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CANADIAN TRADE UNIONS TODAY

By P. Kent

The line of this document was adopted by the May 1966 Convention. It is yet to be edited in the light of the discussion and prepared for printing as a pamphlet outlining how socialists see the union movement today and the broad general tasks.

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SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

1966

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29.7 per cent of the total non-agricultural labor force -- 1,588,755 persons -- at January 1965, were members of trade unions. Three quarters of them belonged to unions affiliated to the Canadian Labor Congress (AFL-CIO). The largest single group outside of the CLC, the Quebec-based Confederation of National Trade Unions, accounted for 150,059 --slightly less than one third of the total number of trade unionists in Quebec.

These unions appear as a tremendous social force right across the country. They are the most powerful single organization, both real and potential, that those who live by their labor have yet created in this country.

Organized at the point of production, they intervene on a day-to-day basis, largely on a local but on occasion and increasingly so on a national and even international scale, to defend and extend the interests of their members and the entire working class against capital - against those who own and control the means of production and exploit them for their own purposes.

The mere fact of the existence of the trade unions testifies to the reality of the class nature of Canadian society. The ceaseless efforts of capital to destroy them, to fetter them with oppressive legislation, and failing that, to corrupt them, is irrefutable proof of the reality of the class struggle -- that there is an irreconcilable, ceaseless, conflict between labor and capital in this country.

The unions have not been able to remain as combinations of workers of one employer, or even groups of employers in associated industries. They have developed from a unity of workers against a particular employer to unity against employers in one whole field of production, to unity of workers in areas. They form a massive unified network from union local, to national, to international union--from local to area council, from provincial to the federal level --to the CLC with its 1½ million members. Recognition has had to be made, even if largely formal, to the international character of labor's struggle and the need for its world-wide co-ordination.

The union movement has proven itself to be a powerful instrument of a defensive character and as a force that poses the possibility of a fundamental transformation from wage labor to a free association of labor and common ownership of its product-socialism.

As early as 1919 the working people of Winnipeg, arising from their common interest in the defence of a group of locked out metal workers, waged a general strike which in its unfoldment created a new and revolutionary pole of social-political power -- the Winnipeg General Strike Committee, which completely controlled the city for 41 days. It is no accident that many participants and observers from the ranks of both its supporters and opponents saw in this development a parallel to the workers councils (soviets) that arose and seized power in Russia and took on embryonic form in other European centers in that period.

A massive strike wave broke out at the close of World War II in defiance of all the war-time restrictions that had been clamped upon the unions with the agreement of the union leadership. In wave after wave it swept up the entire organized labor movement to ring up the largest across-the-board wage increase ever, and to consolidate unionism on a higher plane. The mighty Ford strike demonstrated the revolutionary temper and ingenuity of the working class, their readiness to meet head-on the violence of the state. The threat by an army of RCMPers to break up the picket line was countered with an impenetrable barricade, a wall of steel. The workers commandeered public vehicles,

trucks, cars with which they jammed the highway stretching down the front of the main plant, to paralyze the police and win their strike.

Twice in the last two years the working class of two key sections of the country have advanced up to the very edge of general strike--in Quebec and in the province of British Columbia.

While capital continues to harass and persecute individual militants, to resort to the use of scabs and spies, to employ police to terrorize and smash up picket lines, with the rise of the modern labor movement, its broader unity, its increased organization and its tremendous resources, they have come to rely on an ever-increasing extent upon the state.

What labor has won thru its battles on the picket lines and thru the enforcement of the rights that it has established in the shops has often been lost, not only due to the operation of the laws governing the system itself, inflation for instance, but because of counter moves by representatives of the employers as a class in control of parliament and the state in its totality. The employers through their agents in control of parliament and the entire state apparatus, have erected a whole network of laws and regulations designed to hamstring the labor movement. Anti labor regulations such as the BC Social Credit Bill 43 have been characterized by the most conservative labor leaders as "fascistic".

They not only bar the use of information pickets but secondary boycotts, and have decreed the unions to be legal entities responsible for the actions of every individual member. But not the least of the union-busting laws are those which the union leadership itself has come to live with--those embedded in labor relations acts--all the way from the various regulations designed to make it difficult for unions to establish the fact that they represent a majority of a given group of workers, to those which only permit strike action after a long process of delay, that not only make it illegal to strike within the duration of contracts, to the ever-increasing use of ex parte injunctions forbidding or limiting pickets, and the extension of compulsory arbitration to wider areas of the work force.

