

**Pamphlet  
no 14**

**ON TRADE UNIONS**

## The Marxist-Leninist movement and the Trade Union movement at the present stage

From the very moment that the working class became numerous enough and concentrated enough in factories, and mills, it began to develop organizational forms in order to fight the capitalists' attacks and to demand higher wages and better working conditions. At first, the bourgeoisie fiercely repressed these organizations, outlawed them and hunted down the working class leaders. But when these first workingmen's associations evolved into powerful trade unions and became deeply rooted in all the main branches of industry, the bourgeoisies of all the capitalist countries steered their tactics away from brutal repression and tried instead to take control of these trade unions, to integrate them into the State apparatus and change them into agencies of class collaboration.

In the United States and Canada, these tactics led to the elimination of progressive and communist leadership from the trade unions and to their replacement with elements willing to collaborate with the bourgeoisie in oppressing and exploiting the workers. The result of this is that now, at a time when capitalism is undergoing a crisis on a world-wide scale and when everywhere the masses of workers are mobilizing against the attacks of Capital, the reformist and treacherous trade union leaders are doing their utmost to curb the strike movement and bargain with the capitalists and their State in order to hold the demands of the workers down to a level previously determined by the bosses!

Does this betrayal of the union bosses mean that communists must give up all work in the trade unions on the pretext that their leadership is reactionary and sold out, thereby leaving the working class under the influence of these traitors? Lenin and the leaders of the Communist International were right in exposing this trend as both "leftist" and deeply irresponsible: **"To refuse to work in the reactionary trade unions means leaving the insufficiently developed or backward masses of workers under the influence of the reactionary leaders, the agents of the bourgeoisie, the labour aristocrats or 'workers who have become completely bourgeois'".** (1)

Lenin also teaches us that the essential prerequisite for communist work in the trade unions is the existence of the proletarian Party, which is armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism and is the guide of socialist revolution. This is why, at a time when such a party does not exist as yet in Canada, IN STRUGGLE! puts forward the slogan: **"Build the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Struggle for the Proletarian Party!"** as the main task of Marxist-Leninists at the present stage in order to win over the vanguard elements of the proletariat to the side of communism. For without a Marxist-Leninist organization, without a genuine communist leading center that will coordinate the work of communists, no consistent work is possible either in the trade unions or in the other mass organizations in this country.

## The trends that dominated the Trade Union movement in Europe and North America

In Canada and in the United States, as well as in Europe, various trends exercised an influence on the orientation of the trade union movement. It is essential to have some knowledge of these trends in order to understand the present trade union movement and wage the struggle against reformism within it. **Trade unionism** or **"business unionism"** (syndicalisme d'affaires), its major trend, has certainly dominated the entire world trade union movement for 100 years. However three other trends have left a mark on the trade union movement throughout its history: **anarcho-syndicalism**, the **Catholic trade union movement** and the **communist movement**.

### a) Trade Unionism

In North America this trend was embodied in the all-powerful **American Federation of Labor (AFL)** and its Canadian wing, the **Trades and Labour Congress of Canada (TLC)**. The AFL, a federation of trade unions, was founded by Samuel Gompers in 1886 to struggle against another labor organization called the **Knights of Labour**. Drawing its inspiration from the pattern of British trade unions, which unionized only the labour aristocracy, the AFL organized the skilled workers trade by trade and refused to organize the unskilled workers, thus dividing the working class. Each trade signed a collective agreement with the employer and didn't care about the other trades. This concept is the foundation of "raiding", that hateful practice of the union bureaucrats who are incessantly trying to expand their "ju-

(1) Lenin, *Left-Wing Communism, and Infantile Disorder*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1975, p.38

isdiction" and their personal power over the workers. They are called **"business agents"** for nothing for indeed they earn their living precisely from the trade of manpower with and according to the conditions of the employers, this trade provides them with a profitable monopoly thanks to the union dues and the bribes they get from it.

