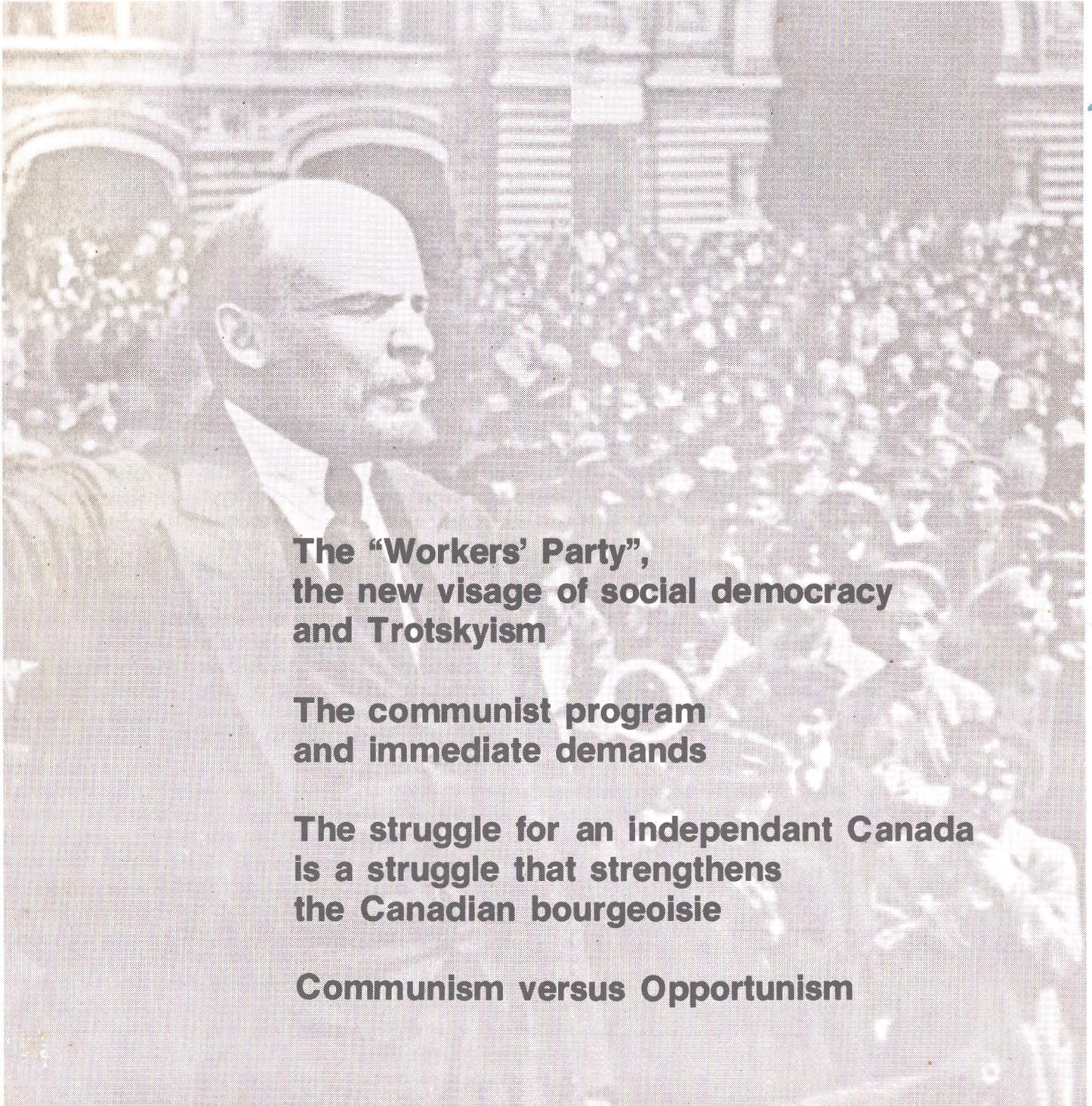


PROLETARIAN UNITY



Theoretical journal of
the Canadian Marxist-Leninist
Group IN STRUGGLE!

No 11 (Vol. 2, no 5), June-July 1978



**The “Workers’ Party”,
the new visage of social democracy
and Trotskyism**

**The communist program
and immediate demands**

**The struggle for an independant Canada
is a struggle that strengthens
the Canadian bourgeoisie**

Communism versus Opportunism

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the Canadian Marxist-Leninist
Group IN STRUGGLE!

PROLETARIAN UNITY is the theoretical journal of the Canadian Marxist-Leninist Group IN STRUGGLE!. The journal is published every second month and contains theoretical articles and analyses dealing with all the fundamental questions of the communist program and the Canadian revolution.

"Without revolutionary theory, no revolutionary movement." This statement made by Lenin is still true today in the conditions pertaining to our country. Since the Communist Party of Canada degenerated into a revisionist party having completely betrayed the interests of the working class, the Canadian proletariat has been without a revolutionary program and without its vanguard Marxist-Leninist party. **PROLETARIAN UNITY** represents the positions of the Canadian Marxist-Leninist Group IN STRUGGLE!, and its task is to intensify the ideological struggle around all the questions of political line and the communist program, questions that will help the building of the Canadian proletarian Party move forward.

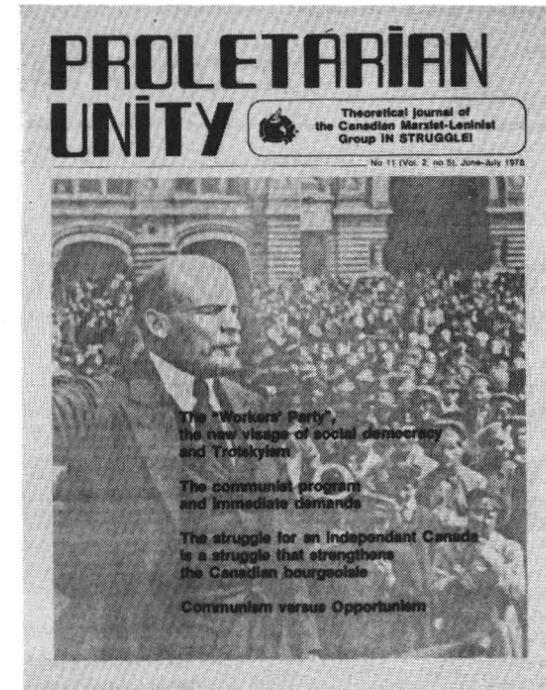
The Canadian proletarian Party, the vanguard contingent of the Canadian proletariat, can only be created on the basis of a truly Marxist-Leninist program that will resolutely demarcate from revisionism and all forms of opportunism. This struggle has been taken up by **PROLETARIAN UNITY**, and we invite all our readers to participate in it by writing, by sending your criticisms, by making the journal known to your comrades at work and your friends, and finally, by supporting the journal financially.

The editorial board of **PROLETARIAN UNITY** can be reached at the following address: **PROLETARIAN UNITY** Journal, 4933 de Grand Pré, Montreal, Quebec, Canada.

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Editorial

THE "WORKERS' PARTY": THE NEW VISAGE OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND TROTSKYISM

For several years now, the necessity of building the party of the working class has emerged as an increasingly urgent question in the innumerable struggles of the working class, in its economic and political struggles, within the labour and working-class movement as a whole. An ever-increasing number of Quebec and Canadian workers are becoming aware that their struggle will be endless as long as they have not built their own party, capable of leading them to the final assault on the capitalist system and the construction of the socialist society.

This aspiration of the working people of all nations and national minorities in the country has been nourished by the development of the crisis in which Canada and all the capitalist and revisionist countries are increasingly bogged down. This aspiration grows stronger each day, with the blatant and open betrayal of all the reformist, social-democratic and nationalist parties which have been in power at one time or another in certain provinces of the country. In the past ten years, Canadian workers have been subjected to the same crisis measures and the same repression by the NDP in British Columbia and Saskatchewan and the social democrats and nationalists of the PQ in Quebec. Everywhere, these governments, relying on their influence within the union movement and their "pro-worker" leaning, have proven to be just as faithful servants of Capital as the Liberal, Progressive Conservative and Social Credit Parties before them. Crisis measures, anti-worker legislation, the wage freeze and repression against militant workers and communists have continued to be the daily lot of workers in Quebec, Saskatchewan and British Columbia, just as it is the lot of their class brothers and sisters in other provinces.

However, the jackals keep an eye on this struggle. As the betrayal of the traditional social-democratic parties and their agents within the labour movement becomes clear to larger and larger sectors of the working class and its most conscious elements, new dead-ends and new phoney solutions appear to co-opt the growing discontent and prevent the proletariat from building its true class party — its Marxist-Leninist party.

Today, these "new" sidetracks for the working-class movement concentrate their efforts around the call to create a

workers' party. In Quebec, these tendencies are most articulate within the Trotskyist groups, like the Groupe socialiste des travailleurs québécois (GSTQ), and its trade-union offshoot, the Regroupement des militants syndicaux (RMS), set up precisely to boost the project of a Quebec workers' party in the labour movement. In Canada, it is also a Trotskyist group, the Revolutionary Workers' League (RWL), which defends the idea of creating a workers' party based on the unions in Quebec and on long-term work within the NDP in English Canada. In English Canada, there are two other groups which put forward ideas very similar to those of the Trotskyists: the Saskatchewan Waffle, born out of the NDP, with its project for a socialist party, and the Socialist Organizing Committee (SOC) in Vancouver.

A multitude of these false solutions have developed in recent years, especially within the Canadian labour movement. For example, several conventions of the CNTU and the CEQ (teachers' union central) in Quebec have, without completely adhering to the GSTQ's project, nevertheless adopted resolutions and positions to the effect that the union movement should look into the possibility of creating a workers' party. This idea has not yet triumphed, but it is still constantly being brought up in Quebec trade unions.

It is not so much because of the present strength of the Trotskyist or other organizations that the project of a workers' party has a chance of winning support and even eventually being realized. These groups have, for the most part, little influence beyond a certain following mainly among the youth, intellectual circles and certain unionized sectors of the petty bourgeoisie. However, their ideas constitute an alternative which is more and more liable to be taken up by reformist union militants, in an attempt to brush up their leftist image in relation to the PQ and the NDP, as well as in opposition to the rise of extreme right-wing tendencies in several unions.

Therefore, the conditions are in place for enabling these new versions of social democracy to hold back the development of the revolutionary movement and the construction of a true Marxist-Leninist party, the vanguard of the working class. It is a good thing — even a necessary and desirable thing — that the question of the party be brought up in Canadian unions. However, to put forward the creation of another reformist party is quite another story. It is a position against which all workers must fight.

* * *

All these solutions have one point in common: they are all opposed to the construction of a true Marxist-Leninist party, the construction of the vanguard party of the working class. It is on the conception of the vanguard party and the program of the party that the basically petty-bourgeois conceptions of the Trotskyists and other projects of workers' party demarcate.

According to the GSTQ and the RWL, the party of the working class will be a party "controlled by workers", a party made up of "workers as a whole". It will not be an "elitist party cut from the working-class movement". This is why they say that these parties should be created at the initiative of the unions.

With such a proposal, the Trotskyists are not only revising the teachings of Lenin on the proletarian Party; they are also paving the way for the creation of another social-democratic party with an ambiguous class make-up and a reformist program.

The question is not whether or not we want a working-class

party, but rather what type of a party the working-class movement needs.

Take a look at how the Trotskyists justify the creation of such a party, a party which they freely admit will not be revolutionary. According to them, workers are not ready to create a revolutionary party. So we must accept the fact that workers are not yet ready for revolution, and work little by little, step by step, to radicalize their struggles so that revolutionary consciousness can one day be born out of the multiplication of steadily more bitter struggles of the working class.

The Trotskyist strategy for building the party is quite consistent with this defeatist and contemptuous conception of the proletariat. According to them, the party will be built in two stages. The first will consist in setting up a broad NDP-style mass party, which will repeat the immediate demands of the proletariat one after another without linking them to the fundamental interests of the working class, which are the overthrow of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, proletarian revolution and socialism. In short, it would be a reformist party, especially careful not to raise the consciousness of workers in terms of their fundamental interests.

The second stage, however, is much less well known, and the Trotskyists are careful not to publicize it too widely within the masses. It is in a way the "secret" strategy of the Trotskyists. Only after the reformist party has been created, after the masses have struggled for their immediate demands without any revolutionary perspective, after years of dispersed daily struggles, only then will the masses understand the necessity of a revolutionary party, and the Trotskyists will then create this party. Only then will they emerge from behind the scenes and use revolutionary language.

"Workers are not ready for revolutionary struggle" that is the opportunist essence of the Trotskyist point of view. It is a point of view which capitulates before the influence of bourgeois ideology within the working class movement; a point of view deeply contemptuous of the revolutionary capacity of the Canadian working class which constantly tries to put the proletarian revolution off to some later date; a point of view which can only serve the interests of the bourgeoisie.

This total capitulation in the face of the bourgeoisie and its reactionary ideas and in the face of the reformism of the labour bosses is at the root of all Trotskyist positions.

On the Quebec national question, for example, they observe the division which the Canadian bourgeoisie has created between English-Canadian and Quebec workers by means of the policy of national oppression and conclude that we absolutely must not change the situation. "If workers are divided, let them stay that way! We will fight for the independence of Quebec so as to divide them a little more instead of working to unite them against their main enemy, the Canadian bourgeoisie." If the Quebec working class is dominated by nationalism, then the Trotskyists will also be nationalist. They will even be more so than the PQ, which they criticize for being inconsistent with regard to the project of independence. Following the same reasoning, if the Canadian working class votes for the NDP, then the Trotskyists will not rub the NDP the wrong way. They will describe the NDP as a "workers' " party in spite of its reformist program, and they will even call upon workers to vote for the NDP, while waiting for reformism to disappear on its own.

The Trotskyists have long since capitulated on the task of showing the path of proletarian revolution to the workers of our

country, and today they are among the most faithful agents of the bourgeoisie within the working-class movement.

But if Canadian workers are today greatly influenced by reformism, is it not precisely our task to tear them away from this influence by developing their political consciousness instead of limiting the horizons of the working-class movement to the struggle for its immediate demands, as the sold-out labour bosses and all the reformist parties have been doing for much longer than the Trotskyists?

The party of the working-class will only be created when there exists within the Canadian working class an important current rallying the most conscious workers to Marxism-Leninism and the defence of the fundamental and immediate interests of the proletariat.

The party will not be created by a mass referendum in the working-class movement, nor by a minority of petty-bourgeois elements, Trotskyists or others, who one day decide to proclaim themselves the party of the working class. Instead, it will be the result of the work of Marxist-Leninists in educating the most honest and determined elements of the proletariat, those who will be the first to break with social democracy and reformism, the first to appropriate the revolutionary science of the proletariat, teach it to their class brothers and, especially, make it a guide for leading the innumerable struggles of the proletariat towards one sole target — the proletarian revolution.

But on this point, Trotskyists are quick to exclaim: "What! A vanguard party? An "elitist" party, a party cut from the masses."

Is it being contemptuous of the masses to say that the party must be a party of struggle, the headquarters of the most conscious and most honest elements of the working class, therefore not distinct from and outside the working class but rather the most determined section of that class? Is it being contemptuous of the masses to state that the party must educate all Canadian workers on their fundamental interests and unite them under its leadership to attack bourgeois power? No! On the contrary, it is a truth summed up in IN STRUGGLE!'s Draft Program: "The masses make the revolution, the party makes them conscious." (article 15) This is the vanguard party of which the Trotskyists talk with such contempt — a party intimately linked to the entire working class, a party which has been proven vitally necessary several times in history: first by a negative example, during the Paris Commune when the workers threw themselves into battle without a headquarter, and then during the Russian, Chinese and Albanian revolutions where the working class and peasant masses, led by their party, established the dictatorship of the proletariat while fighting relentlessly against Trotskyist conceptions of the party.

According to Trotskyist theories, any party which is composed of a majority of workers or which has the support of the trade unions is a working-class party, regardless of its program and whether or not this program serves the interests of the bourgeoisie or the interests of the proletariat.

This conception has made Trotskyists the best supporters of social democracy and revisionism everywhere in the world. During the legislative elections in France, for example, all the Trotskyist sects lined up behind the Union of the Left — some behind the Socialist Party, and others behind the Communist Party — thus, in practice, supporting the program for the

strengthening of State monopoly capitalism. In Italy, the Trotskyist organizations also support Berlinguer's Communist Party of Italy (CPI), which ranked first — ahead of the Christian Democrats — in the repression of communists during the recent terrorist incidents in that country. This year, we will have the opportunity of seeing the "workers' parties", all supported by the Trotskyists in their respective countries, gathered in Vancouver for a meeting of the Socialist International. They will all be there, from the British Labour Party, which has become an expert in the repression of coal miners' strikes, to that great socialist, Golda Meir, former prime minister of the Zionist State of Israel.

Here in Canada, there is the NDP which was created at the initiative of CLC unions and the CCF in 1961. At a time when the GSTQ and the RWL are saying that the party must be created on the basis of the trade unions, and that others, like the SOC, are saying that the creation of the party must be preceded by "the development of a new union strategy and a new leadership" (1), we must learn from this example.

In a position paper studied during a series of conferences for the creation of a workers' party, the GSTQ stated the following:

"Some people claim that a party created at the initiative of the unions would necessarily be a reformist party which would escape workers' control, which would not hesitate to pass anti-worker measures, and which would eventually go as far as to break strikes, as the NDP has done in British Columbia. Some people believe this and are therefore opposed to union initiative in the building of the party. To state in advance that a party set up by unions would escape the control of workers is the same thing as saying that workers are incapable of controlling their unions and everything which flows from them." (2)

Who has said that workers are incapable of controlling their unions? No one, not even the "terrible Marxist-Leninists". On the contrary, Marxist-Leninists are struggling to have the working class movement get rid, once and for all, of those traitors who today lead the union movement. But to the question of whether the workers' party will be a reformist party, the answer is inevitably, "Yes".

A party which is not created on the basis of the vanguard of the working class around a communist program, but rather on the impulse of the spontaneous movement, today dominated by reformism, can not represent the interests of the revolutionary proletariat. And there is no shortage of examples to prove that Canadian unions are now dominated by reformism, and have almost always been so since their creation. Any attempts to create the vanguard party of the working class on the basis of the defence organizations of the working class, which will continue on the whole to be dominated by reformism as long as the most conscious elements have not rallied around the communist program and begun to distribute it in the unions, will lead to sure defeat and the creation of a new reformist party like those already created in other countries. Canadian unions will only adhere to the communist program as a result of patient education and a relentless struggle against reformism on the basis of the fundamental and immediate interests of the proletariat; they certainly will not adhere to it if communists rally to the social-democratic line, giving up the fundamental interests of the working class and the communist program. Do we want Canadian workers to repeat the "expe-

rience" of the reformist path from here to eternity? This would seem to be the wish of the Trotskyists of the GSTQ, who state:

"We believe that such a party will be... the place where the working class will acquire a training in politics, where it will progressively elaborate its program and where it will over a period of time, test and select its true leaders..." (3)

So, the workers' party is a place for "experience" and "selection" where it will be possible to pass "progressively" from a reformist program and leadership to a revolutionary program and leadership, probably born out of the Trotskyist minority within the party.

The working-class movement began, in fact, to acquire this "experience" and make this "selection" several years ago, when reformist ideas and the revolutionary program begun confronting each other in its ranks, and when, one after another, parties like the CCF, the NDP, the PQ, the CP, and groups like the Waffle in English Canada had proven that their socialist tag in no way prevented them from adopting the positions of the bourgeoisie. The ideas of Marxism-Leninism, especially those of Lenin, whom the Trotskyists falsely claim to follow, are clear on this question. A party with a reformist program can never be a working-class party, whatever its composition; it can be nothing but a reformist party, a party that serves the interests of the bourgeoisie.

The Trotskyists and all the upholders of the workers' party have, as a matter of fact, a very particular conception of the program of the party and the tasks of the communists. Louis Gill, of the GSTQ, presented his conception of the program in 1975.

"The program of the workers' party cannot, at the outset, be a revolutionary program; rather it will be an incomplete program which will continue to be elaborated as the synthesis of the collective experience of workers and the outcome of their debates within the party."(4)

The program of the party won't be a revolutionary program? So what will it be? Louis Gill and the GSTQ answered this question by publishing a program for the workers' party called **Cahier des revendications des travailleurs organisés** (The notebook of demands of unionized workers), the keystone in the construction of the party. All they did was make a list of all the immediate demands formulated during numerous working-class struggles, put them together into a program and say, "Here is the program of our party!" Of course, it is nothing more than a reformist and social-democratic program of electoral promises. The proletariat has, indeed, many immediate demands, but they alone do not constitute the program of the revolution. The program of the proletariat, in contrast to that of the social democrats, identifies the goals and the tasks of proletarian revolution in Canada. It is only in this context that the immediate demands take on their full meaning and can be included in the program. It is the social-democratic program, not the revolutionary program, which consistently compromises the superior interests of the revolution for the benefit of immediate objectives and the struggle for reforms. This is not surprising since, as a "non-revolutionary" party concerned with staying at the present level of the working-class movement rather than raising the level of scientific understanding of the tasks of proletarian revolution, it cannot have anything but a reformist

program, a program which, as a matter of fact, is not very different from the programs of the NDP since 1961 and the CCF in 1933.

Unfortunately, the GSTQ does not have a monopoly on this conception of the program of the revolution. This conception is shared, to one degree or another, by all those who propose the creation of the workers' party and even by some who claim to be Marxist-Leninist.

To make a list of immediate demands in a reformist perspective, to give the party the task of radicalizing immediate struggles and unions, to abandon the proletarian line, the struggle for socialism and the distribution of the program of the revolution: this is the trade-mark of all the peddlars of social-democratic parties. Their program boils down to telling the working-class movement to "struggle harder and harder" and "radicalize your economic struggles", and "we will take care of political questions". This is approximately what is said by all those who use "class struggle" terminology to give themselves a more radical image.

It is the case with the RWL, which states that "the building of a class-struggle tendency in unions is a strategic goal of revolutionaries". (5)

It is the case with the Saskatchewan Waffle, which states that, to create the party, "one step in the revolutionary process is to start by changing our own organizations, to recognize the need for unions that fight on a class-struggle basis." (6)

It is the case of the so-called Marxist-Leninist League of Canada which has, in the past two years, distributed many class-struggle platforms in place of a program, and which, like the GSTQ Trotskyists, has done little more than add up the immediate demands of the working class without giving them any revolutionary perspective.

Have these upholders of class-struggle platforms, who all talk about creating the party, discovered something new? No, absolutely nothing! They have only discovered, a century late, what the working class and radical union militants have known for a long time — that workers must struggle against the bosses, that they must develop their solidarity and unite within their unions, in short, that we must struggle against the bourgeois. Of course, Canadian workers must develop their militancy and unite; but the fundamental question is, in what direction should they orient their forces and how will they put an end to capitalism and the dictatorship of the Canadian bourgeoisie? That is precisely the role of the program of the revolution, and that is what all the reformists and so-called Marxist-Leninists like those of the League try to hide from the working class.

All the workers' parties have proven that, on the question of the party and on the question of the program, they adopt entirely social-democratic positions.

It is inevitable that as the revolutionary movement develops, new obstacles will appear in its way. As the crisis develops, new sectors of the petty bourgeoisie are joining the ranks of the proletariat, bringing with them the characteristics of their class — instability and a tendency to all sorts of compromises with Capital. Disillusioned with the traditional parties, these forces now rally behind the call for a workers' party.

It is not another social-democratic party that Canadian workers need if they are to destroy the bourgeois State and socialism. They need a revolutionary proletarian party, a vanguard party able to rally exploited people, a disciplined party capable of leading us to the final victory without flinching, a

party which rallies the most determined and the most conscious elements of the proletariat and which defends the revolutionary program.

The Canadian proletariat does not need a "class-struggle" party with a program of immediate demands which betrays the interests of the revolution, whether it be the Trotskyists' party or the party that the League is about to proclaim after having brushed aside the most important questions of program, just as the ill-famed CPC(ML) did in 1970. These parties will never lead the proletariat to victory. They do, however, remind us of the necessity of getting rid of the traitors whom the proletariat encounters on its path so that the program of the revolutionary proletariat, the foundation on which the Canadian proletarian party will be built, can triumph.

(1) SOC, *Towards a New Labour Strategy*, p. 4.

