the social fabric. These, according to Mannheim, are utopian ideologies precisely because they seek change.

Mass media is a social technique for conducting ruling ideas. The "end of ideology" position which has favour among liberal academics may, Clement says, in fact mean an end to the previously prevalent, populist, world view confronting the dominant ideology because the means of communicating knowledge have become very concentrated in the hands of a few people.[4] This means it is difficult to make apparent the dominant ideology's class base. Clement qualifies the term communication with mass in order to convey the one sidedness of the media today, which does not allow direct response but instead passive contemplation.

The influence of mass media allows for the proportional decrease in the use of coercion to enforce dominant values.[5] Today, as Marx foretold:

> The silent compulsion of economic relations sets the seal on the domination of the capitalist over the worker. Direct extra-economic force is still of course used, but only in exceptional cases. In the ordinary run of things, the worker can be left to the "natural laws of production", i.e. it is possible to rely on his dependence on capital, which springs from the conditions of production themselves, and is guaranteed in perpetuity by them.[6]

The mass media reflects this "silent compulsion". This provides us with an indicator of the maturity of a national capital. Direct coercion is used until capital has destroyed all alternative modes of production which precede it. Its central function is the habituation of the labourer to capitalistic conditions of production. The violence of labour relations during the 1960's illustrates this proposition. The function of this violence was the habituation of formerly petite bourgeois strata within Canada to capitalistic conditions of production. The function of state organized violence within the workers' movement today, however, is otherwise.

There is an ideological content to political socialization according to Ralph Miliband.[7] Political socialization is a process of internalizing the social norms, roles, values, and symbols regarding politics. In the capitalistic pecking order, then, we have a project of mass indoctrination. Many institutions serve to reproduce this class domination.

The reconciliation of the social layers a bourgeois party represents and the social layers which support it is still a task of the private sector for the most part.[8] The parties of the bourgeoisie are able to effect this reconciliation because they have more money to spend on propaganda as well as on more offices, equipment, and better organizational talent.[9]

The underlying logic of the bourgeois party as an ideological agency is the defence of capitalistic social

relations of production.[10] Surrounding this core are the "ideological sentinels" of freedom, tradition, religion, national sovereignty, property rights, reform, and financial stability.

Parties of the bourgeoisie have an entrenched ideological apparatus--because they are bourgeois--so they have an able clarity of purpose which the counter world view lacks.[11] The counter world view symbol structure is often weak and ambiguous because no social agencies exist which offer mass education in socialist principles.

Although the church's influence is declining on a world scale, it continues to function as an ideological agency whose religious and clerical orientation is conservative in the main.[12] Religious sentiment often conditions the working class' support for the political parties of the bourgeoisie. Not only the churches, but their satellite organizations and membership, may influence the behaviour of political actors.

Nationalism is often a stabilizing social force. It has been what Miliband calls the "most powerful of all secular religions".[13] In the period of late capitalism ideologies of national liberation or salvation, on the whole, have served to foist a conservative regimen onto the subordinate social class.[14] The central theme of nationalism, in the latter part of the present century, has been the obfuscation of class boundaries in favour of an allegiance to the abstract, ill-defined, national interest which has all too often been the

interest of the bourgeoisie. Nationalism has served only to ideologically disarm the subordinate class by defining their potentially common interest as detrimental to the national interest, in the age of world imperialism, whereas it is detrimental only to the representatives of capital.[15]

Other ideological or cultural agencies which propagate the fabrication of a national interest include bourgeois youth organizations, ex-soldiers' organizations, explicitly nationalist organizations such as government national unity task forces, business and its associations as well as its political lobbies, national bourgeois leaders, armies, and the social organization of production itself that is the state apparatus.[16] The evocation by these institutions of given traditional symbols of self sacrifice and heroism serve to bolster the established higher circles' interest.

The support of precapitalist forms of power, such as the monarchy and church, serve also as ideological agencies which promote loyal and conformist political socialization.[17]

Business has a broad influence on ideological formation and entrenchment.[18] Its Public Relations departments, advertising budget, and the construction of supposedly non-partisan public interest organizations, such as the Canadian insurance companies' lobby called the Citizens' Coalition, aid in this project. However, as Miliband has reminded us:

> The real issue lies elsewhere namely that advertising in <u>this</u> particular kind of economic system, assumes certain characteristics which are not inherent in the activity itself (not

> least its debasement of language and meaning, and its generally idiot trivality), and that among these characteristics is the intention to manipulate people into buying a "way of life" as well as goods.[19]

The state of society is also broadcast by the mass media which transmits a transcript of dominant policies and pursues attempts at what Miliband calls "news management" in order to deflect investigation or criticism of particular initiatives of the state apparatus.[20] As well, the capitalistic state, in a number of cases, now controls its own public network of communications channels which Miliband suggests are more than a little partisan in their presentation of "news".[21] As for the social actors whose career is within the mass media, public or private, it is predominantly the case that the writers, directors, producers, commentators, playwrights, editors, and journalists, in Miliband's words, ". . . say what they like" but this is mainly because their employers mostly like what they say, or at least find little in what they say which is objectionable".[22]

Schools attempt to foist neutrality on their clients.[23] This is functional to the conservative mood as its end result is a passive impotent citizenry. It is here that the young and defenceless are taught they can be rewarded if their behaviour is disciplined and oriented to external authority, Aronowitz has understood that this is the essence of capitalistic ideology.[24] Socially upward mobility is promised. A "good" job and purchase power are also included in the bargain. We laarn that

the price which should be extracted for these rewards is the sale of our total creative powers to make the world in our common interest to the capitalist and the segregation of living into work and leisure.[25] It is schools of the private sector which serve further to inculcate the offspring of privilege with a sense of commitment and duty to conservatism and business acumen.[26] Further to this it has been suggested by Miliband that quite often these private schools of privilege are looked upon as the ideal setting in which learning should be placed and so are foisted upon public schools, though in a monstrous distorted fashion, which have not the funds to properly implement even these programmes.[27]

Universities are largely dependent on public financing and private donations.[28] It has been suggested by C. Wright Mills that this has served to commercialize critical study within research foundations, universities and colleges.[29] Wallace Clement has noted that for this reason they are functional to present business and their state's interest also.[30]

Under the conditions prevailing in modern capitalistic society even our sexuality is conditioned externally. It is Wilhelm Reich in his book The Mass Psychology of Fascism who first alluded to the specifically capitalistic cultural mechanisms which are embedded in our sexuality. Reich's research was generated by his concern that although the proletariat seemed economically able to overthrow capital during the last great depression in Europe and North America, it instead joined

the reaction.[31] It was Freud who posited that consciousness is conditioned by what it fails to elaborate in personal experience. He noted that children have a lively sexuality which is not conceived for the purpose of procreation. Sexuality or the libido, that is, sexual energy, influences their personal behaviour and the children by their wholesome attitude demonstrate a conscious awareness of this. Freud understood that the repression of this part of people's daily lives distorted a healthy individual development. When childhood sexuality and gender identity are repressed within a community by the emergence of the family structure and the attendant parent-child relationship which creates a fear of punishment for lively sexuality, there will be anxiety produced in the individual.[32] What Freud did not understand was the family's social origin.[33] Reich argued the moral code which prescribed punishment for sexuality and gender identity is derived from educational measures which develop as the family supercedes the communal-social relationship of the tribe with the rise of commodity production. The church strengthens the domination of the family within the relation we have described above. This occurs insofar as the church reflects as an organization the social relations of production. The state apparatus also finds its necessary presuppositions in microcosm within the authoritarian family. We agree with Reich that"man's <u>authoritarian structure</u>--this must be clearly established--is basically produced by the embedding of sexual inhibitions and fear

in the living substance of sexual impulses".[34] Thus, even when many material conditions are ripe for the rebellion against wage-labour, sexual repression can put the brakes on revolutionary development. It is important, then, to understand its social content and its activation by the class antagonisms produced by surplus production.

Frank Parkin has demonstrated that the normative cultural order is class differentiated. Within a substantial segment of society there is a culturally distinct meaning system.[35] A major expression of tension at the social plane of relations is that members of the subordinate class must internalize dominant class values, but lack the means for the realization of these same values.

Social values or the religion of everyday life, which is the same thing, acquire social validity or are legitimized through institutional power.[36]

There are three major meaning systems in Western society. Each has a different social source and moral interpretation of class inequality.[37] The dominant value system promotes the endorsement of existing inequality. The subordinate value system promotes accommodation to inequality and the reduction of people to fragments of human beings. The radical value system opposes class society.[38]

Most members of the dominant class define the existing reward system as just which, because it has institutional backing, also forms the basis of morality in the subordinate class.[39]

In this way normative values come to be seen as factual. The attitude of the subordinate class towards these normative values is deferential and does not require a complete denial of themselves.[40] Parkin has commented also on an alternative subordinate class attitude called the aspirational model. He says that within this vocabulary of motive "inequality is seen as inevitable as well as just, some men being inherently fitted for positions of power and privilege".[41] The aspirational version of the social structure also entails the opinion that those with talent can rise as high as they want in a class structure.[42] The deferential attitudes seem to be more prominent where there is direct experience of ". . . the social influences and judgements of dominant class members".[43] Aspirational cultural or ideological frameworks, on the other hand, find fertile soil among the majority of the working class, who are downwardly mobile, as well as among class positions on the perimeter of the working class, such as forepersons, police, and supervisors.[44] Within the subordinate value system the main meaning attached to inequality is that it is as good as natural.[45] There is, however, an emphasis on social division. There is a general dislike of the reward system but this dislike is largely abstract in expression towards bureaucratic officialdom and it achieves concreteness only in interpersonal relationships.[46]

Whereas a class conscious outlook would be rooted in a systematic self-understanding of social inequality, and an

active subjective contempt, the subordinate class ideology is passively rooted in objective conditions which all members of the working class share in common.[47] An important aspect of the accommodative culture is instrumental collectivism. This is most clearly exemplified by the trade union structure.[48] In the last instance, as Parkin notes, the subordinate value system represents a "negotiated version of the ruling ideology of capital".[49] This is why we may observe that when abstract judgements are called for the subordinate class will cater to the dominant cultural norms and when a concrete specific action is demanded the negotiated version of the dominant value system will be implemented.[50] This "value stretch" is much in evidence in struggles at the point of material production which James Rinehart has observed even tends to transcend immediate, trade unionist demands and style.[51]

Parkin understands that the subordinate class' abstract principles are foisted on them by another, more powerful social class--which itself has a consciousness which corresponds to the logic of the enterprise which is capital accumulation--and so promotes a discrepancy between the theory and practice of workers.[52] "Thus," concludes Parkin, "it is not a simple distinction between concreteness and generality which is at issue here, but also the relationship between class power and the moral framework of inequality."[53]

There is also among the social value systems the radical value system.[54] This truly cultural value system

promotes class consciousness by revealing the class interest which social inequality generated by surplus production supports. It infuses people with the world view of socialism as they reappropriate their everyday life activities. This value system is embedded as the mass working class party. This is not its source as Parkin has concluded.[55] It is its expression. This is how this counter-world view achieves social validity or legitimacy.

Legitimation is a superstructural dependent variable.[56] This is so, Miliband understands, because it is the conditions of production which formally free but factually enslave the labourer to the capitalist. As Miliband has understood:

> In short the condition of the working class is itself a major element in its "political socialization" and provides fertile ground for all the other forces which seek to enhance that process.[57]

Aronowitz has also defended this position. It is the subordination of the labourer's self interest to the capitalistic labour process and the perception of this situation as blind economic law beyond the ability of people to change which is the basis of capitalistic social relations or debased class culture.[58] We are here in agreement with Marx who wrote:

> My view is that each particular mode of production, and the relations of production corresponding to it at each given moment, in short "the economic structure of society" is "the real foundation, on which arises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness", and that "the mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political and intellectual life".[59]

This is why now there are inherent contradictions in the deployment of mass media and culture for the creation of an enclosed ideological world view promoting the hegemony of capital.[60] Like everything else culture must be produced and in this sense it is an active historical force through which human beings articulate their own mode of existence and transform the instruments which condition their being. As Aronowitz concludes:

> What this means is that while a ruling class can appropriate existing cultural forms and symbols and to a certain extent convert them into means of legitimizing its hegemony, it cannot create culture any more than it can create means of production.[61]

In fact the producers of culture, the mediate producers of culture, must remain distinguished from the power centres they serve as they provide the social validity for these power centres.[62] It requires a marginality--a simultaneous attraction and alienation from the ruling class and its organization of society that is the state--if it is to articulate a cultural, not national, symbol structure. However, as Aronowitz has been quick to point out, this also has the effect of undermining a national symbol structure as the cultural and national value structure are not coincident.[63]

There is a relation between the social situations we find ourselves within and what our social experience is to be.[64] Our educational experience, work-routines, and exposure to the mass media, in the form of newspapers, television, and radio, varies according to sex, age, ethnicity, and nationality.

Hubernas has noted that as our subjection to the detailed division of labour is completed we become conscious of ourselves apart from these social roles.[65] The increasing multiplicity of social roles breeds a consciousness of these roles as external to us. The capitalistic form of the social division of labour attaches us not to society but to our class.

We can also state the converse of this. As Erik Olin Wright has understood, those citizens who occupy a social location between class boundaries have a more confused sense of identity.[66] The marginals are less able to distinguish themselves from their social occupations. They have a contradictory class location. On the one hand, they are largely limited to a downward social mobility.[67] On the other hand, they are more oppressed by the capitalistic social institutions because of their atomized condition. We can confirm this understanding historically. We will find that institutional social cleavages have been distributed unequally by sex, age, nationality, and ethnicity in Canada.

Ethnicity

The division of labour in detail is also the division of the labouring class historically. For example, in Canada the division of workers into native-born and immigrant populations ameliorated class conflict.[68] The tasks of immigrant labourers were most subject to deskilling.[69] Immigrant jobs were subject to constant rationalization after 1900, particularly during the 1920's because their occupational location in the

periods of Canadian expansion was in such expanding industries as construction, transport, communication, clerical, mining, finance, and trade which rely on technological innovation for their further development so, often, replacing human labour with machinery and breaking up the labourers' tasks.[70]

Employers in Canada have also encouraged "ethnic identity" in order to keep the workers disorganized.[71] In the United States Aronowitz has noted that often employers would deliberately place workers with different "ethnic identities" side by side to prevent communication except between foreperson and labourer.[72]

The hatred of Roman Catholicism within sections of the working class is explained by Aronowitz on the basis of its promotion, among many Europeans who emigrated to North America, of qualities like obedience and suffering which, in turn, made these immigrants less militant and provided soil for another split within the working class.[73] As a cultural tool the church was as much a social centre as the family and promoted class collaboration, anti-socialist viewpoints, and a repudiation of industrial unionism.[74]

The Canadian working class is not much over one hundred years old. It had feudal origins. What Aronowitz says of the United States of America is just as true in the Canadian case as in this respect:

> Contrary to the commonly held belief that the success of our economic development has been due, in large measure, to the absence

> of a feudal past, it is evident that the genius of American capital consisted in its ability to incorporate the institutions of rank and obligation, the separation of mental and physical labour, the distinction between town and country, and the authority relations that marked feudalism.[75]

This ability is especially notable in Quebec where landed property was relatively recently subjugated to industrial capital's interest.

National Oppression

At least as far back as the 1830's the Quebecois workers have been dominated by landed property and petite bourgeois interests who in their turn are subject to a national oppression--the domination of the capitalistic mode of production--which encompasses Quebec and comprises the nation of Canada. In the 1880's the Knights of Labour were able to become well established in the urban centres of Quebec because of their mass oriented industrial formation.[76] Charles Lipton has reported that the United States leadership of the Knights of Labour was somewhat ambivalent towards the strong Quebecois section of the combination.[77] The conservative Terence V. Powderley, leader of the United States Knights, recoiled at the mass character of these workers' activity. He noted:

> There are so many anarchists in Canada, they have reason to be suspicious. The French are much harder to manage than other people. We have some anarchists in the United States, but not of the dangerous class. The French are of a very different temperament. We can take our people and pack them in a solid mass from one end of Market Street to the other and there will be no horror. But take an equal number of Frenchmen (sic), and the result will be serious.[78]

The public sector strikes among police, public servants, mail carriers and sorters, and whole local labour councils were especially prominent in the 1918 struggle against conscription in Quebec and are another example of working class action outside the control of the petite bourgeoisie.[79] There were also instances of independent class action during the 1930's and second imperialist world war.[80] However, it was not until the late sixties that this strategy became somewhat systematic. The strategy was not clearly articulated until about 1971 when "Ne Comptons Que Sur Nos Propres Moyens" was published by the Confederation of National Trade Unions.[81] The move to such a course of action was based on a confluence of two dynamics. These are rapid industrialization and national oppression. These two features are interwoven. The Quebecois labourers form a specially oppressed section of the pan-Canadian working class. This is illustrated by their late entry into manufacturing industries and their concentration in the non-productive sector of the economy. The sexist and ageist focus of social institutions can also be illustrated in this fashion.

Sex and Age

The history of female and child labour begins in Canada in the 1880's on a social level which is capitalistic.[82] The capitalistic labour market at this time was expanded to the domestic sphere. Cottage industry was converted into a factory system insofar as it concerned the production of clothes and a considerable proportion of baked goods.[83] As well, women

and children were enrolled into industries such as shipping, coal-mining, and steel processing where working conditions have been described as wretched.[84] The entry of women and children into the labour-force continued into the twentieth century. Lipton has observed:

> The entry of women into industry was continuing, but so was their exploitation, and also the exploitation of children. In 1901, women numbered about a fifth of the labour-force. In 1915, at 14,887 factories, 57,000 women were employed, of whom only 4,097 earned over $12 per week; and 8,411 children were employed, of whom only 115 earned over $12 per week.[85]

Low wages for women were much more common than in the labouring population at large in Canada.[86] The same could be said of the children's wage situation.[87] What Aronowitz observes in the United States situation in this instance closely parallels development in Canada. He has understood:

> Despite the centrality of women to early manufacturing by the last decades of the nineteenth century it was apparent that they were not to be permitted entrance into the basic capital good sectors of industry.[88]

These would include such capital intensive enterprises as iron and steel, machining, oil, mining, and chemical production.[89] As Johnson has noted, these correspond broadly to the unionized sectors of the economy because of the heavy investment in long-term fixed capital including plant and equipment.[90]

Ceta Ramkhalawan-singh has understood that the destruction of domestic industry was inversely proportional to the advance of the capitalistic division of labour in society.[91]

In the course of this development, women have been concentrated within a small group of service-related occupations which are, for the most part, unproductive from the point of view of capital, where they must labour in society.[92] TABLE I illustrates this.

Young people's job opportunities are also constrained under the conditions which prevail in modern capitalistic social formations. They are often considered to be only a secondary wage-earner class of citizens, regardless of how necessary their income is to family maintenance.[93] As Paul Gingrich has noted, firms such as McDonald's find their operations profitable precisely because of their basis on a labour reserve of young working people.[94]

Young people, women, and Quebecois members of the working class in Canada are, for the above-stated reasons, located presently on the economic periphery of society and form a large part of the reserve army of labour. Their special oppressions indicate they have become the chief source of "cheap labour" as the world immigrant supply of labour dwindled since the last war.

The ideology which corresponded to this last period of industrial capital's consolidation as the predominant mode of production in the 1950's was cautious, atomistic, and oppressively bland according to Jamieson.[95] He has also observed:

> The sharp drop in birth-rates during the depression 1930's had led, some twenty years later, to an unusually small number and percentage of the population in the teens and

> twenties age group. One striking measure of this cycle in age distribution was the fact that the 1951 census of Canada showed, in absolute numbers, fewer persons in the 10-year to 20-year age group than did the 1931 census, despite a growth in population of almost 50 percent in the intervening two decades.[96]

This is due to the increased enrollment of women in war industry and service industry in the opinion of this writer. The domination of the capitalistic mode of production--the reduction of society's labour-power to simple labour-power--necessitated less children in order to free more women for employment. The conservative mood of the 1950's can be explained in this context as a function of the degradation of labour and the accumulation of capital via capital concentration and centralization.

Implications

The capitalistic economic order of Canada, Wally Clement has observed, is perpetuated by the law of private property.[97] This allows the economic elite to concentrate its base of power and thereby consolidate access to that part of the social class structure. It is by examining income inequalities, and noting the proportional shift of income distribution from bottom income earners to the top, that we may validate the thesis that a consolidation has occurred in the economic elite.

The corporate elite, which is the most powerful fraction of the capitalist class, is defined in terms of its

ability to mobilize social resources and marshal them to the interest of capital.[98] It is not defined in terms of wealth, although there is often a correlation between power and wealth.

The regressive taxation structure again points to the consolidation process of capital in Canada.[99] The corporate contribution to total tax revenue has declined in recent years.