On the basis of their own experience and in part due to the influence of the British working class movement there has long been a broad strata of union leaders and rank and file activists who have favored the formation of a political arm for labor in this country. If there was any doubt about the direction of these forces with the dissolution of the socialist-oriented but largely agrarian based CCF, the successful birth of the NDP three years ago as a labor party, with firm roots in the trade unions, was assured by the Liberal-Tory and SC anti-labor drive. With the recent solid successes in the major urban areas across the country any concept of the NDP as a pressure instrument on the Liberals and Tories in office has been smashed. The Canadian working class through their unions are firmly committed to the building of the NDP as an alternative to the parties of Big business and to the election of an NDP government into office in both Ottawa and the provinces.

Between 1935 and 1965 trade union membership increased more than five fold -- from 281,000 to 1,493,000. In these three decades there were four major periods of rapid expansion. In 1936 and 1937, which saw the rise of the CIO, union membership increased 15 and 19% respectively. The next major jump came during the war -- with 1941 seeing an increase of 27% and 25.5% in 1942. The post war upsurge saw an increase in membership in 1946 of 17% and 9.7% in 1947.

But in recent years as a proportion of the work force union membership has been decreasing. By 1962 the proportion of the work force in unions dropped from 33% to 32%. By 1963 the decline had continued to 30%. By 1964 it was 29.4%.

Organized labor is not only weaker in relation to the growth of the work force but it is weaker from a strategic point of view. Unionism hasn't yet really broken out of

the basic industries. Between 1947 and 1949 there was virtually not net change in the employment levels in the goods-producing industries despite the fact that the actual quantity of goods being produced doubled. During that period however there was an increase of new jobs in the service industries by a million. By 1958 the number of jobs in the service sector was larger than in the goods-producing industries. In 1958 the margin was 68,000--by 1963 it had grown to 771,000.

It is in this area that the tremendous expansion of the number of women in the work force has taken place. The number of women in retail and wholesale trade grew from 1950 to 1959 by more than 50%. By June 1965 women workers in the service industries had surpassed men to 51.9% of the total.

The present leadership of the union movement with vast sums of money at its disposal, skilful technicians at its beck and call, has proven incapable of moving into these most rapidly expanding and often most poorly paid sectors of the work force, thus permitting a serious deterioration in the strategic position of the union movement to take place. It has failed woman miserably.

Large layers of these workers, poorly paid and helpless before the onslaughts of inflation, the dangers of sickness, all the insecurities of capitalist society, have fallen prey to the capitalist-inspired propaganda that labor is a narrow, a sectional power bloc, insensitive to their needs and concerned only with its own welfare.

The static situation in the producing industries, where expansion has been largely through technological changes, and the increasing tendency of the leadership to settle for so-called fringe benefits, including pensions, retirement funds, few of them portable, rather than wage increases, has alienated the younger workers. There has been a distinct tendency for the unions to deteriorate from combat organizations of the class into welfare organizations for older workers upon whom the administration has come to base itself. The unions under the present leadership have failed the youth.

For the first time in decades organized labor has suffered a series of setbacks. Just as the decrease in the percentage of workers who are actually organized is not due in anyway to an organizational saturation point having been reached, but to a failure on the part of the present leadership, so too these setbacks do not reflect any decline in the combativity of the ranks, but a failure of leadership.

Two notable defeats were those suffered by the Royal York Hotel workers and the workers at the Lever Brothers plant in Toronto. These setbacks all the more point up the failure in leadership in that they took place in an area where organized labor has its greatest concentration of strength. Even more startling is the situation confronting the oldest continuing local in the country--International Typographical Union Local 91 --which has been locked in struggle in Canada's first automation strike with the Big Three Toronto dailies for three years now.

The entry of the CIO onto the Canadian arena and the organization of key basic industry along industrial lines threw up a whole new layers of leaders. Unlike the long-time-secure craft business unionists, many of them rose out of the ranks, and many were radicals. With the coming of the Second World War this leadership collaborated with the bosses in the introduction under union auspices of peice work and speed-up. With the end of the war, when the employers ended this honeymoon and strode out to smash the union, the ranks proved able to overcome all the leadership's hesitations, to not only turn back the union busters but to even establish new gains.