(2) *Pour la construction du parti des travailleurs, position paper for the conferences organized by the RMS on the objectives and methods of building a workers' party*, p. 10; our translation.

(3) *Ibid*, p. 10.

(4) Louis Gill, "L'indépendance politique de la classe ouvrière ce n'est pas du purisme de gauche...", in *Le Jour*, June 3, 1975, p. 9; our translation.

(5) LOR (Revolutionary Workers' League), *Socialisme et Libération nationale*, p. 43; our translation.

(6) *Class-Struggle Unions, supplement in Next Year Country*, Oct.-Nov. 1977, p. 12.



Letters

APPEAL TO OUR READERS

The communist press isn't the private property of a few editors or of a few big financiers seeking profits. No! The communist press is above all a tool to struggle against the ideas of the bourgeoisie and to assert the point of view of the working class. The same is also true of a theoretical journal which wages the struggle for the defense and assertion of the **revolutionary theory of the proletariat**, the indispensable guiding light in the class war, the guide which sheds light on our daily struggles by providing us with the concentrated experience of more than one hundred years of struggle by the world proletariat.

In the struggle between the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the theories of the bourgeoisies, the theoretical journal is the indispensable tool that we must **all** build and test. The objective analysis of Canadian society, and the formulation of the strategy for the socialist revolution can only be done in the heat of action, in the forefront of the class struggle. Comrades, that is why the correspondence we receive at the journal is so important. Our ideological weapon will be worthless if each and everyone of us does not take upon himself to give it firing power and to point it towards the enemy camp.

We musn't be scared of controversy. On the contrary,

we must seek it because we communists know that correct ideas, the truth, cannot be dissociated from struggle, from the struggle against incorrect ideas, no matter where they come from and no matter what mask they are wearing. To write to the journal, to express openly one's point of view on one or another aspect of the decisive questions of the program, on one aspect or another of the present situation and also on the form, the orientation, the lessons and the weaknesses of the theoretical journal, is not only a necessity but a duty for anyone who has at heart to make truth triumph against the falsifications of those who seek to stop our march forward.

Who may and must write to the journal? Everybody! Whether it be a friend of the Marxist-Leninist movement, a progressive group or an individual; all should take the initiative of writing to the journal to express their agreement or their disagreement, to give an account of the debate that occurred during the study or the discussion of the journal, to point out its shortcomings, to complete or rectify arguments in the light of their own practical experience or their personal knowledge. To write to the journal isn't simply to write to the editors, it is primarily to open a debate throughout Canada to make this important guiding light shine even brighter, this guiding light that will lead us to victory.

To defend IN STRUGGLE!'s Draft Program, workers in a Communist Study Circle study the Marxist-Leninist conception of the State

The letter published below was sent to us by workers in an IN STRUGGLE! communist study circle in Montreal. It illustrates how more and more workers are studying theoretical questions and Marxism-Leninism to use them as weapons to defend the communist program. In publishing this letter we would also like to invite other workers and other communist study circles to relate their experiences in the study of Marxism-Leninism, IN STRUGGLE!'s draft program and the journal PROLETARIAN UNITY.

The communist study circles are designed to help us study and try to apply the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, to learn to demarcate from bourgeois and corrupt ideologies such as opportunism and revisionism and to teach us to discuss all the fundamental questions for the Canadian masses, so that we may consciously adhere to a political line that we think is correct, to a truly communist program.

We attend communist study circles to learn about what the bourgeoisie hides from us and to change the world ac-

ording to the interests of the vast majority of the working people. To achieve this goal, we must overcome the obstacles that the bourgeoisie imposes by artificially cutting intellectual from manual work. Particular techniques are needed to help those who are not used to reading and studying, those for whom intellectual work is more difficult because of their working and living conditions. We follow a definite educational program, we give ourselves a definite reading program and we receive help preparing for the sessions. We debate these ideas with the people we work with and the people we know and we are not content with empty sloganeering. As worker sympathizers of IN STRUGGLE! participating in a communist study circle, we would like to share our experience in studying the question of the State, one of the topics in our study plan. To us, this question is all the more important in that it is a

burning question for the Canadian working class and masses whose economic rights (living conditions, inflation...) and political rights (right of association, Wage Controls, new Immigration Act, Quebec anti-scab law, etc.) are being attacked in an increasingly savage way. In addition, the question of State power is at the heart of the whole question of the socialist revolution.

To prepare ourselves, we used the pamphlet on the State published by IN STRUGGLE! which gave us a short, simple and dynamic introduction to this important question, while giving a lot of concrete examples. Then most of us read Lenin's short text entitled **On the State** which delves into the method we should use in studying the nature of the bourgeois State and the need to violently overthrow it to implement socialism. To understand how this method shows us how to unveil the true nature of the Canadian State, the suggestion was made that we read a short excerpt from the third issue of the journal PROLETARIAN UNITY.

Starting from this common basis, everyone was able to check with the other comrades if he had correctly understood how the State came into being, how, from the moment there is an accumulation of wealth, it becomes possible for a group of men to secure for themselves a surplus of products and the necessity for this class of men to give itself a machine to maintain its domination. This machine consists of a repressive apparatus, an army, laws which assure the protection of private property: the State. Everybody made the link between the first type of State known to humanity, the slave State where slaves worked as their owners demanded, and the capitalist State which guarantees the bourgeoisie the maintenance of wage slavery, the maintenance of its profits and its very existence. With this in mind, we were able to prove that the State wasn't a machine designed to create harmony between classes, as all the speeches of "our" ministers and their government publicity try to have us believe. Everybody was able to give examples of interventions of this "detachment of specialized men": the police, the courts, the scabs at United Aircraft and today at Commonwealth Plywood, the "interventions" to make the Canadian Wheat Board, a State monopoly, import flour from the United States during the flour-

mill workers' strike, the Labour Code, the Wage Control Act, etc...

When we discussed these topics with the people we knew, in the factory, in our families, we were often given the answer that the State was neutral, that it had, after all, passed social legislation, etc. But in discussing this in our study circle, we realized that laws establishing the eight-hour day, the right to strike, and outlawing child labour, were won by the working class after hard struggles precisely because it struggled on the political field. We understood that certain of the social measures demanded by the people such as medicare and unemployment insurance are in fact direct grants to the capitalists which give them manpower that is relatively healthy and available at all times, and that it is even the working class, through taxes, that pays for it all.

Another argument that the bourgeoisie puts into our heads, and one that the study circle gave us the opportunity to debunk is the idea that "if you are not satisfied with the government, all you need to do is vote against it... since we live in a democratic system". This is precisely the same argument put forth by the CLC and the QFL, which are involved in campaigns to defeat Trudeau and replace him by the NDP. People who define the problem in such a way try to make us believe that this democracy is for the people, while everything we have just shown, on the contrary, proves that this democracy is for a very small minority; that, on the contrary, it is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the people. Changing the government without destroying the State machinery which allows the bourgeoisie to unscrupulously exploit the working class and the people: this is the credo of the reformists and all bourgeois elements disguised as social democrats. All this, IN STRUGGLE!'s program clearly unmasks.

We spent a lot of time grasping who composes the State by using the method recommended by Lenin. He said you must "always consider how a given phenomenon appeared in history, what are the main stages of its development, what the phenomenon has become today." (On the State). We examined how the Canadian State had taken on its present form. At the moment the emerging Canadian bourgeoisie found its interests in conflict with the interests of the British metropolis, it began

struggling for responsible government by counting on the discontent of the masses. After the failure of the 1837-1838 uprising, this bourgeoisie grew gradually stronger to the point where in 1867 it could seize political power with the creation of the Canadian federal State, a State of parliamentary democracy. The Canadian bourgeoisie used the instrument it had in hand (the State) to consolidate itself at all levels, by accumulating capital on the back of the working people and by financing its development with the money of the working people.

By keeping this same historical point of view, we understood why it was necessary for the Canadian bourgeoisie to make an alliance first with the British bourgeoisie and then with the American bourgeoisie in order to assure its survival as a class.

This historical analysis helped us find answers to widespread viewpoints which hold that since the army is under NORAD's control, since political parties receive sops from US monopolies, since the entire country is invaded by American publicity, the Canadian State is clearly not independent, but controlled by US imperialism. Canada is a sort of colony, and that means we have to wage the struggle either to reinforce our bourgeoisie (as the NDP would like) or wage a national liberation struggle. That is where the empiricism of the Red Star Collective and its forerunner the Progressive Workers' Movement, leads to; to diverting the Canadian proletariat and the oppressed masses from the only path towards their liberation: the overthrow of the Canadian bourgeoisie's dictatorship State and the establishment of the proletarian State of dictatorship.

Some comrades had studied the social-democratic programs of the "Communist" Party of Canada and the different Trotskyist groups on the question of the State a bit more closely. It didn't take them very long to completely expose all the social-democrats' fancy words. These social-democrats present the bourgeois State as a "neutral" administrative organ whose main function, "once in good hands" (i.e. those of the NDP), would be to civilize capital. These same social-democrats praise the "higher interests of the nation" and glorify the ballot box as the only "weapon" of those who wants things to change. We showed how these positions promote conciliation with

our worst enemies. We established that these positions were put forth by opportunists, by the bourgeoisie's political detachment within the working-class movement, the labour aristocracy "wined and dined by capitalism" (as one of us put it), and by the petty bourgeoisie which, in the imperialist era, desperately seeks to preserve its interests during crisis periods.

According to the traitors of the "CPC", all we need to do is put a "progressive" (in words) government in power — like the Allende government in Chile — and all our problems would be solved. But didn't the disarmed Chilean masses pay in blood the butchery that resulted? For the Trotskyists, all the proletariat needs to do is take power factory by factory, worker-controlled factory after worker-controlled factory, until the bourgeois State crumbles away under the effect of this economic movement. They deny that the State is a specialized detachment of the bourgeoisie, that it is not simply a phantom of the bourgeoisie.

These are all the falsified reflections of reality presented to us by these dangerous opportunists, in order to make political capital on our backs, in order to carve for themselves a piece of the bourgeoisie's cake by using the State as their main instrument of conciliation. All these solutions amount to handing us over defenseless to the bourgeoisie and getting us massacred like in Chile. More than ever, this convinced us that the peaceful path towards socialism is the worse illusion the working class can nurture; it is an under-estimation of the organized force of the bourgeoisie and its State. That "the working class cannot satisfy itself in taking hold of the State machinery as it is, that it must still destroy it to achieve its goals such is the historical lesson of the Paris Commune". (Marx, **The Civil War in France**). This gave us more determination to defend everywhere in the masses IN STRUGGLE!'s program which clearly states that "to accomplish its historic mission, the proletariat must place itself at the head of the oppressed and exploited masses, seize State power, destroy the apparatus of the bourgeoisie's dictatorship, and install its own dictatorship over the exploiters..." (article 10) against such illusions.

So we asked ourselves whether the time had come to take up the struggle

against the bourgeois State. One of us argued that we didn't measure up to the task, that we were not sure of winning, that we might as well set ourselves more modest goals even if it seems to make sense to educate the proletariat on the true nature of its enemies and the crucial importance of the question of the State. We showed the comrade that he was proposing a bourgeois solution, a solution that voluntarily gave up broadening the proletariat's horizon and getting him to see past narrow boss-worker relations. Comrades who had attended one of our meetings where the Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist) had been present then reminded us that on that occasion the League had stated that in general, its main tactic was to struggle "class against class", to attack the crisis measures one by one; that the crisis was in itself the bourgeoisie's offensive (yet we know perfectly well the crisis is out of the control of the bourgeoisie), that the struggle against the Wage Control Act didn't pay politically speaking, that the struggle against the State was too far off a goal for workers. The League had just discovered the new principle that since the entire bourgeoisie controls the State, the State is everywhere and we must attack it everywhere, at the MCSC (Montreal Catholic School Commission), in the food coops, behind every small or big boss. Since the State is present everywhere, it is completely useless to analyse where its main attacks against all of us come from. So the League's tactic is to get involved in the class struggle everywhere, especially in economic struggles, and wait for the moment the struggle against the State is a big hit on the League's hit parade... That is the way the League educates the working class... by telling it to wage the unceasing struggles against Capital it has been waging for years, factory by factory.

In contrast to this line and to this opportunist tactic of "the year's biggest hit", IN STRUGGLE! proposes waging the political struggle against the Canadian State's most injurious attack against the working class and exploited masses: the Wage Control Act. It proposes linking daily struggles to the struggle against this main attack against our standard of living and our right to organize. IN STRUGGLE!'s position is that the time has come to wage an offensive struggle in the political field

and, in so doing, to increase the unity of the Canadian proletariat and the Canadian masses in recognizing their main enemy, the Canadian bourgeoisie, which protects itself behind its State — a State we must one day overthrow. That is what we call educating the proletariat on its final goals and on its political tasks, which aren't as simple and as guaranteed of success as the League pretends.

Opportunists and the people eager to make themselves political capital are the ones who switch the struggle from the political field to the economic field. One comrade then reminded us of the flourmill workers' struggle where the League supported Munro's slogan of boycotting Robin Hood products to the benefit of Steinberg's while the struggle was directed against the State. One can easily guess why Munro supported the boycott as a form of action. But why did this particular form of struggle

Oppose Canada's attempt to annex the Turks and Caicos islands

Talk of annexing certain parts of the world is not new in Canada. Only a year ago we witnessed various Federal MP's — ranging from Conservatives to NDPers — clamouring for possession of a Canadian island in the sun.

Recently, this issue surfaced once again, this time in the allegedly apolitical Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), which dug up some of the old supporters (including a Conservative MP) for its national talk show "As It Happens".

The program "As It Happens" has been of interest to us, and many others, as one of the few establishment media programs which goes beyond the usual frivolous and often distorted news coverage to provide the public with the actual voices of the people who make the news. Especially on the international scene, the few interviews with representatives of progressive movements were of high educational value.

Yet two recent interviews, (Thursday, January 12, and Wednesday, January 19, 1978), seriously tarnished, (if they did not put an end to), any pretensions of democratic reporting

become the League's main tactic? Then a comrade concluded that the League was like a lumberjack who wants to cut a tree and decides to cut off all the leaves, twigs and branches before cutting the trunk.

This is how we came to understand the nature of the State and the Canadian State in particular, and why we have to overthrow it and implement socialism. This is how we learnt from the history of the international working class movement, by unmasking the true intentions of the opportunists and revisionists. This is how we collectively deepened our analysis of the facts about and actions of the League on this vital question. We concluded that the League minimizes the Canadian proletariat's political struggle to the benefit of immediate gains in the struggle against everything that moves.

In the present crisis situation, this will enable us to become more and

more vigilant in the face of the constant development of the Canadian bourgeoisie's reactionary measures.

This study session increased our consciousness of the interests the proletariat must defend, and provided us with specific scientific and ideological weapons to develop a point of view on the action of phoney socialists. Furthermore we are determined to defend IN STRUGGLE!'s Draft Program within the masses and we are more capable of doing it in a concrete and systematic way. We are increasingly determined to join the ranks of IN STRUGGLE!

We hope that our experience will encourage other comrades to educate themselves politically, in IN STRUGGLE! communist education circles.

**Workers of an IN STRUGGLE!
communist study circle**

the rationalization and enthusiasm in support of the scheme.

This irregularity could appear to be a subjective slip-up had it occurred only once. But with two interviews within a week, and with promises of more to follow, it came across very clearly that Ms. Frumm and whomever she was representing were launching and soliciting for a reactionary political scheme during publicly-subsidized working hours.

At this point we must review some of the historic facts to show how "loving" a relationship the Canadian tourist industry could have with the Caribbean people. First, in Canada, the two Native homelands that have not been intensively depopulated (the Yukon and the North-west Territories) have as yet to be allowed into Confederation as provinces (much less as equal partners). This is after 100-odd years of living on the fringe of Confederation as mere welfare wards of the State. So what fate and boat rental agencies, etc. These corporations employ only a few local people, mostly on a seasonal basis, doing mainly the lowest of subservient can a new mass of "Native Canadians" expect?

Looking at the situation in the US in the "booming" holiday state of Hawaii, after which Turks and Caicos is to be

modelled, what role does the Native Hawaiian play? Statehood came not only after the country was depopulated (from 1/3 of a million Polynesians at the time of Captain Cook's landing in 1778 to 14,000 in the 1940 census) but after it was repopulated with settlers. (See Douglas Oliver, **The Pacific Islands**, Doubleday and Anchor Press, p.255-282).

The Natives who survived this political assault only exist in any number on one small secluded island (which itself is privately owned by a "philanthropic" millionaire.) Are the Turks and Caicos people being set up for "development" via equal partnership or for settler colonialism?

Second, even if our "New Natives" were to settle for "Territorial" status, would tourism by itself improve the underdeveloped situation in which the people live? Looking at the rest of the Caribbean, it has been estimated that for every tourist dollar spent in the Islands, 77 cents returns to the country of origin, not to the benefit of the individual Canadian/American but to the benefit of the small number of giant monopoly corporations that control the whole chain of tourist facilities, including travel agencies, airline companies, cruise ships, hotels, casinos, car and boat rental agencies, etc. These corporations employ only a few local people, mostly on a seasonal basis, doing mainly the lowest of subservient jobs (porters, maids, etc.). Most of the tourist dollars are spent not on local goods to stimulate the local economy but on imported "goodies" like luxury goods, international entertainers, and jewelry and cameras in duty free shops. (See L. Perez, "Tourism in the W.I.", **Science-Society**, Winter 1973-1974) What's more, land speculation for new hotels and golf courses has created such inflated land prices that few Caribbean people are able to buy a home. On top of all this, Caribbean people are required to fit the stereotype of a fun-loving (cum Barbara Frumm-loving) happy-go-lucky people dying to sell their countries to tourism. Should people be shocked when the "natives" resist as they did in the recent Bermuda riots? Are these the sorts of changes the Turks and Caicos people should look forward to?

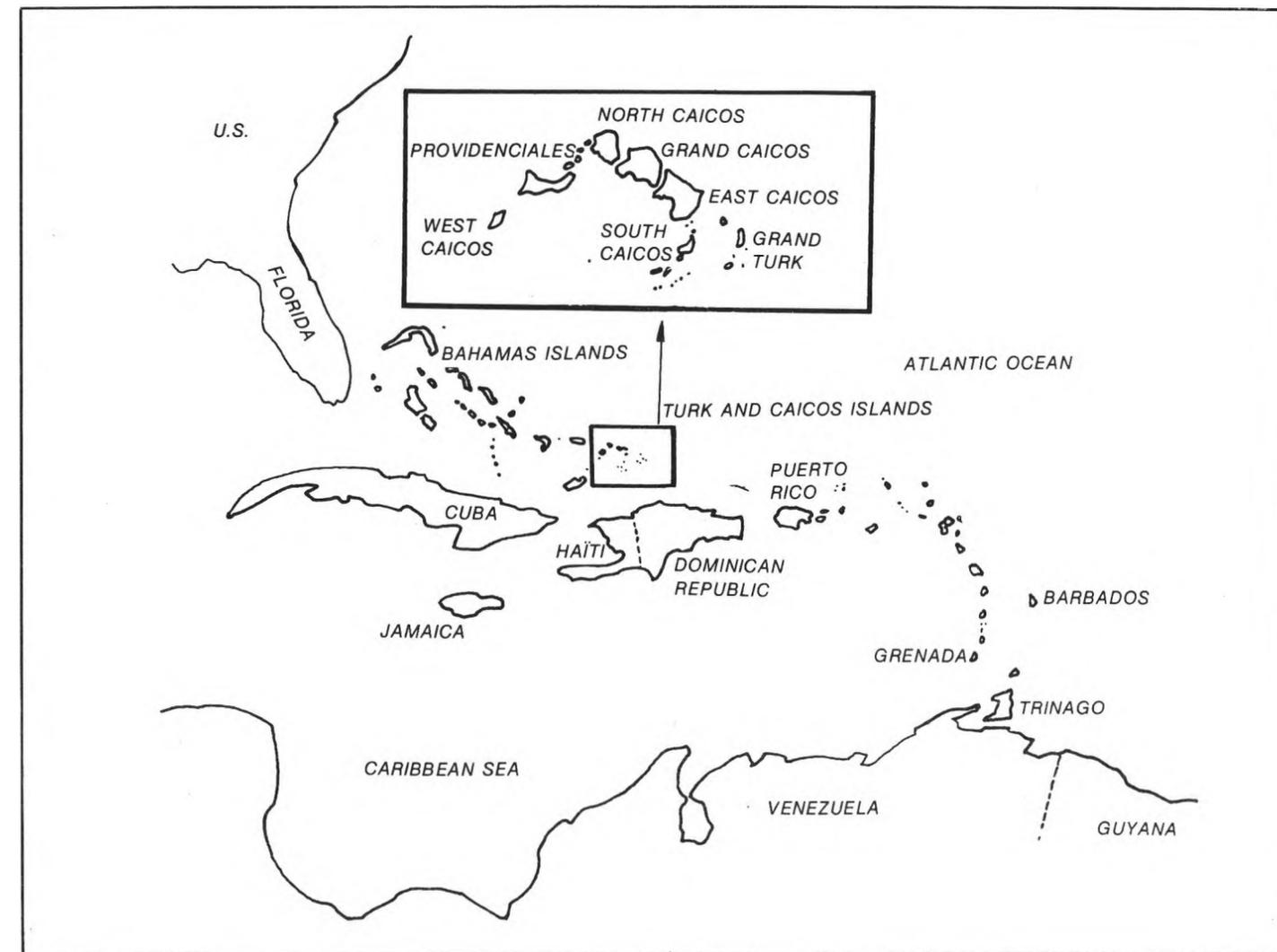
Third, one has to look at the present situation in the Turks and Caicos itself.

The islands, inhabited by 70,000 people, are presently subjected to British colonialism. This means that, economically, production is geared not to increase local productivity for satisfying local needs, but for producing export-oriented products like salt and, of late, soy beans. Politically, it means the people are under the dictates of local agents of British imperialism. Furthermore, through the years, the Turks and Caicos Islands were placed under the administration of other local colonial governments (Bahamas in 1799 and Jamaica in 1848). Hence it is imaginable that some misguided elements from amongst these oppressed people could fall for any change in status, especially if it means breaking away from the centuries-old British sword.

But to interview a minister in this same colonial administration as a representative of the point of view and sentiments of the colonized people is not only an insult to the Turks and Caicos people, but an insult to the intelligence of the listening audience, the Canadian people. Of course the representative of an exploitative system would have a vested interest in switching masters, especially when a fresh inflow of capital (cum kickbacks) is imminent. But would the Turks and Caicos people have the same vested interests, given the general results of tourism?

Finally, let us suppose that Ms. Frumm had only the interest of the Canadian people in mind. Would annexing (cum colonizing) these people and their land lift the burden of the present economic crisis from the shoulders of the Canadian workers? It looks more like another band-aid measure by the same monopoly capitalist class who brought us the recent McMillan-Bloedel, INCO and Falconbridge layoffs in the first place. Just think of the profits they could make from the cheap labour of the Turks and Caicos people and the hard-earned spending of the Canadian working people.

The magnitude of this threat, however, can only be appreciated when one views the affair in historical perspective. In 1919 the Canadian Prime Minister, Sir Robert Borden, requested ownership of certain Caribbean islands from Britain as payment for Canadian efforts in aiding the "motherland" during WWI. Later, Mariget Investment of Montreal had their millio-



naire representative Ken Patrick petition for a "monetary and customs union" of Caribbean islands with Canada. Also, Senator Paul Martin argued before a "Foreign Affairs Committee on the Caribbean" in favour of Caribbean islands being salvaged from a crumbling British empire and attaining "associate statehood" with Canada. (see "The Caribbean" by Toronto Last Post staff, **Last Post**, vol. 1, no. 3).

Behind these political manoeuvres, Canadian banks and insurance companies have been increasing their control of business investments in that region since the turn of the century. Their usual practice has been to join in the rip-off, taking advantage of tax and duty-free concessions and the anti-union measures of local reactionary regimes. They have been able to repatriate to Canada super-profits created by the sweat of local cheap wage

labour. Not to mention, of course, the super-profits made in the tourist industry itself by such Canadian corporations as The Holiday Inn.

So what one has to seriously question in this whole affair is: whose interests is Ms. Frumm serving? The interests of the Canadian and Turks and Caicos people, or those of the Canadian monopoly capitalist class which has been continually seeking to capture more foreign markets to further their own class interests?

