

PROLETARIAN UNITY

Theoretical journal of the
Marxist-Leninist group IN STRUGGLE!

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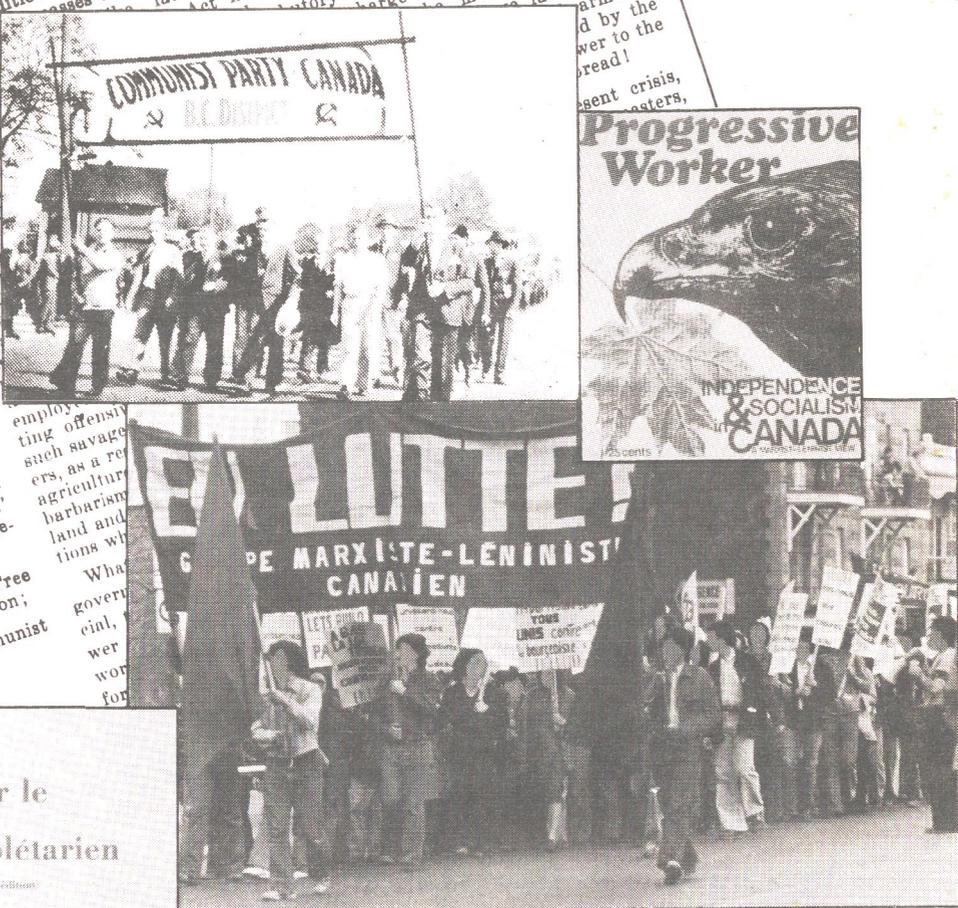
No. 4, WORKERS' PAMPHLET

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- THE BUILDING of Powerful Industrial Unions Around the Workers' Unity League to Oppose the Wage-Cutting Offensive;
- THE RIGHTS of the Workers to Free Speech, Assembly and Association;
- THE DEFENSE of the Communist Party!

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A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE STRUGGLE FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF A PROLETARIAN PARTY

LIGUE COMMUNISTE MARXISTE-LÉNINISTE CANADIENNE

STATE IS A MEMBER OF THE YOUR CLASS!

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1931



Comrade workers, comrades and friends,

Without the development of communist mass propaganda, the workers' vanguard is without answers when faced with false solutions, and without arms to instruct itself on what its revolutionary tasks are. In such a situation, the vanguard is destined to look for its "compass" like one looks for a needle in a haystack.

Thus, starting a journal corresponds to the general premise that during the first stage of party building, it is propaganda which leads advanced elements to a dynamic communist consciousness and transforms these working class leaders into revolutionary leaders. But it is not enough. It is also important that the creation of IN STRUGGLE!'s propaganda journal responds to the conditions of the first stage as is now taking shape at this time in Canada.

The unparalleled development of the Canadian workers' movement places on the communists the task of achieving their unity. At a time when the movement is dispersed around the

country and when its fusion to the workers' movement is just beginning, the necessity for a Marxist-Leninist theoretical organ is all the more crucial. This is the reason why IN STRUGGLE! must systematically undertake the task of intensifying the struggle for unity and develop it through the line struggle based around a program, otherwise rallying will be compromised and division and dispersion could pose the danger of opening up the way for opportunism.

The creation of a theoretical journal is therefore an objective necessity at a time when we are systematically putting into action our plan for unity of all Canadian Marxist-Leninists. So that this unity be a unity of steel, it must be forged around a clearly articulated political program.

Organize ourselves so that we can read the journal together. Transmit criticisms.

Organize subscription campaigns in our factories, our neighbourhoods, unions, schools, families, so that we can ensure the financial support to communist propaganda.

IN STRUGGLE!

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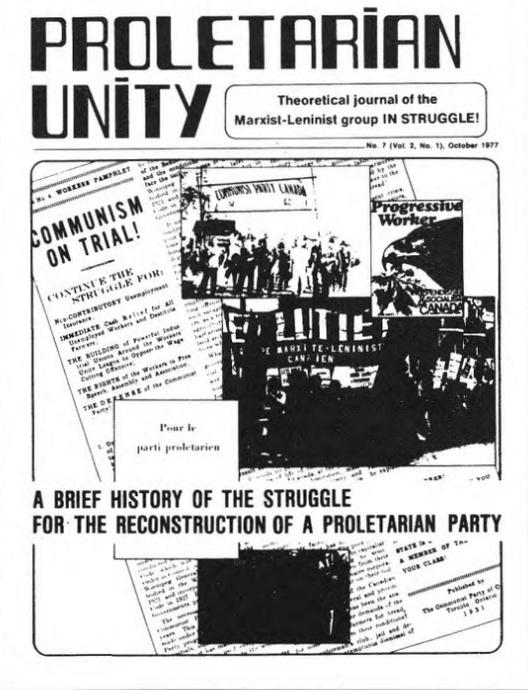
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Editorial

STRUGGLE FOR THE UNITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL MARXIST-LENINIST MOVEMENT

Not so very long ago - last spring, to be exact - on one of the rare occasions that the capitalist press mentioned the young Marxist-Leninist forces struggling to rebuild the proletarian Party, it did so by treating those whom it called "Maoist fringe groups" and "leftist sects" in a contemptuous and sarcastic way. Today, however, our capitalists would instead appear to be laughing through their teeth at a moment when even the provincial premiers, and in particular René Lévesque in Quebec, have to echo the capitalist's dread of the "spectre of communism". So there is nothing astonishing in the fact that the more the Marxist-Leninist movement develops in Canada and across the world, the more the capitalist press must refine its methods of anti-communist propaganda. And at the heart of these methods, there is always the same poison: division.