Trade unionism is characterized by the struggle it wages to "improve" the capitalist system instead of trying to destroy it, as well as by the promotion of forms acceptable to the bourgeoisie: summit negotiations, participation of the union leaders in economic and political agencies of the capitalist State, arbitration, etc. Trade unionism consists in keeping the activity of the working class within the bounds of economic struggle, i.e., within the bounds of the struggle to sell labour-power to the capitalists. Trade unionism does not reject all forms of political struggle. On the contrary, it subordinates the political activity of the working class to the struggle for economic demands, i.e., to reformism. The reformist leaders who put forward the "neutrality" of unions in matters of politics, deceive the masses because what they advocate in fact is union support for the reformist politics of the "labour", "social-democratic" and bourgeois parties, and antipathy towards revolutionary politics and the proletarian Party. The real meaning of this so-called union "neutrality" is pure and simple betrayal.

### b) Anarcho-Syndicalism

The **anarcho-syndicalist** trend developed mostly in France at the end of the 19th century. It originated from the ruin of different strata of the petty bourgeoisie, who swelled the ranks of the proletariat. They brought with them their petty bourgeois ideology and thus became the social basis for the growth of this movement. Opposed to any form of State, including the socialist State, anarcho-syndicalism puts forward the spontaneous general strike as a means for overthrowing capitalism. Proclaiming the independence of labour unions with respect to the political party of the working class, it denies the necessity for political struggle by the working class, the leading role of the Party and the necessity for armed uprising and proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in order to achieve socialism. Lenin, in exposing this petty bourgeois trend, said that... "anarcho-syndicalism is the twin-brother of opportunism".

In the United States and Canada, this trend was embodied in two big trade union organizations at the beginning of the 20th century: the **Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)** in the USA, and the **One Big Union (OBU)** in Canada. The latter in 1918 brought together the unionists of Western Canada who were disappointed with the TLC's reformism. By 1919, 41,000 workers had joined the OBU on an industrial basis and carried on tough and militant strikes against the Canadian and US bourgeoisies. Its leaders openly advocated socialism, but they refused to wage ideological struggle within the trade unions where the masses of the Canadian workers were then concentrated, thus leaving them under the influence of the reactionary trade union leaders. The OBU, isolated and fiercely repressed by the State as it was, soon disappeared during the 20's. The absence of a proletarian Party that would have applied to Canada the principles put forward by Lenin's Bolshevik Party in Russia, in order to lead the revolutionary process, left these leaders off by themselves. They believed that that spontaneous general strike, such as the Winnipeg General Strike in 1919, would be enough to overthrow capitalism. The failure of this strike demonstrated the failure of anarcho-syndicalism. This left the working class to face repression unarmed and helpless. The degeneration of OBU dates from this defeat.

### c) The Catholic Trade Union Movement

The Catholic clergy always followed the reactionary teachings of the Vatican to oppose the revolutionary working class trade union movement as well as strikes and other organized struggles of workers against their bosses, in the name of the so-called "harmony between social classes". When T. Lépine, a Knight of Labour, was elected in the federal elections of 1888 in Montreal East, the clergy took the following stand: "workers must work in the factories instead of dabbling in politics. They must leave politics to the employers, the educated, rich class that devotes itself to the interests of Catholic workers"...

The clergy forbade the French Canadian workers to join the above mentioned **The Knights of Labour**, founded secretly in the USA in 1869. By 1867 this organization already had 12,000 registered members in Canada. But as soon as unionism became an important social force in the country with the formation of numerous trade unions, the clergy saw that it was better to take control over the unions

rather than opposing them. It was during the 20's and 30's that the clergy established a number of organizations intended to divert the workers' militancy (Young Workers' Catholic Association) and the rebellion of youth (Students' Catholic Association), and to oppose the growing penetration of socialist and communist ideas among the people. In 1921, the year of the foundation of the **Communist Party of Canada**, a congress of 200 delegates representing 89 unions and 26,000 members created the **Federation of Catholic Workers of Canada (FCWC)**, which was to become the **Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU)** in 1960.

This Federation was based on national chauvinism and the rejection of American trade unions because they were foreign, and not because they were reformist and sold out to the bourgeoisie. It was indeed quite the contrary: its own declaration of principles rejected class struggle, denounced the use of the strike and advocated, in complete agreement with the capitalists, conciliation and arbitration as means of settling all conflicts between workers and bosses. Christianity had become the guide (!) of trade union action...

During the 20's many workers asked the Party to organize them because the reactionary leaders of the FCWC refused to organize the unskilled workers in the big industries around the country. This is the reason why the Party created the **Workers' Unity League** in 1929, a union centre entirely controlled by the Communists.