One thing is clear. Continuing imperialist activity in the Caribbean on the part of the two superpowers or any other capitalist country will surely only further stimulate the people to revolutionary struggle for genuine independence and people's democracy.

**The African Caribbean
progressive study group
(Vancouver)**

The communist program and immediate demands

The Canadian working class is at the heart of Canadian history. Most of the government's actions involve the proletariat in one way or another. There are repressive laws (the Wage Control Act, the Immigration Act, and the so-called "anti-scab" legislation in Quebec), chocolate-coated budgets to win the favour of the proletariat, threats and police aggression and brutality against strikers, electoral promises and phoney reforms and million-dollar subsidies for trade-union education handed out to the union bosses as a reward for their loyalty to the bourgeoisie.

For the bourgeoisie, governing Canada — a capitalist and imperialist country — means governing, controlling, repressing and coaxing the working people so as to exploit them. Most of the political, ideological and, of course, economic efforts of the bourgeoisie are centred around this task.

But the bourgeoisie's work does not stop here. The bourgeoisie cannot content itself with external means of control over working people. It must also work *within their ranks*, within their organizations, where it can propose solutions to dull their revolutionary consciousness, weaken them ideologically and organizationally, and divide them in the face of the bourgeoisie's power. The bourgeoisie has a thousand and one ways of carrying out its counter-revolutionary work: it uses sold-out union leaders, reformists and class collaborators in trade unions, bourgeois socialist parties like the New Democratic Party (NDP) and the "Communist Party of Canada" ("CP"), and nationalist parties like the Parti Quebecois (PQ). Innumerable so-called socialist and revolutionary organizations appear, each with *their own solution* to the problems of the working people. Socialist tendencies multiply at an astonishing rate. Behind this socialist front, there is a broad spectrum of groups, including the social-fascist "Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist)", the various faces of Trotskyism, the Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist) and the Vancouver Red Star Collective with their nationalism and social chauvinism. In short, an incredible number of "socialists" and "revolutionaries" are soliciting the support of the proletariat, each with their own promises for the working class.

It is therefore easy to understand why the successful completion of the struggle for the elaboration of the program for the Canadian revolution is so urgent and important. It is especially urgent to demystify those promises which, on the

pretext of supporting the struggles of the working class, do nothing but lead them into the dead-end of reformism and adventurism. Our immediate task is to clearly indicate the path of revolution in Canada, define the fundamental means of revolutionary struggle, formulate the immediate demands of the communist program and, on this basis, unite the vanguard of the proletariat and create the proletarian Party. The accomplishment of this task is essential for the accomplishment of all the tasks of the socialist revolution in our country.

The history of the working-class movement has proven that, united and organized, working people can force the bourgeoisie to make concessions and thus improve their living conditions. In the struggle for the right to organize, for the nine and then the eight-hour day, for the regulation of women's work and child labour, for universal suffrage and the right to vote for women, for unemployment insurance benefits, etc., the working class has shown that it can win concessions when it modifies the balance of power between it and the bourgeoisie.

Through these various struggles, the proletariat improved conditions for pursuing the class struggle against the bourgeoisie. By broadening its democratic rights, the proletariat established better conditions for organizing economically and politically (freedom of association), for being informed and creating ever-wider links between various groups of workers (freedom of expression), and resisting brutal capitalist exploitation (the right to strike).

These struggles are inseparable from the development of the revolutionary consciousness of the more conscious elements of the proletariat. The many workers' parties set up in the late 19th and early 20th century are proof of this. The merger of scientific socialism (Marxism-Leninism) and the working-class movement occurred at the beginning of the 20th century when **socialist consciousness** began to penetrate the Canadian working class movement and, more specifically, when the Communist Party of Canada was created in 1921. This merger cemented the daily struggles of the Canadian working people and revolutionary action aimed at overthrowing bourgeois power. By setting a sole objective — socialism — for all these various struggles, Marxism-Leninism gave the struggles of the working class and people a revolutionary perspective. The immediate demands of the masses were thus

lifted out of the rut of reformism and considered from a revolutionary perspective.

We are now in an historical period similar to that which preceded the creation of the CP in the 1920's. The proletariat has had neither a revolutionary party nor a revolutionary program since the "Communist Party of Canada" brought about its own decline in the 1950's. The numerous struggles and demands of the working class are for the most part reduced to and confined within the bounds of reformism, and thus cannot contribute as they should to the development of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. It is precisely the task of the new Marxist-Leninist movement to restore the merger the revisionists sabotaged by winning the vanguard of the Canadian working class away from the influence of the reformism and bourgeois nationalism which have dominated the Canadian union and working-class movement for over thirty years.

This vitally important historical task will be accomplished in particular by the elaboration and the distribution among the people of the program of the socialist revolution. This program is an indispensable instrument for the proletarian vanguard, organized in a party, in guiding the struggle of the working class on the path of socialist revolution, the path of the destruction of bourgeois power and the construction of proletarian power. With this program, the proletarian Party will be able to work in a revolutionary way on all fronts, participate in immediate struggles with a single perspective and thereby develop revolutionary consciousness and a revolutionary movement among the working people.

To do this, the proletarian Party must develop its work and sink roots in the concrete struggles of the masses. In this way it broadens and deepens the class consciousness of the working-class movement. It also puts forward demands aimed at obtaining the best possible conditions for the class struggle of the proletariat and its revolutionary movement towards socialism.

Why include immediate demands in a program whose aim is not to **reform** the capitalist system but to **destroy** it? Why struggle now for demands which we claim can only be fully satisfied under socialism? Why such general demands? How is the struggle for these immediate demands different from reformism?

The purpose of the present article is to answer these questions.

Why these immediate demands in a revolutionary program?

Ever since the "CP" betrayed the cause of the proletarian revolution in our country, the bourgeoisie has been free to spread all sorts of erroneous ideas concerning communism and socialist revolution among the people. Schools, newspapers, radio, television, priests and bourgeois propagandists work systematically at discrediting revolution and communism. Marxist-Leninists are presented as somewhat crazy people who have but one thing in mind — to "make trouble" and destroy. Socialist revolution is pictured as an act of sabotage perpetrated by an ignorant and credulous "crowd" having succumbed to the clever demagoguery of small subversive groups. According to Trudeau, Clark, Broadbent, Levesque, Kashtan and Co., Marxist-Leninists and all revolutionaries only support the just demands of the working people so as to fool workers and lead them down a path which in fact they would not knowingly approve of.

Impressed by the delirious anti-communism of the bourgeoisie, the various revisionist groups first hushed up and then completely stifled the revolutionary program of the proletariat. The "CP" capitulated and gave up on the task of educating the working class in a revolutionary spirit and taking the lead in its struggle so as to lead the working class to socialism. Instead of preparing socialist revolution, the "CP" proposed a program for **peaceful transition** to socialism, thus joining the NDP in the swamp of social democracy. Denying that it is necessary to overthrow bourgeois power in order to build socialism in Canada, the revisionists and social democrats do their utmost to present the path to socialism as a series of economic and political reforms which, one day or another, will lead to socialism.

Besides these main revisionist tendencies, there are other revisionists — the Trotskyists. They also advocate various versions of a **transitional program** to socialism. In contrast to the NDP and the "CP", the Trotskyists claim that this transitional program is necessary so that workers will realize that this program is insufficient and understand, after having experienced repression in the struggle for radical reforms, that only socialist revolution will solve their problems once and for all. The Trotskyists claim that this will drill a bit of common sense into workers' heads; but in practice, the workers always wind up with their skins drilled full of buckshot.

It would take too long to present the Trotskyist' transitional program in detail. We can, however, expose the essential nature of their program by looking at a few of its main demands. For example, the program demands nothing less than "workers' control" of production in factories, of the economic sector, and even of national production as a whole. To achieve this, Trotskyists demand "the abolition of business secrets" which they contend "is the first step toward actual control of industry" (1). The basic idea here is that we must take up, **under capitalism**, the task of "reorganizing the whole system of production and distribution on a more dignified and workable basis. If the abolition of business secrets be a necessary condition to workers' control, then control is the first step along the road to the socialist guidance of economy." (2) But this is not all. The Trotskyists also propose "the expropriation of the private banks and the state-ization of the credit system" (3). They go on to say:

"In order to create a unified system of investments and credits, along a rational plan corresponding to the interests of the entire people, it is necessary to merge all banks into a single national institution. Only the expropriation of the private banks and the concentration of the entire credit system in the hands of the state will provide the latter with the necessary actual, i.e. material, resources — and not merely paper and bureaucratic resources — for economic planning." (4) (our emphasis)

Make no mistake about it, these are not the words of a Social Creditor; it is someone who talks in the name of communism and proletarian revolution!

Trotskyists claim that if we placed **all the banking capital** in the hands of the present State, that is, the bourgeois State, the State of monopolies and finance capital, we will be able to apply "a rational plan corresponding to the interests of the entire people"! Telling workers that they can control industry under capitalism and that financial monopoly (total monopoly) can serve the "interests of the entire people" is nothing but a hoax which in practice can only result in reformism and adventurism. It is reformist because mobilizing the masses around such demands spreads the illusion that the very basis of capitalism can be reformed, just as the social democrats and revisionists claim. But since this is impossible in practice, it leads to adventurist actions in many cases. For, discouraged by innumerable defeats in the sterile struggle for such demands, some individuals will wind up seeing revolutionary struggle as nothing other than desperate spectacular actions.

However, the Trotskyists confuse things further by going on to warn that "the **statization of the banks** will produce these results only if the state power itself passes completely from the hands of the exploiters into the hands of the toilers." (5) Just a minute ago, we were dealing with a **transitional program** whose aim was to lead the masses to socialist revolution. Now, they say that the program can only be achieved "if the state power itself passes completely from the hands of the exploiters into the hands of the toilers" — in other words, after socialist revolution. They do not recognize the fundamental distinction between the satisfaction of immediate demands — destined to create better conditions for the class struggle of the proletariat — and the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. By not recognizing this distinction, the Trotskyists wind up in the same position as the social democrats and revisionists, and leave themselves open to two deviations: the illusions of reformism, and adventurism — which, in practice, usually amounts to terrorism.

As we can see by looking at their immediate demands, the Trotskyists have a very particular conception of revolution. Actually, Trotskyists do not understand that the socialist revolution is above all a political act which involves overthrowing the power of an exploiting class, the bourgeoisie, and replacing it by the power of another class, the working class. The economic expropriation of capitalists, the control of factories and the economy by the working class in power through the instrument of the proletarian State, will only be possible after this political act has been carried out, and not before. Any claims to the contrary do nothing but spread illusions among workers and turn them away from the path of the revolution. Trotskyists put forward demands which cannot possibly be achieved under capitalism simply because, according to them, capitalism will crumble all by itself, magically, as a result of the struggle for immediate demands. So their demands deal mainly with economic questions, something that makes them all the more unachievable under capitalism, for the economy will never be controlled by the proletariat before socialist revolution, which is a political act.

As if these contemptuous and demagogical tactics were not enough, the working class also has to put up with the equally contemptuous and demagogical illusions sown by so-called

Marxist-Leninists, who also attempt to lead the working class into the dead-end of "step by step" tactics, the radicalization at all costs of immediate struggles and "class-struggle platforms" as a replacement for the program of the socialist revolution. Furthermore, the Communist League and the Red Star Collective of Vancouver would like the proletariat to struggle first against the two superpowers, supposedly a necessary preliminary step in achieving socialism.

All these people distort the role of the proletarian program as a whole, and, in particular, that of the immediate demands.

In order to defeat these erroneous orientations, conscious workers must correctly understand the general process of socialist revolution. It is especially important to understand the relationship between immediate struggles and revolution, the relationship between the daily struggles of the working people and revolution — in short, the relationship between revolutionary tactics and strategy — and the fact that the only role of both tactics and strategy is to consolidate the camp of revolution and weaken that of reaction. Only then will we have a correct and clear idea of the significance of the immediate demands in the communist program and what distinguishes them from the electoral promises of revisionists, reformists and social democrats.

Immediate demands are an integral part of the communist program

The immediate demands of the communist program are inseparable from the program as a whole. They are not merely the sum of all the partial demands for which working people can struggle in different places at different times. Nor are they the sum of all imaginable or desirable reforms destined to win people's votes. Nor are they mere promises which communists make to workers.

The program for the proletarian Party does not tell the masses how communists are going to solve their problems for them, today or under socialism. It points out the path working people, in particular the proletariat, must follow to take their destiny in hand. This is why the **Draft Program** put forward by IN STRUGGLE! (6) states, "The emancipation of the workers will be accomplished by the workers themselves" (article 9); and further on, "The masses make the revolution, the party makes them conscious" (article 15b).

In other words, immediate demands must be an integral part of the Canadian socialist revolution. They must contribute to the accomplishment of the tasks and objectives of the program as a whole. They must be means for developing revolutionary tactics and strategy in our country.

Article 13 of the **Draft Program** presents the basic principle of the revolutionary strategy and tactics of the communist program:

*"To lead this protracted struggle (ed. note, the struggle for proletarian revolution) to victory, the proletariat will apply a central principle in all revolutionary strategy which consists of **building and constantly reinforcing the camp of the revolution while continually weakening the reactionary camp...**" (our emphasis).*

This is what must guide all the actions of the revolutionary proletariat; it is the essence, the key to the strategy and tactics of its party — the proletarian Party. Consequently, this must also guide the proletarian Party on the question of immediate demands.

Though immediate demands must contribute to the development of revolutionary strategy and tactics in the concrete conditions of Canada, they are not the only front on which the proletarian Party must work, they are not themselves the strategy and tactics. This Party is a revolutionary party whose goal is to overthrow bourgeois power, expropriate the bourgeoisie,

destroy capitalism and build socialism. The party has the task, for example, of "uniting the proletariat of the different nations and national minorities, uniting the different popular strata in the struggle against exploitation and oppression on the line defined by the party and winning the mass organizations to its leadership, especially the unions" (article 15b), and of "arming the masses to face reactionary violence and to guarantee the victory of the revolution in any insurrectional situation" (article 15c).

It is evident that to accomplish these tasks, the proletarian Party cannot rely solely on immediate demands, which are, by nature, demands made by the proletariat in the present conditions of the bourgeois system. It would not occur to anybody to demand, for example, that the bourgeoisie arm the masses so that they be better equipped to crush it. Does this mean that these demands do not contribute to the achievement of these tasks? No! On the contrary, they must be seen as an integral part of the tasks of the party. As a matter of fact, the pertinence of the choice of these demands must be evaluated mainly in terms of their capacity to contribute to the development of these tasks, and thus channel the struggles of the people in a definite direction, that of socialist revolution. How can immediate demands play this role? This is what we will look at now.

The role of immediate demands in the communist program

The programs of the bourgeois and revisionist parties include a wide variety of demands or, to be more accurate, **promises**, all aimed at improving the lot of the people. Trudeau promised a "just society", the reduction of regional inequalities and a fairer distribution of social wealth among citizens. The NDP and the "CP" want to control the monopolies and restore private enterprise by helping out small capitalists as a transitional step towards socialism. The PQ promises the creation of "an economic system which eliminates all forms of exploitation of workers" (7) while leaving intact the very basis of that exploitation, the private ownership of the means of production.

It is quite a hodge-podge. Everyone promises that this or that party will reduce the exploitation and oppression of the masses in this or that domain. All these promises depend on the illusion, cultivated by the bourgeoisie, that the economic and political development of capitalist Canada (or capitalist Quebec) can be oriented towards assuring the ever-greater well-being and security of workers, without questioning the very foundations of the capitalist system.

These promises sometimes go so far as to present, in a demagogical way, solutions which are inapplicable in a capitalist system. This is the case with the demand for "full employment", which the NDP claims it can achieve right away, which the "CP" claims it will be able to achieve with its anti-monopoly coalition government, and which the PQ, more subtly, says that it "aims at achieving" (8). If we really mean "full employment", and not just a series of temporary measures and disguised unemployment, like the Young-Canada-at-Work projects, full employment can only be reached under socialism... unless, of course, capitalism is magically transformed into the opposite of what it is now. For it has been proven that capitalism and unemployment go together like fire and smoke. To deny this is simply pure demagoguery.

The communist program states the truth. Full employment is incompatible with the economic laws of capitalism; to achieve full employment, we must build socialism. This does not mean that the struggles of the unemployed for jobs and the struggles against plant shutdowns and cutbacks in social services are not just struggles and that it is not necessary to support them. On the contrary, we must support and even inte-

“In its struggle to capture political power, the proletariat must conduct a relentless battle using every possible method of struggle. It must lead struggles and put forward demands which are designed to weaken its enemies, to strengthen its fighting capacity, and to win the vast majority of the working masses of the city and the countryside to the leadership of its party. The party must link the immediate demands of the proletariat and of the masses to their essential demands that can only be fully satisfied through the socialist revolution...” (Excerpt from Article 16 of the Draft Program presented by the Canadian Marxist-Leninist Group IN STRUGGLE!)

nsify these mass struggles to force the capitalists and their governments to provide jobs. We must do this to develop a balance of power unfavourable to the capitalists and their State and denounce them. This one thing. But it is quite another to present this as a promise or demand whose fulfillment is compatible with the capitalist system.

This example raises the question of the nature and role of immediate demands in the program of the proletarian revolution. By looking at this question, we will be more able to understand the reasons underlying the choice of the immediate demands in the program put forward by IN STRUGGLE!

Article 16 of IN STRUGGLE!'s **Draft Program** explains clearly the role of immediate demands. It states:

“In its struggle to capture political power, the proletariat must conduct a relentless battle using every possible method of struggle. It must lead struggles and put forward demands which are designed to weaken its enemies to strengthen its fighting capacity, and to win the vast majority of the working masses of the city and the countryside to the leadership of its party.”

This is clearly quite different from the promises of the bourgeois and revisionist parties. In this article, as in all the others, the program talks of the **tasks of the proletariat** and not of what some providential saviour will accomplish for it.

Article 16 emphasizes three functions of immediate demands:

- 1) **to weaken the enemies of the proletariat;**
- 2) **to strengthen its fighting capacity;**
- 3) **to win the working masses of Canada to the leadership of its party.**

Given the concrete conditions in which the masses in this country find themselves, the immediate demands of the communist program aim at identifying the most important areas of struggle, those areas which will contribute to the best possible development of the class struggle of the proletariat. The meaning of this will be clearer if we consider in turn each of the various aspects of the role that immediate demands should play.

Weaken the enemies of the proletariat and strengthen its fighting capacity. It may seem obvious that a party which wants to put an end to capitalist oppression and exploitation should put forward demands aimed at weakening the bourgeoisie. And yet, so-called socialists and revolutionaries, including the type that claim to be Marxist-Leninist, often propose strategies and tactics which under the cover of working for socialism in fact contribute to strengthening the class enemy.

Take, for example, the NDP and the “CP”. The first claims to be “socialist” and the later even claims to be “communist”. Both claim to be struggling for a socialist Canada. Both claim to fight capitalist exploitation. And yet, both also state that they will resolutely defend the good non-monopoly capitalists against the evil monopolies. They are even ready to go so far as to subsidize them in exchange for electoral support.

Here is the NDP's point of view.

“Old party governments suffer from yet another superstition: they continue to speak piously of “free enterprise”. In its name they have weakened the economic growth of Canada and her people (ed. note — and also, therefore, of Canadian monopolies). The truth is that the economy is effectively in the hands of corporate giants, and true freedom of enterprise has been stifled. The New Democratic government will expand opportunities for genuine private initiative by providing economic growth and by curbing corporate control.” (9)

To claim to fight capitalism while promising to “expand opportunities for genuine private initiative”, in other words, for genuine capitalist initiative: this is what social democrats have the nerve to call “socialist” political economy. Is capitalist success not always accompanied by an intensification of workers' exploitation? However, this is the social-democratic idea of how to weaken the bourgeoisie and strengthen the working class: strengthen these small and middle-sized capitalists who hire 60% of the Canadian labour force and who own the shops and plants where the wages and working conditions are among the worst in the country. The workers of Commonwealth Plywood in Quebec, on strike for months now against a boss who refuses to recognize their union, would undoubtedly be overjoyed to hear that the NDP has such a high opinion of their reactionary boss!

And as if this was not enough, the NDP defends all Canadian capitalists, large or small, on the pretext of fighting American control of our economy.

“In addition, legislation will be introduced to make all companies operating in Canada more effectively Canadian by insistence on a minimum percentage of their capital and membership of their boards of directors being held by Canadians resident in Canada. The federal New Democratic government, and where possible the provincial governments, will negotiate over a period of years the selective repatriation of Canada's resources and industries.” (10)

Isn't it marvellous? The Canadian financial oligarchy can sleep soundly, for the NDP will take care of providing it with even more promising possibilities of investments. As a matter of fact, the NDP has already gotten down to work even though it is not yet in power. It has already begun trying to please Canadian monopolies. During the recent negotiations on the contract for the construction of the Mackenzie Valley pipeline, the NDP was the most ardent defender of the demands of the “Canadian” corporations. As a CBC reporter so aptly put it: “The NDP's corporate welfare **bums** have turned into the NDP's corporate welfare **chums**”. A very good description of social-democratic opportunism.

Not wanting to be left out of the race to please the Canadian bourgeoisie, the “CP” took up the anti-monopoly and “Canadianize capitalism” hymn, on the pretext, of course, of serving the workers' interests and “opening the road to socialism”. The “CP” declares in its program:

“The old-line parties (ed. note—like the NDP, they criticize the parties in power because they are “old” and not because they are bourgeois) and their governments are the upholders of monopoly rule, and the people's struggle against this rule is directed primarily against the government and state which uphold it. The breaking of the monopolist grip on Canada would free our country's economy from foreign control and from the rule of Canadian monopoly capital. It would constitute both a national and radical democratic transformation, an upsurge of popular democratic action which would open the way to a sweeping advance along the road to socialism.” (11)

Of course! Just take the “glorious” example of Chile, where the revisionist “road to socialism” is stained with the blood of hundreds of thousands of workers!

It is significant that everywhere opportunism uses the same tactics, and poses the question of the road to revolution and the immediate demands for which we must struggle in the same way. Although they use various reasonings and justifications, their methods are always the same. Whether it be the

NDP with its gradual, uneventful evolution towards "democratic socialism", or the "CP" with its stage of anti-monopoly coalition government, or the Trotskyists with their "transitional program", or even the "CPC(M-L)" with its "anti-imperialist democratic mass revolution", or the Canadian Communist League with its "class-struggle platforms" and its anti-superpower stage, the essential tactic is the same. It consists in justifying opportunist compromises with the bourgeoisie on the pretext that revolution is no longer or not yet on the agenda for today, and putting forward demands which, in practice, strengthen the class enemy (economically, politically or militarily) and which limit mass struggle to immediate, partial objectives.

However, a communist program is worthy of its name only if its demands are based on the principle of **weakening the enemies of the proletariat and strengthening its fighting capacity**. These two elements are inseparable. It is impossible to strengthen the fighting capacity of the proletariat and at the same time strengthen the enemy. This type of balancing act is the trademark of opportunism and revisionism.

The **Draft Program** presented by IN STRUGGLE! also states that immediate demands must contribute to **winning the vast majority of the working masses of the city and the country-side to the leadership of its party**. This means, first of all, that immediate demands must defend the interests of the Canadian proletariat as a whole, and not merely of one of its parts. These demands also concern factions of other classes which, in certain circumstances, will struggle alongside the proletariat in order to counter this or that attack by the forces of reaction, as is the case with the democrats who are now rising up more and more against police repression and the extension of the anti-democratic powers of the political police (the RCMP).

It is in the daily struggle against all forms of oppression that the proletariat proves that it truly represents the interests of those who are victims of various forms of repression under capitalism. Be it on the question of fundamental democratic rights, Canada's foreign policy or the living conditions of the masses under capitalism, the proletariat is the only class capable of providing consistent and coherent leadership and support to all those who suffer under capitalism and imperialism in this country. It is in particular by defending the demands put forward in the communist program that the proletariat will succeed in uniting the vast majority of the working masses behind the leadership of its party. These demands are rooted in the concrete reality of Canada, and the struggle to force the bourgeoisie to satisfy them makes possible the development of a movement of opposition to oppression and exploitation in all areas.

