

PROLETARIAN UNITY

Theoretical journal of the
Marxist-Leninist group IN STRUGGLE!

Vol. 1 No. 6 August 1977



In the analysis of the international situation:
KEEP THE CLASS VIEWPOINT!

Comrade workers, comrades and friends,

Without the development of communist mass propaganda, the workers' vanguard is without answers when faced with false solutions, and without arms to instruct itself on what its revolutionary tasks are. In such a situation, the vanguard is destined to look for its "compass" like one looks for a needle in a haystack.

Thus, starting a journal corresponds to the general premise that during the first stage of party building, it is propaganda which leads advanced elements to a dynamic communist consciousness and transforms these working class leaders into revolutionary leaders. But it is not enough. It is also important that the creation of IN STRUGGLE!'s propaganda journal responds to the conditions of the first stage as is now taking shape at this time in Canada.

The unparalleled development of the Canadian workers' movement places on the communists the task of achieving their unity. At a time when the movement is dispersed around the

country and when its fusion to the workers' movement is just beginning, the necessity for a Marxist-Leninist theoretical organ is all the more crucial. This is the reason why IN STRUGGLE! must systematically undertake the task of intensifying the struggle for unity and develop it through the line struggle based around a program, otherwise rallying will be compromised and division and dispersion could pose the danger of opening up the way for opportunism.

The creation of a theoretical journal is therefore an objective necessity at a time when we are systematically putting into action our plan for unity of all Canadian Marxist-Leninists. So that this unity be a unity of steel, it must be forged around a clearly articulated political program.

Organize ourselves so that we can read the journal together. Transmit criticisms.

Organize subscription campaigns in our factories, our neighbourhoods, unions, schools, families, so that we can ensure the financial support to communist propaganda.

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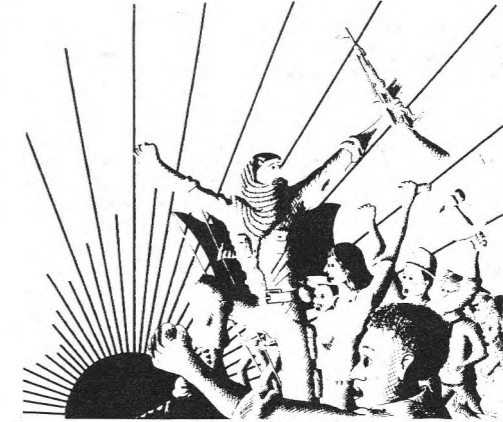
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Editorial

THE HISTORICAL MISSION OF THE CANADIAN PROLETARIAT IS TO OVERTHROW THE BOURGEOISIE AND TO ACCOMPLISH THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

"The workingmen have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got. Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself THE nation it is, so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word."

There is certainly good reason to recall this elementary truth that Marx was the first to put forth in the "Communist Manifesto", for it is a truth that capitalist ruling classes are always seeking to camouflage.

While at the national level especially since the election of the PQ the bourgeoisie is divided, various elements within the ruling class, from one faction and the other, have been exhorting the proletariat to abandon its own interests for the sake of the "nation". And they've been singing the same song in every region of the country, just changing around the words a bit, each one trying to win the proletariat over to the capitalist plan. Each faction is also hoping to push the balance of power between the factions in its own favour, in order to profit to the hilt from the capitalist crisis which is shaking Canada.

For the members of the ruling class in Quebec, to fight unemployment and inflation, "English-Canadian colonialism" must first be fought. As far as they are concerned, the role of the Quebecois proletariat is to supply the foundation blocks of the Quebec "homeland", and to make it into an independent State. Look at how Camille Laurin, Minister of Cultural Development in the Quebec government, put this bourgeois plan, "To the anglophone provinces that ask, 'What does Quebec want?', the francophones of Quebec can now answer: a homeland... francophones in Quebec are attached to this nation by every fibre in their being... the government they feel the closest to is the Quebec government. In any conflict that could put the federal government in opposition to the Quebec government, they instinctively take the latter's side, no matter what their party affiliations..." (from Laurin's July 19 speech to the Quebec National Assembly)

In Ontario, the monopolist Canadian bourgeoisie has lost no time in launching its nationalist "Made in Canada" rockets; after all, there can be no question about letting the Canadian market and Canada's international position weaken, can there? During the recent election campaign, Bill Davis spent his time declaring that the unity of Canada was above all other questions: "Elect me, I am the savior of our country, forget about your exploitation and your misery for the time being..." For this faction, whose national spokesman is Trudeau, if things are so bad it's because investments are down due to the PQ's election.

In the Maritimes and in the West, the bourgeois, are, like elsewhere, inserting their own demands into their grandiose defence of "national unity": "The West is exploited by the rich provinces", "If we're poor in the East, it's because of Ontario and Quebec"... and all of them say to the workers: "Help us get more subsidies and more powers: then you'll get more jobs..."

This type of propaganda that you can hear "from sea to sea" has but one aim: getting the proletariat to abandon the point of view based on its specific class interests so that it falls into rank behind the bourgeoisie, getting the proletariat to put off its main objective forever; getting it to put off putting an end to the real source of exploitation, of oppression and of crises, capitalism itself.

And we must face the fact that the bourgeoisie is still enjoying a certain degree of success with its appeals to "national unity". In more than one hundred years of control, this class has learned how to exploit the great spirit of sacrifice that the people has demonstrated under difficult conditions, in order to get it to serve its own interests.

But to pass its lies and demagogy down through the ranks of the working class movement, it also counts on its agents, its mouthpieces, the labour bosses and labour bureaucrats. "Be more productive and things will be better for the country..." that's what they say repeatedly to justify their latest model of class collaboration implanting tripartism on the local, regional and national level.

Indeed, the bourgeoisie is well-armed to spread its class viewpoint: its media, newspapers, radio, and television, never let up in their flood of messages of love and understanding, of collaboration between the classes.

What's more, in this intense ideological campaign there are Marxist-Leninists and progressives who defend positions which lead to abandoning the proletarian class viewpoint and proletarian interests. This is most clearly evident in relationship to the defense of the national independence of Canada.

Thus, in the West there are still comrades who want to make an alliance with certain sectors of the national bourgeoisie on the pretext that American imperialism is the principal enemy.

And, in the same sense, the Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist), on the pretext of the "Three World" analysis, has just repeated to Canadian workers that they should unite with their bourgeoisie" to oppose the war preparations of the two superpowers"... Yes, indeed, help our bourgeoisie, after all, it's so weak compared to the superpowers...! What does it matter if it is increasing its military budget at a rate of 12% every year?... it's all to "protect the Canadian people". What does it matter if it is allied to the USA at all sorts of levels, it's probably because "it's more or less forced into it"...

Blinded by its growing nationalism, the League has closed its eyes to the rapacious actions of Canadian imperialism in the Third World, preferring to applaud, as it puts it, how positive this is in the struggle against the superpowers. That is how the League ends up by supporting the bourgeoisie on this question, and totally abandoning a class viewpoint. The League forgets that war is only another effect of the capitalist crisis, the most important effect, yes, but we must fight capitalism itself, we must overthrow the bourgeoisie in our own country and make a socialist revolution if we want to put an end to crises and to counter the unleashing of world war!

The League comrades would surely be wise to learn some lessons from the history of the communist movement in our country; more particularly, the history of Communist party of Canada, the CP.

The Party, founded in 1921, on the teachings of Marxism, led a large number of working class struggles during a period of almost twenty years, but during the Second World War it gradually abandoned the class viewpoint on many questions, and ultimately slipped into total opportunism towards the end of the 50s.

Thus, at its congress in 1943, on the pretext that Canada had become an "ally" in the struggle against worldwide fascism, Canadian communists also began to want to ally themselves with this bourgeoisie inside the country. To make itself more "acceptable" in the eyes of the bourgeoisie, the Party put an end to any sort of organization based on factory cell and substituted it by an organization based on territorial cells! Following the same reasoning, the Party drew up request to affiliate to the CCF (the forerunner of the NDP) by promising to respect its rules and its programme! For all practical purposes, this request amounted to a pure and simple renunciation of political independence.

As well, during the war, the leaders of the Party, with Tim Buck at the head, even went as far as declaring that after the war there would be no more unemployment! In losing the class viewpoint on these questions, and on the necessity of the socialist revolution, the Party came to make the worst possible compromises with the bourgeoisie and although it continued to refer to Marxism-Leninism, it clearly became but another bourgeois party.(1)

Another negative example, this one closer to us in time, that Canadian workers and Marxist-Leninists might study is the experience of the Progressive Workers' Movement (PWM) in English Canada from 1964 to 1970.

PWM, composed of Marxist-Leninists mainly from Western Canada, had as its goal the reconstruction of the Canadian proletarian Party.

But PWM was strongly marked by nationalism as far as the revolutionary strategy of the proletariat was concerned. By refusing to recognize the imperialist character of the Canadian bourgeoisie, by putting forward the possibility of an "alliance" with a nationalist faction of the bourgeoisie against American imperialism, and by even going as far as proposing the formation of an "Independence party for Canada", these Marxist-Leninists abandoned the class viewpoint of the proletariat and its current task, overthrowing the bourgeoisie.

It is clear from all this that the slogan of "saving the nation" and bourgeois nationalism are an extremely dangerous tendency for Canadian workers and Marxist-Leninists. And it is also clear that it is indeed easy to lose sight of the class point of view of the proletariat and to end up by tailing behind the bourgeoisie, just like the labour bosses and other agents of the bourgeoisie in our ranks want. It is easy to put bourgeois nationalist interests above the class interests of proletarians.

And it is in order to provide arms for fighting this nationalism and all forms of abandoning the proletarian class viewpoint both domestically and internationally that this issue of PROLETARIAN UNITY is publishing both the evaluation of Progressive Workers Movement made by a Vancouver group, the Long March Collective and IN STRUGGLE!'s interventions at the Conference on the unity of Third World countries organized July 9 in Montreal by the groups which make up the Comité anti-impérialiste des peuples du Tiers-monde, the Third World Anti-Imperialist Committee(2)

The struggle against bourgeois nationalism within the working-class and Marxist-Leninist movements must be intensified and this struggle is an integral part of the current movement to rebuild a genuine proletarian Party, without which socialist revolution is impossible. This Party must represent a genuine rupture with bourgeois ideology; and only if it does will it constitute a decisive step forward for the proletariat.

(1) We refer readers to the document we published over the summer, Fergus McKean's "MARXISM VERSUS OPPORTUNISM" in order to deepen their understanding of the two-line struggle that was waged during this period within the CP.

(2) For an analysis of the Conference, see the July 21 and August 4 issues of the newspaper IN STRUGGLE!

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2- To develop a clear consciousness of the internationalist duties of the Canadian proletariat, by distributing documents which publicize the just anti-imperialist struggles of the peoples of the Third-World, the experiences and lessons of the revolutionary peoples of China, Albania, Korea and Vietnam, and the most exemplary struggles waged by the proletariat of the capitalist and imperialist countries of Europe and of the United States.

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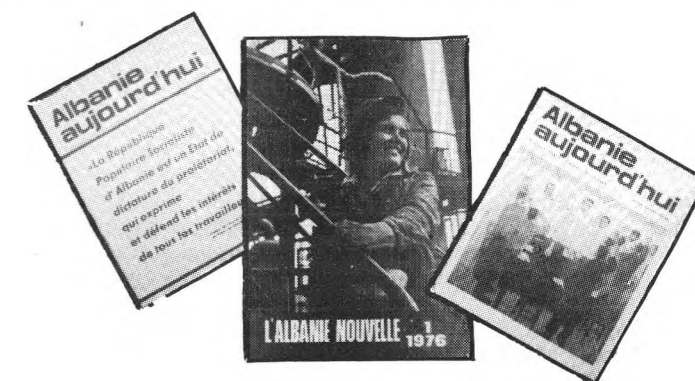
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“IN THE ANALYSIS OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION: KEEP THE CLASS VIEWPOINT!”

**Speeches by IN STRUGGLE!
at the July 9, 1977 Conference Organized by
CAPT
(Third World Peoples'
Anti-Imperialist Committee)**



On July 9, more than 400 people participated at the anti-imperialist conference organized by the CAPT. This conference, in which both IN STRUGGLE! and the Canadian Communist League (M.-L.) participated, once again permitted the unmasking of social-chauvinism, a current, which in international questions, abandons the point of view of the working class.

The three world analysis

Comrades and Friends,

We are living in a period of great turmoil, where various contradictions interact, where every passing day supplies its share of new events, which have a great influence upon the situation of the peoples, on a world scale and in each country. The Communist Party of China has analysed this complex situation and has concluded that the world today is divided into three large groups of countries, three worlds. This analysis constitutes a precious guide for the entire international Marxist-Leninist movement and a correct application of the four fundamental contradictions of imperialism. This is the reason why our group applies, and has always applied this analysis, in a consequent and revolutionary manner in the determination of its internationalist tasks. This is the reason why we have always opposed those who repeat it mechanically, thus masking the class character of the contradictions on a world scale. It is also the reason why we have always most rigorously opposed the numerous deformations of this analysis, put forward by opportunists, using it to peddle their stand of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and, in particular, **those of the Canadian Communist League (ML) who accept at last to openly defend their positions regarding our positions.** We hope they will do so with the minimum of honesty, which is demanded of them, as part of the Marxist-Leninist movement. In order to inform the participants in the Conference, and to allow them to assess correctly the stakes of the debate today, we would first of all like to present certain facts.

During the last months, our group has published detailed texts on the issues being debated here today, in particular in issues no 2 and no 3 of **Proletarian Unity** and in the supplement no 91 of our newspaper. Unfortunately, the League has up to now refused to develop principled polemics and since the publication of its "Statement of Political Agreement...", in the fall of 1975, it constantly repeats the same generalities. This has not prevented the League from multiplying its attacks against us, in the most opportunist way, using facts pulled out of context, leaving out what comes before and after quotations, and more and more often, out and out lying. We don't have enough time here to reply to the League's long list of lies. We refer the comrades to an article on this subject in **Proletarian Unity** no 5.

All this is supposed to demonstrate what the League has already decided a long time ago, that is, that we are sliding or rather, sinking into the swamp of revisionism! This, undoubtedly, explains why a member of its leadership, who is so proud to be there that he brags about it right and left, has developed a new form of ideological struggle: he spits on comrades distributing our paper, and threatens them like the neighbourhood bully. But the masses are less and less tricked by these dirty manoeuvres, and the League cannot prevent everybody from reading our publications. And that is precisely the basis of the whole story. The League refuses to wage ideological struggle among the masses, including the organisations where various reformist and counter-revolutionaries such as revisionists, social-democrats and trotskysts are present. Its complete contempt for the masses makes them act as if false solutions will be defeated by closing our eyes or turning off the microphones, as if by keeping its own mas-

ses in a isolation ward, it will struggle against bourgeois ideology which continues to influence them. For our part, we are entirely confident in the wisdom of the masses and in the teachings of Comrade Mao Tse Tung, who said:

"... good-smelling flowers exist only in relation to poisonous weeds, and develop only in struggle against them. To forbid the people from knowing what is false, pernicious or what is hostile to us, from knowing idealism and metaphysics, and from knowing the sayings of Confucius, Mao-Tse and Tchiang-Kai Chek would be a dangerous policy. It would lead to the regression to one's thinking, to unilateral views and render man incapable of resisting to the trials of life, incapable of refuting adverse opinions" (Pekin Information (Pekin Review). April 25, no 17, pages 27-28. our translation I.S.)

Had Mao Tse Tung been a Canadian Marxist-Leninist, the League would have very rapidly called him the last of the collaborators with revisionism.

We therefore call on the organizing group of this Conference and on all the participants here to be vigilant, in order that the Conference take place in conformity with the attitudes proper to those who wage revolutionary struggle; this is demanded by the superior interests of the Revolution in our country and all over the world.

Comrades,

Our task can not be reduced to the simple recognition of the present division of the globe into three worlds. Our task is to determine how we must act, in order that there exists only one world, a world of justice, equality and freedom, a world without exploiters or exploited, oppressors, or oppressed, in short, a communist world, without classes. To do so, we must also understand the forces and contradictions that have produced, and continue to produce the present international situation.