Foreign control in Canadian manufacturing and resource industries was conditioned by a strong indigenous financial elite and a weak domestic production elite in Canada.[100] Transnational corporations have served to dislodge a portion of the indigenous economic elite. The transnational corporation, as a social institution, ranks second only to the capitalistic nation-state in its influence on society.[101]

Canada has a branch plant economic component.[102] Decision-making in this component is undertaken by transnational parent companies in which positions of power are filled by non-residents of the "host" country.

Trade has served to integrate the North American continent.[103] War-time economic expansion and government industrialization programmes have located the position of Canada in this integration as a resource-producing appendage.

The Canadian government is in the habit of allying itself closely with business interests.[104] The Canadian government has, historically, continuously provided the economic framework in which business could construct profitable enterprises.

In particular, they were profitable ventures for central Canadian capital. This is explainable in terms of the character of the government party of Canada. Pentland has noted that the Liberal Party has been the historic party of the Canadian ruling class in the twentieth century.[105] We can cite as evidence for this the emphasis of the Liberal Party policies on east-west integration as early as Laurier, who was defeated when he did not proceed with a central national strategy, and certainly by 1935.[106] The Conservative Party of the twentieth century, on the other hand, has usually represented weaker regionally allied capitals and to a lesser extent farm and wood production interests, while the Liberals were allied with national financial capital and raw materials resource extraction interests who service the United States' market.[107] The recent election of the federal conservatives indicates an increase, from the point of view of individual capitals, of inter-regional competition with Canada.

United States' investment in Canada was not due to a domestic capital shortage, but was instead induced by the financial orientation of Canadian capitalists.[108] Transnational penetration of the economy has produced an intense corporate concentration.[109]

The consequences of this have yet to be examined. However, we note here that the results of this capital concentration and centralization are expressed in the form of high unemployment and labour unrest, particularly among the marginal

social strata, especially in periods of crisis.[110] This means that Canada in particular is especially vulnerable to national disintegration because of the maturity of its mode of production as evidenced by the high degree of corporate concentration within its borders.

TABLE I

Leading Occupations of Paid Women Workers

	1891	1901	1911	1921	1961
Farmers	11,638	8,421	15,094	16,315	66,081
Servants	79,473	81,493	98,128	78,118	-
Housekeepers	4,035	7,572	6,762	23,167	-
Other domestic service (Maids and other related service workers)	1,609	8,844	19,170	-	120,161
Charworkers and cleaners	-	-	-	6,251	-
Hotel and restaurant and boarding house keepers	2,344	594	4,311	6,028	-
Waitresses	-	-	-	6,372	61,081
Boot and Shoe makers	-	-	-	3,276	-
Dressmakers and Seamstresses	32,975	22,063	20,357	16,612	-
Milliners	3,777	-	-	3,029	-
Clothing Factories	1,740	1,017	5,269	14,470	50,592
Textile factory operatives	-	-	-	15,193	-
Municipal Public administration, officials and clerks	767	892	-	12,000	-
Clerical operations	-	-	-	78,342	165,613
Stenos and typists	-	-	-	-	209,410
Book-keepers and cashiers	-	-	-	-	98,663
Telephone operators	-	-	-	12,827	-
Saleswomen in stores	-	-	-	35,474	133,234
Teachers	-	-	-	49,795	118,594
Nurses	-	-	-	21,162	81,868

1891, 1901 and 1911, 1921 are from Census of Canada, 1921. Tables 1, 2, XXVIII.
1961 from Women at Work in Canada, Department of Labour. Table II.

Source: Ceta Ramkhalawansingh, "Women during the Great War", p. 26.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. Karl Korsh, Karl Marx, p. 161.
2. Wallace Clement, The Canadian Corporate Elite, p. 271.
3. Ibid., pp. 271-272.
4. Ibid., p. 274.
5. Ibid., p. 274.
6. Karl Marx, Capital, Volume One (op. cit.), p. 899.
7. Ralph Miliband, The State in Capitalist Society, p. 164.
8. Ibid., p. 168.
9. Ibid., pp. 169-172.
10. Ibid., p. 171.
11. Ibid., pp. 175-176.
12. Ibid., pp. 179-185.
13. Ibid., p. 185.
14. Ibid., p. 186.
15. Ibid., p. 186.
16. Ibid., pp. 187-188.
17. Ibid., p. 189.
18. Ibid., pp. 190-194.
19. Ibid., p. 195.
20. Ibid., p. 208.
21. Ibid., pp. 209-210.
22. Ibid., p. 211.
23. Ibid., pp. 214-215.

24. Stanley Aronowitz, False Promises, p. 126.

25. Ibid., p. 126.

26. Wallace Clement, The Canadian Corporate Elite, pp. 244-247.

27. R. Miliband, The State in Capitalist Society, pp. 214-215.

28. Ibid., pp. 220-224.

29. C. Write Mills, White Collar, p. 156.

30. Wallace Clement, The Canadian Corporate Elite, p. 241.

31. Wilhelm Reich, The Mass Psychology of Fascism, pp. 8-9.

32. Sigmund Freud, Civilization and its Discontent, pp. 60-70.

33. Lawrence Krader, Dialectic of Civil Society, p. 158, has noted that "theories" of human nature, including Freud's notion of a familial human nature, are in error. "The human being is at once product and producer of the social conditions, forming them, being formed by them." There is absolutely no decisive evidence which demonstrates that the family is a natural rather than a social product. It is but a class prejudice and should be recognized for what it is. On this whole question I would also recommend the little book by Bertrand Russell, Marriage and Morals, pp. 17-20, 22, and 89.

34. Wilhelm Reich, The Mass Psychology of Fascism, p. 30.

35. Frank Parkin, Class Inequality and Political Order, p. 80.

36. Ibid., p. 81.

37. Ibid., p. 81.

38. Ibid., pp. 81-82.

39. Ibid., p. 83.

40. Ibid., p. 85.

41. Ibid., p. 85.

42. Ibid., pp. 86, 89.

43. Ibid., p. 86.

44. Ibid., pp. 87, 96.

45. Ibid., p. 88.

46. Ibid., pp. 88-89.

47. Ibid., p. 90.

48. Ibid., p. 91.

49. Ibid., p. 92.

50. Ibid., pp. 93-94.

51. James Rinehart, The Tyranny of Work, pp. 117-119, 156-163.

52. Frank Parkin, Class Inequality and Political Order, p. 95.

53. Ibid., p. 95.

54. Ibid., p. 97.

55. Ibid., p. 100.

56. R. Miliband, The State in Capitalist Society, pp. 234-235.

57. Ibid., p. 235.

58. Stanley Aronowitz, False Promises, p. 7.

59. Karl Marx, Capital, Volume One, p. 175 n.

60. Stanley Aronowitz, op. cit., p. 118.

61. Ibid., p. 118.

62. Ibid., p. 119.

63. Ibid., p. 119.

64. Wallace Clement, The Canadian Corporate Elite, pp. 271-272.

65. Jurgen Hubernas, Theory and Practice, p. 207.

66. Erik Olin Wright, "Class Boundaries in Advanced Capitalist Societies", NLR 98 (1976): 26-27.

67. Frank Parkin, Class Inequality, pp. 87, 96.

68. H.C. Pentland, Industrial Relations, pp. 176-177, has noted this division's development especially in the 1920's when it emerged clearly, c.f. S. Jamieson, Times of Trouble, pp. 67, 137, 141-142.

69. H.C. Pentland has observed this was stimulated by the relative labour-power shortages during the 1920's. Industrial Relations, pp. 98-100, 175-177; Charles Lipton, The Trade Union Movement of Canada, 1827-1969, p. 239, has noted the broad deployment of productivity and speed-up plans which emerged in the 1920's also. S. Jamieson, Times of Trouble, pp. 193, 195, has also spoken of this matter and emphasized the emergence of new technologies in auto, utilities, electrical appliances, and chemical industries.

70. H.C. Pentland, Industrial Relations, pp. 64-67, 40.

71. Tad Kawecki has undertaken research into this matter at McMaster University in the Political Science Department during 1978 and 1979.

72. Stanley Aronowitz, False Promises, p. 166.

73. Charles Lipton has observed the persecution of Catholic Knights in Quebec in the 1880's by the Roman Catholic Church in that nation in Trade Union, pp. 69-70. They were denied the sacraments in this period by Cardinal Tashereau until the Vatican in Rome convinced him to lift the ban. The church also played a reactionary role in the Noranda miner strike of 1934 in Quebec as was recorded by Evelyn Dumas, The Bitter Thirties in Quebec, pp. 32, 37. She has also discussed the role of the church in the Montreal Garment Trades disputes, which inhibited the women's struggle against the owners of these sweat shops, ibid., p. 46, during the 1930's, c.f. ibid., p. 60. The corrupt part played by the church in the 1970-1971 fishers' strike in Nova Scotia has been documented by Silver Donald Cameron, The Education of Everett Richardson, pp. 79-81, 84-87, 103, 132.

74. Loc. cit.

75. Stanley Aronowitz, False Promises, p. 183, c.f. H.C. Pentland, Industrial Relations, p. 21, and Silver Donald Cameron, Everett Richardson, p. 26.

76. Charles Lipton, Trade Union, pp. 68-69.

77. Ibid., pp. 68-69.

78. Ibid., p. 69.

79. Ibid., p. 181.

80. See the discussion in Evelyn Dumas, The Bitter Thirties in Quebec.

81. This and other pertinent documents are contained in Arnold Bennett, Quebec Labour.

82. Charles Lipton, Trade Union, pp. 58-64.

83. Ibid., pp. 58-64.

84. Ibid., pp. 58-64.

85. Ibid., pp. 98-99.

86. Ibid., pp. 98-99.

87. Ibid., pp. 98-99.

88. Stanley Aronowitz, False Promises, p. 201.

89. Leo A. Johnson, "Development of Class", p. 173.

90. Ibid., p. 173.

91. Ceta Ramkhalawan-singh, "Women during the Great War", Women at Work, Janice Acton, et al., ed., p. 264.

92. Ibid., p. 264, c.f. Rick Deaton, "The Fiscal Crisis of the State in Canada", The Political Economy of the State, D. Roussopoulos, ed., p. 52, and David Yaffe's remarks, "Inflation", p. 16, who notes that much of the labours undertaken in the public sector are unproductive labours from the point of view of capital.

93. Paul Gingrich, "Unemployment and Capitalist Crisis", Is the Canadian Economy Closing Down?, p. 84

94. Ibid., p. 85.

95. S. Jamieson, Times of Trouble, p. 346.

96. Ibid., p. 349.

97. Wallace Clement, The Canadian Corporate Elite, p. 97.

98. Ibid., p. 98.

99. Ibid., p. 98.

100. Ibid., p. 99, c.f. Wallace Clement, Continental Corporate Power, p. 288.

101. Wallace Clement, The Canadian Corporate Elite, p. 99.

102. Ibid., p. 100.

103. Ibid., pp. 100-101.

104. Ibid., p. 102, c.f. Wallace Clement, "The corporate elite, the capitalist class, and the Canadian state", The Canadian State, pp. 233, 235.

105. H.C. Pentland, Industrial Relations, p. 55, c.f. ibid., p. 258, where Pentland notes that traditionally the Liberal Party was associated with provincial rights. However, more recently the Liberals have stood for strong central government, especially under Trudeau, Federalism and the French-Canadians, p. 129, who has noted that the Federal Liberal Party has ridden the tide of centralism while its provincial affiliates stood for provincial rights. As evidence we need only point to the development of Canadian firms with transnational capacity such as Brascan, Argus, and Power Corporation, among others, to act as Gillespie has said as international "ambassadors" for Canada in far flung regions of the globe and share in the shift in the international division of labour and market consolidation which developed in the late 1960's. The results, however, have been a failure as this is a two-way street which has emphasized class antagonisms more acutely with the internationalization of Canadian capital and the emergent destruction of Canada as a nation. The election, federally, of the provincialist tories illustrates this conclusion.

106. See the interesting book by R. Whittaker, The Government Party, pp. 69, 75-76, 113, 403-406, 420-421.

107. H.C. Pentland, Industrial Relations, p. 56.

108. Wallace Clement, The Canadian Corporate Elite p. 102.

109. Ibid., pp. 103, 110.

110. Anwar Shaikh, "An Introduction to the History of Crisis Theories", in U.S. Capitalism in Crisis, ed., Bruce Steinberg, et al., p. 237.

THE POLITICAL IMPACT OF A RESERVE BODY OF LABOUR IN INDUSTRIAL CAPITALIST SOCIETY: THE CANADIAN CASE

The specifically capitalistic labour market can be defined by its embodiment of three characteristics.[1] It involves a regular demand for labour, a source of labour supply, and the containment of labourers within the market environment. It is just as true with labour-power as it is with all other commodities that in order to sell it on a total social level one must have more than one needs. In any society based on the higgling and haggling of the market there is the tendency present which fosters the development of a surplus body of labourers.

Unemployment and underemployment are rendered political by their linkage to the capitalistic labour market. The dominant social relation of capital and wage-labour is a politically hostile one precisely because unemployment and underemployment have become a basis for capitalistic accumulation.[2]

Present unemployment levels are a function of the cutbacks in revenues, or expenses, from the point of view of capital. These cutbacks serve to increase capital by making available more money for accumulation. This in its turn is conditioned by the chief means, at present, of increasing social labour's productivity- mechanization and automation.

Because of the total social amount by which constant capital has grown its total social value has not fallen. On the other hand in Canada and around the world this has meant a more or less rapid decline in the rate of profit. As the proportion of living labour to dead labour declines unemployment increases as well. This creates what might be called a reserve body of labour for capital. The political significance of this reserve body's creation is its membership's competition with the employed part of the working population which forces the latter to submit to compulsory or surplus labour. On the other hand this overwork swells the contents of the industrial reserve body thus reinforcing the demands for compulsory labour.

From this analysis flow several practical conclusions. In general they can be stated as follows. After the ranks of the industrial reserve body are swelled strike activity declines. Before the ranks of the industrial reserve body are thinned strike activity increases.

It is to be remembered that unemployment and underemployment are political in content. It is a social construct made by us. It can be unmade or sublated by our own class' united political action.

Further to this is to be noted the particular rhythms of unemployment and underemployment among certain strata of the working population. The Quebecois, women, and the young are hit especially hard by proletarianization in these times.

It is probable that the political activities of these working class strata, such as industrial unionization, will form the point of departure in the present struggle of the capitalist class and the class of wage-labourers.

Current Outline

Let us address the current outlines of the industrial reserve body now. Youth unemployment, the unemployment levels of those people under the age of 25, makes up almost half of the current amount of unemployment in Canada.[3] The Department of National Defense has been taking out ads in the pan-Canadian business press trumpeting: "Hard work, no pay. It may be just what you're looking for."[4] Informational pamphlets strategically positioned in heavy youth traffic areas, such as A & A Records and Jean Junction, make it clear that: "Katimavik is offering you an opportunity, but not a job."[5] These northern area concentration camps for the young constitute the capitalist state apparatus' response to unprecedented youth unemployment.[6]

The Canadian edition of Readers' Digest[7] has been making space for sexist garbage from Harpers magazine in order to clarify the capitalist class' answer to the demands of the international movement for women's liberation. At present the wages of women workers normally equal 55 per cent or less than that of men's for the same labour.[8] Unemployment among female paid labourers in 1977 was officially 2.3 per centage points higher than that of males.[9] Substandard and sparse

day-care continue to harrass those women who must work in society.[10] But the answer of the capitalist mass media has just been to stop working and raise children.[11]

In 1970 Quebec contained 37 per cent of the unemployment in Canada even though its working population or labour-force makes up only 27 per cent of the Canadian total. Not even the Atlantic region's working population was so over represented in the Canadian unemployment rate.[12] For the year of 1975 Quebec had the second lowest labour force participation rate of Canada's five economically distinct regions as defined by Statistics Canada.[13] (See Table 1) As Paul Gingrich has noted the labour force participation rate increases as the number of jobs available increases.[14]

Table 1[15]

Region	Labour Force Participation Rate in 1975
Atlantic	51.9
Quebec	57.2
Ontario	61.3
Prairies	59.3
British Columbia	60.2

As there are fewer jobs available in the nation of Quebec than in the rest of Canada, on average, fewer people can afford to offer themselves for employment. The production centres in Canada provide 42.8 per cent of total employment if we exclude Quebec from our calculations.[16] Meanwhile, in Quebec itself, the production sector accounts for only 34.7 per cent

of total employment.[17] These figures are computed from the following table from Statistics Canada. The relatively small production sector of the Quebec national economy, a result of Quebec's colonial relation to the pan-Canadian economy, means fewer jobs in their economy as a whole as this sector supports job creation in the non-production sector of the economy."[1]

Within the bi-national Canadian working class unemployment has been deployed to curtail strike activity. Before the introduction of wage controls in October, 1975, for example, workers recorded record high strike activity.[19] However, in the words of Cy Gonick,

> The net result of the policies implemented in the subsequent two years (after 1975 T.B.) was to make our unemployment rate the highest in the industrialized world and to make Canada one of the least strike-prone countries. Time lost in work stoppages fell from 11,685,000 man (sic)- days to 3,400,000 between 1976 and 1977. 20

However wage controls effectiveness is temporary and inefficient.[21] While strike activity did decline in this period it was still at record levels in a historical sense and by 1978 has surged forward again. Wage controls, or programmed unemployment increases, only delayed, in a heavy handed manner, the demands of the workers' movement to a <u>limited</u> extent.

Before we involve ourselves further in charting the current course of unemployment it is informative to investigate the historical contours of unemployment in Canada. We can then assess, concretely, the probable results of increasing unemployment at present.

The History of the Capitalistic Labour Market in Canada

In early Canadian development there was a lack of labour-power reserves and so too the market for labour was absent because there was no dependable demand for labour. H.C. Pentland's study of 1959 noted:

> The employer despite the scantiness of his capital, took more or less permanent responsibility for the worker's overhead costs. He did so even though he could not use the worker continuously, because the worker was sometimes indispensible and there was no dependable source of short-run supply. 22

The scarcity of labour-power preserved this system until the 1850s.[23]

The capitalistic labour market is different than the labour organization under slavery. Slave labour requires the employer to lay out money in advance for slaves and assume their upkeep costs.[24] The feudal organization of labour eliminates the need for cash outlays in advance and provides a diversity of skills while preserving the labourer's job security.[25] There is no rapid labour turnover and there is a strong motivation for the labourer to work. Pentland has also observed that:

> The feudal labour market lacked, except as a desperate last resort, both the negative incentive of violence associated with slavery, and the negative incentive of dismissal associated with capitalism. 26

The motivation for production in the feudal period was instead the relationships of mutual personal service between the landowner or estate owner and the labourer as well as the need for coordination.[27]

Examples of the servile organization of labours include the fur trade. The Hudson's Bay Company had no labour reserves at its disposal.[28] As well the operation was initially decentralized and retained its work-force by virtue of the fact that there was little other employment available. The employment of the military to construct the Rideau canal and the St. Maurice forges at Trois Riveres, Quebec, as Pentland has outlined, also serve to illustrate the feudal nature of labour organization between 1803 and 1850 in British North America and Quebec.[29]

In a capitalistic market labour-power is a variable cost to the employer because it is the legal property of a formally free citizen unattached to the employer.[30] Labour reserves are much more rapidly deployed in a market situation because labour-power is thereby pooled as the supply of many employers which is cheaper, in labour requirement terms, than if each employer met his labour requirements individually.

Capitalism tends towards, but does not necessarily involve, the production of a market for labour-power.[31] The capitalistic market is sustained only if there is a reserve army of labour, a portion of the population exempted from full employment, or the tendency towards its creation.[32] This capitalist unemployment is worse than feudal underemployment from the labourer's standpoint. The higher employment income is offset by job insecurity.[33]

The development of transportation facilities in British North America and Quebec stimulated manufacturing enterprises.[34] This allowed for the development of an employment organization which was capitalistic by placing cities and towns within easier reach of one another and by creating larger factories to service the larger market in goods and money. "Early manufactures", Dr. Pentland has observed, "depended heavily on craftsmanship but factory production based on machinery and unskilled labour and mass demand was a feature of the 1860s."[35] It was at approximately this time that the social productivity of labours could and did become a significant lever for capitalist accumulation. The specialization of workers to given trades and tasks, engendered by their large scale cooperation, gives rise itself to a further division of labour within each branch of production.[36] What distinguishes this latter division of labour within manufacture from the former division of labour in society is that in manufacture no individual worker creates a commodity. "It is only the common product of all the specialized workers", Karl Marx pointed out, "that becomes a commodity."[37] This signals to us the structuration of the capitalistic labour market. For now the producers no longer sell a product of their labour-power to the merchant but they sell their labour-power, itself,

directly to the industrialist.[38] Whereas before capital engaged only in the trade of the commodities produced by the individual labouring craftsman it now intervenes directly in the production process itself by combining the labour-power of several producers rather than their objective labour products.[39] The market in labour-power is the mechanism for this intervention. For capital the market in labour-power cheapens the value of individual commodities. They cost less to produce because the labour-power employed to produce them is more productive because it is specialized in the workshop.[40] However it is also the case that this specialization of workers' production activity generates a relatively redundant labouring population in a progressively more substanstial manner. Since, all things being equal, the overwork of the employed requires a smaller outlay of constant capital or plant assets and equipment than the employment of new workers the industrialist will usually choose not to hire new labourers.[41]

On the other hand the capitalistic labour market creates a labour supply as the amount of total social production increases. As the amount of constant capital consumed by each labourer increases the relative demand for labour falls even if it continues to increase in absolute terms.[42] As transportation facilities expanded in what is now the binational territory of Canada capital was able to extend accumulation and centralize.

