

THE COMMITTEE OF CANADIAN COMMUNISTS

Le comite de communistes canadiens

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March, 1983

Dear friend,

In another month we'll be marking our fourth year.

In those four years we have concentrated our efforts on discussing the major issues of our times from the point of view of Marxism-Leninism.

We have put our best efforts into this.

Nevertheless, our efforts may not always have helped the Communist Movement; but have made a contribution to the advancement of Communist ideas among the working people.

None of it would have been possible without the support of many workers, farmers, intellectuals and students--all of whom have, through their donations and letters, made this possible.

During these critical early years of the 1980s we appeal again for your support to keep FOCUS in the struggle for peace, democracy, justice, Canadian independence and socialism.

Cheques and/or money orders may be made out just to FOCUS --or to New Times Book Service--or to the Committee of Canadian Communists.

Thank you,

fraternally,

Bill Beeching
Bill Beeching

JOBS—PEACE—SOCIALISM—

"He (Lenin) laid bare two aspects of state-monopoly capitalism, showing that it is not only a means of saving the capitalist system but also the threshold of socialism. By exacerbating the contradictions of imperialism to bursting point, state-monopoly capitalism prepares all the material conditions of socialism, speeds up the maturing of the subjective factor and creates new conditions for the struggle of the revolutionary forces. These tenets underlie the policy of the Communist Parties today."
(G. Chernikov, Problems of the Communist Movement, p. 63)

CAPITALIST CRISIS

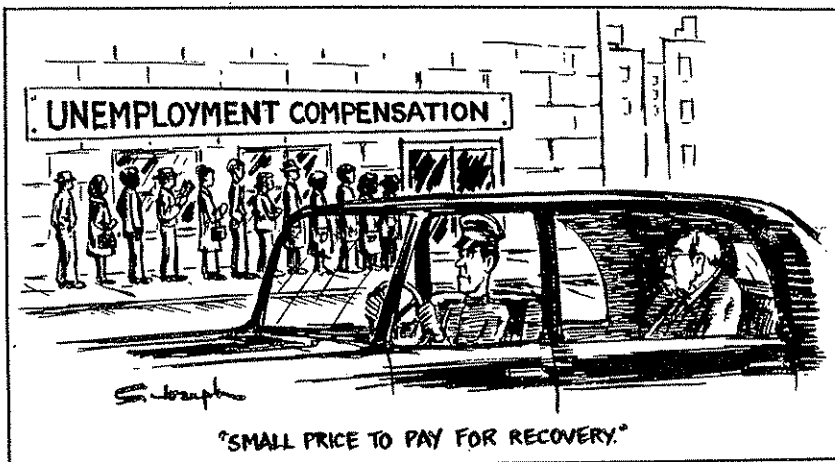
This is a time of anger and frustration.

Wage earners and pensioners know only too well that the economy is in crisis and that they are paying for it. It is an economic disaster bringing unemployment, the loss of farms and homes and hope.

The most inhuman product of capitalist recession is mass unemployment--which hits youth and women the hardest. Young people are engaged in a desperate search for jobs that aren't there.

Growing numbers of unemployed are driven on welfare and into abject poverty.

Militant and spontaneous actions by people for jobs and wages are on the increase.



There is confusion--deliberately spread by the spokesmen for monopoly--as to the causes of the crisis. Each day a chorus of bourgeois "experts" (as dependable as fortune tellers) claim that

prosperity is just around the corner.

Big bankers attack government spending for welfare because it reduces funds for so-called productive development--another way of saying: cut down on spending for people's needs and give the money, instead, to big business.

It is the tax reductions to the corporations, the tax-give aways and the special incentives which are directly responsible for the government's huge budgetary deficit.

Tremendous amounts of time and money are spent to convince working people that their problems can only be solved by guaranteeing capitalist profits.

But the spokesmen for big business cannot hide their fears about the economic and social problems of the capitalist system.

Rowland Frazee, Chief Executive Officer of the Royal Bank said last september, "We must streamline, consolidate, automate, eliminate, defer or cut--programs, services, work procedures, products and jobs--in other words, a complete re-examination of how we do business."

Big business is crying about the decline of its profits. Imperial, Gulf, Shell and Texaco only made \$898-million in profits in 1982--\$2.5-million every day of the year--while the workers took pay cuts, lost their jobs, their farms and

their homes.

Capitalism is mobilising all its not inconsiderable resources for self-preser-

vation, relying largely on the scientific and technological revolution now under way--and with some capitalist governments turning towards the policy of peaceful co-existence and increasing trade with the world's most dynamic and stable market: the countries of Socialism.

The deeper and more embracing the general crisis of capitalism becomes, the methods used by the top bourgeoisie to overcome it makes life harsher for the masses and more dangerous for all mankind.

THE INSTABILITY TIGHTROPE

Capitalist governments walk a tight-rope. They impose restraints to control inflation, but too much restraint can precipitate a major depression and worsen unemployment.

In mid-1982 manufacturing companies were operating at 69.7% of capacity, manufacturers of durable goods at 62%, auto and transport at 51%, the wood industry at 49% and construction materials at 58%.

The present economic instability being experienced in Canada and all of the capitalist countries is unprecedented in scope and breadth. In sharp contrast the growth rates of the socialist countries strikingly outpaces those of capitalism, a fact which influences the thinking of people and drives the CIA to even greater excesses in its war against the USSR and socialism.

There is no unemployment under socialism.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE HAS ENTERED A NEW PHASE

Capitalist crisis is doing away with reformist and bourgeois myths about a crisis-free capitalism. Capitalism is a sick society which minor reforms and concessions to the working-people won't cure.

It is inevitable that the struggles of the working-class will intensify, mainly because the policy of the ruling class aims to place the burden of the crisis on the backs of the working people, while

THE SECRET OF ECONOMIC ACHIEVEMENTS OF SOCIALISM

Soviet people are now working to implement the new eleventh five-year plan which the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (held February-March 1981) adopted for the country's social and economic development for the 1981-1985 period.

They look to the future with optimism. Their confidence has a sound foundation since all the previous experience of Soviet five-year plans is clear evidence that the advantages of the socialist economic system have become facts which cannot be disputed.

● **Wages** constitute the main source of income for the Soviet people. They are being systematically raised (an average of 3 per cent per annum). In the years of the tenth five-year plan period (1976-1980) one person in four received a substantial addition to his or her basic earnings. The average wages of industrial and office workers increased by 15 per cent and the cash incomes of collective farmers--by 26 per cent. Today the earnings of Soviet blue and white-collar workers average 170 per cent a month (approximately 246 US dollars). In the eleventh five-year period (1981-1985) they are scheduled to grow by a further 13-16 per cent and 20-22 per cent, respectively. In the USA real wages declined by 3 per cent in 1972-1978 and by over 10 per cent in the 1979-1980 period.

● The so-called "invisible incomes" supplied from the **social consumption funds** are of great importance in the life of the working people in the Soviet Union. These funds provide a number of services and benefits either free of charge or at reduced rates.

Per capita payments and benefits from the social consumption funds now amount to 438 roubles per annum (roughly 660 US dollars). They enable every Soviet family to spend up to 80 per cent of its earned income on the goods purchases: the US figure is 40 per cent.

● The social policy of the Soviet state assures a steady **growth of the population's real incomes**. In the past five-year period they went up 17 per cent and over the past 15 years doubled. Provision has been made to raise them by a further 16-18 per cent. And this is to be expected in a country which directly allocates 80 per cent of its national income for raising the living standard of the national population, for the satisfaction of its needs and requirements.

suppressing protest, and conducting a major war for the minds of the masses, centring its main attacks against the USSR and real socialism.

The capitalists are banking much on science and technology for their future. But the Scientific and Technological Revolution belongs to socialism.

The progress of science and technology under capitalism is accompanied by an additional deterioration in the people's living conditions.

Today, computer-aided design and computer-aided manufacturing are achieving enormous gains in productivity. The Japanese auto manufacturers use robotics and became twice as efficient as automated North American auto plants--able to produce 70 cars per person as compared, for instance, to the UK's production of 15 to 17 cars per person.

The average number of hours required to build a vehicle in North America are about 155. In Japan it takes 113.

Japanese businessmen have cut their TV production staffs by 50% while increasing production by 25% by using microelectronics for additional circuit boards.

The claim is made that productivity lags behind wages, as if asking for higher wages, even to keep up with inflation was a sin!

However a study in labour productivity for the Canadian Institute for Economic Policy by Professor U. Zahar (York University) confirms that worker's wages are not responsible for capitalism's problems.

From his studies of the operations of the 19 industrial groupings which make up Canadian manufacturing he concludes that the real problem is the failure to invest capital into new, up-dated technology.

His study disclosed that workers received wages in excess of improvements in technology in only two of the 19 groupings (10.5%); and workers in three of the 19 groupings got wage gains approximating productivity (15.8%). But his study showed that the wages of the

workers in 14 of the 19 groupings (73.6%) lagged below gains in output.

The study covers a 32-year period, from 1946 to 1977.

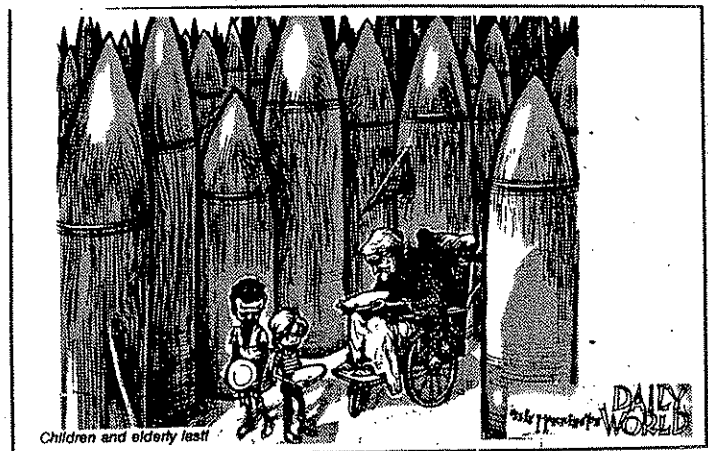
Some far-fetched notions have arisen as a result of the rapid development of science and technology, but unquestionably there is a revolution in production taking place. Banking, for example, is increasingly computerised, there is electronic mail handling, automated office equipment such as the word-processing machine and even a voice-activated typewriter and an automated teller system.

Robots are making robots, and computer programming itself is automated.

It creates new jobs, but it makes large numbers of workers redundant. It widens the skills required at one end and reduces the skills needed at the other end.

In Canada, as in all capitalist countries, instead of making people's lives better, which it could do, the Scientific and Technological Revolution is accompanied by a more intensive exploitation of the working-class and by a greater exhaustion of nervous energy. Wages and salary increases lag behind the increases in labour productivity and the numbers of jobs is reduced.

POVERTY IS RAMPANT



Proof that the Scientific and Technological Revolution in the hands of the monopolists brings no real benefits to the working people is the fact that the top 20% of the population receive 42.5% of the

total personal income, while the bottom 20% receive a mere 4.1% of the total income, that is, less than one-tenth of what the top 20% get!

Income tax returns for 1979 show that wages were below \$13,500 yearly for 64% of all returns; and 82.14% were below \$20,000. A bare 8.49% received more than \$ 50,000 a year. Engineers, lawyers, dentists and doctors received from \$35,000 to \$57,000 yearly on the average, whereas federal government employees (now under restraints) received \$17,587, provincial government employees \$16,547, and municipal government employees \$14,696. Farmers took in on the average \$12,598 yearly and pensioners averaged only \$6,336.

Admittedly wage-earners have made gains since 1979, at least in nominal wages, but the picture remains the same--with the rich getting richer and the poor getting poorer.

In February this year there were 1.8 million on welfare with the numbers growing. In the City of Toronto there has been a 34% increase in the number of people on welfare and as many as 90% of the employables on welfare are unable to find work.

It is estimated that close to four million Canadians live in abject poverty.

Average family income fell by 4% during 1981 over 1980. The number of families with incomes below the poverty line number 800,000. There is an increase in the numbers of poor families whose heads are under 35 years of age. They are now 40% of the total (1981) as compared to 34.2% in 1980. Twelve percent of all families in Canada have incomes well below the poverty line.

IT IS WORSE FOR WOMEN

Women make up 67.1% of all the poor in Canada. In 1979 men earned \$14,981 yearly whereas women received \$7,673. Moreover fewer women workers are included in company pension plans. Women are mainly concentrated (70%) in clerical, services, sales, processing and fabricating--all low paid areas and all undergoing extensive technological changes which will lead to more unemployment.