There are not fifty methods to achieve this... there is only one: adopt, in this as well as in all other matters, the proletarian viewpoint; put forward, in this as well as other matters, the independent policy of the proletariat. Indeed, our group does not represent here the interests of the First World, nor those of the Second, not even those of the Third World. Being a Marxist-Leninist group, it represents only the class interests of the First World, in this way that we can orient, in a revolutionary way, not only the struggle of the Canadian people but also the consequent support for the just struggles of all peoples, nations and countries oppressed by imperialism, especially the two superpowers.

Thus, the globe is presently divided into three worlds: the two superpowers, the USA and the USSR, form the First World; the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America form the Third World; the advanced capitalist and revisionist countries, squeezed by these two forces, form the Second World. But a question is immediately raised: what are the forces and the classes that have brought such a balance of forces on the world scale and thus what must we do in order to transform the situation to the peoples' advantage?

In essence, it is the fundamental contradictions, specific to capitalism itself, arrived at its highest stage, its imperialist stage. This must be recalled, because the verbal diarrhoea of some could lead us to believe that we have entered a new stage of capitalism, the stage of the "Three Worlds"! On the contrary, Comrade Chou En-Lai, the great proletarian revolutionary, reasserted at the last Congress of the C.P.C.:

"Chairman Mao has always taught: 'We are still in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. On the basis of fundamental Marxist principles, Lenin made a scientific analysis of imperialism and defined 'imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism' (...) He therefore concluded that 'imperialism is the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat' and put forward the theory and the tactics of the proletarian revolution in the era of imperialism. (...) Since Lenin's death, the world situation has undergone great changes. But the era has not changed. The fundamental principles of Leninism are not outdated; they remain the theoretical basis guiding our thinking today'. (1)

Like Lenin and the Bolshevik Party during World War I, as Stalin and the IIIrd International during the rise of fascism and World War II, we must firmly join the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania to develop and apply the same fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism to the present situation. It is in this context that the three world analysis takes on all its revolutionary significance.

First, the analysis of the present international situation indicates to us that the two superpowers are today the two greatest international exploiters, the two strongholds of imperialism and world reaction, the two main enemies of the peoples on the world level. Any consistent struggle against imperialism must be directed against them, and in no possible way can we rely on one superpower to oppose the other.

Secondly, the analysis brings out the contradictions existing between the secondary imperialist countries of the Second World and the two superpowers. These contradictions create favorable conditions for the peoples, which weaken the enemy camp. It is also possible, and necessary, to bring to light the double reactionary character of the bourgeoisie of a country such as ours. On the one hand, without a doubt, it betrays, the real national interests of Canada by submitting it to the domination of U.S. imperialism. On the other hand, it participates, through its alliance with the U.S.A., in the pillage of the Third World, in the struggle for world hegemony, and in its preparation for a third world war. Our task is precisely to direct the correct anti-imperialist sentiment of the Canadian masses against the Canadian imperialist bourgeoisie. Thus, the struggle against the two superpowers can not be separated from the struggle against our own imperialist bourgeoisie.

Thirdly, this analysis shows the fantastic strength of the peoples, oppressed nations and countries, which today constitute the main force in the struggle against colonialism, imperialism, and superpower hegemonism. In this regard, our task is, first of all, to support the struggles aimed at "our own" imperialism, to unmask it completely, and thus kill two birds with one stone: strengthen the Third World and weaken our main enemy, the Canadian bourgeoisie, accelerating in this way the march of the Proletarian Revolution in our country.

As we can see, all these tasks turn around one axis: the utilization of all external and internal conditions to favor the development of proletarian revolution in our country. As all authentic Marxist-Leninists we follow the teaching of the great Lenin:

"There is only one real internationalism: it consists of working with abnegation to develop the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle, each in his

own country, of supporting (...) this same struggle, this same line, and only this one in all countries without exception". (our translation).

Such is not, however, the path followed by the League and the other opportunists in the Marxist-Leninist movement who, by mechanically applying the correct analysis of the Chinese comrades, distort it completely and thus contribute to maintaining the present situation instead of transforming it as revolutionaries must do.

Thus, using the fact that imperialist countries of the Second World are in contradiction with the superpowers, the opportunists jump on their imperialist bourgeoisie's bandwagon and brag about their so-called positive acts.

The League has gone so far as to support the strengthening of the Canadian bourgeoisie's army and criticizing us for our insistence in denouncing Canadian imperialism!

These comrades forget a few little things: first, that the closer links of the imperialist bourgeoisies with the Third World has nothing to do with their great generosity but is only due to the increasing strength of the Third World and to the pressures of the Canadian people. He do not have to praise the Canadian bourgeoisie for its objectively favorable gestures to the Third World, but we must, on the contrary, continue our fight against it and our support to the Third World. The more we will attack, the weaker it'll be, the more it will be forced to reduce its appetite in the Third World, the closer it will be to its end.

These comrades also forget, or hide the fact that, while having closer links with the Third World, and despite their contradictions with the two superpowers, these bourgeoisies maintain and even develop their ties with one superpower or the other. In this regard, it is quite significant that the strongest pressure to reinforce the aggressive imperialist NATO pact has been coming, for the last few years, more from imperialist European countries than from the U.S.A. itself! Above all, we must not be lured by these illusions and must even less impose them on the masses. As the threat of a third world war becomes greater, the tendency for these bourgeoisies to develop their links with the two superpowers becomes stronger. This shows clearly that, if the Second World countries sometimes struggle, to various degrees, against the superpowers, it is not by good will, but in fact to get their share of the plunder. It is first of all because they are imperialists. Far from being victims that we must pity and support, these countries are the sworn enemies of revolution and all peoples of the world.

In these conditions, when the League already announces that it will ally with the Canadian bourgeoisie in a national liberation struggle as soon as one inch of Canadian territory is invaded by either one of the superpowers, it abandons the class point of view, and replaces it by the most narrow minded nationalism, and social-chauvinism.

Going about with their work, the opportunists on the pretext of safeguarding the unity of the Third World, have reached the point of ceasing, in practice, to support all the struggles led by the people of these countries against local reaction.

We are in favor of the unity of the Third World, because it really contributes to weaken imperialism, but we don't have to hide reality from the masses: the Third World peoples are in many ways submitted to reactionary dictatorial regimes which are allied with imperialism. The sole real guarantee of solid unity for the Third World resides in the reinforcement of the revolutionary struggle of the peoples; **these are the only struggles that we support unconditionally.**

(1) The Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, FLP. Peking. 1973.

Any support to Third World countries can only be conditional to steps made by the ruling classes against imperialism. It's out of the question that we stop supporting the peoples and tail behind such reactionaries as the Shah of Iran or the Sheiks of Arabia.

In fact, this opportunist line on international questions is only the extension of the same opportunist line on other questions which, under the guise of sterile dogmatism, constantly isolates one question from the other. Incapable of making a real class analysis, the opportunists are unable to direct the various struggles of the Canadian proletariat and people against the main principal enemy, the Canadian bourgeoisie, and thus end up trailing behind Pierre-Elliott Trudeau or Allan MacEachen, or sometimes behind René Lévesque or Canon Lionel Groulx (1), or then again behind the Shah of Iran and other fascist dictatorships.

Comrades,

This line is contrary to the interests of the proletariat and the peoples. It constitutes a major obstacle to the unity of Canadian Marxist-Leninists, which is the only solid basis for the unity of the Canadian proletariat and people with all the peoples of the world.

As Comrade Enver Hoxha said in his Report to the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania:

The Third World as the Main Force in the Struggle against Colonialism, Imperialism and Superpower Hegemonism

Comrades and friends,

The theme of this workshop is correctly called "The Third World as the Main Force in the Struggle against Colonialism, Imperialism and Superpower Hegemonism". The comrades of the different Third World groups present here can easily prove this in a very concrete way during the workshop, and I must say that already the exposé by the comrades of the CAPT is a good example of this.

In fact, not a single day goes by that we do not hear of events that prove this. The Palestinian people, led by its sole legitimate representative, the Palestinian Liberation Organization, wages, in extremely difficult conditions, its glorious struggle against Zionism, imperialism and hegemonism, ferociously defending the independence of the Palestinian nation against all the manoeuvres which seek to take away from it the control of its own destiny.

In Southern Africa, the black peoples of Namibia, Azania and Zimbabwe have pushed the racist and reactionary regimes of Vorster, Smith and Co. to the edge of the cliff and it will not be long before all this scum will be thrown into the trash can of history.

Elsewhere in the other countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, the peoples are rising up to wage their revolutionary local regimes, which are an internal support for imperialism and for the superpowers.

But there's more. For many years, since the famous Bandung Conference in 1955, the countries of the Third World have undertaken to tighten their ranks, to strengthen their unity in order to develop their national economies and to defend their independence against the imperialist powers and in particular, the two superpowers. This vast movement has taken on such an importance that even regimes as reactionary as those of the Shah of Iran and the Arab Emirates

"The people's struggle for economic independence is aimed at the superpowers, against the monopolies of the imperialist States, against the multinationals. That is why the proletariat and all those who are in favor of revolution and socialism, must build strong links between their struggle and the struggle for freedom and independence. And this can only be done by struggling resolutely against the bourgeoisie of one's own country, by struggling against imperialism and its wars of plunder. That is the most efficient and direct support that the proletariat lends to the peoples' liberation movement." (Report to the Seventh Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania. Editions NBE, p. 158 our translation)

Comrades,

On all points follow the slogan thrown in the faces of the revisionists by comrades Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao-Tse-Tung:

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

**WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, OPPRESSED PEOPLES
AND NATIONS, UNITE!**

(1) Quebec nationalist historian.

are participating, whether they like it or not, thus forcing imperialism to retreat and at the same time creating favorable conditions for its complete overthrow.

Finally, and as Marxist-Leninists, we must emphasize this point, socialist China and Albania strengthen, without ulterior motives, their internationalist aid to other Third World countries, give their direct support to the peoples struggling against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism and give the correct orientation necessary for victory.

All these facts show the key role of the Third World in the struggle against imperialism. For this reason and also because of the tremendous numerical force of these regions and their immense natural resources essential to capitalist and imperialist exploitation, for all of these reasons, the Third World constitutes the principal force in the struggle against imperialism.

These are the facts and no one can deny them. However, certain dare to try. First of all, of course, the modern revisionists, from the chief of social-imperialism Leonid Brezhnev right to Berlinguer of the Italian "Communist" Party, the loyal choir boy of the infallible Paul VI and supporter of the Italian bourgeoisie up to the point of advocating maintaining Italy in the NATO imperialist alliance, including William Kashtan of the Canadian "Communist" Party who praises Canadian participation in the so-called UN peace-keeping missions which have no other goal than to determine the destiny of the Third World peoples in spite of them and against their will. All these dirty characters, scared to death by the tremendous uprising of the Third World, try to play one country against another, one national liberation movement against another, in order to interfere in the internal affairs of these peoples, to maintain colonialist and neo-colonialist domination and to pave the way for Soviet social-imperialism and their



United with the proletariat of the capitalist countries, the peoples of the Third World will defeat imperialism and the two superpowers.

own imperialism. These individuals defend very precise interests that are not those of the world's peoples but rather the interests of the new Soviet imperialist bourgeoisie, of the monopoly bourgeoisie of their own countries and the interests of the labour aristocracy, which in all the imperialist countries get rich on the crumbs from the super profits coming from the exploitation of the Third World peoples.

There are also the multiple trotskyist sects, those parasites of the revolutionary movement, who everywhere are used as a "left" cover for Soviet social-imperialism, presenting it as a progressive force, and at the same time, downgrading the correct internationalist policy of the Communist Party of China and The Party of Labour of Albania.

Not long ago the so called "Communist" Party of Canada ("Marxist-Leninist"), this "new convert" to the struggle against social-chauvinism, supported the Angolan movement UNITA in opposition to the other national liberation movements in Angola.

But that's not all. There are even Marxist-Leninists who refuse to recognize these facts or more exactly, systematically try to hide them from the masses. Thus, in 1974, we saw French Marxist-Leninists organize a vast movement of support for the immense arms purchase made by the Shah of Iran from French monopolies, arms which had no other purpose than the repression of the just revolutionary struggle of the people of Oman and of the Iranian people. These same Marxist-Leninists even pushed their sinister joke to the point of justifying themselves by distorting the internationalist policy of the Communist Party and of the People's Republic of China.

There are Marxist-Leninists like that in our country, mainly grouped together in the Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist). They also refuse to systematically support the revolutionary struggle of the Iranian people on the pretext of not casting a shadow of doubt on the progressive nature of the Shah of Iran. Thus the League, in January 1976, refused to participate in the organization of support for the hunger strike of the Iranian Students' Association in protest against the execution of ten Iranian revolutionaries by the Shah's torturers in Montreal. Their newspaper The Forge didn't even breathe a word about this protest when even the bourgeois newspapers were forced to talk about it.

More recently, the League, which has already gained a reputation by its attacks against our systematic denunciation of Canadian imperialism, has begun to accuse us of revisionism on the pretext that we denounce reactionary regimes in the Third World and their alliance with one or the other of the superpowers and thus divide the united front against the two superpowers.

We ask the League: Who divides the Third World, who divides the united front? Is it IN STRUGGLE! who presents and explains to the masses the reality as it is so that they can act to transform it? Or isn't it rather the regimes, like those of King Hussein of Jordan or of Assad of Syria, which tried one after the other, without success, to liquidate the Palestinian revolution, regimes like that of Castro which intervene militarily in the service of Soviet social-imperialism against the African peoples or that of the Brazilian dictators in the service of their masters, American imperialism which subjugate their people to repression and misery? Or isn't it as well those Marxist-Leninists who on the pretext of the united front, cease all struggle precisely against those who seek to divide and fool the masses by hiding the reality from them? The answer is clear.

We have confidence in the wisdom of the masses because it is they and they only who make history. We believe that the masses are capable of understanding that we can support, in certain circumstances, a group, a party, or a class and de-

nounce them when they act against the interests of the masses. We believe that we can explain to the masses the positive nature of an organization like the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in the struggle against imperialism and at the same time point out the limits of this organization and ask the masses to give their unconditional support only to the peoples of the Third World.

This has precisely been the policy put forward by Marxist-Leninist parties, the policy of proletarian internationalism, the independent policy of the proletariat. From this point of view, our unconditional support must be given to the peoples and to the peoples only. All other support to nations and countries, even if they be of the Third World, is strictly subordinated to the attitude they take towards imperialism.

We must explain to the masses who Trudeau, Marchand, Chrétien and the other travelling salesmen of Canadian imperialism, meet when they go on business trips to the Middle-East, to Latin-America and to South-East Asia. We must explain to them that the agreements signed are not revolutionary, and this is what we do, and what we will continue to do.

Another point of major differences on the question of support for the Third World concerns the attitude we must take towards revisionism and Soviet social-imperialism. This question is one of extreme importance because, contrary to American imperialism which is today almost completely unmasked by the peoples, social-imperialism still succeeds in camouflaging itself behind its mask of so-called "natural ally of the people".

On this subject, the League has already accused us of making compromises with the Israeli revisionists because we invited the masses to attend the Conference given by mayor Zayad and organized by the Quebec-Palestine Association. What the League does not say is that Zayad, while being a member of Parliament for the "Communist" Party of Israel, a revisionist Party, was also elected as mayor of Nazareth on the PLO platform, and that this Conference was organized by the Quebec-Palestine Association which adheres completely to the line of the PLO and that the PLO supports these initiatives, in spite of their differences with the "C" P.I. because they permit the denunciation of the conditions of repression and misery under which the Palestinian people in the occupied territories live and thus counter Zionist propaganda. What the League does not say is that IN STRUGGLE!, in its literature and during this Conference, gave the Marxist-Leninist point of view on the question and has not stopped denouncing the role of social-imperialism in the Middle-East. As for us, our position on the struggle of the Palestinian people is clear.

We unconditionally support the struggle of the Palestinian people and we support the correct leadership of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. At the same time, we denounce Zionism, American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, who, with the aid of certain Arab countries try to liquidate this struggle and deviate it from its goals.

In this context, the article in issue no. 90 of our newspaper on the speech of the representative of the PLO at the meeting in May is ambiguous and even erroneous on one point: we assume complete responsibility for this error because we are not people who hide our mistakes; nor who laugh at those who recognize that they have committed mistakes. (1) In this article, after reporting the position of the representative of the PLO on its tactical alliance with the Soviet Union and the comparison he made with the Communist Party of China, we made it into an example for Marxist-Leninists on the question of tactical alliances.

