

# What kind of party?

*By Danny Goldstick, Toronto*

Lenin and his comrades built a party of a new type, a (mostly) working-class party of theorist-activists, jointly analyzing what existed, jointly planning their strategy and tactics, and carrying out jointly some world-historic accomplishments. Aside from their numbers, after all, it is precisely the disciplined collectivity industrial workers learn in their daily lives on the job that gives their class its decisive edge when it comes to effectively leading the people's fight for social progress and for socialist revolution.

Even after Lenin's death his party went on to do great things together, but over time, for various reasons, that party did change, and finally it lost the confidence of Soviet workers, with results which we all know. Lenin had been lucky enough to come on to the Russian scene in a time of historic crisis, creating historic opportunities. Other parties, in other times, must deal with the actual possibilities that they have. But... But nothing really beats the Bolshevik model of a working-class party for collectively analyzing the realities and possibilities their society produces and then taking effective united action in response.

Where does that leave us? A Leninist-type party isn't a club of hobbyists, but a purposeful body

of women and men determined to further their goals together through conscious united action. Indeed, at our best, that description perhaps does begin to describe us. But we all know how readily we fall short.

Do our clubs analyze together where they are, what resources they have among their members, and how best, accordingly, to allocate what needs to be done so as to achieve what has to be achieved? Yes they do - a bit. Of course, a comrade's effectiveness in any assignment is going to be related to that individual's personal level of motivation in such an area of work. But simply bringing together people active in different fields that they personally find attractive is a far cry from the Bolshevik model of party organization.

The CPC has always considered that the labour movement and the peace movement are two of our most important fields of class and political struggle, and nobody has suggested we change that. But where do we stand today? Where do we stand in the women's movement? Where do we stand in, and in relation to, the movement of Canada's Aboriginal peoples? When it comes to the environmental movement, there is no question to be asked: it's obvious our role is embarrassingly small, in spite of the importance that everybody now (except the Tory government) grants, at least in words, to Canada's and the

world's environmental future.

The last twelve months have seen us electorally wiped out at the municipal level in Vancouver and Toronto. To be sure, that was mostly due to specific local developments beyond our control. But how proud can we be of the level of mobilization of our own membership - provincially and federally as well as municipally? Conditions vary across the country, but we all know, or should know, that we do have a problem there.

The highest authority in our party is the Party Convention. Do our conventions take note each time of what we last time collectively determined to attempt, and where in fact we

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wholly or partly succeeded, or failed, or had to change course because of changed circumstances? Yes, we do take note of all that - to an extent.

Our party is composed of real individuals facing real situations, and there is no magic formula, of course. Of course. Allowing for the differing

specifics of our conditions, though, the Bolshevik model - in practice as well as in words, is still one well worth striving to come up to.

## Moving into action - the crucial question

### *George Gidora, Lower Fraser Club*

This 35th Central Convention may very well be an important milestone for our Party in terms of moving forward and building our movement. The objective conditions exist for the advancement of our Party and for the injection of militant class struggle politics in the mass movements. We have stated this very fact in the documents of our last two Central Conventions but our Party shows marginal growth despite the objective conditions.

Three years ago at the 34th convention in Montreal, we concluded our debate on a high and optimistic note. We were confident and united and it felt like we had marked the turning point for our Party, more than half of our members had joined since the split in the 1990's, the YCL was set to be re-organized, the PCQ had been re-established and was growing and playing an important role in progressive politics in Québec. Everywhere in Canada things looked good for the CPC and with unity around our Programme and convention documents we were ready to move forward.

I have to say that it didn't happen the way I thought it would. Despite the fact that we accomplished many positive things during the next three years we also had some very serious setbacks that have taken a lot of wind out of our sails. The most serious of those was the struggle against the petit bourgeois nationalist, right opportunist attempt to destroy the PCQ. We were able to win this battle but

we paid a high cost in terms of members and organization in Québec and it had a demoralizing effect on the entire membership.

There has been bickering and infighting in spots across the country that prevented us from concentrating on the most important tasks at hand, building the Party and moving the Party outwards into the mass struggles. There has also been attempts to turn the Party deliberately inwards, to withdraw from mass activity reasoning that with our limited resources we can do little more than concentrate on building the Party. These have been very hurtful in terms of spirit and political influence. One must also ask the question in this regard that if we do not engage in mass political struggle, how can we have any hope of attracting militants to the CPC?

The project to re-establish the YCL across the country stalled and the existing YCL organizations have as a result had some difficulty in maintaining activity and interest. These problems are being overcome and the YCL will be holding their founding convention in March 2007. Congratulations to our youth activists.

The draft document points out many of the successes we had over the last three years including running two successful federal election campaigns which put a considerable strain on our resources but which we successfully managed, as well as several provincial election campaigns. We have moved ahead in Ontario opening an office in Hamilton and several new clubs. We have

renewed several clubs in BC and all across the country we have been bringing immigrant and national minority members into the Party. Most of the Party growth and membership requests happened during the two federal election campaigns. The PCQ has rebounded in Québec, re-establishing the Party Press. Political presence and is growing.

Somehow though the good news is not reaching our members and there seems to be a sense that we are stagnant, that nothing is happening and that our membership base is shrinking. While it is difficult at the time of writing this contribution to determine the exact status of our membership my sense is that we have shown modest growth across the country but it has been uneven. In BC for example our age demographics have shown a higher percentage of older comrades than is the case generally across the country and time being what it is resulting in the loss of many of our older comrades.

Although the objective conditions for growth exist and we are not growing at the rate we need to, there is a tendency for some comrades to fixate on one or two issues which they feel are the main obstacles holding us back. They feel that the Party leadership is not dealing properly with these issues such as the "Stalin debate" which has ended up in fractious arguments, finger pointing and name calling. Such un-comradely behaviour has been very injurious to the Party both internally and externally and has resulted in membership loss.

Section four of the documents “Moving into action - the Party of peace, democracy and socialism” is in my opinion the most crucial part of our debate. Many of the problems we are experiencing are a direct result of poor organizational practices, poor communication and implementation of decisions at all levels of the Party. We have strayed away from our democratic centralist organizational principles.