Thus the Montreal newspaper *La Presse*, owned by Power Corporation, a Canadian monopoly, treated us to an analysis of the "extreme left" in Quebec whose aim was clearly to make us believe in a "communist conspiracy" and thus sow division and mistrust among workers, especially among those who are waging the most important struggles at the present time. Aside from presenting the struggle for the unity of Canadian Marxist-Leninists as being just about the same thing as Joe Clark and Claude Wagner's race for the leadership of the Conservative Party, the capitalist press has done its best for more than fifteen years to confound authentic socialist countries with the USSR and other revisionist countries where capitalism has been restored. It is now trying to have us believe that the relations between the socialist States of Albania and China are at the breaking point, which is absolutely false.

We can be sure that when the capitalist press talks about the communist movement, in Canada or on the international level, it is not because it wants to be "objective", but precisely to mislead the masses and sow division.

Certainly, there are differences in the Marxist-Leninist movement, both in Canada and on the international level. These differences don't come out of the blue; rather, they are the concrete reflection in our own ranks of the death-struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. But, in opposition to what the bourgeoisie would have us think with its demagogic propaganda, the growing intensity of the struggle for the unity of Marxist-Leninists both in Canada and on a worldwide scale is a sign of the decisive reinforcement of our movement, a sign of a considerable reinforcement of the proletarian revolution and socialism.

The Marxist-Leninist movement is growing and gaining strength in the world

Comrades, if we consider even briefly the distance we've come in just a few years, we can see that the Canadian Marxist-Leninist movement has made considerable progress, not only quantitatively, but also qualitatively, in terms of political line.

Indeed, we must keep in mind that the First Conference of Canadian Marxist-Leninists was held, at the initiative of IN STRUGGLE!, in October 76, i.e., scarcely a year ago. This conference gathered together, for the first time since the revisionist degeneration of the "Communist" Party of Canada, all the authentic Marxist-Leninist forces in our country. For the first time also, the barrier of national division between the Quebecois Marxist-Leninists and those from English Canada was surmounted. Since October 1976, two other public conferences of the Canadian Marxist-Leninist movement have underlined the reinforcement of the open debate and struggle for unity in our movement. Furthermore, whereas 12 Marxist-Leninist groups participated in the first conference, there were only four that participated in the third conference, held in Montreal last September. All the others have rallied to one or another of the lines that have been identified through demarcation.

Vancouver Red Collective has provided us with one of the many testimonies that illustrate the correctness of IN STRUGGLE!'s proposal to hold public conferences of the Canadian Marxist-Leninist movement. This group, which defended erroneous positions with regard to Canadian imperialism at the Second Conference of Canadian Marxist-Leninists, made important corrections in its line following the debates and came to the Third Conference with positions which were fundamentally correct on most questions.

When we look at the distance we've come in the past year, when we consider the vigour of political debate in our movement - when we see, for example, how the Third Conference of Canadian Marxist-Leninists on the International Situation enabled the struggle against opportunist tendencies developing across the world, to be strengthened - we realize that the unity of the Canadian and International Marxist-Leninist movement, unity around the victorious proletarian line, has reached a level never attained since the revisionist betrayal of the USSR and the other formerly socialist countries.

* * *

This revisionist betrayal, consummated in the early 1960's by Khrushchev's offensive against the Marxist-Leninist line, countered principally by the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania, marked an important step backwards for the world proletariat which, in many countries, was left without revolutionary leadership, without a vanguard party. But this was only a temporary stepback, because for nearly 15 years now the young Marxist-Leninist movement has been taking up the difficult but absolutely essential task of defeating the revisionist traitors, uniting all authentic Marxist-Leninists and gathering the vanguard of the working class together in new parties in those places where the old parties had degenerated. In this implacable struggle to give its revolutionary leadership back to the worldwide proletariat, the workers of the world have been able to count on the internationalist support of two great parties, the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania, which have waged an open, firm and principled struggle to defend Marxism-Leninism against the attacks of modern revisionists, led by Soviet revisionists.

It is thus that today the revisionist camp is cracking on all sides, as the European revisionist parties increasingly turn their backs on Soviet social-imperialism, and as the working class in Poland, Czechoslovakia, the USSR, etc., struggle more and more resolutely against these new capitalists. Marxist-Leninist organizations and parties, however, are expanding all across the world. And these new Marxist-Leninist forces are not all "small

fringe groups", concerned more with fighting among themselves than with involving the masses in the struggle against the bourgeoisie. In certain cases they even constitute great parties that are important political forces in their countries. Take, for example, the Communist Party of Portugal (reconstructed), the CPP(R): this party, whose reconstruction dates back less than two years, nevertheless already constitutes an extremely important political force in Portugal. For instance, tens of thousands of people attended the closing meeting of the Party's Second Congress. During the legislative elections, the CPP(R) encouraged and supported the candidature of a democratic front which elected revolutionary deputies to the Parliament of the Republic and to the Regional Assembly of Madeira. Also, in the unions, the revolutionary tendency that is actively supported by the Party is becoming more and more important. We could also mention Latin American Parties, including the Communist Party of Brazil, which is an authentic Marxist-Leninist party, and which for the last five years has led the armed resistance in the region of Aragala. There is also the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, some of whose texts are included in this journal. Or again, there is the Workers' Communist Party of Norway (Marxist-Leninist), which publishes a daily newspaper with a circulation of more than 15,000 copies; there are also the Filipino and Thai parties which are leading the national liberation struggles in their respective countries. We could mention all the organizations in Haiti, Angola, the Dominican Republic, etc., which are waging the struggle in their countries for the unity of all Marxist-Leninists and the reconstruction of proletarian Parties.

Increasingly linked to the masses, these new Marxist-Leninist forces are also increasingly united amongst themselves. In this respect, it is necessary to point out the important role played by the PLA which, during and since its Seventh Congress, has encouraged the development of closer and closer internationalist links between Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations through its publications, radio programmes and the sending of delegations to various European countries. For we must be very aware of the fact that the internationalist unity of all the workers of the world and their vanguard parties is an essential condition of the struggle against the bourgeoisie which, in spite of its rivalries, is in perfect agreement in all countries when it's a matter of attacking the struggle of the working class. Likewise, at a time when the struggle between the two superpowers for world-wide hegemony threatens the world with a new world war, the internationalist unity of the workers and peoples of the world is absolutely essential in order to counter the imperialists' scheme of turning workers of various countries against each other.