(1) This is the reply which IN STRUGGLE!'S representative gave to the mockina and sarcastic laughter of certain members from the League.

As long as we consider that the PLO correctly leads the struggle of the Palestinian people, it is correct that we not dictate to it how it should conduct its affairs. But we must not take its tactical alliances as models. On the contrary, we must denounce the role of social-imperialism in the Middle-East and all over the world. But what is the exact nature of this error? Is it as the League says, that we have divided the united front, that we have divided the Third World. On the contrary, the essence of this error is that we abandoned our independent policy in the united front, that we did not, in this case, adopt the independent policy of the proletariat. As for the League's accusation that we are proposing a tactical alliance with social-imperialism in the revolutionary struggle in Canada, nobody will be fooled except those whom the League tries to stop from reading our publications.

Comrades,

Before concluding, we must emphasize that an important question is absent in the content of the debates in this work-

CLOSING SPEECH GIVEN BY IN STRUGGLE!

Comrades and friends,

Despite the criticisms which we made at the beginning of the conference regarding its organization and orientation, criticisms which we intend to debate with the comrades from the CAPT, while taking into account the remarks and responses which they made concerning these criticisms, despite these criticisms, we consider that today has been principally positive. It was principally positive because it permitted the development of the debate among Marxist-Leninists and among progressives, on our internationalist tasks. On the other hand, we deplore the very secondary role played by the anti-imperialist groups, who are evidently highly concerned by the questions which we have discussed today, and the monopolization, if we can use this word, of the debates by the Marxist-Leninist groups. The speech by the comrade from the International Association of Philippine Patriots gave us a taste of the contribution that all of the anti-imperialist groups could have made today. I think that it is too bad that the comrades from the other anti-imperialist groups didn't speak and I feel that this is linked to the way in which the conference was organized to accord, as I said before, a preponderant place to the Marxist-Leninist groups present.

It is important to note the differences that came out in today's debate. In my opinion, it's not the recognition or non-recognition of the three world analysis, nor the recognition or non-recognition of the fact that the Third World constitutes the main force, which were at stake in the debate. There is agreement on these questions. What was at stake in the debates, was rather the mechanical application that certain, in particular the League, make of the three world analysis, putting aside not only the concrete analysis of the concrete situation, but as well, the class character of the contradictions which are at play on a world scale. Let's look at what the Chinese comrades have to say on this subject in **A proposal concerning the general line of the international communist movement (p.55, Foreign Languages Press, Peking)** Let's look at how they understand the development of the political line of Marxist-Leninist groups and Parties:

shop. It is the question of the leading force in the struggle against colonialism, imperialism and superpower hegemonism.

All Marxist-Leninists and all revolutionaries know that every social movement and particularly every revolutionary movement is not defined by the main force being led but above all by the force which leads it. On this point, we must show absolute firmness. As the glorious Chinese and Albanian revolutions teach us, the struggle against colonialism, imperialism and superpower hegemonism will be triumphant only if it is led by the international proletariat, its vanguard being the socialist countries, allied to the oppressed peoples nations, and to the extent that everywhere in the world the Marxist-Leninist parties develop and take the lead in the revolutionary struggle.

**WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, OPPRESSED PEOPLES
AND NATIONS, UNITE!
LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!
LONG LIVE THE WORLD PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION!**

"If it is not a party that can use its brains to think for itself and acquire an accurate knowledge of the trends of the different classes in its own country through serious investigation and study, and knows how to apply the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and integrate it with the concrete practice of its own country, but instead is a party that parrots the words of others, copies foreign experience without analysis, runs hither and thither in response to the baton of certain persons abroad, and has become a hodgepodge of revisionism, dogmatism and everything but Marxist-Leninist principle, then such a party is absolutely incapable of leading the proletariat and the masses in revolutionary struggle, absolutely incapable of winning the revolution and absolutely incapable of fulfilling the great historical mission of the proletariat."

Here is a very important lesson for us. When we use the three world analysis in a mechanical and repetitive way to put aside the class character of the struggle against the two superpowers, forgetting that we are still in the era of imperialism and not in the era of the three worlds, as a comrade said a while ago, when we forget the fundamentally imperialist nature of the Second World countries, and we try to support the positive gestures of the bourgeoisies of the Second World countries, we fall into social-chauvinism. And if, while supporting the Third World countries in their struggle against the hegemonism of the two superpowers, we forget the class character of these countries, we fall into opportunism. If, on the level of the struggle for the national independence of Canada and faced with the danger of war, we situate the question of war only with regard to a possible invasion of Canada and not with regard to the class character of this war, once again we fall into social-chauvinism. If we forget the interests of the proletariat on the level of the struggle of the Quebec nation for its right to self-determination and its national rights, if we forget and put into second place the interests of the proletariat, to profit the interests of the nation, here again we are falling into nationalism and tailism with regard to the bourgeoisie.

Our position is that on international questions, just like on all others, it's necessary to adopt a class point of view, the point of view of the proletariat, of the interests of the proletariat and the peoples on a world scale. On the international level, this means that we must unite all that can be united in the struggle against colonialism, imperialism, and the hegemonism of the two superpowers. Thus, we accord very great importance to the unity of the Third World countries in the struggle for their national independence against imperialism, particularly the two superpowers. But, our **unconditional** support goes to the international proletariat, particularly the socialist countries, socialist China and Albania, to the struggle of the peoples, particularly the struggles of the peoples of the Third World. In this context, the struggle against modern revisionism is of primordial importance.

At the present time, in our country, to be able to realize these tasks in a consistent way, we must link them to the struggle against the Canadian bourgeoisie, for its overthrow, for the socialist revolution, for the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this way, **the struggle against the two superpowers is inseparable from the struggle against the Canadian bourgeoisie, the struggle for the socialist revolution in Canada.** In consequence, in our country, the united front against the two superpowers must also be directed against the Canadian imperialist bourgeoisie.

To adopt a point of view which abandons the interests of the Canadian proletariat and people in the name of the mechanical utilization of the three world theory, to fall behind the bourgeoisie of another country and of our own country, is to fall into social-chauvinism. It is to betray the interests, not only of the Canadian proletariat, but of the world proletariat and peoples as well.

Comrades,

To achieve the unity of the Canadian proletariat and people with the proletariat and peoples of the world in the struggle against colonialism imperialism and the hegemonism of the two superpowers, to achieve the unity of the Canadian proletariat against the Canadian bourgeoisie, there is an essential instrument which we must build, the Canadian Marxist-Leninist Party. For this, the struggle for the unity of Canadian Marxist-Leninists is perhaps the most important struggle which Marxist-Leninists must wage today. This struggle must have as its goal to unite all the Marxist-Leninists in a **single** Marxist-Leninist Party, around a political programme debated in the Marxist-Leninist movement and the masses. And the struggle for the programme is inseparable from the struggle against the opportunism in the Canadian Marxist-Leninist movement. We are confident that the struggle for the unity of Canadian Marxist-Leninists will triumph in the creation of a **single Canadian Marxist-Leninist Party.** In this sense, we reinvite all of the comrades present here, to actively participate in the 3rd National Conference of Marxist-Leninists which will take place in the month of September on the subject of international questions. We also reinvite the comrades from the League, and we will continue to reinvite them, because we consider that days such as today show by the vigorousness of the debates which took place during lunch hour, the thirst of the militants of the Marxist-Leninist groups to debate these questions together. This is an important lesson to be learned from today. We encourage the participants in today's conference to become acquainted with the draft programme which IN STRUGGLE! will be publishing in the next few months, to debate and criticize it with the goal of advancing the struggle for the unity of Canadian Marxist-Leninists.



**WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES,
OPPRESSED PEOPLES AND NATIONS,
UNITE!**

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

**STRUGGLE FOR THE UNITY OF
MARXIST-LENINISTS!**

**STRUGGLE FOR THE CREATION OF THE
CANADIAN MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY!**

STRUGGLE FOR THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION!

The Progressive Workers' Movement and the Red Star Collective:

A LEGACY OF ECONOMISM AND BOURGEOIS NATIONALISM IN THE MARXIST-LENINIST MOVEMENT

By Long March Collective
Vancouver
May, 1977

I. INTRODUCTION

As the world economic crisis deepens, with capitalism and imperialism falling deeper and deeper into decay, we can see the burden of the crisis being dumped increasingly on the shoulders of the working class and the masses. In Canada the wage control legislation and the activities of the Anti-Inflation Board make this reality crystal clear. And this type of activity is not limited by any means to the Canadian State. On the contrary, we can see government after government in the capitalist world enacting legislation with similar ends: to make the working class pay for the present crisis of capitalism.

Throughout the world popular resistance is rising. In Canada, we see much evidence of this. In the past year the workers at Kitimat staged an illegal strike against the crisis measures, acting in solidarity with workers in Quebec. This year saw the first country-wide general strike in Canadian history, which the labour bosses were

forced to call because of the militancy of the rank and file.

But bourgeois ideology permeates the spontaneous working class movement. While workers in Kitimat, BC and Arvida, Quebec join together in common cause against Alcan Corporation, the bourgeoisie is attempting to whip up big nation chauvinism and petty bourgeois nationalism as a contradiction between the workers of the oppressed nation of Quebec, and those of English Canada. While the labour bosses are forced to call a general strike because of the militancy of the rank and file, they still scurry to contain the popular resistance with tripartism, a new and cozy deal with the bourgeois State.

What is sorely needed is for the working class in Canada to consciously take up the struggle for a socialist revolutionary communist Party. Because such a Party does not at this point exist in Canada, the struggle to build it must be the central task of all Marxist-Leninists. This Party will be built

by applying the historically accumulated theory and experience of the international communist movement to the concrete realities of the class struggle in Canada. It is through this application that we will develop our line on the path of the revolution as it is tested in the class struggle. The development of theory only has meaning if it is linked to our central objective, fusing Marxism-Leninism with the workers movement and building the unity of communists, thus laying the foundations of the Party in the working class itself. When we speak of the path of the revolution we must never forget that the creation of the Party is our first goal along the road.

Presently in Canada there is a young but growing communist movement dedicated to the task of reconstituting a genuine communist Party of the working class. The upcoming regional conference on the path of the revolution marks a great step forward in the practice of the communist movement here in Vancouver. But we still have a long way to go. The movement in Vancouver, despite its increasing public presence, still lacks a consistent and systematic practice in the class and the masses. We are still organizationally divided. It is only through forming unity amongst Marxist-Leninist forces that we will be able to de-

velop a consistent and systematic practice in the class and the masses. This conference (the May 28, 1977, Vancouver Conference on the Path of the Revolution) is an important step in the development of that unity.

The Long March Collective is a small Marxist - Leninist collective which split in July 1976 from the Vancouver Study Group as a result of a struggle over the correct method of developing political line. (The Vancouver Study Group was formed in 1972 and changed its name to Red Star Collective shortly after our split.) We must therefore take responsibility (up to a certain point) for the incorrect line and practice of the Vancouver Study Group. However since our formation almost a year ago, as a result of our practice in the movement and the class, we have deepened our understanding of how to develop political line as it relates to the major questions facing the movement.

The main contribution of the Long March Collective to the struggle over the path of the revolution will be a demarcation from the incorrect method that the Red Star Collective brings to this question as evidenced in its pamphlet, **Canada: Imperialist Power or Economic Colony?** We will attempt to analyze the economist and bourgeois nationalist errors in the RSC contri-

bution, linking these errors on the one hand to the strategic line of the Progressive Worker Movement (as laid out in its pamphlet, **Independence and Socialism in Canada**), and on the other to economist errors of the RSC on the questions of unity and work amongst the working class. In order to more effectively carry out this task we will refer where we feel it is useful to the line and practice of the Vancouver Study Group as we knew it, thus tracing the historical continuum from the Progressive Worker Movement, through the Vancouver Study Group, to the Red Star Collective.

The RSC/VSG has strong links with the PWM. Some of the leading members of the VSG were in the PWM and others were strongly influenced by it. The VSG studied the PWM pamphlet, **Independence and Socialism in Canada**, several times and the line expressed in the pamphlet was approved by the majority of the group.

This pamphlet contains serious errors of economism and bourgeois nationalism. It puts forward a strategy for two-stage revolution in Canada, despite the fact that Canada is an advanced capitalist country where the proletariat is both the main and leading force in the struggle for socialism, a country where political independence and bourgeois democracy were achiev-

ed over a century ago. This bourgeois nationalist line led to serious economist errors. The pamphlet analyzes at length the necessity for a united front independence movement to struggle against American imperialism in Canada. The pamphlet does **not** propose that communists seek to win workers to the tasks of party building or to Marxism-Leninism, but rather that they provide leadership within the independence movement. Neither the method for building the ML Party nor the specific role of the Party within the independence movement is correctly spelled out.

These errors were clearly reflected in the practice of the Vancouver Study Group. Although the RSC has made certain advances, economism and bourgeois nationalism persist in its line and practice.

The RSC continues to see the task of developing Marxist-Leninist theory on the one hand, and working amongst the class on the other, as separate tasks. Thus we see an analysis of the path of the revolution which ignores the question of class struggle. Rather than analyzing the relationship of the bourgeoisie to the proletariat, we get instead a factual analysis of the economic holdings of the American and Canadian bourgeoisies. This error of economism around the question of the path of the revolution is not only evident in the RSC's present practice in the working class, but it is also at the very heart of their incorrect line on building unity in the movement.

The error of economism in line and practice is closely linked to the error of empiricism in method, both in the PWM pamphlet and RSC's recent opus. Lists of factual economic data, although useful, are no substitute for a dialectical analysis of the relationship of class forces.

It is the view of our group that the Progressive Worker Movement made a significant contribution to the struggle against revisionism in the Canadian working class. In order for the class struggle to move forward, however, it is important for the Marxist-Leninist movement to make a **thorough demarcation** from the erroneous lines of the PWM. This is particularly crucial around the question of the path of the revolution where we can see bourgeois nationalist errors repeating themselves in our present-day movement.

As a contribution to this demarcation, the LMC is publishing an analysis of the PWM pamphlet, linking it to the errors we see presently being made in the movement, particularly by the RSC. An earlier version of Section II of this

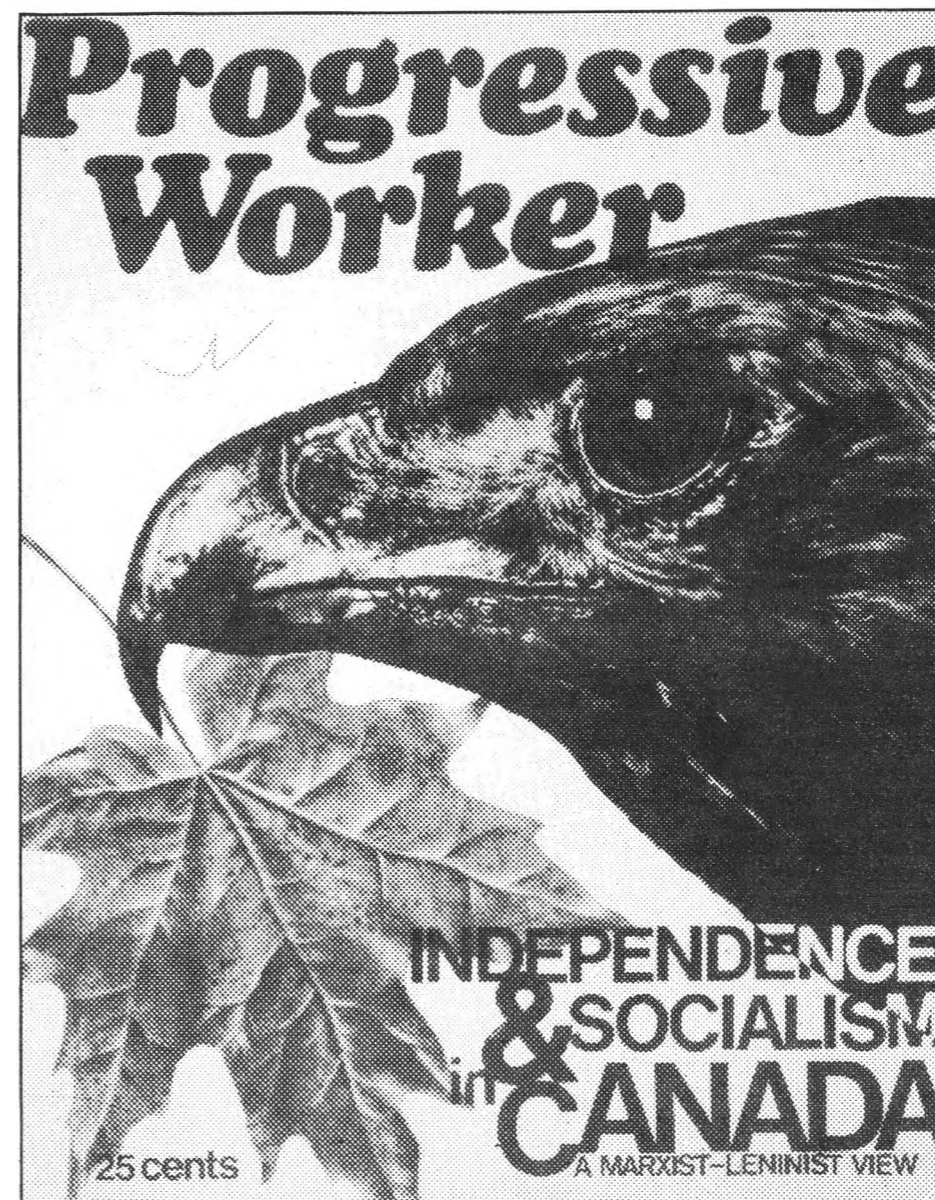
paper was debated in the Vancouver Study Group in the Spring of 1976. We see this critique as an important contribution to the demarcation from PWM's erroneous lines and their effect on the movement today. Not only did **Independence and Socialism in Canada** constitute the essential basis of unity of the VSG for several years, but it was this pamphlet which had the widest distribution of all the PWM material and thus influenced a number of groups and individuals across the country. We want to emphasize that this is by no means the thorough demarcation from PWM which we see as necessary and we would call on the RSC to apply Marxism-Leninism and utilize their knowledge and first-hand experience to take up the question, looking at the full breadth and scope of PWM.