1929 was a year of generalized crisis for the capitalist system and, in Canada as elsewhere, the bourgeoisie was locking out the workers by the thousands, thus condemning them to unemployment and extreme poverty. It was therefore right for the Communist Party to help these workers by organizing them at a time when less than 15% of the Canadian workers were unionized. Between 1929 and 1935, the League had 40,000 workers in it and led the struggles in the mining, garment, automobile, electrical product, lumber and textile industries.

But the fundamental principle of communist work in the unions is the following: **work where the masses of the workers are, i.e., in the big trade union organizations, no matter how reactionary they are to conquer the ideological leadership of these organizations in order to win over the workers to the side of communism and to change trade unions into instruments of class struggle to overthrow capitalism.**

That is why the Party dissolved the League in 1935 so that its unions join the TLC and the Canadian CIO unions in order to achieve unity of the Canadian trade union movement. This was all the more necessary since the rise of fascism in Europe and America demanded the closest possible unity of the proletariat in order to protect its rights and its organizations.

This experience of a Canadian communist trade union center was very valuable for the Canadian working class. First, it established the basis of industrial unionism in this country by creating unions in the textile, lumber, automobile, and steel industries, all the giant mass industries which were to unite later within the **Canadian Labour Congress (CLC)**. Second, the League waged numerous victorious struggles at a time of world-wide crisis of capitalism and did not restrict itself to economic demands but fought also for the political rights of the workers and for **essential reforms, such as unemployment insurance. As well, the experience of the League shows the Canadian working class that the leadership of the proletarian Party is essential in struggling victoriously against the bourgeoisie both on the economic and the political levels and that far from leaving the reactionary trade unions, the communists, on the contrary, must join them in order to create communist factions within them that will work at leading the struggles of the workers towards the final objective: overthrowing capitalism and establishing socialism, and the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie.**

## The struggle between the two lines within the Canadian Trade Union movement

"Imperialism (...), wrote Lenin, **creates the economic possibility of corrupting the upper strata of the proletariat, and thereby fosters, gives form to, and strengthens opportunism**". (2)

The history of the Canadian labor movement is full of examples of collaborationist and sold out leaders, chieftains of the labor aristocracy. Take Tom Moore, Chairman of the TLC for example. Moore denounced the Winnipeg General Strike and agreed to sit on a Royal

### d) The Canadian Communist Movement and the Unions (1929-1935)

Commission aimed at "finding the causes of industrial conflicts..." He was generously rewarded, for in 1925 the bourgeoisie offered him the position of Director of Canadian National! Jean Marchand (CNTU), Claude Jodoin (CLC), Roger Provost, Louis Laberge (QFL) and company, all collaborated with the bourgeois federal State and the Duplessis regime during the 40's and 50's in driving the progressive and communist workers out of the unions and in integrating the unions ever more into the State apparatus.

Of course, the trade union movement today is still infested with these corrupted leaders, sold out to the interests of the bourgeoisie: André Desjardins, who betrays the construction workers and unites with Labour Minister Jean Cournoyer when it suits his purpose of building a personal empire and a considerable fortune. Desjardins is even ready to split up the Council of Construction Trades in order to perpetuate his domination; Jean-Noel Godin, from the Federation of Clothing Trades affiliated to the **Confederation of Democratic (sic) Trade Unions**, owns his own factories; Joe Morris, Chairman of the CLC who tries to keep the workers' rebellion against capitalism in crisis in check by stepping up agreements with the bourgeoisie and the State.

Indeed, reformism is the dominant line within the trade union movement around the world. On the one hand, the **World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU)** is controlled by Soviet social-imperialism and has sunk into complete and utter revisionism and opportunism. On the other hand, the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)**, founded in Europe by the AFL-CIO and the CIA with the object of splitting up the trade union movement after the Second World War, and the **Worlds Confederation of Labour (WCL)**, are both fiercely pro-capitalist, pro-imperialist and anti-communist. Now Donald MacDonald, former president of the Canadian Labour Congress, is the head of ICFTU and Marcel Pepin, president of the CNTU is also head of the WCL. Class collaboration, is clearly also practised on an international scale...