Frustrated in their frontal attack Big Business launched a co-ordinated coast to coast legal assault on labor. Instead of taking up this challenge, meeting it head-on,

the leadership preached caution. When as in BC a massive cry went up against Bill 43 and for general strike the leadership preached submission until the next election. The impact of this legislation is graphically portrayed in the following figures:

	union membership	work force	% of work force
1958	233,972	434,000	53.9%
1959	219,279	452,000	48.1%
1964	226,690	531,000	42.7%

As the figures show, the failure of the leadership to mobilize the unions against the union busting laws has not only resulted in a drastic decline in the strength of the organized labor movement as a per centage of the work force but in absolute numbers.

What is wrong with the present leadership of the Canadian labor movement, that it has failed to effectively mobilize the mighty forces of the Canadian working class to fend off the legal assault on their unions, that it has failed to organize the unorganized, that with all the resources at its disposal it has permitted a relative and in some areas an absolute decline in the strength of the unions to take place? It is true that it is a relatively privileged strata, with considerable wealth at its disposal secure in its position, and thus concerned that there be no undue upset in the relation of things. But the problem is more profound than that. In the past few years court injunctions restricting and barring picketing have been successful in gravely weakening and even smashing an increasing number of union locals. The CLC leadership decided to stage a showdown at the struck Thompson newspaper in the union stronghold of Oshawa. Its demonstration of strength in defiance of the law found the attorney general and provincial premier disclaim any responsibility to uphold this class legislation and the company, with the agreement of the courts, withdraw its court order.

Only a matter of weeks later in a similar situation ⁱⁿ nearby Peterboro when an injunction was read and 28 arrested, the top brass ordered the demobilization of their controlled demonstration with the aim of arguing the matter on strictly legal terms in the courts. The top leadership carried their line in the face of a powerful protest at the Winnipeg CLC convention and a demand from the floor for massive passive resistance to the union busting injunctions. As this incident reveals the leadership of Canada's unions is essentially reformist in its outlook. Its support of the NDP flows not so much from a desire to supplement militant on-the-job action with aggressive political action, but to substitute periodic visits to the ballot box for such militant action. In the place of a revolutionary class struggle opposition to capitalism, the strategy that forged the union movement and got it to where it is, they stand for a peaceful co-existence policy with capitalism.

Its strategy in the fight against injunctions is to win the courts and the judges with fine legal argument over to the side of labor. And that is its policy with regards to parliament and the state. The bureaucracy hopes to win the state, which it sees as having only temporarily fallen into the hands of the agents of the monopolists, over to its side and fill it with its content. That is why it has no compunction about urging state intervention in strictly union affairs.

The CLC leadership, with the support of the entire working class press—except that of the socialist Workers Vanguard, demanded that the government overcome its show of reluctance and intervene in a strictly internal union matter by imposing a trusteeship on the SIU and the Great Lakes Seamen. They demanded the government enforce the law to the limit against the seamen who marched in protest against government interference in their internal affairs. They have continued to uphold the government trusteeship in the face of the dangers that it holds for organized labor as clearly voiced by its own representative on the trusteeship.

Because of its orientation this trade union leadership, which sees itself as part of the established order of things, poses the gravest threat to democracy within the union movement. It was with complete consistency with its lengthy record that the CLC leadership underwrote the old national leadership of the Canadian Postal Employees Association and fronted for the Liberal government against the rank and file during the 18 day national postal workers strike last summer. Thanks to the Montreal local leaders who had patiently build rank-and-file connections across the country the CLC leadership were defeated, the old postal leadership routed, and unionism is now spreading through the civil servants. It was no accident that important CLC leaders publicly approved of a trusteeship imposed on a Toronto local by an American international leadership at the head of which stands James Hoffa, a man whose actions they would never normally approve regardless of their possible merit.

This clique, this bureaucracy that encrusts the trade union movement heads up a great multiplicity of expensive and unweildy organizations of a widely diverse character. It is a labyrinth of conflicting clique interests with overlapping jurisdictions which lead to all kinds of divisive conflicts that weaken labor in the face of the enemy. Some unions are strictly national formations, others are international. Some of the latter are set up along Canadian district lines which assure considerable autonomy for the Canadian machinery, and others are so much under the domination of the international leadership that even the business agents are imposed upon them.