Does this mean that the communist program is not the program of a specific class, the proletariat, and that just about anybody can find a solution for his problems in it? Not in the least. These demands concern other classes or segments of classes only in as much as their interests in a particular question and for a limited period of time coincide with the interests of the proletariat. However, the proletariat is the only class whose interest it is to carry out the entire communist program, up to and including the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the abolition of the private ownership of the means of production, and the establishment of socialism. The communist program is firm about this and it makes no concessions to other classes on points of principle. At the same time, it states that the proletariat is the natural and genuine representative of all those who under capitalism are subject to attacks from the camp of reaction. This is why the immediate demands of the program of the proletariat also concern other strata and factions of classes; and in the struggle to win these demands from the bourgeoisie, the proletariat proves that it alone can guarantee the

passage to a society where oppression and the exploitation of man by man will no longer exist.

Why struggle today for demands which can only be completely satisfied under socialism?

It may seem inconsistent to state on the one hand that the problems of the masses under capitalism can only be solved by socialist revolution and, on the other hand, to call upon the proletariat to struggle for immediate demands which, if even partially satisfied, improve its living conditions. Previously in this article, we criticized the opportunists who attempt to reduce class struggle to a struggle for partial reforms and particular or "transitional" objectives. Is this what the communist program does by putting forward immediate demands?

As we have already mentioned, the immediate demands are an integral part of the communist program and must contribute to the accomplishment of the general tasks of the proletariat. We have also seen that the role of these demands is to weaken the enemies of the proletariat, strengthen its fighting capacity and win the vast majority of the working masses of the city and the countryside to the leadership of its party. We will now look at the place which the struggle for these demands occupies in the overall process of the socialist revolution in Canada.

These demands are not the invention of some dreamer who one fine morning set out to look for all the reforms and improvements imaginable in the living conditions of the working masses in the context of the capitalist system. Nor are they empty, unrealizable demands in the present conditions of Canada. They are demands which can be partially achieved but which "can only be fully satisfied through the socialist revolution" (article 16, our emphasis).

The choice of which demands can best contribute to developing more favourable conditions for socialist revolution does not depend on the whims of Marxist-Leninists. It is only by analysing the concrete historical conditions of the country from the point of view of the interests of the proletariat and socialist revolution that it is possible to determine which immediate demands are at the heart of the development of class struggle in our country.

However, this development is neither linear nor mechanical. The development of Canadian society and the rapidity or slowness of this development are mainly determined by the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The balance of power between these two classes determines the degree to which the masses are oppressed. This oppression will be greater or lesser depending on the strength of the proletariat, which determines the general conditions of the exercise of democracy, the progress or regression of the general living conditions of the people, etc. The balance of power between the two fundamental classes in Canadian society has effects on all domains of life in our country: the economy, ideology, national and international policies. If, for example, the proletariat is weakened, it will be easier for the bourgeoisie to impose one restriction after another on the exercise of democratic rights; to repress even more the most exploited sectors of the proletariat, like the immigrants, the unemployed and women; and to develop its imperialist activities in the world and contribute to the preparation of a world war.

It is the scientific analysis of these concrete conditions of the class struggle in Canada which enables Marxist-Leninists to identify those immediate demands which are most likely to modify the balance of power in favour of the interests of the proletariat and socialist revolution. So we can say that the immediate demands are the expression of the fundamental tendencies of the class struggle in Canada and are, therefore,

one aspect of the overall process of the Canadian revolution. The proletariat must act to influence these tendencies so as to contribute to the ripening of the conditions for socialist revolution.

The choice of these demands is not made spontaneously. At a time when some people are collecting all sorts of "up-to-date", popular demands and appealing to the proletariat with their "pamphlet of demands", claiming that it is the workers' program, it is especially important to stress the fact that only a scientific analysis, based on a coherent and consistently revolutionary class point of view, can enable us to identify correctly the essential immediate demands around which the working masses in our country must be united. The lengthy programs of the NDP and groups such as the Regroupement des militants syndicaux in Quebec (a front for the Trotskyists of the GSTQ) are swamped with demands which, if summed up, amount to nothing more than an ideal renovation of the capitalist system — a purely reformist illusion. From the point of view of the creation of the proletariat party, the revolutionary party of the working class, the GSTQ/RMS's method of collecting demands can in no way lead to a genuine program of the revolutionary party. Such lengthy programs aimed at pleasing everyone are like those of the old reformist social-democratic and workers' parties — powerless programs which drown the class struggle in an ocean of partial demands, and which can be nothing but the flabby programs of poorly-defined parties, incapable of providing the revolutionary leadership which the working masses need in order to free themselves from the yoke of capitalism.

This is not to say that the demands of the communist program are not a guide for more limited and specific demands of the working class. On the contrary, the demands of the communist program are an essential instrument for linking other specific or limited demands arising out of the struggles of the working class to the fundamental demands of the program and its global revolutionary perspectives. For example, article 16 of the program, which demands the complete equality of men and women in law and in practice, guides communists to support the struggle of working women for paid maternity leave and daycare facilities. Thus, the immediate demands of the communist program provide in this case a firm basis for supporting all mass struggles which contribute to the complete equality of men and women in law and in practice. They are also an instrument both for guaranteeing that these struggles are victorious and for dealing sharper and sharper blows to the Canadian bourgeoisie. The same applies to the demand to put an end to all limitations on the right to strike and to associate. This demand, linked to the communist program as a whole, provides extensive possibilities for communists to work, distribute their program and give revolutionary leadership to working class struggles.

The communist point of view on immediate demands must not be confused with the revisionist and reformist conception of the harmonious and uninterrupted improvement of workers' material and cultural living conditions. A general analysis of the development of Canadian society points to the inevitable confrontation between the forces of progress and revolution and those of reaction. It shows that the proletariat's partial victories are always conditional, are never won once and for all, and are always put into question by the bourgeoisie. This situation makes possible the development of revolutionary consciousness, the consciousness that to fulfill working people's aspirations to the broadest possible democracy, justice and moral and material well-being, we must put an end to capitalism and the power of the bourgeoisie once and for all. However, this consciousness can only develop if guided by the communist program.

This is why article 16 of the **Draft Program** proposed by IN STRUGGLE! states that the essential demands of the working

masses can only be fully satisfied through the socialist revolution.

The immediate demands have therefore a double nature. They reflect the daily struggles waged by Canadian workers to resist exploitation and oppression and improve their living conditions. They also identify the most important areas of struggle, where the confrontation between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is decisive in the development of the revolutionary struggle in Canada.

In the struggles to have these demands satisfied, the working masses develop their organizations and their consciousness of the just nature of the communist program. Past victories like universal suffrage, the right to vote for women, the eight-hour day, the right to organize and the right to strike have proven that when they are united and organized, the masses can modify the balance of power between them and the bourgeoisie. Failures and temporary setbacks, like the abolition of the right to strike in certain sectors, the limitation of the rights of association and expression, wage cuts, compulsory overtime, etc., are concrete proof that to build a better world workers must take power — the power which the capitalists use to impose their will on the vast majority of the Canadian people — away from the bourgeoisie.

So while the immediate demands included in the communist program can be achieved under capitalism, they can only be fully achieved under socialism. They are compatible with the capitalist system, but whether or not they will be obtained depends on the balance of power between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, which necessarily points to the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie in favour of the proletariat.

Let us now see what this means in practice by looking at the immediate demands in the **Draft Program** presented by IN STRUGGLE! These demands can be divided into three categories: 1) the essential democratic demands (16 a, b, c, d.); 2) the essential economic demands (16e, f); 3) the demands which express the internationalist duties of the proletariat (16g, h).

The essential democratic demands

Demands 16 a, b, c, and d concern the fundamental democratic rights for which the proletariat must struggle in order to weaken the bourgeoisie, strengthen its own fighting capacity and thus establish an increasingly favourable balance of power in the class struggle in Canada.

Democratic struggles and the socialist revolution in Canada

We will not deal here in detail with the pronounced tendency of bourgeois power to move towards reaction, the negation of democratic rights and even fascism. The Canadian bourgeoisie has sufficiently proven that it intends to stay in power at all costs, and that its interests, in particular its imperialist interests, force it to intensify the exploitation of workers and constantly limit their rights. Just take, as an example, the avalanche of repressive laws and attacks that have hit the Canadian working class in recent years: the Wage Control Act to hold down wages and neutralize the right to negotiate, the Immigration Act against immigrant workers, the Unemployment Act against the unemployed, measures against welfare recipients, the expropriation of the Native people, police attacks on strikers, injunctions, imprisonments, the prohibition of postering, anti-demonstration laws, ... and the list is not complete!

In such conditions, the struggle to preserve and extend democratic rights is vitally important for the development of the class struggle of the proletariat in general and, in particular, for the revolutionary struggle for socialism. If we allow the bourgeoisie to chop away at democratic rights as it is doing now, we are paving the way for the day when it will exercise its dictatorship openly and brutally. The bourgeoisie knows very well that freedom of expression and association and the right to strike are weapons which will sooner or later be turned against it. The bourgeoisie knows very well that if it allows the masses to develop their defence organizations, like the unions, if it allows revolutionary education and organizational work to continue among the masses, if it does not block the development and radicalization of mass actions, then it runs the risk of being overthrown in more decisive confrontations. It undoubtedly knows from experience that the days of revolutionary confrontation are approaching. It knows that the agony and decay of the economic and political crisis racking the imperialist world foretell a period of revolutionary storms. And so it has decided to attack the fundamental democratic rights of the people. Its goal: to weaken and reduce as much as possible the fighting capacity of the people. This is why we say that democratic struggles have a strategic dimension — they help improve conditions for the development of the revolutionary struggle for socialism.

Democratic struggles are also particularly important because they prepare the people to administer the economy and participate in the affairs of the socialist State.

When we say that democratic struggles have a **“strategic dimension”**, we do not mean that by multiplying these struggles indefinitely we can one day free workers, or even that this way of seeing things is the strategic path to socialism. We should also beware of the **“step by step”** conception of the path of revolution, which sees democratic struggles as a separate step **before** the revolutionary struggle to overthrow capitalism. Democratic struggles are not an indispensable step, they are not an absolutely essential condition for revolution. If seen as an indispensable or essential condition, they become an iron collar that contains the class struggle of the proletariat within the bounds of reforms. These two conceptions are reformist interpretations of what the **“strategic dimension”** of immediate demands means in terms of democratic rights. From a revolutionary point of view, the question is that of the role of the democratic struggles which the masses must wage under capitalism in the more general context of the process of socialist revolution. In other words, reformists focus on reforms in themselves, without situating them in the perspective of a fundamental and radical change in society. Revolutionaries, however, see reforms as one aspect of class struggle subordinated to the general class struggle for the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie. Reforms are not a goal in themselves. They are neither steps nor absolute conditions for revolutionary struggle. It is quite possible for a revolutionary situation to emerge before the democratic struggle has reached the level that we might have hoped for. Should we then refuse to engage in the final battle to overthrow the bourgeoisie? Of course not! Nevertheless, we should not forget that democratic struggles have a role to play in the overall revolutionary process, and that they have both a tactical and a strategic dimension.

a) the complete freedom of expression, of association and of economic and political organization for the proletariat and the popular strata and the complete independence of these organizations, including the unions, from the bourgeois State

One area in which the bourgeoisie especially likes to sink its claws is the freedom of expression and association. Two

things horrify it: **truth** and the **organized resistance** of the working masses. On the other hand, the working masses consider the search for truth, as well as the work to make it known, and questions of organization to be extremely precious weapons.

To fight for **freedom of expression** against the attacks of the bourgeoisie is to fight so that all workers can express their ideas, their feelings, their anger and their demands in any place, at any time, by whatever means they think necessary. It means fighting for the workers' right to information and knowledge. It means fighting for the right to spread these ideas and information among the masses — in the streets, at factory gates, in workplaces, in schools.

Only the bourgeoisie and its agents in the working-class movement have an interest in limiting and even forbidding the circulation of ideas among the masses. Judges, company bosses, labour bosses and people like Drapeau, the Mayor of Montreal, do everything in their power to keep workers away from the truth, and in particular, the truth that only socialist revolution can sweep away the decay of the capitalist system.

We are now witnessing an extremely dangerous growth of all sorts of prohibitions which limit the freedom of expression more and more. Whether it be the prohibition to enter a factory with a communist, or even union, newspaper or the abolition of history and philosophy courses in schools, the prohibition to put up posters in public places and to demonstrate or the abolition of Marxist courses in universities, it is always an attempt on the part of the bourgeoisie to muzzle the masses, to keep the masses in ignorance so as to better deceive them. There is no fundamental difference between such actions and the massive destruction of so-called **“subversive”** literature. The difference is only quantitative.

True communists are not afraid of truth; they are not afraid to confront ideas in front of the masses. On the contrary, they know that truth is revolutionary and that, in the end, it always triumphs. They know that the masses will eventually be able to tell which of the innumerable solutions proposed to them is really the path leading to their emancipation. They are therefore always ardent defenders of freedom of expression and consider it an essential demand in the program for the proletarian revolution.

However, attacks on freedom of expression are not sufficient to guarantee the reinforcement of the bourgeoisie's domination over the working masses. To do this, it has to limit, control, neutralize and even ban organizations devoted to the defence of the economic and political interests of workers.

We live in a country where freedom of association has been won through the bitter struggles of the working class. When the first trade unions were created, many workers were subjected to drastic repression. Imprisonment, fines, the assassination of union leaders, the deportation of immigrant workers — such was the lot dealt out to the pioneers of the Canadian union movement by the bourgeoisie. However, the determination, heroism and organizational spirit of the masses won out over bourgeois reaction in this field, and the governments were forced to concede the right to associate.

But the bourgeoisie did not give up the struggle. What it was not able to achieve through the outright prohibition of unions it is attempting to achieve by neutralizing these mass organizations — in particular, by integrating these organizations into the State apparatus. This is what is behind its constant attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of unions, to control their procedures, strike votes, union funds, etc. It is also for this reason that it offers corrupt union leaders seats on some government bodies, commissions and other State organisms in the hope of making the unions a party to its repressive policies.

It is useless to list all the measures used by the bourgeoisie

to limit and neutralize the right of association. We must, however, stress the crucial importance of the battle which workers are waging to preserve and extend this right. Just imagine what the lot of working people would be if the bourgeoisie achieved its goal. Imagine that working-class organizations were either outlawed or entirely controlled directly by the bourgeois State. Not only would it be almost impossible to oppose the daily oppression of Capital, it would also become extremely difficult to develop the movement for socialist revolution in Canada. It is, without exaggeration, a crucial matter for the proletariat, whose only weapon when it confronts the bourgeoisie is its organization.

For all these reasons, the communist program must pay great attention to the defence of the **freedom of expression and association**. The practical consequences of this demand are very great, both for the defence of the immediate economic and political interests of workers and for the revolutionary struggle. This is the essential demand which workers, progressive people and all those concerned about the democratic interests of the people must defend when the bourgeoisie attempts to silence and neutralize the people and their organizations. This is the demand which we must put forward when bosses forbid the reading of a newspaper in the factory, when the government prohibits posterings, demonstrations and the distribution of leaflets and newspapers, when the PQ tries to muzzle all opposition to its separatist project, and forces political organizations to provide a list of their financial supporters.

So, although the demand does not specifically include all the particular demands related to the freedom of expression and association, it covers them all. Its general, and at the same time precise, nature makes it a powerful instrument of struggle to unite all those who can be united on these grounds against bourgeois reaction. In this way, the demand fully plays its role of weakening the bourgeoisie, strengthening the fighting capacity of the proletariat, and uniting under the leadership of its party all those who oppose arbitrary police actions, the anti-democratic practices of the political police, and the limitation of the freedom of expression and association.

b) the recognition in practice of the national rights of the Quebec nation, including the right to secession, and of the national rights of the Inuit, Amerindian, and francophone minorities; the abolition of all forms of discrimination against the minorities and the immigrants

The current political crisis in Canada is an excellent example of the importance of the phenomenon of national oppression in our country. National oppression is a means for the Canadian bourgeoisie to dominate the working masses. For the demagogues of Canadian **“national unity”** and for those of Quebec separatism, the national question is a subject of odious bargaining that hides the economic and political interests of the various factions of the bourgeoisie. The Canadian bourgeoisie wants to preserve the status quo so as to maintain the overexploitation of certain sectors of workers thanks to the national oppression of the Quebec people and the Inuit and Amerindian minorities. The bourgeois separatists in Quebec would like to reap the benefits of the exploitation of the Quebec working class, and to continue oppressing and exploiting the Native national minorities and the immigrant workers of **“la belle province”** for their own profit.

So the proletariat of our country is faced with the historic task of presenting its own solution to the national question and building its unity and strength in the struggle against the various bourgeois cliques' demagogical exploitation of the resistance to national oppression. The history of our country has shown that if the proletariat does not succeed in doing this, it will be in a position of weakness vis-à-vis its enemies,

who draw their strength from national divisions, racism, and the chauvinism which they have sown in many ways since the early days of our country.

This demand for the national rights of Quebec and the national minorities in our country presupposes the complete recognition, in practice, of all the legitimate rights of the various oppressed strata of the Canadian population. What does this mean? First of all, the inalienable right of the Quebec nation to self-determination, including the right to secession, if the population so decides. This means that the Party of the proletariat will respect any democratic decision of the Quebec people on the question of separation from the rest of Canada, although the Party will struggle to convince the proletariat of Quebec that separation from its class brothers and sisters in English Canada would in no way serve its interest. The Party of the proletariat will oppose any attempt to interfere with this democratic process by force or otherwise. On the issue of language, this implies the full recognition of the language rights of the Quebec nation and all the francophone, Inuit and Amerindian national minorities in the country. The communist program calls on the proletariat to struggle against all linguistic privileges of one language at the expense of another, for the right of the national minorities and the Quebec nation to study and work in their own language, and against all laws which consecrate this inequality in the Canadian constitution. The proletariat is justified in taking all measures necessary to win this demand and force capitalists to respect this right which is today flouted in all corners of the country; and the same applies to cultural rights of nations and national minorities.

The demand put forward in IN STRUGGLE's **Draft Program** goes straight to the root of the evil and provides a clear and firm basic orientation for struggling against all forms of national oppression and building the revolutionary unity of the proletariat and all oppressed people in this struggle.

But for some, this is not enough. According to the Trotskyists of the Revolutionary Workers' League (RWL) as well as the various tendencies grouped behind the banner of **Independence and socialism**, it is necessary to struggle in practice for the division of the Canadian proletariat on the pretext that the separation of Quebec would be a serious blow to the power of the Canadian bourgeoisie and thus would facilitate the socialist revolution. In an open letter to the militants of IN STRUGGLE!, published in the form of a pamphlet, the RWL poses the question in the following terms:

“What impact would the independence of Quebec have on the Canadian State? Would the Canadian bourgeoisie be weakened or strengthened? Does the unity of the workers of Quebec and Canada necessarily demand the continued existence of the present structure of the Canadian federal State so ardently defended by the bourgeoisie? Can't working people unite in the struggle for the destruction of the federal State by fully supporting the struggle against national oppression through the socialist independence of Quebec?” (12)

For these people the task of the Canadian proletariat is to **“destroy the federal State”**. Why? The answer is simple: because the Canadian federal State is **“ardently defended by the bourgeoisie”**!

This is a typical example of Trotskyist tactics which are always adorned with opportunist concessions to certain factions of the bourgeoisie and a pronounced tendency towards petty-bourgeois anarchism.

To their question, we must first answer that the task of the Canadian proletariat is to destroy not the **federal State** but the bourgeois State, and to replace it by a socialist State, a proletarian State, which in certain conditions, could also be

"federal". We must then add that it is not by preaching division within the ranks of the Canadian proletariat that its capacity to struggle against the bourgeoisie will be strengthened. Because they add the magic word "socialist" to the "independence of Quebec" formula, the Trotskyists of the RWL imagine that the concrete conditions will be modified in consequence and that the realization of the slogan "socialism and independence" will be an easy thing in the situation currently prevailing in Canada. If the Trotskyists weren't petty-bourgeois radicals and doctrinaires, incapable of producing a concrete analysis the least bit serious, they would see that the consequences of the independence of Quebec would be to weaken not the bourgeoisie but the proletariat. Of course, the Canadian bourgeoisie which profits from national oppression would be weakened. But if we look at the bourgeoisie as a whole, including the bourgeoisie in Quebec, and analyse it in relation to the proletariat, the bourgeoisie would come out of such an independence stronger than the proletariat.

The demand as formulated in the **Draft Program** is the only demand that can correctly guide the struggle against national oppression by achieving the main objective of consolidating the unity of the Canadian proletariat against the Canadian bourgeoisie, including the Quebec bourgeoisie. By its general and basic character, it places the rights of nations, national minorities and immigrants on the same level. This level is that of the class interests of the proletariat, that of unity against the bourgeoisie, and this is the perspective of the Canadian socialist revolution. It is on this basis that we must call upon the proletariat to unite.

The program needs not provide the perfect **constitutional formula**, the magic solution to assure the respect of Quebec's national rights. Such a perspective would distract us from the real problem and lead us down the path of partial, dead-end solutions. Moreover, by putting forward the recognition of the Quebec nation's right to separate, the communist program clearly indicates that we must oppose all solutions that deny this fundamental right, as do those proposed by the revisionists. Look at how the Communist Party of Canada ("CP") claims to solve the Quebec national question in the framework of a reorganized version of the present bourgeois State:

"The Communist Party proposes a confederal republic with a government consisting of two chambers: one, such as the House of Commons today, based on representation by population; the other, to replace the present Senate, to be composed of an equal number of elected representatives from each of the two national states. Each should have the equal right to initiate legislation before it becomes law. This structure will protect both democratic principles: equality of rights of nations whatever their size, and majority rule." (13)

This demand-promise in the revisionist program is a good illustration of how the "CP" has become a master in the art of hiding away fundamental questions under "progressive" appearances. What is proposed here? Nothing less than the consecration of national division and a cover-up of national oppression through "structural reforms". The problems is the full recognition of the right to self-determination, Quebec's right to form an independent State and the elimination of all forms of coercion in the cultural and linguistic fields, but the "CP" simply reduces the problem to a question of renovating the capitalist State, oppressor of nations and national minorities. Give the chauvinist capitalists a chance to defend their interests in the framework of an "improved" federal State, and consecrate the division of the Canadian working class and the hegemony of the national bourgeoisie of both nations, both represented in a "renewed Parliament"! There you have the re-

visionist program on the national question. Through these constitutional reforms, the "CP" offers the nationalist bourgeoisie in Quebec and the chauvinist bourgeoisie of English Canada one more alternative. It would not be surprising to see bourgeois nationalists of both camps agree to a compromise of that kind. The Quebec bourgeoisie would like nothing more than a greater share of political power, thus enabling it to increase its domination over the working class in Quebec. On the political level, it could even be an acceptable political compromise for the English-Canadian bourgeoisie, since it wouldn't have to recognize Quebec's right to self-determination. So the "CP" has come up with a middle-of-the-road solution for re-adjusting the balance of power between the two factions of the bourgeoisie, considered to be the true representatives of the proletariat of both nations. And the Canadian revisionist party has the nerve to call this a communist solution to the problem of Quebec's national oppression! In fact, it is only a reformist solution which ignores the proletarian interests in the national question.

c) the complete equality of men and women, in law and in practice, at work and in other areas of political, social, and economic life

The experience of more than one hundred years of struggle has shown that the struggle of workers for their emancipation cannot be dissociated from the struggle of women for their liberation. Experience shows that bourgeois power over society can't survive without putting down and discriminating against women in all fields of life. At work, women are discriminated against when hired; they are paid less than men even if they do the same work; they are more often than not given inferior jobs; in times of crisis, they are among the first to join the ranks of the growing army of the unemployed.

Statistics show that the school system is oriented in such a way that women are conditioned and restricted to "feminine" fields of study. This perpetuates and reproduces their situation of inferiority in socially productive work and society in general.

The capitalist economic system cannot in practice allow equal chances for men and women. The bourgeoisie needs the mass of unemployed women to fill the most poorly-paid jobs and to exert a downwards pressure on the wages of the working class. It needs an army of cooks, housekeepers and baby-sitters to take care of workers' labour-power at no cost to the capitalists. Dominant ideology is a force which keeps women isolated from the economic and political life of society.

