

**CONCLUSION**  
**Bastion of opportunism,**  
**a revisionist party!**

As the Group IN STRUGGLE! deepens its break with bourgeois nationalism and revisionism, the League is accelerating its mad gallop down the path of sectarianism and outright contempt for the communist movement and the masses. That sectarianism should be exposed for what it is: anti-communism and counter-revolution.

The League claims to be the only Marxist-Leninist organization in the country today because it defends “Mao Tse-tung Thought” and the pro imperialist theory of three worlds. Similarly, it says that it is the only “anti-revisionist” organization in Canada. The proof of this lies in its fierce opposition to the Soviet State. Such logic presumes that revisionism, as capitalist ideology infiltrated into the communist movement, can be reduced to a matter of a particular State, albeit one where revisionism has taken on the role of the official expression of capitalist ideology.

That is what is called neo-revisionism. It is the revisionism pushed by those who claim to be fighting against modern revisionism in order to cover up their own revisionist compromise with imperialism. Revisionism is not the private preserve of Khrushchev or Brezhnev. First and foremost it is the attempt by the bourgeois elements who have crept into the communist movement to render Marxism acceptable to the bourgeoisie. The revisionists talk of revolution but in practice what they mean is evolution, transforming capitalism bit by bit so that it won't be necessary to overthrow it. Thus they invent one stage after another, each one corresponding to a “new” historical period, to “fundamental” changes in the international situation or what have you. As for the League it follows right along — which is just second nature by now because the League **always** follows — in the wake of the worldwide opportunist trend expressed by the “three worlds theory” in inventing a new stage to justify the abandonment of the socialist revolution. It is the stage of the struggle against the superpowers. In order to get the better of these superpowers, the League issues the clarion call for unprincipled unity with any Tom, Dick and Jimmy available, starting in our own backyard with Canadian imperialism which the League finds has all sorts of positive traits these days. The fight to

safeguard the country's national independence which might some day be threatened is becoming for it a great National Mission requiring the unity of the entire people except for a handful of traitors.

However, if you take a look at the history of our country and the international workers movement you will find that there is in reality nothing original about all this. It is the same old stuff spouted from similar pulpits by Kautsky's disciples — the very people who today call themselves "socialists" — who called on the workers to support their "own" bourgeoisie during the First World War, a war of plunder waged by the various predatory imperialist countries on both sides. These are the same theses which were defended by the Communist Party of Canada just before World War Two. The CP also found that the Mackenzie King government had a lot of positive aspects to it which made it preferable to the Conservatives. It is in the name of national independence that the CPC(M-L) put forward its united front with the "patriotic bourgeoisie" of Canada. All of them — including the League — are quick to add that it is **also** necessary to struggle for socialism.

The CP and its "socialism-like-in-Russia" don't go over too well any more with the working class. There was a need for some new nationalists disguised as communist to give that line — the same old line of saving the nation — a new look. And lo and behold, what should happen on the scene to provide a colourful new trade mark to stamp on the same old capitalist garbage but "socialism-like-in-China". There are even some crafty merchants of bourgeois socialism in our country, who are nothing but snake oil salesmen, who are getting ready to market the same goods under an even cleverer trademark, "socialism-like-in-Albania". But all of these fly by night salesmen of socialism are nothing but two-bit frauds. They have nothing in common with genuine socialism. It cannot be repeated often enough that bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism are mutually exclusive and contradictory. Conciliation with bourgeois nationalism has been the path chosen by most of the so-called communists who have betrayed the proletarian revolution in Canada.

*"The fundamental idea of opportunism" wrote Lenin, "is an alliance or drawing together (sometimes an agreement, bloc, or the like) between the bourgeoisie and its antipode. The fundamental idea of social-nationalism (social-chauvinism — Ed. note) is exactly the same." (1)*

There you have in a few words the link between nationalism and opportunism, or revisionism which is opportunism elevated to the level of a

systematic theory. Both of them share one essential ingredient: class collaboration. And that ingredient is shared by the so-called Communist League.

What does the League call for on the level of strategy? Well, imperialist war is inevitable. It will threaten, and is indeed already threatening, the independence of imperialist Canada. The Canadian capitalist class, insofar as it has an interest in defending "our" independence, ought to be considered as an ally of the proletariat in the "world united front" against the two superpowers, and especially the USSR, the most dangerous one. That is why we must all collaborate together because after all is said and done to get to the point where imperialism can be effectively fought, one must first collaborate with imperialism and its henchmen. And if there is something good to be said about Canadian nationalism, why Quebecois nationalism is not so bad either, as long as we can get rid of Parti Quebecois leadership over it which is betraying the nation. After all, isn't this nation an ally too, indeed, a reserve of the revolution? When it is the question of the "nation" which is at stake it is always possible for the proletariat and the bourgeoisie to find common ground somewhere. If only the bourgeoisie would listen to the proletariat and stop capitulating...