This situation has led some to see the key problem as being largely organizational and to project structural changes as a solution.

Bureaucracy is as rife in some syndicalist, anti-political-oriented unions as it is in the unions most active in promotion of political action in their ranks. Nor does largeness or smallness appear to have any meaningful bearing on the question. In fact it is the extremely wide diversity in structure and structural relations, and yet the general prevalence of bureaucracy, that shows the irrelevancy of such a concept. While there are no doubt many structural changes that could be made in the interest of assuring a democratic milieu and a greater fighting unity, the granting of the CLC more constitutional authority over its affiliates, as some propose at this time, would not heighten the fighting unity of labor against capital. Quite the contrary.

The cry for Canadian trade union autonomy has also been raised as a panacea. The Canadian Communist Party has not only called for autonomy but has used what influence it has had to encourage some Canadian breakways from international unions and the constitution of separate national unions. Aside from the question of the viability of such bodies they have not in anyway proved immune to the virus of bureaucracy. There are Canadian, strictly Canadian unions that are as bureaucratically controlled as any Canadian extension of an international union. While in general the American trade union movement is more bureaucracy ridden, this virus is not peculiar to the United States, slipping into this country via personell of the internationally affiliated unions.

Should we draw a balance sheet of the plus^{es} and minuses of the American connection? On the plus side the amount of money kicked back to support Canadian strikes; the influence that Canadian members of an international union can hope to have in promoting an American Labor Party; the fact that the votes of the Canadian district membership of the United Steelworkers had in the defeat of the Donald MacDonald led machine; the preparations of Auto and Steel to mobilize^{their} US forces to bring Canadian members wages up to parity with US wages; the intervention of the international prohibiting Toronto mailers from accepting a contract that would undermine national and international newspapers standards. And on the minus side, the imposition of international roadmen on Canadian affiliates, control over international strike funds and authority over strikes, etc.

The mere process of attempting to work-out all the pluses and minuses and strike a balance only exposes the absurdity of it all - and all the more in that the major sectors

of industrial capital in Canada are controlled by the same monopolists against whom the more concentrated and more powerful US unions are in conflict.

The fact that the struggle for democracy in the unions is a primary task before the workers of the United States as well as Canada demonstrates that it has nothing to do with some national peculiarities but flows from a common source--the increasing intervention of the bourgeois democratic state in the internal affairs of the union movement and the tendency of a growing together of the trade unions with the state.

To break out of the straightjacket it is necessary to win the unions to a revolutionary orientation, to give them a revolutionary program and create a new leadership. This is the crucial task; to work in the unions as they are now constituted, to transform them into instruments for the establishment of a new social order. The situation is becoming increasingly more favorable for success.

Over the past year there has been a sharp rise in the number of strikes and the numbers of workers involved right across the country. The strikes have been extremely militant. They have been taking place in a period of general boom, rising wages, considerable job mobility, etc.

In Quebec they have been unfolding wave upon wave. Entire new layers of workers, including a high percentage of white collar and professional workers, have joined labour's ranks. They have not been solicited to join, rather they have knocked down the door in their demand for admission. They are bringing into the Quebec movement a verve a new dynamism which will infect all Canadian labor.

A highly significant number of strikes in other parts of the country have been wildcats--many of them violent repudiations of agreements solemnly negotiated by the leadership, other explosive outbursts against the failure of the union leadership to respond to accumulated grievances.

So prevalent has the revolt become that various top leaders have felt called upon to publicly comment on it. President Little of the Canadian Union of Public Employees admitted that there was a lack of rapport between the leadership and the ranks which he attributes to inadequacy in the unions education program--for the ranks of course. CBRT Secretary-Treasurer Secord attributed it to the surge of new workers into the union and a growing gap between them and the leaders. He noted back in 1963 that about 50% of the membership were not in the union during the strike 13 years earlier. Steel director Mahoney attributes it to the fact that "there is less and less satisfaction on the job and more uncertainty about the role of the worker and his place in the social scheme".