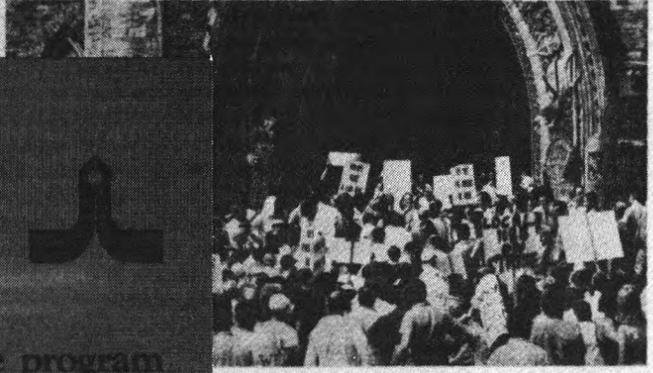
The demand contained in the communist program is directed against these evils of the capitalist system. Its essence is to demand the "equality of men and women in law and in practice." **Equality in law** means that the proletarian Party will demand the abolition of all laws and administrative or legal measures which make women second-class citizens or render them dependent on their husbands, in any region or province of the country whatsoever. **Equality in practice** between men and women means, for example, that the proletarian Party will demand the abolition of the discriminatory practices of bosses against women as far as wages and opportunity of employment are concerned. In some fields, this demand will be accompanied by particular demands such as free daycare, so that women will have equal opportunities to work and participate in the political and social life of society; paid maternity leave; fines and penalties to force bosses to respect the rights that the working people have won from bourgeois governments through long, hard struggles.

As we said at the beginning of this article, our immediate demands are rooted in the concrete historical conditions in which the Canadian working masses find themselves. The demand calling for the equality of men and women in law and in practice is based on a long history of struggle by the women

All the programs of the bourgeois and revisionist parties contain a great number of promises designed only to mislead the working class. Reformists aim only at reforming Capital, and the Trotskyists put forward utterly unattainable demands under the pretext, so they say, of developing the proletariat's class consciousness. Only communists put forward a truly revolutionary perspective for the proletariat's immediate struggles.

for a fully
INDEPENDANT
and
MILITANT UNION
MOVEMENT
in Canada

A programme for Labour
 by the Ontario Waffle Movement
 for an Independent Socialist Canada
 Ontario Labour Committee

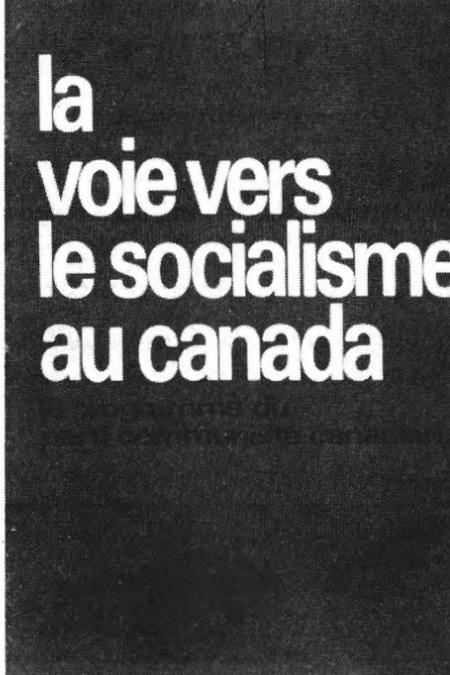


People
 matter
 more.

The program
 of the
 New Democratic Party



la
 voie vers
 le socialisme
 au canada



REGROUPEMENT DES MILITANTS SYNDICAUX

Cahier du
 RMS no. 1

L'ACTION POLITIQUE
 DES SYNDICATS ET
 LE PARTI DES TRAVAILLEURS



LA SOLUTION

LE PROGRAMME
 DU
 PARTI QUÉBÉCOIS

PRÉSENTÉ PAR
 RENÉ LEVESQUE



of this country, ranging from the battle for the right to vote for women to the fight for equal pay for equal work. This history has shown that women's struggles are an essential part of the struggle for progress, democracy and socialism in Canada.

It is worth underlining that this struggle has two aspects. It is a struggle which concerns all women, and whose results are of benefit to all women. But it is also a struggle which have an enormous impact on the general process of the socialist revolution in Canada.

Formal recognition of the equality of men and women will not put an end to capitalists' discriminatory practices against women. Equality in law will not prevent women from being relegated to an inferior economic and ideological status, for the simple reason that the private ownership of the means of production considerably limits the application of progressive measures in this field. Furthermore, the oppression of working-class women remains intact despite the improvements that may occur in the specific situation of women in general within capitalist system.

In this sense, the aim of the democratic demand in the communist program is to guide the struggle of women towards socialism, thus liberating the democratic and revolutionary energies of the masses of women in our country. In the course of this struggle, the proletarian Party's task is to educate women on the source of their oppression and to point out the only solution that can really get to the root of the problem: the socialist revolution.

This attitude is in direct opposition to the reformist positions which consider the liberation of women as a mere question of formal recognition and "goodies" handed out to women to put down their revolt. An example of this type of phoney solution is the demand for "wages for housewives", which is simply a disguised form of family allowances whose only aim is to eliminate women from socially productive work. The point of view expressed in the communist program is also opposed to the bourgeois movement's point of view which holds that if there were more women executives and more businesswomen, the problem would be solved. It is also opposed to the different petty-bourgeois and anarchist trends according to which women must first of all control their own bodies if they are to achieve their liberation from "male domination".

The communist program is based on the mass movement of women. It fully shares and defends the legitimate demands of the masses of women in general, and it aims at channeling this movement towards the socialist revolution, the only path that can lead to the complete liberation of women.

This demand opens up extensive possibilities of united action on the part of Canadian women and the Canadian working class. It is based on the principle of unity in the struggle against the bourgeoisie. Instead of demanding "goodies" such as "wages for housewives", it traces the path to follow for the full participation of Canadian women in the transformation of Canadian society. This slogan stimulates women to struggle and not to turn inwards.

d) the end to all limitations on the right to strike and all restrictions on the right to negotiate for all Canadian workers

The democratic demands of the communist program wouldn't be complete without this demand for the right to strike and negotiate.

The most widespread, accessible and efficient weapon workers have for resisting capitalist exploitation is strike action. No matter what "sociologists of work", "labour relations" specialists, sold-out union bosses and "new thinkers" of

the bourgeoisie may think, the strike has not ceased to play its role in the defence of the interests of the working people and the struggle for socialism.

If such were in fact the case, the powerful strike movement that swept Canada before October, 1975, wouldn't have shaken the ruling class as it did. Canadian workers waged the struggle for the cost-of-living-adjustment clause mainly through strike action. Their successes forced the bourgeoisie to resort to an exceptional measure, the Wage Control Act, which temporarily held back this mass movement. It didn't, however, provide a solution to the chronic problem of inflation coupled with massive unemployment. It only bandaged a wound that is getting steadily worse.

No, strike action is not an "outmoded" means of struggle — far from it. It continues to hurt the bourgeoisie. The strike is not a purely economic means of action. Strikes are also political when they are used to apply political pressure, as was the case with the general strike against the Wage Control Act in 1976. In periods of revolutionary upsurge, strikes tend to involve more and more people and acquire more radical characteristics.

At all times, the strike is a school of proletarian struggle. It is a constant apprenticeship in class war, a situation in which the revolutionary and militant traditions of the proletariat are renewed. We have every reason to denounce those who want to restrict the proletariat to strike action as the only means of action, but it would be just as wrong to underestimate its importance as a means of struggle for the working class.

The bourgeoisie understands this very well. It is constantly inventing new ways to prevent the use of the right to strike and negotiate, and has begun to openly challenge the right to strike and negotiate in several sectors. It started with the public service workers. It daily discovers new services and new sectors that it considers "essential" to justify abolishing the right to strike. It constantly tries to impose new restrictions at different levels, whether it be concerning strike votes, the procedure to hold these votes, or the percentage of votes needed to be able to go out on a "legal" strike or the much lower percentage needed to put an end to strikes, etc. No, in this field the bourgeoisie is always busy. Whenever its profits are put in question, it looks after its interests with an extraordinary constancy and spirit of inventiveness.

Therefore, we needn't be surprised that the communist program pays particular attention to the defence of the right to strike and negotiate. It is a matter of defending a form of mass action that is unquestionably important in our immediate struggles as well as in the more fundamental upcoming struggles in which it will be called upon to play an even more important role.

In its formulation, this demand includes not only the struggle for the defence of the right to strike and to negotiate, where it is threatened, but also the right to introduce it where it does not yet exist. To spur an even greater portion of the proletariat to action and swell the army of organized workers implies that the right to strike and negotiate be extended to all rural and urban Canadian workers, in both the public services and private industry.

The right to strike and negotiate isn't something formal that can be taken for granted or that is "outmoded". It is an extremely important practical question upon which both the proletariat's capacity to fight back against daily capitalist exploitation, and its material preparation to one day attack bourgeois power greatly depend.

The basic economic demands

The struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie is rooted in the economic relations of the capitalist system, and it is on this basis that it develops. The proletariat's class consciousness, the development of its economic and political organizations and the ripening of the idea of the socialist revolution are indissolubly linked to the economic conditions of the exploitation of the working class by Capital. Without this objective basis which daily spurs the movement of the working class to action and resistance, the idea of socialism, even if we grant that it could have developed, would never have become a material force capable of changing the world. The idea of socialism has become a material revolutionary force precisely because it expresses the basic direction of the working-class movement and clearly sets out its goal.

This materialist conception of socialism, known as **scientific socialism**, was developed by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in the 19th century. Before them, different theoreticians and ideologists have developed theories and plans to renew society in a more or less socialist way. These theories, collectively called **utopian socialism**, considered the transformation of society in an idealistic way, divorced from material forces and class conflicts. Scientific socialism, however, showed that the revolutionary transformation of society towards socialism would be the result of the action of a specific class: the proletariat. Marx and Engels showed that the struggle opposing the working class to the capitalist class is the motor of the passage from capitalism to socialism and that the struggle of the working class to free itself from capitalist exploitation leads to the abolition of this exploitation and to classless communist society. The founders of scientific socialism thus showed that the destiny of humanity as a whole cannot be separated from the destiny of the proletariat. To free itself, the proletariat must at the same time free all humanity from the exploitation of man by man. They thereby showed that the objective basis of the proletariat's political struggle for socialism is to be found in the opposition of Labour and Capital on the economic level.

Our aim here is not to defend the bourgeois and reformist theses according to which workers are only capable of waging economic struggles or that all we need to do is "politicize their economic struggles" to achieve socialism. On the contrary, we want to make clear that the very existence of the bourgeoisie depends on the economic exploitation of the working class and the extortion of surplus value. We recognize, contrarily to what "leftist" infantilism claims, that although only the proletariat's political struggle led by its revolutionary party is capable of destroying the bourgeois State and establishing socialism, this does not mean that communists reject the economic struggles of the working class to improve its living conditions. Only the worst kind of opportunists would say that "the more savagely the working class is exploited, the better it is for the revolution". Only opportunists can imagine that what reinforces the economic power of the bourgeoisie and the exploitation of the working class can favour the socialist revolution and the organization of the working class.

This is why the communist program fully recognizes and takes up the interests of the working people in the field of the daily struggles which oppose them to the capitalists. In so doing, the communist program states that its action and its goal are inseparable from the struggles and daily lot of workers under capitalism.

e) equal wages and salaries for all Canadian workers performing equal work, without discrimination as to age, sex, race or nationality

In the capitalist system, man's labour-power is a commodity in the same way as a pair of shoes or a car is a commodity. The only difference is that the commodity "labour-power" creates value. But as with any other commodity, the value of labour-power is determined by the sum of the values necessary for its production — or rather, in the case of the commodity "labour-power", for its **reproduction**: housing, food, transportation, clothing, etc. In other words, man's labour-power is subjected to the law of value as is any other commodity. This is a basic law of capitalist political economy.

If the communist program does not demand that capitalism cease to be what it is, then why demand equal wages and salaries for all Canadian workers who perform equal work? The program itself gives the answer to this question when it adds, "without discrimination as to age, sex, race or nationality."

This demand in the communist program does not demand that capitalism cease to be what it is. Rather, it attacks particular forms of exploitation and oppression through which capitalists overexploit certain categories of workers and thus encourage division and competition among workers. The program does not demand that capitalism itself put an end to its own existence; it calls upon the proletariat to put an end to it by overthrowing the bourgeoisie and destroying the capitalist system. What the program does demand is that capitalists put an end to these discriminatory practices on the economic level, practices which are a source of division among workers because of differences in sex, age, race or nationality.

With this demand, the proletariat's program guides the economic struggle of workers towards the unity of the working class and the political and economic weakening of the bourgeoisie. This demand must be used as a basis for common action by unions from one end of the country to the other. The working class can and must do political agitational work with the aim of forcing the governments to pass legislation in this field. Through this struggle, the proletariat builds wider and more solid bases for consolidating its class unity against the bourgeoisie. It refuses to accept the way that the bourgeoisie treats the most oppressed categories of workers.

In a country where national oppression is a political and economic weapon used by the bourgeoisie to sow division and racism in the working class and to reap more profits from the exploitation of certain categories of workers, this demand must be seen as a weapon to fight national divisions and the inferior economic situation that is the lot of workers of the Quebec nation, the national minorities and ethnic groups as well as women on the labour market and young people. Not to call upon the Canadian working class to wage a united struggle in this field would amount to leaving the bourgeoisie free to undermine the fighting capacity of the proletariat.

f) the indexation of salaries and wages and all other forms of revenue for the workers, including unemployment insurance, pensions, family allowances, and social welfare; the establishment of a guaranteed minimum income for all, indexed to the cost of living; the complete protection of health at the workplace*

This demand includes three elements vital to the struggle against wage cutbacks and to improve the working conditions of workers.

* In quoting the *Draft Program* here, we have corrected an error in the original. Instead of a "guaranteed minimum income for all", the *Draft Program* speaks of a "guaranteed minimum wage for all." "Wage" is an error of translation, and will be corrected in future re-printings of the *Draft Program*.

The Canadian working class is constantly faced with lower and lower incomes. The periodic crises of the capitalist system have the effect of reducing the income of workers, mainly through inflation. Prices go up faster than wages and other sources of income for the working class. The unorganized categories of workers whose wages are very low, the unemployed and retired workers, and welfare recipients are undoubtedly the hardest hit by this phenomenon.

The exceptional measures adopted by the Canadian bourgeoisie to put an end to the struggle, for COLA-clauses which dealt it such a strong blow a few years ago, illustrates to what extent indexation is one of the bourgeoisie's weak points. Indeed, it can't tolerate that workers demand the indexation of their incomes to the cost of living.

This demand is altogether opposed to the false argument according to which the indexation of wages makes prices go up. In fact this demand is directed against the bourgeoisie's boundless selfishness and unquenchable thirst for profits, and that is why it is so unacceptable for the bourgeoisie. We mustn't forget that capitalists only exist to get richer and richer. Equality between capitalists and workers is unthinkable. The capitalist is someone who accumulates capital, who therefore adds more to what he already owns. It is a bit like cancer, whose development is anarchistic and boundless. It is exactly the same for capitalist accumulation, which always demands further development — that is why the bourgeoisie is a class for which the economic status quo is synonymous with bankruptcy. Capitalist accumulation is possible precisely because the capitalist extorts more value from the worker than what is necessary to buy the labour-power needed for the production of commodities. So it is easy to understand why any workers' struggle, aimed at hindering this process of economic exploitation, stirs up the anger of the exploiters, who are ready to do anything to force workers to make more "modest" wage demands.

Just imagine, then, the grin on the capitalists' faces when they are confronted with a demand for the indexation of all of the workers' income. For them, there is no greater folly than this demand — even if, for the working class, it is a minimal one. We mustn't forget that the aim of indexation is to **catch up** with the cost of living. But for a class of parasites like the bourgeoisie, any attempt to resist capitalist exploitation by the masses is simply "unreasonable".

However, if we consider the question from the proletariat's point of view, this demand plays a very positive role. It requires specific measures to counter the constant deterioration of the living conditions of workers. Furthermore, it plays a unifying role, not only within the ranks of organized workers but also within the ranks of the army of jobless workers condemned by capitalism to a marginal existence. The communist program, therefore, calls for unified action by all the organizations of the proletariat. It shows the working class which path to follow to take in hand the situation of the jobless whom capitalism wants to isolate from the working-class movement and whom it does its best to turn against active workers.

In Canada there are now more than a million "official" unemployed workers, which means that there are twice or even three times as many in certain regions. The working-class movement can make no major progress if it does not fully defend the interests of all working people, those who work and those who have been excluded from social productive work by capitalism, incapable of satisfying the basic needs of the people.

It is also in this perspective that the communist program demands the establishment of "a minimum income for all, indexed to the cost of living". Given that the capitalist system cannot provide work for everyone, we demand that the bourgeoisie provide an income for everyone and a decent wage for those who work. By adopting this demand, the organized pro-

letariat assumes its responsibility towards the entire working class, and in particular towards those who don't have the means to force the bourgeoisie to satisfy their basic economic needs. We mustn't forget that the latter form the majority of Canadian workers. Indeed, if we add together the millions of non-unionized workers, the unemployed, welfare recipients, retired workers, women of the proletariat excluded from social production, and jobless youth, we get an enormous figure showing that these categories constitute the vast majority of Canadian workers. We needn't go into long explanations to demonstrate the absolute necessity of making this demand the common demand of all Canadian workers, in particular organized workers.

But this demand has another important characteristic in that it contributes to uniting these various strata of the proletariat and people who often live in the most wretched conditions. Indeed, when confronted with their demands, the bourgeoisie goes all out to divide the struggles of the proletariat and the people. This is why it establishes different social measures for each stratum — social welfare for welfare recipients, unemployment insurance for the "officially" unemployed workers, compensation for injured workers, pensions for old-aged people, allowances for the handicapped etc. — thus helping divide the struggles of the proletariat and the people. The demand in the **Draft Program**, however, helps unify these different struggles, tighten up the ranks of the proletariat and reinforce its capacity to win.

One could undoubtedly point out that the guaranteed minimum income has been used by the bourgeoisie in certain social-democratic countries to give capitalists an opportunity to pay workers less than the minimum wage, the State compensating for inferior wages out of the taxes paid by the people. But such a statement could be applied to nearly all the demands in the program. It is clear that the capitalists will always try to co-opt and use to their advantage the demands of the working class, as is the case today with the different social measures that the proletariat has succeeded in forcing the bourgeoisie to accept. That is why we say that these demands can only **fully** be satisfied under socialism.

Furthermore this same demand requires "the complete protection of health at the workplace". This may not seem like much, compared to the extensive trade-union programs in this field. But look a bit more closely. The demand for the "total protection of health at the workplace" is the basis of all the particular demands that different groups of workers put forward, depending on their specific concrete conditions. If we tried to deal with all the various aspects of the problem, the list of particular measures would be endless.

What the communist program does, is raise this basic demand to the level of a basic demand of the entire Canadian working class, and not only of unionized workers. It makes this question a political one that the working class must use to attack the bourgeoisie in a field where the latter demonstrates its total contempt for working people. Indeed it is no exaggeration to say that the bourgeoisie is ready to cripple and kill slowly but surely to make a buck; it is ready to sacrifice thousands upon thousands of workers on the altar of profits. The working people cannot and must not tolerate capitalism decimating its ranks.

* * *

The role of the basic economic demands of the communist program is to struggle against the material and moral degradation engendered by the capitalist system. The vicious circle of unemployment, social welfare and the discarding of workers worn out by unhealthy working conditions brings about division and disillusion for certain strata of the proletariat. The revolutionary proletariat cannot allow capitalism to

undermine its fighting capacity. The struggle against this effect of the degeneration of capitalism on working people must be waged on the very level of the material living conditions of workers. The struggle for more dignified working conditions is a necessity in the struggle against capitalism. We must never underestimate its importance. If we do, we run the risk of losing contact with the concrete conditions working people live in, conditions which constitute the very basis of the antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Without this basis, socialist consciousness will never become a material force capable of changing the world.

The internationalist duties of the Canadian proletariat

The question dealt with in demands "g" and "h" in article 16 of IN STRUGGLE!'s **Draft Program** is just as important as the questions of the democratic rights and economic needs of the working people. The political and military events that have shaped the history of the 20th century show that countries are bound together like the links of a single chain. The upheavals shaking countries cannot be dissociated from the general situation prevailing on a world scale. Facts show that the conditions of the revolution in each country are affected by the conditions of the revolution on a world scale.

To illustrate this, need we point out that the victories of the socialist revolution in Russia in 1917 and in China and Albania in the period of the Second World War were directly linked to the crisis that was then shaking the world imperialist system. The economic and political crises of the capitalist system are no longer national but international phenomena. And so the economic crisis of the 1930's shook up the capitalist system in all countries, and in all countries the proletariat's fightback against this crisis considerably developed the movement for socialist revolution.

These examples show that the revolution in each country is an integral part of the world proletarian revolution. Consequently, the struggle for socialism in each country must be understood and waged in the perspective of the world revolution. That is why the communist program must put forward demands on this level as well aimed at weakening the enemies of the proletariat, strengthening its fighting capacities and uniting under the leadership of its party all the working people of the country. By action on this level, the proletariat strengthens both itself and all the peoples of the world; by weakening its own bourgeoisie, it weakens a link in the world imperialist chain.

g) the withdrawal of Canada from all military alliances and the end to all Canadian interference abroad; the recognition of all the socialist countries and the end to all restrictions on trade and communications with these countries

As we saw in the preceding pages, the revolutionary process is not an abstract thing, a wish or a dream. It is a concrete phenomena whose evolution is determined by the struggle between contradictory forces, principally the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The role of immediate demands is to act on the general conditions of the class struggle with the aim of creating better conditions for the triumph of revolution over reaction. These conditions involve first and foremost the weakening of the camp of reaction and the strengthening of the camp of revolution.

On the international scale, the proletariat weakens the forces of reaction when it hinders the imperialist undertakings

of its own bourgeoisie and denounces its bourgeoisie's participation in the strengthening of world reaction, notably through participation in imperialist blocs and military alliances. This is the task set by the communist program when it demands "the withdrawal of Canada from all military alliances and the end to all Canadian interference abroad."

In practice, this demand calls upon the working people of the country to demand that Canada withdraw from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and NORAD, the air defence pact which puts Canada under the military command of US imperialism. It also calls upon working people to demand the withdrawal of foreign military installations on Canadian territory and the repatriation of Canadian troops stationed in different places around the world (Germany, Cyprus, Palestine, etc.). The aim of this demand is to counter the Canadian imperialist bourgeoisie's participation in the consolidation of the imperialist bloc dominated by US imperialism and the preparations for another world war. In as much as its aim is to weaken reaction on this level, the demand has an international dimension.

We must add that it contributes to strengthening the camp of the revolution by demanding the "recognition of all socialist countries and the end to all restrictions on trade and communications with socialist countries". Therefore, in practice, the communist program recognizes that the victory of socialism in specific countries is a victory for the proletariat, and that it is the duty of all to contribute to the development of socialism in these countries.

For its part, the imperialist bourgeoisie has done everything in its power to destroy the bastions of socialism in the world. Immediately after the Russian revolution, in 1917, it rushed in counterrevolutionary troops to destroy the first proletarian State in history, and the Canadian bourgeoisie took an active part in this operation. In China, the imperialists did everything they could to crush the Communist Party which, in the context of the national liberation struggle, had undertaken to destroy the Chinese military and political forces supported by the Western imperialists. After the communist victory in China, the imperialist countries tried to crush it through an economic blockade and military encirclement — a situation socialist Albania is still faced with today.

It is precisely to counter these reactionary manoeuvres of the imperialist bourgeoisie that the communist program demands the recognition of socialist countries. We must defend socialism where it has defeated the bourgeoisie and facilitate the establishment of further relations between the working class of our country and that of countries where it is in power, so that the proletariat of our country can benefit from the experience of the struggle of the proletariat in the countries where it is victorious.

There you have a brief outline of the concrete meaning of this demand.

Some people wonder why IN STRUGGLE! doesn't go further in this field. For example, why doesn't it demand the abolition of trade and aid to reactionary regimes such as Pinochet's in Chile? Wouldn't this be an efficient way of struggling against world reaction?