## The new varieties of opportunism and reformism within the Canadian Trade Union movement

Opportunism and reformism are nowadays assuming new forms within the trade union movement in Canada. It is essential to study these new trends in order to draw a clear line of demarcation with reformism and build a genuine class struggle trade union movement. Let us examine them in brief:

### 1) Social-Democracy:

Advocates the reform of the State and of the society in order to hide the exploitation of workers. In the final analysis, it increases it with the help of more "rational" and more up-to-date methods. This trend is currently linked to the two main social democratic parties, the NDP and the PQ. Social democrats want to enslave the trade union movement to the bourgeois politics of these two parties and their role in the unions is to preach conciliation, moderation in demands and political indifference in order to divert the workers from the need to create a genuine proletarian party.

### 2) Revisionism and Neo-Revisionism

The Communist Party of Canada (CPC) repudiated Marxist-Leninist principles in the 50's and thus sank into revisionism and servility towards the bourgeoisie. It exercises some influence within certain nationalist unions in Canada as well as in the Labour Council of Montreal (QFL). Revisionism in the trade union movement consists precisely in denying the necessity for the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat to destroy capitalism and set up socialism, in denying the necessity for the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie and in propagating theses about the "gradual and peaceful transformation of capitalism by reforms". This trend contends with social democracy for the control of the labour aristocracy.

However, for a few years now, a new variety of modern revisionism, neo-revisionism, has been advocating obedience and servility in face of the reformist trade union leaders, while putting forward the primacy of the economic struggle over the class political struggle against capitalism, the abandonment of the struggle against the Canadian imperialist bourgeoisie, and, last but not least, the political indifference of trade unions and mass organizations under the pretext that "the line of ideological struggle is the line of disunity..." (3). What could be more opportunist than this group that makes a lot of noising in proclaiming itself the "working class party" and refuses to wage the ideological struggle against the corrupted union leaders who every

(2) Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, In *Essential Works of Lenin*, Bantam Matrix Editions, 1966, p.250

day betray the workers. We are of course, referring to the so-called Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), the CPC(M-L). Their opportunism on this question is more easily understood when one reads their flattering eulogies of the union leaders. There is no doubt that this petty bourgeois party is trying by fair means or foul to win trade union chieftains and the labor aristocracy over to its side. This group is all the more dangerous as it presents itself as Marxist-Leninist. It must thus be denounced all the more vigorously.

### 3) "Militant Unionism" (syndicalisme de combat)

This trend is a variant of anarcho-syndicalism and advocates the following ideas: the spontaneous economic struggle of the workers will permit their radicalization, which will inevitably (!) create the conditions of the creation of a vague and remote "autonomous political organization of the Quebec workers". It is based on the recent wave of militant strikes such as the one at Firestone in 73-74, and rests on a narrowly economist conception of class struggle. Its principal representatives are the **Regroupement des comités de travailleurs** and some labor leaders who take advantage of this positive trend towards combativity among Canadian workers at the present time in order to put forward spontaneity and localism (factory-by-factory struggle) as absolute principles, thus negating Marxist-Leninist theory on organizational questions as well as the necessity for the proletarian Party in order to overthrow capitalism.

All things considered, the common characteristics of the reformist line within the trade union movement boil down to:

- a) spreading illusions among the workers about the true nature of the State and,
- b) **maintaining the unions within the bounds of economic struggle**, which is tantamount to diverting the working class from the solution to the great social and political problems it is faced with. "**By restricting itself to economic struggle**", wrote Lenin, "**the working class surrenders its political independence, follows other parties' lead and betrays its great motto: the emancipation of the working class must be achieved by the workers themselves**". (4)

## For a revolutionary working-class Trade Union movement

According to Marx, "**Trade Unions work well as centers of resistance against the encroachment of Capital. They fall partially from an injudicious use of their power. They fall generally from limiting themselves to a guerilla war against the effects of the existing system, instead of simultaneously trying to change it, instead of using their organized forces as a lever for the final emancipation of the working class, that is to say, the ultimate abolition of the wages system.**" (5)

Thus, the daily economic struggle must constantly be linked to the political struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism. And it is precisely the task of communists to lead this daily struggle against capital towards a growing elevation of workers' consciousness, towards the political struggle waged by the proletariat and its allies under the leadership of its party with the object of seizing power.