As a small group, we do not see it as our task to elaborate a complete position on the path of the revolution at this time. However, based on the work that we have done, it is our position that IN STRUGGLE! has the most advanced line on this question. This group, in its articles on the path of the revolution in **Proletarian Unity No 3**, struggles against the errors made by the Red Star Collective. IN STRUGGLE! applies the basic elements of Marxist-Leninist theory to the history of class struggle in Canada. It looks at the transition from colonialism and semi-feudalism to capitalism, examining Confederation, the creation of the State, as the "condition for existence of the Canadian bourgeoisie". It demonstrates that the transition to imperialism was a logical consequence of the development of the economic base. The entire history is presented from the point of view of class struggle — that is, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

IN STRUGGLE! describes the question of State power as being "of decisive importance". The alliance between the Canadian and American bourgeoisies is situated in the context of the international situation and the class struggle within Canada.

IN STRUGGLE! lays out a basic strategic line, a line which addresses the questions: what is our goal? who are our friends and who are our enemies? how do we resolve contradictions among the people? The historical study is not complete; it certainly lacks the detail of the RSC work. But the complete structure of an analysis is present. It is something that can be worked with, criticized, and as the struggle to fuse science with the class develops, it can be used as a basis to test the line in detail.

II. CRITIQUE OF THE PWM PAMPHLET INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIALISM IN CANADA — A MARXIST-LENINIST VIEW



How is the struggle for socialism to be waged in Canada? The position of the PWM pamphlet is as follows: "It is the position of the Progressive Worker Movement that the development and success of a national independence movement in Canada is absolutely vital in our struggle for socialism, that no advance towards the goal of socialism can be made without such a movement developing, and that socialists must take an active and leading role in the building of this independence movement. That is our position, and it is based on our analysis of the historical developments

that have brought Canada to her present state." (**Independence and Socialism in Canada**, p. 43)

In this section we will deal with the argumentation which leads to the above conclusion and the erroneous nature of the conclusion itself.

Blurring The Difference Between The Nation and The State

In its pamphlet, PWM claims to be answering the "national question" in Canada. Marxist-Leninists from Quebec

have pointed out that the use of the term "national question" is itself somewhat misleading. Stalin's (and Lenin's) work on the national question was written, not simply — or even primarily — to deal with the question of the national rights of State communities (countries), but rather addressed itself to the problem of the national rights of national groupings within States.

Stalin says: "But not every stable community constitutes a nation. Australia and Russia are also stable communities, but nobody calls them nations. What distinguishes a national community from a state community? The fact, among others, that a national community is inconceivable without a common language, while a state need not have a common language. The Czech nation in Australia and the Polish in Russia would be impossible if each did not have a common language, whereas the integrity of Russia and Australia is not affected by the fact that there are a number of different languages within their borders." (**Marxism and the National Question in Marxism and the National-Colonial Question**, San Francisco, 1975, p. 18)

How does the PWM pamphlet deal with this distinction? It starts off by quoting Stalin's classic definition: "A nation is an historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture." (*op. cit.*, p. 6)

Although the existence of a separate Quebec nation is acknowledged, the distinction between national and State communities is not analysed. The pamphlet clearly states that it is addressing the "national question" and only in the conclusion is Mao Tse-Tung's method of analyzing contradictions introduced. Thus, for example, the opening paragraph of the introduction states: "The national question, that is, the relationship of national struggles to the class struggle, the relationship of nationalism to the struggle against imperialism and capitalism, is one of the most crucial and hotly debated questions on the left today, both in Canada and elsewhere." (p. 4).

PW's framework predetermines the conclusions of the analysis. Blurring the distinction between the nation and the State allows PW to blur the distinction between the US imperialist bourgeoisie and the Canadian bourgeoisie. It is not difficult to show that the Canadian people, taken as a whole, and the Canadian State in particular are subject to various

forms of intimidation, domination and economic exploitation by US imperialism. If the framework is "the nation", then it is easy to conclude that the main enemy is the foreign imperialist. But if we look, not simply at "the nation", but at what really exists, **namely the Canadian State community**, the theoretical framework is broadened to include the full range of possibilities. It is hence more scientific.

In discussing the State community taken as a whole, we do not talk about the "national question". This refers, as we have said, to various national communities within the State. We speak rather of contradictions, particularly the "principal contradiction". PW refers to the theory of contradictions (p. 43), but only after the "nation vs. imperialists" framework has been established and applied. The question of the principal contradiction, as applied to the Canadian State community, clearly allows for various theoretical possibilities besides the "US imperialism and its Canadian servants vs. the Canadian people" set forth by PW.

The "national question" method runs counter to a basic method of analyzing contradictions in the theory of Mao Tse-Tung: "As opposed to the metaphysical world outlook the world outlook of materialist dialectics holds that in order to understand the development of a thing we should study it internally and in its relations with other things; in other words, the development of things should be seen as their internal and necessary self-movement, while each thing in movement is interrelated with and interacts on the things around it. **The fundamental cause of the development of a thing is not external but internal; it lies in the contradictoriness within the thing.** This internal contradiction exists in every single thing, hence its motion and development. Contradictoriness within a thing is the fundamental cause of its development, while its inter-relations and interactions with other things are secondary causes. Thus materialist dialectics effectively combats the theory of external causes, or of an external motive force, advanced by metaphysical mechanical materialism and vulgar evolutionism." ("On Contradiction", **Selected Works**, Peking 1965, Vol. 1, p. 313. Emphasis added)

The PW pamphlet fails to apply this method of analyzing contradictions. The "Canadian nation" is set in opposition to the British and American imperialists. Canadian history is described as a series of 'lessons' to and 'capitulations' by the Canadian bourgeoisie. The actions of the imperial power at all times

were determinant in the historical process, while contradictions within Canada seem to have played no part in its history. There is no meaningful analysis, for example, of contradictions between various economic sectors of the Canadian bourgeoisie at various times, the history of capital accumulation, the development of the Quebec national question, the internal nature and contradictions between what PW calls the "capitulationist-reformist bourgeoisie", the "comprador bourgeoisie" and the "national bourgeoisie".

Common Culture — Not a Sufficient Basis To Define A Nation

PW also does itself a disservice by failing to examine fully the application of Stalin's definition to Quebec and English Canada. A full application of Stalin's theory would not damage PW's argument. But PW relies solely on the "common culture" criterion to determine that Quebec and English Canada are nations.

Quebec, it is argued, "had to develop a national culture and national identity as a matter of survival in the face of British attempts to Anglicize the French Canadians" (p. 8) "English Canada", on the other hand, "where no such clearly recognizable 'national culture' exists... is a nation most importantly in the fact that its people wish it to be a nation." (ibid.)

While Quebec and English Canada each fit into Stalin's definition of the nation, PW's method of "proving" this is clearly wrong. Quebec did not develop its national culture merely as a matter of survival. This argument is tautological, a form of circular reasoning: Quebec's culture survived as a matter of survival. It seems to suggest that before the British came Quebec didn't even have a common culture! In fact, of course, the struggle for the survival of the Quebecois culture was and is firmly rooted in material conditions, i.e., deep historic roots, stable community, common language, territory and economic life. And while the historic roots are not as deep for English Canada, the material conditions of nationhood are all present. The common culture is weak, owing to the strong impact of US imperialist culture — but it exists.

The argument that English Canada is a nation principally because "its people wish it to be a nation", in an extremely dangerous one, which runs counter to the methods of dialectical materialism. According to the materialist method, social grouping and classes, political and economic struggles, etc., are not defined or interpreted according to how individuals,

classes etc. wish them to be defined. We might wish that Canada's system of bourgeois democracy was truly democratic; certainly the bourgeoisie considers itself to be part of a democratic system. But looked at objectively and through an application of historical materialism the Canadian State emerges clearly as a system of democracy for the bourgeoisie and dictatorship against the proletariat. Marx stated. "Just as our opinion of an individual is not based on what he thinks of himself, so we cannot judge of such a period of transformation by its own consciousness; on the contrary this consciousness must be explained rather from the contradictions of material life..." (**Contribution To A Critique of Political Economy, Selected Works**. Moscow 1935, Vol. 1. p. 356).

The main weight of Stalin's work is the argument that common culture alone is not a sufficient basis to define the nation. "It is possible to conceive of people possessing a common 'national character' who, nevertheless, cannot be said to constitute a single nation if they are economically disunited, inhabit different territories, speak different languages, and so forth. Such, for instance, are the Russian, Galician, American, Georgian, and Caucasian Highland **Jews**, who, in our opinion, do not constitute a single nation... **It is only when all these characteristics are present together that we have a nation.**" (op. cit., pp. 22-23, emphasis in original).

PW's Version of History

The 1837 rebellion is seen as the end of any hope that the Canadian bourgeoisie might have a history of its own: "The defeat of the 1837 rebellion in the two Canadas signalled the defeat of the bourgeois-democratic national revolt in Canadian history. What the defeat meant was that Canada's advance towards democracy and industrial capitalism would take place not independently as in the United States, but within the confines of imperialist domination... Of the classes that had taken part in national-democratic political activity before 1837, the upper sections made their deal with imperialism, rather than take a stand for independence. It was this union of the upper sections of the Anglo-Canadian bourgeois class with the merchant — monopolists of the Family Compact that formed the basis of a real **comprador class, a bourgeois ruling class which acts not independently, but in the service of the foreign imperialists.**" (op. cit., pp. 13-14, emphasis theirs).

Confederation, we are told, was brought about "as a deal amongst three principal partners: the capitulationist-reformist bourgeoisie of Toronto, the

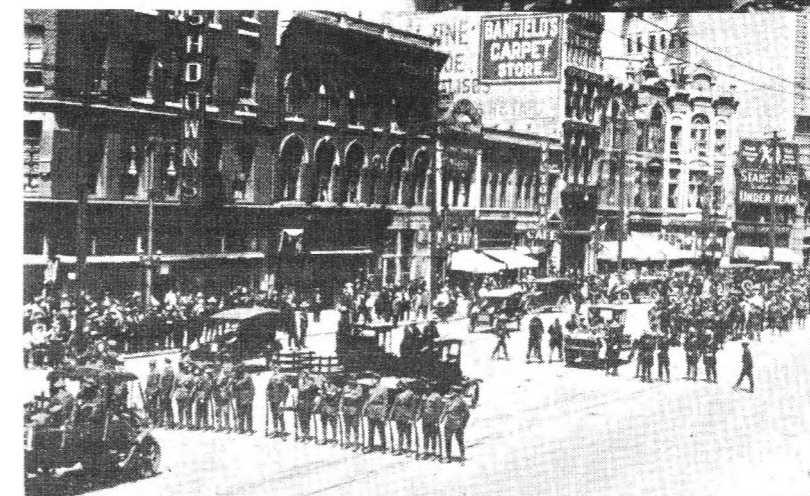
The defeat of the revolt of 1837 did not signify the defeat of the bourgeois revolution in Canada as PWM claims. On the contrary, Confederation in 1867, permitted the bourgeoisie to constitute itself as a leading class, at the head of the Canadian State. And the Canadian bourgeoisie has never and will never hesitate to use this State to maintain its domination and to exploit the people.



The rebellion of 1837 was only the beginning of the bourgeois revolution.



1867, the year of Confederation: a lovely family photo of the "fathers" of capitalist exploitation in Canada.



As early as 1919, the bourgeois State was not shy about resorting to blood and violence to repress the uprising of the workers in Winnipeg. It acted no differently on July 22, wounding 7 millworkers at Robin Hood.



comprador-bourgeoisie of Montreal, and the giant British monopolies that dominated much of the economic life of Canada." (p. 16) Although the existence of an apparently indigenous "reformist" bourgeoisie is consistently acknowledged (and it is admitted that both "reformist" and "comprador" fractions sought benefit from post-Confederation western expansion), PW persists in arguing that it could never be any more than a puppet. "We have not exchanged a comprador bourgeoisie for an independent national bourgeoisie as our national ruling class; our comprador rising bourgeoisie has merely exchanged foreign masters." (PW, p. 18)

A national bourgeoisie does exist, we are told, which "dreams of becoming the capitalist ruling class of Canada to the exclusion of foreign imperialists". PW does not enlighten us as to the composition of this group, its economic or political base, the dynamics of the contradictions between it and the "comprador" bourgeoisie, etc. The possibility that bourgeois nationalism might be a tactic that the Canadian bourgeoisie keeps handy for use on specific occasions to advance its class interests — this is not discussed. Instead we are told that this mysterious fraction fails to act for fear of revolution, while the efforts of its ideologists are dismissed away.

So a Canadian bourgeoisie does exist; it is conceded that this class can even perceive its own interests. But in action, all it can do is dance like a puppet or tremble like a leaf. We are never to find out how and why the Canadian bourgeoisie shifted allegiance from Britain to the United States after World War I.

The role of the Canadian banking system, commercial ventures and the emergence of major Canadian controlled corporations are not explained. The imperialist ventures of these companies are ignored. The role of the Canadian State as protector and sponsor of these interests receives no examination. What did the Canadian bourgeoisie gain from the shift to dependence on US imperialism? Did it carve out a sphere of economic activity for itself under the eagle's wing? PW does not attempt to tell us.

PW's view of the national bourgeoisie suggests that, due to political weakness and fear of revolution, it has failed to fight for the "exclusion of foreign imperialists". (p. 14) It seems to suggest moralistically that this class betrayed the nation. But is it not equally conceivable for a fairly large indigenous bour-

geoisie to define its class interests as compatible with those of the US or British imperialist system, seeing that its class interests are best served through such an alliance rather than struggle at any given time? Contention and collusion go together in relations between bourgeois groupings — but at any given time one is dominant. In Canadian history it seems to have generally been collusion.

However, all these factors are at odds with the inexorable conclusion of the PW pamphlet: "Canada is no more than a neo-colony, a fully integrated part of the American empire". (p. 28) In "The Present Situation", PW documents the crushing American influence over our economy, politics, culture, and trade union movement. These facts are undeniable, and provide evidence that US imperialism is one of the main enemies of the Canadian proletariat. But all these "facts" are no substitute for an analysis of the dynamics of the role of the Canadian bourgeoisie, "their" State, and the relationship to imperialism and the struggles of the proletariat. The pamphlet uses an empiricist method of analysis. It substitutes a list of facts for an analysis of class contradictions in Canada. Its version of history is not a history of class struggle.