Yes, indeed, it may happen that in certain cases the proletarian Party will demand that Canada break off relations with certain other countries. But this cannot be a general demand of the program, since it depends on the concrete situation and its evolution, which can be extremely rapid. The program cannot foresee all these concrete situations. Moreover, it is impossible to use a general formula to decide, once and for all, when we will have to struggle to put an end to economic, political, and military relations; for there are many different bourgeois regimes, and they are all more or less reactionary. A general and immediate demand on this question would end up

demanding that the Canadian imperialist bourgeoisie completely withdraw from all international imperialist relations. This would no longer be an immediate demand but a reformist dream. However, the political demand put forward in the **Draft Program** attacks a particular military and political aspect of Canadian imperialism, and in this sense it is perfectly compatible with the concrete conditions of the political struggle in our country.

h) the right of political asylum for all those who are struggling for liberty, for democracy, and for socialism anywhere in the world

At a time when revolutionary struggles are multiplying and when the forces of reaction are unleashed in several countries, it is the internationalist duty of the proletariat to aid those struggling for revolution in the world. This aid can take several forms that are impossible to present in the form of immediate demands. Boycotts of ships coming from countries where reaction is crushing the revolution, material aid (medicine, money, clothing) and military aid (sending volunteers) are all concrete means of helping revolutionary forces in other countries.

But one action has a political character, and can and must be put forward in the form of an immediate demand: the "right of political asylum".

This type of support is very common for the bourgeoisie when it comes to picking up the leftover bits and pieces of world reaction. Imperialist countries, and Canada in particular, have always demonstrated great generosity in welcoming reactionaries, especially when they enter the country with their baggage full of treasures and riches pillaged before they were forced into exile in order to save their skin. That is what we witnessed not long ago when Vietnamese reactionaries sought refuge in Canada and the US.

But it is an altogether different story when workers and revolutionary intellectuals are driven out of their countries by the reactionaries. In these cases, refugees are submitted to countless prohibitions, restrictions and vexations on the part of the bourgeois State's bureaucratic machine.

Some wonder whether the wording of this demand does not open the door to its being co-opted by the bourgeoisie, especially as far as the terms "liberty" and "democracy" in the demand are concerned. Isn't it a way of sanctioning reactionary demagoguery against socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat? Isn't it a way of implicitly supporting the right of political asylum for those who use the pretext of "liberty" and "freedom" to struggle against the revolution?

For the bourgeoisie, it will always be possible to use a particular demand in the communist program and turn it to its advantage. Haven't we seen the bourgeoisie try to neutralize unions allegedly to preserve "democracy"? Is this sufficient reason to prevent the working class from advocating the greatest possible democracy, including in trade unions? Of course not! We must distinguish between a general demand and its concrete application in a given situation. In themselves, the immediate demands cannot bring about the defeat of the bourgeoisie. The proletariat must wage all sorts of struggles in different conditions and for various reasons. That is what the communist program tells us when it states in the very first sentence of the article on immediate demands, "In its struggle to capture political power, the proletariat must conduct a relentless battle **using every possible method of struggle**" (article 16, our emphasis). Therefore, we shouldn't see the immediate demands as a kind of legislation that must foresee all situations and all possibilities of infringement. The demands are slogans of struggle which indicate on which fronts and in which direction the proletariat should concentrate the class struggle in its confrontation with Capital.

The communist program is not a dream

The communist program is not a hollow dream everlastingly repeated by certified revolutionaries awaiting the "big night". Nor is it a plan for renovating the capitalist system aimed at satisfying every Tom, Dick and Harry, including the different bourgeois groups. For the proletariat, the communist program is a weapon in the struggle to overthrow bourgeois power and build socialism. It is a practical guide for the class struggle of the proletariat, and it orients this struggle toward a definite goal: socialist revolution.

In the course of this struggle, the proletarian Party puts forward demands aimed at weakening the bourgeoisie, strengthening the proletariat's fighting capacity and uniting the working people of Canada under its leadership. In other words, the goal of these demands is to create the most favourable conditions for the struggle of the working class on the political and economic levels. They are based on the conviction, confirmed by the entire history of the international working-class movement, that the more freely the proletariat's class struggle develops, the more powerful it will become.

These demands reflect the basic needs and aspirations of the proletariat and exploited classes in Canada. They indicate the fronts on which the confrontation between the working class and the capitalists are important for the future of the Canadian revolution. Therefore, they express the main trends present in the struggle of the masses in the concrete conditions of Canada, a country where capitalism has reached its rotting stage, imperialism. As such, they indicate areas in which class consciousness and revolutionary consciousness can be developed among the Canadian working people.

By including these demands in its program, the proletarian Party states that it identifies completely with the struggle of the working class to resist oppression and capitalist exploitation. It shows concretely that it is part and parcel of the working class and that it fully recognizes and defends both its immediate and its long-term interests.

As a practical guide for the revolutionary struggle to overthrow capitalism, the communist program is a beacon for the proletariat's class struggle in all its forms and at all levels, including that of the immediate demands resulting from the concrete conditions of the class struggle in Canada. In other words, this program is that of the party, whose mission is to lead all aspects of the proletariat's class struggle, its defensive as well as its offensive struggles.

This is what we mean when we say that the immediate demands are part and parcel of the communist program. This is how these demands differ from the numerous opportunist and reformist recipes that orient workers' struggles in all directions except that of the socialist revolution.

They are part and parcel of the communist program and not of a Trotskyist or revisionist "transition program". They are part and parcel of the communist program and not of a program of a stage preceding the socialist revolution, "CPC(M-L)" or CCL(M-L) style, for whom the socialist revolution is only a formal consideration after "the anti-imperialist mass democratic revolution" in the first case, and the "struggle against the superpowers" in the other.

To call upon the Canadian proletariat to unite around the immediate demands of the communist program is to call upon it to unite and reinforce itself in the struggle to weaken its enemies and to unite around it all the working people of the country. In the daily struggle for these demands, the proletarian Party raises the level of consciousness of the masses and

attracts the most devoted and class-conscious fighters. This is the way it builds itself, sinks roots within the masses and establishes indissoluble links with the masses. To do this, it must base itself on the concrete needs of the Canadian masses. The immediate demands express these needs. They express the basic tendencies of the class struggle, tendencies which the proletarian Party must influence in order to develop the movement of the proletariat towards socialism.

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- (1) Leon Trotsky, *The Transitional Program for socialist revolution*, New York: Pathfinder Press, 1974, p.81.
 - (2) Leon Trotsky, *ibid*, p.82.
 - (3) Leon Trotsky, *ibid*, p.83.
 - (4) Leon Trotsky, *ibid*, p. 83.
 - (5) Leon Trotsky, *ibid*, p.84.
 - (6) *Draft Program for the Canadian proletarian Party presented by the Canadian Marxist-Leninist Group IN STRUGGLE!*
 - (7) *Un gouvernement du Parti Québécois s'engage...*, the official program, 1973-1974, p.38; our translation.
 - (8) *Un gouvernement du Parti Québécois s'engage...*, *ibid*, p. 38; our translation.
 - (9) New Democratic Party (NDP), Federal convention — 1961; in *New Democratic Policies, 1961-1976*, p.1.
 - (10) New Democratic Party (NDP), *ibid*, p.2.
 - (11) *The road to socialism in Canada*, the program of the Communist Party of Canada, 1971, p.27-28.
 - (12) Ligue ouvrière révolutionnaire (Workers' Revolutionary League), *Lettre ouverte aux militant(e)s d'EN LUTTE!*, p.8; our translation.
 - (13) *The road to socialism in Canada*, *op. cit.*, p.21-22.

“... the Draft Program states that the party must link the immediate demands of the proletariat and the masses to the struggle for socialism. Thus the Draft Program expresses the idea that the struggle for these demands alone is insufficient for the complete emancipation of the workers. It also expresses the idea that in the course of the struggle for realizing these demands, the party educates the working class on the only demand that can really lead it to its emancipation: the abolition of the private ownership of the means of production, the abolition of the exploitation of Man by Man, and the construction of a socialist society. But that is not a demand in the precise sense of the term. It is the fundamental task of the socialist revolution.”
(Excerpt from the commentary of the Draft Program, p.105).

The struggle for an independent Canada is a struggle that strengthens the Canadian bourgeoisie

The liberal idea of Canada:
Pierre Trudeau and the question of Canada's survival.
James Laxer & Robert Laxer. James Lorimer & Co., Publishers.
Toronto: 1977

Had it been written by anyone else, the publication of *The Liberal Idea of Canada* last year could easily have passed unnoticed. For contrary to the favourable introduction by the Tory nationalist, George Grant, the book is boring, poorly organized, and in many places a direct repetition of what the authors have already said before in previous publications.

The authors, however, are not just any academic scholars, but the chief ideologists of a definite trend in English-Canadian political life. Robert (Bob) Laxer, an important intellectual leader in the revisionist "Communist Party of Canada" until his resignation in 1956, was the "behind-the-scenes" leader of the Waffle from its start in 1969. Son James (Jim) Laxer received national publicity in the early 1970's as the chief spokesman of the "Waffle" movement in the NDP, and later as leader of the Ontario Waffle organization after its expulsion from the NDP in 1972.

Against this background, we can understand the full significance of *The Liberal Idea of Canada*, for it is a direct continuation of the essential ideas of the Waffle, and also a reflection of a current trend in the NDP (which the Laxers have recently rejoined).

Furthermore, the Laxers' book has been distributed in both English Canada and Quebec, where it has recently been translated into French and can be found in all the bookstores. And who wrote the preface for this book, which represents a nationalist trend in English Canada? Gerald Godin, a nationalist and social-democratic MNA in the PQ government in Quebec, and a representative of a nationalist trend in Quebec that has always waved the banner of "Independence and socialism".

As this curious affinity between Quebec and English-Canadian nationalists shows, the significance of the Laxers' book cuts across national barriers. It is a classic example of nationalism presented under the mask of socialism, be it in English Canada or Quebec. One could certainly point out that the Laxer's book will probably not be distributed very widely among the Canadian working class. True enough. But the fact remains that the points of view expressed in the book inspire many Canadian labour bosses today; they sum up the essence of the reformist and nationalist ideas which are currently being widely circulated among the proletariat on the Quebec national question and the question of Canada's independence vis-à-vis US imperialism. This is why we invite our readers to hunt down and expose all the various manifestations of the nationalist and reformist positions that the Laxers develop and defend on a theoretical level, for again today, such positions can only lead the struggle of the Canadian proletariat down a dead-end alley.

rests of the different classes, and that it is the struggle of opposed classes which is the motor force of development.

By their idealist method, the Laxers turn reality on its head. For them, the American economic penetration of Canada is not the result of an alliance concluded by the Canadian imperialists in their own interests and justified by their ideology. The authors would have us believe that the poor Canadian financial barons have been the **unwitting victims** of their ideology, "the Canadian liberal system", their false consciousness of their own and Canada's best interests.

How to rescue Canada from this terrible dilemma? The solution implied in the book is to overthrow the system — not the bourgeois system which permits a minority of capitalists to live by the labour of the working class, but the "Canadian liberal system" which prevents our statesmen from recognizing Canada's true interests. Here, according to the Laxers' script, is where the working class enters the scene: its noble mission is to knock some nationalist sense into the heads of the Canadian bourgeoisie.

The utter class collaboration which follows from this point of view is amply illustrated by the book, where the Laxers do their best to camouflage the fundamental antagonism of class interests between the Canadian bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

Every worker surely remembers October, 1975, when the Canadian capitalists used their State power to impose wage controls to repress the workers' strike movement, protect their threatened profits and strengthen their position as a competitor in the imperialist struggle for world markets. At the same time, the wage controls undoubtedly worked to the profit of the American enterprises in Canada. But to listen to the Laxers, it would seem that our "poor" capitalists had nothing to gain by the wage controls:

While the controls program was announced as an anti-inflation program, from an economic point of view the government's primary motivation was to take action to hold down Canada's imports of manufactured goods... The real purpose of the controls was to hold down Canadian purchasing power; the real audience for the controls was the New York money lenders. (4)

The authors' essential political analysis is made even more clear a few pages later when they state:

Canadian Prime Ministers have faced the unique cross-pressures of managing a dependent economy with the

James Laxer & Robert Laxer

The Liberal Idea of Canada

Pierre Trudeau and the Question of Canada's Survival

With a foreword by George Grant

The Liberal Idea of Canada is an updated version of the same old nationalist trend on the path of the revolution in Canada. This trend was developed by the Waffle, an organization born within the NDP at the beginning of the 1970's.

As the title indicates, the main question preoccupying the Laxers is "the question of Canada's survival", which they feel is threatened by the domination of the country by an American branch-plant economy. The domination of US multinationals is used by the Laxers to explain every manifestation of the current political and economic crisis; unemployment, inflation, the Quebec separatist movement, even the wage controls: the villain "Uncle Sam" is to blame for all.

How did Canada come to this state of affairs? According to the Laxers, it is "liberal ideology", the "Canadian liberal system", which is the root of poor Canada's woes:

The Liberals... (have) shared the essential assumptions of American liberalism — that the little man was endowed with wisdom and that the popular will formed the just basis of government. Canadian liberals believ-

ed in progress and accepted the idea that individual ambition was the positive force that propelled society forward to better things. (1)

In Canada... it is precisely the universalist tendency in liberalism that has made it anti-nationalist. In a small country with a dependent economy, the belief in an unfettered market system is an invitation to foreign investors to dominate the economy. (2)

By applying liberal economic theory to Canada's position at the end of the war, the government was deciding to tie Canada's material fortunes to those of the United States... Contrary to the logic of liberal economic theory, what (has) really taken off was not Canadian development, but foreign development and the evolution of a branch-plant economy. (3)

Marxism-Leninism shows that the different ideologies reflect the opposed inte-

social relations of an advanced industrial nation and traditions of social legislation considerably in advance of those prevailing in the United States. In this contradictory task, Canadian leaders have faced the heavy burden of mediating between their own countrymen and those who wield ultimate political and economic power outside the country.(5)

In these few sentences, the Laxers express in an almost embarrassingly naked way the essential theses of the nationalists and social democrats. In their theses, they deny completely the existence of the Canadian imperialist bourgeoisie, robber barons in their own right like Paul Desmarais (Power Corporation), E.P. Taylor (Argus Corporation), the Weston family (Weston, Loblaw's), etc., the ruling class which in fact holds power in Canada. By this sleight-of-hand, the fundamental antagonism of class interests between the Canadian bourgeoisie and proletariat disappears, and the main conflict within society becomes instead the conflict between the "countrymen of Canada" and the foreign power.

The role of the State as an instrument of class rule, for the domination of one class over another, is likewise fundamentally covered up by the Laxers, who assert that it is the role of the State to "mediate" social conflicts.

Even if **The Liberal Idea of Canada** does not spell out a concrete program of political action, such a program is clearly implied by the line of reasoning pursued, as well as by the Laxers' own activities. From their assertion that all Canadians alike are the victims of "those who wield political and economic power outside the country", it follows that all Canadians must work together to regain control of their land. And if the government is now "mediating" in favour of the foreigners, what is to prevent us from electing a new government to "mediate" in favour of "Canadians"?

The full significance of this nationalist view cannot be understood except in the context of the alliance of Canadian and US imperialism. Since it developed late as an imperialist power, the Canadian bourgeoisie's policy has been to ally with the stronger imperialist powers in order to have its share in the division of the world. Since the Second World War, the dominant faction within the ruling class has followed a policy of alliance with its stronger neighbour, US imperialism. This alliance has enabled the big bourgeoisie to develop its power and extend its influence in the world under the umbrella of US military might, and at the same time to gain access to the vast

markets within the American sphere of influence, including the US market. For its part, the US has gained a trusted ally in its struggle against the socialist countries and the revolutionary movement of the world's peoples. The Americans have likewise been assured control of important sections of the Canadian manufacturing economy and Canada's vast store of strategic raw materials.

In any gang of hoodlums, the biggest bully dominates the rest. The fact that the Canadian imperialists have been their loyal ally for 30 years does not stop the US imperialist thieves from bullying their Canadian partners. With the intensification of the imperialist crisis, and particularly since the "protectionist" measures of "Nixonomics" introduced in 1971, the US imperialists have imposed a series of measures aimed at making their allies — including Canada — shoulder the largest possible burden of the crisis.

The Laxers, in fact, are quite accurate when they explain that "on August 15, 1971, President Nixon announced that the US was going off the gold standard, so that American dollars held by foreigners were no longer redeemable for gold. What Nixon had done was to repudiate a vast debt, making American dollars redeemable only with other paper which was also not backed by gold. In effect, the United States had successfully taxed all the other nations in the western world to pay for America's military operations." (6)

As another example of the consequences of the "protectionist" policies of US imperialism, we could also mention the shutdown of numerous Canadian branchplant operations in the field of manufacturing, most importantly in the field of automobiles and auto parts.

The end result of these American policies is to further aggravate the crisis of imperialism in Canada and the other allies of US imperialism. But in the end, it is not Canada's imperialist masters who pay for the crisis; rather it is the working class, the farmers and other working people whose incomes are eaten away by inflation, and who are thrown into the streets with the closure of factories.

The working class, however, has absolutely nothing to gain from the plans of those who would try to solve the crisis by strengthening Canadian imperialism at the expense of its American ally. For at heart, the present crisis is not a question of "national survival" and the domination of big powers over small ones, but a crisis of capitalism itself, which the Canadian bourgeoisie is powerless to resolve.

Strengthening the position of Canadian capital on the economic level —

whether by tariffs or nationalizations — can do nothing to alleviate the crisis of over-production which grips the entire imperialist world and leads to layoffs not only in the American branch-plants, but in the "genuine Canadian" enterprises like Massey-Ferguson and Canadian National as well. At the political level, any positive measures aimed at strengthening "Canadian independence" at the expense of US imperialism can only mean strengthening the political and military might of the Canadian capitalist class, strengthening its dictatorship over the working class.

Thus, we can see that the "prescription" put forward by the Laxers as the cure to Canada's ills is nothing other than the program of the bourgeoisie, in particular the **sector of the ruling class whose interests are threatened by the close alliance which is maintained between the Canadian bourgeoisie and US imperialism**. Their program is aimed at using the resources of the State to break the alliance with American imperialism, and to strengthen Canada as an imperialist power by using the State to nationalize US-owned industry. In this way, these "patriotic" oilmen, book publishers and manufacturers would be free to enrich themselves through the labour of the workers... unmolested by their US rivals. In fact their pleas to "break the alliance" have gotten them nowhere with the majority of their colleagues — who profit quite nicely from the present arrangement. As a consequence these bourgeois gentlemen like Eric Kierans and Walter Gordon (and their followers, the Laxers) are inclined to dress up their scheme with a "twinge" of socialism to see if the working class won't bite.

This evaluation of the Laxers' political program is entirely borne out by their book. The biggest heroes who emerge from the picture painted in **The Liberal Idea of Canada** are precisely the most reactionary capitalist statesmen, heroes because they have defied the prevailing "liberal ideology" and used the bourgeois State to strengthen the economic position of Canadian imperialism.

"In the 1930's, for example, the Bank of Canada, Trans Canada Airlines, and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation were all established with the same motivation — to undertake through Crown action the provision of vital services that could not be provided through the existence of private domestic institutions. Characteristically, all three initiatives came at first, not from the heart of liberal orthodoxy, the party of Mackenzie King, but from the Conservative regime of

R.B. Bennett in its last desperate days of creative improvisation." (7)

One can safely assume that co-author James Laxer, chairman of the **political science** department of Atkinson College, is fully acquainted with the career of Canada's thirteenth Prime Minister, in which case his portrait of R.B. Bennett's "progressive" stance can only be seen as a cheap swindle to con the poorly-informed reader into accepting the author's nationalist scheme.

What the authors hush up, in fact, are the best-known "**creative improvisations**" of the Bennett years, 1930-1935: The creation of "relief camps" in remote districts where the unemployed were forced to work in the most brutal conditions. The suppression by force of the "On to Ottawa Trek" of the unemployed and the refusal to grant their modest demands. The murder of the Estevan, Saskatchewan, strikers in 1931 by machine-gun-carrying RCMP. The suppression of the workers' general strike in Stratford, Ontario, by the Canadian military equipped with tanks. The imprisonment and attempted murder in jail of Communist Party leaders, etc.

The Laxers are forced to shamelessly distort history in this way precisely because the historical example they have chosen shows that under the rule of the bourgeoisie, **Canada's independence cannot be "strengthened" except at the expense of strengthening the dictatorship of the Canadian ruling class over the workers**. History itself thus shows that the path of the Laxers is diametrically opposed to the interests of the working class of Canada.

Division of the working class, unity of the nationalists

In looking at the question of Quebecois nationalism, the Laxers analyse it in the light of their own preoccupation with English-Canadian nationalism. What happens when English-Canadian nationalists analyse the national oppression of Quebec? The Laxers' position can be summed up as follows: they recognize the existence of "a national, French-speaking Quebecois community" without mentioning its right to self-determination. Analysing with interest the development of the Quebecois nationalist movement, the Laxers criticize the PQ for its pro-American policies, but conclude that for the "survival of Canada" the national projects of Quebec and English Canada must find a common meeting-ground.

Let's start at the beginning with the Laxers' basic position on the question of Quebec. Though they seem sympathetic

to Quebec's national rights, the Laxers are not able to hide their profoundly chauvinist analysis of the national oppression of Quebec. Denying the imperialist nature of the Canadian bourgeoisie, the Laxers devote the third part of their book to hushing up the fact that the national oppression of Quebec is above all the result of the development of this same imperialist bourgeoisie, a bourgeoisie that has in part built its power by denying the national rights of Quebec and the national minorities for the past 100 years.

Thus for these theoreticians of English-Canadian nationalism, national oppression is not maintained by the Canadian bourgeoisie and is not irreversibly linked to the development of Canadian capitalism.

For them;

Operating within the assumptions of the Canadian Liberal system, English Canadians have conceived of democracy in individualist terms, with no notions of the rights of national communities. (8)

More than 200 years of national oppression in Quebec under the British regime and then within Confederation, the total denial of Quebec's right to self-determination and its linguistic rights, and the discrimination against Quebecois workers in wages and working conditions is apparently all the result of Canadians having "conceived of democracy in individualist terms".

This affirmation is not only profoundly idealistic but also profoundly chauvinist, in the sense that it attempts to justify the oppression of Quebec by hiding the real, contemporary source of this oppression, which is that the Canadian bourgeoisie needs to exploit broader and broader sectors of the working class and divide the proletariat by flouting the democratic rights of the nations and national minorities so as to safeguard the already fragile unity of the Canadian capitalist market. Indeed, this "individualist conception" serves the **collective interests of the Canadian imperialist bourgeoisie** very well!

So we shouldn't be surprised to hear the Laxers say:

Clearly, the "apprehended insurrection" that led to the arrest of several hundred Quebecers and the sending of troops to Montreal were inappropriate as a response to the terrorism of a small coterie of individuals. (9)

According to them, sending the army into Quebec in October 1970, to preserve "national unity" was simply an "inappropriate" response on the part of the Canadian bourgeoisie.

The Laxers know very well what this "inappropriate" response involved: 500 arrests in Quebec alone, and others in Vancouver during a demonstration in favour of Quebec's right to self-determination; the denial of the most basic democratic rights; the power to detain someone for 48 hours on the basis of simple suspicions; and the armed occupation of Quebec and the forbidding of all demonstrations in Montreal. For English-Canadian nationalists, these are simply excesses, and not the inevitable consequences of Canadian capitalism. The nationalists' analysis of the Canadian bourgeoisie can only lead to open support for English-Canadian chauvinism. For, given that Canada is an imperialist country, to struggle today to detach the Canadian bourgeoisie from US imperialist domination means supporting the development of monopoly capital and, with it, the Canadian bourgeoisie's policy of national oppression.

Nowhere in their entire nationalist tome do the Laxers find space to recognize the inalienable right of the Quebecois nation to self-determination. Mirroring Ed Broadbent and the resolutions adopted at the last CLC convention, the Laxers simply express a favourable prejudice towards Quebec. Of course they recognize that "French Quebec (is) a national community" (10), but that's all. They consider the question of Quebec as an economic question, one of economic independence from US imperialism. The national movement in Quebec can only be explained by the fact that the Quebecois have lost confidence in English-Canadian nationalism and have "given up any hope that English Canadians care enough about their own national survival to provide any counterweight to American penetration..." (11)

So why bother supporting Quebec's right to self-determination? Won't this simply open the door to the division of the country and the destruction of a national market of a bourgeoisie already in bad shape? Won't it weaken the Canadian bourgeoisie even further vis-à-vis US imperialism? The Laxers look at the Quebec national question from this point of view, one that seeks to preserve "national unity" — the unity of the Canadian bourgeoisie whose only interest is to maintain its dictatorship over the entire Canadian proletariat.