## What are the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism on communist work in the Trade Unions?

- 1) Before the revolution, trade unions are "**centers of resistance against the encroachment of capital**". This is why they must be as broad based as possible, aiming at organizing and bringing together the whole of the working class and the working people in general against the bourgeoisie. They remain broader and more numerous organizations than the Party, since the Party includes only the conscious vanguard of the proletariat.
- 2) **Trade unions are a school of class struggle.** It is by trade union activity, in a meeting or in a strike, that workers get their first contact with the struggle against the boss, and the political struggle. Therefore, far from limiting the trade union struggle to the corporatist struggle for immediate demands, the conscious workers and the communists must utilize each partial struggle, each isolated conflict and each antagonism (whether on a large or on a small scale) between a group of workers and a boss, to show the workers that there are irreconcilable contradictions between the interests of the bourgeoisie and those of the proletariat, and that only the destruction of capitalism can eliminate the oppression and exploitation of the proletariat. **From this**

(3) People's Canada Daily News, Vol. 5, No. 6

(4) Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4

(5) Karl Marx, quoted in Filip Kota, *Two Opposing Lines in the World Trade Union Movement*, Gamma Publishing Co., New York, 1976, p.25

**point of view, strikes are only "the school of war" and not the war itself, which is the political struggle for socialism.**

- 3) Communists advocate mass mobilization and direct action (occupation of factories, strikes, picket lines, street demonstrations, meetings, etc.) as the most effective means for educating the masses, but without neglecting all the forms of struggle that can be useful to the proletarian cause, e.g., negotiations. In fact, all means of action are valid provided they raise the level of workers' consciousness from the point of view of the final objective: the destruction of capitalism and the building of socialism and communism.
- 4) Revolution is impossible as long as the broad masses of workers remain under the reactionary influence of the corrupt and reformist leaders in their trade unions. Therefore the task of the proletarian Party and, for the present stage, of the Marxist-Leninist organization, is to lead the struggle of communists and conscious workers against reformism and opportunism within the trade unions. The proletarian Party must constantly be in contact with the trade unions, it must constantly wage the ideological struggle to conquer the ideological leadership of the unions in order to lead them in the struggle against Capital from the point of view of the long-term interests of the proletariat. **The proletarian party, the fundamental organizational basis of which is the factory cell, must create on this basis communist factions in each trade union in order to exercise its influence there.** Lenin taught us that "**In contrast to the neutralism of the Mencheviks we must conduct this activity (in the trade unions) on the lines of closer alignment of the unions with the Party (...)**" (6)
- 5) So, the duty of communists is not to get out of the present trade unions to go and create new ones, pure and isolated from the masses of workers, but rather to "**revolutionize the trade unions, to rid them of the reformist spirit and the betrayal of the opportunist leaders, and change them into active weapons in the hands of the revolutionary proletariat.**" (7)
- 6) Consequently the trade unions cannot stay "neutral" vis-a-vis the proletarian Party and the political struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. On the contrary, they must side with the proletariat and serve its cause, they must reject reformism and all the the bourgeois ideas such as the "peaceful road to socialism", the conciliation with the bosses, the appeal to arbitration of conflicts by the State and so on. The unity of action of the trade unions and of the proletarian Party, under the direction of the latter, is one of the essential requirements for the victory of socialist revolution.
- 7) **Communists advocate the unity of the trade union movement in a given country, not a formal unity within a bureaucratic organization (the only one reformists and revisionists are able to achieve), but a genuine unity in the struggle against Capital, therefore unity within the factory, the trade and the whole branch of industry, and unity of all the unionized workers, at the level of actions and demands as well as at the level of organization.** Moreover communists put forward the unity of the whole working class, i.e., of the organized and non-organized workers, without excluding the unemployed. The unions must include the demands of the non-organized workers (working conditions, minimum wages, etc.) and the demands of the unemployed (employment, benefits, etc) in their own list in order to achieve the greatest possible unity against the bourgeoisie. Karl Marx taught us that "**the trade unions must convince the whole world that they do not struggle only for their own personal interests but also for the liberation of millions of oppressed people**".
- 8) Finally, communists put forward **consistent proletarian internationalism between the trade unions of all countries, i.e., international solidarity against the world imperialist bourgeoisie.** It is the task of the trade union movement to wage the anti-imperialist struggle and to support the working class of nations and countries that are oppressed by imperialism or Soviet social-imperialism.