Most employers ignore equal pay laws.

Cabinet minister Judy Erola could make a good beginning by taking steps to ensure equal opportunities in the civil service where only 4.3% of management jobs are held by women but where 81.6% of the support jobs, which pay less than \$20,000 yearly, are held by women.

The government's 6-5 restraint program affects 596,000 federal workers, 415,000 provincial and 284,000 municipal--only one percent of whom make more than \$50,000 yearly and of whom 16% make only \$15,600 or less yearly.

The Scientific and Technological Revolution creates new goods, new tools and means of satisfying people's needs, new instruments for the treatment of human sickness and so on. But, at the same time, the capitalist state lessens the ability of people to use these new goods. Everything is being cut--health protection (always the first to suffer in a capitalist crisis), education, social security, environmental protection, municipal needs, transport and so on.

NOT ONLY A CYCLICAL CRISIS

In the 1970s a turn began towards a serious crisis in the capitalist economy which has eroded people's conditions of living.

The Seventies were featured by the operation of plants below capacity and a growth in structural unemployment. Certain sections of industry have been in a crisis for a number of years. Auto production has declined now for four or five years as well as steel and oil.

It has become worse in the Eighties. Obviously it is sheer fantasy for any capitalist government, no matter what its political stripe, to claim that it can control inflation. Inflation will run at over 9% and its causes are blamed on everything but the REAL REASONS.

The real cause of inflation is the arms budget, on which the highest rate of profit is made by the industries engaged in arms production, monopoly profiteering, fixed market prices, excessive printing of money, high interest rates, and so on.

Wages are singled out as the main culprit and a giant effort is mounted to convince the workers that they have to take pay cuts or to freeze wages in order to beat inflation. Public opinion is enlisted to assist in bringing pressure on the working people.

The CLC has issued figures which show that even though there has been an increase in nominal wages, real wages have declined.



Bourgeois political economy is at an impasse. Classical Keynesian economics is being abandoned as unworkable. The Keynesian theory of stimulating demand when the market is weak and unemployment is high, and using anti-inflation measures when the economy is "overheated" is ineffective.

The cyclical crisis of capitalism is joined, today, by monetary, energy, ecological and social crises. There is a growth of parasitical consumption by the elite while the numbers of poor climb. Corruption, crime, drug addiction and moral filth are the order of the day.

The entire world capitalist system is experiencing extreme instability with repeated shock waves hitting its banking and currency system.

There is utter chaos in the economy brought about by the operation of monopoly and capitalist competition, by so-called capitalist planning and capitalist anarchy, market chaos and so on.

The most serious result is the growth of mass unemployment and the wrecked lives it brings.



TURN TO THE RIGHT

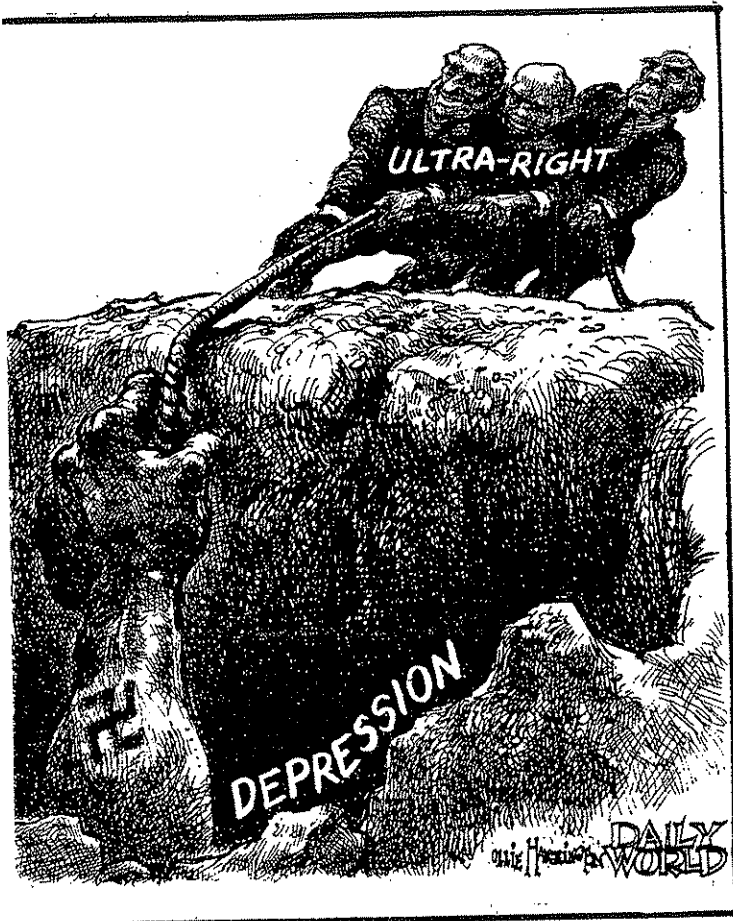
Capitalism's weakened world positions have given rise to a mood of desperation, to last ditch efforts among the bourgeoisie, to the "turn to the Right" which is the desire to turn back the clock of history to the "good old days" when capitalist domination was not strongly challenged.

Bourgeois-reformist theories of a welfare society have proven to be incapable of solving capitalism's problems and of stifling social unrest.

Capitalism's failure to stem the tide of social progress in the world has led the bourgeoisie to re-examine its policies, some of whom are turning to more reactionary and conservative policies.

For the bourgeoisie the worsening crisis of capitalism and the growing influence of socialism and Marxism has created real problems of what policies to adopt. There is much confusion and disarray, with extremely emotional responses, particularly from among the middle-class.

Along with their reactionary policies the Right Wing forces press hard for sanctions against the USSR. Those who press the hardest are the U.S. government supported by extreme Right Wing forces in Canadian society, among whom are numbered the Canadian Jewish Congress, Right Wing Polish, Hungarian, Baltic, Czechoslovakian and Ukrainian groups, and certain church



organizations, particularly the evangelists.

The U.S. government calls for sanctions on supplies to build the gas pipeline between the USSR and western Europe while it, itself, does business with South Africa and the Right Wing governments in Latin America.

Both the Liberals and the Tories single out the working-class as the main target.

When the governor of the Bank of Canada, Gerald Bouey, warns the government not to "stimulate" the economy it is an admission that capitalism is in permanent crisis--and it condemns the people to live with mass unemployment perhaps for as long as capitalism lasts.

The Tories say they want to restrict state interference, that is, to sell off the profit-making crown corporations and cut back and limit social services.

As widespread experience shows, while they call for less state interference, in practice they render aid to big business

in many forms.

Their call for a return to "free enterprise" is a demand to give big business all the breaks while curbing labour's rights, imposing limits on wage gains and cutting all public services.

Big business loves the 625 restraints imposed on public employees. Trudeau claims that the provinces had raised public sector guide lines first. This is likely true. At a top-level meeting early in 1982, Quebec's Finance Minister, Jacques Parizeau said that the discussions about government employee's wages was "perhaps the only area where they (the provincial governments) have common interests."

All the resources of the monopoly-controlled media are used to sell these reactionary, right-wing policies to the working people, to sell them the phony idea that cutting back on living standards and the creation of mass unemployment is the only road to economic recovery. They spread the falsehood that people are lazy and would rather live on welfare than work.

These policies are sharpening all class conflicts. Truly big and decisive class battles are in the making for the Eighties.

THE TWO PARTIES OF MONOPOLY: THE LIBERALS AND THE TORIES

Prime Minister Trudeau speaks for those sections of the bourgeoisie who support modern bourgeois reformism, or have up to now, which is more in line with historical reality. His speeches on world questions reflect that section of the bourgeoisie which takes a sober and careful look at the policies of confrontation advocated by Washington and tends to opt for more moderate policies. All of his positions are featured by vacillation, reflecting sharp differences inside the Liberal Party and the heavy pressures from the Right, as well as from the U.S. government.

His policies are opposed by the more reactionary circles of the ruling class who support a return to the Cold War and more extreme actions against the working

people.

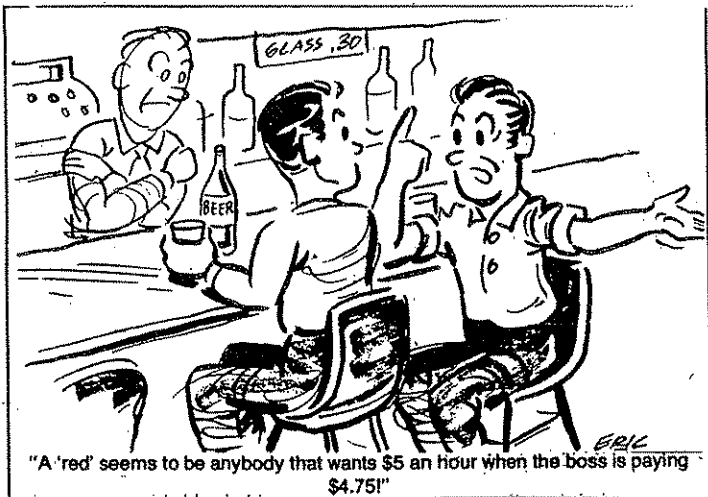
The country-wide campaign led by the Tories against Prime Minister Trudeau involves the monopoly media. Trudeau is no champion of the working people's interests. The sole aim of his government is the securing of monopoly profits. But within the Liberal party--although not exclusively--are expressed the tendencies of the Canadian bourgeoisie towards policies which are more independent of Washington's dictates--a desire to be more independent of the economic and political domination of the U.S. monopolists in the interests of self-preservation both of themselves as politicians and of the system itself.

There are no public signs that this trend finds any response in the policies of the Tory party.

The Tories speak for the monopoly forces who balk at regulations by governments and want a freer hand to pursue their own market goals in search of super-profits, mainly by hitching their fortunes to U.S. monopoly and U.S. markets. They wield enormous power and particularly back the goals of big American oil companies and those American vested interests seeking a source of cheap and accessible raw materials in Canada.

There can be no serious industrial strategy in the interests of the Canadian people as long as this policy of exporting Canadian jobs to the U.S.A. continues.

In Canada there is the highest concentration of foreign capital in the



world. Foreign monopolies own 56% of Canada's industry--almost 50% of manufacturing. Of the 50 largest firms in Canada 19 are foreign owned.

The OECD (Organization for Economic and Coöperative Development) says that of 24 capitalist countries Canada's economic performance ranks last, and its per capita income stands at 19.

The excessive imports of finished goods distorts the development of Canada's industrial base.

The political effects have created sharp conflicts and split the old-line parties. The all-out Tory attack reflect these political divisions which are complex in character.

The bourgeois media blames Prime Minister Trudeau for everything that is wrong and calls for a Messianic figure to arise and replace him, to lead Canada into the next century which by implication will belong to Canadian big business.

When it looks as though the policies of one capitalist political party are unpopular the bourgeois media tries to influence the mood in favour of the other political party of monopoly. It is not a simple process because it is criss-crossed by conflicting policies and interests which often find their expression in both parties.

It all goes to make politics complicated and complex. The Canadian people have to be told that Joe Clark and his Tories are not the answer to the needs of the working-people.

THE TORY ANNUAL CONVENTION--WHAT IT REVEALED--A STRUGGLE OVER POLICY

The Tory annual convention held under the slogan "We're Here for Canada." (!) was an expensive extravaganza, the centre-piece of which was depicted as a major effort to remove Joe Clark from leadership.

For days on end CBC and CTV hosted the spectacle of a raw struggle for power, while deliberately concealing the issues giving rise to that struggle and the inter-capitalist conflicts at play.

In each capitalist party a struggle goes on between various vested interests to have their man as leader and their men in key cabinet posts.

The most conservative and extremely Right-Wing forces are struggling for power in Canada. They can smell victory at the polls. There is a struggle between various capital formations, including some of the newer ones in western Canada. A big struggle goes on over the control of resources between Canadian and U.S. monopolists. Voice is given to U.S. monopoly interests and to the interests of the transnational corporations through Right-Wing conservative forces, but not exclusively in the Tory Party. There is a conflict in the Tory party as to what public stance to assume: openly Right-Wing, or the appearance of being more moderate (the so-called "Red" Tories)

That is what the struggle over leadership is all about in the Tory party, and it is also what the country-wide campaign of Trudeau bashing represents.

There is a growing crisis of confidence in the Trudeau government as a result of the worsening socio-economic problems being experienced by the people and the failure of the government to do anything but make those problems worse.

But Trudeau-bashing just doesn't solve people's problems.