The labour market on a capitalistic basis was first stocked in 1815 with mostly Irish immigrants who had learned

capitalist discipline in Britain.[43] However other immigrants tended very strongly to try and secure land and settle as farmers rather than sell their labour-power. H.C. Pentland noted:

> Before 1850, English and Scottish immigrants usually became proprietors in very short order. It was just such a rejection of wage employment that inspired Edward Gibbon Wakefield in the interest of capitalist development to demand new barriers to the ownership of land. 44

The attraction and fixation of capital in British North America and Quebec required that there be a large landless population created with nothing to sell but their labour-power. The solution for capital was to intervene as landlord in these British colonies and, by raising the cost of land, aid in the formation of an industrial working class.[45] As well the monies collected from the purchases of land financed the importation of new labourers from abroad.[46]

Leo A. Johnson has understood the ultimate rationale behind these policies:

> While the rise of small local villages, the specialization of labour, and the growth of families were no doubt important in the development of this class of landless workers, the drastic drop in wages from 3s 6d. to 2s 6d. per day between 1820 and 1840 points to a distinct surplus of rural labourers who gradually drifted into the cities to help fuel the burgeoning Canadian industrial revolution. 47

While the existance of this industrial reserve army slashed wages among the employed it also impoverished the surplus rural labourers moving towards the cities. Gary Teeple has

inferred the increasing number of unemployed between 1818 and 1825 through his study of immigration levels, which increased during the period, and the accelerated construction of poor houses, work houses, and alms houses in both British North America and Quebec.[48] During the 1840s employment opportunities increased as production facilities were centralized.[49] However capitalist accumulation increased the importation of labourers to preserve the market for labours and so employment remained relatively sparse.[50] Judging by the number of hospitals, jails, and orphanages constructed in British North America and Quebec during the 1840s and 1850s we can conclude that the imposition of the market for labour on a capitalist basis created substantial poverty and disease.[51]

Other periods in Canadian history when unemployment has been particularly severe have included the era of secular deflation between 1873 and 1896, which Tom Naylor[52] has detailed, the economic dislocations resulting from the war preparations in 1913 and 1914, as Carl Cuneo[53] has noted, the immediate aftermath of the first imperialist world war when military production was cut[54], the "Great Depression" of the early 1930s, which Ronald Liversedge[55] has discussed, and our present crisis. Let us examine the character of each period individually in order that we may abstract out their common determinants.

The period between 1873 and 1896 saw the relative decline of steel and steam based industry in the wake of

expansion in electrical, chemical, and internal combustion machine production industries.[56] Tom Naylor noted that during this period:

> . . . measured unemployment rates remained high, and these are chronic underestimates for an essentially farm-based community whose population had the options of either returning to agriculture or emigrating to the U.S. during bad periods. Furthermore, the period 1873-1879 was unambiguously one of recession on all counts- according to contemporary reports, which are a much more reliable guide than latter day manipulations of inadequate statistics. So too were the 1890's, when even the measured rate of manufacturing output dipped very low. 57

The only light in this period of gloom peeked through in the period of general world recovery during the years between 1879 and 1884.[58]

The political significance of the burgeoning industrial reserve army during this period has been charted by Stephen Langdon.[59] He has reported how unemployment increases conditioned the organizations of the working class adoption of more defensive postures and reduced their collective demands.[60]

Surplus capacity was on the upswing by 1913 within the Canadian manufacturing sector according to Carl Cuneo.[61] This normally results in real wage level cuts and higher unemployment.[62] As Carl Cuneo observed, "Canadian manufacturers welcomed the coming of the war as the stimulus the economy needed to expand production and markets."[63] In a letter of August 6, 1914, Mackenzie King wrote to Rockerfeller underlining the war's political impact on the working-class com-

menting that it was to provide the perfect opportunity for whipping them back into line.[64] This was not quite on the mark.

While the first imperialist world war did retard unemployment through military service and war production it did not offer a viable long term solution. A situation of rising working class militancy took place exemplified by the war time labour-power shortages, rapid cost of living increases, and a chaotic market that had been induced by war profiteering.[65] In Western Canada there was considerable opposition to Prime Minister Borden's conscription legislation.[66] As well the war time labour shortages had encouraged industrial union organizing among police, fire crews and civil servants at both local and provincial levels.[67] On May 24, 1918, union demands for the right to strike and higher wages for civil servants led to a general strike of seven thousand workers, in thirteen trades, at Winnipeg for example.[68] Almost all of the strikers' demands were met on this occassion. However as war production declined and demobilized Canadian troops came back onto the labour market the value in exchange for labour-power fell.[69] Bercuson also concludes that the further mechanization of the labour process and the extention of the division of labour in manufacturing after the war contributed to the increase of unemployment.[70] The failure of the Winnipeg general strike in 1919 illustrated the political conditions engendered by increased unemployment.[71]

The "Great Depression" of the 1930's saw close to twenty five per cent of Canada's labour force unemployed according to Ronald Liversedge.[72] The government had responded with slogans such as, "not a five cent piece for unemployment relief", and "this government is not here to subsidize idleness".[73] Demonstrations by the unemployed in Vancouver were systematically repressed and Liversedge noted as well that authorities in that city even forced the unemployed to work for nothing in order to obtain local relief.[74]

One of the most significant developments in the 1930's depression was the creation of concentration camps by the pan-Canadian state apparatus. Ronald Liversedge recalled the time the camps were instituted stating:

> In 1932, the first few relief camps opened in British Columbia under the jurisdiction of the provincial government. It was felt, and rightly so, by the unemployed organizations, that the purpose of the relief camps was to separate the single and married unemployed and weaken the unemployed united front in Vancouver. 75

The wage promised for those who would go to the camps was two dollars a day which was equal to the amount that many employed people received from their work.[76] However the government had just lied to get men into the camps where they were soon being told that the pay would be seven dollars fifty cents a month plus board.[77] Anyone who quit a camp couldn't get any welfare at all.[78]

The camps confused many of the unemployed in British Columbia for a short while.[79] Many occupants of the camps

refused to work but police would constantly search to weed out such uncooperative elements.[80] Soon unemployed organizations, such as that of single men in Vancouver, made the camps an object of attack urging their membership to join camps, organize the workers and fight for trade union wages.[81] Liversedge noted:

> That decision could not have been otherwise, as was shown when almost simultaneously the Federal Government took over all the relief camps, placed them under the jurisdiction of the department of National Defense and decreed that all able-bodied, single unemployed men would be shipped out to the camps to work on road construction. 82

Liversedge added that:

> There was never any phase of the unemployed struggle as a whole during the depression that was static, but with the introduction of the D.N.D. slave camps in B.C. there began a struggle which can best be described as superlative, and which continued until the "On to Ottawa" trek of 1935, which forced many concessions, the greatest being the taking over of the camps in B.C. from the department of National Defense, by the province of British Columbia and the payment of forty cents an hour wages. 83

The "On to Ottawa" trek left Vancouver on June 3, 1935.[84] While the maneuver itself was novel it was a major error. Millitants left a disorganized base and led workers into the guns of the R.C.M.P.. The number of "trekkers" in the protest movement numbered at least three thousand by the time the contingent reached Regina in mid June of 1935.[85] The Saskatchewan Government tried to get trekkers to quit the march on Ottawa and demanded that the protesters surrender

themselves to a concentration camp called Lumsden. According to Victor Hoar the camp was ". . . complete with barbed wire and armed guards."[86]

On Dominion Day, 1935, the R.C.M.P. began a police riot charging trekkers in the streets and not allowing them to disperse peacefully.[87] Barricades were set up and the battle by strikers, to restore order, against the riotous Mounties began. It took all night to stop the Mounties' riot but by ten at night the workers had restored temporary order. However the local area police then attacked. Altogether that night forty trekkers were wounded by police before order could be restored. Added to this was a murdered protester and one hundred of the unemployed in jail.[88] As well some of the Mounties were injured.[89] Downtown Regina property damage in the aftermath of this demonstration was estimated in the hundreds of thousands dollar range.

After the police riot trekkers, for the most part, had retired to the exhibition grounds in Regina. On July 2 when they awoke they found the grounds fenced strongly and an armed Mounties' guard.[90] Only later were the trekkers allowed to return to their homes or move along.

This pattern of unrest among the industrial reserve army of capital, Jamieson has admitted, was reenacted during the late 1930's.[91] Again British Columbia was at the centre of this development. "The major development in British Columbia during the late 1930s", Jamieson has observed, "was

a second large strike of relief camp workers in 1938, again under communist leadership."[92] In Vancouver there were building occupations, R.C.M.P. interventions, and wide spread property damage.[93]

The "Great Depression" also produced increasingly vocal demands for unemployment insurance on a national level.[94] The initial impetus for such a plan administered by the public sphere rather than the private sphere was due to the increased mobility of labour-power Cuneo concluded.[95] The Canadian Manufacturers Association fought this demand, along with other sections of big capital, because they said it would destroy the workers' incentive to move from job to job in seasonal industries like farming, shipping, road work, construction and lumbering.[96] The Workers' Unity League, on the other hand, was demanding a non-contributory unemployment insurance plan.[97] Carl Cuneo pointed out in his research that the W.U.L. linked up its insurance proposal to national Defense spending by calling for revenues to be diverted from the latter to the former.[98] As well the W.U.L. demanded that industrialists pay the costs of unemployment since they were the agencies of its creation.[99]

Besides various forms of police intimidation, which account for the international decline in demonstrative demands for non-contributory unemployment insurance between 1930 and 1931[100], the pan-Canadian state apparatus also kept the unemployed constantly moving from place to place so they could

not establish residency and apply for relief.[101] Of course the unemployed were also forced to keep on the move because there were so few jobs. Cuneo notes:

> In the midst of the working class campaign for non-contributory insurance in the spring of 1931 the federal state was introducing legislation to define more precisely Canadian citizenship. 102

So the government not only attempted to prevent the unemployed from settling within the country but attempted to actually ship the unemployed out of the country.[103] This applied, for the most part, to the radical leadership of the unemployed.

The 1935 Social and Employment Insurance Act did not fully aid the unemployed. As Carl Cuneo has understood it was also designed to co-opt the employed with the promise of assistance should their work be interrupted.[104] The Social and Employment Insurance Act of 1935 prevented the seasonally and self-employed labourer from collecting benefits by excluding these types of occupations from its purview and providing a lengthy qualifying work period of 40 weeks.[105]

The 1935 Act had corporatist and coercive aspects which have been made explicit by Cuneo's study.[106] The Act provided for administrative boards which involved workers' delegates only at the executive level.[107] Coercive measures included provisions for disqualification from benefits, fines, and prison terms for those who did not respect the clauses of the Act and those who attempted to "defraud" the Unemployment Insurance administrators.[108]

Carl Cuneo's study concluded that the fight for non-

contributory unemployment insurance was lost because the chronically unemployed were isolated from the more conservative sections of the trade unions.[109] He observed that:

> . . . a worker complained that the leaders of the A.F. of L. and the A.C.C.L. (All-Canadian Congress of Labour) were "...responsible for holding the unorganized unemployed as a "sword of Damocles" over the heads of the employed workers. Deliberately they kept the unemployed unorganized so the boss class can use them as a weapon against the employed." 110

And this is exactly what happened.

During this depression the International Longshoremen's Union in Vancouver was targeted for being busted up for its participation in the formation of a maritime federation of unions who would not help load or transport goods that might aid Fascists.[111] The bosses and their police thugs hired the more brutalized unemployed as scabs, beat up the dockers, and caused "...virtual civil war..." on the Vancouver docks in 1935.[112]

The Estevan "wildcat" coal strike of 1931 and the Stratford walkouts of 1933 during the Great Depression were also emblematic of the weakness of workers' struggles during this period of high unemployment and the emphasis of workers' on jobs, rather than unions, as well as the supression of radical labour combinations by the state's coercive apparatus and capital's ideological expression.[113] The Estevan strike was initiated in Saskatchewan's south eastern Souris coal fields on September 7.[114] It cost the capitalists fifty

five hundred working days of labour and involved six hundred miners.[115] Four hundred of these miners had been laid off at the time of the rank and file wildcat. The strike was sparked by wage cuts, lack of union recognition, and bad working conditions.[116] It involved violent confrontations with the state police which led to three deaths and dozens of arrests.[117]

Before the pan-Canadian army invaded the nation of Quebec in 1969, to do battle in the streets of Montreal, the military had not been used to aid the civil authorities in peacetime since the Stratford strike of 1933.[118] The strikes here were defeated defacto when the Preston-Noelting Furniture workers accepted small wage increases and no union recognition as conditions of employment.[119] The other furniture companies' workers and the Swift meats plant labourers went back to work with little change in hours, wages or other conditions of employment.[120]

Several key processes may be elicited from the type of strike activity which prevailed in this period of depression in the 1930's. Both the coal industry in Estevan and the Stratford strike bound industries exhibited, characteristic of the period, relatively growing surplus capacity.[121] This generated more relatively redundant labourers. The other process characteristic of labour disputes in the period was the attempted deployment of scabs against strikers.[122] The general relation between strike activity and unemployment

levels during this period has been discussed by Jamieson among others. 1930 and 1931 saw a resurgence of strike activity both in terms of numbers and duration relative to that of the previous decade.[123] Most of these were struggles took place under the guidance of the Communist Party's rebel worker caucus-the Workers' Unity League (W.U.L.) and they found themselves in a very hostile position vis-a-vis the A.F. of L. and the Trades and Labour Congress (T.L.C.) craft unions.[124] Jamieson says:

> In brief, the early years of the depression generated in government and other circles fear bordering on hysteria regarding the dangers of communist subversion and revolution. There was a consequent tendency to react by resorting to extreme measures of suppression. 125

The real rebellion of the workers' movement however is located in the period between 1934 and 1937.[126] W.A. Mackintosh has observed the context for this struggle against employment insecurity or industrial capitalistic commodity production:

> By the spring of 1933, following the United States crisis, it was clear that the tide of deflation had turned. Indeed industrial production had begun to increase in the United Kingdom in the latter part of 1931. 127

It was in 1936-1937 that the workers' movement in Canada reached its peak for the period.[128] By 1938 however this opposition to capitalistic social development had been crushed by war preparations and increasing unemployment for which the working class had ready no political response.

While the Supreme Court of Canada held that Bennett's Social and Employment Insurance Act of 1935 was unconstitutional

its main features were embodied in the unemployment insurance Act framed by Mackenzie King in 1941 and with minor procedural changes remains similar right to our present time in its function.[129]

The thinking behind the introduction and passage of the unemployment insurance Act in 1941 has been expressed by various agencies of the ruling class in Canada and documented by Carl Cuneo.[130] Mr. Neil's opinion, that of a Member of Parliament, was representative of the state apparatus' orientation towards the more recalcitrant fractions of the pan-Canadian bourgeoisie. Cuneo has written that:

> (Neil)...was outraged at the opposition to unemployment insurance by hhe Canadian Manufacturers Association and the Chamber of Commerce: "cheap, short-sighted, ostrich-headed! Do they want a bloody revolution after the war? Think of all those idle men who who will come back. They will not stand for the situation that prevailed last time. 131

Many also considered that the end of the war would renew the depression of the 1930's.[132] The first world war's demobilization of Canadian troops had been hasty, ill considered, and riotous.[133] This fueled the King government's fear of a rapid demobilization after the second imperialist world war.[134]

The true nature of King's legislation for unemployment became evident in its first years of operation as Carl Cuneo has pointed out. Workers received only six per cent of the unemployment fund's equity in its first two years of operation.[135] The rest went to subsidize capitalist accumulation by financing

the imperialist war effort.[136]

However, Carl Cuneo reports thatthe state apparatus' unemployment insurance policies were not fully in tune with the expectations of all capitalists.[137] He reasoned:

> They were worried about the tax burdens on industries, labour costs, inflation in consumer prices, and their export markets. The 1941 Act, while accumulating capital for the state, apparently did impede the kinds of accumulations significant for capitalists.[138]

This just serves to underline the fact that the capitalist state apparatus acts not for individual capitalists but for the reproduction and expansion of the particularistic relation between them."

Abella notes that in most of Canada labourers made considerable gains, especially in terms of union security, during the second imperialist world war.[139] Jamieson has observed that:

> Conditions of full employment were favourable to union growth during World War II. Union membership grew rapidly, as did the incidence of labour unrest. Strikes reached a new peak in 1943 in number and in total workers involved. Most of these were of short duration, and the major issue in the vast majority of them was that of union recognition in the face of strong and widespread opposition from employers. 140

Auto, steel and iron, coal mining, production of the means of production, and military equipment production sectors were the most restive and successful strike centres.[141] Coal mining was over represented in terms of the amount of strike activity especially in the record strike years, for the

industry, of 1941 and 1943.[142] "Coal mining", Jamieson reported, "particularly in Nova Scotia, also experienced slow-downs and high rates of absenteeism, as well as labour shortages arising from a large exodus of younger workers from the industry."[143]

Within Quebec strike activity reached record highs during 1942 and 1943.[144] The employment potential in the Quebec manufacturing sector neared saturation level also and this gave rise to militant strikes.[145]

As is well known troop demobilization in Canada after the second imperialist world war was much slower than after the first imperialist world war. This is why the effects of unemployment were delayed in Canada until 1948.[146] After the lull in strike activity between 1944 and 1945, induced by legislative concessions to workers in war related industries, there was a significant increase in strike activity during 1946 and 1947.[147] Jamieson commented that:

> The largest and most prolonged strikes, each involving more than 5000 workers and/or 100,000 man-days lost, were in lumber, coal and metal mining, motor vehicles, rubber, electrical products, textiles and meat packing. The demand for sizable wage increases was the issue in most cases.... 148

The Production of Austerity

We are now in a position to assess the historical impact of these conditions on the present. As Leo A. Johnson has observed we have several indicators by which we can exam-

ine socio-economic relationships.[149] Among them are incomes, regions, the gross national product (G.N.P.) which measures the total value of a nation's goods and services, the sexual composition of the work force, family size, and birth rates.[150] The task we set in using these indicators, as Johnson is careful to point out, is to comprehend the economic structure, the production process which creates poverty, and the capitalistic labour market.[151]

One historical line of continuity in Canada is the decline of the level of "purchasing power" by the poorest paid workers and the growing disparity between rich and poor in terms of income.[152] There is a close relation between the pattern of relative disparity and the absolute loss of income by poorer wage-labourers.[153] Workers are being immiserated both relatively and absolutely. The relatively progressive decline in the share of the social surplus which is transformed into wages is indicated by Carl Cuneo's research on the Canadian manufacturing sector as shown in his table below.[154] On the other hand this means there is an increasing portion of the working population which, as an aggregate, goes unpaid for their labour-power in an absolute sense.