The proletariat doesn't see things in this way. The preservation of the national unity of the Canadian market and capitalist exploitation aren't in the interests of the proletariat. On the contrary, in order to forge unity and strengthen the struggle of English-Canadian and Quebecois workers against the Canadian bourgeoisie, the proletariat must not be

afraid to recognize Quebec's right to self-determination and must not be satisfied with vague statements about the necessity of such recognition. To be united in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, Canadian workers need a program that clearly defends the complete equality of both nations and fully recognizes their right to decide their own destiny. Why? Because the proletariat is not like the bourgeoisie and the chauvinist social democrats; it is not in the proletariat's interests to oppress any nation whatsoever. The interests of the proletariat lie in the greatest possible unity against the Canadian bourgeoisie. This unity cannot be achieved by force, but only by the recognition of Quebec's national rights by the workers of English Canada. The Laxers' chauvinism is, however, a special variety, for, like the chameleon, it can when necessary transform itself into narrow nationalism. Strange as it may seem, the Laxers have recognized the common interests that unite English-Canadian and Quebec nationalists, and they can be even more nationalists than the PQ when it suits their interests. These common interests result from the fact that nationalism and chauvinism are both based on the interests of the national bourgeoisie, for whom the nation is something above and beyond classes. Chauvinists and nationalists all have the same basic interests, despite their disagreements; they all seek to divide the working class on the basis of language and nationality so as to better profit the bourgeoisie, be it the Canadian bourgeoisie or its nationalist Quebec faction. Thus the Laxers analyse admiringly the development of the nationalist movement in Quebec, and especially what they call the passage from reactionary and corporatist nationalism to "neo-nationalism", more "progressive" and "forward-looking".

The Laxers understand that Quebecois nationalism has undergone certain modifications in the past 50 years, a fact that pleases them. Quoting René Lévesque, the Laxers say:

Lévesque's point of departure for the project of Quebec sovereignty was his observation that the traditional rural society of French Canada was dead and that the new urban society faced new threats and challenges if it was to survive. (12)

Here they can only be referring to the transformations that Quebecois nationalism underwent during the 1960's. At that time, Quebecois nationalists developed a project adapted to the "new reality". This project, which meets with the Laxers' full approval, involves the development of a monopoly Quebecois bour-

geoisie by means of an independent State, something that René Lévesque expresses far more clearly than Henri Bourassa or Lionel Groulx* ever did.

Furthermore, it is not surprising that while the Laxers express a favourable attitude towards the PQ, admire Quebecois nationalism and deplore that English-Canadian nationalism is "inarticulate", and seems "always about to be written off as a force in Canadian life" (13), they also criticize the PQ for its lack of nationalism with respect to US imperialism.

For the Laxers, the problem is not that the PQ divides the Canadian working class in the face of its principal enemy, as do the chauvinists; the problem isn't that the class policy of the PQ is mainly the policy of a faction of the bourgeoisie that seeks greater control over the Quebecois working class. On the contrary, all this is very positive. For them, the problem is that in order to carry out its project, the PQ seeks the support of Uncle Sam.

Canadian nationalists are naturally concerned about this for they dream of seeing our country dominated and led by a really independent bourgeoisie. They would like to eliminate everything that hinders the progress of the Canadian imperialist bourgeoisie.

But what do the Laxers propose? First, they pretend that they aren't proposing anything, adopting the attitude of bourgeois intellectuals who contemplate events from their ivory towers. In reality, they do have a solution. Instead of respecting Quebec's national rights and uniting the Canadian working class against the Canadian bourgeoisie, they suggest uniting the nationalists of all colours so as to safeguard Canada's economic independence.

The reality is that the national projects of both English Canada and Quebec are too strong to be negated easily. Any union between the two depends on the two projects merging to achieve common purposes while retaining their unique goals. (14)

The Laxers in practice call for the unity of all nationalists so as to free the Canadian bourgeoisie from the clutches of American imperialism; they call for the unity of English-Canadian chauvinists with the bourgeois nationalists in Quebec. They also seek to clothe this unity in a socialistic mantle, calling for the nationalization of the Asbestos industry in Quebec and the potash industry in Saskatchewan. In short, they seek the unity of all bourgeois nationalists, of all those who seek to divide the Canadian working class and lead them into the dead-end of social democracy, be it in Quebec or English Canada.

The old ideas formerly represented by the Waffle aren't dead. On the contrary, they are re-emerging with new vigour in defence of the same nationalist plan for developing an independent Canada and a Canadian imperialist bourgeoisie free from the clutches of American imperialism. This plan continues to stand up all the better because it is a possible option open to the Canadian bourgeoisie for corrupting the proletariat and acquiring its support for the bourgeoisies' imperialist aims throughout the world. The nationalist plan has remained credible because it has been presented for over 20 years under the flag of socialism, or rather, "socialism and independence". It has even found allies in Quebec among the nationalist forces in power — the praises of Gerald Godin (in the preface to the French edition) are good proof. The common interests that unite the nationalists in Quebec and in English Canada are in practice no different from the basic unity that exists within the bourgeoisie when it seeks to reaffirm its domination over the Canadian proletariat. The Laxers end their book on this pathetic note:

On such a basis, an old idea, the idea of Canada, retains its compelling power. (15)

We in turn say: On such a basis, an old idea, the idea of a capitalist Canada, retains its compelling power for all nationalists.

(*) Quebecois nationalist leaders. Bourassa defended Canada's independence from the British Crown, whereas Groulx was a defender of the "French-Canadian race" and an admirer of Salazar.

(1) *The liberal idea of Canada: Pierre Trudeau and the question of Canada's survival.* Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., Publishers, 1977, p. 87.

(2) *Ibid.*, p.88.

(3) *Ibid.*, p.29-30.

(4) *Ibid.*, p.72-73, emphasis added.

(5) *Ibid.*, p.105, emphasis added.

(6) *Ibid.*, p.39.

(7) *Ibid.*, p. 214, emphasis added.

(8) *Ibid.*, p.209, emphasis added.

(9) *Ibid.*, p.179-180, emphasis added.

(10) *Ibid.*, p. 219.

(11) *Ibid.*, p. 219.

(12) *Ibid.*, p.178.

(13) *Ibid.*, p.215.

(14) *Ibid.*, p. 222-223.

(15) *Ibid.*, p.223.

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT ON THE MARCH



Communism versus Opportunism

Excerpt from Fergus McKean's
"Communism versus Opportunism"

In July 1977 the Marxist-Leninist group IN STRUGGLE! reprinted the book *Communism versus Opportunism*, written by Fergus McKean, former member of the Communist Party of Canada and Provincial Secretary of its wing in British Columbia. First published in 1945, the book describes the line struggle within the Communist Party of Canada before and during its degeneration into revisionism, when it changed its name to the Labor Progressive Party (LPP). His book constitutes the first attempt at a thorough-going criticism of the CP's ultimate failure and an analysis of the roots of this failure. It also tries to indicate the path that must be followed to rebuild the revolutionary party of the Canadian proletariat.

McKean did not succeed in laying the foundations of this party, and it was not until the 1970's that the struggle was taken up in a decisive way. But this does not detract in any way from the merits of this historical document. It is an extremely important contribution to the struggle to rebuild the proletarian party because of what it has to say about the history of the Canadian communist movement; and it is essential that we study, criticize and learn from his account if we want to break completely with all forms of revisionism in creating the revolutionary working-class party. Without such a break, the party cannot be rebuilt on solid foundations.

Today, the task of understanding the nature and roots of revisionism in the Canadian communist movement is more urgent than ever, because a new revisionist tendency is emerging and rehabilitating the conciliatory theses of the old, degenerate revisionist parties with some new window-dressing. The "three worlds theory" is now one of the masks currently donned by revisionist degeneration. Unless we thoroughly understand the nature and historical manifestations of revisionism in Canada, we cannot hope to root out this new opportunist tendency which, like the one that poisoned the CP, aims at sabotaging the socialist revolution in Canada.

The excerpt published in this issue deals with the necessity of rebuilding the proletarian party. Using the lessons learned in the struggle against the degeneration of the CP, Fergus McKean presents a remarkably accurate analysis of the inter-

national situation at that time. The fundamental contradictions underlying the situation remain basically unchanged today. He clearly points out the place of Canadian imperialism, and shows how the Canadian bourgeoisie played an active role in the imperialist rivalries that shook up world imperialism after the Second World War. He then emphasizes the necessity of rebuilding the proletarian party, and summarizes certain Marxist-Leninist principles that must serve as the basis of its organization, action and internal life.

In this excerpt, the reader will find an extremely important resumé of the lessons to be drawn from the struggle against revisionism, especially on the question of rebuilding the proletarian party. The document is all the more important because it is part of the heritage of the Canadian proletariat. It is backed up with many facts and a serious analysis of the emergence of revisionism in the Canadian context, the context of an imperialist country in which the corruption of a tiny sector of workers — the labour aristocracy — constitutes the social and economic basis for class collaboration and opportunism in the working-class movement.

It is up to those who have once again taken up the banner of Marxism-Leninism to put into practice the lessons that McKean has drawn in this historical document. In particular, it is our job to use the lessons drawn to counter the demagogic manoeuvres of the careerists who once again want to usurp the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat. Whether it be the Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist) with its social chauvinism and childish triumphalism or the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), such people have nothing to offer the proletariat. The building of the proletarian party is neither a race nor a flashy publicity campaign designed to impress and charm national and international onlookers. The example and courage of McKean, who remained faithful to Marxism-Leninism and was not afraid to go against the tide, should be an inspiration for all of us. This is the only way that the authentic Marxist-Leninist line will triumph in Canada. This is the least the proletariat can and must expect from the party that claims to represent its class interests and lead it in the struggle for socialism.



In 1932, Fergus McKean became a member of the Communist Party of Canada. Provincial Secretary of the British Columbia wing in 1938, he was imprisoned early in the Second World War, in June 1940. His book, *Communism versus Opportunism*, is a thorough criticism of the revisionism that gangrened the CP during the Second World War and led it to totally abandoning the interests of the revolutionary proletariat. In July 1977, IN STRUGGLE! republished this book in English.

What is to be done and why

Several months have passed since the end of the Second World War. The attempt of German, Italian and Japanese fascism to overrun the world and enslave all peoples — *to create a system of world fascism* — has been defeated. While the freedom loving people of the whole world contributed to the defeat of the fascists' bid for world power, the decisive contribution towards that victory arose from the unparalleled self-sacrifice, heroism and tenacity of the peoples of the world's first and only Socialist State, the USSR, at a cost of over 10,000,000 dead. The Socialist Soviet Union has emerged from the war with its prestige and influence tremendously enhanced.

Democratic governments have been established in a whole number of countries, particularly in those countries adjacent to the borders of the USSR. These governments, in practically every instance, are composed of a coalition of the political parties of the workers, peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie to the exclusion of the political parties of the landlords and the big bourgeoisie.

Events since the coming of peace, however, have shown conclusively that the basic world antagonisms of the pre-war period still remain. What are these antagonisms? They can be enumerated as follows:

(1) *The Antagonism Between Capital and Labor*, between the capitalist class and the working class, which arises as a result of the irreconcilability of interests of the two classes resulting from the contradiction, economic in nature, between socialized production and capitalist appropriation of the products of industry; i.e., the wealth of society is produced by the joint effort of thousands of workers, by society as a whole, but the wealth produced is not owned by those who produce it but remains the private property of a relative handful of the population, the capitalist class.

(2) *The Antagonism Between Capitalism and Socialism*; between the capitalist economic and social system in five-sixths of the world and the socialist economic and social system in one-sixth of the world, — the USSR.

(3) *The Antagonism Between The Imperialist Powers And the Colonial*

And Semi-Colonial Countries whose people are exploited, suppressed and denied their national independence by the dominant imperialist countries.

(4) *The Antagonism Between The Rival Imperialist Powers*; which arises as a result of the struggle for markets, for cheap sources of raw material and for colonies.

These four basic world antagonisms have been demonstrated all over the world during the months immediately following the cessation of hostilities and will continue to be demonstrated so long as capitalism exists. Further, as a result of these antagonisms recurring economic crises, unemployment, insecurity, injustices, colonial uprisings and the threat of wars between nations will continue as an inevitable result of the contradictions of capitalism.

Life itself has proven that *the idyllic pictures of the post world war painted by Tim Buck and Earl Browder were entirely false.* The colonial peoples have not obtained their independence; peoples have not had the right in many countries "to decide their own form of government without outside interference"; the so-called "far-sighted" capitalists *have not cooperated with labor* to solve the problems of reconstruction; full employment *has not been realized*; "far reaching democratic progress" *remains an empty promise.*

Imperialism remains essentially unchanged; its basic characteristic being, "reaction all along the line". American Imperialism has emerged from the war tremendously strengthened and, precisely because of its dominant position, *determined to expand its strength and influence* at the expense of its much weakened rivals still further.

Canadian Imperialism, also greatly strengthened by the war, because of its interlocking economic and financial interests with American monopoly capital is closely linked with American Imperialism on the one hand, while retaining its economic and political ties with British Imperialism in order to share in the exploitation of the British colonies, on the other. The crushing of German, Italian and Japanese Imperialism and the setback suffered by French Imperialism, places Canada in the posi-

tion in the immediate post war period at least, of *the world's third imperialist power.* All of which goes to demonstrate the correctness of the estimate of the Teheran accord as a diplomatic agreement as made by Duclos, rather than a platform of class peace as Browder maintained, or as an "international class alliance" to be supplemented by "continued National Unity in the post war" as Buck claimed, which means exactly the same thing as Browder advocated — class peace.

Whereas Canadian monopoly capital enters the post war period tremendously strengthened, Canadian Labor enters the post war disunited organizationally and politically and without a program. Ideological confusion is even greater within the ranks of the working class in many respects than was the case at the conclusion of the First World War twenty-eight years ago. This is due *primarily to the complete betrayal of Marxism by the national leadership of the LPP*, to the teaching of the identity of interests of capital and labor, of advocating Liberal-Labor coalition and of the *practice of class collaboration.* All of which resulted in subordinating the economic and political interests of the working class to the interests of monopoly capital. *The working class finds itself in the position of being without capable political leadership.*

In modern society the interests of classes are represented by political parties. Regardless of minor differences, *bourgeois political parties always and everywhere represent and serve the interests of the capitalist class.* There are *only two basic classes:* The working class and the capitalist class or as Marx more precisely defined them, bourgeoisie and proletariat.

The so-called middle class or petty bourgeoisie not being a basic class, not being homogeneous, cannot and does not develop political parties capable of consistently representing the interests of the middle class themselves *even when such parties happen to form governments* and certainly *they cannot represent the interests of the working class.* Under Capitalism all middle class political parties inevitably are obliged to uphold the system of so-called private enterprise and consequently *come under the domination of monopoly capital on most essential questions.*

The need of a Marxist Party of the working class

Political leadership can only be provided for the working class through the medium of a strictly independent class party of the working class whose membership and leadership is overwhelmingly drawn from the ranks of the working class itself. Such a party, must of necessity be a Marxist Party; a party of Marxism-Leninism, a party of scientific socialism. Marxist-Leninist theory is *"the science of the development of society, the science of the working class movement."* Without such a Party, "free from opportunism, irreconcilable towards compromisers and conciliators, in opposition to the capitalist class and its State power", the interests of the working class under capitalism cannot be served nor socialism eventually realized. Therefore *the first task confronting the Canadian working class is the immediate creation of a genuine Marxist-Leninist political party, a Communist Party, on a national scale.*

The constitution of such a party should and must provide that it be *an independent class party of the working class.* This does not mean that membership in such a party should be denied to members of other classes but it does mean that members of other classes should be accepted only "in so far as they adopt the viewpoint of the proletariat" as Lenin put it; i.e., *in so far as they recognize the independent and leading role of the working class* in the struggle of all the toiling and exploited population against monopoly capital and as the class historically destined to take political power in alliance with a majority of the farmers, abolish capitalist society, build a socialist society and proceed to put an end to all forms of exploitation of man by man. In order that such a party should be a working class party, it follows that both the membership and the leadership must, in the majority, be working class in content. *Such a party must train and develop its own proletarian intellectuals* capable of interpreting and applying the science of Marxism-Leninism.

The party constitution must provide for the widest inner party democracy and self criticism. All major questions of policy when at all possible, *must be submitted to a referendum vote of the*

membership. All questions of policy relating to action affecting the party membership or the working class must be discussed on the basis of draft resolutions and not on the basis of speeches of "leaders" as practised in the L.P.P. Important questions of policy, even though they affect only a section of the membership, should be thoroughly discussed, not only through the medium of delegated conferences but *by the entire membership concerned*, if at all possible. At all times in arriving at decisions on political and tactical questions the party must be guided by the dictum of Lenin, "Organization is an absurdity without unity of ideas."

The organizational structure of such a Party must be based on the principle of democratic centralism in fact and not just in words; i.e., the authority of higher bodies *must be democratic and not bureaucratic.* All officials and higher committees *must be subjected to recall at any time.* The addition of members to existing committees or the appointment of special committees must be carried out *by elections* and *not through co-option.* Elections must be carried out *by voting for individuals* and not for prepared lists or slates of candidates. Candidates for election to higher committees *must be subjected to be voted for by means of secret ballot* and not by open ballot. The selection of people for training for leadership must be based primarily on their proven devotion, ability and connection with the masses and not on the basis of their ability "to speak well and write well." Constant application of the principle of self criticism must be encouraged and practised in all party bodies from the highest to the lowest.

While the Party must utilize all forms of organization, the basic form of organization *must be industrial and not territorial; the "factory nuclei" must be the basis of the Party.*

Discipline must be a *self-imposed conscious discipline* and not a mechanical discipline imposed upon the membership by bureaucratic methods. As Lenin defined it, discipline must be "unity of action, freedom of discussion and criticism." However, "the discussion of controversial questions is permissible only up to the moment that they are decided." Once a question has been *democratically* decided, after discussion has run its course, the principle must be "absolute subordination of the

minority to the majority." This is a fundamental principle of proletarian discipline and of democracy which must be strictly observed. Membership in the Party must be based on the selection of "the most class conscious, most courageous and most far sighted workers." Such a Party must "differ from the rest of the mass of the workers in that it sees the whole of the historical path of the working class as a whole, and strives at all of the turning points of this path to champion, not individual groups, not individual trades, but the interests of the working class as a whole." It must become "the organizational-political lever by the aid of which the most progressive section of the working class directs the mass of the proletariat and semi-proletariat along the right path." (*Theses of 2nd Congress of the C.I.*)

The Party must have the closest connections with the working people in order not only "to lead the masses" but also "in order to learn from the masses." A Party, it must be remembered, in order to lead the masses must learn from the masses. Self-criticism must be utilized in order that the Party "may learn from its own mistakes" and thus avoid repetition of the same mistakes.

The Party can of necessity be comprised of only a minority of the working class. It must everywhere and at all times be ready and capable of giving leadership to all sections of the people who suffer injustice and oppression. If it is unable to do this then it cannot survive. As Lenin put it:

A political Party can combine only a minority of the class, in the same way that the really class-conscious workers throughout the whole of capitalist society represent only a minority of the workers. For that reason we are compelled to admit that only a class-conscious minority can guide the vast masses of the workers and get them to follow it... If the minority is really class-conscious, if it succeeds in getting the masses to follow it, if it is able to reply to every question that comes up on the order of the day, then it is in essence, a Party... If the minority is not able to lead the masses, link itself up closely with them, then it is not a party and is good for nothing even if it calls itself a Party (Lenin on Organization, p. 38)

Why is the formation of a new Party based on the above principle necessary at this time? It is necessary because the working class of Canada does not have a Party with a program, tactics and organizational forms and methods arrived at through democratic discussion and criticism and based on the principles formulated by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. In a word, *the Canadian working class does not have a Marxist Party.* Lenin explained why a new Party is necessary when he stated:

Organization without ideas is an absurdity which in practise converts the workers into miserable hangers-on of the bourgeoisie in power. Consequently, without the freedom of discussion and criticism, the proletariat does not recognize unity of action. For that reason, intelligent workers must never forget that sometimes serious violations of principles occur, which make the break-off of organizational relations absolutely necessary (Ibid., pp. 31-32)

"Serious violations of principles" have occurred in the supposed "Marxist Party of the Canadian workers", the Labor Progressive Party, which necessitate a break with that Party and the formation of a new party, as the quotations from the stated policies of the L.P.P. have conclusively proven. In fact the Labor Progressive Party has violated practically every principle which a Marxist Party should follow, as a study of the conclusions drawn in the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)*, published in 1939 and edited by Stalin, shows.

The attributes of a Marxist Party

The Conclusion states that the History teaches:

(1) The history of the Party teaches us, first of all, that the victory of the proletarian revolution, the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is impossible without a revolutionary party of the proletariat, a party free from opportunism, irreconcilable towards compromisers and capitulators, and revolutionary towards the bourgeoisie and its state power (History of the CPSU, p. 353.)

As has already been shown, far from being free from opportunism, the Labor

Progressive Party has been saturated with opportunism, the main advocates of opportunism being the top leaders themselves: "National Unity means unity of everyone in the nation under the banner of democracy" — Sam Carr.

Instead of being irreconcilable towards compromisers the L.P.P. made compromises with the bourgeoisie which constituted a complete betrayal of socialism, a virtue to be emulated. "... We are faced with 'compromise' not only as a temporary tactical question but as a problem of maintaining national unity (i.e. compromise between classes) for a whole historical epoch..." — John Weir, Editor of the Party paper, (*The Tribune, National Affairs Monthly, July, 1944, p 117*). Weir even went so far as to interpret Confederation as a compromise between two antagonistic classes. The two antagonistic classes, according to him, being the commercial capitalists and the industrial capitalists. To such depths was Marxism perverted in interpreting history in order to justify collaboration.

Instead of being "revolutionary in its attitude towards the bourgeoisie" the L.P.P. advised:

State policy after the war as during the war can achieve very great results in making the system work, and it is essential that the working class should support such a policy. But this can only have meaning when understood as an agreement between labor and the decisive section of monopoly capital — Stewart Smith.

And as for the Party being "revolutionary in its attitude towards — the state power" we get:

... To concentrate the main blows of the people against the King Government and the Liberal Party at the present historical moment, would also mean that the struggle to make the King Government enact progressive legislation would be weakened — Tim Buck.

Thus the statements of the L.P.P. leadership themselves prove conclusively that the L.P.P. completely violates the attributes of a Marxist Party outlined in Conclusion (1).

(2) The history of the Party further teaches us that a Party of the working class cannot perform the role of leader of its class, cannot perform the role of organizer and

leader of the proletarian revolution, unless it has mastered the advanced theory of the working class movement, the Marxist-Leninist theory. — (History of the CPSU, p 350)

As our examination of their statements have shown the L.P.P. leadership not only did not master the theory of Marxism-Leninism themselves but by their organizational policies of preventing any discussion on major questions of policy by the lower bodies until after the policy had been decided on, they prevented the membership from using theory in arriving at policies. And not only that, the study of Marxist-Leninist theory, far from being encouraged, was discouraged. Just as Browder stated: "You will not find the answers in the old books" so Buck argued "Old moth-eaten arguments no longer suffice to meet new conditions". The National education department of the L.P.P. consistently refused to supply the provincial committees with study outlines for Marxist classes and maintained each province should prepare their own in spite of the fact the provincial committees could not, in most cases, afford a full time educational director. What few outlines for classes were prepared referred the students to the revisionist writings of Buck and Browder as study material. Attempts of the provincial committees to prepare study outlines mainly based on the Marxist-Leninist classics were condemned as "academic" and "ivory tower" methods of studying Marxism-Leninism by the National Leadership. Hence, we see that the L.P.P. leadership not only did not master the theory themselves but revised the theory, discouraged the membership from even studying the classics and substituted their own revisionist writings.

(3) The history of the Party further teaches us that unless the petty bourgeois parties which are active within the ranks of the working class, and which push backward sections of the working class into the arms of the bourgeoisie are smashed, the victory of the proletarian revolution is impossible. — (Ibid., p. 359)

According to the above conclusion "unity of the working class" is prevented by the fact that a section of the working class follow the bourgeoisie, thus splitting their unity. And further, that the working class are pushed into

the arms of the bourgeoisie by the petty bourgeois parties which must therefore be smashed in order to achieve unity of the working class.

According to the L.P.P. however, labor unity means a division of seats between the petty bourgeois C.C.F. Party and the L.P.P. in parliamentary elections. In other words, the L.P.P., in practise, did the very opposite. Instead of winning the working class away from the petty bourgeois parties they tried to unite with these parties, not on the basis of a common proletarian program but merely by means of a saw-off in the division of seats.