Every organization within our party from the club all the way to the Central Committee is interconnected or should be. There is a web of responsibilities and obligations that flow both ways at all times. Leading bodies must communicate their decisions plans and ideas right throughout the Party and expect that decisions are carried out by all levels below them. At the same time all lower levels of Party organization have a responsibility to not only carry out Party decisions but also to provide feedback and information. For example, was the campaign useful? what benefit did your club get out of it? Any new members or contacts? It is the responsibility of clubs to provide higher bod-

ies with their analysis which will in turn allow leading bodies to assess the effectiveness of decisions. Without this we are shooting into a dark cave and squandering our limited resources.

That being said however it is also the responsibility of leadership to request assessments and follow-up from clubs and regional and provincial committees. Such an assessment was done following the cross Canada tour on the National Question and has been very useful to the Central Committee.

Most importantly we need communication; we desperately need some kind of Canada wide newsletter and some way of sharing our experiences. Comparty was envisioned to fulfill this role but it served instead to be a forum for members to vent their frustration by attacking one another over various issues. If the incoming Central Committee decides to open up Comparty again they should have a very clear idea of how to use it and strictly enforce whatever the guidelines will be.

It is time for us to get it right and to move forward. There is a culture of

cynicism and negativity that runs through our Party as a result of many factors some of which have been touched upon. As Albert Camus said, “Cynicism is a sign of death.” I think we have every reason to be optimistic about the future of our movement in Canada. Internationally the revolutionary forces are making significant advances against the forces of imperialism and reaction. Everywhere the class struggle is intensifying and our Party is there in the midst of it in Canada.

We have the ability, we have the politics and we have the people. With our still limited resources we have to be disciplined and united while at the same time audacious and creative. We cannot afford the luxury of endless internal debating and bickering and negative thinking. This convention will make the decisions on our political strategy for the next three years it is incumbent on each and every member of the Party to work tirelessly to put our policies into action. First and foremost this will require a dedicated and committed Central Committee who will be prepared to make the CPC their top priority.

## The nature of the revolutionary movement

*By Nazir Rizvi, Lower Fraser Club*

The revolutionary movement is relevant both in the imperialist world and the Third World. The necessity to mobilize the wage earners into the revolutionary movement is recognized clearly - but how?

Collusion between sections of the workers and capitalism is not a new phenomenon in the imperialist countries. Engels wrote in 1882 that workers in England shared the feast of England’s monopoly of world markets and colonies. Lenin wrote in

1916 that capitalist imperialism obtained superprofits to bribe the labour leaders and upper stratum of labour aristocracy.

Essentially the bribery consists in giving workers a “percentage” of superprofits of imperialism, in exchange for acquiescence in imperial robbery and war. The process of bribery in Britain and USA is blatant. Labour leadership is a part of the establishment.

Collusion with imperialism is the main reason that the revolutionary movement in advanced capitalist

countries cannot reach the working class. The majority of workers want to improve their condition under imperialism without overthrowing it. But if the superprofits start dwindling, if globalization did not work and cooperation did not extract enough blood from the Third World, the political situation would change.

A politically conscious working class would know that the real enemy was capitalist imperialism, and may challenge it. Dialectically it may also drive towards fascism.

But can fascism, in sophisticated

and smooth forms - calling it terrorism in the USA and Britain - solve the built-in contradiction of capitalism? It can never provide the social climate that is humanly lasting. Nor can it control those forces which are challenging western imperialism. No wonder imperialism has dropped the mask of liberalism and is openly waging war, occupying Third World countries for resources, building military bases and having new alliances.

Capitalism is global in action and the revolutionary movement should also be considered global. The nature of resistance of the oppressed nations

and people can be both armed and negotiated. Blunted awareness in the USA can be sharpened. Resistance of the oppressed people in the Third World, rising social awareness in Latin America and Asia, can awaken people in the west. Whose side do they wish to be on? At this juncture, Communists, labour movements, social conscious, progressive intellectuals and unorganized labour forces have a very important role to play.

The economic role of China in Africa and Latin America, the anti-imperialist ethos of India led by the Communist Parties, rural armed struggle in

Nepal and anti-American anger in West and South Asia, have to be harnessed. Comrades! People are rising, momentum is on, we must rise to the occasion, build a unified, focused party, calling for an effective UN, defending the sovereignty of each country and creating a hopeful world.

Anger and frustration of youths and students has to be focused and programmed for a long term goal. Objective conditions of the world are more complex in terms of weapons, environment, resources, dislocation of millions of people, huge military complexes employing labour for liv-

## Making Contributions to the *Discussion Bulletin*

The Communist Party of Canada is engaged in a 3-month period of oral and written party-wide discussion leading up to the convening of the 35th Central Convention, the highest decision-making body of our Party, which will take place at the Steelworkers Hall, 33 Cecil St., Toronto, Feb. 1-4, 2007. All documents and resolutions coming up for consideration at the Convention should receive the widest attention and debate throughout the Party. Discussion and debate involving all Party members, as well as efforts to solicit the views and contributions of our friends and supporters, will deepen and enrich our preparations for a successful Central Convention.

It is the democratic right and political responsibility of members to participate in these discussions. The debate will continue in clubs, in this Bulletin, at provincial, regional and Quebec National committee meetings and conventions, and at the Central Convention itself. The Central Executive Committee will also

arrange on-line moderated discussions, to allow for greater participation by members in areas where there are no Party clubs.

This Bulletin includes the Main Political Resolution drafted by the Central Committee for party-wide consideration, including sections dealing with:

- The International Situation and the Fight for Peace
- The Situation in Canada and the Fightback; and
- Moving Into Action: the Party of Peace, Democracy and Socialism.

All members are encouraged to make submissions to the Discussion Bulletin. Submissions can be on topics relating to the political analysis and assessments contained in the draft Political Resolution, issues concerning Party organization, policy, program, tactics, leadership, and so on. Amendments to the Draft Resolution, and other special resolutions and motions proposed by Party Clubs and/or other Party bodies will also be published.

Printed copies of the Bulletin will

be distributed to all members. Electronic versions of the Bulletin will also be circulated in PDF format, and posted on the Party website, [www.comunist-party.ca](http://www.comunist-party.ca).