But, one can ask, how can we affirm that the unity of Marxist-Leninists is being strengthened in Canada and on an international scale at a time when debate and line struggle are keener than ever? How can we say the struggle for unity meets with great success when, as the Third Conference of Canadian Marxist-Leninists showed well, our movement is confronted with important differences? Certainly, it's a contradictory situation, but the strength of the Marxist-Leninist science lies precisely in the fact that it enables us to tackle contradictions and make them evolve in accordance with the interests of the proletariat.

Break more thoroughly with modern revisionism

In fact, far from denoting our movement's weakness, the current struggle in the international and Canadian Marxist-Leninist movement is rather an indication of an even more thorough and resolute demarcation with revisionism, and particularly with the revisionist deviations in our own ranks. This line struggle is both the result of our growing unity, based on a political line increasingly precise and correct, and the necessary condition for attaining a higher level of unity and strengthening the general line of the proletarian revolution in Canada and across the world. For that is, in effect, what is at stake in the current line struggle.

Indeed, some people are questioning the general line of the communist Marxist-Leninist movement established or reaffirmed at the time of the break with Khrushchev's revisionism. This general line was summarized by the Communist Party of China in its famous "Proposal concerning the General Line of the International Communist movement".*

"Workers of all countries, unite", workers of the world, unite with the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations; oppose imperialism and reaction in all countries; strive for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism; consolidate and expand the socialist camp; bring the proletarian world revolution step by step to complete victory; and establish a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without the exploitation of man by man. This, in our view, is the general line of the international communist movement at the present stage."

Point 2 of the Proposal concerning the General Line thus clearly defines class struggle on a world scale as a confrontation between two antagonistic camps: the camp of the revolution and socialism, composed of the international proletariat and the socialist countries, and the oppressed peoples and nations; and the camp of reaction and imperialism. This conclusion is based on a concrete class analysis of the fundamental contradictions of the contemporary world:

**"the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries;
the contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp;
the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism; and
the contradiction among imperialist countries and among monopoly capitalist groups"**.

But in the world today, there are Marxist-Leninists who question these general theses, without, however, daring to attack them directly. They claim that the international situation has changed so much in the past few years that the general line of the international communist (Marxist-Leninist) movement must be revised. For instance, they assert that because the Soviet Union, once a socialist country, has become an imperialist superpower, the socialist camp no longer exists. And because inter-imperialist rivalries are exacerbated — as are, we might add, each of the four contradictions — some people claim that the struggle of the proletariat and the peoples will never be able to prevent the outbreak of a supposedly inevitable third world war. This leads them to the conclusion that today it is the struggle to safeguard countries' national independence that must be at the heart of our revolutionary strategy.

Analyzing world events in a subjective way, the only aspect of the current international situation that they take into account is that of relations between countries. They confuse the struggle of peoples and oppressed nations against imperialism with the opposition of Third World countries to the two superpowers, at a time when many of these countries are governed by bloody, reactionary regimes sold-out to imperialism, who thus no longer have any progressive role in the struggle against imperialism. Furthermore, at a time when there are important developments in the struggle of the proletariat in the crisis-ridden imperialist countries, these same Marxist-Leninists do not link the struggle against the two imperialist superpowers with that against the imperialist system, nor do they rely on the fundamental alliance between the proletariat and the peoples. Instead, they call for a united front against the two superpowers, and especially against the USSR, in which the Third World countries would be the decisive force; these countries would ally with the "secondary" imperialist countries (the second world) against the two superpowers (the first world). This is what these Marxist-Leninists call the "Three worlds concept" understood as a strategic concept.

* The letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in reply to the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on March 30, 1963.

These positions are in fact clearly opportunist, and represent an important risk for the revolution. For such theories, far from weakening the imperialist system, that is to say, capitalism in its decaying stage, lead to the blunting of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and peoples, the struggle of the camp of the revolution against the camp of reaction, by supporting the smaller bandits against the bigger bandits! Instead of profiting from the contradictions in the imperialist camp to organize proletarian revolution and to strengthen the struggle in each country against the reactionary bourgeoisie (Canada, France, Germany, etc.) or against the terrorist regimes that are the lackeys of imperialism (Iran, Brazil, Chile...), instead of warning the peoples against domestic reactionary forces and neo-colonialism in the newly-independent countries, these opportunists ask us to make alliances with reaction, with imperialism, in order, apparently, to "weaken" imperialism and then get on with proletarian revolution!

These Marxist-Leninists try to justify this abandonment of the proletarian revolution as an immediate task by saying that they are simply "readjusting" the 1960's slogan of a united front against US imperialism. They forget, however, that the united front against the main imperialist power of the 1960's was intimately related to the fundamental struggle against the camp of imperialism and reaction, to the struggle against monopoly capital in general, against domestic reaction, and for the triumph of socialist revolution (point 10 of the Proposal concerning the General Line)!

As we can see, the current line struggle in the international communist movement is of decisive importance for the future of the revolution. That is why it must be waged vigorously but in a spirit of camaraderie, for we must not forget that our goal is to correct the errors so as to strengthen our fighting unity in the death-struggle against capitalism, imperialism and all reaction!

* * *

As was clear during the Third Conference of Canadian Marxist-Leninists, these opportunist positions found in the international communist movement are also very much present among Canadian Marxist-Leninists. Among other things, they are reflected in various positions and gestures that tend to embellish Canadian imperialism.

On the one hand, there is the Red Star Collective (RSC), which refuses to consider Canada as an imperialist country. On the contrary, this group claims that Canada "while it is politically independent, is economically dominated by the US" (the RSC uses the term "economic colony"). And they add: "In these cases the predominant nature of the political economy is one of suffering from imperialism, not of being an imperialist country — imperialized rather than imperialist". **

This quotation indicates clearly how this group's position is based on an erroneous conception of imperialism, which it sees as simply a relationship of domination of one country over another, instead of as a stage of capitalism, the stage of monopolies and finance capital. That is why all that RSC sees in the imperialist alliance between Canada and the United States is the aspect of US domination of Canada, thus leaving out Canada's imperialist complicity in the oppression of peoples.

Objectively, such points of view tend to correspond to the revisionist positions of the "Communist" Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) ("C"PC(M-L)) that states that: "Canada's bourgeoisie is a class of national treason. The Canadian reactionary bourgeoisie is the social basis of the domination of American Imperialism over Canada". (Peoples's Canada Daily News, August 13, 1977, our translation). The "C"PC (M-L) also states that: "The Canadian State is a lackey State of American imperialism which dominates it completely". (People's Canada Daily News, October 19, 1976, our transla-

tion). Thus, these revisionists who try to pass themselves off as Marxist-Leninists, are trying to prove that imperialist Canada is a colony of the United States. In fact, the CPC(M-L) goes as far as stating that the Canadian proletariat should ally with the "patriotic factions" of the bourgeoisie, i.e. with the most nationalist factions of the Canadian imperialist bourgeoisie.