Two-Stage Revolution

In the conclusion, "Program For Struggle", the various errors of analysis reach fruition. It is argued that the "main contradiction here is the one between US imperialism and its Canadian servants on the one hand and the Canadian people on the other. This simply means that in Canada, the main oppressor is the "continentalist" American bourgeoisie through its servants, the Canadian comprador bourgeoisie." (p. 43) The question of the indigenous bourgeoisie and its active role in exploiting the working class, its imperialist ventures, its attempts to play off the interests of the superpowers and other imperialist countries — all these are ignored. The objective existence of the Canadian State as an instrument of this class is not included as a factor in the strategy.

For a developed capitalist country with a highly differentiated working class, which forms the majority of the population, where there is a separate State structure, no foreign military occupation, and an existing capitalist class, it is argued that the secondary aspect of the principal contradiction is "the Canadian people". This is a direct extension of the fallacy discussed earlier

in this criticism, that the national community is substituted for the State community. As we have pointed out, Stalin's analysis of the national question refers specifically to oppressed nations within States; this can be extended to colonies where the imperialist power exercises direct control over the State apparatus. But the PW argument that since Canada, as a nation, is oppressed by US imperialism, the main contradiction is between US imperialism and the Canadian people, does not fall into either one of these categories. If the US occupied Canada, or if the Canadian government took all its orders from Washington, under threat of force, the contradiction would be as PW describes it. But in fact the Canadian bourgeoisie is quite willing to maintain its alliance with imperialism, and quite capable of taking certain initiatives which reflect an important measure of manoeuvring ability. It is certainly quite capable of finding its own ways to attack and exploit the working class.

It is quite easy to show that US imperialism has a strong presence in Canadian economy, politics, culture etc. If Canada were occupied or directly controlled by Washington, the conditions for a national liberation struggle would clearly exist. But this is not the case. Canada is not a national community lacking an independent State structure: it is a State community with an internal class structure, military apparatus, etc. of its own. Within the State community there are two nations and national minorities. Any formulation of the principal contradiction in Canada must take account of these realities.

Basing itself on "US imperialism vs. the Canadian people", PW goes on to argue that the central task of "socialists" is "working amongst the various sectors of the Canadian population and uniting as many Canadians as possible against their number one enemy, US imperialism", (P. 44) An independence party "will be the organized expression on a nation-wide basis of the various tasks that will have to be carried out in working for Canadian independence." (p. 48) It is expected that such a party might be elected to government, leading to US military retaliation of one form or another — "but until then we must direct our blows at the superstructure of politics, culture and ideology in order to achieve a position of being able to threaten the imperialists' rule over Canada at its economic base."

The strategy for the working class would be to seize the leadership of the independence struggle, ensuring that

nationalized foreign property would be "turned over to the Canadian people" thus ensuring that "the struggle against the national exploiters (which is now being waged by the foreign exploiters in their own interest) could be waged by the Canadian people with the former assets of the imperialists plus the power of the working class which will have gained military experience in the struggle against imperialism". (p. 49) It is only after this trip through Fantasyland that PW proclaims the necessity of a genuine communist Party as "one of the primary tasks now facing Canadian Marxist-Leninists" (p. 50).

The argument that the central task of "socialists" is the formation of a united front type independence party while the genuine communist Party is relegated to "one of the primary tasks", is another form of the objectively revisionist "united front" political lines which were prevalent in the Canadian Marxist-Leninist movement at the time. We will deal with this problem later on. But first we will examine the theory that the independence party could hold off the "national exploiters" (with the help of the "foreign exploiters in their own interest") throughout the struggle of "blows at the superstructure" and military confrontation with imperialism.

Stated in other words, PW's strategy for socialism seems to be the following. The "broadly-based" independence party will do propaganda, organizing and non-military political work against US imperialism. The "comprador bourgeoisie" would not interfere, nor would US imperialism, until the party gained power through parliamentary means. The national bourgeoisie (i.e. "national exploiters") has been too busy fighting off the Americans on its own to intervene till now. At the point when the parliamentary wing of the Independence party begins to expropriate American interests and hand them over to the "Canadian people", the US or "right-wing Canadians" would likely take military action. Under leadership from the working class, the military forces of US imperialism would be crushed. We would be rid of US imperialism, and ready to take on the national bourgeoisie, which, presumably, has been waiting in the wings all this time — perhaps quaking at the thought of taking action amidst all this bloodshed. At this point, then, the "struggle against the national exploiters" would move to centre stage (one wonders what their mechanisms of exploitation might be, given that the Americans, we have been told, controlled just about everything). The Canadian people would crush the

national bourgeoisie with the aid of the former assets of the imperialists and the power of the working class — and Canada would move on towards socialism!

As PW states earlier on, "Recognizing US domination as being the chief obstacle on the road to socialism, socialists should direct themselves towards removing this obstacle". (p. 44) PW seems to believe that, given that Canada is a colonized nation, we can build a united front against US imperialism and the compradors, while holding off dealing with the question of the capitalist class relations within Canada until the "obstacle" of US imperialism is removed. The PWM pamphlet, in no uncertain terms, proclaims that the struggle for socialism in Canada will take place in two stages: first national independence, second socialism. This, in the Canadian context, is a bourgeois nationalist strategy.

Furthermore, to argue that the secondary pole of the contradiction is the "Canadian people" is also erroneous. As we stated earlier, Canada is a developed capitalist country, with a highly differentiated working class which comprises the majority of the population. Canada has a separate State structures which is controlled by the Canadian bourgeoisie. There is no military occupation of our country. To argue that the Canadian proletariat can unite with a "national" bourgeoisie against US imperialism is clearly absurd, especially when this struggle must aim at the destruction of the power of the Canadian bourgeoisie as well. The second pole of the contradiction must be the Canadian proletariat and its allies, not the "Canadian people" as a whole.

Theory of the Party

PW is very clear that it considers itself to be operating from a "socialist" perspective. In fact, it defines itself as providing a "Marxist-Leninist perspective", and formulated the main question as "how is the struggle for socialism to be waged in Canada?" (p.4) It might be pointed out that PW talks about socialism, but barely mentions communism, a reflection of the parliamentary illusions discussed in the previous section, as well as the standing on its head of the united front strategy to be dealt with in this section. But PW does claim the Marxist-Leninist method as its own, so we will give it the benefit of the doubt — or, more precisely, seek to determine to what extent the PW pamphlet applies the basic strategic and or-

ganizational theories of Marxism-Leninism.

It has already been shown that one major attempt by PW to apply ML theory to Canadian conditions (Stalin's theory on the national question) was misleading, incorrect and unscientific. We have also shown that PW failed to follow through on its class analysis, particularly with regard to the Canadian bourgeoisie, and liquidated the question of the Canadian State. Furthermore, its scenario for the chain of events leading to the Canadian revolution has been shown to be sheer fantasy, relying as it does on the assumed complacency and paralysis of the Canadian bourgeoisie and its State apparatus during the first stage of a two-stage process.

But let us, for the purposes of the analysis in this section, assume that PW's conclusions about the fundamental character of Canadian society are correct. We assume, therefore, that Canada is a neo-colony, where the principal ("main") contradiction is "between US imperialism and its Canadian servants on the one hand and the Canadian people on the other." What are we to make of PW's strategy in the face of this analysis?

Basically, PW calls on "socialists" to carry out a united front strategy, "working amongst the various sectors of the Canadian population and uniting as many Canadians as possible against their number one enemy, US imperialism." (p. 44) This is the main task of socialists as defined by PW. "At this stage, the struggle for independence is the struggle for socialism." (p. 49)

The concrete steps of this united front struggle are as follows:

(1) Breaking the ideological hold of imperialism over the Canadian people (p. 44)

(a) Exposing the Liberal, Conservative and Social Credit parties.

(b) Winning the progressive section of the NDP.

(c) Anti-imperialist work on campuses and in community groups.

(d) Building an independent Canadian union movement, specifically the Council of Canadian Unions. "It is an absolute necessity that an independent Canadian working class movement provide leadership in Canada's anti-imperialist struggle." (p. 47) (The CCU is now called the Confederation of Canadian Unions).

(2) Building an independence party. "The party will be the organized expression on a nation-wide basis of the various tasks that will have to be carried out in working for Canadian independence. In addition to the various organizational tasks... the independence party will be able to make use of the electoral process to publicize and agitate for the goal of national independence." (p. 48)

(3) Independence party wins parliamentary power. It moves against US interests.

(4) US invades or engineers a right-wing coup. Military resistance by the Canadian people, led by the working class.

The main priority, the anti-imperialist united front, is clear. The strategy and tactics of the united front are the main subject of the analysis in the "Program for Struggle". But PW, we must remember, defines itself as a Marxist-Leninist group. And so, almost as an afterthought, we are told that the formation of a communist Party is "one of" the primary tasks facing Canadian Marxist-Leninists. PW's central task for socialists is to build the anti-imperialist united front. No other realistic or honest interpretation can be derived from such statements as "The necessity is to build the broadest possible united front in order to free the nation from foreign domination" (p. 49) But building the communist Party is relegated to a secondary importance: "one of the primary tasks". While the party is mentioned, it is clear that forming the united front is principal.

What are the tasks of the ML Party as defined by PW? Only two concrete examples are given: (1) "to give the independence struggle socialist content" and (2) "to point out the eventual necessity of armed struggle". The "socialist content" is a four-point program whose most salient points are that "nationalized property belongs to the Canadian people" and "the right of all nations to self-determination", including Quebec. (p. 50)

The Marxist-Leninist Party is not only relegated to second place as an organizational objective — its political tasks are barely explained. There is no mention of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In fact, what PW does is to place the united front ahead of the Party — and in so doing, it flies in the face of the historic lessons of the international proletarian movement.

On December 27, 1935, in the midst

of the anti-Japanese war and the struggle against Chiang Kai-Shek's betrayal of China, Mao Tse-tung stated:

"The special feature on the revolutionary side at present is the existence of a well-steered Communist Party and Red Army. This is of crucial importance. Great difficulties would arise if they did not exist. Why? Because the traitors and collaborators in China are numerous and powerful and are sure to devise every possible means to wreck the united front; they will sow dissension by means of intimidation and bribery and by manoeuvring among various groupings, and will employ their armies to oppress and crush, one by one, all those weaker than themselves who want to part company with them and join us in fighting Japan. All this would hardly be avoided if the anti-Japanese government and army were to lack this vital factor, i.e., the Communist Party and the Red Army. The revolution failed in 1927 chiefly because, with the opportunist line then prevailing in the Communist Party, no effort was made to expand our own ranks (the workers' and peasants' movement and the armed forces led by the Communist Party), and exclusive reliance was placed on a temporary ally, the Kuomintang." ("On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism", *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 166)

Le Duan, First Secretary of the Vietnam Workers Party, presents a similar view. He states that the founding of the Workers' (i.e. Communist) Party in February, 1930, "... marked a fundamental turning point in the history of the Vietnamese revolution. It meant the propagation of Marxism-Leninism to a colonial and semi-feudal country, the first necessary preparatory step leading to the most glorious insurrectionary period and the greatest leap forward in the evolution of the Vietnamese nation." (*The Vietnamese Revolution: Fundamental Problems, Essential Tasks*, Hanoi, 1970, pp. 12-13)

Le Duan goes on to say "The interest of the revolution and that of the nation require that one should constantly enhance and consolidate the leading role of the Party within the Front, firmly maintain the Party's independent line and organization, and oppose all tendencies to downgrade the Party's role and dissolve in the Front." (ibid. p. 33)

Both Vietnam and China were countries in which the direct military presence of foreign imperialism was an established factor in the struggle. This made it much easier to build the united front than it could possibly be in Canada, where foreign military occupation is

certainly not a prevailing feature. Yet in both China and Vietnam, building the Communist Party and the propagation of Marxism-Leninism were a **precondition** for the creation of the united front. Although PW concedes the necessity of a Marxist-Leninist Party, nowhere does it suggest that the united front is itself a product of such a Party. Yet this is the very essence of the Marxist-Leninist line on the united front strategy, proven time after time in the history of struggle! The Party is in fact the only vehicle for carrying through on the practical and theoretical tasks of the united front strategy: "Only the proletariat and the Communist Party can lead the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie, the destructiveness of the unemployed masses and also (provided the Communist Party does not err in its policy), the vacillation and lack of thoroughness of the bourgeoisie — and can lead the revolution and the war on to the road to victory." ("Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War", *op. cit.* p. 192).

In failing to give primacy to the building of the new communist Party, PW leaves the door open for an attempt to build the united front **in the absence** of the leadership of the organized vanguard of the proletariat. In fact, PW calls for the formation of a legal, parliamentary "independence party" which would, apparently, be the principal leader and organizer of the "independence movement". So we have not one party but two — a "genuine" communist Party for Marxist-Leninists, and an "independence" party in which "socialists must be ready to unite with non-socialists in the struggle for independence." "socialists" are being called upon to build two parties, one a "communist" Party, and the other — presumably — a social democratic, or perhaps even an openly capitalist party. To silence those who might protest that PW is going a little too far (out in right field), a handy quote from *Left Wing Communism*... is drawn out of the arsenal. (p. 49)

It should be noted, however, that in the cases of both China and Vietnam (to name but two examples), Marxist-Leninists only troubled themselves to build **one** Party in each country. The bourgeoisies in both countries had their own parties, organized factions, etc. These were welcomed into the united front on the basis of clearly enunciated principles, which included acceptance of communist Party leadership over the liberated regions and liberation army, the preservation of Party independence and freedom of criticism (see, for example, above quote from Le Duan). PW warns us of the danger of submerging "socialist aims" in the front.

(p. 49) — but since it has already advocated a fundamentally reformist route of struggle, its reminder doesn't quite sink in.

What PW is really telling us is that the "independence struggle" (itself the first stage of the struggle for socialism) will have two major phases. The first would be the legal "institutional" phase when there would be "educational" work, community organizing, and the building of an independent union movement. This phase would culminate in the building of an "independence" party which gets itself elected to Parliament. Only after all this would the second, military — and perhaps illegal — phase begin.

Thus, for the entire first phase — which could, presumably, last a long time — socialists are to rely on bourgeois legality. The only preparation against physical repression called for is that the Marxist-Leninist Party "point out the eventual necessity of armed struggle".

Two months after he wrote *Left Wing Communism*, Lenin presented his views on the fundamental tasks of the international communist movement to the second congress of the Third International. He did not equivocate on the absolute importance of illegal work under all circumstances.

"In all countries, even in those that are freest, most 'legal', and most 'peaceful' in the sense that the class struggle is least acute there, it is now absolutely indispensable for every Communist Party to systematically combine legal and illegal work, legal and illegal organizations. Notwithstanding their false and hypocritical declarations, the governments of even the most enlightened and freest of countries, where the bourgeois-democratic system is most 'stable' are already systematically and secretly drawing up blacklists of Communists and constantly violating their own constitutions so as to give secret or semi-secret encouragement to the whiteguards and to the murder of Communists in all countries, making secret preparations for the arrest of Communists, planting **agents provocateurs** among the Communists, etc.... A combination of illegal and legal work is an absolute principle dictated, not only by all the features of the present period, even that of the proletarian dictatorship, but also by the necessity of proving to the bourgeoisie that there is not, nor can there be, any sphere of activity that cannot be won by the Communists; **above all, it is dictated by the fact that broad strata of the proletariat and even broader strata**

of the non-proletarian toiling and exploited masses still exist everywhere, who continue to believe in bourgeois-democratic legality and whom we must undeceive without fail." ("Theses on the Fundamental Tasks of the Second Communist International", *Collected Works*, Moscow 1966, Vol. 31, p. 195-6).

The problem does not end with the question of "security". It is not simply that PW fails to take seriously the fact that the objective of communists is the destruction of the existing social order, and ignores the possibility that the powers-that-be are eternally on guard against real and perceived "seditious conspiracies". For underlying PW's putting off of the "military" question is an openness to compromise with, and failure to demarcate from, the revisionism and opportunism of trade union bureaucrats, of the social democratic parties (particularly the NDP), and of the Communist Party of Canada.

PW on the trade union movement

The entire analysis of the trade union question in the PW pamphlet is within the framework of the struggle for independence. Nowhere is there mention of the need to win the members of the trade unions to communism. Nowhere do we see a strategy for transforming the trade unions into communist organizations.