Steel director Mahoney's comments "on the mood of rebellion to be found today" is only a reflection of the profound rejection by an increasing number of workers of the routinist and thoroughly reformist policies of the trade union bureaucracy. They also show the developing receptivity of a widening layer of workers for an alternative, a revolutionary program.

Wage increases, hard fought wage increases to meet the rising cost of living, are being wiped out time and again by inflation. The profit gouging of the monopolists hoisted the cost of living 3.7% last year. The finance minister has recently announced that the cost of living will skyrocket another 4% this coming year.

In its running commentaries on the day-to-day problems confronting the trade unions The Workers Vanguard has proposed the answer--the sliding scale of wages. Protect past wage increases and preserve the fighting strength of labor for new gains by inserting an escalator clause in every union contract! Such a clause will guarantee automatic wage increases with each rise in the cost of living.

But the workers want more than to defend themselves from the situation -- they want to know why! They are not only questioning their own place in the social scheme, as Mahoney noted, but the place of others and the social scheme itself.

NDP leader Douglas gave voice to this sentiment in his recent appeal to the government to constitute a prices review board. He outlined that "such a board would be able to examine the books, the profit and loss statements, and the cost accounting material of the particular industries concerned, in order to find out whether or not increased wage costs and increased costs of raw materials warranted the increase which is being imposed on the public". Mr. Douglas left it to the government whose anti combines regulations have operated as licenses to practice, and expressed his proposals with studied impartiality, as one who of course accepts the sanctity of capitalist ownership of great industrial enterprises.

As Big Business attempts to narrow the area of collective bargaining the trade union militants must demand that it be widened and that the whole process of capitalist production and distribution be opened up to their scrutiny. The bureaucracy and their NDP counterparts talk about planning but their planning comes up to a halt before the involvement of the workers. The workers have the right to know the secrets of the factory, of the trust, of the whole branch of industry, of the national economy as a whole, built by their labor and sweat. Open the books! Abolish all business secrets! Open the network of deals and swindles that flow from capitalist anarchy and the shamless pursuit of profits. Extend the authority of the unions in the direction of factory committees and towards actual control of industry.

While the technological revolution --automation--is developing unevenly through the Canadian economy it has unleashed the gravest concern throughout the working class. What is going to happen to older workers? To the vast majority of workers? to trades and skills so patiently acquired? And what, if any, training and education is worth acquiring in the face of this revolution.

In contrast to the NDP and trade union leadership who continue to talk in terms of education of what would be an elite, such a world famous scientist as Sir Geoffrey Vickers told a Toronto audience that we need to find a way "to distribute goods and services free, according to need" -- 'a social revolution' as he called it. To guarantee that the inventive genius of man benefit society, and not a small clique of monopolists, the unions must implement a sliding scale of hours.

Everyone has a right to work. Share the leisure and the increased wealth that can come with the full implementation of automation by instituting a continually diminishing work week with no loss in pay.

