

**Pamphlet
no 15**

ANTI-COMMUNISM

"Revolution is the main trend in the world today". The recent victories of the three peoples of Indochina, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, against American imperialist aggression as well as the irresistible rise of the peoples of the Third World struggling against colonialism, imperialism and the domination of the two superpowers, the US and the USSR, are proof of the correctness of Mao Tse-Tung's thought.

Needless to say, our bourgeois newspapers remain silent concerning the victories of these peoples and do all they can to discredit countries such as China, Albania and North Korea where the building of socialism is taking giant steps forward. In Canada, this anti-communist campaign has assumed considerable proportions since the bourgeoisie has become aware that the Canadian proletariat's vast strike movement was threatening its profits and creating favorable conditions for the merger of the workers' movement with the young Marxist-Leninist movement.

This pamphlet will show the basis of the anti-communist campaign in Canada and in the world and why it is once again today gaining strength. This pamphlet will also be a weapon to denounce and struggle against the corrupt union bosses who betray the working class and who act as the eager defenders of the most virulent anti-communism within the organizations that should rather serve the workers' interests, the trade unions.

Finally, this pamphlet will show that the bourgeoisie and its allies are scared to death of the possibility that the proletariat might organize itself into a revolutionary party and rally the people around itself, while arming itself in view of the confrontation with the bourgeoisie. This is what explains their anti-communism. Anti-communism is thus nothing other than an attempt to justify bourgeois repression of the working class and a campaign to discredit the communist ideal, with the aim of isolating communists from the mass of workers and sabotaging attempts at communist organization.

The bourgeoisie is scared to hell of communism; but not the people

Certain people imagine that communism is an idea which popped out of the brains of an isolated thinker and that it has nothing to do with reality. These people are thoroughly mistaken since all that the thinkers who developed the theory of communism did was to define scientifically the objectives and the general strategy of the working class' irresistible movement towards emancipation, which started on the very day that capitalist exploitation came into being. For the exploitation of the working class by the bourgeoisie is definitively a terrible reality that millions upon millions of workers in the world live through day in and day out and **it is life, class struggle, which showed the path of socialist revolution to overthrow the bourgeoisie in power and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat over the exploiters in order to expropriate them and to prevent them from sabotaging the revolution.** Marx, Engels and Lenin showed that this was the path that set the stage for the abolition of all social classes and of all forms of exploitation of man by man.

Capitalists, profiteers, speculators, bankers and their political allies as well as all the parasites who live off the sweat and blood of workers within the capitalist system have every reason to be scared of communism and of socialism, which is nothing but the preparatory stage of communism during which the proletariat destroys the bourgeois State and establishes its own power.

These are the reasons why anti-communism is such a vital rallying cry of the bourgeoisie. These are the reasons why it sets up such strong instruments of repression. Because its very existence as a profit-making class is threatened and history has shown that the bourgeoisie will never accept on its own free will to see its means of production, the basis of its power, taken away. This is the reason why the famous slogan written by Marx in defiance of the bourgeoisie of all capitalist countries is still living in the heart of the international proletariat, and consequently, still frightens the bourgeoisie all across the world: **"Let the ruling classes tremble at the idea of communist revo-**

lution! Workers have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Workers of all countries, unite! (Communist Manifesto, 1848) (Our translation)

The bourgeoisie's gross distortion of the communist ideal

In order to justify the ferocious repression it exerts against the workers' movement, the bourgeoisie does not hesitate to distort the communist ideal along with socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the transitory form to achieve communism. And so, it presents communists as enemies of the people, of freedom and of social progress; it spreads shameless lies regarding the reality of socialism in China and Albania, lies backed up by falsified statistics and doubtful testimonies coming from missionaries and CIA agents. And, since the 1960's and 1970's, when Marxism-Leninism began to increasingly penetrate stratas of the working class and intellectuals here at home, the editorialists of bourgeois newspapers and the other educated servants that the bourgeoisie has mobilized have given themselves the mission of proving to workers that "class struggle can be toned down" (cf Mr. Guay's editorial in the September 16, 1975 issue of *La Presse*), that it is always possible to "make reforms and improve the system", and more bullshit of the same kind. Let us have a closer look at the arguments constantly used by these fine gentlemen.

"Communists want to abolish all forms of property!"

During the good old days of Maurice Duplessis' "grande noirceur" (1) and senator McCarthy's "witchhunt" in the United States, all the bourgeoisie's mass media from the big television networks to the smallest neighbourhood newspaper, not to mention the daily newspapers, the radio stations and the regional newspapers, persistently denounced communists as people who wanted to abolish all forms of property. And so, with no reluctance whatsoever, communists were accused of wanting to confiscate people's bank accounts, their furniture, their car, their house and all their personal effects for the benefit of the State!