The strongest statement we can find on the politics of the trade union movement is the following: "... But the most important aspect of the AFL-CIO control (of Canadian unions) is the political control that goes with it. While a trade union organization is not itself a political party it can support political parties (like the Democratic Party in the US and the NDP in Canada). Furthermore, its activities can have important political consequences — for example a trade union centre could support, or refuse to support a political general strike at a critical point in a nation's development. Because of this kind of political power, the CIA has been interested in trade unions for years, and the CIA's influence in the AFL-CIO is well documented." (p. 47)

What PW fails to point out is, first, that certain political parties do not simply receive "support" from the trade unions. In fact, of course, social democratic parties like the NDP, the British Labour Party, the German Social Democrats, etc. are the product — the political expression — of opportunism within the organized trade union movement. "In England, Canada, Australia and other

capitalist countries, labour disputes are 'settled' by the organs and institutions appointed by the local bourgeois governments, such as industrial courts, conciliation and arbitration commissions, and so on. These organs are appointed, depending on their importance, by the Minister of Labour or other government authorities. By accepting and supporting these mechanisms of the bourgeoisie, the reformist and revisionist trade union leaders wait for the bourgeoisie to settle these labour misunderstandings and conflicts." (Filip Kota, *Two Opposing Lines in the World Trade Union Movement*, Tirana, 1974, p. 59-60).

This fundamental, compromising attitude towards the bourgeoisie is the principal characteristic of the Canadian trade union leadership, either taken as a whole or in its various parts — including the leadership of the Confederation of Canadian Unions (CCU) which is endorsed in the PW pamphlet. In fact, the CCU has attempted by every possible means to gain the recognition of the bourgeoisie by seeking admission to its "industrial courts, conciliation and arbitration commissions, and so on."

PW fails to distinguish between trade union support for bourgeois parties like the Democrats and the NDP and support for Communist Parties. It fails to take up struggle against the fundamentally reformist and class collaborationist character of the **entire** Canadian labour bureaucracy. To raise the spectre of CIA-AFL-CIO interference in a "political general strike" is sheer demagoguery, given the utter failure of PWM to uproot the origins of class collaborationism **within** the Canadian working class.

PW hitches its wagon to one particular trade union organization, the OCU — despite the fact that the OCU leadership, announced policies, etc., fall squarely within the framework of reformist unionism. Furthermore, this central is quite a localized, almost isolated phenomenon, based largely in western Canada, particularly B.C. It has made no significant inroads into the heartlands of Canadian industry in Ontario and Quebec. In fact, in its strategy for the trade unions (p. 47) the pamphlet fails to even take note of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU), the reformist Quebec-based central, which for some time has had several times the membership of the CCU.

This fixation on the CCU as the basis of the proletarian strategy against US imperialism is fundamentally an opportunist organizational device which makes it possible to avoid taking up the central task of building the proletarian Party by



In the 30's, the Workers' Unity League, created by the CP, struggled to organize the non-organized and fought against wage cuts. At the time, the CP was a real revolutionary Party.



To rebuild a real Marxist-Leninist Party in Canada, draw on the lessons of the history of the Communist Party of Canada!

Today, the CP is a party which is totally sold-out to the imperialist bourgeoisie. Here, William Kashtan (leader of the CP), William Dewhurst and Sam Walsh (leader of the CPQ), those phony worker leaders, bargain with the leader of revisionists of all colours, Leonid Brezhnev.



(in the first instance) demarcation from opportunism and winning advanced workers to communism. "Theory for the intellectuals, economic struggle for the workers" is the inevitable corollary of this line. For all that really counts, at least at this point in PW's strategy, is for the workers to join the CCU and vote for the independence party. Nor can PW plead ignorance on this score, for it did claim to be a Marxist-Leninist group, and it did raise "the necessity for a Marxist-Leninist Party" — in a most underdeveloped and desultory fashion.

It should be noted that the liberation forces in South Vietnam had to contend with a corrupt CIA-controlled trade union movement in the cities right till the end; nevertheless the liberation forces managed to develop active support within the urban working class, and even to infiltrate their cadre to the highest levels of the unions. What PW seems to forget is that the essence of the battle in the trade union is to win the workers to their class objectives.

PW's critique of the Communist Party of Canada (CP) does not dwell on the Party's failure to take up the revolutionary class struggle. The pamphlet concentrates instead on the CP's tactical errors of the 1930's — in particular the dissolution of the Workers Unity League* in 1936. Although it is mentioned that the CP "was never really a revolutionary party", no attempt is made to understand why. Instead, the subject of analysis is why the CP acquiesced in the takeover of Canadian unionism by the CIO. (PW, p. 22-25) We are clearly left with the impression that, had the CP built a Canadian - based class - collaborationist trade union central, it would have been enough.

No mention is made of the impact of Browderism on the CP. In fact, the revisionist proposal that communists build a non-communist party in Canada (PW's "Independence" Party) echoes the liquidation of the CP in 1943 with the creation of the Labour Progressive Party, whose election platform was to the right of the CCF. At least the CP of the '30's and 40's had the excuse that it was trying to deal with an international emergency in the form of the world fascist offensive!

While the CP is treated as a total write off, PW does not entirely exclude "some hope, however illusionary", for the NDP. It speaks with general approval of the Watkins manifesto of the NDP's "Waffle" movement (p. 63-65), suggesting that if the manifesto were adopted, the NDP could conceivably become a "genuinely anti-imperialist party over the dead bodies (figuratively speaking, at least) of the opportunists and labour

fakers who now dominate the party". (p. 64). Thus, while it is admitted that the basic problem of the CCF-NDP is that its "political vision could not break out of the confines of capitalism", the solution proposed by PW amounts to bourgeois nationalism. In its critique of the Watkins document, PW says workers "must be the leading force in the fight for the independence of the nation so that more advanced objectives may be the more easily achieved." (p. 63)

Unfortunately, PW does not tell us much about the political content of working class leadership although it does encourage the Waffle in its "struggle" inside the NDP.

Although PW pays lip service to the need to build a Marxist-Leninist Party, its program for that Party, as well as its critique of class collaborationism, and revisionism, liquidates the central task of party-building — winning advanced workers to communism and demarcation from opportunism.

Summary

The pamphlet was an attempt to apply Marxism - Leninism to the concrete conditions in Canada. However, the argumentation and conclusions of it do not, on the whole, represent a correct application of ML theory to the Canadian situation. It makes four major errors — revisionism and bourgeois nationalism in its strategic line and point of view on class contradictions, economism in its tactical line and empiricism in its methods of analysis. It liquidates the struggle to build the Marxist-Leninist Party, promotes two-stage revolution in a developed capitalist country, and does not call for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Its line on the trade unions liquidates the task of winning workers to communism.

* The Workers Unity League was founded by the CP in 1929. Affiliated to the Red International of Labour Unions, it provided militant leadership to the struggles of Canadian workers in the early years of the Depression. In 1936 the CP leadership dissolved it in favour of the CIO, one of the US-based forerunners of the CLC.

III. RSC-VSG**: THE EVOLUTION OF THE PWM LINE

The Red Star Collective of today was known for the four years preceding September 1976, as the Vancouver Study Group (VSG). For part of those four years the VSG was the only political group in Vancouver which sought to base its work on Marxism-Leninism.

However, the work of the group up till the summer of 1975 consisted exclusively in weekly living room discussions of ML classics and various topics of Canadian history. There was no conscious attempt to apply ML theory as a guide to action in the class struggle. Meanwhile, a major section of the group was engaged in "building the independent Canadian union movement" - i.e. working to advance the organizational development of the Confederation of Canadian Unions (CCU), without trying to build a revolutionary Party or win workers to Marxism-Leninism in a systematic way.

Leading members of the VSG, including some of its founding members, had been active in the PWM. Among other VSG members were ex-members of groups which had drawn inspiration from the PWM line.

When the PWM pamphlet, **Independence and Socialism in Canada**, was debated in the VSG in late 1974, it won nearly

unanimous approval. It was agreed that support for - or at least acceptance of - the PWM pamphlet was a condition for membership in the group. The line was described as follows: "The major contradiction in Canada is between the people of Canada (the vast majority of which are of the working class) on the one hand and the US imperialists on the other... the task of socialists is to build a national movement and inject it with socialist content ... Much of this work is done on two levels, spreading working class nationalist ideas on the broad mass front and more specifically socialist ideas on the narrower more personal front."

The concrete application of building the "working class nationalist movement" and "injecting" it with socialism was the work in the CCU, specifically its CAIMAW affiliate (Canadian Association of Industrial, Mechanical and Allied Workers). The section of the VSG active in CAIMAW stated its position to the Western Voice Collective in September 1975 (**A Statement on the Strategic Importance of the Canadian Union Movement and Related Subjects**). The

** Vancouver Study Group

line of this statement is consistent with the PWM pamphlet and reflects a practical application of many of its economist and revisionist errors. And given the numerical importance and political leadership provided by the CAIMAW group in the VSG, it is difficult to dissociate this text from the VSG as a whole.

This "Statement" rejects the position, attributed to IN STRUGGLE!, that "the real issue is revolutionizing the workers". It defends the revisionist tactic of having communists take elected positions on a non-communist basis. It draws a distinction between winning advanced elements to communism and politically educating the widest number of workers — with the implication that different types of propaganda are suited to the different 'levels'. It defends the CCU's attempts to win favour with the NDP.

Thus, the parallels and similarities between the present line of the RSC and PWM pamphlet do not fall from the sky. The link between the RSC and PWM has ideological, political, practical and personal aspects. If we look at the text, **Canada: Imperialist Power or Economic Colony?**, from the perspective of the PWM pamphlet, it is in order to situate the present position in the context of its concrete historical development.

It should be pointed out that many Marxist-Leninists across Canada have for years been calling on the VSG-RSC to sum up the lessons of the PWM experience. Not only has the RSC failed to take up this task till now, but it even continues to claim, as it did in the opening plenary of the Second Conference in Montreal, that the PWM merely "allowed for the possible interpretation that it supported a two-stage revolution." (Documents of the 2nd Conference of Canadian MLs on the Path of the Revolution in Canada, Montreal, 1977, p. 48). With the exception of a few offhand remarks such as this, the RSC had nothing to present in the way of a demarcation from or defence of the PWM legacy.

Explicit in the Marxist-Leninist theory of knowledge is the need to test line in the masses and through this process to refine understandings, correct errors, and move forward. It is only open and public demarcation from past errors that allows us to make advances in our understanding and practice. Thus the RSC's failure to demarcate clearly from the PWM line is an expression of an unscientific and undialectical approach to developing political line. Marxism develops, as Mao has told us, in the struggle against what is anti-Marxist.

By failing to account for the line it defended in the past, the RSC hides behind backwardness and holds back the development of the struggle to develop

the proletarian line on the path of the revolution. On the one hand, the RSC claims to have a line today which is different from that of the PWM. On the other, it defends the PWM against the charges of economism, bourgeois nationalism and revisionism. If the RSC has been able to reconcile these two positions, it should make this public.

Class Struggle: The Missing Ingredient

The RSC has made some advances over the line of the PWM. Instead of addressing the "national question", the RSC seeks to define the "principal contradiction". Instead of setting the "Canadian people" against "US imperialism", the RSC now argues that the contradiction is between the proletariat on the one hand, and US imperialism and the Canadian bourgeoisie on the other.

But as with the PWM pamphlet, the RSC's ideological framework and method of analysis are an incorrect application of Marxism. The RSC avoids the bourgeois nationalist error of analyzing Canada within the context of the "national question". It has taken steps forward from the two-stage strategy for revolution put forward by PWM. However, the RSC fails to demarcate from the empiricist methods of **Independence and Socialism in Canada**. It presents us with what it itself describes as an "economic analysis". This empiricist method is part and parcel of the error of economism. What is missing from both **Independence and Socialism** and Red Star's recent interventions on the question of the path of the revolution is the essential ingredient of the fundamental contradiction of capitalism: class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

The RSC claims to provide us with a basis for determining the principal contradiction in Canada, but restricts itself to the history of only one aspect of that contradiction: the bourgeoisie. The struggle between the Canadian bourgeoisie and first British, then American imperialism, is described as the motor of Canadian history. And at that, the political aspects of that history are considerably less explained than the economic.

The RSC ignores the fact that in capitalist society the motor of history is the fundamental contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

Despite IN STRUGGLE!'s attempt to base its work on this elementary reality, the RSC seem to be quite confident to "demarcate" from the "dogmatism" of IS! expressed in its alleged absence of a "concrete analysis". Meanwhile, the RSC is happy to tell us what the principal contradiction is, having ignored the relationship between its two aspects!

As we suggested above, one advance made by the RSC over PWM is its recognition of a Canadian bourgeoisie which has autonomy and defends its own interests. But the RSC waffles on the character of this bourgeoisie and the significance of its existence. They admit that it controls key areas of the economy — not only banking — and functions through monopolies, but deny that money and production have merged to form finance capital. They admit that it has reached the point where it can carry out imperialist ventures, but deny that the basis for this activity is a stage of development of the Canadian bourgeois class. Instead, imperialism is reduced by the RSC to a numbers game — what percent of what sector must the bourgeoisie control before it can qualify as imperialist? The RSC admits that the Canadian bourgeoisie uses the State to defend its class interests, but lacks a clear line on whether the Canadian bourgeoisie actually **controls** the State. PWM, at least, was consistent on these matters. It simply declared the Canadian bourgeoisie to be insignificant, powerless, and incapable of standing up to US imperialism in any way.

The RSC fails to provide us with a **political** analysis of the State as an instrument for the domination of one class over another. It mechanically transposes its analysis of economic forces to the question of State power, without providing a concrete analysis of the class forces actually at work. Is the only service which the stage renders the bourgeoisie the protection of its banking interests from the Rockefellers? What about the current offensive of the Canadian State against the working class — wage controls, attacks on immigrants, cutbacks in UIC and social services? Whose class interests does the Canadian State defend with these actions? It should be noted that the PWM pamphlet in dealing extensively with the question of the State, argued that "it does not matter which government it is, federal or provincial; or which party it represents, Liberal, Conservative, Social Credit or NDP; the feature that unites them all is their subservience to US imperialism." (p. 35) The RSC has yet to clearly demarcate from this position.

The RSC criticizes IN STRUGGLE! and the CCL(ML) for applying Lenin's definition of imperialism both incompletely and dogmatically. It then goes on to apply Lenin totally mechanically, arguing that two of his criteria are not found in Canada: (a) the sharing of the world by monopoly cartels, and (b) the territorial division of the world "among the biggest capitalist powers". It should be pointed out, first, that Lenin was describing an era of development of the

capitalist mode of production. That each criterion might not fit a country exactly does not in itself mean that this country has not reached the imperialist stage of development. Second, we contest the suggestion that Canadian monopolies do not share in the spoils of the international cartels.

The RSC's case concerning the territorial division of the world is the most curious aspect of its argument. They suggest that since Canada has no colonial territories and no military apparatus capable of defending its ventures abroad, it cannot be described as imperialist. But by this measure, we wonder how West Germany or Japan could be described as imperialist countries: they both lack a strong military force and have both been subjected to US military occupation for over 30 years. It seems that it might be necessary to be a superpower to qualify as imperialist according to the RSC. But even this might not be enough. RSC argues that the export of culture is one aspect of imperialism, and observes that "if they've begun listening to Stomplin' Tom in Jamaica we haven't heard about it." (p. 73) Perhaps we should wonder whether peasants in India do Russian folk dances while they work the fields? Perhaps the Soviet Union doesn't even make it into Red Star's very elite definition of an imperialist country?

Despite these errors, RSC's current position does represent some sort of advance over the PWM pamphlet, which did not even bother to refute the line that Canada is an imperialist country,** and dismissed as Trotskyist any suggestion that Canada has an independent ruling class. The RSC recognizes the existence of an indigenous Canadian capitalist class, furthermore it repeatedly disclaims a two-stage revolution in Canada. What does it propose instead?

In its seventy-nine page text. - **Canada: Imperialist Power or Economic Colony?** — the RSC says almost nothing about the strategic or tactical implications of its line. It argues that the "shared perspective" of IN STRUGGLE! and the League must be defeated "not because our group and others would be excluded (or would exclude themselves) from the Party, but rather because such a Party would not represent a correct application of Marxism-Leninism to Canada and thus would be unable to lead the Canadian working class to victory." (p. 66)

But we are left to speculate on how, in the view of the RSC, victory will be won. The RSC seems to be going in several directions at once. It is difficult to see how its few strategic conclusions follow from its preceding analysis. By failing

to correctly take up the question of State power and its relationship to the principal contradiction and by refusing to draw out the strategic implications of its position, the RSC has not clearly demarcated from the old PWM "united front against US imperialism" strategy.