The need is for the progressive forces to work out a strategy and tactics to deal with the crisis that is wreaking havoc with people's lives.

The Tories are taking full advantage of this crisis of politics, not in the interests of the people, despite their pretense, but in order to overcome progressive opposition to Washington's

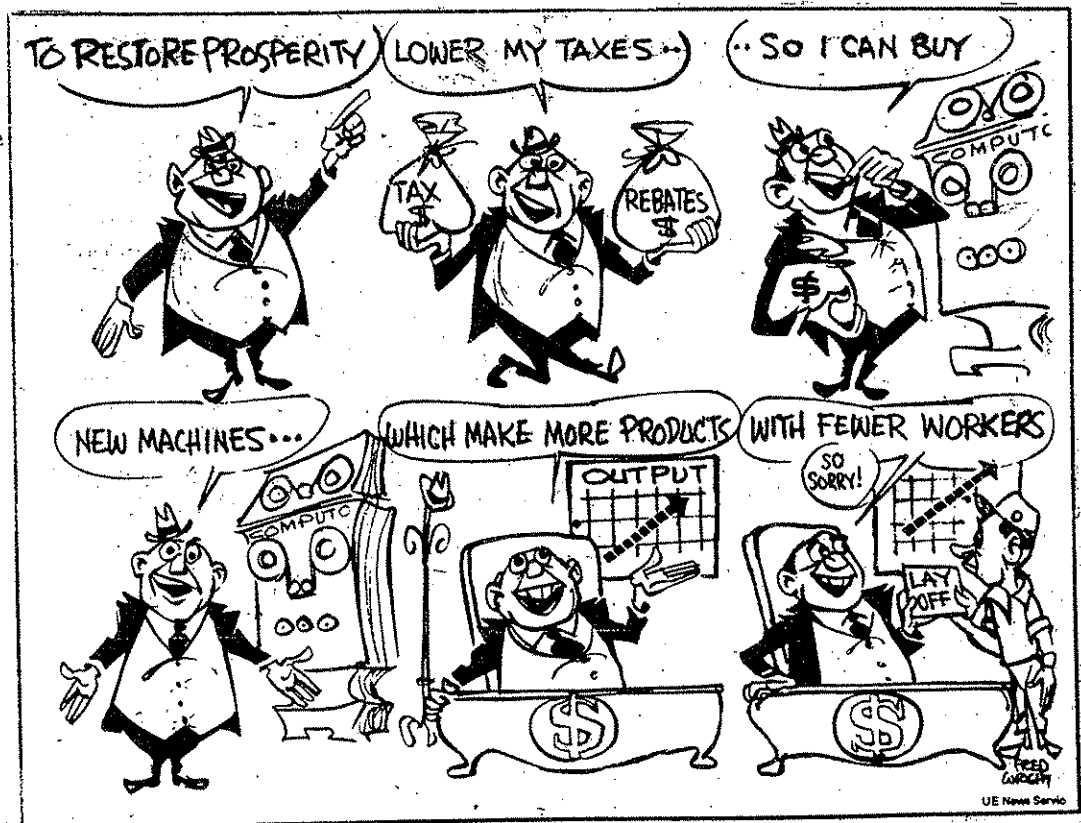
drive to war, and to overcome the tendencies to free up trade with the socialist countries, the tendencies toward Canadian independence, and so on--and, instead, to adopt some forms and variation of Reaganomics.

This is the substance of the challenge to the progressive forces.

It emphasizes the necessity of the working-class struggling for long-term measures--mainly political power--in order to ensure that the reforms they have won over so many years of tough battles will not be stolen from them, and to guarantee further social progress.

The big problem is to give the people's well-justified anger with the Trudeau government a positive direction. A vote taken in anger to beat the Trudeau Liberals which brings the Tories to power will be a disaster for the working-people, just as it was in Saskatchewan, B.C. and Manitoba when the NDP was voted out of power in an angry but blind vote for a change which actually guaranteed that the people will get something worse.

Joe Clark, Star in the recent Tory Extravaganza, declared that his sole aim in life is to beat the Trudeau Liberals



and become the next Prime Minister of Canada. But (and this is a mighty big "but") the Tory convention did not advance a program, an industrial strategy, nor did it make any of its positions on the economy, on foreign policy, or on social problems, clear.

They bank on sneaking in their Right Wing reactionary policies on a wave of hysterical and angry anti-Trudeauism.

The capitalist media plays up individuals as the end-all and be-all because it seeks to divert people's attention away from the fact that it is capitalism and its capitalist politicians who are responsible for the economic chaos.

So extreme had the struggle between Ottawa and the provincial governments (all Tory except one) become by the time of the Western Premiers meeting in August, 1982, even the Globe & Mail (Michael Valpy) felt it necessary to utter a word of caution.

He asked: against whom is the economic warfare of governments being conducted? He wrote that the "socialist-liberal economics of big government (so described by Right-Wing premier W. Bennett)...are in large part the policies followed by governments to protect their citizens against capitalism's inherent bumps and grinds" and "The enormous rise in the federal government's deficit that so exercises the premiers is in large part the result of the so-called automatic stabilizers increased payments for unemployment insurance and other transfers to persons and governments." (which is to be limited to 6-5 in the future).

It is revealing that all provincial premiers called for the abolition of FIRA (Foreign Investments Review Agency). It is one of the absolute positions taken by Alberta's Premier Lougheed whose brother is a senior vice-president of Imperial Oil. On the other hand Clark has stated that he supports FIRA and that every government in the world has such an agency.

This is part of the split in the Tory party, proof enough that the inter-monopoly contradictions won't go away if the Tories are victorious at the polls.

American monopoly is so arrogant and looks on Canada as being so subservient, that it dares to publicly express its outrage by FIRA's insistence that they use Canadian banks, advertising agencies and public accountants, and are compelled to buy a specified portion of goods and parts from Canadian concerns.

THE KING IS NAKED!

During the week of the Big Blue Event, and ever since, the media has been full of stories of worsening unemployment, a big decline in all types of construction, of new proposals from the Soviet government and the Warsaw Pact for world peace, proposals which have shaken the positions of the warmongers and have given rise to frenzied diplomatic activity by Washington to save its positions from complete collapse. The restraints program has been imposed on old age pensions, government pensions and family allowances, and preparations were under way for the Common Front strike in Quebec.

But neither Joe Clark nor any other Tory politician has ventured openly to state a policy of most of these questions.

Is the public to assume, then, that the Tories have no plan, no program? Do people really believe that some Messiah in the form of a superman will miraculously resolve all their problems without a policy? (not having a policy is, itself, a policy).

The people of Saskatchewan, B.C. and Manitoba have found out to their sorrow that the Tories do, indeed, have a program.

THERE IS A WAY OUT OF THE CRISIS

The Liberals and Tories aren't leading the way, and won't.

Bourgeois politicians use the worsening problems of the people as a stepping-stone to power, not as a means of resolving problems in the interests of the people.

Although capitalism is a doomed system, it still has the ability to adapt, which prolongs its life. These policies of adaptation complicate tactics for the progressive movement. But capitalism's

efforts to extricate itself from crisis are obstructed and complicated by the monopolies and multinationals who dominate the economic and political scene.

Public opinion polls give the Tories the edge and Right-Wing Tory governments govern all but one province in Canada.

The Tories advocate a foreign policy at odds with the main trends of history in the world today. They are against concessions to the working people. They believe in work for welfare. They want to cut back on social schemes and impose

even more severe limitations on the trade union movement. They blame the working people for all the country's problems and have given birth to such extreme and fascist-like movements as the Western Canada Concept.

The extreme, Right-Wing forces are on the offensive. Their popularity reflects the crisis situation in the capitalist economy and the growth of socio-economic problems. They demagogically use populist appeals to win support among the masses, particularly the middle class, not without some success.

TRUDEAU ADVOCATES CLASS PEACE

In an effort to win public support for his government's policies and to try to put over the idea of social partnership between capital and labour Prime Minister Trudeau delivered three speeches over TV in October.

The theme of his speeches was "Our Country Is In Trouble."

His political opponents, both Left and Right, declared there was nothing in his speeches.

That is not accurate.

His speeches were a tacit admission that all the conflicts in capitalist society are escalating dangerously, finding their reflection in the extreme, sometimes crude and always heated political in-fighting in the House of Commons.

As the world teeters on the brink of nuclear war, as mass unemployment and bankruptcies grow, it is within the power of the Trudeau government to act for peace, to put everyone back to work and to raise people's living standards.

Trudeau could have told his viewers that his government is determined to create TWO MILLION NEW JOBS by undertaking great nation-building projects for the development of Canada for her people.

This is exactly what he did NOT do.

He appealed to all sections of society to set aside their differences (!) and to work together to solve the problems which, he implied, would require the setting aside of inter-capitalist rivalries as well as the conflict between

labour and capital!! "We're all in this together" indeed!

To justify his government's 6-5 restraints program he claimed that Canadian business has been able to survive both in a country and in a world in which market competition has become fiercer and the big sharks are gobbling up the little ones. To survive, he said, Canadian business would have to undersell its rivals and produce better goods than they--and it is labour's responsibility to assist them to do it.

AN END TO CLASS ACTIONS

The Prime Minister urged the trade



union movement to go for a "piece of the action" rather than sitting on the sidelines. He piously expressed his deep sorrow for the unemployed and asserted that the goal of his government was to overcome all of this deplorable stress in people's lives.

He appealed to the bosses to discuss their problems with the workers and for the unions to help the bosses solve their problems.

The serious economic problems besetting Canada, he asserted, was all the fault of 30-million unemployed in the capitalist world who can't buy the goods Canadians make.

He claimed that wage gains are too large and outpace those in other leading capitalist countries. But statistics Canada shows that the average hourly earnings in manufacturing rose by only 7.7%, not by the 12% Trudeau claimed, and that the gap between wages in the U.S.A. and Canada is not as wide as the Prime Minister said.

The government, the Prime Minister pledged, would help big business to use the recession to ready themselves to compete in the world market--and time and again he tried to justify his government's 6:5 restraints imposed on the poorest in society by claiming it was the magic that would help big business do it.

THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT--KEY TO JOBS-PEACE-PROGRESS

The trade unions have been singled out as the concentrated target of monopoly's attack on all working people. Public employees have been thrust in the front-line of struggle.

Big business and its media mounted an unprecedented propaganda campaign to depict the civil servant as being overpaid and the source of government deficits. The media works at putting over an image of a big strong, overpaid union man and woman walking the picket line indifferent to all human suffering--whereas the truth is that the labour movement represents the main defense of the exploited and oppressed.

The very people who orchestrate this

phony scenario themselves show a calloused indifference to the plight of the disadvantaged, exploited and poverty-stricken. They do nothing for the 60% of women who live in poverty, for the bag women, those condemned to live in slums--even though they may deplore it as being "too bad."

The scale of the attack and the fact that the public employees decided to try to fight back, challenged the leadership of the trade union movement to mount a campaign of solidarity and support for them. The struggles of the Common Front in Quebec emphasizes the need for solidarity with them in the interests of the unity of the Canadian labour movement.

Unfortunately, the reformist leadership of the CLC contents itself with demanding improvements in the bureaucratic system of capitalism, and would like to reach an understanding with the ruling class.

In the past the bourgeoisie deliberately attempted to decrease the scale of class struggle by hand-outs and reforms. That policy is falling apart and the monopolists tend to move away from it.

Taking full advantage of the crisis they are dismissing staff, lengthening the work week with the same take-home pay cutting and rolling back wages (but not prices), forcing overtime work, and threaten to close down everytime negotiations come up.

Important sections of the bourgeoisie see a way out of the crisis by escalating the arms race and arms spending and by increasing international tensions.

— "Capital," by Karl Marx. International Publishers, New York, 1939 edition, Vol. 1, page 255.

"Capital that has such good reasons for denying the sufferings of the legions of workers that surround it, is in practice moved as much and as little by the sight of the coming degradation and final depopulation of the human race, as by the probable fall of the earth into the sun. In every stock-jobbing swindle every one knows that some time or other the crash must come, but every one hopes that it may fall on the head of his neighbor, after he himself has caught the shower of gold and placed it in safety. *Après moi le deluge!* (After me the deluge!) is the watchword of every capitalist and of every capitalist nation. Hence capital is reckless of the health or length of life of the laborer, unless under compulsion from society. To the outcry as to the physical and mental degradation, the premature death, the torture of overwork, it answers: Ought these to trouble us since they increase our profits?"