What does the League call for on the level of tactics for conducting the struggle? United, militant action at the rank-and-file level. Unite all our separate economic struggles against the effects of the economic crisis and the economic policies of the capitalist class. Force the bourgeoisie to give us jobs. Force it to give us "complete free education" (2). Demand that it give us class struggle daycare centres. There you have the "working class politics" that the League proposes. Follow the League, win your favourite reform, enjoy the economic "advantages" that flow from political collaboration with our bourgeoisie insofar as it is working to defend "our" independence anywhere in the world, even in China. And, of course, collaborate with the new Chinese leaders too, those clever people who are in the midst of pulling a fast one on the old imperialists: by collaborating with the imperialists and putting technique and experts in command, the new leaders should soon be also leading a great power!

What does the League call for on the organizational level? It is battling to give us all a real communist party that is capable of defending the policies that the capitalist class has shown itself inconsistent in defending. It is with the noble objective of building this party that the League is infiltrating, hiding its politics, disguising itself behind elaborate camouflage, and rallying militant workers, who have been completely excluded from participation in any political line debate or polemic, on the basis of the class struggle platform of their choice. So

what if this party is being built like a capitalist party usually is, by conducting big publicity campaigns about it, supposed great accomplishments and important connections? So what if this party collaborates with the police a bit and uses its methods to keep the communists quiet? Who cares if this party uses the means and methods of the bourgeoisie if it is for good ends, for socialism?

But what do we know about the League's socialism apart from its slide shows and the pictures it paints of the many "advantages"... One might well ask whether revolution is in command or not with this slogan of "socialism-like-in-China", because it sure looks an awful lot like collaboration with the bourgeoisie and imperialism.

What does the League call for on the level of revolutionary theory, without which the proletarian revolution is like a ship without a compass? It conciliates with bourgeois ideology. Its theoretical work is little more than an eclectic amalgam of slanted quotations which represents a complete abandonment of any effort to make a scientific class analysis. Its theorizing amounts to a continuous process of revising Marxist-Leninist principles to make them compatible with bourgeois nationalism and the bourgeoisie. If one had to sum up the line of the League in one phrase it would be class collaboration, a line of conciliation with the capitalist class.

The objective conditions for revolution are rapidly maturing. The bourgeoisie needs to save the sinking ship and the League is ready to act as a life-buoy. It stands ready to channel the revolt of the masses into reformist battles and into an unending series of "stages" that put off the revolution, the seizure of power by the working class. What the League is putting off is **the essential condition** for putting an end to the misery engendered by the crisis, for eliminating the spectre of imperialist war, for rooting out the oppression of nations and national minorities, for getting rid of the extreme oppression suffered by the peoples of the world who are reduced to famine and misery. The League, like the NDP and the CP before it, is rendering too great a service to the capitalist class to die a natural death. The League and its future party, along with the international trend of which it is a part, constitute a real and important obstacle to the socialist revolution in Canada and in the world.

"Revolution is a question on the agenda, a question to be solved". This statement by the Albanian communist leader Enver Hoxha indicates that it is more and more evident that we are entering into a period of revolutionary storms. But once the question of revolution has been posed, the outcome depends on us. The struggle between Marxism and revisionism thus becomes more than ever an open struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The split which is presently being

consummated in the Canadian and international Marxist-Leninist movement corresponds exactly to the exacerbation of the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in conditions characterized by a ripening revolutionary crisis. That is how the objective character of revisionism and the reasons for its development must be understood. That is the key to grasping the reasons for the growth of the revisionist League and the social chauvinist road in Canada.

The new-style revisionists always make it seem the main thing about modern revisionists is their complete lack of militancy on immediate struggles. Such an evaluation is in fact quite superficial and partially wrong. Certainly all revisionists, including the League, end up sabotaging struggles in order to achieve their opportunist ends. That is because their political line is bourgeois. They are playing the capitalist game, which means abiding by capitalist rules, the most important of which is "the house always wins in the end". But the revisionists aren't afraid to get involved in a scuffle with the bosses to get a few more crumbs while at the same time collaborating with imperialism to strengthen "their" country and "their" national independence. Revisionism could not maintain itself or develop unless it expressed very definite class interests right here in Canada. Revisionism is first and foremost an instrument of the imperialist interests of the national bourgeoisie and only after that the vehicle of a foreign imperialist power. Further, revisionism is the political expression, along with its close relative social democracy, of the interests of a tiny stratum of privileged workers, the labour aristocracy. This stratum has an interest in the extra crumbs that might come its way when the imperialists are successful in pillaging others. Thus it is the defender in the workers movement of the imperialism of "our" bourgeoisie. But that doesn't stop it from being militant when it comes down to actually grabbing some of those crumbs from the bosses. This is how the revisionists go about earning a radical image for themselves in the workers movement while simultaneously applauding the "good" blows struck by imperialism. That is the bottom line of what revisionism is all about — behind a more or less "radical" façade, it is the bourgeoisie's most loyal watchdog, responding to His Master's Voice by protecting the capitalist class from proletarian revolution.