Fervent defender of the "three worlds theory", the RSC doesn't hesitate to state that: "The principal contradiction in the world is between the superpowers and those forces aligned against them, including countries, nations and peoples. The main force in opposition to the superpowers is the third world. It is only through the resolution of this contradiction that the resolution of other contradictions on a world scale can come" (Id. p. 7). According to RSC, the resolution of this principal contradiction lies in the building of a world united front against the two superpowers, a world united front in which we find the imperialist bourgeoisies of "second world" countries. For RSC, the proletarian revolution is a "long-term guiding line". Thus, it is possible, according to its strategy based on the three worlds analysis, that a united Western Europe could become a new superpower! And after all this, RSC staunchly proclaims that it also defends proletarian revolution...

As for the Communist League, it acknowledges the plunder of Canadian monopolies throughout the world. Yet, when it comes down to examining the acts of "our" Canadian imperialist bourgeoisie and its State, the League suddenly starts to cry out about the supposedly positive gestures of this reactionary bourgeoisie, a faithful ally of US imperialism. A rather surprising reaction when we know that an imperialist bourgeoisie is precisely a 100% reactionary bourgeoisie! How can the League manage to find anything "progressive" in Canada's actions in the third world? It promptly adds that "as a strategic concept, the three worlds theory calls for the building of a broad world united front to attack head on the two superpowers". (The Forge, Sept. 2, 1977, p. 15)

Indeed the two superpowers are the two principal enemies of the peoples for they are the two biggest imperialist plunderers in the world and their rivalry could lead to a third world war. In this sense, on a world scale, the struggle against the two superpowers is part and parcel of the struggle against imperialism, of the struggle between the camp of revolution and the camp of reaction for in reality, every single clash between these two camps involves one or both superpowers at various degrees. But, in Canada, does struggling against the two superpowers imply that we should make pacts with our principal enemy, the Canadian imperialist bourgeoisie? Clearly, our answer must be no! For, if such were the case, we would be mistaking our enemies, even worse, the principal enemy of the Canadian proletariat, for our allies.

The League doesn't agree with this. In fact, as far as it's concerned, what is principal at present is to prepare to defend the independence of imperialist Canada which is threatened by other imperialist powers. Whatever happened to the preparation for proletarian revolution? The League states that a world war between the US and "Soviet social-imperialism, the main source of war" is inevitable because the factors of war are growing more quickly than those of revolution. There we have the reasons why the League in practice places the preparation of the Canadian proletarian revolution on a secondary level. It considers that the Canadian imperialist bourgeoisie is an ally in the struggle against the two superpowers. In so doing the League separates the struggle against the two superpowers from the struggle against imperialism, going as far as relying upon Canadian imperialism in the struggle against the two superpowers.

As a participant in the Third Conference of Canadian Marxist-Leninists underlined: "If we were to follow the League's 'remarkable strategy' to the end, we'd undoubtedly have to underline the 'positive' gestures of the NDP

** The International Situation: World United Front and Proletarian Revolution, RSC, August 1977, p. 9

and of the social democratic parties that oppose the Wage Control Act. In the boycott of the products of Robin Hood Mills, the American company that shot the millworkers in Montreal, should we underline the 'positive gestures' of the rival Phoenix company that is trying to steal Robin Hood's market? This can seem ridiculous, but when you come down to it, that's exactly what the League proposes on an international scale: underline the supposedly 'positive' gestures of Canadian imperialism on the pretext of fighting the two superpowers. It even goes as far as speaking of an open alliance with the bourgeoisie in the frame-work of a national liberation struggle if Canada was invaded! (The Forge, March 31, 1977).

The League can very well state that such actions only seek to move the revolutionary struggle forward. But facts prove that the League's positions and actions, like those of the RSC which are surprisingly similar, are far from helping the socialist revolution move forward. In fact, they betray instead of defeatism and capitulation before imperialism in general, and the Canadian imperialist bourgeoisie in particular.

Open and honest polemic, the only way to reinforce the proletarian line and the unity of the Marxist-Leninist movement

How can we resolve the differences existing in the international Marxist-Leninist movement and thus reinforce our internationalist unity? This question on an international scale is not all that different from the one concerning the unity of Marxist-Leninists in Canada. As a matter of fact, it is significant that the line struggle being waged in Canada over the unity of Canadian Marxist-Leninists finds its echo in the struggle for unity on an international scale.

Many are aware of the hysterical campaign launched by the Communist League. Faithful defender in Canada of the international opportunist trend, the League has tried to sabotage IN STRUGGLE!'s plan for uniting Canadian Marxist-Leninists around a revolutionary programme after having waged an open polemic within the masses. The League particularly boycotts the public Conferences of Canadian Marxist-Leninists because opportunists could take the floor! On the international level, the League, as well as other Marxist-Leninist groups, adopts a rightist position that aims at sabotaging ideological struggle, struggle against opportunism and revisionism because such a struggle would supposedly be splittist in nature. Thus the League goes as far as saying that IN STRUGGLE! "attacks the world Marxist-Leninist movement" (The Forge, Sept. 2, 1977, p. 15), because we have dared take up the ideological struggle against the opportunist movement in Canada and in the world. Even worse, after IN STRUGGLE! published, in a special supplement, the editorial of the Albanian newspaper Zeri i Popullit which condemns the "three worlds theory", the League lost no time in calling IN STRUGGLE! a "renegade" and "anti-Chinese". It also intoned all the old tunes that a revisionist Quebec group, the ex-RCT***, used to sing. Since that day, the League hasn't stopped acting like a splittist provocateur by calling counter-revolutionary all those who criticize the "three worlds theory"! Thus this includes the Party of Labour of Albania!

The League's "unity line" on the international level closely resembles its splittist line towards the Canadian Marxist-Leninist movement. Though the League rarely publicly expressed its conceptions concerning the strug-

gle for unity on a world scale, certain silences speak more than words... For example, the League's bookstores have the "unfortunate habit" of not distributing the documents of the international Marxist-Leninist movement if, like the Albanian editorial, they criticize the opportunist positions shared by the League. In the same way, the League maintains privileged relations with certain foreign groups and parties, which is correct, but uses this to completely ignore the rest of the international Marxist-Leninist movement.