**Submissions should be sent to the Editor of the Discussion Bulletin, 706 Clark Drive, Vancouver, BC, V5L 3J1, or emailed to [cpc35@telus.net](mailto:cpc35@telus.net).**

As stated in the Call, contributions should be limited to 1,500 words, and there is a limit of one contribution per club or individual in each issue of the Bulletin.

Please note that the final deadline for receiving amendments to the Draft Political Resolution is Tuesday, January 23, 2007, at 6 pm (Pacific Standard Time).

For help in sending your submissions, please contact the Central office (416-469-2446), the National Committee of the Parti communiste du Quebec, or one of the provincial party offices. The Editor of the Discussion Bulletin can be contacted at 604-255-2041.

ing. We are starting a period of transformation towards peace, justice, human dignity and saving the planet from destruction.

As never before in the history of the human race, aboriginal peoples, discarded and dispossessed people, have risen to demand, fight and claim their rights. It is our duty to bring them to a unified fold for humanism and socialism. We are not in the 19th and 20th centuries. In 21st century capitalism in the west has reached the highest stage of imperialism, as Lenin wrote. It commands the resources of the earth, finance capital of the world and scientific and technological know-how. Imperialism commands and defends by all means - financial, commercial, political and military. It has cheap labour of the Third World at its disposal. It has also produced a huge bourgeois and petty-bourgeois

class in some Third World countries. India alone has about 300 million people who benefit from the capitalist mode of production. The rest of the population lives in abject poverty.

As the 35th Convention resolution profoundly articulates in Introduction Section 1, our struggle ultimately is for the revolutionary transformation from capitalism to socialism. This struggle is a process, not an event. It is a long time goal. Revolutionary theory does not arise spontaneously from crowds marching down 5th Avenue and gathering in Trafalgar Square. It is not a shout of anger; it is not a game; it is not romantic. It involves years of careful work, thought and organization. It involves patience to wait for the right times. It is only when a complex of contradictory forces have ripened and created a state of supreme crisis that action can

take place.

In order to continue this process at home and abroad, we need a united, self-disciplined, selfless membership with a strong YCL. This process is only possible if the mass of people support it. Traditionally it has been the “proletariat” to provide mass support.

Modern technology and automation has reduced drastically the number of workers employed in production, while the number of workers involved in distribution and service sector has increased. The proletariat does not consist only of the industrial workers; the term includes all who have essentially “nothing to sell but their labour.” It encompasses teachers, office workers, self-employed and all white-collar workers. To succeed we need a broad-based unified organization that draws its vitality from below. ■

## Party Mass Organizational Work and Economic Policy

*By Sean Currie, Edmonton Club*

*“A new party must have a distinct positive platform; a platform which may vary in details as circumstances vary and as the party itself develops, but still one upon which the party, for the time being, is agreed. So long as such a platform has not been worked out, or exists but in a rudimentary form, so long the new party, too, will have but a rudimentary existence; it may exist locally but not yet nationally, it will be a party potentially but not actually.” - Fredrick Engels (1)*

Electoral defeat of the Harper Conservatives is the critical issue facing Canadian workers and the Party’s primary task. That is why the Main Resolution calls to action Party cadre in building unity within electoral alliances of labour, peace and people’s organizations to confront reaction.

How is the Party to work towards such an alliance? Within the limitations and requirements of strategic electoral alliances advancing an economic and industrial development platform. While outside alliances, through the Party press and public events, asserting the necessary fight by the working class to abolish the profit system and challenging all forces opposed to worker power.

### Challenging the “Left”

Left social democrats have made profitable the business of the irreconcilable divide between workers and capitalism and the corporate parasites at the helm. Their work has value, a deep resource base to substantiate facts and a wide and authoritative voice with left activists; their analysis is packaged and sold as “contem-

porary” Marxism, but firmly rooted in bourgeois social democracy.

Nothing being said or has been said by the new left and their theorists has not been forecasted or examined by the Communist Party. Tim Buck, the Party’s leading theorist during the period of 1947 to the mid-seventies, waged a relentless struggle against revisionism and opportunism. Buck led the Leninist struggle to advance a Marxist workers program of peace and national development. Buck did not abandon that task to the anti-communist petty-bourgeois class collaborationist forces of social democracy.

As Communists we look to Marxism for our answers. We find our confirmation to the important questions facing workers in the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin. We wage unremitting struggle against all forces op-

posed to the overthrow of capitalism and those forces and theorists who oppose workers' power.

### Put Corporate Power Under Control

The Program of the Communist Party of Canada is resonant, broad and politically significant in its contribution to the Canadian working class. It is an achievement, and the most advanced working class program in Canada. Development of economic policies move the socialist alternative forward, provide party cadre guidance within electoral alliances and elevate the Program to the national stage. The Program provides the vision - economic policy must now follow.

The Program says, "For Canadians to exercise genuine people's rule over the collective life of the country, they must control Canada's economy." (2)

How do Canadian workers gain control of the economy? What are the most pressing issues of economic development facing workers? How does the Party advance its Program within an electoral alliance? What allies of workers are capable of carrying Party policies forward? What are the political and economic mechanisms that will defeat corporate power? What is the Marxist analysis of Canada's economy? Do Canadian workers need socialism now?

### Relevance of Imperialism in Electoral Alliance

Tim Buck, commenting on Lenin's assertion that class-consciousness does not develop spontaneously and no middle ground exists in the battle between bourgeois or socialist ideology, said, "It is forged only in consistent struggle against capitalist domination." (3)

Harper Conservatives represent a

new phase in Canadian monopoly capital. It's continued and expanding domination of Canadian parliamentary democracy, economic policy and national industrial development, compel Canadian workers to confront it head on.

Raising the Party profile and authority in electoral alliances is critical. All workers are menaced by the plundering of Canadian resources and recognize the link between an expanding economy and better conditions for labour. Advancing socialist economic policy and nationalized industrial development challenges social partnership theories. In the fight for peace those challenges are best expressed through the anti-imperialist No Foreign Bases campaign of the World Peace Council, Canadian Peace Congress and local peace councils.

In the absence of Party economic policies Canadian Communists remain on the sidelines, relegated to spectators and commentators of world political events and national elections and hold no sway electoral alliances or prestige with workers.