Since 1946 there has been an enormous increase in national wealth.[155] However the top ten per cent of Canada's population, by income, have been the beneficiaries of more than seventy per cent of all new wealth created for Canadians by capital gains acheived through the growth of corporations.[156]

As we have previously concluded within this specifically capitalist system labour-power is a commodity. The competitive differentials of occupation have effected income earnings averages.[157] Professionals can restrict access to their occupation while small farmers, for example, are caught instead in a situation of overproduction and hard competition on the national and world market because it is more difficult to restrict access to their occupation and regulate production.[158]

Regional location affects income disparity to the extent there are less available employment situations in the satellite than in the metropole of a social formation.[159] The unemployment and underemployment due to high competition for jobs restricts income.[160] The industrialization process as we have observed entails centralization of production facilities and so a displacement of rural area residents from production is developed. Henry Veltmeyer has remarked that:

> To properly pose the problem of underdevelopment is to connect the class and regional conditions of dependency under capitalism and show how the exploitative relation of wage-labour is reproduced in the regional structure of production and exchange. 161

The reserve army of labour, the unemployed and the underemployed protion of the population, in Atlantic Canada is a pool of "free" labour which acts as a lever for the accumulation of capital.[162] The relation is replicated abstractly in the regional relation between centre and margin. The relatively surplus population, compared to the valourization requirements of capital, provides a mass of labour-power

available for hire by the centre.[163] Capitalist accumulation has greatly increased the magnitude of the non agricultural working class and has shifted its occupational structure.[164] As well the employment structure has impoverished the labour force especially in agricultural primary production.[165] Equal to forty per cent of the working population in 1950 for Canada those engaged today in agricultural primary production now comprise less than four per cent of the labour force as of 1971 due to the increase of the composition of capital.[166]

"In the case of the Atlantic region," Veltmeyer has commented, "the rapid expansion of capital investment in agriculture, and the associated concentration of absentee ownership, has brought about a drastic decrease in the number of occupied farms and farm employment."[167] To underline his point Veltmeyer cites a four hundred fifty per cent increase in farm capitalization between 1931 and 1961.[168] As a result the labour force declined by fifty per cent in the same period.[169] Furthermore it was down another forty three per cent between 1965 and 1971.[170]

"In relation to an overall growth in the labour-force," says Veltmeyer, "the various sectors of primary production declined drastically from 43.4% in 1921 to 8.4% in 1971."[171] This created a mass of absolutely and relatively "free" labour-power. In the maritime region of Canada this is equal to one-third of the population which is forced to migrate or starve.[172] So the historical pattern of barring exit from

the labour market and maintaining a dependable labour-power supply continues in Canada under the guise of "regional disparity".

Across Canada's binational labour market there has been created a vast industrial reserve body of labour which, as Leo A. Johnson has understood, functions to restrict wages by heightening competition for employment.[173]

Statistics Canada defines a person as unemployed when they are: available, actively, for labour for four weeks but do no work; available for the previous four weeks, but not actively, for labour and having been laid off for twenty six weeks or less from work; available for the previous four weeks, but not actively, for labour and beginning work in four weeks or less.[174] As Cy Gonick has pointed out this definition leaves a lot to be desired. It doesn't include those who give up looking for a job, the number of part-time employees who want full time employment, women who want to work but can't get adequate child-care or jobs, as well as students who would rather be working, the number of underpaid labourers and those people who are forced into early retirement or fired.[175] If we add those people who have given up looking for work to the official unemployment rate we find a four per cent increase as the table from Cy Gonick indicates.[176]

Beyond these "hidden unemployed", however, are other sections of the population who are excluded from the unemployment rolls. 163,000 people with part-time jobs would have

rather worked full-time in 1977.[177] If we take the average and say they are half-employed then we have 81,500 potential labourers. As well Gonick notes:

> There are more than 200,000 adults in various government-sponsered training programs who aren't counted in the labour-force. There are 125,000 or so who receive social assistance (a quarter of the total) and who are listed as employable if suitable jobs and day care were available. 178

Thats 325,000 more. We don't know how many students and forced retirees and women who want to work should be added so we can't compute the full unemployment rate exactly. "However", says Gonick:

> it (uncounted unemployment) would range between 1.5 and 2 million which together with the official unemployment figure adds up to somewhere between 2.3 and 2.8 million. Accepting a halfway figure of 2.5 million, the real unemployment rate is around 20 per cent. 179

It should be noted that in addition to these above mentioned components of the reserve body of labour there is also a significant number of public sector employees whose labour is unnecessary. Cy Gonick has reported:

> It can be taken as a certainty that were it not for the rapid growth in state employment throughout the post-war years, the rise in unemployment would have been much more marked. For example, if the number of workers employed by the state had grown only by the rate of advance in the private sector (170% between 1946-1974. 180 T.B.) then there would be an additional half million peolpe unemployed today.... 180

As Table 5 indicates the male labour force participation rate has been in decline since the second imperialist world

war while the female labour force participation rate over the same period has been increasing. This tendency towards the equalization of the labour force participation rates by sex is a result of the lower pay women receive for their jobs[182] which for the most part are found in service industries[183] which are providing more employment opportunities than production industries, as Table 6 indicates, because of lower than average wages.

Racist attitudes also aid in the creation of a cheap labour-power supply.[185] All of these factors we have mentioned only make sense, as Johnson reminds us, when we link them to the capitalistic labour market which develops on the basis of this atomization of the working population.[186]

The contradictions between welfare minimum wage rates, and the capitalistic labour market are illuminated by Johnson's realization that the minimum wage laws and welfare discriminate against the wage earner with a family by lessening the rate of increase in such payments with the growth of a family.[187] These items tend to promote low wage jobs by keeping welfare payments below the poverty line whether work is available or not.

If we are to understand the impact of graduated taxation and welfare government policies in Canada we must compare the percentage of transfer payments with the distribution of income before and after such transfers as Leo A. Johnson has done.[188] In so doing we find the effect of transfer payments are negligible. Graduated taxation policy in Canada also taxes

welfare and severely deteriorates its ability to offset poverty thereby.[189] On the other hand the actual proportion of earned income paid in taxation declines for those in higher income brackets when capital gains are included.[190]

The connection of regressive social welfare policies to our own analysis of the industrial reserve body of labour in Canada is that these policies create multi wage earner families which in turn creates a higher rate of labour exploitation for the capitalist[191] but strains the unit of reproduction of labour-power- the bourgeois family.[192] The higher rate of labour exploitation by capital also forces down the wages for available jobs.[193] Harry Braverman pointed out that the plausible result of this process will be the creation of many households which cannot keep even one breadwinner in the family because of high unemployment within the family unit as a whole.[194] That is its total membership could be working so sporadically as to produce only a total income of one normal full-time low income worker.

Canada is not a self sufficient national economy. It must be situated within an international context. Unemployment must similarly be placed within this international setting. Today as Gonick has understood:

> . . . Canada like western Europe and the United States, draws upon a vast labour reserve that extends in a band from India and Pakistan in the east, across southern Europe and to the Carribean, South America and Mexico. 195

This augments the domestic industrial reserve body of capital

during times of rapid expansion in the scale of production. On the other hand during capitalist downturns progressively larger sections of the working population are pauperized.

The specificity of the current crisis is the evenness of its international development. For example all member countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) have experienced sustained high unemployment levels for a number of recent years. Gonick observed:

> At the worst point in the recession of 1973-74 unemployment in the industrialized countries totalled 15.25 million. At the height of the recovery it totalled 14 million. At the beginning of 1978, there were 17 million officially unemployed in OECD countries. As in Canada, the real figure is undoubtedly much higher. 196

This has been accompanied by record level OECD deficits for member nations, capital strikes to stall the increases in the scale of production until less profitable investments are subsidized or nationalized by the capitalist state apparatus in order to maintain the rate of profit, social service cutbacks, wage controls, international trade barriers to preserve present international balances of trade and the further centralization and concentration of capital.[197]

James O'Connor has written that:

> As a class the capitalists want a government policy which will reduce working-class needs, wages, and consumption (i.e., increase the rate of exploitation), on the one hand, and increase investment and profits on the other. But as owners of individual capital units which compete with each other and with foreign and international capital, they all still depend on product innovation, forced obsolesence,

> and other elements which make up the "sales effort" and which reduce the rate of exploitation. This is a super contradiction.... 198

The present analysis has made explicit the process by which an attempt is made to increase the rate of labour exploitation. Our historical survey of "the rhythm of social disruption"[199] has indicated a close correlation between the size of the industrial reserve body located within Canada, the portion of the social surplus deployed as revenue rather than capital and strike activity. The logic of this process, we have understood, is the mechanization of the production process which is spurred on by capital's attempts to raise the social productivity of labour. Following David Yaffe, Anwar Shaikh has argued that:

> As the rate of profit falls, accumulation will slow down and unemployment will rise. Capitalists will increase prices to try and maintain profitability, thus giving rise to an inflationary spiral. At the same time the state is forced to step in, on the one hand to maintain employment at politically acceptable levels, and on the other to subsidize and even take over ailing industries. State expenditure therefore increases rapidly. But the deficit financing of the state only accelerates inflation, while its support of employment levels prevents wages from falling enough to help restore profitability. In this way the contradiction is deepened, and it becomes harder and harder to find policies which "work". 200

Understood in value terms there is a tendency for the rate of profit to fall as the proportion of the social surplus deployed to constant capital increases relative to the share of the social surplus which is converted to revenue. However if, due to the increasing social productivity of labour, the

value of the means of production was not increased or even fell, relative to the remaining share of the social surplus which is converted into variable capital and revenue, there would be no tendency for the rate of profit to fall.[201] The present study indicates that the relative value of the means of production is increasing. Marx concluded that the surplus value or the surplus product is divided into capital and revenue.[202] Increases in the relatively surplus population indicate a decrease in the amount of the surplus value transformed into revenues which capital tries to reduce to a minimum. This in turn would mean a corresponding increase in the value of the means of production due to the increase in its magnitude. The increasing percentage of the unemployed among the total working population at present illustrates that the tendency for the rate of profit to fall is operating now.[203]

Several solutions have been proposed to Canada's unemployment levels. The Canadian Senate's committee on Foreign Affairs in June, 1978, suggested free trade as an answer.[204] However as Gonick has understood this would just push industry far south of the border where capitalists could take advantage of low tax and wage rates.[205] Industrialists would then just service the Canadian market from afar.

The Science Council of Canada has put forward the arguement that we subsidize key Canadian owned corporations

to supply resource extraction, manufacturing, agricultural and construction machinery domestically.[206] Gonick says:

> The perspective domestic market in these products alone is $6.5 billion and would directly generate abour 125,000 permanent new jobs and at least that number again indirectly. 207

The second point in the Science Council's proposal is the development of new corporations for resource processing and high technology industry.[208] However, as Gonick points out, this strategy gives corporate giants too much political clout and uses public funds for mostly private benefits.[209] He understands that this is a corporatist class collaborationist solution involving and addressing itself only to the social elites of large social interest groups and not their rank and file.[210] Just as important is the national chauvinist character of this solution which attempts to pit the members of the working class of different countries against each other as they scramble for scarce jobs in the international capitalistic labour market.

The Political Impact of Unemployment

We have noted throughout our analysis how increases in the size of the industrial reserve army dampen the class struggle and erode the relative gains of the working class.[211] While in general this is the case it is not the full story. For example before the defeat or integration of the workers' movement in the periods of 1907-1913, 1919, 1929-1931, and 1934-1937 massive battles between the workers' movement and

the master class took place.[212] This was true of the period just at the time of the Turner budget of 1972 also. Remember this was the year of the Quebec general strike. Just about the time of the second general strike in Quebec came the Canadian government's wage controls. It would seem then that while, with the benefit of hindsight, these struggles by the workers' movement were not useful, in an immediate sense, they serve to illustrate the large scale resistance of the working class to capitalist austerity measures. As well it may be the case that this wide spread class resistance prevented even more severe disciplinary actions by the ruling class in Canada such as Fascism.

If we understand direct time lost from work stoppages due to strikes and lockouts as an indicator of the class struggle's intensity then our present period is politically explosive. In 1978 time lost from work stoppages more than doubled from the 1977 figure reported by Labour Canada.[213] Cooperative Press Associates reported that "...the time lost in 1978 was equivilent to 33 man-days per 10,000 man-days worked, compared to 15 in 1977."[214] This serves to confirm James Rinehart's opinion that corporatist structures, which necessitate wage controls policies, would give rise to militant industrial rank and file unionism.[215] In 1977 he wrote:

> There are good reasons (albeit mainly logical ones) for suspecting that class conflict will sharpen in this country. Neo-capitalist planning is not a temporary expedient, and wage controls (even with union approval) do erode working class living standards. 216

We are then in the midst of a crucial development by the working class which is taking place outside as well as within the bi-national economy of Canada. The present expansion, on the one hand, of production capacity surplus and, on the other, the surplus population of workers is posing the question of the validity of the production relations of capitalistic society more and more starkly. Unlike previous periods of class warfare in Canada the capitalist state apparatus has not been able to tame working class militancy by coercion alone. As Leo Panitch has understood this is why the state has been pushing strongly for a number of years for corporatist policies.[217] However even though the Canadian Labour Congress' executive has been favourable to corporatist policies[218] their membership has not.

Rick Deaton has reported that:

> Young workers, women, new workers and some national minority groups are concentrated in the public sector. Women constitute over 30% of all workers in the public sector; the proportion of young workers between the ages of 20-24 has increased by 38% in the public sector in the past decade; women and the French speaking Quebecois are discriminated against. 219

This causes us to believe that these groups which are the hardest hit by rising unemployment will, during the present period of motion, which as we have discussed precedes the defeat or success of capitalist austerity measures, be highly visible in the political activities of the working class. On the other hand I think it probable that public sector workers will be pivotal to the resolution of the present fiscal

crisis as their status composition singles them out for above average victimization. As Rick Deaton reminds us, the clientele of public services and public servants are of similar composition in that among both groups women, the young, and the Quebecois are over represented.[220] This also makes alliances between the two groups necessary and probable in the immediate future.

TABLE II

Employment By Region and Industry 1975

	Atlantic		Quebec		Ontario		Prairies		B.C.	
	000*	%	000*	%	000*	%	000*	%	000*	&
Primary Industries:										
Agriculture	22	3.1	88	3.6	121	3.4	223	14.6	26	2.5
Other	37	5.2	46	1.8	57	1.6	46	3.0	43	4.2
Total	59	8.3	134	5.4	178	5.0	269	17.6	69	6.7
Manufacturing	106	14.9	605	24.6	915	25.6	161	10.5	165	16.1
Construction	59	8.3	150	6.1	217	6.1	102	6.7	77	7.5
Transport, Communications and other utilities	75	10.6	211	8.6	274	7.6	143	9.4	104	10.1
Trade	135	19.0	413	16.8	616	17.2	276	18.1	193	18.8
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	24	3.4	119	4.8	193	5.4	67	4.4	57	5.6
Community, business and personal service	195	27.5	671	27.3	946	26.4	401	26.2	296	28.8
Public Administration	57	8.0	160	6.5	244	6.8	111	7.3	67	6.5
Total	710	100	2462	100	3581	100	1528	100	1027	100

TABLE III

Class Exploitation (The Rate of Surplus Value) in Canadian Manufacturing, 1921-71 (Real Wages)

YEAR	(1) RATE OF SURPLUS VALUE	(2) AVERAGE WAGE OF EACH PRODUCTION WORKER IN MANUFACTURING (Necessary Labour)	(3) AVERAGE SURPLUS VALUE EXTRACTED BY MANUFACTURING CAPITALISTS FROM EACH PRODUCTION WORKER (Surplus Labour)	(4) DIFFERENCE (3) -- (4)
	%	$	$	$
1921	19	1213.	2305.	1092.
1931	87	1402.	12197.	10795.
1941	147	1754.	25784.	24030.
1951	161	2140.	34450.	32310.
1961	198	2909.	57598.	54689.
1971	262	4011.	105088.	101077.

TABLE IV

Unemployment By Province

1977 Annual Averages

	Official Unemployed (thousands)	Official Rate %	'Hidden' Unemployed (thousands)	'Real' Unemployed (thousands)	'Real' Rate
CAN.	862	8.1	486	1,348	12.1
NFLD.	30	15.9	29	59	26.7
PEI.	5	10.0	6	11	19.3
N.S.	36	10.7	22	58	16.4
N.B.	36	13.4	29	65	21.5
QUE.	288	10.3	155	443	15.0
ONT.	282	7.0	140	422	10.0
MAN.	27	5.9	16	43	9.0
SAS.	19	4.5	14	33	7.6
ALT.	39	4.4	22	61	6.7
B.C.	99	8.5	51	150	12.3

TABLE V[181]

Labour Force Participation By Sex

	PARTICIPATION RATES		
	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)
1941	85.6	22.9	55.2
1951	83.9	23.5	53.7
1956	82.2	24.9	53.5
1961	79.8	28.7	54.1
1966	77.8	32.8	55.1
1971	76.1	36.5	56.1
1972	76.2	37.1	56.5
1973	76.8	38.7	57.5
1974	77.3	39.7	58.3
1975	77.2	40.9	58.8

TABLE VI[184]

Employment by Industry

	1951		1961		1971		1975	
	000's	%	000's	%	000's	%	000's	%
Agriculture	939	18.4	681	11.2	510	6.3	479	5.1
Forestry	115	2.3	86	1.4	72	0.9	72	0.8
Fishing and Trapping	30	0.6	18	0.3	22	0.3	23	0.2
Mining	79	1.5	80	1.3	129	1.6	132	1.4
Manufacturing	1350	26.5	1452	24.0	1795	22.2	1951	21.0
Construction	348	6.8	376	6.2	495	6.1	605	6.5
Transport, Communications and other utilities	449	8.8	563	9.3	702	8.7	806	8.7
Trade	718	14.1	1025	16.9	1330	16.5	1633	17.5
Finance, insurance and real estate	154	3.0	239	3.9	385	4.8	460	4.9
Service	916	18.0	1178	19.5	2118	26.2	2508	26.9
Public administration	**	**	356	5.9	520	6.4	639	6.9
Total	5097	100.0	6055	100.0	8078	100.0	9308	100.0

NOTES FOR CHAPTER III

1. H.C. Pentland, "Capitalistic labour market," p. 456.

2. Karl Korsh, Karl Marx, p. 35.

3. Paul Gingrich, "Unemployment: A Radical Analysis of Myth and Fact" Our Generation, 12 (1978): 17.

4. Department of National Defence, Weekend Magazine, 29 (March 17, 1979): 19.

5. Ibid., p. 19.

6. Editorial Board, Ontario Report, 3 (1978): 2, 7.

7. George Gilder, "The Suicide of the Sexes" Readers' Digest, 113 (1974).

8. Marjorie Cohen, "Damned if they do" Ontario Report, 3 (1978): 19

9. Paul Gingrich, "Unemployment", p. 17.

10. Cy Gonick, Out of Work, pp. 20, 21.

11. George Gilder, "Suicide", p. 55.

12. Editorial Board, "Unemployment: A New Analysis" Our Generation, 8 (1972):7.

13. Statistics Canada, Perspectives Canada 2, p. 112.

14. Paul Gingrich, "Unemployment", p. 16.

15. This table is a condensed copy of that in Statistics Canada, Perspectives Canada 2, p. 112.

16. We define the production sector to include primary industries, manufacturing, construction, transportation, communications and all other utilities. This is similar to the method of Braverman whose definition of industry is the one I used to help me define the production sector of the economy. Note that I have added all primary industries including agriculture. C.f. Harry Braverman, Labour and Monopoly Capital, p. 393.

17. Computed from the Figures in Table 2.

18. Arnold Bennett, Quebec Labour, pp. 169-170, 173-175.

19. James Rinehart, The Tyranny of Work, p. 69 n.

20. Cy Gonick, Out of Work, p. 123.

21. James O'Connor, The Fiscal Crisis of the State, pp. 49-50.

22. H.C. Pentland, "The development of a capitalistic labour market in Canada" Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, 25 (1959): 453.

23. Ibid., p. 455.

24. Ibid., pp. 451, 452.

25. Ibid., p. 451.

26. Ibid., p. 454.

27. Of the servile mode of production Marx has understood that: Here, instead of the independent man, we find everyone dependent, serfs and lords, vassals and suzerains, laymen and clergy. Personal dependence here characterises the social relations of production just as much as it does the other spheres of life organised on the basis of that production....Compulsory labour is just as much measured by time, as commodity-producing labour; but every serf knows that what he expends in the service of his lord, is a definite quantity of his own personal labour-power. The title to be rendered to the priest is more a matter of fact than his blessing. No matter, then, what we may think of the parts played by the different classes of people themselves in this society, the social relations between individuals in the performance of their labour, appear at all events as their own mutual personal relations, and are not disguised under the shape of social relations between the products of labour (Karl Marx, Capital Volume 1 Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1954), pp. 81-82.

28. H.C. Pentland, "Capitalistic labour market", p. 454. C.f. Harold Innis, The Fur Trade, pp. 160, 280.

29. H.C. Pentland, "Capitalistic labour market", p. 452.

30. Ibid., p. 450, c.f. Karl Marx, Capital Volume 1 (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1976), pp. 270-271.

31. H.C. Pentland, "Capitalistic labour market" p. 451.

32. Ibid., p. 456.

33. Ibid., p. 456.

34. Ibid., pp. 456-457.

35. Ibid., p. 457.

36. Karl Marx, Capital Volume 1 (Penguin Books), pp. 473-474.

37. Ibid., p. 475.

38. Ibid., p. 274.

39. Ibid., p. 476.

40. Harry Braverman, Labour and Monopoly Capital, pp. 78-80.

41. Karl Marx, Capital Volume 1 (Penguin Books), p. 788.

42. Ibid., pp. 781-782.

43. H.C. Pentland, "Capitalistic labour market", p. 458.

44. Ibid., p. 458.

45. Gary Teeple, "Land, Labour and Capital in Pre-Confederation Canada", Capitalism and the National Question in Canada, p. 44.