Dennis McDermott should listen to the rank-and-file. A letter was published in the Globe & Mail which summed it up in a few words: "It seems that when the economy runs smoothly it is due to the virtues of capitalism, but when it runs poorly it is due to the greed of the workers."

The trade union movement has won gains since the end of the Second World War, and has improved its fighting capacity. Already the understanding of the labour movement has grown to such an extent that some of its demands are political in character and are linked to the anti-monopoly concept. These advances in the thinking of the workers are finding their reflection in NDP policies.

At the same time, mainly as the result of the penetration of bourgeois ideology, illusions of a crisis-free capitalism were widespread and, indeed, many workers had (and many still do) a perspective of living comfortable middle-class type lives.

Along with that, and perhaps contributing to some part of the illusions about capitalism, is the fact that possibilities for the working-class have grown in the past 38-years--such as pensions, leaves, the shorter work week, medical and dental schemes, and so on.

The workers have discovered the gains they won weren't permanent and do not give them security. Gains not only have to be fought for, but steps have to be taken to protect those gains against a bourgeoisie who is always seeking to take them away. The best defense of all social advance is to extend and expand gains already won, to transform them into reforms which challenge the basic structure of the capitalist system.

Dennis McDermott has called upon the trade union movement to destroy the Liberal party and to replace it with the NDP.

Aside from the fact that Mr. McDermott ignores the public opinion polls and declining support for the NDP, he doesn't back up his goals with a campaign for labour's needs which might enhance the NDP's standing at the polls.

The shortcomings of the fight-back struggle is the failure of the CLC to come forward with a comprehensive program to beat the depression and to campaign for it, seeking unity with the farmers, the small businessmen, professionals, and others.

CRISIS IN THE NDP

The positions taken by the CLC leadership reflect the crisis in NDP policy-making and its petit-bourgeois limitations as that party, seriously split, tries to be all things to all people, at all times being careful not to distance itself too far from the Liberals.

The more sober-minded of the bourgeois forces have an inkling that many of the old policies of confrontation won't work today and only bring bad results to the capitalists themselves. They could be compelled to move more readily to more flexible policies, ones which contain certain elements in favour of the people if the labour movement itself was more united and decisive.

Unfortunately the NDP leadership and NDP MPs instead of using the opportunity to present new, advanced and stronger proposals compete with the Liberals and Tories on their terms.

The problem is to win the working people and the trade union movement away from identifying their interests with those of the capitalists. The capitalists work at putting over the idea that the only mission in life for workers and farmers is to produce.

We communists say: our purpose in life is to achieve security for every man, woman and child living in our country, and we can prove that it can be done.

Working people are angry and take aim at the Trudeau government. That's logical and no one objects. But there are no answers for working people to be found in either the Liberal or the Tory parties.

Tactically, labour could take advantage of the divisions between them, and the divisions between sections of the ruling class and turn the situation around.

from one of hopelessness and pessimism to one which provides new and challenging opportunities for people.

WILL THE LAMB LIE DOWN WITH THE LION?

**DETENTE
means jobs**



"When a specific form of participation is analysed the questions that naturally arise are: To what extent does it enable the workers to actually influence management's decisions? Does this influence bring about changes on a social plane, in the material conditions of the working people? Does something change in terms of economic relations, of production? Does it to some extent, at least, end his total alienation as a wage-worker from the means of production, from control of these means? Is it only a matter of giving the workers the illusion of being involved in management; of measures of ideological rather than economic significance? Or does it mean concessions by capital that the working-class can use and, by its struggle, convert into more tangible gains?"
(Communist Parties--Their Life and Struggles, page 119)

Participating in management and in top level agencies with business representatives and politicians is a topical and complex question for the trade union movement.

There is no doubt that big capital is bent on imposing some form of social partnership on the working people. The capitalist boss is mainly interested in having workers provide labour up to the standard of the development of the productive forces in this time of the Scientific and Technological Revolution.

The CLC's Shirley Carr calls for the creation of an "atmosphere" in which decision-making power bet ween the "actors" can occur, i.e., both government and business must recognize that labour has the right to organize, to collective bargaining and which includes a say at all levels of decision making.

She said labour and business are opponents but there are areas of convergence--labour market and development for instance, and how mega-projects should be developed. Her remarks were reported in the Globe & Mail (January, 1983) and at approximately the same time Employment Minister Lloyd Axworthy was stating that he wants labour on the government's manpower forecasting body.

The demand by Shirley Carr is a tacit admission that the decisions taken by big monopoly do influence the national economy as well as the social processes and development of society and, therefore, the need for the public control of

production management has become imperative. This always gives an additional push in the direction of labour having a say in management.

But, under capitalism, no matter what form it takes, participation by labour is always contradictory in content. The capitalists are not going to agree to be deprived of private ownership and their right to dispose of and generally use their property in any way they choose. On the other hand the capitalists recognize the pressing necessity of the need to involve the workers in the management of production, but will tolerate it only if the end result benefits the capitalist.

Shirley Carr knows that labour never sits on such boards as an equal partner. When the question of tripartism was raised several years ago the trade union membership let the leaders know that they did not trust the set up. A three-way body can often lead to the coordination of major economic decisions for the capitalists.

It will always take a mass struggle to extend the rights of the working people, and they will not be extended just by taking a seat on such a body.

The French Communist Party points out that in actual content participation is contradictory in practice. The working people see it as containing the possibility of participating in production management and in determining the direction of the development of socio-economic and political life, whereas the entrepreneurs see

it as one method of integrating the workers into their system. Both sides pursue opposite goals.

MORE DEMOCRACY FOR WORKING PEOPLE

The developing capitalist crisis demands that working people have a greater say in resolving the problem of production. Production, during a capitalist crisis can only be increased by the further expansion of democracy.

In the struggle for the extension of democracy the workers are actually resisting authoritarian rule, capitalist bureaucracy and the centralism of the state-monopoly-capitalist system. The trade union movement has to assert the needs of the young workers, of working women, of all workers, asserting the dignity of the working man and establishing a certain authority for working people over the way things go in life.

The intent of Prime Minister Trudeau's speeches was to integrate the working-class, to disarm it ideologically, to spread the illusion that the workers have as much at stake in capitalism as do the capitalist bosses. Such ideas cannot easily be dismissed as having "nothing in them."

Prime Minister Trudeau called upon the trade union movement to participate in managing the crisis for capitalism and the NDP leadership seeks to push the working-class and its organizations out as a direct, active participant in the political decision-making.

Big business is very crafty and quickly adopts new tactics. They like the methods used by the Japanese monopolists. In Japan a system of management-labour co-operation on productivity is in operation in the big plants. Small work teams are set up whose task it is to search for more efficient and productive means of turning out goods.

The bourgeoisie laud the so-called social consensus between management and the workers in Japan as working well for the well-being of everyone. All the problems of capitalism are explained away as being caused by faulty management; and it is claimed that all problems can be

solved by calling on the inventiveness of the employees who are to be turned into a task force working in the problem area for the capitalists.

It is a save-the-capitalist-enterprise by using the talents and skills of the workers, without rewards--the logical concomitant to accepting roll-backs in wages, foregoing wage increases, accepting share-the-work programs and all the rest of it.

The selling gambit to the workers is: your job depends on it and if you are going to get increased wages, or even hold on to your job, then we must have increased profits and it is your duty to see that we get them.

--- Quality of life programs are being introduced.

In some cases work teams even have an input on the design of new plants.

In the Shell plant in Sarnia six teams of 20 take turns in running the plant, and workers in the teams have to learn more than one skill.

It is called pin-striped suit and blue jeans "cooperation" aimed at ending the confrontation between labour and the bosses. The idea behind it is that labour has to back off by accepting the idea that management and labour are both in it together and have common goals.

Kellog, Imperial Oil and the Northern Alberta Building Trades Council began a productivity enhancement program at Alpha, the upgrading plant of Imperial's refinery.

The aim of PRIDE (Produce Results in the Individual's Desire for Efficiency) is to improve the working environment, promote team work and reward achievements.

Beer mugs and trays are given for results and the best team flies a flag.

It is claimed that absenteeism has dropped and costs have been cut by 50%.

There are a number of important implications in this experiment for labour.

THE PROFITS SHARING GAMBIT

Profit-sharing or gains sharing is another capitalist gimmick to involve the worker in identifying his interests with capitalist profit-making. The material gains to the worker are insignificant and he has no special job security as a result.

As Donald Nightingale of the School of Business at Queen's University put it, "It is not the amount of money that is important... Profit-sharing provides the occasion for management to talk honestly (!) to workers about profits and about competition."

He said workers, when approached in an open "mutually respectful way" are "surprisingly" willing to forego wage increases so that capital can be ploughed back into machinery and equipment.

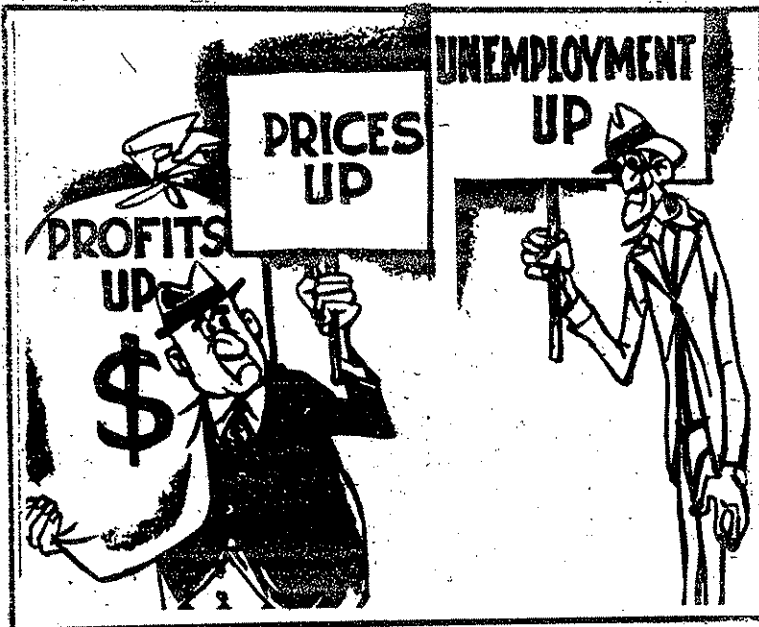
He didn't say that the boss remains the sole owner of this machinery and equipment and that's the way it stays. It is a way of workers subsidizing the boss by keeping wages down, all the while dreaming of becoming a big capitalist--real pie-in-the-sky stuff.

Herbert Brown, president of the Profit Sharing Council of Canada considers it a "good way" to "retain the kind of people the company wants to keep."

There are about 25,000 profit-sharing plants in Canada mainly involving management and executives. It is estimated that only 2,000 plants have such arrangements with the workers.

It is necessary for the trade union movement to independently advance its own electoral demands, to struggle to force capital to retreat from its attacks on labour and its organizations and to give labour more political clout.

The labour movement gives a lot of money to the NDP, but seems to have little influence in shaping its policies. The NDP parliamentary caucus apologises for the labour movement and, as a party, refuses to assume a working-class character although it wants to retain labour's support because of certain advantages in it.



Although the CLC's position on 6-5 is one of opposition, Dennis McDermott is reported by the media as having said that the government's 6-5 restraints makes it impossible for labour to accept less than the government guide lines because of a company's economic difficulties. The media reports him as having said that the 6-5 restraint sets a floor under wage demands and is a political scam by the Liberal Party. He said that under normal circumstances no union, no matter how powerful, could extract money when none was there.

This in place of the need to rally the trade union movement against the concentrated attack on the working people, the spear head of which is the government's 6-5 guidelines.

Labour needs a substantial and convincing program to meet the capitalist crisis, and to rally and unite the entire trade union movement behind it. Its content should be anti-monopoly, follow a consistent class line, with socialist objectives not reformist notions and conciliation.

Overcoming unemployment, the scourge of the working-class, should be the centrepiece of such a program.

For a long time the CLC concentrated on reducing interest rates. Now interest rates are down but, contrary to CLC predictions, unemployment is up. Interest rates were only one facet of the problem and were a popular talking point.

Management considers the main benefits to improved productivity come from the removal of what it calls "adversarial" relationships with the working-class.

SPELL OUT LABOUR'S INTERESTS

There should be no blind opposition to any participation by labour. The key question is: under what conditions? There is a need to spell out labour's goals, its strategy and tactics involved in such participation, its conditions-- that is to say that participation is part of the struggle to extend labour's rights, to further develop democracy and advance towards socialism.