This general intoxication campaign, which lasted many years, unfortunately terrorized a great many small merchants, craftsmen, farmers and even workers, and played an important role in isolating communists from the masses who didn't understand the communists' true objectives in this matter. But in fact, what stand do the communists take on the question of property? **Socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat means the abolition of the private ownership of the means of production, that is the factories, land, banks and means of communication, etc., and the use of these means of production by the entire society for the benefit of the entire people and not for the benefit of a handful of profiteers. That is what communists preach!** Does this mean that people won't be able to own personal effects or their parcel of land, etc., anymore? Of course not. To convince oneself of this, one only needs to take a look at what is going on in socialist China, for example.

In socialist China, the workers and the peasants EXERCISE STATE POWER, control the State through the Communist Party which represents the people's basic interests and which leads the revolution. Article 6 of the Chinese constitution says: "mining resources, water resources as well as the forests, uncultivated land and other State-owned resources are the property of the entire people. The State has the power, according to the provisions of the law, to requisition or nationalize the land and the other means of production in the towns and in the countryside". Therefore, there exist the two following forms of the ownership of the means of production: socialist ownership by the entire people, through the State, and the socialist collective ownership by the working masses, in the small and medium-size factories for example.

1) See the central pages of IN STRUGGLE!, vol. 3, no 2 (only in French).

In the Chinese countryside, where the peasants are grouped into people's communes, the peasants have the right to "cultivate small parcels of land reserved for their own use" and "own a few head of livestock on an individual basis", (Article 7). Lastly, article 9 guarantees that the State "protects the right of citizens to the ownership of their work income, savings, houses, dwelling-places and other means of existence".

What about the situation in Canada, paradise of private property? The land, the mines, the forests, the waters, the businesses, the factories, the banks, the farms, the means of communication and housing are exclusively owned by a handful of finance capitalists who have a stranglehold on the people who therefore dispose of the riches of society as they desire! And when the State nationalizes electricity, for example, or takes over scientific research in the oil sector, it is to help capitalist monopolies find cheaper sources of energy and in so doing help them raise their profit rate. Because over here, the State isn't controlled by the people, it is entirely in the hands of monopoly capitalists, of the financial oligarchy, and is used to repress the aspirations of the labouring masses. In this context one has a better understanding of the bourgeoisie's anti-communist campaign and the goals it serves: halt the penetration of communist ideas among the people in order to prevent the accomplishment of the socialist revolution which would expropriate the bourgeoisie for the benefit of the labouring masses!

"Communists want to suppress freedom!"

The educated servants of the bourgeoisie always present themselves as ardent defenders of "freedom"... for the bourgeois, needless to say. Indeed, under capitalism the bourgeoisie and its allies enjoy freedom and democracy while the people suffers from merciless dictatorship. Freedom for the capitalist! Freedom to exploit workers, to fire them, to close down the plant as he wishes, as was the case for the Associated Textile plant in Louiseville, to assassinate workers, to poison them, to put them in jail when they occupy a plant such as United Aircraft, to set the price of products, to engage in land speculation, to drive out farmers and brutally expropriate them. For the worker, "freedom"... to sell his work force to the capitalists and to make profits for them! These fine gentlemen are all too eager to hide this reality and to draw our attention to the so-called "limits to freedom" under socialism.

Let us then come back to our example of socialist China, and not to that of the USSR where capitalists managed to recapture power in the 1950's and where they exercise a true fascist dictatorship over the Soviet people. In socialist China's constitution, article 28 guarantees "citizens the freedom of speech, of correspondance, freedom of the press, the right to hold public meetings, freedom to form groups, to demonstrate and to strike; they are free to practise a religion, to practise no religion and to spread atheism; individual freedom and the residence of citizens are inviolable". (Our translation). Furthermore, article 24 guarantees that "in all fields, women benefit from the same rights as men", that "all nationalities are equal in rights" and that "electoral units and voters have the right to exercise control over their elected delegates or deputies, and to replace them at anytime". (Our translation). Socialist democracy is therefore characterized by freedom and democracy for the workers and peasants and by the dictatorship over the bourgeoisie as a reactionary class, while for the proletariat of capitalist countries, bourgeois parliamentary democracy only means the "freedom" to choose periodically those who will manage the bourgeois State for the benefit of the capitalist class.