46. Ibid., p. 45.

47. Leo A. Johnson, "Land Policy, Population Growth and Social Structure in the Home District 1793-1851", Ontario History, 63 (1968): 60.

48. Gary Teeple, "Land, Labour and Capital", p. 52.

49. Ibid., p. 58.

50. Ibid., p. 58.

51. Ibid., p. 59.

52. Tom Naylor, The History of Canadian Business 1867-1914 Volume 1 (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1975), p. 7.

53. Carl Cuneo, "State, Class and Reserve Labour: The Case of the 1941 Canadian Unemployment Insurance Act", CRSA 16 (1979): 7.

54. Ibid., p. 8.

55. Ronald Liversedge, Recollections of the On to Ottawa Trek.

56. Tom Naylor, Canadian Business, Volume 1, p. 7.

57. Ibid., p. 8.

58. Ibid., pp. 8-9.

59. Stephen Langdon, The emergence of the Canadian working class movement, 1845-1875.

60. Ibid., p. 25.

61. Carl Cuneo "State, Class and Reserve Labour", p. 7.

62. This occurs as the mass of the means of production increases more rapidly than their value.

63. Carl Cuneo,"State, Class and Reserve Labour", p. 7.

64. H.S. Ferns and B. Ostry, The Age of Mackenzie King, p. 273.

65. David Bercuson, "The Winnipeg General Strike", On Strike, I. Abella, ed., p. 4.

66. Ibid., pp. 5-12.

67. Ibid., pp. 5-12.

68. Ibid., pp. 5-12.

69. Carl Cuneo, "State, Class and Reserve Labour", p. 8.

70. David Bercuson, "The Winnipeg General Strike", p. 4.

71. I. Abella, On Strike, p. xii.

72. Ronald Liversedge, Recollections, p. 15.

73. Ibid., p. 15.

74. Ibid., pp. 24, 58, 68-75.

75. Ibid., p. 35.

76. Ibid., p. 35.

77. Ibid., p. 35.

78. Ibid., p. 35.

79. Ibid., p. 35.

80. Ibid., p. 35.

81. Ibid., p. 36.

82. Ibid., p. 36.

83. Ibid., p. 36, 120.

84. Ibid., p. 85.

85. Ibid., p. 105.

86. Ibid., p. 330 n.

87. Ibid., pp. 113-116.

88. Ibid., p. 117.

89. Ibid., p. 117.

90. Ibid., p. 117.

91. Stuart Jamieson, Industrial Relations in Canada, pp. 87-90.

92. Ibid., pp. 89-90.

93. Ibid., pp. 89-90.

94. Carl Cuneo, State Mediation of Class Contradictions in Canadian Unemployment Insurance 1930-1935, pp. 3-4.

95. Ibid., pp. 3-4.

96. Ibid., p. 18.

97. Ibid., p. 5.

98. Ibid., p. 5.

99. Ibid., p. 5.

100. Ibid., pp. 8, 24-26, 45.

101. Ibid., p. 26.

102. Ibid., p. 26.

103. Ibid., p. 27.

104. Ibid., p. 33.

105. Ibid., p. 35.

106. Ibid.,

107. Ibid., pp. 40-42.

108. Ibid., p. 43.

109. Ibid., pp. 45, 47.

110. Ibid., p. 46.

111. Ronald Liversedge, Recollections, p. 104.

112. Ibid., pp. 104, 106.

113. I. Abella, On Strike, p. xii.

114. S.D. Hanson, "Estevan 1931" On Strike, p. 33.

115. Ibid., pp. 34-40, 43.

116. Ibid., pp. 34-40, 43.

117. Ibid., pp. 34-40, 43.

118. Desmond Morton, "The Stratford Strike," On Strike, p. 79.

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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TRADE UNION

We wish to study capital accumulation as class struggle.[1] This informs our definition of the trade union. We have spoken beforehand of our understanding that the trade union movement has a revolutionary potential insofar as it ceases to act as a trade union. We refer here to the substance of the trade union which is the wage struggle--the social contract which informs productivity gains distribution--as a conservative impulse. The revolutionary potential of the trade union movement is partially realized in the actual combination of labourers whereby competition between them ceases and the struggle against the capitalist class begins.[2] Marx once noted:

> If the first aim of resistance was merely the maintenance of wages, combinations, at first isolated, constitute themselves into groups as the capitalists in their turn unite for the purpose of repression, and in the face of always united capital, the maintenance of the association becomes more necessary to them than that of wages. This is so true that English economists are amazed to see the workers sacrifice a good part of their wages in favour of associations, which, in the eyes of these economists, are established solely in favour of wages. In this struggle--a veritable civil war--all the elements necessary for a coming battle unite and develop. Once it has reached this point, association takes on a political character.[3]

The trade union process is a seemingly contradictory process in which the struggle over wages calls forth sharp antagonisms

between wage-labour and capital in periods when the rate of profit would tend to fall severely. Max Nemni has been of the opinion, therefore, that:

> It is even logical to say that the more unions are aware of their position in the process of circulation, that is the more they seek a higher price for the labour-power available for sale, the greater is their revolutionary potential. Indeed, in so doing they awaken the class consciousness of the workers, and favour the concentration of the means of production.[4]

Wage increases allow for lower industry average production prices also, which allow the benefits of the strike to help the consumer. This is because wage increases favour those firms in the industry with a higher organic composition of capital.[5]

The Character of Unions in Canada

John Porter once wrote that unions are the economic elite corresponding to the corporate elite of capital.[6] This is an exaggeration. As Bert Young has shown, corporations, the central private organs of capital, are much better able to marshal social resources to their will than unions.[7] It would not be appropriate to argue that union and corporate power are equal. Either capital is dominant or creative labour is dominant.

The level of unionization in Canada was only one-fifth in 1940.[8] By 1949 unions involved twenty percent, approximately, of the population directly.[9] By 1956 almost twenty-four percent of the working people in Canada were unionized.[10]

By 1975 under one-third of the labour-population had been enrolled in workers' combinations.[11] In 1979 Statistics Canada reported that as of 1977 union membership increased by 1.6 percent over 1976 levels and the proportion of workers unionized increased by 43,322 members or 0.4 percent to 32.6 percent.[12] The reason the climb in union membership has been slow has been pointed out by Porter. It is due to occupational shifts in the composition of the labour-force.[13] The occupations created by this process were filled by the recruitment of labourers from non-capitalistic modes of production in Canada as Rinehart has understood.[14]

General Unions and International Unions

Porter has argued previously that Canadian union power has been weakened by a national-international union conflict. The conflict can be traced back to the historic Berlin Trades and Labour Congress Conference of 1902, which approved the motion that no national union organize where another international union had jurisdiction.[15] Lipton has observed that this decision allows us to account for the persistent duality of the labour movement in Canada between national and international union conferences.[16]

"International Unions for International Business" is a slogan heartily denounced by Lipton.[17] He makes persuasive points on the issues of international solidarity and financing.[18] International solidarity must be based on the unity of each country's working class. It cannot help but be weakened when

imposed from without for it atomizes domestic intra-membership communication and solidarity. The finances which could be available to domestic workers' struggles were and are advanced today as reasons for foreign unions as the general unions of Canada. However, this just further undermines any domestic intra-membership solidarity and promotes narrow self-interest. As well, money is only one factor in winning strikes. Organization and skills are just as important. A final argument made by Lipton is most convincing and worth quoting at length:

> General unions and international unions: In practice often identical, but in practice also, totally distinct, two distinct items. General unions: common to every country. Their appearance as international unions--peculiar to Canada! Was the B.C. coal miner right in joining the WFM in 1903? Probably. So were many other workers in that period and in later years who joined international unions. The plain facts are that one reason the international unions became rooted in Canada was because they merged with the natural (sic), spontaneous progress then going on in Canada as in every other country, to general unions. They helped fulfill the function of general unions for Canadian workers. But there is no intrinsic connection between international unions and general unions. There was no natural, long-term, historic inevitability in such a connection. Indeed, there was a contradiction. For international unions were not just fulfilling the function of general unions in Canada. They were also dominating Canada's unions, and they were blocking the progress to general unions in Canada. One reason was that international unions were mostly craft unions, and thus brought to Canada not just general unions but the chaotic isolation inherent in craft unions.[19]

The conversion of the Trades and Labour Congress to these ends is located in the opening years of the twentieth century.[20] Pentland has said that another reason Canadian unions were

lost to the United States American Federation of Labour was because union autonomists posed the question as a national division rather than as a division between craft and industrial union units of organization.[21] In the former case labourers are organized by the tools of their trade. In the latter case workers are organized according to employer and industry.[22]

The American union movement influenced the development of Canadian labour organization.[23] As Porter says:

> The formation of the Knights of Labour, the I.W.W., A.F.L. C.I.O. and these organizations fusion in the 1950's for example conditioned the Canadian union movement's development.[24]

In the mid-1950's three-quarters of those unions with over 10,000 members were international affiliates.[25] Over eight-tenth's of Canada's union members were represented by internationals in the forty leading manufacturing industries at the time John Porter wrote The Vertical Mosaic.[26] At present approximately fifty-five percent of the Canadian Labour Congress membership is affiliated to international unions.[27] The presence of foreign unions as general unions in Canada has inhibited the development of a strong independent labour movement. The multiplicity of union centrals does not allow for the promotion of an "all-in" union policy.[28] It is clear that before the formation of an all-in union central stands the obstacle of the Canadian Labour Congress which has a history as an exclusionary, vulgar, economistic, foreign dominated, trade-union central.[29] Not only the performance

of the Canadian Labour Congress in the government provoked Canadian Union of Postal Workers' strike in October, 1978, where McDermott denounced the Canadian Union of Postal Workers' defiance of unconstitutional legislation, illustrates this role as a barrier to industrial organization.[30] The history of the American dominated Canadian labour central also illustrates this role from the expulsion of the Knights of Labour in 1902 from the Trades and Labour Congress,[31] support for American foreign policy during the first imperialist world war,[32] business rather than industrial orientation of unionism which was condemned by the Red International of Labour Unions in 1921,[33] the expulsion of the Canadian Seamen's Union,[34] the endorsation of the reactionary Marshall Plan and "free" trade with anti-democratic regimes,[35] demands for wage controls in 1951 to help win the war against communism,[36] the "breakaway" unions of the 1960s,[37] unconstitutional raids on the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union in Nova Scotia during 1970 to 1971,[38] and resistance to Canadian Union of Public Employees' industrial organizing drives at least between 1971 and 1973,[39] right up to the feeble support for the Inco strike of 1978 to 1979, which was under the leadership of industrial autonomist sentiment. The Canadian Labour Congress' opposition to industrial organization is best illustrated by their attitude to relatively recent industrial combinations in the public sector.

Industrial Unions

The Canadian Union of Public Employees is the fastest growing bi-national industrial organization in Canada. Between 1976 and 1977 the union grew by eleven percent or 24, 016 members to 242,622 members in total.[40] The Canadian Union of Public Employees is the largest single labour organization in all of Canada.[41] Local union autonomy is emphasized in the 1963 founding principles.[42] The Canadian Union of Public Employees is dedicated to an effective "all-in" strategy for the public sector.[43] As Lipton has understood, we can account for this in the customs of autonomous industrial unionism.[44] It also goes a long way towards explaining the high profile of public sector unions in industrial struggle of the present period. They are not atomized by the trade structure of general unions affiliated to United States international business unions.

Between 1971 and 1973 the Canadian Labour Congress attempted to put the lid on the Canadian Union of Public Employees by attempting to directly organize public sector worker combinations in opposition to the Canadian Union of Public Employees' own industrial organizing efforts.[45] This was a clear attempt to scuttle any autonomy from United States trade union control. The Canadian Union of Postal Workers is among other public sector unions which have come out in support of the Canadian Union of Public Employees' platform for effective, united, autonomy from United States "international" union control of Canadian industrial general unions.[46]

Again in Quebec the militant Confederation of National Trade Unions, based in the public sector of Quebec, for the most part, has shown more unity and confidence because it is an industrial union autonomous from the Canadian Labour Congress.[47] The contents of a secret government report leaked during the Lapalme affair in Quebec during 1970 confirm this position.[48] Canadian Labour Congress affiliates located in employment areas similar to those of the Confederation of National Trade Unions usually follow the initiatives of the latter rather than setting the pace.

The Quebec Federation of Labour, based mostly in the private sector of industry, has been inhibited by a lack of interaction between its locals.[49] Communication is directed instead through international union channels. Laxer seems to think the loss at United Aircraft has aggravated the move away from international unions and increased hostility towards transnational corporations.[50] For example, the Corporation des Enseignants du Quebec/Quebec Teachers Corporation understood by 1971 that class was becoming the dominant social axis in Quebec.[51] As Laxer says:

> The Quebec teachers' union manifesto had a similar analysis of the importance of multinational companies in turning the province into a resource-based economy for their own private profit:
> The imbalance we have described is worse for Quebecois than other Canadians . . . they see that national wealth uniquely Quebec's passes into the hands of international capitalists who do not care about our feelings and have nothing in common with the workers . . . .[52]

Laxer wrote well in 1976. He understood that the industrial unions, formed as the public and service sector of the economy in Canada recruited and proletarianized the rural inhabitants of Quebec and other areas in Canada, domestic labourers, and the young, constitute autonomous industrial general unions which have sent a shock wave through the Canadian Labour Congress.[53] Laxer concludes:

> For top Canadian leaders in international unions, the next five or ten years promise to be a period of agonizing reappraisal. They will be asking themselves whether they should maintain their resistance to independent Canadian unionism in the face of mounting opposition to the internationals, or provide the leadership that would take their memberships into the ranks of an all-Canadian labour movement.[54]

In this context the recent election of ex-New Democratic Party Waffle caucus member Cec Taylor--a long time industrial autonomist--to the United Steel Workers of America local 1005 in Hamilton, the site of the largest steel local in the country, is significant and indicative of this trend as is the autonomist tendency with the Brotherhood of Rail and Airline Clerks.[55]

Unions and the Status-quo

Trade unions emerge from traditional property relations.[56] The only way the workers could affect the relations of production was to affect the production schedule by their own combination.[57] This allows the stoppage of work, under capitalistic conditions, collectively. Trade unions exist to enforce a worker's refusal to work until a collective agreement is imposed. The gains of labour struggles are concessions, not rights,

because the logic of the capitalistic enterprise and the long historical tradition of the corporate world's authority has social validity.[58]

Trade unions threaten established property relations and constitute an elite because of their social organization or power not their contribution to social life, Porter has observed.[59] Union leaders are labelled guilty by the ruling class whenever a work stoppage occurs or when the unconstitutional law of the ruling class is broken as if they were the masters rather than the servants of their membership Pentland has reported.[60] On the other hand, there is legislation passed which assumes that all trade unionists are something apart from their association and its leadership. As Pentland has remarked:

> Government supervision of internal union affairs carries this overtone, but the clear case is provided by the government-supervised strike vote. It rests on a belief that the satisfied workers would not strike unless misled by their unscrupulous leaders, a belief that survives in cheerful inconsistency with the one underlying treatment of unions as corporations--that sober leaders can and should forbid the aggressiveness of their dissatisfied members. The most obvious effect in both cases is to foster division between leaders and members.[61]

Union leaders are considered responsible by the ruling class, and the rule of their law, when they do not make "excessive" demands of the capitalistic system and especially when they do not interrupt capital accumulation. Porter was angered when he wrote The Vertical Mosaic by the unequal and distorted "public image" of unions. Unions as yet it would seem do not

have many honorific roles outside the economy of our society.[62] The attitude of the courts illustrates this proposition. On the question of individual union member autonomy, Pentland has described their attitude. He recorded that

> . . . the situation can produce difficult questions, such as whether all the persons covered by a collective agreement can quit their jobs as individuals. Despite a traditional repugnance for slavery, the courts have been inclined to say they cannot. The employer, whose responsibility is reasonably clear and precisely located is apt to consider that a union should be like an employer, delivering so many units of uniform quality at the agreed price, and no quibbling. If however, the union is an association of people, reasonably democratic, in which the officers are the servants and not the masters of the members, it cannot in the nature of things give the guaranteed delivery that employers identify with responsibility. The concepts of contract law and business are not broad and flexible enough to deal with a great body of social relationships, including union relationships. This, too, contributed substantially to incomprehension before (and after) 1939.[63]

Porter has also noted that when corporations acted criminally it did not affect their public image but when one union official has acted criminally he is thought to symbolize the entire labour movement.[64]

We understand, then, that the significance of the union lies in the combination of the workers in opposition to capital. The labour unrest in the public sector and the high level of union activity in a relatively brief period of time is due to the industrial organization of autonomous general unions formed in the period when new groups in society were subjected to the capitalistic division of labour in the nations of Canada. This is true also of the private service sector. The Union

of Bank Employees' success in organizing bank workers along industrial lines, as in Windsor for example,[65] illustrates this proposition. We are also forced to conclude that the class which represents capital and its courts are backward and relatively primitive. This occurs apace with the reappropriation of everyday life by working people.

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STRIKES

Their Recent History

The last well analysed period of mass industrial unrest has to be the 1960's. This is the last well known and consciously apprehended period of the proletariat's formation as a class. Let us briefly characterize the period when the workers last called into question the authority of the bourgeois representatives of capital. Jamieson has enumerated seven distinct processes of the period. Major new construction projects were being built, such as Expo 1967 and transportation links.[1] The labour market in the construction industry was thereby constricted and promoted work stoppages and high wage bargain settlements. This in its turn provoked new work stoppages and grievances among other sections of the population, such as longshoremen and Quebecois public sector labourers, as well as Ontario teamsters and primary industry workers in mining and steel making. Jamieson is of the opinion that it was this confluence of events which promoted the nation-wide railway strike against the Canadian Pacific and Canadian National in the summer of 1966.[2] Another feature of the 1960's labour unrest was that legal strikes were centered on wage demands rather than union recognition or job security as was the case in the 1950's.[3] There was a much higher incidence of wildcat strikes, which invariably centered on structural demands such as work conditions and job security.[4]

Twenty-one percent of strikes in 1965 were wildcat work stoppages.[5] In 1966 they numbered 210 out of 617 strikes.[6] These strikes involved large numbers of workers and significantly many took place in recently unionized sectors of the economy in which workers were organizing along industrial lines.[7] The 1960's period also saw a dramatic increase in the proportion of refusals to ratify executive negotiated union contracts than historically had been the case.[8] As well, there was much more open defiance of the law within union activities, both at rank-and-file and executive levels. Examples of this would include the extensive refusals to obey court injunctions.[9] Also observable was the increase in inter-union raiding and "break-away" union factions.[10] Most prominent among these activities were break-away Canadian Labour Congress affiliates in Quebec, who joined the Confederation of National Trade Unions.[11] The last salient characteristic of the 1960's period of industrial dispute was the increased state organized violence on the workers' movement.[12] As the decade was brought to a close the centre of gravity for industrial unrest shifted noticeably from Ontario to Quebec where general strikes, plant seizures by armed strikers, and widespread property damage took on a new prominence.[13] The latter half of the 1960's was described by Jamieson as an acute period of Industrial crisis.[14]

The Current Situation

At the present period the Conference Board in Canada has expressed concern about high wage bargain settlements predicted for 1979.[15] The National Commission on Inflation in Canada has denounced wage settlement trends as excessive in the mining and smelting industries of Canada following the INCO Metals Limited settlement.[16] Of course this is only how the capitalists view the present crisis.[17] What is in fact the increasing social productivity of labour and the rising organic composition of capital formally expressed as the tendency for the rate of profit to fall appears to the capitalists as a competitive impulse, an impulse to lower prices, between them.[18] As Yaffe has understood, if the price of labour-power is maintained in this period of intensified competition it appears to the capitalists as an additional cause of declining profits and, therefore, as an excessive wage level.[19] The attempts by capital to foist its crisis onto the backs of working people at this time has provoked increased work stoppages and work grievances. It is this confluence of events which promoted the 262-day strike against INCO Metals Limited at Sudbury, Ontario and recently threatened a nation-wide railroad strike by the Brotherhood of Railway, Airline and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees.[20] It is logical, then, that the strikes of the present period, which are taking place on a legal basis, are centered on wages.