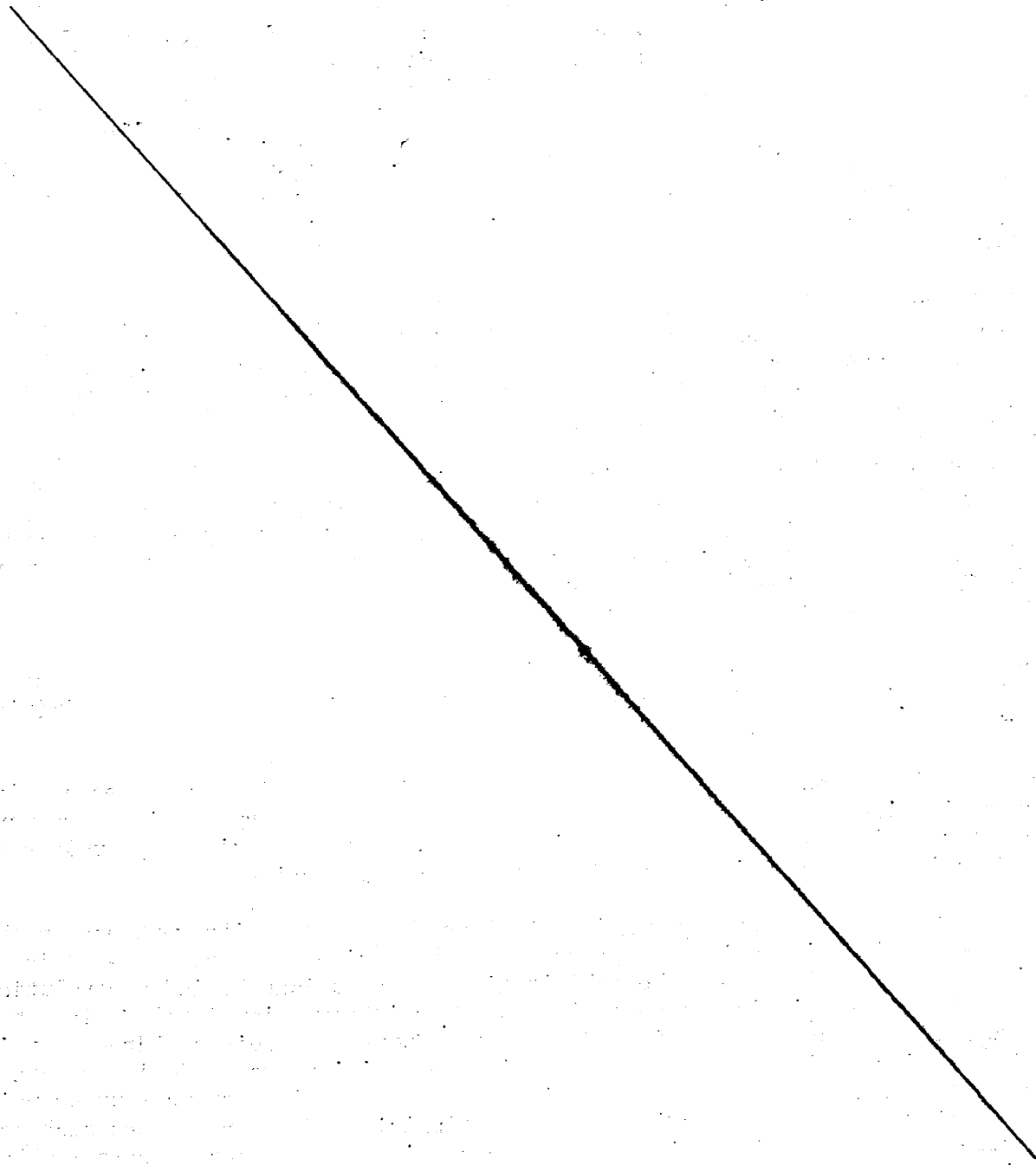
Perhaps the single most important advance of Canadian labor in recent decades is the rise and consolidation of the NDP as a labor party. So far the trade union bureaucracy has managed to curtail union participation in the NDP. They have given the unions as their main function the provisioning of funds to the party machine.

For the bureaucracy the labor party is an attempt to overcome its weakness on the economic front--to widen its points of pressure on the business interests --and is not a supplement, but a substitute for the mobilization of the unions behind a revolutionary program. For the workers it is the beginning of their intervention into affairs that determine every single aspect of their lives and the future of their children. It is a result of their increasing awareness that political decisions now made in the overall interests of the employers as a class determine not only the circumstances under which the factory at which they work functions but a multiplicity of other matters such as taxes, mortgage rates, education, right up to the commitment of the country's wealth and their lives in a world scale, including participation in such aggressive military

alliances as NATO and NORAD and support both political and material of Washington's war of aggression in Vietnam.

This CLC convention was confronted with 25 resolutions that had been submitted on international affairs. While the resolution adopted on Vietnam was little more critical than the declared position of the Liberal government, nonetheless it testified to the broadening outlook of the working class in the wider, the overriding issues of our times.

The local unions must intervene fully in the NDP: demanding reports from the M.P.'s, passing resolutions for their guidance, raising the entire political level of the membership to assure that the NDP sensitively reflects and functions entirely in the interests of the workers, and to elect it into power.



The trade union bureaucracy, though powerful and firmly entrenched has no stable independent base of its own. It is caught between the contradictory pressures of maintaining a working relationship with the employers, and the need to deliver sufficient concessions to mollify the ranks. Compared to the U.S. bureaucracy it has modest funds at its disposal and limited favors to pass around. It is relatively weak. It is far from homogeneous--its secondary layers, being in closer contact with the membership, are under considerable pressure from that source. In the struggles ahead some of them can be transformed.