The concentration task of the Party is the development, publication and public discussion of a popular national economic program. It needs to address the central economic questions facing Canadian workers. A grand vision of industrial, cultural and social development, one that will engage workers from coast to coast and challenges the theory of capitalism as the only system capable of managing and developing national expansion.

### Harper is No Mistake

"To preach to the workers that what they need is 'not hegemony, but a class party' means to betray the cause of the proletariat to the liberals; it means preaching that Social-Demo-

cratic labour policy should be replaced by a liberal labour policy." - VI Lenin (4)

Canada occupies an advanced position in the development of imperialism. The Lisbon Meeting of Communist and Workers Parties identified the sharpening global confrontation with imperialism as the source of rising anti-communism, war and foreign capital expansion. Canadian labour leaders and their policies remain neither unaffected nor immune to this objective fact.

Harper articulates the desire of that section of the Canadian ruling class most closely aligned with Big Oil and military capital. It seeks uncontested power, expanded markets and attempts to subvert bourgeois parliamentary democracy.

The election of the Harper Conservatives represents a new phase in the development of finance capital in Canada. Social Democrats and the new left said that it couldn't happen. Murray Dobbin, new left theorist vilified autoworkers for separating themselves from the dictates of bourgeois labour party policy. The autoworkers have proven Dobbin wrong. Canadian workers have paid dearly for that mistake.

The price has been; 44 Canadian soldiers dead, 5 billion on armaments spending, and counting, sell out of Canadian soft wood lumber workers, approval of raw bitumen exports to the US through Cononco/ENCANA pipeline, approving the takeover of Canada's steel industry, dismantling of the CWB and transfer of Canadian control of wheat marketing to US AgriCorps, renewed talk of bank mergers and cures for "ailing productivity" (5).

Now Dobbin and the new left are suggesting that Harper can't win the next election. In his latest analysis Dobbin suggests that the US mid term

election spells defeat for Harper and his political cronies. Dobbin says, "Harper's fatal weakness is his inability to detach himself from his hard-line, neo-con ideology." (6) He says this as if Harper is simply an opportunist. Harper is no mistake. Harper has been groomed by the Calgary oilgarchs and supported by US war profiteers and the Canadian Council of Chief Executives. He has been selected to lead the most reactionary sections of Canadian and US power in the dismantling and transfer of Canadian resources to the US corporate elite. Dobbin is wrong. Harper cannot change. He is a committed conservative and is backed by oil, military and finance capital.

Harper represents the objective reality that a new power base of finance capital has arisen in western Canada and is contesting eastern finance capital. The traditional power base of Canada is shifting to the west, to Calgary, with the alignment of Big Oil, armaments manufactures and finance capital. War and oil are intimately connected! Corporate power and big oil will decide what is best for them, not the US electorate or the Canadian public. While the world is rejecting US hegemony in even greater numbers, rejecting war and poverty and supporting development of national economies, the Harper Tories are pushing Canadian workers head long into imperial power plays linking economic prosperity with the continuation of wars, US market expansion and unregulated energy development.

A National Program of Energy Development and Nationalization - A Communist Viewpoint

Energy is a critical question confronting Canadian workers. Canada is a vast, cold country, requiring large quantities of energy for food, trans-

portation, housing and development of manufacturing. Eastern Canada is faced with energy imports while Alberta is developing energy reserves for the US market, both civilian and military. Canadian workers are dependent on energy for the protection of jobs, health and education.

Harper corporate energy policy is challenged by eastern manufacturing capital. The "liberal" bourgeois intelligentsia such as John Ralston Saul (7) and the new left's Gordon Laxer (8), disguise their class collaborationist opportunism by pandering to social-democratic sensitivities.

New left theorists lead up to, but never address nationalization of energy. Canadian Dimensions discussed the question in response to the September 2005 Leger poll which said "49 per cent of respondents want petroleum resources nationalized while 43 per cent said they would like to see the same fate for gas companies." (9), Canadian Dimension's Chris Arsenault summarizes the discussion as "...debate about it would at least be more interesting than the hoopla around current regulations..." (10)

A CPC plan for nationalizing Canadian energy is a building block in electoral alliances, places the question squarely in the national discourse, confronts petty-bourgeois assumptions of "social partnerships" and exposes the Harper power base in Canada. A clear Party platform for the nationalization and control of energy resources is needed.

## Footnotes

1. Fredrick Engels, "The Condition of the Working Class", Preface to the American Edition, January 26, 1887.
2. "Program of the Communist Party of Canada", Chapter 7.
3. Tim Buck, "Canada The Communist Viewpoint", The Guide to Working Class Victory, pp. 189.
4. VI Lenin, "Reformism in the Russian Social-Democratic Movement", Collected Works, Vol. 17, pp. 229.
5. Don Drummond, "The Economists' Manifesto for Curing Ailing Canadian Productivity", International Productivity Monitor, Center for the Study of Living Standards, September 2006. <http://www.csls.ca/ipm/13/IPM-13-drummond-e.pdf>
6. Murray Dobbin, "US Vote Trouble for Harper", [www.ceasefire.ca](http://www.ceasefire.ca)
7. John Ralston Saul speaking at the Parkland Institute's Seminar, "Power for the People: Determining Our Energy Future", Edmonton, Nov 17, 2006. [www.ualberta.ca](http://www.ualberta.ca).
8. Gordon Laxer, "Canada First Energy Strategy", presentation to Alberta Oil Sands Consultation Commission, September, 2006. [www.ualberta.ca/PARKLAND/research/perspectives/CanadaFirst06OpEd.htm](http://www.ualberta.ca/PARKLAND/research/perspectives/CanadaFirst06OpEd.htm)
9. "Poll: almost half of Canadians want oil industry nationalized." Globe and Mail, September 5, 2006.
10. Chris Arsenault, "Gas regulation and the N word", July 28, 2006. <http://canadiandimension.com/articles/2006/07/28/591/> ■

### **Communist Party's 35th Convention, Toronto**

## **DINNER AND CULTURAL & POLITICAL NIGHT**

**Friday, Feb. 2, 2007, 6 pm - Midnight**

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Delicious food and beverages**

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# Proposals for the Plan of Work

By Dave McKee, Toronto

The Main Political Report is quite good, providing an accurate description of the objective conditions for a strong fightback while recognizing that there is a gap between these conditions and the actual level of engagement of the working class in Canada. The document includes a detailed proposal for a fightback against the Harper government (and neoliberalism in general) and a comprehensive outline of the tasks of the Communist Party within this proposal.