Power is in the hands of the capitalists and the system is their system run for them. Even though labour has won some reforms, and demands the right to be notified of plant closures, power remains in the hands of the capitalists and the fight has to go on to extend labour's rights with the idea of ending the capitalist system.

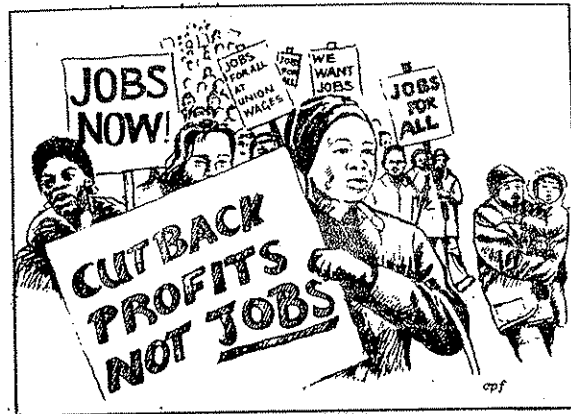
This is the struggle that the reformist trade union leadership seeks to head off.

The trade union movement has to have a position on trade with the world, particularly the socialist countries.

The trade union movement has to have a position on Canadian independence.

The trade union movement has to look at the fact that in 1966 foreign suppliers controlled 19% of the Canadian market for manufactured goods whereas in 1980 foreign suppliers controlled 31% of the market.

Some labour leaders openly express their hope for more branch plants, and others go in for trade protectionism. Not one of them attack the distortions in the economy caused by the arms race, nor do they develop a theme that trade with the USSR means jobs for Canadian workers-- or that it is possible to open up a new trading relationship with the third world countries. Such new trading relationships would place a firm footing under the development of manufacturing and industry in Canada. It means jobs.



Companies manufacturing for the arms race take higher profits than the average, use a higher proportion of qualified workers, divert scientists to war production, and use less workers than the same capital invested in other areas of the economy would do.

The trade union movement has to have a position on the national question in Canada and how to strengthen its solidarity with the French-Canadian working-class.

The trade union movement has to have positions on how to get out of the recession, not on the terms of the bosses, but in a way that benefits the working people.

The trade union movement has to have a position on youth, women, education, so-called work-sharing arrangements, and so on.

The trade union movement has to occupy itself with overcoming poverty and unemployment and, as part of its overall program to overcome the crisis, has to advance concrete proposals to overcome the problems which are bred by capitalism during both boom and recession.

ANTI-COMMUNISM IS THE CENTRAL PROBLEM

The one central problem is anti-Communism and its divisive and diversionary effect on the working people. It tries to discourage the idea among the working people that Marxism-Leninism is the politics of their class.

The capitalists try to conceal the real influence the progress being made by peoples living under socialism is having on the class struggle in Canada.

Socialism and the USSR are slandered as to the source of the war danger. Old calumnies are revived in new garb.

It is on the Communist Party of Canada that the main task falls to combat anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism in the working-class. The big problem is to bring the truth to the Canadian people, to provide the facts--while, at the same time finding bridges which will help the workers cross over from purely pro-capitalist ideas to working-class ideas.

Today in the present stage of world development important shifts in the balance of forces in the world in favour of socialism have taken place. The present crisis in the capitalist system, the upsetting of the economic balance in the capitalist world, is aggravating and even causing an explosion of inner-class antagonisms.

In contrast the socialist system is remarkably stable both economically and politically. The peoples living under the socialist system have taken an enormous step forward socially.

The Soviet Family: What Makes Up its Well-Being

The living standard of a family is a complex and dynamic concept. In real terms it depends not only on what the family has today but also on what it had the day before and what it is going to have tomorrow. The important thing is the trend of incomes, prices and service charges. In short, it is the trend of well-being that counts.

In the Soviet Union, where the rise of the people's well-being is the aim of the state policy, well-being has a steady upward trend. In the last 15 years real per capita incomes have doubled, and by the end of the 11th five-year plan period (1981-1985) they will rise by another 16.5 per cent.

GROWTH OF REAL INCOMES (per capita, per cent)

	1965	1970	1975	1980
Real incomes of the total population: 1965-100	100	133	165	195

The truly remarkable achievements of the socialist countries exert an objective influence on the class struggle in Canada. Capitalists are forced to make concessions to the working-class.

The economic and social advance of the peoples living under socialism, their crisis-free economies, their remarkable economic and social gains, the authoritative role of the trade union movement, subsidized housing and rents, complete medical care and

free, quality education--all these are factors in today's class struggle in Canada.

There is clear and welcome evidence that the trade union movement has become more conscious of the need to fight for peace and against thermonuclear

war. However, the trade union movement does not sufficiently campaign on the peace issues, does not actively take part in the general peace struggle, and does not help the working people to understand the serious consequences heavy arms spending causes in the economy.

It is a problem of linking solutions to the crisis with disarmament and the fight for jobs with peace. The San Francisco Labour Council sponsored a Jobs with Peace week and other such actions are taking place. It is vital in all of this to involve the rank-and-file (grass roots) trade unionists.

The arms budget costs every Canadian family of four the sum of \$1,332 yearly. That amount could cover every family's monthly bill for heat, light and water for a year with some left over.

HOW MUCH IS SIX HOURS OF THE ARMS RACE?

If the arms race were stopped just for six hours, the released money would be sufficient to solve all the problems facing the World Health Organization. Today we lack hospitals, especially in the Third World, and there is shortage of medical personnel and medicine, our correspondent was told by Joseph Rotblat, an English physicist and honorary professor of the University of London.

At the end of World War II, he took part in the building of the first American atom bombs at the Los Alamos laboratories.

Humanity listens attentively to the resolute and tangible word of physicians, he said. At the same time, people lose their faith in scientists who do not realize their responsibility and

hail nuclear weapons. I mean Edward Teller, considered one of the "fathers" of the hydrogen bomb. He could be classified as a mentally abnormal man, had he not been so cunning and treacherous. Although he does not hold any official posts now, he is nevertheless one of President Reagan's leading advisers on nuclear weapons matters.

The proposal of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries, addressed to the NATO countries, about concluding a treaty on the mutual non-use of military force and maintenance of relations of peace, has been qualified by the British physicist as a very serious and concrete proposal whose sincerity is believed by all to whom peace is dear.

	RETAIL STATE PRICE INDICES (1970-100%)	
	1970	1980
Goods (services)	100	100
Meat and poultry	100	100
Fish	100	104
Butter and vegetable oil	100	100
Sugar	100	100
Bread (and other bakery products)	100	100
Confectionary	100	104
Potatoes	100	99.8
Strong drinks	100	103
Cigarettes	100	100
Cotton fabrics	100	100
Silk fabrics	100	101
Clothing and underwear	100	99
Knitted goods	100	92
Footwear	100	99.5
Public transport	100	100
Rent	100	100
Utility charges (gas, electricity, heating, hot and cold water supply, telephone, etc.)	100	100
Medicines	100	100

A UNITED POLITICAL MOVEMENT OF THE PEOPLE IS NEEDED

ONLY A NEW POLITICAL MOVEMENT WHICH EMBRACES AND GIVES VOICE TO ALL THOSE IN SOCIETY WHO ARE OPPRESSED BY MONOPOLY CAN WIN THE THINGS PEOPLE NEED AND PROTECT THEM IN THE FUTURE

Desperate, isolated groups, representing only their own interests, cannot defeat the power of monopoly capital represented by the Tories and Liberals.

Time and again hard-won gains are ruthlessly snatched from the people by the victorious exploiters.

In order to bring about the rational development of the economy to raise the living standards of the people, the vast majority of the people have the political task of bringing into existence a broad, democratic front--a coalition of workers, farmers, teachers and professionals, women and youth, small businessmen which will curb the dictatorial, oppressive power of the monopolies and win gains for the working people, first of all a stable and lasting peace.

The building of a united political movement at the centre of which stands the working-class is an imperative of our time given urgency by the deepening crisis of capitalism and the growing threat of a people-destroying nuclear war.

THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT--KEY TO JOBS- PEACE-INDEPENDENCE-PROGRESS

While the working-class is indispensable to capitalism, which couldn't exist without it because it produces all the values in society--at the same time life has made the working-class the shock troops in the economic and political battle against monopoly capitalism.

There is a growing awareness among the people that big business is the main enemy and that decisive, clear-cut actions to curb the power of monopoly will inevitably inspire and draw other sections of society behind it.

The leadership of the CLC vacillates. But recent examples prove that a strong, militant stand by individual unions con-

tributes towards stemming the haemorrhage of concessions on wages and benefits made by some unions--although such concessions are not at an end.

The trade unions will become stronger and command more authority if they seriously cope with working out people's solutions to the capitalist crisis.

The need is to pull the blinkers from people's eyes--to expose the fact that in this crisis the bosses see themselves in a better position to strangle labour as they utilise the crisis to limit people's democratic rights.

THE ANTI-MONOPOLY COALITION WILL NOT come into existence by itself. Nor does building it await some more favourable moment in history. Now is the time for Communists and others who see the need for it to work to build such a coalition. It involves overcoming all notions leading in the direction of a compromise with bourgeois ideological influence in the working-class in the name of unity.

BUILDING AN ANTI-MONOPOLY COALITION is an aim of the party's industrial concentration in which party clubs in the factories and business enterprises have a key role to play.

UNITY BETWEEN THE PARTY AND THE NDP will be the cement that holds such an anti-monopoly coalition together. The NDP leadership not only fails to accept the idea of unity but vehemently rejects it--itself holding out the notion that the Liberal Party ought to obligingly bow off the political stage and make way for the NDP.

The NDP leaders do not understand the revolutionary dialectics of Marxism-Leninism. They do not understand the key role of the working-class. The NDP parliamentary group are afraid to deviate from the bourgeoisie, let alone break with it, and at the same

time they try to disguise weak positions with brave sounding and sometimes loud rhetoric.

As Lenin said, the petit-bourgeoisie is concerned with and acts in its own interests. If it did otherwise, that is, if they threw in their lot with the working-class without equivocation, the Communists wouldn't have to worry about them, and it would make the strategy and tactics of revolutionary struggle so much easier.

There have been some sharpening and serious differences develop between the NDP and the trade union movement, mainly in the provinces, but not exclusively so. Some trade unionists accuse Broadbent of looking more and more like a Liberal.

The NDP is split. Out of 32 MPs the majority, 26 to be exact, come from Western Canada and are very sensitive to Right-Wing Tory electoral popularity in the west--so much so that during the constitutional debate some western NDP MPs contributed towards making the NDP's weak position even weaker.

It poses a complicated task for the Communists. Appeals to the top leadership of the NDP to sit down and discuss unity will continue to be unheeded so long as a grass-roots (rank-and-file) movement for unity doesn't exist.

The tasks of industrial concentration, the tasks of party members in the plants and factories, and in the unions which support the NDP politically clearly are to arouse a rank-and-file (grass roots) movement for curbing the power of monopoly--for sweeping social reforms, for long-term industrial development which will be undertaken under democratic public ownership and to serve people's needs--and above all for a united political movement capable of imposing such a program over the opposition of the monopolists.

As the leading force in society it is impossible for the working-class to make real gains based on curbing the power of monopoly and the financial oligarchy until it is joined in a political movement by the farmers, professionals and small businessmen, the cooperatives and democratic individuals and parties. It means over-

coming the elitism of the NDP which excludes the idea of co-operation with the Communists and others in an anti-monopoly coalition.

However, the need for cooperation goes beyond the NDP.

A special and real program involving government assistance to small businesses needs elaborating by the Left in order to win their participation in an anti-monopoly coalition.

Out of 528,000 businesses, 8,000 account for almost half the total sales. Of all firms, 56% have gross sales of less than \$100,000 yearly, and probably hire no employees. Of all businesses, 225,000 are Canadian-owned, independent firms, selling anywhere from \$100,000 to \$39-million annually. These concerns dominate retail areas such as clothing, some manufacturing including machine shops, knitting and furniture.

Between January and April, 1982, 3,651 went bankrupt, mostly those in the wholesale-retail trade. The medium-sized firms owe the most to the banks.

The need and the objective conditions favourable to setting up such an anti-monopoly democratic front exist today.

Georgi Dimitrov

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TWO MILLION NEW JOBS

Mankind is passing through a great historical epoch of social change.

This is a time of Golden Opportunities for Canada.

Huge areas of Canada are undeveloped, some unexplored. We are in a position of not knowing how well-endowed Canada is.

Canada can help to consolidate world peace, can put every unemployed man and woman back to work, while improving everyone's living standards.

It is true that the government of the U.S.A. is pursuing an insane arms race and is heightening international tensions.