But there is still another source for the repeated resurrections of revisionism from the dead in new "socialist" robes. The new generations of revisionists are generally recruited from the ranks of the radical petty bourgeoisie. Hit by the crisis, attracted by the success of socialism, these people move towards Marxism-Leninism but they bring with them all the baggage that is characteristic of their bourgeois strata. Using pious "workerism" as a shell to cover their bourgeois nationalism and reformism these petty-bourgeois radical elements pick

out of Marxism what serves their interests. Their opposition to the former generation of revisionists deals substantially only with questions of **how** things were done and how they looked style-wise. In the final analysis, their objective is nothing more than to contend with the old-style revisionists for the political leadership exercised by the labour aristocracy and particularly the union leaders. That is the thrust of petty-bourgeois radicalism and its anti-revisionist façade. When you understand that, you understand what the “historical mission” of a group like the League really is: to see to the revival of revisionism.

To be even more precise — and the entire history of the League is eloquent testimony to this fact — the mission of such a group is to sabotage the rebuilding of a genuine communist party in Canada. A communist party is not worthy of the name unless it makes a thorough break with revisionism on fundamental questions of program. It is not communist unless it demarcates this program clearly so that it is able to unite around it all the genuine communists. It is not a communist party until and unless it rallies to this communist program a solid proletarian nucleus which will serve as the real guarantee, as it were, that a line truly conforming to the interests of the mass of workers will be maintained. The League, needless to say, has fulfilled none of these conditions. The party that it is promising us will be a capitalist party and should be fought as such. It is also worth emphasizing that these new revisionist parties that are still marked by petty-bourgeois radicalism are prime candidates for fascism. After all, fascism, which demagogically combines nationalism with a hint of socialist talk, always finds its first troops among the radical petty bourgeoisie. Those recruits serve as cannon fodder for the big financial bourgeoisie in crisis situations rife with the possibility of a violent coup by the most reactionary capitalists who rely on getting the backing of the masses who have been taken in by demagogy and terror. We should not exaggerate the importance, and certainly not the success, of the League’s counter-revolutionary activities. But we must all the same be vigilant and alert the masses to them, especially in the present situation where repression is being increased as the political crisis becomes more and more evident.

No illusions whatsoever should be left about the League as an organization. It is quite clearly a bastion of opportunism. It is a successor to the revisionist party. This new revisionist group is not alone. It is part of a world-wide opportunist trend which is in the process of splitting the world Marxist-Leninist movement in the same way that the Soviet revisionists did in the sixties. It can even be said that what is going on now is the continuation of the struggle begun in the sixties between those who defend and those who betray the proletarian revolu-

tion. Hence it is essential to conduct a principled struggle against the social-chauvinist positions of the revisionist League. It is not a battle between two groups. It is an implacable struggle between two lines and two classes.

Does this mean that the struggle for the unity of all genuine Marxist-Leninists in our country is over? On the contrary, that struggle must be intensified. It is clear, however, that in the present situation the dominant aspect is struggle — struggle against opportunism and revisionism which cloud the consciousness, we are certain, of many members within the League itself. The fanaticism of a great number of League members is inversely proportional to their awareness of the real stakes in the debate. Political obscurantism is the stock in trade of the League’s careerist leadership.

Comrade reader, this shell of opportunism must be smashed if we are to build a genuine communist party in Canada. That party will be a party of socialist revolution capable of leading the masses in the most profound struggle in the history of mankind, the struggle against capitalism and all forms of oppression, the struggle for a communist society without classes or a State. Socialism, comrades, the socialist revolution is not smooth coasting from here to the bottom of the valley. The restoration of capitalism is possible as long as, and to the degree that, the vestiges of the former society remain. No country, absolutely none, is free from this danger. That is why there is only one path to our liberation and that is the conscious and protracted struggle of millions of workers exercising their dictatorship over the reactionary forces. The struggle to overthrow the dictatorship of the capitalist class and to seize power must at once be at the heart of the political strategy of the proletariat. To talk about a socialism that is not related to this objective is to reduce socialism to a hollow and rhetorical phrase that only serves to fool the people.

Some people may get discouraged in the face of the task before us and the division that exists among those who claim to be Marxist-Leninists. However, the present situation should not surprise us because it is simply the reflection in our own ranks of the deep crisis of imperialism. Social life is like human life. The body gets stronger by fighting the germs. By deepening the break with bourgeois nationalism and revisionism today, we are able to understand the basis of the political struggle that took place a century ago between the proletarian viewpoint and the capitalist viewpoint, between the worldview of proletarian internationalism and that of bourgeois nationalism. In the final analysis, this deepening of the struggle against revisionism will not weaken the working class. It will in fact strengthen it by pointing out

clearly the road we must follow. That is why we are more confident than ever in the victory of the socialist revolution.

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(1) Lenin, "*Under A False Flag*", Collected Works, Moscow, 1974, p. 154.

(2) League leaflet distributed at an ANEQ (Association nationale des étudiants du Québec, Quebec National Student Association) convention. (our translation)