What is needed, then, is a logistical plan for the convention and incoming leadership to organize the Party's limited resources and focus them in the most effective and efficient manner. The following proposals could be useful components for the draft Plan of Work the convention will debate and adopt. The purpose is fourfold: to move Party clubs higher on the Central Committee's agenda, to implement practical measures for improving collectivity across the Party, to re-distribute the organizational work of the Party, and to systematically raise the profile and quality of the Party's work in the labour movement.

## 1) Increase the level of discussion about club work and organization:

\* A "club organization bulletin" could be prepared and distributed by the Central Party on an annual basis

\* "comparty" or a similar email listserve could be dedicated to a practical discussion of club organization and development; this discussion could be facilitated and/or monitored by the proposed Organizing and Outreach Commission

## 2) Institute a practice of develop-

ing, evaluating and revising plans of work, at regular intervals, for every level of the Party:

\* Clubs are already expected to submit a plan of work to the regional or provincial body, but this is often overlooked or completed in a cosmetic, obligatory fashion. To make this practice a more integral component of club life, and to help make clubs stronger political collectives, the central party should set deadlines for clubs to submit their annual plans of work and evaluations, and include them in an annual Central "club organization" bulletin that would be distributed to club organizers across the Party.

\* Central Committee and Executive should receive and discuss annual plans of work and six-month evaluations from all provincial committees and central party commissions.

\* All plans of work, including the central plan, should focus on measurable political and organizational goals, and should also propose methods for measuring and evaluating those goals. Evaluations of plans of work should include proposals for improving work and, if necessary, revisions to the stated goals. All plans of work need to be consistent with the Central Plan of Work.

## 3) New Central Commissions should be struck, to take on portions of the organizational work of the Party.

\* To ensure that this important work is completed in a timely fashion, each of these commission should have a member of the CEC, and make regular and detailed reports to the Central Executive. Proposed new commissions include:

\* Fundraising and Resources Commission - to develop proposals for increasing Party resources, and to work with all levels of the Party to implement

yearly fundraising campaigns.

\* Organizing and Outreach Commission - to focus on recruitment campaigns, press subscription drives, and stronger club organization.

\* Media and Communication Commission - to focus on the Party's external communications, including agitational material, with a view to improving the effectiveness of the forms and practices used. In particular, this commission could investigate more effective use of email and the internet as campaign and organizing tools. Note: responsibility for content of Party material is understood to rest with the Central leadership.

## 4) Labour movement work needs a higher profile and tighter organization.

\* Trade Union Commissions must be renewed at all levels of the Party, with all active trade union members assigned to this work

\* The Central TUC should develop a plan of work, focussing on measurable proposals for building a well-organized and coordinated Left (ie Action Caucus) at all levels of the labour movement, and should receive plans from provincial and regional TUC's. Note: provincial and regional TUC's are politically responsible to their respective provincial and regional committees, but their work needs to be consistent and coordinated with the Central TUC

\* The Central TUC should prepare and distribute a "labour organization" bulletin, with updates on TUC work at all levels of the Party

\* "Comparty" or a similar email listserve could be dedicated to a practical discussion of Party work in the labour movement; this discussion could be facilitated and monitored by the Central Trade Union Commission. ■

# Further Proposed Amendments to the Main Political Resolution

*Vancouver East Club CPC, Dec. 14, 2006*

**Add a new paragraph following the current Para. 10:**

The fundamental cause of this environmental crisis is the relentless drive to increase private profits through exploitation of labour and natural resources. On a global scale, the 20% of the population living in the wealthiest capitalist countries account for 86% of total private consumption expenditures, compared to just 1.3% for the poorest one-fifth of the world's population. Forced by its own internal dynamic to expand or die, capitalism is an unsustainable system, comparable to a disease which will soon literally destroy humanity and other species. While every effort to reduce human impacts on the environment must be supported, only socialism offers the hope of a cure in the form of collectively owned and planned economies, based on meeting the needs of the world's population and restoring the natural environment.

**Add a new Paragraph following the current Para. 20:**

The rapid economic growth of China has the potential for other consequences. China's GDP has increased ten-fold over the past three decades, and its foreign reserves have reached \$1 trillion, rising by \$17 billion a month. The United States is both importing heavily from China, and borrowing from China to finance those purchases. China now owns about \$330 billion of the U.S. public

debt, second only to Japan's \$640 billion, and there are growing differences over related issues such as the exchange value of China's currency in relation to the U.S. dollar. China could choose to shift its reserves out of U.S. Treasury bonds, possibly triggering a global recession. Another option would be to increase China's foreign investments, risking a backlash from the imperialist powers. Meanwhile, as domestic social tensions heighten, China's leadership has adopted measures to expand the rights of workers to organize and take collective action, and to reduce region disparities, over the objections of transnational capital. It appears that the growing contradictions between China and the leading imperialist countries will likely become a focal point of global economics and politics in the coming decades.

**Add a new Paragraph following the current Para. 30:**

Our 34th Central Convention emphasized the need to defeat the ultra-right zealots who control the White House, representing the most aggressive and reactionary sections of monopoly. U.S. voters dealt the Republicans stunning setbacks in the 2006 mid-term elections, largely the result of rising opposition to the disastrous war policies of the Bush Administration. While it will take much more work to win the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq and Afghanistan, this victory is a welcome sign that the pro-war, far-right Harper Tories can also be defeated.

**Add these new paragraphs between**

**the current paragraphs 33 and 34, and renumber accordingly.**

The Harper Conservatives are pursuing a policy which continues to chip away at the remaining vestiges of Canada's sovereignty by drawing us closer to U.S. imperialism economically and militarily. The continued sell-out of Canada's economic independence and natural resources, such as the Softwood Lumber "deal", should be of great concern to all patriotic Canadians.

Over the last decade and a half the activities of the ruling class and their ruling parties have quietly robbed the Canadian people of their legal, political and social independence. The most well known of these activities has been the signing of the NAFTA deal. The Harper government wants to continue in this direction even more aggressively.