Rank-and-file dissidence is also particularly emphatic at this point in time, as is indicated by the rising level of membership rejections of executive negotiated settlements.[21] As Wilfred List has reported, ". . . the trend towards repudiation of the judgements of union bargaining committees appears to be unprecedented in the collective bargaining history in this country".[22] Open defiance not of the law but of a lawless sovereign, which has trampled the constitutional historical rights of British common law and hence provided a fundamental constitutional pretext for the working people of Canada to overthrow these outlaws, has had a high profile, as evidenced by the most recent Canadian Union of Postal Workers' heroic, uncompromising strike and earlier by the first bi-national general strike of organized labour in Canada against the pan-Canadian state apparatus. The struggle against American business unions has also enjoyed a marked presence. Examples of this would include the leadership of the United Steel Workers of America Local 6500 president, Dave Patterson, and fellow union autonomist, Cec Taylor's, election to the presidency of Local 1005 of the United Steel Workers of America, as well as the Canadian public sector industrial unions. Use of police at the federal, provincial and local levels against the workers' movement has continued to increase as indicated by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police's disruption of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers, the British Columbia Labour Federation, and the Canadian Labour Congress, as well as the use of

provincial and local police against legal picket lines at Fleck in Ontario and Commonwealth Plywood in Quebec. The logic for this has been observed by Professor Michael Mandel, a member of the Osgoode Law faculty at York University, who has noted the parallel increases of state repression and industrial unrest.[23] We can then characterize the present period as one of acute industrial crisis--but with an important difference from that industrial relations crisis of the 1960's. As Anwar Shaikh has understood:

> As we shall see, it is in the nature of capitalist production to be constantly exposed to a variety of internally and externally generated disturbances and dislocations. But only at certain times do these "shocks" set off general crises. When the system is healthy, it rapidly revives from all sorts of setbacks; when it is unhealthy, practically anything can trigger its collapse.[24]

The 1960's was characterized by a booming bouyant economic expansion. It is otherwise with the present world system of industrial capital.

The Social Context of Strikes

Our cultural mediums suggest a high reliance on violence is socially acceptable in North America much more so than in Europe.[25] Things are as they appear. As Jamieson has observed:

> For, as the history that follows would seem to portray, and as our earlier history would suggest, there is also a strong element of uncompromising rigidity and violence in the Canadian national character.[26]

Jamieson has also recorded that our record of violence and legal and illegal labour disputes are second only to those of

the United States of America and far greater than European levels.[27]

In examining this anomic social division of labour and, therefore, also of people--the capitalist form of the division of labour in society--absenteeism rates, labour turnover rates and other covert measures of labour unrest are inadequate because information on these indicators is scattered.[28] As well, Jamieson says it is hard to determine whether these factors are an expression of industrial conflict or attributable to other causes of a mediate character.[29] He concludes:

> Any attempt to portray a history of labour unrest in Canada, therefore, has to focus on overt conflict, manifested primarily in the form of strikes and lockouts and accompanying tactics such as picketing and boycotting.[30]

Any analysis of overt industrial conflict must include a comprehension of how it becomes politicized. That is, how it emerges as a protest against the premises of Canadian society.[31] We must understand how labour conflict can become social conflict or directed against the political status-quo. The converse of this holds also. We must understand how social conflict escalates industrial conflict. In short, our grasp must be materialistic. The relation between industrial and political conflict is made clear when we examine how this society reproduces itself on a daily basis. The daily activities of wage-slaves such as ourselves, involves not only our physical replication but also our specific social formation.[32] Our social formation or habits remain capitalistic insofar as they

are appropriate responses to a set of particular historical materialistic circumstances. Our social formation is changing at present as a conscious response to the revolutionary technical basis of our capitalistic social formation which at present allows practical activity to create new material conditions and social forms.[33]

By reference to the social form assumed by the process of material production we are able to explain the anti-oriental riots and discriminatory employer practices in British Columbia in the first part of the twentieth century. The development of labour-power as an article of commerce in the fishing industry and the consequent competition which was created between labourers accounts for what appeared as racism.[34] Employment discrimination is explained by the historical character of the proletariat, recruited from non-capitalistic modes of production, which had to be habituated to the capitalistic mode of production and its specific techniques, chief of which is the degradation of labour, and therefore excluded from skilled jobs.[35] It was this sharp shift in the composition of the labour-force which promoted strikes just as it has in the present period.[36] Similarly, the struggles between French- and English-speaking workers and employers in the nation of Quebec and elsewhere can be understood as responses to the use of Francophone workers as a source of cheap labour for new industries. On the whole, it would seem that political agitation emerges, just as we have said, from the rapid

transformation of material conditions to which capitalistic social formation is a response.

Jamieson says the government, police, and armed forces have historically sided with capital against wage-labour to preserve peace, order, and "good" government, as well as property rights as against the potential commonwealth of immediate producers.[37] The logic of this is now clear. Only by force was the capitalist class able to bring new labourers within a market organization.

The Historical Specificity of Strikes

Strikes are not of a monolithic character. They change according to circumstances such as industrial location, region, and historical period, as well as duration and legality.[38] For example, strikes before the second world imperialist war were just as much efforts to gain recognition for collective bargaining on conditions of individual employment as for specific immediate grievances. Afterwards, with the Rand formula and other relevant legislation on the rights of labourers, the character of labour disputes was clearly altered. Jamieson concludes:

> Strikes since World War II, therefore, unlike the situation in previous decades, can be fairly clearly classified into two main categories: 1) legal "interest" disputes, which are undertaken only after the legally required procedures of bargaining, conciliation, and voting have been gone through; and 2) illegal "protest" or "wildcat" strikes as well as jurisdictional and organizational strikes, together with picketing, boycotting and other supplementary tactics that occur without going through the above-mentioned legally-required procedures.[39]

Strikes and lock-outs are not the dominant forms of intercourse between capital and wage-labour at the present time. Only about one-half percent of all employment hours are lost to strikes and lock-outs yearly.[40] Industrial accidents and sickness account for much more. However, as Jamieson has understood, strikes are just the visible sign of massive, covert, social protest.[41]

If we periodize the study of strikes according to convulsive economic expansions, depressions, new technologies or scientific invention, political upheavals and armed international combat, as Jamieson has done, then we can discern seven distinct time frames to the year 1967.[42] The cycle beginning in 1960 continued with little variance until the infamous year of the Turner budget in 1972. From this time to the present constitutes an eighth period. If we add this to Jamieson's periodic table, our TABLE I will be presented as below. As the reader will note, the author has also distinguished three phases within the fourth period. These correspond to the moral depreciation of capital that took place until the weak recovery of 1934, which lasted until the end of 1937, approximately, when the working class of the world suffered profound defeat at the hands of capital and was thrown into global holocaust.

TABLE I[43]

1.	Pre-War I:	1900-13
2.	World War I and Immediate Post-War:	1914-20
3.	The Twenties:	1921-29
4.	The Thirties:	1930-34, 1934-37, 1938-39
5.	World War II and Post-War Inflation:	1940-50
6.	The Fifties:	1951-59
7.	The Sixties:	1960-72
8.	The Crisis:	1972-

If we interpret the evolution of the social relations of production by utilizing the type of labour organization, forged together by workers, as a societal indicator, we find that until about the close of the second imperialist world war workers' combinations did not have extensive legal status and to this extent had a revolutionary progressive purpose.[44] The subsequent period which tended to evolve and featured a system in which the execution but not the design of social relations was shared by labour organizations of the working class lasted until approximately 1972. The present period in Canada exhibits an evolutionary tendency by workers' combinations to take hold of the complete design of society. This last tendency is particularly marked in the struggle of the Quebecois working people against national oppression. This tendency has also received distorted expression as corporatism at the hands of union bureaucrats and state representatives of the capitalist class.

If we distinguish the history of Canada in terms of the character of unions' claims for social influence, we find that they operated on the economic level, for the most part, attempting to redistribute goods and services, until 1960. This year saw the beginning of a period of political reformism which was expressed by the collaboration of the Canadian Labour Congress and the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation in founding the liberal New Democratic Party which was to serve as a vehicle for redistributing power in society. The New Democratic Party has been best characterized by its present leader, Ed Broadbent. It is the Canadian equivalent of the Democratic Party of the United States of America.[45] This period has, since the beginning of the world capitalist crisis, been giving way to a new tendency in the workers' movement, which is not yet predominant. This tendency within the union movement endorses the strategy of the "labour revolt" which pertains to a fundamental restructuring of the social relations of production and the technical restructuring of work organizations. It is most usually initiated by rank-and-file labourers at the point of production. Its most prominent expression at present is contained in Quebecois union centrals such as the Confederation of National Trade Unions.[46] The labour revolt strategy has had an episodic existence in the history of Canada. From TABLE II, on the number of strikes and lock-outs, among other things, published by the Canadian Ministry of Supply and Services, this writer concludes that there have been five labour

revolts which have taken, or are taking, place. These are the 1916 to 1919 episode, the 1934 to 1937 episode, the 1941 to 1947 episode, the 1965 to 1970 episode and the 1972 to the present episode which is not yet concluded.

The Jamieson study also argues for a regional dimension as the industrial development of Canada is uneven.[47] "Only on relatively rare occasions, and special circumstances or crisis situations, do we find labour unrest expressed in similar behaviour patterns on a nation-wide scale."[48] It is all the more significant, then, that TABLES III and IV (from Labour Canada) on the industrial and regional distribution of strikes and lockouts should indiate a sharp increase in the amount of industrial disputes since 1950 in trade, finance, service, and public administration occupations which are precisely those employment areas which express similar behaviour patterns on a nation-wide scale being among those jobs common to the nation as a whole.[49] Regionally, on the other hand, the relatively high concentration of strikes which has developed in both Ontario and Quebec can be accounted for, in the author's opinion, by the relatively higher degree of corporate concentration in Quebec and Ontario than in the rest of Canada[50] and the national oppression of Quebec.

It has been difficult in all of North America to organize workers collectively. For example, until the late 1930's only about 15 percent of the urban work-force was unionized. At 1968 it was about one-third in both Canada and the United

States of America.[51] Leo A. Johnson has presented the most probable explanation for this increasing collectivization of the working class.[52] The destruction of the petite bourgeoisie as a specific social layer in Canada has aided the consolidation of workers as a class. Leo A. Johnson has written:

> In Canada, historically, the petite bourgoisie has been comprised of two groups, the independent commodity producers such as farmers, fishermen, and craftsworkers, and the small bourgeois businessmen, such as retailers, independent salesmen, and rentiers.[53]

A stark illustration of the petite bourgeoisie's effacement has been recorded by Leo A. Johnson. He has noted that by 1961 the proportion of absentee-owned farms in the Prairie region was 42 percent.[54]

Fishers have also been proletarianized as was amply demonstrated by the Nova Scotia fishers' strike of 1971. As Johnson has observed:

> Working sixteen hours a day, twelve days in each two-week cycle, their incomes were as little as $2500 a year. Meanwhile Nova Scotia's archaic labour laws continued to class them not as employees but as small entrepreneurs in partnership with the dominant companies and hence not eligible for the legal protection of union certification. Thus it became necessary for the fishermen and their families to fight a bitter seven-month strike in order to win the legal rights of other proletarianized groups.[55]

So we see that just like the small farm operators this independent commodity production has been harnessed to industrial capital's mode of existence.

The destruction of this whole specific social layer--the petite bourgeoisie--argues Johnson, which has shaped the contours of Canadian history through populist groupings and aspirations, has sharpened the division of class at present as all society is polarized between the social extremes of capital and wage-labour.[56]

Since the 1940's Pentland has written that:

> Subsequent technology has, however, emphasized a different economy of sophistication and flexibility. Associated with it, especially in areas where market demand is featured by rapid change and complexity, is a new composition of the labour force in which teams of technicians rather than masses of operators become the key to production.[57]

It has also resulted in the best economies of scale for relatively extensive, medium-sized plant operations and their attendant production scale and cycle flexibility. Terrence H. White has observed as well:

> Examination of the trends in establishment size over the last twenty years reveals a steady decrease in both the absolute numbers and proportions of establishments employing less than fifty persons; from almost 34,000 in 1955, to under 25,000 in 1973, a reduction from 88.5 percent to 79.5 percent of the total number of manufacturing establishments.[58]

Most of the employment drop has been in those petite bourgeois enterprises employing less than five employees. They have declined from one-half the firms in the manufacturing sector to under a third of those firms in manufacturing between 1955 and 1973. This has been counterbalanced more or less by the increase in those firms employing between 50 and 499 employees.[59] These trends are illustrated in TABLES V and VI.

Overall, we may say that the average size of manufacturing firms has increased rather steadily in the last number of years coincidentally with rises in labour force participation rates among formerly rural populations, especially in Quebec, women, and the young. However, it would be incorrect to conclude that employment increases, relative to the whole economy's employment expansion, in manufacturing absorbed these labourers. For in the majority of cases, these labourers are located in non-production employments. The relation between these two trends is rather that the maintenance or repair costs of production labour-power and the realization of surplus value as capital require, with the concentration and centralization of capital, an extension of non-production employment.

Johnson had concluded as early as 1972 that small, though powerful, concentrated, networks of industrial and financial capital had completed their control of the daily lives of most working people. As Johnson put it:

> The largest of these networks, the Bank of Montreal--Royal Trust--Sunlife--C.P.R.--Steel Company of Canada group, controls assets of more than 20 billion dollars--an amount equal to more than one-fifth of Canada's annual gross national product. As Ashley pointed out in 1957, the thirty directors of the Bank of Montreal held among them more than 220 corporate directorships including twelve in Montreal Trust; twenty-two directors of the Canadian Bank of Commerce held 225 directorships including seven in National Trust; and twenty directors of the Bank of Nova Scotia held 220 directorships including five in Eastern Trust.[60]

It is notable also that as early as 1968 only 10.3 percent of the Canadian population owned shares of stock.[61] This puts

the lie to any myths of a people's capitalism.

It is within Ontario and Quebec that the main production centres of Canada are located.[62] These are the locations in which much of the construction trades, transportation links, hydro utilities and manufacturing are centered. It is in these centres that competition most strongly impresses itself on each capital. One may recall at this point the giant battle to concentrate the capitals of Argus Corporation Limited and Power Corporation Limited.[63] This is the primary root of Canadian national chauvinism. Its formal expression is bourgeois "national unity".[64] Jamieson calls this "regionalism".[65] Jamieson says that regionalism, stronger class loyalties, ethnic antagonisms, lower average educational levels, and the higher concentration of capital in Canada account for its differences with the United States industrial relations system. Jamieson concludes this is why Canada has had less overt disruptions of capital accumulation and less illegality, as well as less violence than the United States has had historically.[66] In terms of the number of strikes Canada has lagged behind the United States.[67] This can be attributed to the intervention of the Canadian state apparatus.

Jamieson has concluded in his study that

> Canada's preoccupation with attempting to prevent strikes and lock-outs by legislative means may be attributed, in part, to the vulnerability of a national economy that has always depended heavily upon foreign trade and specialized to an extreme degree in the large-production and export of raw materials and semi-finished

> goods. Such circumstances tend to generate an exaggerated view of the damage that strikes may bring. In this regard Canada appears to have much in common with Australia and New Zealand.[68]

It may also be the case, says Jamieson, that this preoccupation with strike prevention is directed towards inhibiting national disintegration which is already a delicate matter due to regional and ethnic diversity.[69] Both the provincial and federal governments have been biased toward capital. The federal government has established its presence via the armed forces and state police in industrial relations' breakdowns.[70] The presence of the state police, especially the R.C.M.P. and their S.S. squad, can be distributed historically along the axis of capitalist crisis. While the Canadian population has grown 26 percent between 1961 and 1977, the R.C.M.P. has swollen by 153 percent according to Professors Mann and Lee.[71] Mann and Lee have discovered that:

> The two earlier periods when the R.C.M.P. expanded well ahead of population growth were the years just following World War I, when the force was doubled in six months to meet the anticipated trouble from returning war heroes "infected by Bolshevism," and during the depression.[72]

Implications

In the United States a direct positive correlation has been found between corporate concentration and employer discrimination increases according to evidence presented by Haessel and Palmer.[73] The Bryce Commission understood that this increased discrimination was caused by the increased proportion

of the social surplus in larger firms allocated to constant, fixed, capital rather than to variable capital which in turn demanded a higher level of labour exploitation for which society's marginals were not qualified.[74] Within production industry, for the most part, according to the Bryce Commission women, Quebecois Francophones, recent immigrants, native peoples, Jews, the handicapped, and the young, we might add, are widely discriminated against in employment slots, wages, job security, and upward job mobility.[75] This is because their labour-power more closely approximates simple labour-power than qualified labour-power and is, therefore, more suited to non-production employments which initially, in the 1950's, were labour intensive employments.

G. Munis has argued correctly that:

> In the strictly economic domain the situation of the working class was never worse than it is today. Everything said to the contrary is so much bullshit. The eight-hour day, which should have been replaced long ago by a four- or five-hour day, now exists only on paper. In many countries the refusal to work overtime is an immediate cause for dismissal. Everywhere the introduction of so-called "base pay" (norm in Russia) which is deliberately kept low, and rewards and bonuses based on productivity, etc., not only forces the worker to accept, "of his (sic) own accord," working days of ten to twelve hours but in fact abolishes daily or hourly wages by imposing anew the vilest of all types of labour--piece-work. Since its inception the workers' movement has endeavored to put an end to this oldest of all forms of exploitation, which physically exhausts the worker and dulls him intellectually. It succeeded in eliminating piece-work in most of Europe. Even twenty years ago most workers considered it demeaning to accept piece-work of any kind.[76]

It is otherwise in our modern industrial society. It is important to understand as Munis does that:

> With respect to the most profound aspect of productivity per person per hour, the proletariat finds itself forced into a terrible situation. The production that is extracted from it each day increases at an enormous rate. First, technical innovations take away from the worker any creative intervention in his labour, measure his (sic) movements to the second and transform him (sic) into a living robot subjected to the same rhythm as the machines. Then, time studies, that atrocious and repugnant snare, force people to work over and over with the same tools and during uniform periods of time. Finally, the discipline of each enterprise reduces to the slightest suspension of work, even the lighting of a cigarette or taking a shit. The output that is extracted from each person by these means is enormous and so, in the same proportion, is the worker's physical and psychic exhaustion.[77]

Labour-power sells at or about its cost of production. Under the conditions prevailing in modern capitalistic countries today, the cost of production for this commodity, minimum reproduction cost, includes those stereos and televisions, a general sensory assault, as well as comprehensive health care packages and paid vacations, in order to fully replenish the labour-power depleted in this historically specific manner. This accounts for the expansion of the non production sector and the so-called "luxury production" sector of the economy. As Yaffe has reported:

> With the end of the postwar boom, it is of little surprise that it is precisely in such sectors as the motor car industry where the market appears "saturated", and production experiences a major turn-down. Once it becomes necessary for capital to reduce wages below the value of labour-power to improve profitability, it will be just these sectors, previously part of luxury production, which have recently become part of working class consumption, where the crisis will have a heightened expression.[78]

As well, the public services employments and financial employments are subject to severe rationalization as the crisis deepens.[79] This is illustrated by TABLES VII and VIII, which show increasing unemployment by duration and occupational concentrations. TABLE IX indicates employee compensation by all industries in terms of size and indicates the degree of increasing work intensity which accompanies the concentration of the total social capital.[80]

These crisis conditions we have outlined will assume an immediacy in the fall of 1979. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development has predicted that a moral depreciation of capital will set in later this year.[81] The Washington Post has reported:

> Sources with access to the preliminary calculations of the Paris-based Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development said they show an across-the-board drop of about one-sixth in the estimated economic growth of major industrial countries.[82]

Yaffe has characterized this crisis thusly:

> As the crisis of overproduction of capital deepens, capital cannot be reproduced since commodities cannot be sold at their prices of production, capacity is underutilized and workers are unemployed. An overproduction of capital then leads to capital values being written off--depreciation of capital--and social labour is "devalued" as the ranks of the reserve army are swelled and wages driven below the value of labour-power.[83]

The accumulation of capital is stalled and the economic crisis appears as what it is in fact--a political crisis--which allows the socialist alternative to be stated honestly and openly.

This is the moment at which the relationship between class power and the moral framework of inequality will be presented for us.

Jeremy Brecher has noted that it is not in depressions or during periods of prosperity that the mass strike is developed.[84] It develops during the period of transition from prosperity to depression. The development of the mass strikes today, in the opinion of this author, is a specific response to the existence of precisely these conditions of impending depression. The fall in the rate of profit and the subsequent tendency to depress real wages below the minimum reproduction cost of labour-power in a pre-depression period of relatively higher employment produces industrial unrest at a time when strikes can generally result in victories of an immediate character for wage-labourers and thereby serve to consolidate the productive force of the working class' self-organization.[85] It is no longer a mystery to us, then, as to why public service and capital circulation employments have, since at least 1950, become subject to industrial union activity and strike action of a mass character. It is the specific historical response of the industrial proletariat to political crisis and its heightened expression in the non-production and "luxury goods" sectors of the economy.