In fact, the League is systematically trying to camouflage the line struggle, to hide from the masses and its own members the positions and debates presently taking place in the Marxist-Leninist movement. What is line struggle if not a form, and probably the most complex form, of class struggle? Who do they think they are, those Marxist-Leninists who decide that they have the right to keep the workers out of this struggle when its outcome is highly important for the whole working class since it concerns the future of its revolutionary struggle? Quite frankly, those Marxist-Leninists are opportunists who act in this fashion only to reinforce their opportunist positions by trying to steer clear of criticism.

For the Communist League, to distribute the public positions of the Party of Labour of Albania is to sow confusion! To make known the positions of Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations who do not agree with the League, is to attack the international communist movement, socialist China and even Mao himself! Yet at the same time, on the pretext of "neutrality", the League continues to pass off its opportunist positions. It uses common communiques with foreign Marxist-Leninist organizations to pass off that "Canadian communists are united and organized in the CCL(M-L)" (The Forge, Sept. 2, 1977, p. 14). And so, the Marxist-Leninist movement in Canada boils down to the League, a self-proclaimed organization of Montreal Marxist-Leninists founded in 1975. The League acts exactly in the same way when it speaks of the American Marxist-Leninist movement. It tries to make the masses believe that the American movement consists of one group. By using such hypocritical manoeuvres, the League takes a splittist stand towards the Marxist-Leninist movement of another country by excluding, without any political justification, the Revolutionary Communist Party of the United States!

History has proven time and time again that all these hypocritical and opportunist manoeuvres never succeed. The League will never be able to prevent the workers of our country from arming themselves with Marxism-Leninism and from having their say on everything! Our country's working class will know how to get rid of those who decide that they have the right to speak and act in the place of the masses!

The League's attitude is the exact replica of the sectarian positions it adopted by ignoring a good part of the Canadian Marxist-Leninist movement. As a matter of fact, during the May 1st meeting in Montreal, the League's spokesperson implied something that reality has since then confirmed: for the League, the struggle for unity in Canada is an open and shut case and it is now time to take up the struggle for unity on the international level... When we know that in Canada the League's "struggle for unity" consisted in proclaiming itself the organization of Canadian Marxist-Leninists, in sabotaging the line struggle in order to reinforce opportunism and its contempt of the Canadian Marxist-Leninist movement, we can't help but seriously wonder if the League's "struggle for unity" on an international scale will not simply reinforce the opportunist and splittist tendency instead of the Marxist-Leninist line.

Our movement is not divided by an honest and open struggle against opportunism, by the struggle for unity on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist line. On the contrary, our division stems from conceptions like the League's. These conceptions, whether on the international or the national level, lead to the same thing: splittist actions. Why? Because they prevent us from waging a firm and systematic struggle based on principles against the differences

*** RCT: Regroupement des comités de travailleurs (Workers' Committees). This economist group sank into revisionism and the League was quick to pick up the pieces. One thing that characterized it was its complete refusal to discuss with IN STRUGGLE!'s members whom they called "intellectuals cut off from class struggle". (The Forge, Sept. 2, 1977, p. 15)

that weaken us. In fact, we must be conscious that presently the differences in our movement are deeper than simple differences between two or more parties. These differences have to do with the general line of the Marxist-Leninist movement. Thus, they concern all Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations, all the conscious elements of the world proletariat. That is why we must debate publicly on the unresolved questions. It is essential that all take position on the basis of the conscientious study of all points of view, and in the final analysis on the basis of the proletariat's interests and of Marxism-Leninism.

To situate the present differences in a correct light, we must first rely upon what unites us, on what distinguishes the Marxist-Leninist line from bourgeois and revisionist positions. It is by firmly demarcating from modern revisionism with Soviet revisionism leading the way, that we will be able to demarcate within our own ranks from the tendencies that conciliate with revisionism. It will undoubtedly be essential to closely examine the great polemic that led to the split with Soviet revisionism. It will be essential to evaluate precisely the importance of the changes that have occurred since then in the international situation as well as the eventual consequences of these changes on the path of the revolution. And so, by analyzing more deeply the demarcation from modern revisionism and by seizing the base of the Marxist-Leninist line, we will be able to convince of their errors the comrades who are straying from the proletarian revolution's path and we will be able to isolate the bourgeoisie's agents infiltrated into our ranks.

In this highly important struggle, it is essential to base ourselves on the rules and regulations that must guide the relations between Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations. Thus, we must refuse all arguments of authority and the tailist mentality that is completely incompatible with our duties towards the masses. We must multiply the active manifestations of proletarian internationalism by struggling resolutely against all splittist actions. We particularly believe that bilateral and multilateral relations between Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations must be developed. We salute the internationalist meetings that recently took place in Europe during which different Marxist-Leninist groups and organizations testified to the revolutionary struggle in their countries. We believe that an important aspect of these manifestations lies in their public character. IN STRUGGLE! supports all the actions of mutual support that can help the unity of our movement move forward on the international scale.

The struggle for unity must also continue and grow stronger within each country. The relationship between Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations of different countries are essential to materialize the combative unity of the world proletariat, but we must always bear in mind that each party or organization will have to prove the correctness of its line through concrete actions within the masses of its own country. In Canada, and probably throughout the world, certain organizations have tried and are still trying to win "international recognition" in the vain hope of imposing an erroneous and sometimes clearly revisionist line on the Marxist-Leninists of their country. Such is the "C"PC("M-L")'s case which not so long ago sought after the recognition of the Communist Party of China and is now trying for that of the Party of Labour of Albania.

During the Third Conference of Canadian Marxist-Leninists on the international situation, IN STRUGGLE!'s spokesperson clearly expressed the honest and open attitude that guides our group in the struggle for the triumph of the proletarian line in Canada and in the world, in the struggle for reaching a superior unity, unity based on Marxism-Leninism, a victorious unity! And it is in this same spirit of unity that we will debate with workers across the country in order that they clearly identify what is at stake.



Letters

TO OUR READERS

Comrades and friends,

The first issue of PROLETARIAN UNITY has already emphasized that one of the major objectives of the new journal is to open its pages to the growing debate, which is present among the working masses and people and within the Marxist-Leninist movement, on the questions of a proletarian political program and on the unity of Canadian Marxist-Leninists.

This objective can only be met if workers and other individuals or groups, sympathetic to communist ideas or already engaged in the political struggle for socialism and for the construction of an authentic proletarian (Marxist-Leninist) Party in Canada, state their views on these questions and use the instruments of the communist press to do so.

You are undoubtedly already aware that the newspaper IN STRUGGLE! regularly receives letters and articles from working men and women, housewives, farmers, welfare recipients, students, professors, etc... It is in this way that the paper can reflect the masses — their struggles, needs, and aspirations towards socialism — and can work towards the fusion of Marxism-Leninism with the vanguard of the proletariat and other strata of the Canadian people, a fusion which is indispensable to the creation of a proletarian Party and to the revolution in Canada.