Mass struggle against those who would sell out our country to U.S. imperialism just to make a buck is urgently needed in order to restore Canadian sovereignty. Such struggle is necessary to curb the interests of monopoly capital and advance the short and long term interests of the working class.

**Add this as a new paragraph between current paragraphs 99 and 100, and renumber as required.**

These conditions also reveal the necessity of increased unity of the International Communist Movement to struggle against and reverse the offensive of capital. While recognizing the complex situation in our movement today, we propose the fol-

lowing courses of action.

- Support and work for increased cooperation amongst parties regionally and internationally on theoretical questions and research.

- Continued and increased solidarity with our comrades in the socialist countries who are bravely resisting imperialist interference and counter-revolution and also with our comrades who are forced by the ruling classes to operate in conditions of illegality.

- Encourage the convening of different levels and forms of meetings among Communist and Workers' Parties, leading towards wider and more comprehensive international co-ordination within the Communist Movement as a whole. In principle, our party supports calls to develop political and organizational linkages among sister parties leading to the re-establishment of a Communist International.

- Stand for 1) the complete equality of all parties; 2) strict non-interference in the internal affairs of parties; 3) mutual respect and tolerance of differing views; 4) and voluntary participation in international work.

The success of such actions will enhance the International Communist Movements ability to project our revolutionary ideology and open new possibilities in our struggle for socialism. ■

## Concentrate on the practice of theory

By *David Tymoschuk, Winnipeg*

Is authoritarianism is on the rise? Border restrictions (passport, Mexican wall, deportation frenzy). Gorbachev even denounced wall and compared it to the Berlin wall. Question is U.S. well on the way to becoming a fascist state?

Winning the COLD war and now they have become what they feared, or projected to fear (idea of EVIL empire). So.... communism was not it, the PRESENT SYSTEM WAS IT ALL ALONG. We must point this out. This is the beginning of relating to workers what they are starting to figure out already.

I wish to concentrate more on the practice of theory, for this is what matters more than a pure Marxist-Leninist thought. Sure we are pure in thought but that being said, we will always be few in number, masses of workers simply do not think alike (most will come close but not identical). It is a holy grail that we cannot obtain. We must not worship Marxism-Leninism for it is not a religion, it is a socialist theory. Scientific Socialism ya know...

Marx was not a great man that we

make him out to be. Neither was Lenin. If we say so then we are doing a disservice to the working class. Why? Because we are a working class party, not a theocratic "let's apply the great Marx's theory to everything." Marx himself would surely say that this is all a load of horse dung. We write about Marx. It simply does not work that way. What did Marx write about then? Not Marxism. The fate of the Working Class. He did not invent it, but put its existence into words. Many times theory only explains past events. His prediction of what will (and has) come was novel. He was a theorist. He was an intellectual who had few friends and wrote to his sugar daddy Engels for funds to support him in his ongoing research and writing. Sorry Comrades but I choose these words for shock value only. Do not get me wrong, Marx influenced the world in ways not seen since Martin Luther. But theory can get us only so far. The practice of the theory if what people notice, not books. We notice books because it is history, the present and future are hard to find in books. <sup>(1)</sup> Marx simply predicts that the Working class will take over when the Capitalism collapses,

as it surely will. Whether this party is here or not this will happen. So remember, we all agree that Marxism-Leninism is the theory that plays itself out and we use as our foundation. But it is because of the Worker that we exist as a party, and the reason Marx and Lenin wrote their great groundbreaking works (and many others have tried to figure out in different directions). They put what was going on at the time into huge books and small leaflets. But workers can see for themselves they will identify with us. Socialism has had many trials and successes, downfalls, and outright perversions and failures. This is Our collective past whether we created it or not. The Workers did not do it to themselves, but a self appointed new class of bureaucrat elite who claim to have the worker interests at heart. Oops. This is the view of the majority of Workers and they are no fools. We can blame the bourgeois all we want to, but the stain is still there. Who cares who threw the paint, we have to clean it up. We have to identify with the workers, and have the workers identify with, sympathize, and become the party. They will take the party over (It's their party after

all) and our job is done. Let us hope we do not stall and the state does wither away. No greed or opportunism aka Capitalism. We must not be in our own little Marxist worlds, there is one world and it is Imperialist and ugly. This is our plight. We simply must have a basis of understanding to go forward together, or we have lost big time. The left is self defeating. Our job is to be tolerant of co-operative people who leave their petty ideals at the door. This is the CPC in spirit. If we leave dogma behind, we will fulfill that dogma. Let's get our heads around that thought. Not so easy because we must still be wary.<sup>(2)</sup> This is hard for many groups to juggle what is democratic and what is a hostile takeover.<sup>(3)</sup> To hell with the past it taught us how not to do things. Let us look to the future.

Practice our theory, and the debate will sort itself out through education etc. We all learn all the time. To get the worker involved is to not preach socialism, but practice it. Action is the Worker's language. Not violence, but peace.

How can we help the working class realize their own class consciousness? How do we interact with the public? This is something worth discussing. The obvious I will skim over: The party press, various rallies, etc. Ask ourselves: Where are the working class,? What they are doing? What are

their concerns?

Our past was formed on co-operation among the left: wobblers, socialists, many groups founded the communist party. There are still independent groups we must work with. Some isolate themselves, so be it, but if they are for the working class then they will be as open as we are and thus, we are in solidarity with them. Our past is also full of ethnic groups, union groups, that held similar views and practices. Whether it was sporting events, specific periodicals, or other media, socialization plays an important role in working class activities, including organization. We have done this in the past: On to Ottawa, organizing unemployed and unions, and working class theatre. Our members helped set up a cooperative dairy in Winnipeg, a network of Labour Temples, a worker's benevolent association for insurance purposes. We are not just book clubs. We must not just lobby for change, but start change as workers. Union drives, unique forms of protest that capture the minds of our comrades. Help emancipate the workers with action: soup kitchens (food not bombs is one such movement), after school programs etc. We must speak with workers not to workers. Drink and break bread with workers, do business with them, they will soon come to trust and know us very well. This will work itself out if and when our mem-

bership grows, the workers with grand delusions of mansions, big jobs, and lotto winnings, will soon know better. The pursuit of happiness is a minefield, with barbed wire and pill-boxes. Our job is to level the playing field and make the game fair. Remember Aesop's fable about the dog's greed: he lost his meat when he opened his mouth to snatch more meat from his own reflection in the river. He lost his greedy gamble. Capitalism is wrong.