As a strategic statement of the "path of the revolution", the current pamphlet of the RSC marks, if anything, a retreat from the scope of the PWM pamphlet. The earlier text looked at the history of the proletariat, attempted to analyze the question of the State, and outlined an elaborate strategic and tactical line. Unfortunately, this admirable scope was not matched by a rigorous application of scientific principles to the analysis, leading to the serious economist, bourgeois nationalist and revisionist errors we cited above.

The RSC admits that "many questions remain unanswered", including "class analysis", "the specific personal links between capital and the State", and other matters (pp. 6-7). But they do not explain why they chose to ignore these questions.

One explanation is the empiricist methods of the VSG-RSC, their mania for "research" and "concrete analysis" which prevents them from seeing the forest for the trees. They have been unable to do a statistical analysis of the composition of the proletariat or to establish a total picture of the personal relations between the bourgeoisie and the Canadian State. *** So the proletariat will just have to wait before it can apply a line on class unity or attack the State as an instrument of class oppression.

Summary

The text **Canada: Imperialist Power or Economic Colony?** contains some of the major errors of the PWM pamphlet. The analysis is economist in that it fails to draw out a revolutionary strategy, and essentially ignores the history of proletarian class struggle in Canada. It is empiricist in that it relies on a long list of "facts" of one sort or another, rather than the explicit and systematic application of Marxist-Leninist theory to the subject at hand. The RSC fails to demarcate against bourgeois nationalism by, on the one hand, failing to present a history of class struggle in Canada but instead presenting a history of the struggles of the Canadian bourgeoisie against foreign imperialism, and on the other hand failing to analyze who holds State power.

We do not describe the RSC work as revisionist. It stops short of promoting two stage revolution, nor does it argue for the creation of an "independence movement" as a priority over building the ML Party.

Thus, the RSC is correct in its claim that its present position is not the same as the line it defended when, as the VSG, it upheld the PWM pamphlet. But it certainly cannot claim to have broken definitively with the errors of the PWM line.

** Since the first publication of this text, we discovered that in fact the 67-page PWM pamphlet devotes half a page to the question of Canadian imperialism. The "refutation" on Canadian imperialism contains some of the RSC's main present arguments, in embryo form.

*** The earlier version of this sentence as published for the Western Regional Conference on the Path of Revolution, May 1977, was a typographical error.

IV. THE RSC'S ECONOMIST LINE ON HOW TO CARRY OUT THE CENTRAL TASK

Economism takes many points of departure in the Canadian Marxist-Leninist movement, but it always leads to the same thing: **theory for the intellectuals and economic struggles for the workers** - which can only liquidate the fundamental objectives of the proletariat.

In our view, the Red Star Collective is putting forward a thoroughly economist point of view on how to develop political line and how to unite the ML movement.

In its position paper on the unity of Marxist-Leninists published last March 29 RSC states: "The priority for all Marxist-Leninist groups must be development of correct line leading to

unity. Until this goal is achieved, the winning over of new recruits to the movement from among the conscious workers must be a secondary task. It is only the Marxist-Leninist Organization, founded on a clear political program, which will be able to take up this task in earnest. Those workers who are recruited into the MLO, as into any ML group at present, will participate as communists, undertaking all tasks (primarily to create the Party), not as some separate category called "advanced workers". That viewpoint which calls for Marxist-Leninists to recruit "advanced workers" on the basis of general

abstract principles of Marxism-Leninism, condemns those workers to sitting in limbo as second class communists until a political program is worked out by the MLO".

This formulation makes economism into the guiding line and method for building the Marxist-Leninist Organization of struggle for the Party. At a time when the forces of the ML movement, particularly in the Vancouver area, remain extremely isolated from the working class, the RSC elevates this isolation into a principle by making "secondary" the winning of workers to the movement until the MLO is built.

The RSC shows contempt for the workers in putting forward the view that workers who are won to Marxism-Leninism at this stage must (presumably because of their stupidity) sit idly by while "communists" (i.e. intellectuals) develop the program of the MLO. The practice of the Marxist-Leninist movement in areas of the country where a systematic practice in the class has been developed for some time (particularly Quebec) shows the fallacy of this arrogant attitude. Advanced workers who are sympathetic to ML, as well as those who have rallied to ML groups, participate actively in the struggle to develop a revolutionary program for the MLO, as can be witnessed by the recent national conference in Montreal.

Rather than small groups in Vancouver (and elsewhere) overcoming the organizational backwardness which ensures these groups' isolation from the class, RSC offers its own prescription - every small group in the country should continue to work in isolation from the masses, without a consistent practice in the class, to develop lines on all the questions currently facing the Marxist-Leninist movement.

As we have already seen (Section II of this paper), the Progressive Worker Movement was totally pre-occupied with its incorrect strategic line of an independence movement as the first stage of the struggle for socialism. While recognizing the need for a Party, PWM failed to make party-building central. The main task of "socialists" was, according to the PWM pamphlet, the building of independent Canadian unions and the independence movement in general. The practice of the VSG was a direct application of this line.

The RSC has rectified some of the most glaring right opportunist errors of its history. But its failure to demarcate clearly, either from PWM or from its own recent practice and political line, means that the legacy of economism and bourgeois nationalism remains with the RSC.

The RSC recognizes that party-building is the central task, but makes debates over strategic line in the ML movement primary (and particularly the adoption of its own bourgeois nationalist line) and denies the central importance of the struggle to win advanced workers to Marxism-Leninism, thus testing and developing strategic line through class struggle.

In the past, members of the VSG-RSC have argued that the defeat of American unions in Canada is a **pre-condition** for the struggle for socialism to be waged effectively. Members of the VSG, in the position they presented to the Western Voice Collective (mentioned above), defended the CCU's support for "progressive" features of the NDP government's Labour Code and the NDP's appointment of a CCU representative on their Labour Relation Board which aided the organizational aims of the CCU, without any demarcation from the fundamentally bourgeois, and class collaborationist character of this strategy. This line of reasoning is quite consistent with the PWM pamphlet, which focussed its criticisms of the NDP and CP on those parties' "betrayal" of the struggle for national independence, and their support for the "imperialist" CLC.

These tendencies in the RSC's line and practice are also evident in their present work in the class. As late as last Fall, RSC opposed including the class collaborationist trend within the OCU unions as part of the demarcation against opportunism in the worker's movement for the tactical unity coalition of Oct. 14. This despite the fact that a representative of the CCU sits on the bourgeoisie's Labour Relations Board, the vanguard of tripartism in BC.

The consequences of this line are quite striking. The defence of the CCU as an organization is placed ahead of the struggles of its members. In an article published in **IN STRUGGLE!** (vol. 4 no 7, page 6) the RSC calls the Alcan strikers at Kitimat "naive" and suggests that they erred in fighting for "an unwinnable demand". The RSC defends CAIMAW's refusal to participate in a support committee for the strike (the Alcan workers are in CASAW, another CCU affiliate) on the grounds that "internal factors are key in the resolution of any contradiction."

The RSC failed to grasp the class significance of the Kitimat struggle. The workers there took on the State and the RCMP in a struggle which challenged the foundations of the wage controls. This struggle united workers of the two nations, English Canada and Quebec.

But all the comrades of the VSG-RSC could do was complain that the CASAW

local didn't go through proper channels in seeking support: "there was no specific request to the CCU for the establishment of a support committee". Where were the communists of the RSC-VSG while the proletariat was setting up barricades in Kitimat? Sitting in their union office waiting for a phone call!

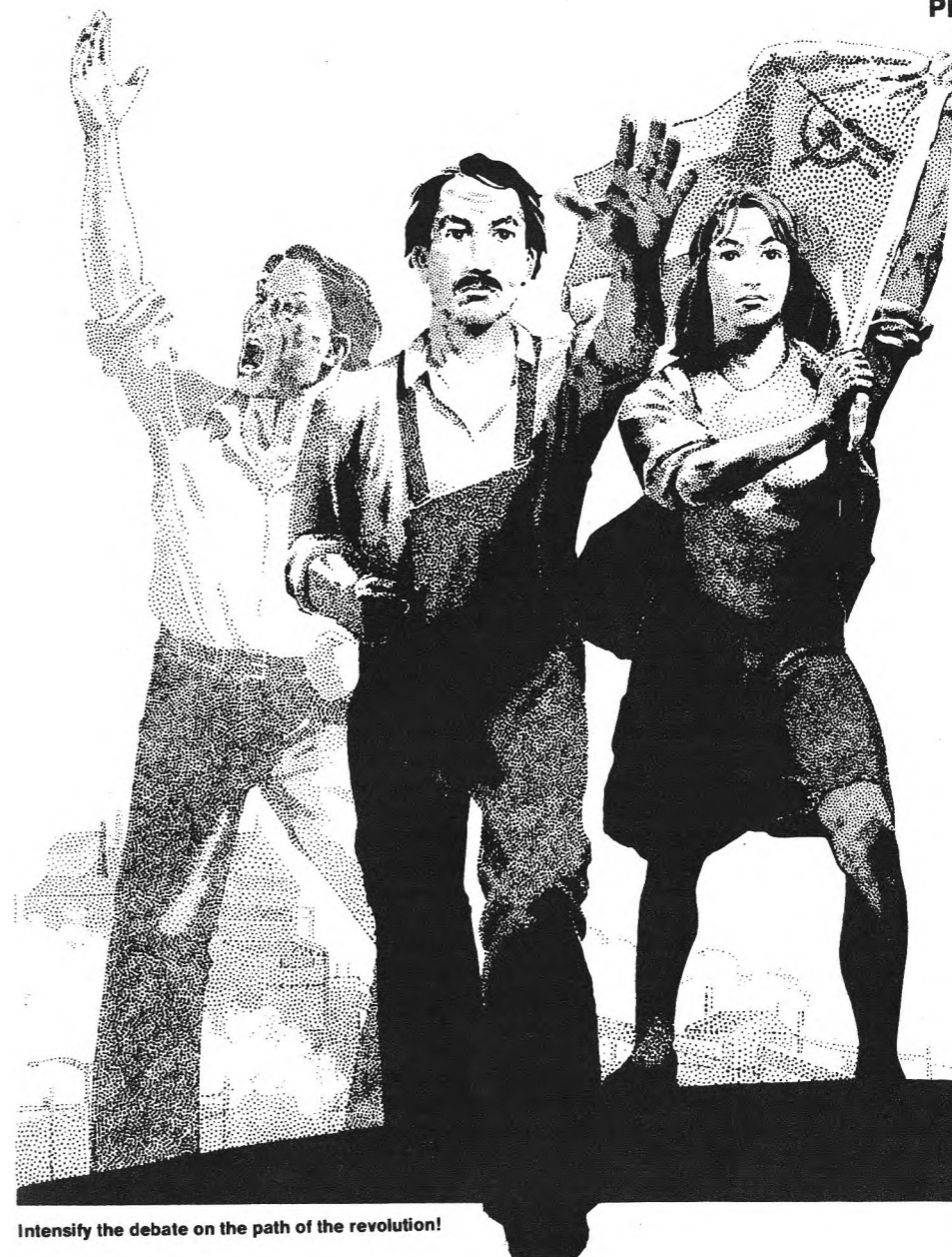
We must also say that we do not view the RSC as the only Marxist-Leninist formation in the Vancouver area that commits economist errors (although they have elevated their economism to a principle and are the clearest expression of this trend within the ML movement locally). The other small groups in Vancouver (including our own) have yet to definitively break with this error. To "lower our profile" by partially or completely withdrawing from reformist activities in mass organizations does not constitute the defeat in practice of the VSG/Western Voice local legacy of economism. In fact, it simply replaces one form of economism with another. Instead of actively participating in spontaneous struggles on an economist basis, there has been a tendency to withdraw from the day-to-day struggles of the workers to debate in small groups the "correct line" on the path of the revolution and other questions.

The tactical unity of local groups around a Marxist-Leninist line for Oct. 14 and March 8 were important steps forward in combatting the isolation of the local movement from the class. But united interventions at certain privileged moments **cannot substitute** (as the RSC implies in its "unity" paper) for an ongoing and systematic practice in the class on a communist basis, in the struggle to build the Marxist-Leninist organization of struggle for the Party (MLO).

The LMC holds the view that the struggle to develop a correct orientation on the path of the revolution in Canada, as well as every other major question of political line which must be debated and resolved to form the MLO, must be struggled over in full view of the working class and with the **greatest** possible participation of the advanced elements.

Although it is only in a practice extending over years or even decades that the correctness of the lines on the path of the revolution will be definitively tested, the initial development of lines in isolation from the masses and their day-to-day struggles will **guarantee** that errors are made.

Marxists-Leninists who find themselves organized into small groups which are incapable of carrying out the tasks of communists must find means to resolve the contradictions which prevent them from carrying out these tasks.



Intensify the debate on the path of the revolution!

The RSC's prescription for every small group to develop complete analyses of all the questions being debated by the movement places the interests of small groups ahead of the interests of the proletariat and the Marxist-Leninist movement. If their advice is followed, the economism still prevalent in the local movement would be reinforced and we would continue to divorce the struggle to build the MLO from the day-to-day struggles of the proletariat and the active participation of the advanced workers in the struggle over ideological and political line.

In conclusion, we must agree with the comrades of the RSC when they say that the determination of the path of the revolution in Canada is crucial in that the success or failure of the Canadian revolution will depend on its correctness. And it is precisely for this reason, comrades, that you must make clear your

own strategic formulations on the path of the revolution and make a sharp demarcation from the bourgeois nationalist and economist trends within the workers' movement, trends in the service of the bourgeoisie which block the struggle of the Canadian working class for socialism.

RSC should realize that party-building means putting the interests of the proletariat first. The main block to proletarian struggle has **not** been the absence of a line saying that U.S. imperialism is the main enemy (on the contrary). The main block has been economism: the absence of scientific demarcation against class collaboration, bourgeois nationalism, racism, sexism and other forms of bourgeois ideology within the working class. If RSC based its work on this recognition, it might begin to make a far better contribution to advancing along the first steps of the path of the revolution.

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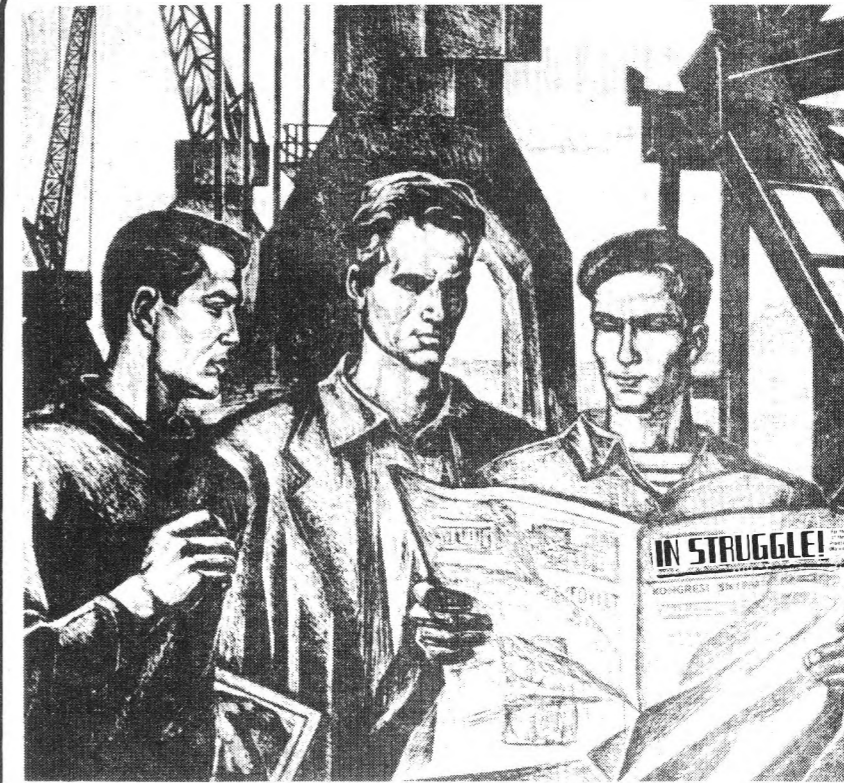
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COMMUNISM VERSUS OPPORTUNISM, by Fergus McKean

Today, we present for our readers, this reedition of an historic document on the line struggle which took place within the Communist Party of Canada...