"By attacking profits, communists refuse all forms of progress!"

Over here, our fine gentlemen's demagoguery, cynicism and total contempt for the workers and the working masses have no limits. Capitalists are glorified for their so-called "entrepreneurship", for their "business mindedness" and for their "willingness to take risks". Jacques Parizeau, the Parti Québécois' official bourgeois economist, even goes as far as stating that the "risk" taken by the investor is the

basis of our economic regime and therefore the basis of all social progress. What a sad joke for the workers who get fired every time the "risk doesn't work out" and above all, what an insult for the workers who produce the social wealth and from whom the surplus value, the unpaid work they do, the real basis of the capitalist wealth is extorted! Go tell that nonsense to workers, you bourgeois economist, explain to those who produce the surplus value and all the riches of society, who endure capitalist exploitation, who see that crises, inflation and unemployment are caused by the anarchy of capitalist production, and we guarantee you a fine reception when you try to make them believe that progress comes from "business mindedness" and the "risk" taken by the capitalists!

Now, for the communists, precisely, the worker and peasant masses are the ones who produce social wealth, certainly not the capitalists who live off the sweat and blood of the working people. For the communists it is therefore natural that the working people seize hold of the means of production and make society function according to the interests of the majority. In socialist China and Albania, there is no inflation, no unemployment, no economic crises; workers control production and constantly innovate, creating new processes to improve production and working conditions, according to the principle "man is the most precious capital"; peasants do the same in the countryside. In short, the popular masses are the ones who control the entire society and who make it progress according to their needs and not according to the rapaciousness of a minority of profiteers.

In fact, when official spokesmen of the bourgeoisie such as Jacques Parizeau and Co. exalt profit and capitalists, they also defend a whole conception of the world based on individualism, selfishness, material stimulations and "the strongest are always right"; these servile lackeys even go so far as to state that the capitalists are the ones who "create" jobs and that without bosses and foremen workers would have no interest in their work! Under capitalism where workers work to make profits for the capitalists, this is certainly true, and this shows that the bosses must use violence to extract profits; under socialism however, workers and peasants work for themselves and the entire people and have a greater interest in social progress. But this, the disciples of profit and free enterprise are simply incapable of understanding.

As we can see, the anti-communism of the bourgeoisie and its educated servants is nothing but demagogic propaganda trying to hide the harsh reality of the crisis and the ineluctable downfall of the capitalist system arrived at its imperialist stage. Today this campaign is stirred up with renewed vigour because hundreds of thousands of workers are going on strike and struggling against the crisis throughout the country, thus creating favorable conditions for the penetration of communist ideas. For the bourgeoisie, which must absolutely cut the masses off from the workers' vanguard in order to avoid at all costs the generalization of the present revolt and its progress to a higher level of consciousness and organization, the stakes are high: that of socialist consciousness personified in the proletariat's revolutionary party, the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party.

The ruling class attempts to cut the vanguard off from the working class

In a certain sense, the bourgeoisie's present attack against communist ideas is a good thing. It shows that communist ideas are beginning to deeply penetrate the Canadian working class, thanks to communist agitation and propaganda by Marxist-Leninists and thanks also to the examples furnished by the authentic socialist countries that the ruling class is incapable of hiding from the people. But if the Marxist-Leninist movement is to develop, become consolidated and take root in the working masses, and if the fusion of communism with the worker's movement is to be achieved in a true proletarian Party, ideological struggle, the propagation of communist ideas, must be intensified so as to be able to rally the advanced workers to communism.

But this task is being undertaken in a precise context, that of a country where repression against the Canadian communist movement produced important wounds: the destruction of the Canadian communist movement with purges in the unions and the disintegration of the Communist Party of Canada (CPC), the corruption and arrival of reformist union leaders, collaborators and anti-communists, and the spreading of "redbaiting" and fear of communism amongst the people.

The basic effects of repression

Since the founding of the CPC in 1921, the Canadian ruling class has had only one idea in mind: to prevent it from developing and directing the struggle of the working class. That's why the communist leaders were savagely attacked during the '20's, '30's and '40's. Several were killed by the RCMP and others were deported, as was the case with the communist miners in Noranda in 1934 (2), and of course many were beaten and imprisoned for having defended the working class. For the bourgeoisie had seen the huge impact of communist ideas on the Canadian working class after the Russian revolution of 1917, especially when thousands of workers went on strike during the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919.