It is true that factories are working below capacity and others are shutting down.

It is true that there is mass unemployment and poverty.

But it is also true that there exist all of the possibilities to turn the situation around and overcome all of these problems.

It can be done if labour takes the lead in advocating and struggling for new economic policies in the interests of the working people.

It can be done if the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party lead the struggle for people's cooperation.

Unfortunately, at this time the level of political thinking in the trade union movement is limited to some acceptance of reforms along with a considerable acceptance of certain bourgeois positions.

The NDP ties the trade union movement to it financially and limits its independent political action. The current crisis underlines how urgent it is to break with these limitations, to end the NDP's apologetic approach for labour, to insist that the NDP adopts a program which is for the working people.

The situation demands that the labour movement steps forward with the demand to end the U.S. monopoly domination of Canadian politics and the economy, and advocates new policies of trade with all countries.

If Canada is to develop its heavy industry and finished products manufacturing, and widen trade, it has to break the noose of trade which is done almost

exclusively with the U.S.A.

The economies of the socialist countries, unlike that of Canada and the capitalist countries, are steadily expanding. There are the real modern-day miracles. The economic development of Siberia is a world pace-setter. It has become an area of major oil production, power generation, woodworking complexes. All these remarkable achievements are an expression of all-round, planned development.

Reducing Canada's dependence on the U.S.A. would widen its ability to exchange goods elsewhere. The Liberals and Tories are ineffective in achieving this goal because they are hamstrung by business ties with U.S. imperialism.

The Canadian people need trade with many countries and that need dovetails with the goals of those Canadian businessmen who want to keep Canada under the control of Canadians.

Young Canadians would welcome the new opportunities a program of development would open up for them.

To win these goals will take a major struggle involving the majority of Canadians. It means the power of monopoly has to be curbed, and planned development

for people won. It is part of the struggle to make Canada an independent and industrially developed state.

AN EMERGENCY PROGRAM TO MEET THE CRISIS

An emergency program has to include the provision of decent affordable homes for all; the restoration of full medical care services and their expansion; the raising of people's purchasing power; constitutional guarantees to the right to an education and a job; a better system of safety laws and their enforcement; public works programs; expansion of recreational, cultural and educational facilities; the bringing of the new technology under democratic control; ensuring children a happy childhood; protection of the old; AND, ABOVE ALL, SPECIAL MEASURES TO BRING MINORITY AND DISCRIMINATED AGAINST SECTIONS OF THE PEOPLE INTO FULL PARTICIPATION IN SOCIETY ON THE FOOTING OF FULL EQUALITY.

NATION-BUILDING, LONG-TERM PROJECTS FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

I. A UNIFIED, INEXPENSIVE AND EFFICIENT TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM

Transport is the circulatory system of the economy.

Canada urgently needs a unified system which combines rail, road, sea, river, air and pipeline in a single complementary system.

The government has set an example of how to kill passenger services and how not to run a railroad.

The Supercontinental was being run at 53.4% of capacity a Quebec conductor claims. Passengers were told there were no seats when it was only 50% full. The annual report of VIA showed a 41% increase of riders between 1976-80.

In 1981 travel time between Edmonton and Vancouver took 85 minutes longer than in 1963. The cross-country trip could be shortened by seven hours. The Supercontinental took 37 hours in 1950s to cross Canada, compared to 44 hours in 1981. It is known as one of the slowest trains in North America.

Seventy percent of the costs of Via Rail are for using CN-CP tracks and facilities. This figure is so high it needs an immediate investigation. It looks like a real rip-off. But government officials claim that the CP and CN refuse to divulge their figures! (The CN is a Crown Corporation).

The only basic solution to the transportation mess is for the entire system to be placed under democratic nationalization. It could continue the Crow Rate and enable the government to tackle the serious problems of municipal transport.

The busy section of the railroad need double tracking; and the railway system should be expanded into the north.

All port facilities should be up-dated and expanded.

II. HOUSING FOR THOSE WHO NEED IT.

A decent, affordable home for every Canadian.

The construction of 100,000 new homes would give employment to 175,000 building trade workers.

By taking \$3-billion out of the \$8-billion wasted annually on the senseless arms race the government could build 400,000 such homes during its term of office, thus providing

permanent work for 175,000 building trades workers--taxes and incomes for the cities and municipalities--and a growing market for all sorts of consumer goods and services.

The beauty of such a project is that it would not raise taxes by a dollar.

In addition, by undertaking slum clearance and bringing poor housing up to standard could employ easily another 100,000 construction workers a year.

AN ENERGY PROGRAM

The sweeping development of petroleum and electrical generation comes about as a result of population growth and the ongoing processes of industrialisation.

An additional impulse has been given to electrical power generation in Canada by the need for electricity by industry in the United States.

Both business men and governments hanker after the U.S. market for energy and are clearly prepared to sacrifice Canada's future energy needs for quick profits now. The provinces of N.B., Quebec, ONtario and Manitoba, are the most hungry for American dollars from this source.

The physical limits to certain energy resources, such as petroleum and natural gas, makes it necessary to turn to the use of coal and alternate energy sources and, in Canada's case, to the further expansion of hydro-power.

By elaborating plans and taking steps to put them in motion it is possible to develop energy on a scale which would meet all of Canada's needs for a long time to come.

Atomic energy is now being used to generate electrical power and, before very long, thermonuclear power plants will have been put into operation in some countries.

The installation of large nuclear power capacity could threaten the profits of the oil companies and this is an underlying factor in the controversy over the development of nuclear power.

Coal fired plants are on the increase. But burning coal involves emissions of certain chemical by-products which should be purified, involving a somewhat higher cost. However, coal can be technically processed with hydrogen or water vapour (send a delegation to the USSR) to produce hydrocarbon products in gaseous and liquid form--and nuclear power stations of various types can provide all of the energy necessary for thousands of years. It is almost a perfect solution to the energy problem, BUT IT MUST NOT BE ALLOWED TO DESTROY HUMANITY.

That is why the entire energy industry should be government-owned and controlled.

The energy plans of the central government are limited and mainly involve financial arrangements with the oil companies, incentives and rewards, although the government has been compelled to take some steps to expand pipe lines and to increase Canadian ownership over the oil industry.

These programs have been vigorously opposed by provincial governments in the west whose orientation is strictly with United States monopoly.

OTHER STEPS REQUIRED

- . a two-price system which benefits the domestic users of energy for heat, light and driving cars.
- . In making tax concessions and give-aways governments should acquire ownership in the

companies getting the benefits.

- . expansion of pipe-lines for natural gas and oil to service all parts of Canada
- . central heating in major cities
- . electrification of the railroads and city transportation systems
- . improve and cheapen all transportation
- . establish petro-chemical industries in Canada with the aim of producing finished products for sale to the whole world
- . expand Canada's man-made fibres industry
- . conservation based on the use of energy sources other than petroleum--such as the sun, coal and atomic energy
- . development of hydro-produced energy as part of northern industrial development. It is claimed that the undeveloped hydro capacity of Labrador alone equals 50-million barrels of oil a year.
- . an all-Canada power grid

A PRAIRIE PROVINCE WATER AUTHORITY

A program of water development to provide adequate supplies of water to all parts of the prairies for irrigation, power development, industry and human consumption.

A serious water crisis exists which will take billions of dollars and long-term planning to overcome.

The industrialisation of the prairies makes the provision of adequate and clean water an inescapable necessity.

A HUGE CLEAN-UP JOB HAS TO BE DONE, EVERYWHERE IN CANADA. Private capitalist industry wantonly pollutes the water systems but have no intention of paying the clean-up costs, or of even taking steps to adequately control the dangers to people resulting from their operations.

It requires laws and their rigid enforcement.

Large areas of Canada require reforestation and afforestation which should be included as part of an overall water program.

HIGHWAY IMPROVEMENT

This is an integral part of Canada's transportation problem. A program to speed up the construction of an adequate four-lane number one highway as a top priority.

NORTHERN DEVELOPMENT

An enormous geographic area encompassing the northern parts of the provinces and the North West Territories remains an unknown quantity.

A truly promising future beckons us. A hydro-power potential is known to exist; and who knows the mineral and other wealth lying in wait which would provide a further basis for industrial development?

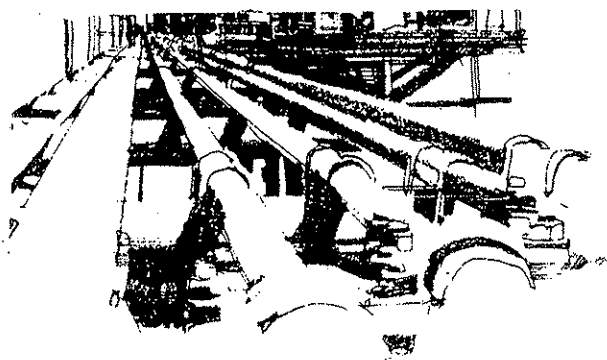
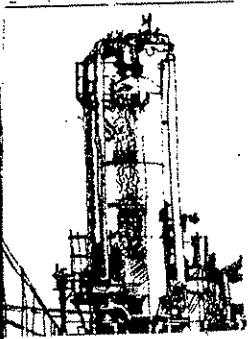
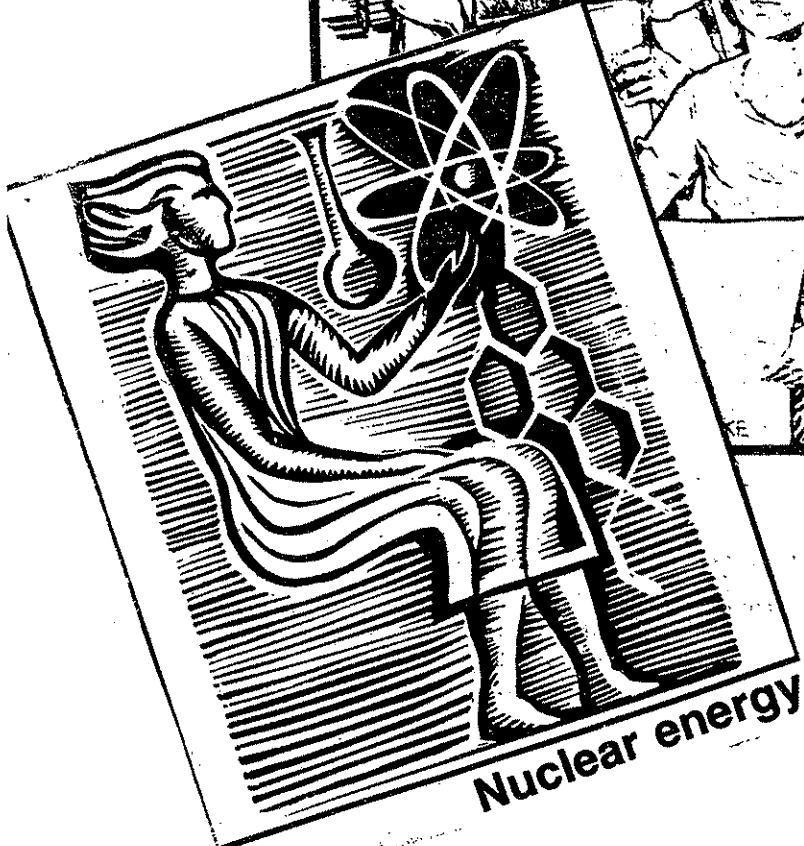
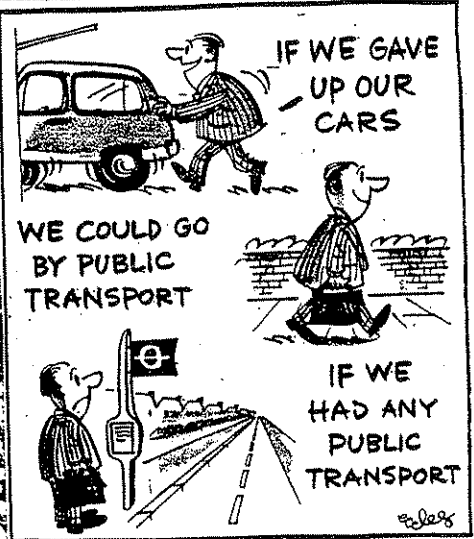
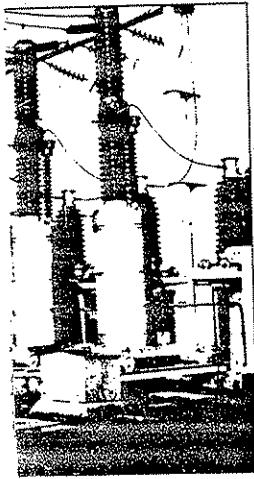
The real miracle taking place in the world is taking place in Siberia. No one claims

that Canada's north and Siberia are identical, but there are similarities.