*(1) Marxism is worker first Marx second. If we are to be on the right track we would not be splitting as fast as a fission reaction. It seems at times Marxism-Leninism has become a creature on its own, divorced from its purpose of unity and guidance by workers. A Marxist state does not always mean a worker's state. It may not be Marxist. ...confusing*

*(2) note: look at the NDP: the grassroots lost control, party keeps changing their dogma, I believe they do not have one left*

*(3) the Communist Party's gray area on the National Question has made the slope slippery between Federalist and Separatist as we have seen, differences can lead to disunity and setbacks to all. Much like the very question of debate, we have learned what will happen to the country in a microcosm. ■*

## Contribution to the Pre-Convention Discussion

*By Don Currie*

Canadians for Peace and Socialism (CPS) thank the Communist Party of Canada (CPC) for inviting friends and supporters to participate in the 35th Central Convention pre-convention

discussion. We join with the CPC in celebrating the 85th Anniversary of the founding of the CPC and the year of the 90th Anniversary of the Great October Soviet Socialist Revolution.

The Main Resolution of the 35th Convention and documents of the

Lisbon International Meeting of Communist and Workers Parties declare that labouring humanity is in the midst of an acute global confrontation with imperialist predation and war. Communists express their confidence in the capacity of peoples to

force imperialism to retreat.

In Canada, public opinion has hardened in opposition to the abject support of the Harper Government for the US-NATO-Israeli military aggression against the people of Iraq, Gaza, Southern Lebanon, Afghanistan and Haiti. A clear majority of Canadians reject the Harper Government's assertion that Canadian military participation in US instigated wars is in the interests of Canadian security and support the withdrawal of Canadian troops from Afghanistan.

The foreign policy of the Harper Government has nothing to do with security. It is avowedly imperialist. Conservative support for the Bush Doctrine accords with the interests of that section of finance capital that derives its corporate profits from the business of war. First among these is the oil and gas sector that provides 30% of all of the energy requirements of the US military. The integration of the Canadian energy sector with the global aims of US imperialism is exposed in the CCPA document, "Fueling Fortress America" and John Warnock's "Selling the Family Silver - Oil and Gas Royalties, Corporate Profits, and the Disregarded Public" Parkland Institute.

The policy of militarism and energy sell-out is a root cause of poverty and government cuts in social spending. Canadian workers, especially the youth are losing confidence in trite set piece, status quo formula style capitalist politics.

The NDP and Liberal Party are compelled to react to mass disaffection. During their three month leadership campaign and convention, Liberal candidates left the impression with Canadians that they intend to "take Canada back" from the extreme right when and if they are re-elected. Will the election of the Stephane Dion

Liberals assure the withdrawal of Canadian troops from Afghanistan cut the arms budget, enact legislation to protect the environment and conserve our energy resources, restore and expand social programs and raise the interests of labour and farmers to the top of the Parliamentary agenda? Every Communist will answer with an unqualified no because of the capacity of capitalist parties for treachery. The standard response of all capitalist parties is to repackage the profit system in neo-liberal garb while actively assisting corporate power to expand, intensify and refine all methods of profiteering.

Why then not adopt the petty-bourgeois anarchist view that all politics is worthless until there is a universal acceptance of revolution? Why not hunker down and from the bunker throw verbal grenades at our enemies and wait for the perfect revolution? Communist do not wait upon events, bow to spontaneity or underestimate the capacity of the working people to compel the ruling class to make concessions. While Communists answer no to the question as to whether we have confidence in capitalist parties we say yes to the question do we take into account their differences.

That is why we are not indifferent as to which capitalist party is in power. Lacking a mass revolutionary party of its own, Canadian workers, are compelled to consider how best to defend their vital class economic interests within the limitations imposed by bourgeois parliamentary politics. A mechanistic view of elections that one is the same as the next is harmful. A mechanistic view can lead to a mechanistic participation in elections where we show up, compete and wait for the next election. That is not Marxism. Elections are always dynamic events affording the work-

ing class the opportunity to break into federal politics with its own agenda.

That is why the Communist Party calls for a broad electoral alliance to rebuff and administer a crushing defeat in the next federal election to the Harper Conservatives as the party of the most reactionary war-like, obsequious servants of US imperialism. Every consistent democrat, every labour and peace activist agrees with the Communists that the re-election of the Harper Conservatives would be a disaster for Canada.

If the Harper Conservatives are to be defeated it will be the result of unity not division at the polls. How is that unity to be achieved? Applying the logic of the Communist strategy of alliances it can only be the result of building an electoral alliance of anti-Harper voters. In the last federal election the New Democratic Party rejected such an approach and adopted a go-it-alone policy of focusing its main attack on the Liberals in the vain hope of becoming the official opposition in Parliament. That was an opportunistic self-serving act that increased the number of NDP members of Parliament but brought the Harper Conservatives to power. A repeat of that debacle in the next federal election could have the effect of eliminating the NDP as a serious Parliamentary party. More ominously, the re-election of the Harper Conservatives resulting from a split in anti-Harper voters will unleash the full reactionary program of right wing extremism with its inevitable restrictions on democracy and attacks on the rights of organized labour and perpetual involvement in US sponsored wars. The Convention must address this complex problem.

Is there a compelling argument for a Liberal-NDP-Labour-Peace-Environmental electoral alliance in the

next federal election to defeat Harper? Is there an argument for such an alliance that is consistent with all of the Communist Party's fundamental principles and in particular its concept of strategic alliances? We contend there is. More than that, we contend that if the Communist Party advances such a strategy it will propel itself into the electoral debate on the left in a new way and where it counts among the rank and file activists in the labour, peace and democratic movements of the people.

What would be the programmatic basis of such an electoral policy? It can only be a limited program based on the support of Canadians for sovereignty, peace and social progress. All of those elements are stated in the programs of the Communist Party, the NDP, the Liberals, organized labour, the Council of Canadians, the left social democratic think tanks such as CCPA Monitor and Parkland Institute and a swath of liberal intellectuals and academics.