The journal should also undertake and organize what the paper has already accomplished. This is why we invite individuals, groups, study groups, union groups, community groups, anti-imperialist groups, etc. — and all those interested in the political struggle of the proletariat and the masses, to write us.

To widely open the press so that the masses can express their ideas is, for communists, a way of showing "this universal truth of Marxism-Leninism that wisdom is in the masses, that our strength comes from the masses" (IN STRUGGLE!, No. 77, p. 7); it is also a way to apply the historical lesson of the international workers' and communist movements, which

Mao Tse-Tung summed up when he spoke of this question at Yen-an in 1940 at the time of the first issue of the journal The Chinese Workers: "Once started a journal must be run conscientiously and well. This is the responsibility of the readers as well as of the staff. It is very important for the readers to send in suggestions and write brief letters and articles indicating what they like and what they dislike, for this is the only way to make the journal a success".

(Mao, Selected Works, Volume II, p. 404)

And so we call upon all our readers to write to the journal. It is a necessity and a duty of each person to make known his/her point of view, to criticize our work, and assure that the proletarian and party mentality are victorious. Correspondence for the journal can and should touch on all the questions related to the revolutionary struggles of the masses; it should also help in criticizing all the political and material aspects of the journal's production: choice of articles, their contents, the length and division of articles in an issue, the graphics, the quality of the language and the translation, lay out, etc...

Workers in particular should state their views on all of the political questions facing us today, such as the communist program of the Marxist-Leninist organization of struggle for the party (which remains to be created). They should increasingly make their voice heard in the Marxist-Leninist movement.

Comrades and friends,

For our political struggle for socialism, for the struggle for the creation of the Canadian proletarian (Marxist-Leninist) party, and for the winning of the proletarian and people's vanguard to Marxism-Leninism,

**WRITE TO THE JOURNAL "PROLETARIAN UNITY"!
ENCOURAGE YOUR COMRADE AND FRIENDS TO DO
LIKEWISE!**

To re-establish the truth

It is one of the duties of Marxist-Leninists (and friends of the Marxist-Leninist movement) to re-establish the truth when a "crack-pot" slanders the work of communist groups in labour conflicts. Saturday June 25, we had what can be called "the icing on the cake". I'm talking of Jacques Benoit's last article on "the extreme-left" published in La Presse (1). What this article leads us to believe is that communists provoke strife, they try to complicate everything and even to create non-existent problems in order to better serve

"their objectives" which aren't those of the masses according to Mr. Benoit. He says that communists take advantage of a work conflict in order to make "unattainable demands".

We must understand that what he says is "unattainable" is exactly what the bourgeoisie presents as "unattainable", and why? Because the implementation of such rights necessarily calls for the extinction of these bourgeois and their servants (like our well known journalist). This is class struggle.

For him, what is unattainable today, will be so forever (the famous eternal conditions which characterizes idealists). His "fine example" of SOS-Garderie (2), and its demand for "a universal net-work of day-care centers in the work place, open 24 hours/day" is weak since in countries like China and Albania where the Party and the country belong to the masses, these "unattainable demands" are acquired rights, rights of the people.

The demands put forward by communists are indeed enormous but why should the proletariat be satisfied with a few bread crumbs when it should own the whole bakery?

These demands are indeed "unattainable" (for the time being) since these are demands of an exploited class **antagonistically opposed** to another exploiting class, and because it is only by overthrowing the latter that the proletariat, united under the

leadership of its real communist Party, can make these demands attainable.

According to an "experienced labour unionist", says Mr. Benoit, they (the communist never compare yesterday's contract agreements with those of today...). Did this "experienced labour unionist" and thus Mr. Benoit forget UniRoyal (more than 30 months on strike), United Aircraft (and the police massacre that followed), Firestone, the flourmill workers, and many others without mentioning non-unionized workers and immigrants who have to work in inhumane conditions.

According to them, we should perhaps be happy with wage increases that never increase our buying power. If working conditions aren't what they used to be, it isn't because of concessions or voluntary donations from the bourgeoisie to better the lives

of the workers, but it is rather a loss of ground in favour of the workers, it is the result of long labour struggles, struggles which have often been waged by workers in the vanguard of their union (Sorel 1937)(3).

To end it all, Mr. Benoit says that "their No 1 enemy is the Parti Québécois government since it is a promoter of social peace... when for the extreme-left, nothing is more disastrous than social peace". If that "social peace" means an anti-scab law that covers the interests of the capitalist ruling class, smooth and subtle exploitation but nevertheless exploitation, well then, no. The proletariat has often tasted such "social peace" without any change in its standard of living. In your list of "expressions from the milieu", you have forgotten a few very important ones like for example "opportunist, capitalist lackey, chauvinist, reactionary".

Letter from comrades in Halifax

Comrades,

We are writing this letter because we believe that the comrades across the country can benefit from our experience in applying the political campaign against the wage controls here in Halifax.

We were invited by representatives of the Atlantic Federation of Students to discuss the formation of a coalition to fight unemployment. Prior to the present crisis, with its layoffs and shutdowns, the situation in regards unemployment was already severe - the rate being approximately double the national average. With extreme difficulty of finding a summer job under these conditions and the recent sharp rise in tuition fees (See IN STRUGGLE! No. 86), certain sections of the students have begun to see necessity to link up their struggle with that of the working class.

We welcomed the initiative of the students and voiced support of their call for the withdrawal of Bill C-73 and their desire to formulate correct demands on unemployment. At the same time, we found out that there were active members of the revisionist Communist Party in the AFS. The CP no longer defends the interests of the students and the people in general and we felt that this would become clear in practice. While fighting for the demands of the coalition, we would use our participation as an occasion to conduct the ideological struggle against

the revisionists in front of the people, many of whom still see the CP as a progressive force. We put forward our views on the present conjuncture and demarcated from the revisionists in the area of demands and tactics. Through the demarcation we forced them to come out openly as the local CP club. Up until that point, they did not identify the source of their views.

On the demands: The main point of struggle centered on the CP proposition for job creation (primarily the establishment of a merchant marine) as the principal demand for mobilizing the people against unemployment. We situated the question of unemployment in the general context of political and economic crisis affecting the capitalist world, the role of the Canadian State in the present crisis, and argued that the demands to be put forward should focus on the main enemy (the capitalist State), should counter the offensive waged by the bourgeoisie against the working class where it is occurring, and not be diverted by demands which aren't linked to the present conjuncture of the class struggle. The demands should be based on the interests of the people and on the questions which can mobilize the working class in the present crisis. With the problem of unemployment, this meant fighting for the abolition of Bill C-73, fighting against the layoffs and plant shutdowns, against cutbacks in health and education which affect not only the immediate job situation but

All that fits very well a person who publishes slander on the "extreme-left" and spreads anti-communism.