Fergus McKean, the author of this document, was at the time, secretary general of the British Columbia, provincial wing of the Communist Party of Canada (CP). Before that, he had been a member of the Central Committee of the CP for a period of six years. COMMUNISM VERSUS OPPORTUNISM is the instrument which McKean used to attack the direction of the CP, which he accused of having completely sunk into revisionism...

Documents which deal with the line struggle within the CP are rare indeed. The present document is all the more precious in that it is the first to have tackled the question of the degeneration of the CP, to have tried to trace the historical origin, and to specify the factors which explain this degeneration. Not to mention the fact that McKean is the first to have come to the conclusion that it was necessary to rebuild the revolutionary Party of the Canadian proletariat.

Republished by IN STRUGGLE!

THE CANADIAN MARXIST-LENINIST GROUP IN STRUGGLE! A brief presentation of its history and political line, August 1977

But the bourgeoisie has more than one card up its sleeve when it comes to maintaining its domination of the people. Apart from using corrupted union leaders just like pawns in our ranks, it often disguises its imperialist policies and its projects of exploitation and oppression with a socialist mask. Thus we have the NDP calling itself socialist while defending the Liberal Party's projects almost word for word. Thus we have a supposedly communist party, the "Communist" Party of Canada, entreating the NDP to make an alliance with it. And thus we have the country's main trotskyst sects showing themselves hoarse trying to make us believe that the NDP can be transformed into a party that really defends the interests of the workers. What a mixture! Without forgetting the "Communist (Marxist-Leninist)", that caricature of Marxism-Leninism, which at its recent congress claimed that there is a "pro-communist" bourgeoisie in Canada!!!

IN STRUGGLE! is publishing this pamphlet in order to fight this position of the bourgeois line within our own ranks. The main aspects of the political line that it sets forth are rooted in the concrete analysis of Canadian reality, and in the positive and negative teachings of the working-class and Marxist-Leninist movement across the country and on a world scale, in the light of the theory elaborated by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-Toung - the Marxist-Leninist theory

Evoking the main dates in the history of IN STRUGGLE! this pamphlet sums up our point of view on five fundamental topics: Canadian society, the strategy of the revolution, our strategic tasks, the internationalist tasks and the tactical line in the present situation

THE CANADIAN MARXIST-LENINIST GROUP IN STRUGGLE!

A brief presentation
of its history
and political line

August 1977

Published by IN STRUGGLE!

AVAILABLE IN OUR BOOKSTORES

CRITICAL REMARKS ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION and IS A COMPULSORY OFFICIAL LANGUAGE NEEDED?

Lenin

Republished by IN STRUGGLE!

CRITICAL REMARKS ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION AND IS A COMPULSORY OFFICIAL LANGUAGE NEEDED?

"The national programme of working-class democracy is: absolutely no privileges for any one nation or any one language..."

(Critical remarks on the national question, Lenin, Vol. 20, p. 22)

There is the call that Lenin voiced over 60 years ago concerning the national question.

While today in our country national divisions are growing unceasingly, while on the one hand the Canadian bourgeoisie has taken up a fanatic, chauvinist and racist campaign to "save Canada", and while on the other hand in Quebec, the PQ and all the bourgeois nationalists are striking the chord of the Quebec people's national sentiments, Lenin's call is still on the agenda today.

DOCUMENTS OF THE 2ND CONFERENCE OF CANADIAN MARXIST-LENINISTS ON THE PATH OF REVOLUTION IN CANADA

Montreal, April 8-9, 1977



published by IN STRUGGLE!

LAUNCH THE DEBATE AGAIN ON THE PATH OF REVOLUTION IN CANADA.

As was done for the First Conference of Canadian Marxist-Leninists, IN STRUGGLE! has published a second brochure containing all the documents and speeches of the Second Conference on the path of revolution. This brochure contains the different positions expressed at the Conference on the path of the Canadian revolution. It provides an indispensable instrument to understand the debates and the divergences on this crucial issue for the Marxist-Leninist movement.

Study the documents of the 2nd Conference in our readers' circles. Organize regional conferences on this basis, participate in the struggle for the unity of Canadian Marxist-Leninists and for a true revolutionary program.

CONSTITUTION OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST GROUP IN STRUGGLE! ADOPTED AT ITS SECOND CONGRESS

"It is with the goal of furnishing the masses with educational instruments and of stimulating the debate on the questions of organization, that IN STRUGGLE! is publishing its constitution as adopted by its Second Congress in November, 1976.

This constitution is not a Party constitution. It is the constitution of a Marxist-Leninist group which is engaged in the struggle to rebuild the Party and which has struggled for the correct application of organizational principles within its ranks, since the beginning of its existence.

IN STRUGGLE! thus wishes to diffuse it in the widest way possible and to submit it to debate. In the future, IN STRUGGLE! intends to give organizational questions their just place in its propaganda and its newspaper.

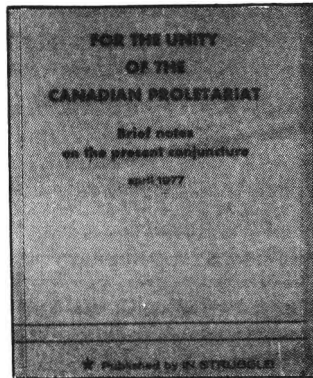
Comrades, to consider the questions of organization as being strictly internal to the groups or organizations would be a mistake. The organization of the Party of the Proletariat is of utmost importance to the masses. It is thus time that the working class grasps these questions, that we educate our worker comrades on this subject and that we engage in the polemic, for here, as elsewhere, Marxism develops in the struggle against that which is anti-Marxist." (Extracts from the introduction)

Following the 2nd Conference of Canadian Marxist-Leninists:

CONSTITUTION OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST GROUP IN STRUGGLE!

* Published by IN STRUGGLE!

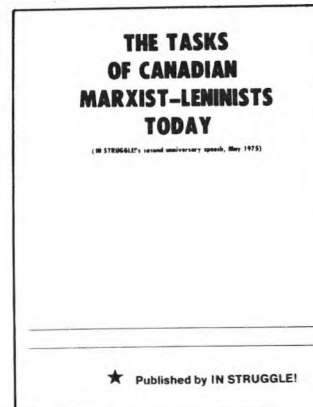
AVAILABLE IN OUR BOOKSTORES



FOR THE UNITY OF THE CANADIAN PROLETARIAT
(Brief notes on the current situation)
Published by IN STRUGGLE!

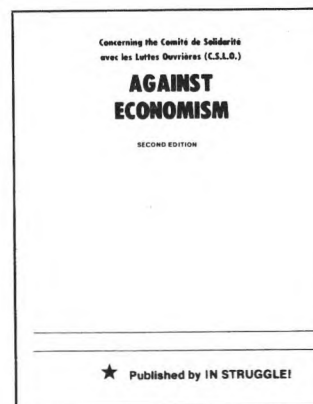
"... a correct intervention of the communists in the immediate struggle is based on a Marxist analysis of the conjuncture. ... Despite its obvious limits, we believe that

the text we now publish constitutes a valuable beginning, for a more developed analysis of the Canadian and international conjuncture."



THE TASKS OF CANADIAN MARXIST-LENINISTS TODAY
(Reedition of the speech given for IN STRUGGLE!'s Second Anniversary, May 1975)

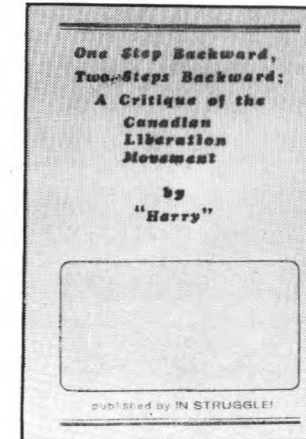
IN STRUGGLE! has republished the speech given by its representative at the celebration of IN STRUGGLE!'s second anniversary in May 1975. This speech denounces the totally reactionary character of the Canadian imperialist bourgeoisie, both within the country and on the international level, and is thus directly related to the fundamental questions that were debated at the second conference, that is: the imperialist character of our bourgeoisie, its alliance with American imperialism, the camp of the revolution and that of reaction.



AGAINST ECONOMISM
Concerning the Comité de Solidarité avec les luttes ouvrières (CSLO)

At a moment when the Marxist-Leninist movement is still divided concerning important questions, and is waging the struggle for unity around a revolutionary programme, at a moment also when the merger between this young movement and the working-class movement is still weak, it is necessary to intensify our struggle against all deviations which are obstacles to the spreading of Marxist-Leninist ideology within the masses, which deny the necessity of constant ideological struggle to educate the masses concerning their fundamental interests.

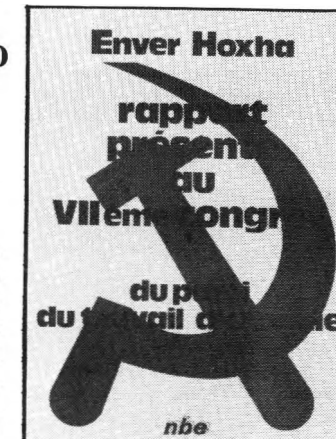
Conscious of this necessity, IN STRUGGLE! has decided to publish a second edition of "Against Economism" to enable all workers, all progressive people and all Marxist-Leninists to get firmly involved in the struggle against this opportunist deviation and to root it out at the source.



ONE STEP BACKWARD TWO STEPS BACKWARD
A CRITIQUE OF THE CANADIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT
By Harry

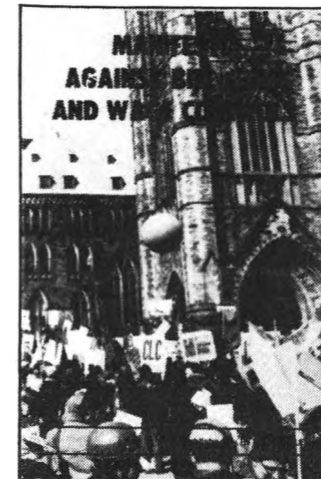
'While the Marxist-Leninist movement in theory rejects bourgeois nationalism we see that we have continued responsibility to fight it, both within our own ranks and among the masses. It is in this spirit that IN STRUGGLE! has helped the comrade who authored the critique, to re-issue and re-circulate it'.

(In English only)



RAPPORT PRESENTE AU VIIÈME CONGRES DU PARTI DU TRAVAIL D'ALBANIE', ENVER HOXHA

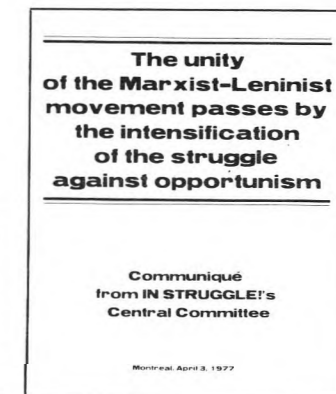
"In order to unite the peoples in the fight for freedom, independence and social progress, against any oppression and exploitation by whomsoever, first it is necessary to establish the dividing line, to make clear who is their chief enemy, against whom they must unite". (Enver Hoxha - Summary of the Report presented to the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, Special Supplement to Alive Magazine, no. 60, November 20, 1976, p. 6).



TAKE HOLD OF THE MANIFESTO AGAINST BILL C-73 AND WAGE CONTROLS

"Sixteen months ago, the Canadian bourgeoisie united behind its State in order to launch a fierce offensive against Canadian workers and against the Canadian people as a whole... Will we succeed in making gains and forcing the capitalists to backdown, or will we go on tightening our belts and having our rights taken away? That is the question, for this is what is at stake in the present struggle."

Published by IN STRUGGLE!



THE UNITY OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST MOVEMENT PASSES BY THE INTENSIFICATION OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST OPPORTUNISM

"The time has come to wage the struggle at its highest possible level, on fundamental questions and finally on questions of program, for it is on an agreement upon program, that will demarcate them from revisionism and all forms of opportunism, that the Marxist-Leninists will be able to unite strongly and take another step forward on the path of building the revolution's Party, the Party that will guide the Canadian masses to socialism".

Published by IN STRUGGLE!



PARTICIPATE IN THE THIRD CONFERENCE OF CANADIAN MARXIST-LENINISTS ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION!

The Third Conference of Canadian Marxist-Leninists will deal with the international questions. How to wage the struggle against the two superpowers, American imperialism and Soviet social imperialism? How to take a stand on the United World Front against imperialism? How to prepare for an eventual third world war? What are the internationalist tasks of the Canadian proletariat? These are many of the questions that more and more conscious workers at the heart of the struggle for the unity of Canadian Marxist-Leninists are asking themselves.



At a time when the imperialist crisis accentuates in the four corners of the world, at a moment when the threat of a third great imperialist butchery is becoming increasingly felt, the debate of the proletariat's internationalist tasks are crucial not only in Canada, but for all Marxist-Leninists and proletarians of the world.

The Third Conference of Canadian Marxist-Leninists has assumed the task of clarifying these crucial questions for the future of the Canadian revolution, and if everyone seriously prepares for it, it will certainly be an important landmark in the elaboration of the program of the Canadian revolution. For only such a program could achieve the unity of Marxist-Leninists, a primary condition for the unity of the working class and of the entire people.

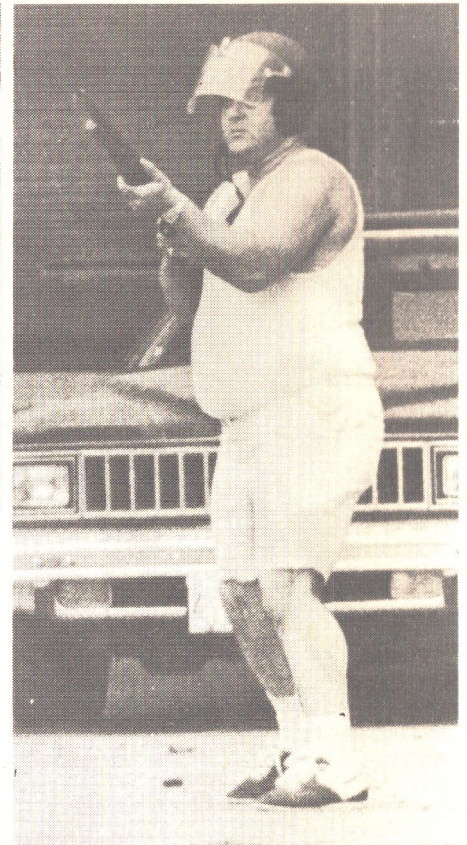
Prepare the Third Conference of Canadian Marxist-Leninists using the **IN STRUGGLE!** newspaper and issue 2 of **Proletarian Unity**, and participate massively.

Date: September 9th (evening), 10th and 11th 1977
Place: Cegep Edouard-Montpetit
945 Chemin Chambly, Longueuil
(take the 75 bus from metro Longueuil)
Daycare available on the premises — Bring your lunch.

TO AVANGE THE MILLWORKERS, STRUGGLE AGAINST THE WAGE CONTROL ACT, AGAINST THE BOURGEOISIE AND FOR SOCIALISM!



* Photos: Pierre Villeneuve, Montréal-Matin



**WE SAW
YOU SHOOT
JULY 22,
AT NOON!**

Robin Hood, we saw you shoot those men
Hiding behind goons and bouncers once again
You and Steinberg and the others, we've seen your kind before
Your arms crossed politely, while the blood runs.

Yes, we saw you cry in anguish
Jacques Couture (1) in your chauffered Cadillac
And the silver-tongued L'Heureux just back
From playing footsie with Trudeau and the Wage Control Act.

Today, once again our class brothers bled
Just like they've bled in the past
Like at United Aircraft: 1975
Winnipeg: 1919
Chicago: 1886

Comrades your blood did not flow in vain
The proletariat's memory will long remember this scene
It'll remember it well and make revolution.
To get rid of exploitation, that's the solution!

(1) Jacques Couture, the "worker-priest" who has held the post of Labour Minister in the PQ cabinet, André L'Heureux, vice-president of the CNTU.



**JOIN THE STRUGGLE COMMITTEES AGAINST THE WAGE
FREEZE FOR THE REPEAL OF THE DECISIONS OF THE AIB
AND FOR THE REOPENING OF OUR CONTRACTS!**