(6) Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 13

(7) Thesis of the IIIrd Congress of the Communist International, June 1921. Translated from the French.

## At the present stage, what are the tasks of Marxist-Leninists relative to Trade Unions?

Currently, the Canadian Marxist-Leninist movement is young, inexperienced, disunited and attacked from within by reformism, eco-

nomism and revisionism in their various forms. While the capitalist crisis reduces thousands of workers to extreme poverty (there are now more than 800,000 unemployed people in Canada), stirs up the anger of the working class and mobilizes them, the subjective conditions, the conscious leadership of this movement by a proletarian Party, are sorely lacking. Therefore the task of Marxist-Leninists is to achieve their unity on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist principles within an organization that will wage the struggle for the creation of the proletarian Party.

Mao Tsetung teaches us that **"It is only if the Communist Party is united that the unity of the whole working class and of the whole nation can be achieved"**. Now, at a stage when the party does not exist yet, the priority must be to create it. Some opportunists claim that we must build mass organizations, dissipate our efforts in mass work and thus build the Party from the bottom up. It was precisely in connection with communist work in the trade unions that Lenin upheld the following principle against the economists of his time: the progress of mass work depends on the political and organizational progress of the Party itself.

**"If we begin with the solid foundation of a strong organization of revolutionaries, we can guarantee the stability of the movement as a whole and carry out the aims of both social democracy and of trade unionism. If, however, we begin with a wide workers' organization, supposed to be most "accessible" to the masses (...) we shall achieve the aims neither of social democracy nor of trade unionism (...)"** (8)

The 5th Congress of the Communist International reaffirmed that the first priority must be given to the building of the Party as long as it is not firmly established in the main factories of the country: **"The fundamental defect and the origin of all the weaknesses of our work in the trade unions lies in the fact that the party cells in factories are lacking or are still in embryo. The building of cells is a prerequisite for the building of base factions, for the strengthening of the activity of all party members in the trade union movement and for the achievement of a unitarian line at all levels of the trade union organization."**

This is why the priority of Marxist-Leninists right now is to create the organization of struggle for the proletarian Party. This Marxist-Leninist organization will bring together the forces of the young Marxist-Leninist movement, permit its contact with the masses, ensure the development of the strategic and tactical lines and consequently give a scientific guide to the communist work in the trade unions. **The Marxist-Leninist organization is an essential prerequisite for Marxist-Leninist work in the trade unions and to negate this fact is tantamount to launching out into activism and spontaneism of course, but also to practically rejecting the leading role of the party in the revolution.**

**What are the tasks of Marxist-Leninists in the trade unions at the present stage?** **"The Marxist-Leninist parties struggle neither to set right and educate the reactionary trade union leaders nor to improve and reform the trade union centers but to enlighten the proletariat and give its struggle healthy political and ideological foundations"** (9) This is all the more true when the Party does not exist: Marxist-Leninists do not have to struggle for positions in the trade unions at the present stage. On the contrary they must intensify political propaganda and agitation, propagate Marxism-Leninism and bring together the conscious workers who lead and wage the daily struggles in their trade union in order to enable them to assimilate Marxism-Leninism in the meetings, circles and cells of the Marxist-Leninist organization. Why can't we put forward a broader program right now? Precisely because it is impossible, without a Marxist-Leninist organization of struggle for the Party, to centralize the experience of struggle of the workers' movement and even the experience of the Marxist-Leninist movement, and translate this experience into slogans and a revolutionary program.

**For the struggle against the reformist and sold-out trade union leaders, for a genuine democratization of the trade unions, for trade union unity of action and for a revolutionary working class trade union movement, create the Marxist-Leninist organization of struggle for the Party!**

(8) Lenin, *What is to be Done?* In *Essential Works of Lenin*, Bantam Matrix Editions, 1966, pp. 143-144

(9) *La classe ouvrière et le mouvement marxiste-léniniste dans les pays capitalistes*, in *Rruga e Partise*, No. 11, 1972. Quoted in the *Supplément Créons l'organisation marxiste-léniniste de lutte pour le Parti*, p.14. Translated from the French. (Reprinted by Western Voice).

**NB:** Certain parts of this pamphlet were rectified. Please refer to the presentation at the beginning of this brochure.

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