The base of the support of the leadership in the ranks is very narrow. The apparatus through which the leaders operate, the workers who attend the routine union meetings, who carry on the necessary activity to sustain the unions, are not the best unionists. They are the older workers who have a stake in the retirement funds, who have a vital and personal concern about the policing of the seniority clauses. They are by and large the most conservative elements. It is this phenomenon, added to the general conservatism of the brass who are far removed from the job, that has made the unions so unresponsive to the needs of the ranks.

It would be a serious mistake to interpret the low level of participation in regular union affairs to a lack of understanding of the elementary principles of unionism. Many, of ten the best workers are alienated by the narrow and uninspired routinism that is passed off as legitimate union business. They see through the leadership but at this time see little possibility of effecting any vital change -- less and less through the union machinery and more and more through independent action as pressure on the machine.

The recent postal workers strike resulted in most areas in the reconstitution of the union leadership from top to bottom. The picket lines in many areas were manned by youth the bulk of whom had never attended a meeting and had not even taken out membership in the association.

The older generation of workers who have become the base of the bureaucracy are being overwhelmed by the influx of youth into the shops. According to a statement by a CLC official last year by 1970 the number of workers in the 24 to 27 year age group will have increased by one third. By 1975 it will have climbed by 57%.

The Canadian counterparts of the youth who have transformed the university campuses in the United States into continuous forums on the great social issues of our times, who have joined the Negro Freedom fighters in the south and are flooding into the streets in growing protests against their governments war against the Vietnamese people, are not on the campuses. The youth are in the factories. For all the official talk about education they have been driven there by the constantly rising university fees, the costs of books and the mounting cost of living.

The winning of the trade unions to a revolutionary orientation depends on two inter-related factors (1) the development of a program: that logically arises out the experiences of the rank and file, that reflects their needs and present level of understanding and can take them forward together in a revolutionary direction. (2) the bringing together of the necessary forces: to give this program life, to adapt it to specific conditions, to effectively disseminate it, to explain it, to defend it, and to integrate these forces as a leadership that will not only challenge the old leadership but will replace it -- as the unions become revolutionary.

While the number of consistant conscious militants is as yet small they are already sufficient and have proven capable on a limited scale of working out the necessary program in general outline and even effectively adapting it to specific situations which they are in. There is also sufficient motion in the class, sufficient new elements developing in consciousness that we can already be confident that the program can not only take on

substantial flesh and bone but will forge the leadership of revolutionary unions that will play a decisive roll in the creating of a socialist Canada.

The shaping up of this new leadership is no longer restricted to propagandistic work. The militants are not reduced to concentrating their entire efforts on a small circle or even one or two workers to raise their understanding to the needs of the situation. While the development is still uneven, the opportunities for broad and vigorous participation in the life of the union movement already exist and are expanding.

An important part of the forces which will bring together the new militant leadership are the layers of youth who have been coming to a socialist consciousness. The problem of their integration, their gaining the respect and good will of the older workers in the shops is not so formidable as it would at first glance seem. There is greater receptivity to demands with the most profound revolutionary implications. -- particularly among the young workers who are becoming the majority of the working force. There has been a limited revival of older militants. They will speed up the integration of the new militants and link up the younger workers with the older.

The weakening of the bureaucracy's support, the decay of its machine on the local plane, has made it possible for a number of militants to become delegates to area councils where they have broadened their connections, become better known and are performing the valuable function of giving voice to their ideas in a broad arena and so legitimize them.

There have already been some experiences which, while limited, are convincing proof that it is possible to develop a program and win sufficient support for the left-wing forces organized around it, for them to win the leadership of locals. The overall situation is such that the bureaucracy is to some degree compelled to accept such situations which are becoming more commonplace and adapt in such a way as not to compromise the militants as leaders. An important factor in this is the political climate which has been consistently developing in a way that is unfavorable for redbaiting.

All the evidence tells us that we are moving into a new and stormy period in Canadian labor history. The old reformist unionism is a thing of the past. A new revolutionary unionism is in the process of birth. The militants, the new generation of youth have the responsibility, they have the opportunity of preparing themselves to move in, develop the necessary program and build the necessary leadership