While unemployment and poverty grows a slumbering giant waits to be awakened.

Recreation, schools, medical care and industry in the north and on the Reserves will provide employment, a purpose in life, and full equality and happiness to the people living in those areas. That has to be a conscious and necessary part of the goal, and the first act of good faith would be to agree to self-governing bodies of the peoples living in those areas.

Jobs for the young Shorter hours = more jobs



MARKETS :: PEACE & JOBS

Expanding markets with all countries is a vital component of the peace struggle and for jobs. Foreign trade is vitally important for Canada to develop her productive forces more fully.

Canadian independence also involves adopting a policy of active economic, cultural and political intercourse with all countries, socialist ones in particular. The best interests of Canada are served by peaceful coexistence.

Despite all the forced optimism, the economic situation continues to deteriorate and production continues to decline. Inflation is still high and unemployment grows each month. More and more capitalist countries are taking steps to protect their home markets against imported goods.

Canada's trade with western Europe and Latin America has declined, although she was able to maintain her level of trade with the USA and to increase trade with the socialist countries by a small amount.

Britain has lost 100,000 jobs in the steel industry, representing 50% of the work force in that industry. Belgium, West Germany and Italy are hard hit. A sharp dispute is developing between the EEC countries and the USA over the exports of steel products to the USA, and the EEC countries are adopting protectionist measures against steel imports from Brazil, South Korea and Japan.

The U.S. economy on which Canadian business mainly depends is experiencing the deepest recession in fifty years. Industrial production is declining in all advanced capitalist countries. All manufacturing plants are operating below capacity. Many have been closed and some oil companies say they will mothball some refineries.

All of this creates more unemployment--But wage freezes, wage cuts, layoffs and cut-backs in benefits, none of these steps will recapture markets lost through capitalist recession.

Each capitalist country seeks to look



after its own interests, with the USA actively undermining the foundations of existing international trade for its own interests.

The U.S. government's efforts to cancel contracts for supplies for the USSR-west European gas pipeline represented a growing trade struggle between the USA and European capitalist countries. The USA wanted to prevent them from strengthening their energy independence from the USA.

There is a growing understanding and desire among business men of the need to develop trade with socialist countries--and countries other than United States--and they have refused to go along with U.S. demands to curtail, economic, scientific and technological ties with the socialist countries.

The President of the USA was forced to cancel his government's embargo on pipeline equipment and, incidentally,

the Soviet Union is manufacturing the U.S. embargoed components and the pipeline will be finished ahead of schedule.

The Cold War embargoes and sanctions policy adopted by the USA is costing U.S. companies millions of dollars and is adding thousands to the ranks of unemployed in the USA.

CANADA'S OPPORTUNITIES

The socialist market--the most dynamic economy in the world--is Canada's opportunity. The Soviet Union is a reliable trading partner.

There are also promising markets in the third world countries, The main thing needed by those countries is access to advanced technology, the building of industrial complexes and plants, and credit.

There is an enormous possibility for growth in exports of machinery equipment, transport, electric and electronic engineering, chemical equipment, road building equipment, instrumentation and control instruments, and perhaps even a growth in the sale of environmental protection equipment.

The expansion of trade in these areas would provide a good basis for the restructuring of the economy.

Latin American countries are interested in trade in order to overcome food shortages in their countries. They are limited in their economies by one and two crop economies which produce coffee, cocoa beans, bananas, tropical fruits and vegetables, and labour under heavy restrictions imposed by the advanced capitalist countries.

Soviet trade with Latin American countries has been growing as a result of mutual trade relationships. There are 5,000 Soviet tractors in operation in Mexico. It involves mutually beneficial two-way trade and the supplying of industrial goods, assistance to liquidate economic backwardness and extreme poverty.

There is still talk that the economies of the socialist countries are backward and there are no opportunities for the devel-

opment of trade with those countries.

Nonsense!

The Soviet Union trades with 131 countries and has mutually advantageous trade treaties and agreements with 110 of them. At least three-quarters of the Soviet Union's trade with industrial capitalist countries is now with 20 West European countries with which the Soviet Union has long-term agreements and co-operation programs involving joint capital investments.

The standard position adopted in Canada and the USA is to attempt to belittle Soviet technology and its potential. But hundreds of companies with a world-wide reputation are acquiring Soviet licenses, diplomas and technical documentation in various branches of knowledge says IMPACT, magazine of Belgium's business circles.

The American Foreign Policy Magazine says the Soviet Union is ahead of the west in welding techniques, man-made diamonds, metal casting in an electromagnetic field, and many other important spheres. According to an American manufacturer, Samuel Casey, the Soviet Union attracts businessmen because it has a large body of scientific and technical knowledge, modern production methods and impressive prestige in the field of international commerce.

Approximately a third of all the patents registered in the world belong to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and the Soviet Union Licensintorg has commercial contracts with more than 2,000 companies and organizations in 35 countries.



UNITY

FRENCH AND ENGLISH SPEAKING PEOPLE

For the people to win against the monopolies and the transnationals requires unity between the French-Canadian and English-Canadian working people.

Solid unity can be built on the equality established by ensuring the right of self-determination for the people of Quebec up to and including the right to secession.

The Common Front in Quebec, representing the public employees who have been singled out for a special attack by the Parti-Quebecois, as have all public workers in Canada, should be supported by the entire trade union movement. Solidarity actions would do much to cement the unity of the workers of both nations against the bosses.

The fact that the Parti-Quebecois government is waging an all-out war against the public employees illustrates the fact that the interests of the Quebec masses is not and never have been expressed by a Levesque, or a Trudeau or a Clark.

People have been deceived by so-called Quebec "patriots" who use terms appealing to the Quebec masses but who perpetuate monopoly exploitation and make the workers pay the costs of capitalist crisis. The Quebec bourgeoisie uses bourgeois nationalism in its own interests. Less and less do the bourgeoisie, anywhere, express the interests of the masses of the people.

Nationalism has nothing in common with true national interests. Reactionary bourgeois nationalism always masquerades as national interests. It stands in the way of people's unity against the common class enemy by advancing theories which have no class content.

UNITY--INDISPENSABLE FOR VICTORY

The French-Canadian working people face similar economic and social prob-

lems to those faced by the English-Canadian working people. Unemployment runs higher on the average in Quebec and the decision to roll back the wages of some 250,000 public employees is more extreme. Certainly the anti-labour legislation passed by the Parti-Quebecois government is savage and extreme.

The U.S. monopolists and the transnational corporations penetrate Quebec as they do the provinces, dictating American monopoly capitalism's views to the Quebec and provincial governments. It considers all of Canada to be its special preserve and unquestionably has been behind the pressure brought to bear on the Trudeau government to relax NEP and to abolish FIRA--and to grant advantageous concessions to them.

The Parti-Quebecois government favours establishing a free market with the United States and mainly bases its economic policies on exporting timber, electricity and other raw materials to that country.

Reagan's escalation of the arms race and the nuclear threat carries the same dangers to all Canadians regardless of nationality, religion or political outlook.

The policies adopted by Rene Levesque and his government on the question of patriotism are nationalistic and cosmopolitan--viewpoints which reflect the class interests of capital.

The Communist Party of Quebec is faced with the complicated problem of attempting to shape a working-class consciousness among the people, a true class consciousness in opposition to the organized effort to twist that consciousness to support capitalism's interests.

DIVIDE AND RULE

The political atmosphere, the turn to more conservative notions, the

internationalisation of economic life-- all these developments tend to increase bourgeois and petit-bourgeois nationalistic tendencies leading to hostility and a lack of unity in the working-class.

The Communists are up against a bourgeoisie very skilled in the use of national feelings and notions. It uses nationalism to try to destroy the unity of the working-class.

That is why there has to be a consistent struggle against bourgeois nationalism with the goal of achieving real solidarity between all national contingents of the working-class.

The role of the Communist Party of Quebec is indispensable in helping the workers to realise their true class interests.

U.S. imperialism also mounts an enormous ideological offensive against the people of Canada, exporting its violence-- based on lumpen--inhuman and amoral cultural values for which it makes Canadians pay a good price.

Regardless of where they live or what language they speak, all Canadians have a common interest in beating back the flood of U.S. imperialism's special culture designed to deaden the human conscience and make the most monstrous crimes and inhuman actions acceptable. This is a healthy and necessary struggle against an acceptance of a fascist-like culture and outlook. A special role in that struggle belongs to the Communist youth to lead working youth both in Quebec and in the rest of Canada not only to reject but also actively oppose this sub-human culture which is the root of fascism, terrorism and Right Wing extremism.

"It would be wrong to believe that the progressive forces can or must win over the lumpen-proletariat. The latter is by its very nature a negative force. The lumpen-proletariat will not live forever; it will wither away in Communist society. But so long as capitalist society exists, it will live and grow in it, and continue to view the working-class movement with rabid hostility." (Ernst Henry, Stop Terrorism.)

Just as there was a healthy and a spontaneous opposition to the attempts to make big bucks by showing pornography on TV, so there are many more healthy elements in society, expressions of popular creativity struggling for survival and making a contribution to peace and the general democratic struggles.

This general critique of reactionary bourgeois culture is not adequately dealt with in an analytical and constructive manner in the journals of the party.

To assist in bring about anti-monopoly unity it is necessary for English-speaking Canadians to support the demand for self-determination for Quebec. It is the only foundation for real equality and unity of equals.

But it is not in the interests of the French-Canadian masses to secede. Also it is not in the interests of the people of English-speaking Canada to have Quebec secede. It would weaken people's unity against the common enemy: monopoly capital.

For Communists real independence is the ability to consistently and firmly pursue a course which meets the needs of the working people in one's own country and elsewhere, and to defend that position. It means overcoming the strong tendency to place national interests above all others.

IT ISN'T GOOD ENOUGH.....

for any Communist Party to just declare its adherence to Lenin's theory and to fight for self-determination. The national interests of the Canadian people are inseparably linked with the international interests of the working-class.

The class enemy and the petit-bourgeoisie want the Communist parties to distance themselves from each other. It is necessary to resist all tendencies leading in this direction.

The struggle for socialism and national equality are not separate tasks. History brings them closer together.

Common struggle against monopoly will bring the French and English-speaking

masses closer together and the final victory of socialism will make equal union a reality.

All the material and social prerequisites for unity have matured in Quebec and in the rest of Canada. The closest cohesion between all national contingents is possible.

"The Marxist Doctrine Is Omnipotent Because It Is True"

[V. I. LENIN]

FOR A STRONG, ABLE, ACTIVE COMMUNIST PARTY

"Among the criteria of a proletarian party's revolutionary spirit Lenin included unity between words and deeds, and between will and action, the ability to bring to light, acknowledge and rectify mistakes, the preservation and development of revolutionary traditions, the ability to unite the working-class and other working people, and lead them through the difficulties of struggle, through defeat and retreat to the decisive victory of socialism." (Problems of the Communist Movement, p 280)

Decisive for a successful fight-back against capitalist recession is a strong and active Communist Party, constantly striving to master Leninism, doing effective work among the masses based on Leninist principles.

Saying it doesn't make it so. To say that the Communist Party has to be strong and effective is only the beginning.

Strengthening, growth, leadership, are all part of a process constantly nurtured by the party.

The party will be built in the process of class struggle, in the process of the struggle to win the peace and to bring an anti-monopoly coalition into existence. If the party is fully engaged in the struggles of the masses it will grow.

In that sense the strengthening of the party can never be posed as a pre-condition to be fulfilled before the work of building an anti-monopoly coalition begins. The strengthening of the party is a logical outcome of active participation by party members in the struggles of the people.

How many conventions do there have to be where it is correctly pointed out that the Communist Party is the key to all social advance but where actions to make it so are not undertaken or fall short of achieving the goal?

History
and
experience



"Living in the midst of the people.
Knowing the people's mood.
Knowing everything.
Understanding the people.
Having the right approach.
Winning the absolute trust of the masses."

V. I. LENIN

The purposeful activity of the Communist Party is decisive. It has the task of winning the most advanced, educated and growing sections of the working-class employed in the principle centres of capitalist production--and this most certainly means the NDP.

Leaders of the party say that Toronto and Ontario is where the action is and, no doubt, the major industrial areas are of prime importance.