For the ruling class, all means are justified: it doesn't hesitate to turn to fascism to crush a combative working class, as happened during the Depression of the '30's, as happened in Germany, Italy and later in Spain. In Canada, the federal government under R.B. Bennett, a millionaire and reactionary leader of the Conservative Party from 1930-35, ferociously crushed the workers and unemployed who were organizing, occupying factories and demonstrating everywhere in Canada against crisis policies.

One of the most ardent defenders of the bourgeoisie was Maurice Duplessis, the scourge of the Quebecois working class from 1936 until 1959 (except during World War II). He not only savagely crushed the majority of strikes in Quebec in textiles, the asbestos and copper mines and other industries, but he also systematically organized the hounding out of progressive workers and communists in the unions as well as attacking the right to unionize and the right to strike itself. After his famous Padlock Law of 1937, aimed at close all hall belonging to communists (or accused of being so), Duplessis launched a savage offensive against the most basic rights of the working class in 1954, with Bills 19 and 20. Bill 19 permitted Duplessis to decertify any local union in which the executives were suspected of being communists, while Bill 20 took the right to strike away from the workers in the public sector. Throughout his reign, Duplessis brandished the communist scarerow to make the people believe that strikes were part of a world conspiracy on the part of the USSR. He even called the very religious and very bourgeois newspaper *Le Devoir* a "bolshevik" organ. This shows the extent to which anti-communism was used in any and all ways in order to fight all opposition.

Class collaboration encourages repression

The worst thing that can happen to the working class when repression hits is to be betrayed by its leaders. During the '40's and '50's the Canadian and American communist parties ceased to act as the real leaders of the working class that they had undoubtedly once been, and adopted a passive attitude, pacifist and unmoving regarding anti-communist and even anti-worker repression. As well, the bourgeoisie managed to corrupt many union leaders, when it didn't use them to replace true working-class leaders, so as to better control the union movement and to strike out against the sincere militants who defended the interests of the working class.

In the United States, the John Lewis' and Tony Boyles' (miners) Leonard Woodcock's (UAW), Jimmy Hoffa's (Teamsters) and naturally the Georges Meany's (president of the AFL-CIO) and his assistant Jay Lovestone (director of international relations for the AFL-CIO

2) Refer to pamphlet No 14 on the labour movement for more details.

and former communist leader now sold-out to US imperialism), helped by the CIA, the FBI and the capitalists, undertook in the '40's and '50's a fight to the finish against the communist leaders in the unions. With the purge completed, Meany and Co. simply sold-out the AFL-CIO to American imperialism by, for example, supporting the war in Vietnam and by organizing the corruption of the union movement throughout the world (3). They even collaborated with the bourgeois State when it passed one of the most reactionary anti-union laws in American history: the Taft-Hartley Law (1947), that allowed the State to put unions into trusteeship, imposed an obligation to give 60 days notice before declaring a strike, abolished the closed shop, and gave bosses the right to contest the right of the union to represent the workers even after having been accredited and the right to fire any worker suspected of being a communist. The Landrum-Griffin amendment of 1959 certainly must have inspired the Bourassa government and its Bill 29 and 30. It eliminated from leadership positions any person possessing a criminal record and it permitted the government to supervise the elections of union leaders and permitted putting into trusteeship unions that declared illegal strikes.

In Canada and in Quebec, the class collaboration of the union bosses also permitted the crushing of the working class and the communist movement. Didn't Duplessis publicly thank Claude Jodoin (CLC) and Roger Provost (who was leader of the QFL before Louis Laberge) for not having protested against Bill 19 and 20 and for having refused to cooperate with the CTCC (later the CNTU) against these laws?

Even today, how many union bosses resort to the same rotten tactics? A few years ago, the workers from Canadian Steel incurred the anti-communist attacks of Jean Gérin-Lajoie because they threatened to pull out of the Steelworkers. In the summer of 1975, the postal workers denounced the intimidation and anti-communist campaigns undertaken by the union bosses in order to prevent the distribution of their militant newspaper. In certain places the union bosses openly told the bosses not to hire workers known for their "troublemaking" ideas. At the Labour College of Canada, Jean Gérin-Lajoie waged a fierce struggle against Marxist lecturers, undoubtedly because his nice job at \$35,000 per year was being threatened.

A clear result: fear of communism

In the struggle that opposes bourgeois ideology to proletarian ideology, the ruling class doesn't hesitate to use any means necessary to remain the dominant class. For instance, it has already mobilized the Catholic clergy to co-opt the working class' fighting spirit by canalizing it into class collaboration organizations. To give an idea of the role of organizations such as the JEC and the JOC (4), mention only that during the struggle to unionize Dominion Textile and its subsidiary Montreal Cotton Valleyfield in 1946, the Vicar of Valleyfield, the futur cardinal Paul-Emile Léger, stirred up the young members of the Catholic organizations of the city and organized the wrecking of the offices of the union under the excuse of "chasing the communists out of the city". It was Blair Gordon, the rapacious boss of Dominion Textile who jumped with joy, while the fledgling fascists pillaged to their heart's content.