TABLE II

Strikes and Lockouts in Canada, 1901-1977

Year	Number Beginning During Year	Number	Workers Involved	Duration Man-Days	% of Estimated Working Time
1901	97	99	24,089	737,808	-
1902	124	125	12,709	203,301	-
1903	171	175	38,408	858,959	-
1904	103	103	11,420	192,890	-
1905	95	96	12,513	246,138	-
1906	149	150	23,382	378,276	-
1907	183	188	34,060	520,142	-
1908	72	76	26,071	703,571	-
1909	88	90	18,114	880,663	-
1910	94	101	22,203	731,324	-
1911	99	100	29,185	1,821,084	-
1912	179	181	42,860	1,135,878	-
1913	143	152	40,519	1,036,254	-
1914	58	63	9,717	490,850	-
1915	62	63	11,395	95,042	-
1916	118	120	26,538	236,814	-
1917	158	160	50,255	1,123,515	-
1918	228	230	79,743	647,942	-
1919	332	336	148,915	3,400,942	0.60
1920	310	322	60,327	799,542	0.14
1921	159	168	28,257	1,048,914	0.22
1922	89	104	43,775	1,528,661	0.32
1923	77	86	34,261	671,750	0.13
1924	64	70	34,310	1,295,054	0.26
1925	86	87	28,949	1,193,281	0.23

(continued)

Year	Number Beginning During Year	Number	Workers Involved	Duration Man-Days	% of Estimated Working Time
1926	75	77	23,834	266,601	0.05
1927	72	74	22,299	152,570	0.03
1928	96	98	17,581	224,212	0.04
1929	88	90	12,946	152,080	0.02
1930	67	67	13,768	91,797	0.01
1931	86	88	10,738	204,238	0.04
1932	111	116	23,390	255,000	0.05
1933	122	125	26,558	317,547	0.07
1934	189	191	45,800	574,519	0.11
1935	120	120	33,269	288,703	0.05
1936	155	156	34,812	276,997	0.05
1937	274	278	71,905	886,393	0.15
1938	142	147	20,395	148,678	0.02
1939	120	122	41,038	224,588	0.04
1940	166	168	70,619	266,318	0.04
1941	229	231	87,091	433,914	0.06
1942	352	354	113,916	450,202	0.05
1943	401	402	218,404	1,041,109	0.12
1944	195	199	75,290	490,139	0.06
1945	196	197	96,068	1,457,420	0.19
1946	223	226	138,914	4,515,030	0.54
1947	231	234	103,370	2,366,340	0.27
1948	147	154	42,820	885,790	0.10
1949	130	135	46,867	1,036,820	0.11
1950	158	160	192,500	1,387,500	0.15
1951	256	258	102,793	901,620	0.09
1952	213	219	112,273	2,765,510	0.29
1953	166	173	54,488	1,312,720	0.14
1954	155	173	56,630	1,430,300	0.05
1955	149	159	60,090	1,875,400	0.19

(continued)

Year	Number Beginning During Year	Number	Workers Involved	Duration Man-Days	% of Estimated Working Time
1956	221	229	88,680	1,246,000	0.11
1957	238	245	80,695	1,477,100	0.13
1958	251	259	111,475	2,816,850	0.25
1959	201	216	95,120	2,226,890	0.19
1960	268	274	49,408	738,700	0.06
1961	272	287	97,959	1.335,080	0.11
1962	290	311	74,332	1,417,900	0.11
1963	318	332	83,428	917,140	0.07
1964	327	343	100,535	1,580,550	0.11
1965	478	501	171,870	2,349,870	0.17
1966	582	617	411,459	5,178,170	0.34
1967	498	522	252,018	3,974,760	0.25
1968	559	582	223,562	5,082,732	0.32
1969	566	595	306,799	7,751,880	0.46
1970	503	542	261,706	6,539,560	0.39
1971	547	569	239,631	2,866,590	0.16
1972	556	598	706,474	7,753,530	0.43
1973	677	724	348,470	5,776,080	0.30
1974	1,173	1,218	580,912	9,221,890	0.46
1975	1,103	1,171	506,443	10,908,810	0.53
1976	921	1,039	1,570,940	11,609,890	0.55
1977	739	803	217,557	3,307,880	0.15
1978	-	949	385,405	7,480,030	0.33
1979*	207	-	49,563	693,350	0.39

Source: Labour Canada, Strikes and Lockouts in Canada 1977 (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1978), pp. 12-13, and Labour Canada, Strikes and Lockout Statistics for December 1978 and the Year 1978, p. 2, and Labour Canada, Strikes and Lockout Statistics for April 1979, p. 2.

* to April

TABLE III

Duration in Man-Days of Strikes and Lockouts
by Industry, 1950-1977

Industry	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955
Agriculture	-	-	-	-	-	-
Logging	520	1,180	365,080	-	600	1,570
Fishing	-	-	-	-	3,000	-
Mining	47,800	146,970	91,830	681,920	196,170	17,180
Manufacturing	245,350	670,120	1,814,580	477,790	939,880	1,787,430
Construction	28,860	68,410	346,380	36,270	202,750	37,180
Transportation etc	1,006,970	1,480	68,190	85,750	3,310	26,980
Public utility operation	950	200	3,090	80	20	30
Trade	10,870	7,950	66,390	20,470	10,100	900
Finance	-	-	-	-	-	-
Service	46,180	5,310	9,970	10,440	74,470	4,130
TOTAL	1,387,500	901,620	2,765,510	1,312,720	1,430,300	1,875,400

Industry	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961
Agriculture	-	-	-	-	-	40
Logging	24,570	28,830	11,960	1,443,390	1,840	9,580
Fishing	-	-	-	-	-	
Mining	58,630	165,770	808,840	25,740	20,780	31,740
Manufacturing	1,054,560	990,710	1,025,390	566,640	432,210	383,660
Construction	40,970	214,700	809,920	84,660	206,290	652,230
Transportation etc	38,460	35,650	92,240	83,900	29,360	75,550
Public utility operation	-	680	200	430	1,640	490
Trade	20,780	34,300	52,310	13,830	39,030	21,000
Finance	-	-	170	-	4,750	50
Service	8,030	6,460	15,820	8,300	2,800	160,740
TOTAL	1,246,000	1,477,100	2,816,850	2,226,890	738,700	1,335,080

(continued)

Industry	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967
Agriculture	-	-	4,720	-	-	30
Forestry	1,540	49,740	12,150	54,460	64,630	18,930
Fishing/Trapping	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mines	41,040	53,980	69,640	58,460	450,430	32,050
Manufacturing	778,700	498,730	1,190,810	1,470,770	1,987,830	1,976,260
Construction	197,720	192,330	91,890	237,240	297,090	976,400
Transportation*	343,280	58,050	58,470	331,210	1,673,106	429,670
Trade	20,360	44,780	116,570	154,600	16,980	48,510
Finance	-	-	50	-	20	460
Service	34,310	19,120	16,120	42,070	518,780	361,720
Public Adminis.	950	410	20,130	1,060	169,300	130,730
TOTAL	1,417,900	917,140	1,580,550	2,349,870	5,178,170	3,974,760

Industry	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972
Agriculture	150	-	-	-	-
Forestry	9,740	18,100	2,010	49,480	120,330
Fishing/Trapping	-	-	-	40,500	-
Mines	100,800	2,087,490	53,680	193,490	334,680
Manufacturing	3,746,190	2,690,260	3,630,670	1,541,520	2,042,500
Construction	275,510	1,981,300	2,156,890	400,990	1,420,460
Transportation*	490,090	559,460	379,990	254,270	1,387,130
Trade	366,712	270,930	46,220	81,040	95,620
Finance	-	-	-	1,140	1,770
Service	26,000	141,250	239,440	220,440	1,553,710
Public Adminis.	67,540	13,090	30,660	83,720	797,330
TOTAL	5,082,732	7,751,880	6,539,560	2,866,590	7,753,530

(continued)

*Includes communication and other utilities

Industry	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977
Agriculture	-	2,450	-	-	-
Forestry	17,490	204,870	44,390	36,320	22,170
Fishing	55,950	101,480	246,430	350	14,960
Mines	220,570	386,000	1,179,380	579,430	91,050
Manufacturing	3,376,000	4,783,140	5,339,850	4,493,260	1,665,460
Construction	519,300	2,408,820	984,920	2,856,370	404,990
Transportation and Utilities	1,086,870	839,030	1,398,670	622,630	527,100
Trade	166,430	122,010	343,460	199,550	128,470
Finance	260	2,010	164,530	13,110	10,720
Service	234,190	262,500	752,530	1,298,490	328,150
Public Adminis.	99,020	109,580	404,650	62,680	114,810
Various Industries*	-	-	50,000	1,447,700	-
TOTAL	5,776,080	9,221,890	10,908,810	11,609,890	3,307,880

*Includes "day of protest (October 14, 1976)"

Sources: Labour Canada, Strikes and Lockouts in Canada, 1961, 1963, 1967, 1972, 1977 (various years), various pages.

TABLE IV

Duration in Man-Days of Strikes and Lockouts, by Jurisdiction, 1950-1977

Jurisdiction	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955
Nfld.	31,700	24,280	9,880	2,350	11,320	19,060
P.E.I.	-	30	-	-	-	-
N.S.	7,250	57,280	160,770	20,380	10,800	7,160
N.B.	4,620	6,100	13,210	7,510	1,250	12,650
Que.	97,410	290,120	853,170	377,030	383,600	184,560
Ont.	197,120	439,860	478,540	622,450	826,960	1,596,510
Man.	1,750	330	5,900	32,640	6,690	410
Sask.	1,200	2,770	15,410	10,020	20,080	1,570
Alta.	13,640	8,880	13,870	2,560	59,220	1,620
B.C.	29,500	71,340	1,213,670	213,300	108,060	27,170
Federal	1,003,310	630	1,090	24,480	2,320	24,690
TOTAL	1,387,500	901,620	2,765,510	1,312,720	1,430,300	1,875,400

Jurisdiction	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961
Nfld.	4,590	27,450	23,550	177,460	7,490	1,810
P.E.I.	-	-	-	-	-	-
N.S.	22,130	53,420	121,520	9,970	22,110	58,940
N.B.	1,180	27,260	3,230	1,200	560	32,580
Que.	309,910	725,400	200,170	210,080	207,240	488,790
Ont.	822,900	350,910	1,918,030	267,730	337,370	644,770
Man.	-	1,140	1,690	2,770	72,580	1,370
Sask.	3,140	5,730	3,120	11,510	5,320	4,420
Alta.	11,930	2,080	27,570	11,090	27,610	17,390
B.C.	35,030	242,440	447,540	1,348,200	33,960	35,230
Federal	35,190	41,270	70,430	186,880	24,460	49,780
TOTAL	1,246,000	1,477,100	2,816,850	2,226,890	738,700	1,335,080

(continued)

Jurisdiction	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967
Nfld.	1,860	8,490	1,070	2,110	22,260	8,660
P.E.I.	-	590	80	-	11,960	210
N.S.	16,380	16,390	8,070	18,610	53,770	69,290
N.B.	7,910	12,320	16,680	6,230	19,070	24,980
Que.	585,160	338,760	401,710	606,820	1,926,890	1,760,950
Ont.	460,660	363,950	714,080	1,340,720	1,356,130	1,542,550
Man.	42,920	3,980	50,290	12,660	39,700	14,940
Sask.	2,920	9,070	5,590	19,850	20,930	10,690
Alta.	21,300	23,520	6,300	6,170	46,780	17,920
B.C.	35,860	83,820	321,180	92,290	240,230	350,730
Federal	242,930	56,250	55,500	244,410	1,440,446	173,840
TOTAL	1,417,900	917,140	1,580,550	2,349,870	5,178,170	3,974,760

Jurisdiction	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
Nfld.	24,490	168,130	2,630	158,200	234,180	183,680
P.E.I.	10	-	1,960	3,820	20	140
N.S.	18,660	86,840	257,240	117,580	86,020	211,960
N.B.	20,020	13,230	48,240	29,780	44,880	94,870
Que.	1,003,440	1,259,030	1,417,560	603,120	2,829,310	1,604,790
Ont.	2,922,090	5,318,770	2,547,210	1,366,750	2,072,830	1,694,210
Man.	13,900	11,180	54,230	82,760	53,990	122,160
Sask.	36,140	34,010	56,450	1,910	72,240	33,200
Alta.	58,622	64,000	37,160	83,020	25,870	181,430
B.C.	486,400	323,730	1,775,280	267,620	2,003,800	620,160
Federal						
Pub. Serv.*	360,060	3,970	225,670	14,070	49,310	3,690
Fed. Ind.**	138,900	468,990	115,930	137,960	281,080	1,025,790
TOTAL	5,082,732	7,751,880	6,639,660	2,866,590	7,753,530	5,776,080

(continued)

Jurisdiction	1974	1975	1976	1977
Nfld.	93,530	373,080	130,560	96,660
P.E.I.	7,980	1,640	8,030	-
N.S.	75,430	272,920	196,680	22,930
N.B.	127,280	171,450	242,640	37,720
Que.	2,610,950	3,254,930	6,465,650	1,274,980
Ont.	2,619,590	3,175,270	1,671,090	1,111,270
Man.	143,940	161,070	98,190	19,450
Sask.	322,870	174,900	139,900	32,200
Alta.	203,850	374,940	106,910	66,810
B.C.	2,680,460	1,790,350	1,490,680	144,730
Federal				
Pub. Serv.*	156,040	867,420	12,490	16,590
Fed. Ind.**	179,970	290,840	217,070	484,540
			830,000	
TOTAL	9,221,890	10,908,810	11,609,890	3,307,880

*Federal Public Service is covered under the Public Service Staff Relations Act.

**Federal Industries is covered under the Canada Labour Code: Part V.

Sources: Labour Canada, Strikes and Lockouts in Canada, various years (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada)

TABLE V

Number of Establishments by Employee Size

Number of Employees	Number of Establishments				
	1949	1955	1961	1971	1973
under 50	88.7% (31,747)	88.5% (33,806)	84.9% (28,315)	81.0% (25,832)	79.2% (24,659)
50-99	5.3% (1,905)	5.5% (2,082)	7.3% (2,445)	8.6% (2,738)	9.0% (2,800)
100-199	3.1% (1,114)	3.1% (1,175)	4.1% (1,377)	5.6% (1,801)	6.2% (1,923)
200-499	1.9% (694)	1.9% (739)	2.6% (869)	3.4% (1,091)	4.1% (1,275)
500-999	.9% (332)	.6% (243)	.7% (243)	1.0% (313)	1.1% (343)
1,000+		.4% (137)	.3% (108)	.4% (133)	.5% (145)
TOTAL	99.9% (35,792)	100.0% (38,182)	99.9% (33,357)	100.0% (31,908)	100.1% (31,145)

Source: T.H. White, Organization Size, p. 3.

TABLE VI

Distribution of Employees in Manufacturing Industries, by Establishment Size, Canada, 1949-73

(Percentages)

Size of Establishment	Percentage Distribution of Employees						
	1949	1955	1961	1964	1968	1970	1973
1-49* employees	23.0	22.2	21.2	19.6	18.2	17.8	16.6
50-99	11.3	11.1	12.4	11.7	11.5	11.6	11.2
100-199	13.3	12.6	13.9	14.0	14.4	15.2	15.4
200-499	18.2	17.6	19.1	19.4	19.9	19.9	21.9
500-999	33.4	12.9	12.4	12.7	12.0	12.4	13.0
1,000 or more		22.5	17.1	18.5	19.5	18.4	17.3
Head office sales offices, and auxiliary units	0.8	1.2	4.0	4.1	4.5	4.7	4.4

*Bias may exist in 1949 and 1955 data for this size group because of the inclusion of working owners and partners.

Source: R.W.V. Dicerson and P.A. Nadeau, Report of the Royal Commission on Corporate Concentration (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1978), p. 357.

TABLE VII

Unemployment Rates by Occupational Group

	1973	1974	1975
Managerial and administrative (1)	2.2	2.2	2.5
Clerical	4.1	3.8	4.7
Sales	3.2	3.0	3.9
Services	5.9	5.6	7.1
Primary occupations (2)	5.7	6.5	8.6
Processing (3)	5.7	5.7	8.8
Construction	11.4	11.3	14.1
Transportation	6.8	6.2	8.6
Materials handling and other crafts	7.3	6.8	9.5
TOTAL	5.6	5.4	7.1

(1) Includes managerial and administrative, natural science, social science, religious, educational, medicine and health, artistic and recreational occupations.

(2) Includes farmers and farm workers, trappers and hunters, loggers and related workers and miners, quarrymen and related workers.

(3) Includes processing, machining and product fabricating, assembling and repairing occupations.

Source: Statistics Canada, Perspectives Canada II (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1977), p. 120.

TABLE VIII

Unemployed Persons by Duration of Unemployment

Year	Total Unemployed	Unemployment rate	Duration of unemployment: Under 1 month	1-3 months	4-6 months	7 months and over	Total
	000's			percent			
1953	137	3.0	37.2	40.2	15.3	7.3	100.0
1955	232	4.4	28.7	39.2	18.9	13.2	100.0
1960	416	7.0	25.9	39.8	21.3	13.0	100.0
1965	262	3.0	32.4	37.4	16.5	13.7	100.0
1970	458	5.9	26.2	38.0	19.0	16.8	100.0
1975	658	7.1	23.9	38.9	21.9	15.3	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, Perspectives Canada II (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1977), p. 120.

TABLE IX

Employee Compensation, All Industries,*
by Size of Establishment, Canada, 1977

	Overall Average	Number of Employees in Establishment 5000 & Over	2500-4999	1500-2499
Pay for time worked				
-basic pay for regular work	$10,845.00	$11,451.00	$11,782.00	$12,086.00
-commissions, incentive bonuses	257.02	75.58	29.46	119.65
-overtime pay	412.11	433.99	450.07	646.60
-shift premium pay	40.13	48.09	58.91	72.52
-other premium pay	37.96	65.27	55.38	65.26
SUB TOTAL**	11,592.22	12,073.93	12,375.82	12,990.02
Paid absence				
-paid holidays	488.02	550.79	563.18	584.96
-vacation pay	712.52	894.32	812.96	838.76
-sick leave pay	136.65	258.79	177.90	203.04
-personal or other leave	22.77	50.38	25.92	33.84
SUB TOTAL**	1,359.96	1,754.28	1,579.96	1,660.60
Misc. direct pay.	245.10	161.46	195.58	300.94
GROSS PAYROLL**	13,197.28	13,989.67	14,151.36	14,951.56
Employer contributions to employee welfare & benefit plans				
-Workmen's Compen.	159.42	75.58	119.00	201.84
-UIC	174.60	178.63	190.87	189.75
-Can. & Que. Pen. Pl.	130.14	127.11	134.31	135.36
-Private Pension Pl.	472.84	1,045.48	695.14	802.51
-Que. Hosp. Ins. Bd.	39.04	35.50	20.03	54.39
-priv. life & health insurance	148.58	158.02	167.30	224.74
-supplem. unemployment benefits & other	24.94	13.74	22.38	71.31
SUB TOTAL**	1,149.56	1,634.06	1,349.03	1,679.90
TOTAL COMPENSATION **	14,346.84	15,623.73	15,500.39	16,631.46
Number of reporting establishments	6,975	51	63	108
-employment (thous.)	5,658.0	907.6	375.6	314.1
-percentage	100.0	16.0	6.6	5.6

(continued)

	1000-1499	500-999	200-499	100-199
Pay for time worked				
-basic pay for regular work	$11,671.00	$11,186.00	$10,410.00	$10,369.00
-commissions, incentive bonuses	140.05	201.34	294.60	293.44
-overtime pay	414.32	560.42	460.12	349.44
-shift premium pay	38.51	58.17	48.92	24.88
-other premium pay	36.18	38.03	43.72	28.00
SUB TOTAL**	12,300.06	12,043.96	11,257.36	11,064.76
Paid absence				
-paid holidays	560.21	513.44	462.20	446.90
-vacation pay	847.31	741.63	667.28	598.29
-sick leave pay	180.90	144.30	97.85	75.69
-personal or other leave	14.01	21.25	18.74	13.48
SUB TOTAL**	1,602.43	1,420.62	1,246.27	1,134.36
Misc. direct pay.	190.23	336.69	251.92	256.11
GROSS PAYROLL**	14,092.72	13,801.27	12,755.55	12,455.23
Employer contributions to employee welfare & benefit plans				
-Workmen's Compen.	157.56	196.87	180.09	184.57
-UIC	176.23	184.57	171.77	169.01
-Can. & Que. Pen. Pl.	131.88	135.35	131.17	128.58
-Private Pension Pl.	436.50	465.34	361.23	200.12
-Que. Hosp. Ins. Bd.	61.16	49.22	38.52	36.29
-priv. life & health insurance	150.56	177.86	153.03	126.50
-supplem. unemployment benefits & other	28.01	32.44	24.98	22.81
SUB TOTAL	1,141.90	1,241.65	1,060.79	867.88
TOTAL COMPENSATION	15,234.62	15,042.92	13,816.34	13,323.11
Number of reporting establishments	132	318	826	1,000
-employment (thous.)	489.2	719.6	876.6	705.5
-percentage	8.6	12.7	15.5	12.5

(continued)

	50-99	20-49	19 and Under
Pay for time worked			
-basic pay for regular work	$ 9,945.00	$ 9,698.00	$ 9,770.00
-commissions, incentive bonuses	484.32	528.54	626.26
-overtime pay	303.32	192.99	164.14
-shift premium pay	18.90	11.64	2.93
-other premium pay	8.95	12.61	16.60
SUB TOTAL**	10,760.49	10,443.78	10,579.92
Paid absence			
-paid holidays	411.72	382.10	361.48
-vacation pay	552.94	537.27	539.30
-sick leave pay	64.64	55.28	60.57
-personal or other leave	10.94	9.70	11.72
SUB TOTAL**	1,022.24	987.35	973.07
Misc. direct pay.	268.52	262.82	231.55
GROSS PAYROLL**	12,051.25	11,690.95	11,784.55
Employer contributions to employee welfare & benefit plans			
-Workmen's Compen.	175.03	162.93	175.86
-UIC	165.09	160.02	159.25
-Can. & Que. Pen. Pl.	127.30	123.16	123.10
-Private Pension Pl.	172.05	139.65	180.75
-Que. Hosp. Ins. Bd.	32.82	32.00	30.29
-priv. life & health insurance	112.38	104.73	100.63
-supplem. unemployment benefits & other	16.90	16.49	19.54
SUB TOTAL**	801.57	738.98	789.42
TOTAL COMPENSATION	12,870.82	12,429.93	12,573.97
Number of reporting establishments	999	1,774	1,644
-employment (thous.)	595.7	538.0	136.2
-percentage	10.5	9.5	2.4

*Including non-commercial sector
**Columns do not add because of rounding

Source: R.W.V. Dickerson and P.A. Nadeau, Corporate Concentration, p. 361.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. Stuart Jamieson, Industrial Relations in Canada, pp. 96-97.
2. Ibid., pp. 96-97.
3. Ibid., pp. 96-97.
4. Ibid., pp. 96-97.
5. Ibid., pp. 96-97.
6. Ibid., pp. 96-97.
7. Ibid., pp. 96-97.
8. Ibid., p. 97.
9. Ibid., p. 97.
10. Ibid., p. 97.
11. Ibid., p. 97.
12. Ibid., p. 97.
13. Ibid., pp. 98-99, 114.
14. Stuart Jamieson, Times of Trouble: Labour Unrest and Industrial Conflict in Canada, 1900-66, p. 1.
15. The Globe and Mail, Toronto, December 20, 1978.
16. The Globe and Mail, Toronto, June 28, 1979.
17. David Yaffe, "Inflation", p. 28.
18. Ibid., pp. 19, 21, 28.
19. Ibid., p. 28.
20. The Globe and Mail, Toronto, July 14, 1979.
21. The Globe and Mail, Toronto, June 18, 1979.
22. Ibid.