Communist comrades, your work is correct and the masses will be grateful.

Long live IN STRUGGLE!

Long live the unity of Marxist-Leninists!

Forward for the creation of the Proletarian Party!

A friend of
IN STRUGGLE!

(1) A series of about 12 articles on the "extreme left" in Quebec published by La Presse last spring. The articles have since been published as a book.

(2) SOS Garderie: an "intermediate organization" struggling for daycare centers now under the CCL(M-L)'s domination.

(3) A famous strike in 1937, where the workers from Marine Industries struck against the Simard family.

also the standard of living of the masses.

On the tactics: Instead of tying the workers movement to the social democratic coat-tails of the labour bosses and the NDP, (which is what the CP proposed) we put forward the necessity to go primarily to the base, to rely on the masses, to unite the workers and people in struggle against the state but at the same time not to ignore or refuse to approach the local trades and labour council and provincial federation of labour.

We were rallying people to our point of view on these questions and exposed the CP, as well, by showing that a revolutionary line is what best defends the immediate and long term interests of the class. At the same time though, we made a right opportunist error in that we failed to link the point of view of the CP on these particular questions to their counter-revolutionary line on the path for socialism. For us it was a matter of underestimating, of bowing before revisionism. Following the recognition of this error, we got scared and, in our haste to correct it, we jumped for an easy dogmatic solution. In the face of our weakness, we ended up by pulling away from the coalition for fear of being associated with the CP and giving them credibility.

Our experience has taught us that we wavered between two positions, one of which was correct. Our first position, based on the political line of our group, included the following points:

1. To unite with the people in the struggle against C-73 and unemployment and put forward demands, tactics, and organization which best corresponds to the proletarian standpoint.
2. that it is not incorrect to engage in

tactical unity with the people over correct demands even if the CP is present (openly or not) because, whether we like it or not, the CP remains among certain sections of the people and pulling away from tactical unity with the masses because of their presence will only reinforce their influence.

3. to demarcate with the counter-revolutionary line of the CP on the basis of demands, tactics and facts and by linking this to the general line of the CP and in so doing convince the people that the revisionists do not serve their interests.
4. to retain ideological independence while respecting the democratic decisions arrived at in the coalition and work to reinforce the unity of the people.

The second position and the one we ended up adopting, included insisting on ideological independence to a point where we were seen as wreckers and splitters by the honest people. As a condition for participation in the coalition, we insisted that we would argue for the expulsion of the CP at the very first meeting of all organizations invited to join the coalition by the AFS. By doing this, we were essentially asking people to make a decision on the expulsion of the CP without the masses having proof of the counter-revolutionary nature of the CP. We were demanding a blank cheque.

Why did we move from one position to another? Why did we waver? Because we ourselves were weak in applying our group's correct line and in struggling fully against revisionism. We ran and hid behind a dogmatic and purist position. We choose dogmatism rather than education of the masses in the heat of struggle, while respecting the choices taken within the unity of the coalition. By taking such a dogmatic stand, it became impossible for us to remain in the coalition and thus we left. We justified our dogmatism through a narrow and technical interpretation of the article "The Role of Communists in the Struggle Against Bill C-73" (IN STRUGGLE!, No. 86) which argued correctly for convincing the masses to expel opportunists from their ranks. Essentially we denied the masses the tools to be convinced. The pressure to cover right opportunist liquidation of the ideological struggle with purist and dogmatic errors exists in the Marxist-Leninist movement, particularly in the CCL (ML) and results in reinforcing the influence of bourgeois political trends. Although our leadership's guidance was important in making us

realize our error, we must say we learned much from the criticism of the AFS representatives whose criticism is coming from a genuine concern for the interests of the working class and people and an openness to the struggle for socialism. This just proves the importance communists must give to seeking out the ideas and points of view of the people on all questions.

What's Happening Now: The coalition proposed by the AFS does not seem to be proceeding. Rather, with the influence of CP lobbying, the local trades and labour (TLC) is taking up the struggle (in words) against unemployment. While it is positive that the unions are moving to take up the question, we cannot ignore for one moment the social democratic direction that certain leaders of the TLC and provincial federation of labour have and are presently giving to this struggle. For as of now it is they who are in control of the unemployment struggle as far as tactics, demands and organization is concerned. It is also these same leaders who are liquidating the fight for the repeal of Bill C-73; who refuse to mobilize the workers and people in struggle against the state and instead use the workers and students as cannon fodder while promoting support for social democracy as the "real" solution to the capitalist crisis.

The students and workers will have to fight hard for their interests to be served by demanding that the struggle against C-73 be kept at the forefront in the battle against unemployment; by struggling for the democratization of the TLC Unemployment Committee immediately; by calling for open debate on demands, tactics and leadership and by taking the struggle to the workers in their union meetings and in the factories themselves.

Besides the real lessons in applying our line, and thus reinforcing our ability to do so we have also learnt more about

Editor's note: We are happy to see that you have decided to make known to the masses your experience of struggle against revisionism and the CPC by sending a letter to IN STRUGGLE! The struggle against revisionism is a question of principle, on which Marxist-Leninists can make no compromise. Nevertheless, we agree with you that this struggle will not be won overnight and above all, that it must be waged among the masses and not outside of them as the purists of the League believe. For our fundamental ob-

CP politics and methods of work. What orientation to the coalition did they promote in this campaign against unemployment?

1. approach the "left" wing of the NDP who can take up the issue in the provincial legislature
2. affiliate with and rely on the trade union movement which means to go to the top and reach agreement with the labour bosses (on their terms)
3. a contempt for the masses - that is to say, to keep hidden from those in the coalition the association between their "individual" point of view to that of the general line of the CP (which calls for the unity between the NDP, CP and Joe Morris & Co. of the CLC, the passing to socialism by means of the electoral victory of an anti-monopoly coalition spearheaded by themselves and the NDP.
4. a wavering on their position to make it appear more progressive when confronted with criticism coming from a Marxist-Leninist perspective and in so doing covering the counter-revolutionary nature of their line to the combative persons; for example - forwarding inclusion of the NDP in the coalition but backing up when it's clear that this proposition is no longer popular and thus keeping from view their line which calls for support and alliance with the NDP on a national level.
5. implying that nationalization, that independence from US imperialism, could possibly occur in the interests of the people under capitalism and in the context of the present crisis.