What would be the method of organizing such an alliance? It can only be to organize a movement demanding electoral agreements to unite at a constituency level around the anti-Harper candidate with the greatest chance of victory. In the last federal election there was an intense debate within organized labour leading to polarization splits and expulsions over such a proposal. Central to that debate was the decision of NDP electoral strategists to bring on the election and then to concentrate on defeating the Liberal Party with the aim of becoming the official opposition in Parliament. The result was the election of the Harper Conservatives. A heavy price has been paid by Canadians for that result.

We may argue endlessly that the same heavy price would have been

paid if the Martin Liberals would have been elected. Communist are not Monday morning quarterbacks. It happened the way it happened and it shouldn't happen again. We Communists are realists and harshest critics of our own mistakes. If we say we are committed to the defeat of the Harper Conservatives is it simply a tactical maneuver or a strategic commitment? We contend that the defeat of Harper is strategic in content because it will open the way for the struggle for a more advanced people's democratic program.

What then will be the role of Communist candidates in the election? While actively supporting the program of an alliance to defeat Harper the Communists will tell workers forthrightly that a strategic alliance of all progressive forces for fundamental reform of capitalism will inevitably confront the most reactionary forces in society necessitating a struggle to abolish the profit system.

How will we explain the differences between the Communist vision of Canada and the Liberal-social-democratic vision? Communists argue that the need to abolish the profit system is revealed, not primarily by the exposure of the hypocrisy of what capitalism says about itself, something all social and liberal democrats are adept at doing and often do very well, but primarily by the exposure of the actual source of the causes of the steady decline of the economic conditions of the working people. The Communists say the source of the worsening economic conditions of the working class is the system of capitalism itself and that capitalism is irreparable and must be replaced with socialism. The liberal and social democrats say the source of the causes of the deteriorating conditions of life of working people is a malfunc-

tioning capitalism and all that is required is to repair the system.

How should Communists approach working class voters to discuss the question of socialism in an era of relatively stable and advanced capitalist development? It can only begin successfully by addressing those questions workers themselves confront. We Communists assert that it is impossible to seriously consider a solution to the dilemma faced by half of all Canadians who rely on wages and salaries to live and who are two pay cheques away from poverty without considering how to fundamentally change the political and economic system that expose workers to such economic uncertainty. The Main Resolution provides more stark facts that illustrate the widening gap between the real conditions of life of the overwhelming majority who produce the wealth of the country, and the privileged minority who appropriate that wealth. The gap is not only wide, it is irreconcilable and once that is understood, the majority of working people will fight resolutely in their own class interests, for their own program.

*- Don Currie is the Chair of Canadians for Peace and Socialism (CPS)*

# Contribution on Labour: Part One

By *Sam Hammond, Hamilton*

In paragraph 32 of the Main Political Resolution it states “It is necessary to view politics in Canada, in particular the working class and the labour movement, in an international and historical context”. I think this is of the utmost importance. The class struggle, which is the expression of the antagonistic opposites in society, can only be viewed as a process and measured in stages, from the appearance of capitalist relations to the future negation and revolutionary creation of a socialist state. The labour movement appeared as an historical phenomenon at a stage of this struggle and exists today at another stage of this struggle. It exists globally and domestically and it reflects and influences the class struggle in the particular environments it exists in. It has regional and national characteristics but its essential characteristics can be identified globally as well as domestically.

In our Labour Program we identify the two main trends of the labour movement as reformism and revolutionary ideology. These two trends arose simultaneously and objectively and are in competition with each other. These are opposites within the class struggle expressed most sharply in organized labour. These opposites are different than the antagonistic opposites between the two main classes that must result in the disappearance of the capitalist class. They are not essentially scientifically antagonistic because a negation does not require the destruction of the class they exist within, but rather its liberation. This observation is clouded by the presence of class collaborators within the working class who operate, sometimes openly, on behalf of the capitalist class and are antagonis-

tic elements. Antagonistic and non-antagonistic then can only be correctly identified by examining the class they consciously serve. Unconsciousness or ignorance does not qualify a person as an agent of capitalism even though objectively their ideas or activities might not pose a threat to the capitalist state.

These premises are very important because the labour movement in Canada, if not viewed with a world scientific outlook, becomes almost an impossible quagmire of contradiction and contradictory actions to analyse. It requires an understanding of our historical development, the environment our labour movement arose in, as well as the international influences. Without writing a history of Canada, I think it can be safely stated that industrial unionism became a dominant factor prior to and after the Second World War. It was from its inception a product of the anti-fascist struggle, the cyclical crises of capitalism, the fight for jobs and quality of life and the insertion of the cold war and anti-communism. The Canadian working class also had to cope with the peculiarities of a multi-nation state where labour struggles often were also national struggles.

The Canadian labour movement contains within it elements of all those conditions that existed historically, and elements of the ideology that was consciously injected in the interests of capitalism. Organized labour is a phenomenon that did not exist in other exploiting societies. It is a permanent element of bourgeois society that is objectively the servant of the interests of the working class. It contains within it reformism that does not threaten the existence of capital, but seeks greater economic and social portions of surplus value. It also con-

tains within it class consciousness at the ideological level that is revolutionary in character and seeks the destruction of the capitalist class and its ability to exploit labour. In a state where direct rule by force is not the instrument of rule, it doesn't take a rocket scientist to figure out what elements in the working class, especially in organized labour, the capitalist class should seek to encourage. In this sense the class struggle is also fought out within our class, expressed in the struggle between reformism and revolutionary ideology.

If we measure numbers of the proponents of these two trends, the revolutionaries seem very small. However, objective reality, the objective environment we live in, is ultimately the major creator of human consciousness, and this cannot be bought and sold, cannot be recruited. Also, reformist minded workers can very quickly become revolutionaries if the conditions, both objective and subjective, are right. We Communists, although we are the creation of objective historical conditions, are the most important part of the subjective part of the class struggle. We have a world outlook, a scientific method that should provide present and future analyses and therefore superior tactics. We are the guardians of revolutionary ideology, teachers, demonstrators and recruiters. Because we understand the difference between antagonistic and non-antagonistic opposites we can be the catalyst bringing together diverse elements of our class, moving people from point A to point B in the class struggle. I will continue in the next bulletin on how I think we should situate our party and press in the current environment. ■