And not only that, the L.P.P. leadership, instead of winning the working class away from following the bourgeoisie, themselves pushed them "into the arms of the bourgeoisie" to a far greater extent than even the C.C.F. did. The practical activity and slogans of the L.P.P. conclusively prove so: "Unity of all progressive forces," "Democratic Front", "Unity of everyone in the Nation under the banner of Democracy", "Labor-management-government cooperation," "Continuing post-war National unity," "A National Front," "An agreement between Labor and the decisive section of monopoly capital", "National unity is the policy by which the class interests of the working class as a whole will be served, by cooperation with the democratic circles of all classes and all sections of the Canadian people including a decisive section of the capitalist class". "Government representing a partnership of labor with that section of the capitalist class which is willing to support policies based upon the principles enunciated in the joint declaration issued at Teheran," "A Liberal-Labor Coalition Government."

Hence, it follows, that the L.P.P. is itself a petty bourgeois, social democratic party which splits the working class by pushing sections "into the arms of the bourgeoisie."

"The unity of the proletariat in the epoch of social revolution" Lenin says. "Can be achieved only by the extreme revolutionary party of Marxism, and only by relentless struggle against all other parties." — (*Ibid.*, p.359.)

(4) The history of the Party further teaches us that unless the Party of the working class wages an uncompromising struggle against the opportunists within its own ranks,

unless it smashes the capitulators in its own midst, it cannot preserve unity and discipline within its ranks, it cannot perform its role as leader and organizer of the proletarian revolution, nor its role as builder of the new, Socialist society. (Ibid., p. 359).

As its entire history shows, the struggle within the L.P.P. was not directed against the opportunists since *the top leadership themselves were arch opportunists. On the contrary, the struggle was against all those who opposed their opportunist policies by branding them as "Sectarians," "Leftists," "Anarchists," "Syndicalists," "Trotskyists," "Screwballs," "Degenerates," and so on, ad nauseam.*

Consequently, the discipline within the Party was not, and could not be, a "conscious self-imposed discipline" but a mechanical blind discipline, imposed by bureaucratic methods from the top. And the unity of the Party was not based on "unity of ideas" through ideological conviction but on artificial unity maintained by blind acceptance of policies. *Unity of the Party was presented as the main object regardless of whether the policies were right or wrong. In fact to even question the correctness of opportunist policies was denounced "as splitting the unity of the Party" and those who did so were branded as "anti-Party elements."*

The membership were not informed of Lenin's dictum: *"... Without the freedom of discussion and criticism, the proletariat does not recognize unity of action."*

(5) The history of the Party further teaches us that a Party cannot perform its role as leader of the working class if, carried away by success, it begins to grow conceited, ceases to observe the defects in its work, and fears to acknowledge its mistakes and frankly and honestly to correct them in good time.

A Party is invincible if it does not fear criticism, if it does not gloss over the mistakes and defects in its work, if it teaches and educates its cadres by drawing the lessons from the mistakes in Party work, and if it shows how to correct its mistakes in time.

A Party perishes if it conceals its mistakes, if it glosses over sore problems, if it covers up its shortcomings by pretending that all is well,

if it is intolerant of criticism and self-criticism, if it gives way to self-complacency and vainglory, if it rests on its laurels. — (Ibid., p. 361)

A Party cannot perform its role of leader if it fears criticism, glosses over its mistakes, covers them up, does not draw lessons from them and pretends that all is well. And this is precisely what the L.P.P. has done; covered up its mistakes and "pretended that all is well."

Consequently, there is little wonder that its membership and supporters are deserting it. It could not be otherwise because *"a party perishes if it conceals its mistakes."* Being opportunists to the core, however, the L.P.P. leadership had to gloss over and cover up its mistakes or stand exposed and discredited before its own membership. Hence the drastic lengths they were obliged to resort to in order to continue in the leadership; denounce their critics as "drunkards," "degenerates," Trotskyites," "traitors," "disruptors," etc. etc.; themselves lead all discussion on revisionism in order to cover up their betrayal of Marxism; to announce "The Provincial Executive has ruled there is to be no discussion on revisionism at this meeting;" to propose the Party should "root out all tendencies towards" and "reflections of revisionism".

(6) Lastly, the history of the Party teaches us that unless it has wide connections with the masses, unless it constantly strengthens these connections, unless it knows how to harken to the voice of the masses and understand their urgent needs, unless it is prepared not only to teach the masses but to learn from the masses, a Party of the working class cannot be a real mass Party capable of leading the working class millions and all the laboring people. — (Ibid., p. 362)

The leadership of the L.P.P. was ever anxious to "teach the masses," particularly teaching them "socialism is not an issue," teaching them "the class interests of the working class as a whole will be served by cooperation with a decisive section of the capitalist class," that "full employment can be maintained in the post-war," that a "Liberal-Labor coalition government, with Labor as a full partner in it, would open a new and higher stage of National progress in Canada."

However, the L.P.P. leaders were

quite above learning from the masses. They conceived of themselves as the "leaders" whom the poor ignorant masses must follow. If they could not get their policies accepted this simply meant that they must organize and prepare more fully for a further meeting and win a majority vote for their policies.

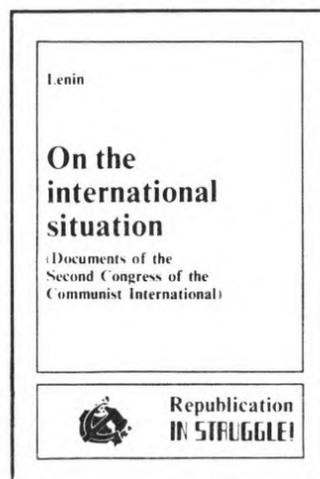
They could not understand that a majority vote in a meeting did not mean that they had convinced the masses; they did not understand that bureaucracy was no substitute for democracy; they did not understand that *in order to teach the masses they should also "harken to the voice of the masses" in order "to learn from the masses;"* they did not understand the dialectical unity of *teaching and learning* because they were not Marxists but opportunists.

They did not know that:

A Party perishes if it shuts itself up in its narrow Party shell, if it severs itself from the masses, if it allows itself to be covered with bureaucratic rust. — (Ibid., p.362)

A study of organizational principles necessary for a real Marxist workers' Party as outlined in the *History of the CPSU (Bolsheviks)* shows that principles in organization are just as important as principles in tactics and program; that unless a working class party has such organizational principles and adheres to them it will perish. Whereas the constitution of a Marxist Party can provide to a large extent protection and observance of organizational principles, the aims and objects of a Party are also questions of basic importance which must be unequivocally stated in the Party program.

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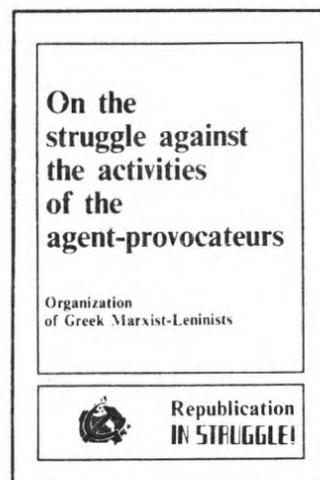


LENIN: ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION
(Documents of the Second Congress of the Communist International)

In these documents, Lenin analyzes the political and economic situation of the countries at the end of the First World War. Everywhere, the imperialist powers that had divided up the world exploited the proletariat savagely. American, French and British finance capitalists had subjected many European capitalist countries and colonial and semi-colonial countries. Lenin teaches us how imperialist war leads to the people's enslavement and strengthens the imperialist powers' hold over a number of countries reduced to a dependent or colonial status.

But Lenin pushes his analysis further: in particular, he identifies the path the international proletariat must follow in order to emerge victorious from the revolutionary crisis.

What is Lenin's call to the international proletariat? It is the call for proletarian revolution, for the dictatorship of the proletariat that, in his own words, must be taken up as an "immediate and systematic" task. Far from joining in the reformists' plaintive chorus, Lenin calls the proletariat of capitalist countries to revolution. He encourages them to use the contradictions between imperialist powers in order to overthrow their own ruling class and seize power.

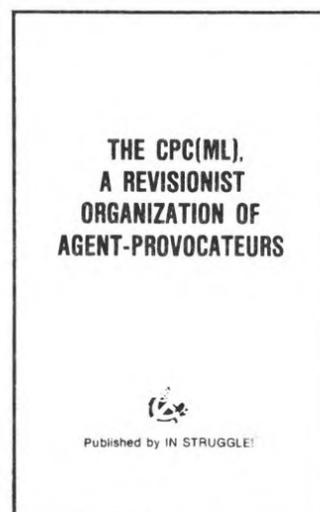


ON THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE ACTIVITIES OF THE AGENT-PROVOCATEURS
Organization of Greek Marxist-Leninists

This pamphlet was first published as an article in Red Flag, in Athens, Greece, in November 1972. Red Flag was then the theoretical journal of the Organization of Greek Marxist-Leninists; today, it has become the theoretical organ of the Communist Party of Greece (Marxist-Leninist).

The struggle against agent-provocateurs and all police tactics aimed at destroying the party of the proletariat or cubing its action is a question of utmost importance. Communists must study it closely if they hope to one day lead the proletariat in the final attack on bourgeois power.

Learn and remember these important lessons. But most of all, realize that the lessons drawn by our Greek comrades hold true not only for Greece or Chile, but also for Canada, where the capitalist ruling class holds power and exercises its dictatorship over the proletariat.



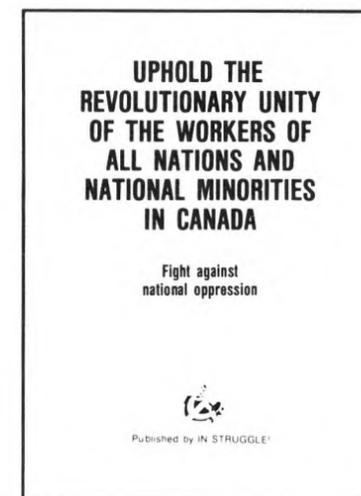
Available soon
CPC(ML): A REVISIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AGENT-PROVOCATEURS

The so-called Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) gets a lot of publicity these days. After ten years of systematically sabotaging the struggles of the Canadian working class, this organization is currently masquerading in a new costume — that of the struggle against revisionism and the "three worlds theory". But a rigorous analysis of the political line of CPC(ML) clearly indicates that, despite the new paint job, the program of CPC(ML) has changed little since its creation. Its program revises the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism. It does not demarcate from revisionism and remains deeply marked by a nationalism that leads directly to strengthening the Canadian imperialist bourgeoisie and crushing the proletariat.

Not only did CPC(ML) declare itself to be the vanguard party of the Canadian working class in 1970, and proceed to devote its energies to sabotaging the struggle for the unity of authentic Marxist-Leninists in Canada and abroad. In addition, we have strong reason to believe that this organization is, in fact, riddled with counter-revolutionaries and professional agent-provocateurs.

We encourage readers to deepen the criticism of CPC(ML), which has more in common with fascism than with Marxism-Leninism, by rigorously studying its political line, practice and history.

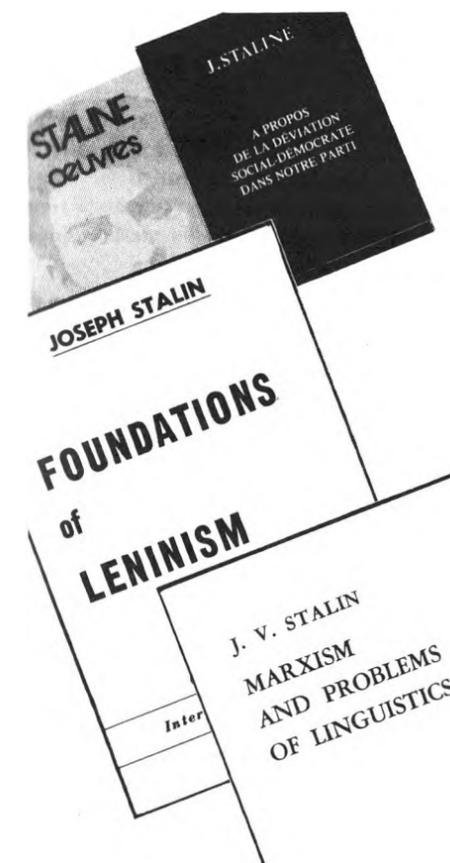
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UPHOLD THE REVOLUTIONARY UNITY OF THE WORKERS OF ALL NATIONS AND NATIONAL MINORITIES IN CANADA
Fight against national oppression

IN STRUGGLE! has just put out a pamphlet on the national question in Canada. In the past few years, the struggle against national oppression has taken on growing importance in the Quebec nation and for the national minorities of Canada. The Canadian bourgeoisie, for its part, has only been able to develop by scoffing at the most elementary rights of the Quebecois, the Inuits, the Amerindians, and francophones outside Quebec. Today, more than ever, it is holding up the banner of chauvinism so as to deny Quebec's right to self-determination and the rights of national minorities. In this situation, what is the response of the revolutionary proletariat? The independence proposed by the Parti Quebecois? The division of the proletariat by chauvinism and narrow nationalism? IN STRUGGLE's pamphlet brings an answer to these questions, questions which are crucial for the future of the Canadian revolution. The Communist program advances the only possible guarantee of the equality of nations and of the various nationalities and of the unity of the Canadian and Quebec proletariat against the Canadian bourgeoisie.

Available in English and French at out bookstores (price: \$0.50)



STUDY THE WORKS OF STALIN

This year we commemorate the 25th anniversary of the death of Stalin. At a time when the revisionist betrayal of the revolutionary ideal of socialism and communism is causing immense harm to the proletariat and the people of the world, it is extremely important to make known the life and works of this great proletarian leader, Joseph Stalin. This is all the more important because the revisionists and their twin brothers, the Trotskyist rabble, have always condemned the works of Stalin so as to betray the cause of the proletarian revolution. The bourgeoisie is unanimous in presenting Stalin as a bogeyman so as to turn the masses away from revolution. We who have taken up the flag of revolution, that of Marxism-Leninism, must establish a clear and definite line of demarcation between us and the traitors, between us and the bourgeoisie. The attitude to adopt towards the life and works of Stalin is a crucial question in this respect.

"The life of Stalin was the life of a great Marxist-Leninist, a great proletarian revolutionary". "After the death of Lenin, Stalin was not only the leader of the Party and government of the USSR, but also the guide universally recognized by the international communist movement."

These are the words that the Communist Party of China used to express its appreciation of the life of Stalin a few years ago. We likewise invite our readers to study the works of Stalin and learn the precious lessons from the struggles for the socialist revolution and the building of socialism in the first proletarian State in man's history. Red Star Press, England. The edition contains 15 volumes; volumes 1, 6, 10, and 13 are available in our bookstores.

The Publications of the Canadian Marxist-Leninist Group IN STRUGGLE!

Pamphlets available

- *For the Proletarian Party*, October 1972. (\$0.75)
- *Against Economism*, concerning the Comité de Solidarité avec les Luttes Ouvrières (CSLO), September 1975. (\$0.65)
- *Towards the Unity of Canadian Marxist-Leninists*, Fight the sectarianism of the CCL(M-L), July 1976. (\$1.00)
- *Documents of the National Conference on the Unity of Canadian Marxist-Leninists*, October 1976. (\$1.50)
- *Manifesto Against Bill C-73 and Wage Controls*, March 1977. (\$0.25)
- *The Tasks of the Canadian Marxist-Leninist Movement Today*, (IN STRUGGLE!'s second anniversary speech, May 1975), March 1977. (\$0.25)
- *Constitution of the Marxist-Leninist group IN STRUGGLE!*, April 1977. (\$0.30)
- *The Unity of the Marxist-Leninist Movement passes by the Intensification of the Struggle Against Opportunism*, communiqué from IN STRUGGLE!'s Central Committee, April 1977. (\$0.15)
- *For the Unity of the Canadian Proletariat*, Brief notes on the present conjuncture, April 1977. (\$0.75)
- *Documents of the Second National Conference of Canadian Marxist-Leninists on the Path of Revolution in Canada*, April 1977. (\$0.75)
- *The Canadian Marxist-Leninist Group IN STRUGGLE!*, A brief presentation of its history and political line, August 1977. (\$0.40)
- *Against Right Opportunism in International Questions*, Declaration of the Canadian Marxist-Leninist group IN STRUGGLE! on the occasion of the Third National Conference of Canadian Marxist-Leninists, held in Montreal September 9, 10 and 11, 1977. September 1977. (\$0.25)
- *Documents of the Third Conference of Canadian Marxist-Leninists on the International Situation*, November 1977. (\$1.50)
- *IN STRUGGLE!'s Pamphlets*, no. 11 to 15, October 1977. (\$0.75)
- *IN STRUGGLE!'s Pamphlets*, no. 16-17-19-20, December 1977. (\$0.75)
- *Draft Program for the Canadian Proletarian Party*, presented by the Canadian Marxist-Leninist Group IN STRUGGLE!, November 1977. (The Draft Program alone: \$0.50, the Draft Program with Commentaries: \$1.50)
- *No revolutionary party without a revolutionary program*. On the tasks of the Canadian communists in the present situation, January 1978. (\$0.75)
- *Men and women of the working class: one enemy, one fight!*, February 1978. (\$0.75)
- *Fight against national oppression uphold the revolutionary unity of the workers of all nations and national minorities in Canada*, March 1978. (\$0.50)
- *The CPC(ML) a revisionist organization of agent-provocateurs*, June 1978 (\$3.00)

Reprints

- *La libération des femmes en Chine*, collection of texts (in French only) (\$1.00)
- *Critical Remarks on the National Question and Is a Compulsory Official Language Necessary?*, Lenin, June 1977. (\$0.75)
- *Communism versus Opportunism*, Fergus McKean, July 1977 (available in English only). (\$4.00)
- *Lenin: On the international situation*, June 1978, (\$1.25).
- *On the struggle against the activities of the agent-provocateurs*, Organization of Greek Marxist-Leninists, June 1978, (\$1.25)

All documents available in English and French unless otherwise indicated.

DECLARATIONS ON THE THREE WORLDS THEORY BY THE CANADIAN MARXIST-LENINIST GROUP IN STRUGGLE!

The Canadian Marxist-Leninist Group IN STRUGGLE! has published two declarations condemning the *three worlds theory*. The first, issued September 6, 1977, a few days before the Third National Conference of Canadian Marxist-Leninists, and called *Against Right Opportunism in International Questions*, criticized the three worlds theory as a "strategic concept", that is, as a supposed strategic guide for the proletarian revolution in various countries. The second declaration, issued by the Central Committee March 2, 1978 in the newspaper IN STRUGGLE!, was called *The "Three Worlds Theory" must be opposed. No compromises with imperialism!*

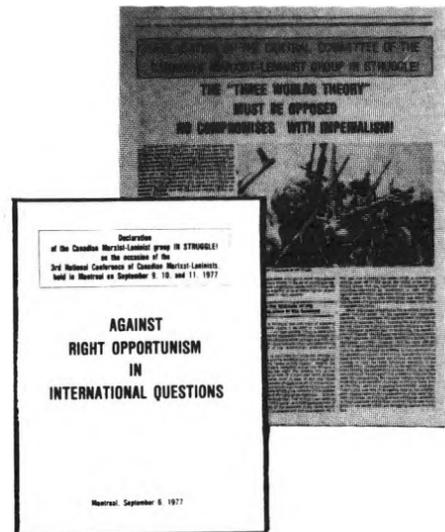
In the March 2 declaration, the Central Committee of IN STRUGGLE! rectified the group's previous position, according to which the *three worlds theory* could be considered a "synthesized expression of the present principal developments of the four fundamental contradictions of the imperialist era" (see *PROLETARIAN UNITY*, no 2, December 1976, p. 29). The March 2 declaration also launched the call to "deepen the criticism of the *three worlds theory* as a "rotten opportunist theory" in order to destroy "the *three worlds theory*, which constitutes the germs of a new revisionism".

THE POLEMIC ON THE GENERAL LINE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT (1963-1964), Red Star Press, London, 1976, 586 pages

During the 1960's, an important polemic took place between the Chinese Marxist-Leninists and the Soviet revisionists. This book contains all the important documents produced during this period. This new edition is an important contribution to the struggle against modern revisionism. If the struggle is to bear fruit, it must be based on a thoroughgoing knowledge of the nature, roots and consequences of revisionism. To be properly armed to fight such treason, today manifested in the "three worlds theory", it is essential to be familiar with and study the history of the international communist movement, for the Marxist-Leninist methodology and point of view can only be acquired through such study. The struggle against anti-Marxist points of view are our best teachers; through them we will acquire the Marxist-Leninist methodology and point of view.

THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION IS TODAY A HISTORIC NECESSITY

The shameless demagoguery of the proponents of the "three worlds theory" is exposed and taken apart in this document published by Marxist-Leninists in Dahomey. Many Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations in Africa and Latin America have firmly rejected the "three worlds theory". The article by the comrades from Dahomey describes in detail the anti-people character of this theory in the context of modern Africa. The so-called "progressive role" of "second world" countries like France is firmly denounced, as is the way the "three worlds theory" as a strategic line preaches capitulation before imperialism in the name of fighting the two superpowers — particularly the USSR, the most dangerous superpower. Published by the Nouveau bureau d'édition, Paris. (Available in French only.)



THE POLEMIC ON THE GENERAL LINE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

LA REVOLUTION PROLETARIENNE EST UNE NECESSITE HISTORIQUE DE L'EPOQUE ACTUELLE

decembre 1977

UNION DES COMMUNISTES DU DAHOMEY

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IN STRUGGLE! is the newspaper of the Canadian Marxist-Leninist group EN LUTTE!/IN STRUGGLE! It is published twice a month in English and French and is distributed throughout the country from Halifax to Vancouver. In a few months, IN STRUGGLE! is going to be transformed into a weekly newspaper, and to attain this objective we are in great need of the support of all Canadian workers and progressives.

One important form of support is to subscribe to the newspaper because that means we can count on a stable income. That is why we are increasing the price of an ordinary subscription to \$10.00.

The development of the communist press is an integral part in the building of the Marxist-Leninist proletarian Party and so constitutes another nail in the Canadian imperialist bourgeoisie's coffin.

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DRAFT PROGRAM FOR THE PROLETARIAN PARTY AND COMMENTARIES ON THE DRAFT PROGRAM

**DRAFT
PROGRAM**
for
the Canadian
Proletarian Party

Presented by
the Canadian
Marxist-Leninist group
IN STRUGGLE!



IN STRUGGLE! published in December 1977 a pamphlet containing its Draft Program for the Proletarian Party and the Commentaries on the Draft Program.

These two texts are of fundamental importance for the Canadian proletariat and all Marxist-Leninists from Halifax to Vancouver. The Draft Program that we present today is the result of a struggle waged for more than a year now within our group and the Canadian Marxist-Leninist movement. This struggle, marked by the holding of five national conferences of Canadian Marxist-Leninists, aims at arming the Canadian working class once again with its standard, the Marxist-Leninist program, a program with which it will henceforth be able to oppose the programs of the bourgeoisie and its Liberal, Conservative, social-democratic and revisionist parties.

The Draft Program which we today submit to the criticism of the Marxist-Leninist movement and Canadian workers is a brief statement of the essential theses of the Party. It defines the general objectives and tasks of the proletariat for the entire period leading to the socialist revolution. As for the commentaries, they provide the complementary explanations necessary for the comprehension of the program, developing each thesis and each article of the program. They thus constitute an essential instrument for a correct understanding of the program itself.

All Marxist-Leninists and all workers, men and women, conscious of the necessity of overthrowing capitalism and restoring its vanguard Party, the proletarian Party, to the working class must make it their duty to study the program and the commentaries. During the coming months, this Draft Program should be widely debated and criticized from a proletarian point of view. Finally, it must be tested in practice in the heat of the class struggle. Only in this way can we unite the working class behind its revolutionary program and its Marxist-Leninist Party. The Draft Program is also available in a smaller size, without the commentaries, and soon will also be available in Spanish, Portuguese, Italian and Greek.

**RE-ARM THE CANADIAN PROLETARIAT WITH ITS STANDARD:
THE MARXIST-LENINIST PROGRAM!
DISCUSS IN STRUGGLE!'S DRAFT PROGRAM!
DISTRIBUTE IT TO OUR COMRADES AT WORK!
VERIFY ITS CORRECTNESS IN OUR STRUGGLES!**