23. Michael Mandel, 16th Annual Conference on Law and Contemporary Affairs.

24. Anwar Shaikh, "An Introduction to the History of Crisis Theories", U.S. Capitalism in Crisis, p. 219.

25. Stuart Jamieson, Times of Trouble: Labour Unrest and Industrial Conflict in Canada, 1900-66, pp. 9-10.

26. Ibid., p. 8.

27. Ibid., pp. 8, 36, 44.

28. Ibid., pp. 13-14.

29. Ibid., pp. 13-14.

30. Ibid., p. 14.

31. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

32. Fredy Perlman, The Reproduction of Daily Life, p. 2.

33. Ibid., p. 2.

34. Stuart Jamieson, Times of Trouble, pp. 137, 142.

35. H.C. Pentland, A Study of the Changing Social, Economic and Political Background of the Canadian System of Industrial Relations, pp. 64-67.

36. Ibid., p. 40.

37. Stuart Jamieson, Times of Trouble, pp. 15-16, 37, 52-53.

38. Ibid., p. 17.

39. Ibid., pp. 17-18.

40. Ibid., p. 22.

41. Ibid., p. 23.

42. Ibid., p. 24.

43. Ibid., p. 24.

44. Irving Abella, "Introduction", in On Strike, ed. Irving Abella, pp. xii, xv.

45. For another perspective see Gad Horowitz, Canadian Labour in Politics.

46. Dale Postgate and Kenneth McRoberts, Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis, pp. 145-148.

47. Stuart Jamieson, Times of Trouble, pp. 24, 42-43.

48. Ibid., p. 24.

49. Ibid., p. 25.

50. Wallace Clement, Continental Corporate Power, pp. 228-229, 296-297.

51. Stuart Jamieson, Times of Trouble, p. 39.

52. Leo A. Johnson, "The development of class in Canada in the twentieth century", Capitalism and the National Question in Canada, ed. Gary Teeple.

53. Ibid., p. 145.

54. Ibid., p. 148.

55. Ibid., p. 151.

56. Ibid., pp. 151, 153, 154.

57. H.C. Pentland, Industrial Relations, p. 248.

58. T.H. White, Organization Size as a Factor Influencing Labour Relations, p. 2.

59. Ibid., p. 2.

60. Leo A. Johnson, "Development of Class", p. 154.

61. Ibid., p. 157.

62. Stuart Jamieson, Times of Trouble, p. 42.

63. See the discussion in R.W.V. Dickerson and P.A. Nadeau, Report of the Royal Commission on Corporate Concentration.

64. See the comments by David Yaffe, "Inflation", pp. 5-6, on calls to national sacrifice.

65. Stuart Jamieson, Times of Trouble, pp. 48-50.

66. Ibid., pp. 50-51.

67. Stuart Jamieson, Times of Trouble, p. 44.

68. Ibid., p. 53, c.f. Ibid., p. 116.

69. Ibid., p. 53.

70. Ibid., pp. 53-54, c.f. Leo Panitch, "The Role and nature of the Canadian state", The Canadian State, pp. 18-19.

71. Edward Mann and John Alan Lee, The RCMP versus the People, p. 174.

72. Ibid., p. 174.

73. R.W.V. Dickerson and P.A. Nadeau, Report of The Royal Commission on Corporate Concentration, p. 359.

74. Ibid., p. 359.

75. Ibid., p. 358.

76. G. Munis and J. Zerzan, Unions Against Revolution: two essays, p. 14.

77. Ibid., p. 15.

78. David Yaffe, "Inflation", p. 27.

79. See Rick Deaton, "The Fiscal Crisis", c.f. Leo A. Johnson, "Development of Class", pp. 171, 173-174.

80. R.W.V. Dickerson and P.A. Nadeau, Commission, p. 360.

81. The Spectator, Hamilton, July 6, 1979.

82. Ibid.

83. David Yaffe, "Inflation", p. 27.

84. Jeremy Brecher, Strike!, p. 244.

85. Ibid., p. 244.

CONCLUSION

At this time we would like to undertake a discussion of seven propositions. This is a period of acute industrial crisis. Violence against the combinations of labourers will continue to increase apace with this crisis. Overt labour conflict will continue to increase as the world historic crisis of capital becomes more concrete. Government intervention and calls to national sacrifice will enjoy a marked presence in this period. Present day overt industrial conflict has a particular correspondence to other periods of industrial conflict, historically, where the classical conditions of capitalistic crisis prevailed. The autonomous industrial combinations of labourers are and will be increasingly subject to violations of their customary integrity and their memberships will find their rights of natural justice violated by the class which represents capital and its social organization. Lastly we wish to show the relation of industrial concentration and centralization to strike activity in the present period.

Almost one-quarter of the industrial disputes in 1978 were wildcats.[1] These are also reflected in what appears to be a marked increase in public demonstrations. For example, in Ontario, public demonstrations at Queens Park, in Toronto, numbered twenty-eight in 1976.[2] In 1977 they equalled thirty-seven organized protests.[3] At the end of June 1978, the

Ontario Provincial Police had recorded thirty-one demonstrations of a similar character in just six months.[4]

There were 242 illegal work stoppages in 1978 as TABLE I below indicates.[5] The days lost to wildcat strikes are economically significant. In this sense these work stoppages do not disrupt production as severely as legal work stoppages. The number of strikes which are illegal is the most politically significant because a relatively high percentage, such as that in 1978, indicates a structural industrial relations problem. Thus, we say the present period is one of acute industrial crisis.

TABLE I

Work Stoppages during the term of existing Agreements, 1978 (i.e., illegal or wildcat strikes)

No. of Strikes	Percentage of Total Strikes	Days Lost	Percentage of Total Direct Time Lost
242	22.9	388,480	5.3

As Pentland concluded in his study of industrial relations it has traditionally been the case that this Canadian society has seldom accepted changes until the changes are made necessary by continuous social dislocation.[6] This is most unfortunate as it foreshadows the high probability of increased violence in the present period in order to reconstruct the antiquated industrial relations system of Canada which has

remained frozen since the second imperialist world war. As Pentland once observed:

> Deliberately preserved, then, were such anomolies as a system of elected bargaining agents heavily weighted against unions, and non-enforcement in practice of prohibitions of unfair labour practices. This example of inertia has its obvious parallel in the record of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act (1948 T.B.) which also hung on for decades in the absence of any force able to improve its principles, or even its details. What these cases appear to demonstrate is that the powerful conservative forces in Canadian society are undiscriminating in their objection to change. They will prevent any innovation until a crisis imposes it, but they will preserve intact whatever comes out of the crisis until there is another crisis. This suggests that Canada is bound to be extremely vulnerable to cultural lag.[7]

We are of the opinion that overt labour conflict will continue to mount. We believe that the cut in the binational Canadian Gross National Product growth rate this fall will severely erode the domestic and international credit market.[8] This is due to the fact that the credit system rests on claims to future production. The cuts in production levels devalue these claims and destroy inflated capital.[9] Attempts to induce wage-cuts, as is probable in the case of the auto industry for example,[10] will, in my opinion, produce outrage and heavy resistance as has already been the case among steel workers' unions in Canada.

I am of the opinion that government intervention in industrial relations will increase. I think that Bill C-22 which attempts, in fact, to cut the wages received in the public sector indicates this as do the increases in R.C.M.P.

staff complement and the role of the provincial police in Ontario at the Boise-Cascade Ltd. strike. Here the police have acted openly to intimidate the unionists.[11]

In summing up the industrial record of the 1930's depression and crisis Pentland has remarked:

> Of the various groups, employers have the most unsatisfactory record of the decade. Not that, considering their own problems, they were very vicious in the first two or three years of the depression. Many, in fact, appear to have taken seriously the notion of the 1920's that employment was the responsibility of "industry". As far as they could they eased the pervasive unemployment by work-sharing and "make work" schemes. After that those that had survived settled into the "dog-eat-dog" economy that they felt imposed on them, typically oblivious of the enormous bitterness that was building up among employees.[12]

As I had alluded to in my chapter on the political impact of the industrial reserve body of labour unemployment hit the workers' movement hard initially and 1930 to 1932 were lean years for labour which put up little resistance. It was only the weak recovery coming to a height in 1934 which saw strike activity mount along with protest.[13] Pentland has reported that

> Canadian workers felt they had paid for their sins by 1933, and were entitled to the fruits of their penance. In more ordinary terms, apathy had been replaced by an enormous sense of grievance, the sharper for having to be sternly suppressed. And it grew as foreman and employers--who, to be sure, had grievances of their own--took advantage of employment conditions to exploit and abuse workers on a scale probably not matched at any other time in the twentieth century.[14]

It would seem also that many workers had busied themselves with comprehending their situation.[15] They became theoreticians who inscribed their theory in practice. As they were unemployed for inordinate lengths of time in the early thirties they informally schooled themselves to discover the logic of their situation and materially investigated a solution. As Pentland had noted the knowledge the workers gained of themselves resulted in

> . . . another narrowing of that gap between the capacity of workers and employers (who made no noticeable mental or moral progress in the 1930's), on which the authority of employers ultimately depends.[16]

Pentland argued this narrowing had persisted right through the 1960's.[17] I am of the opinion that this is also the case in the 1970's.

We have noted the intensification of unionization in the public and "service" sectors of the economy along industrial lines. In light of the experience in the later 1930's this is significant. Pentland was of the opinion that

> The real flowering of this suppressed emotion and intellect came in 1937, and particularly among workers in mass-production industries. If the ingredients of this explosion had been for several years present, two special factors made 1936-1937 the ripening time. One was the demonstration effect provided by the upsurge of C.I.O. unionism in the United States. The other, shared with the United States, was the business upturn of 1937 that reduced the risks of union action and increased the opportunity costs of work stoppages to employers. But it is important to note that the Canadian unionism of 1937 did not depend on favourable legislation or sympathetic government.[18]

At present even the mass production fast food outlets such as MacDonalds are not safe from unionization. In Shawinigan, Quebec, the Confederation of National Trade Unions has enrolled most of the employees of one MacDonalds plant.[19] The new industrial unionism it would seem is producing a demonstration effect. When these new unions win real wage increases they favour the concentration of the industry involved and increase the social productivity of labour.

The business cycle and the grievance cycle have been described by Pentland as secular trends.[20] That is, they are conditioned by workers' changing expectations of social relations. It is the grievance cycle which is now favourable to increased union action rather than the business cycle, I believe. This is different, then, in this respect, from the 1930's protest movement. I would think it signals a more clearly articulated vision of the future--a socialist future--than was present in the 1930's.

The figure below indicates that strikes increase in number as industry becomes more concentrated. The study by T.H. White concluded:

> Overall these data represent a clear positive relationship between the size of plants and the frequency of strikes they experience. As the size of establishments increases so does the probability of strikes.[21]

This displays starkly the capitalistic barrier to the production of capital. It implies to this author that the structural problems of the present industrial relations system in Canada

which is situated in a relatively highly concentrated industrial structure will become more acute until production for profit is replaced with production for want.

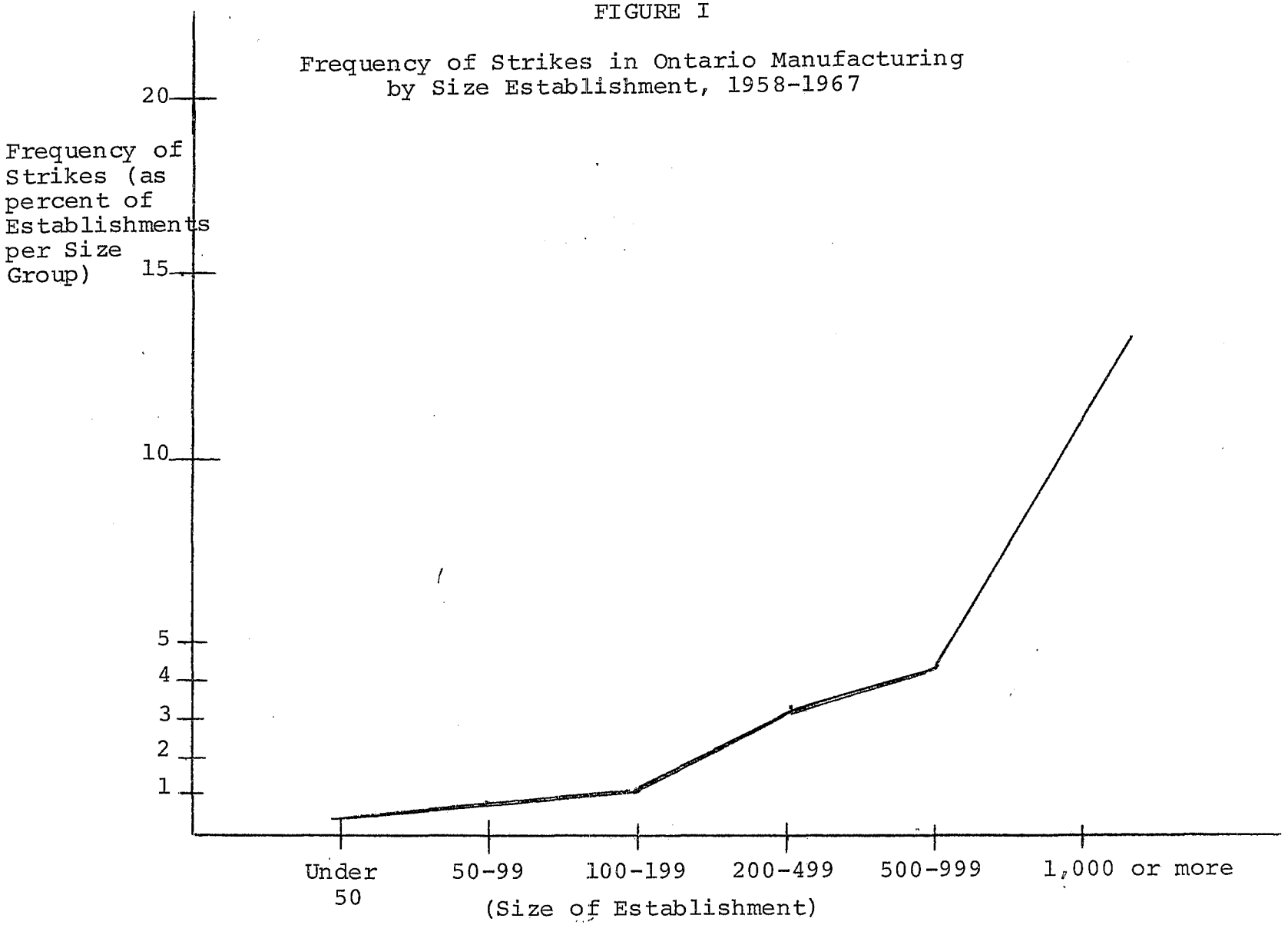
By way of a conclusion, let us recap the major findings of this thesis. We shall accomplish this by returning specifically to the theoretical issues addressed in the previous chapters.

The dominant social relation of production in Canada is capital and wage-labour. Therefore, we are of the opinion that the bourgeoisie within Canada has carried out its historical project as capital. As well, we understand, then, that as a nation Canada represents a mature industrial capitalistic social formation. It is then precisely the maturity of the productive forces within the existing production relations which accounts for our present wave of social unrest and the relatively large scale refusals to engage in the specific bourgeois form of wage-labour. These refusals or strikes indicate the consolidation of the workers in this country as a class for itself engaged in the construction of a community of immediate producers. Our cultural mediums, as we have noted, also suggest this conclusion in that the recruitment requirements of the present ruling class have come to appear arbitrary and insufficient. This appearance is becoming more concrete as capital becomes more concentrated and centralized and unemployment increases. The political impact of this unemployment among members of the working population is uneven.

Most visibly affected and politicized are workers in non-production and "luxury goods" production activities, especially public sector workers. This is because these employees have only recently been subjected to the capitalistic division of labour in detail and proletarianization. This has sparked the development of autonomous industrial unions which, in turn, has expressed itself as heightened industrial unrest in these economic sectors and a move away from class collaborationist "international" trade unions. We have concluded that this is a progressive tendency because it encourages an increased social productivity of labour and lowers the cost of these expenses by encouraging mechanization and automation. On the other hand, increases in the total social productivity of labour have a specific social form in this country. Its specific social form is a declining rate of profit. In a period in which the rate of profit undergoes a rapid decline, there is a tendency to depress real wages below their value as we observed earlier. The solution to this situation can only be a political solution. Either the bourgeoisie is politically defeated or the proletariat will be defeated by default. If production for profit is to be replaced by production for wants the political machinery of the bourgeoisie, the state apparatus, must be be sublated. This is the chief task of the present period.

FIGURE I

Frequency of Strikes in Ontario Manufacturing
by Size Establishment, 1958-1967



Source: T.H. White, Organization Size as a Factor Influencing Labour Relations, p. 24.

NOTES TO CONCLUSION

1. Mr. E. Walker of Labour Canada gave the author this information on August 20, 1979.

2. The Globe and Mail, Toronto, July 4, 1978.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. The author has constructed this table from information given to him by Mr. E. Walker of Labour Canada on August 20, 1979.

6. H.C. Pentland, A Study of the Changing Social, Economic and Political Background of the Canadian System of Industrial Relations, p. 203.

7. Ibid., p. 324, c.f. ibid., pp. 342-353 on the Brandon Packers' strike as evidence of this "cultural lag".

8. See the discussion of credit and crisis in David Yaffe and Paul Bullock, "Inflation, Crisis and the Post-War Boom", pp. 22-26.

9. Ibid., p. 26.

10. The Globe and Mail, Toronto, August 20, 1979.

11. The Spectator, Hamilton, August 10, 1979.

12. H.C. Pentland, Industrial Relations, p. 182.

13. Ibid., p. 184.

14. Ibid., p. 187.

15. Ibid., p. 188.

16. Ibid., p. 188.

17. Ibid., pp. 371, 375.

18. Ibid., p. 189.

19. The Spectator, Hamilton, August 18, 1979.

20. H.C. Pentland, Industrial Relations, pp. 359-370.

21. T.H. White, Organization Size as a Factor Influencing Labour Relations, p. 25.

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