Also, the birth and the first 40 years existence of the CTCC (Confederation of Catholic Workers in Canada) shows the domination of the reactionary clergy over the Quebecois workers. Often, the unions of this center were only pseudo-organizations, controlled by the bosses and the local priest. Even during the '40's and '50's, the CTCC was completely controlled by the clergy and its ideology of class collaboration.

Thus the anti-communist repression of the 1930's, '40's and '50's, the campaign of hysteria of Duplessis and the clergy, and the reactionary clergy's control of the unions contributed to creating a climate of fear and distrust regarding communist ideas amongst all the people and even amongst the workers.

3) For more information on the corruption of American, European and African unions by the AFL-CIO and the CIA, read Filip Kota's book, "Two Opposing Lines in the World Trade Union Movement", Gamma Publishing Co., New York, 1976

4) JOC: Jeunesse ouvrière catholique; a Catholic youth organization for young workers. JEC: Jeunesse étudiante catholique; the same type of organizations but for students.

Increase the spreading of communist ideas

“The central task of Marxist-Leninists at this stage is to work for the merger of communism and the workers’ movement. It is through communist propaganda and agitation that they will accomplish this, that they will link themselves to the masses and have a communist leadership triumph in the struggles of the masses”. (5)

Thus, with the situation created in the labour movement by the long domination of bourgeois, reactionary, anti-communist and reformist ideas, the young Marxist-Leninist movement must concentrate its efforts on the central task at the present time. One of the aspects of this task that we must never forget is the conscious, broad and sharp struggle against all forms of bourgeois ideology that are polluting the labour movement and orienting it towards false solutions.

We must struggle systematically and resolutely against the ideas peddled by the ruling class and its obedient servants, whether they be its political parties, its means of propaganda, everywhere where they are seen or heard: be it at school, at work, in leisure activities or in cultural fields, etc...

Naturally, particular attention must be paid to the agents of the bourgeoisie in the workers’ movement and to their false solutions: the social democrats and revisionists of all sorts.

The social democrats would like to canalize working class resistance against the capitalist crisis and imperialism in favour of 2 bourgeois parties that are anti-worker and pro-imperialist, the PQ and the NDP, and towards their solutions such as bourgeois nationalism, the participation of the unions in the institutions of the State, profit-sharing between management and workers, and other reformist dead-end alleys.

The revisionists are the traitors, those who betrayed the working class cause and who spread the most hurtful illusions, be they the “peaceful road to socialism”, or the “anti-monopolist alliance” for example. These people are found in the “Communist” Party of Canada, communist in name only, for they have revised and betrayed Marxism-Leninism. We must carry on a resolute struggle against revisionism and its various forms to tear the working class vanguard away from bourgeois ideology.

Mao taught us: “Marxism develops in the struggle against that which is anti-Marxist”. That’s why communists spend much energy in the spreading of communist ideas and why they must show the masses the necessity of social revolution, the necessity of building a true proletarian Party that will lead the working class and the people towards the overthrowing of the ruling class and the dictatorship of the proletariat. **This is the role of propaganda.** And how can Marxist-Leninists use the content of this propaganda if they don’t intervene constantly in the struggles of the masses by intense and varied agitation that aims at showing the masses who are their friends and who are their enemies?

In order that this activity be carried out largely and effectively and ends up penetrating the working class, it goes without saying that communists must **intensify ideological struggle against erroneous conceptions and opportunist deviations that block the development of the movement and the achievement of these tasks.** They must also **surmount the present state of division that characterizes the young Marxist-Leninist movement and take a step forward towards their unity by creating a Marxist-Leninist organization of struggle for the proletarian Party.**

Comrade workers, sweep away the old fears of the ruling class and its obedient servants! Marxist-Leninist theory, the creation of the Party, the revolutionary leadership of the struggle for a society free from these bourgeois parasites, a socialist society, are not merely the business of intellectuals or thinkers in their ivory towers. **The theory of communism and the leadership of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat belong to the proletariat**

“The emancipation of the workers will be achieved by the workers themselves”. (Marx, The Communist Manifesto).

5) “Against Economism”, IN STRUGGLE!, p.53