But a party which limits its political and organizational activity to Toronto and environs cannot escape being a

parochial party, somewhat amateurish in character. Such a party cannot become a party of the nation. (This was one of the differences when D. Currie was central organizer in 1970)

To strengthen the party demands that the entire leadership, individually and collectively, takes responsibility to develop work among the masses--holding meetings, taking field trips, holding discussions with non-party people, no matter how few, getting to know the problems of the areas and districts, and giving a practical hand in developing local political work and in solving problems.

An inadequate mastery of the Marxist-Leninist method of retaining links with the working-people and understanding the main currents and trends can do much harm to the work of the party. It turns Marxism into formal Marxism, that is, lip service without content, mechanical and schematic approaches to problems without adequate analysis and understanding.

No doubt this problem reflects an attitude that has grown up in the party and is widely accepted that everything is up to the leadership, and the leadership contents itself with issuing orders, by-passing the need to convince, educate and discuss decisions and their meaning.

Every leading cadre should master the politics and economics of each province and know the strengths and weaknesses of the provincial sections and how their work can be improved.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY HAS A REAL POTENTIAL FOR INFLUENCE AMONG THE BROAD MASSES OF PEOPLE

The present capitalist crisis is shaking even those in the working-class movement who have been somewhat comfortable with capitalism during recent decades.

Communist ideas are scoring victories all over the world and the socialist countries are chalking up striking advances in their economies and their way of living.

The social consequences of the

scientific and technological revolution intertwine with the revolutionary process in today's world. Undoubtedly these include "capitalism's loss of historical initiative and the turning of the socialist tendency into the decisive one in the struggle between socialism and capitalism." (Problems of the Communist Movement, p 229)

The general crisis of capitalism is all-embracing involving the social, scientific and technological, ideological and political, national and cultural spheres.

New answers, programs and new political exposures are called for by these changes in society.

It involves the problem of how to win jobs and security and a better life in the concrete conditions of today; of how to restructure Canada's international economic relations; how to win democratic advances in Canada; how to bring order in a disordered economy; the content of a new foreign policy which places Canada's international relations on a just and democratic foundation, and which establishes relations of co-operation with all countries on a just and equal basis.

On this basis the party should advance an industrial strategy in the interests of the people, which would include a foreign policy based on the new progressive impulses dominating the world.

SHOULD SOCIALISM BE MENTIONED AT THIS STAGE?

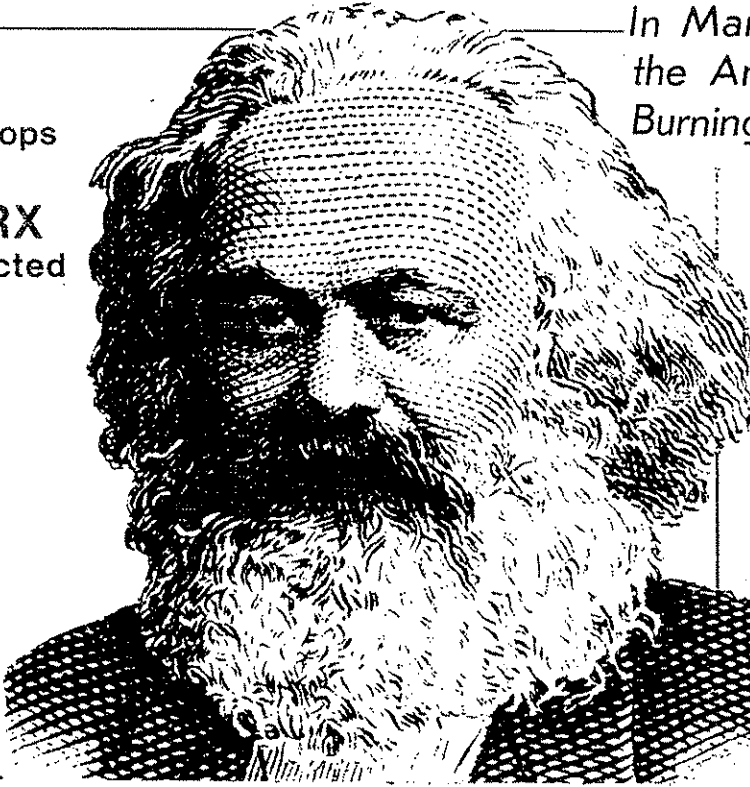
Communists should not dodge mentioning in campaigns and in party literature that the present state of affairs cannot be changed to one where the working-people can make real gains until political power is won by the working-class. Unless this perspective is always clearly spelled out it only leads to confusion among the people.

Not long ago this sound Leninist position was considered to be "Leftist." (An example of real leftism would be to try to storm the fortresses of capitalism during a period of consolidating and rallying the working-class.)

In Marxism-Leninism We Find the Answers to the Most Burning Questions of Our Time

L. BREZHNEV

The
world
develops
as
MARX
predicted



Marx's greatness lies in the fact that he provided scientific answers to the cardinal questions posed by the development of mankind. Marx brought about the greatest revolution in social consciousness and elaborated a scientifically based philosophy for the proletariat which truly reflects the laws of historical development. He turned socialism from being a utopia into a science and substantiated the inevitable downfall of capitalism and the triumph of communism. Marx provided the working class with the realization of its historic mission as the grave-digger of the exploiter system and creator of a socialist society. He also indicated the ways of uniting revolutionary theory with the mass workers' movement

But that correct position should not be used to obscure a blunder of equal magnitude: It is an opportunist mistake to miss the chance of directing society towards socialism especially when the bourgeoisie is so preoccupied with its internal struggles, its contradictions, wrangles and so on. It would, in effect postpone socialism to some remote time in the future.

There has to be a socialist content in the struggles of the people.

The CCF--now the NDP--gave that up when it discarded the Regina Manifesto and replaced it with the Winnipeg Declaration. Now leading NDPers are writing a new Manifesto for the Fiftieth Anniversary of the founding of the CCF in 1933. It is doubtful that the new manifesto will return to the idea of eradicating capitalism expressed in the Regina Manifesto, but it will have to discuss the new problems posed by monopoly and the transnationals, by the scientific-technological revolution, and self-determination for Quebec.

WE ARE LIVING IN COMPLICATED AND DIFFICULT TIMES

The Communists bear an exceptional responsibility to provide answers and

leadership to the great struggles now unfolding. All of the class contradictions have sharpened and disruptions and contradictions are piled one on the other.

The tasks of the Communist party are to organize and train the political army of the revolution.

The tasks include the need to repulse the fanatic ideological attacks on the working-class by the bourgeoisie, to bring revolutionary ideas and ardour to the working-class--ideas about genuine democracy and social equality.

The bourgeoisie seeks to eliminate class consciousness, to dampen down proletarian social activity, to infect the people with the virus of philistine morality, to limit the struggles of the working-class to economic questions.

It provides a much higher standard of living to the elite section of the working-class and instils the phony idea of a "special status" among the more highly educated and skilled workers.

That is why the party has to constantly expose economic exploitation, expound moral values, expose the brutal and unfeeling nature of the capitalist and

state bureaucracy and propose an anti-capitalist alternative of social development.

There is a need for more political exposures--and the Canadian Tribune and the Communist Viewpoint are the main organs through which such exposures should be made the property of the people.

The capitalist media denies information to the people--a special challenge to the party calling for an exceptional effort to be made to provide information to the masses. It involves day-to-day work among people, the building of rank-and-file movements, the issuing of shop papers and making certain that the party book stores get the splendid materials available out to the people.

If we participate in the practical activity of the masses we quickly discover how true it is that the battle of ideas is a decisive arena of the class struggle. Anyone who takes part in a peace coalition, for example, knows how very PRACTICAL the clash of ideas is, and how very necessary to progress it is.

The true worth of the party will be revealed by tackling these questions at a time when capitalism is marshalling all of its forces, which are not inconsiderable, in an offensive against working-people.

The Communists are called upon to know what the working people are thinking, how they understand and evaluate things, how their resentment is expressed and thus, how that anger and resentment can be directed into a mass movement for a real change.

Communists do not wait to advance correct ideas and solutions until after they have become accepted by a large section of the people. That is not leading. It is opportunism.

The aim set out in the party's program is to draw into an anti-monopoly stream all forces discontented with state monopoly and replace it with a revolutionary democratic state operating on the social need to administer the economy in the interests of the people.

There will be many twists and turns,

even set backs, demanding the utmost flexibility and a rejection of lifeless, academic schemes cooked up in ivory towers and offices.

INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION

No doubt the party membership is constantly involved in a review of industrial concentration? So decisively important is the party's activity at the various enterprises one naturally assumes that the delegates to the last (25th) convention devoted a great deal of attention to the topic?

Pressure to divert the party away from industrial concentration are ever present and the battle for it has to be fought anew time and again.

The battle never loses momentum. It involves shop papers, leaflets, meetings, organized discussions, studies in depth, campaigns and, above all else, working with the rank-and-file.

It involves the big questions of peace, a people's industrial strategy based on defeating capitalist depression. It involves building the anti-monopoly coalition and bringing the scientific-technological revolution under democratic control.

The aim of industrial concentration is to give the working-class a say in running the country. It is in the main enterprises where it acquires self-consciousness and experience which will enable it to fulfil that task.

It is here where the grass-roots alliances, the underpinnings of broad popular movements and the mass basis of the anti-monopoly coalition will be formed.

The NDP is active in the plants and the main leadership of the union movement is NDP. It uses the enterprises to fight for electoral support. It projects its political line and programs into the enterprise through its apparatus.

The enterprises are the arena where the debate rages over the questions of the day: can wage gains be won? is it possible to fight and win? are worker's

demands excessive? do wages cause inflation? will demanding wage increases result in a loss of jobs? the meaning of disarmament to the economy and affirmative action, and so on.

It is here where demands are worked out for higher pay, for better working conditions--and how to repulse monopoly's assault.

It means intensifying work among the people. It means overcoming those internal problems--relaxing work among the masses or inadequate work, lack of real ideological and real political unity (except in the most formal sense) and even the relaxation of the study of theory. Tackling these inner-party tasks is a necessary factor for successful work.

A fact which strikes us every day is that, despite the expansion and growing intensity of the class struggle, despite the economic chaos and growing anger and discontent among the people, the majority still do not see socialism as the alternative.

To change that situation involves winning the trust of people, helping to educate people about Communism, about the laws of social development and so on.

The party is required to organize the struggle to implement its slogans.

It means accepting people the way they are and working with them with the idea of raising their political consciousness.

THE ART OF POLITICAL LEADERSHIP itself is a subject of intense study and discussion.

THE ART OF POLITICAL LEADERSHIP involves not only teaching people but learning from people, listening to their criticisms, their opinions, and understanding their prejudices and biases. While paying serious attention to all the struggles conducted by the working people, the party opposes anything and everything that undermines or weakens the struggle of the people or diverts them from the main aims.

It means determining the forms of

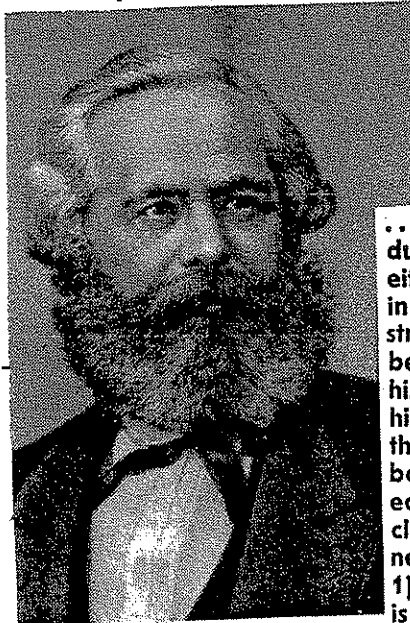
struggle and working in harmony with the prevailing situation.

It means that every primary organization becomes a centre of political activity among the people.

Of all the tasks the most difficult one is the development of co-operation with the NDP in developing united actions with the working-class.

There can be no doubt that, in these conditions, the Communist Party can advance and grow stronger.

"An inevitable outcome of any infraction or disregard of the Leninist organizational principles is that a party ceases to be the highest form of class organization of the proletariat and the militant leader and guide of the struggle of the masses. It inescapably turns into either a loose, formless mass or into a narrow, closed group isolated from the masses." (Problems of the Communist movement, p. 282)



...As to myself, no credit is due to me for discovering either the existence of classes in modern society or the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to demonstrate: 1) that the existence of classes is merely linked to particular historical phases in the development of production, 2) that class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat, 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society.

K. MARX

[From a letter to J. Weydemeyer, London, March 5, 1852].

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