At the same time upholding the example of Chile - precisely the country whose people were led to massacre as a result of the revisionist line of promoting the parliamentary road to socialism.

Comrades of IN STRUGGLE in
Halifax.

jective in this struggle is for the masses of the working class to come to the point of completely rejecting this counter-revolutionary clique of the "C"PC, whose treachery you have described well. We believe your experience will help other comrades not to make the errors which you have made and we invite our readers to learn from your lessons.

Faternally,
the editorial board
of PROLETARIAN UNITY

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE STRUGGLE FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF A PROLETARIAN PARTY IN CANADA

1. INTRODUCTION

The swindlers of Capital have launched their most savage attack against the Canadian proletariat since the end of the Second World War. The difficulties which the Canadian bourgeoisie is presently facing bring it to try and shift the weight of the crisis onto the backs of the working class and the masses. The capitalist class has joined ranks behind its instrument of repression, the bourgeois State, to bring down laws, one more repressive than the next, on the heads of the people. At the heart of this attack we find the sinister law C-73, the Wage Control Act, an instrument with which the bourgeoisie seeks to put down the revolt of the working class, as well as to intensify its exploitation in order to increase its profits. This law is an instrument to impoverish and divide the proletariat.

It's in these conditions that the resistance of the Canadian proletariat is growing. Particularly fervent in Quebec in the early 70's, this outburst of combativity is now generalized throughout the entire country. Everywhere, the living conditions of the working class and the masses are the same — debts, unemployment, repression. But, despite the importance of this outburst of combativity, reality is there to remind us of its fragility, and of its incapacity to overthrow the cause of our troubles — capitalism. Of course there are victories, but the struggles must always start all over again. Often, it's necessary to go out on strike for six months just to be able to keep what we already had. Often the struggles are directed onto all sorts of dead end paths which, at the end of the line, cause us to put into question having fought at all.

What the facts cruelly teach us each day is that the working class is missing a revolutionary leadership which could put it onto the path of attack against the bourgeoisie. A leadership which would lead it in the struggle to the end against capitalism and its hardships.

Because they struggle for the superior interests of the masses, because they represent the proletariat's future, Canadian Marxist-Leninists have put the reconstruction of a revolutionary leadership of the proletariat at the very center of their preoccupations and actions. Today, to make revolution, is to struggle for the reconstruction of the Revolutionary Party of the proletariat, the Marxist-Leninist Party. And it is only by becoming involved in this struggle that we can claim to defend the real interests of the proletariat.

At the present time, a part of the movement, while it claims to struggle for the Party, has in fact, a tendency to dangerously subordinate this task. If this tendency develops and is not rectified, it will lead to revisionism, to the betrayal of the revolution. To wage struggle against this inclination to subordinate the struggle for the Party, and thus contribute to the revolutionary progress of the entire Canadian proletariat, we present our readers with this brief history of the struggle for the reconstruction of the Proletarian Party in Canada.

In regard to our task, the building of the Marxist-Leninist Party, we are going to retrace the history of the Canadian communist movement from the degeneration of the Communist Party of Canada up until our time. We try to establish which of the contradictions constituted the motor of the class struggle at each phase in the development of the movement. We also will try to identify who had the proletarian line, and who really made the struggle for the reconstruction of the Party advance.

Although our movement is still young, it is necessary to write its history. And it's important to make it known to the masses. Our movement is no longer what it was five years ago. At that time the number of militants calling themselves Marxist-Leninists could have been counted on one hand. Today, the best elements of the intellectual youth are rallying to our ranks in waves. As well, more and more men and women workers are taking hold of the invincible arm of Marxism-Leninism and defending it before their class brothers and sisters.

In but a short time the movement has grown with the addition of new militants, full of revolutionary ardour, but often with little knowledge of the struggles which have led to the birth of this movement. However, the knowledge of these facts is essential to measure the depth of the line struggle which currently runs through our movement, and to grasp what is really at stake.

To act on social phenomena, one must first learn about the entire process of their development. Because social phenomena do not come into being all at once. They have a life, a history and a development. Thus the errors that we see in the movement today did not develop overnight. They existed before. And it is precisely by knowing what they were like and how they were modified to become what they are today, that we can really understand and correct them. In other words, we believe that it is by grasping what was, and by criticizing it, that we can forge tomorrow's victories.

This text is also meant to be an instrument of study and debate in preparation for the Fourth National Conference of Canadian Marxist-Leninists which will deal with the tasks of Canadian Marxist-Leninists. Our group has been holding these National Conferences of Canadian Marxist-Leninists for a year now. These conferences are a part of the struggle to unite all Canadian Marxist-Leninists into a single organization, on the basis of a programme whose very elaboration presupposes a systematic demarcation between correct and false ideas, between the bourgeois and proletarian lines. The conferences have the precise goal of accentuating the polemics and the direct confrontation of the points of view within our movement on the main questions of programme in a spirit of unity and within a systematic organizational framework. Up until now, there have been three conferences. The first dealt with the unity of Canadian Marxist-Leninists, the second with the path of the revolution in Canada, and the third with the international situation. The fourth will touch on the current tasks of Canadian Marxist-Leninists, that is, the struggle which Canadian communists must wage to give the Canadian proletariat a single revolutionary leadership. The experiences of the glorious Bolshevik, Albanian, and Chinese revolutions, prove that without its Marxist-Leninist Party, the proletariat cannot be victorious. We feel that it is of utmost importance, that we intensify the polemics and the debates within the movement and the masses on the current tasks of Canadian Marxist-Leninists. This is a pre-condition to moving towards our central objective - the reconstruction of the Party of the proletariat. The study of the history of the line struggle within our movement on the question of the Party is a key element to grasp in order that the debate become more concrete and rigorous. Our movement has already acquired rich experience. It's time to generalize it.

2. THE DEGENERATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA

For some, the Communist Party of Canada became revisionist in 1956 when the Party officially lined up on the side of

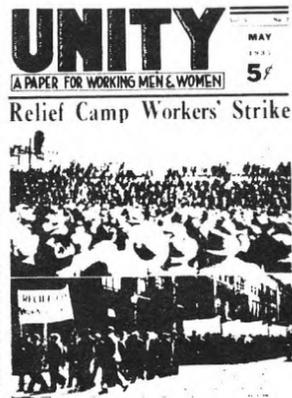
the Soviet revisionists against the Marxist-Leninist line which was vigorously defended by the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania. This point of view is erroneous. It takes into account only the most superficial aspects. If we really want to clear things up for the Canadian proletariat and arm it in the struggle to the finish against revisionism, we will not be satisfied with something which was finally nothing more than the end product of a process which had begun well before — the process of the degeneration of a proletarian party into a bourgeois reformist party. This task has hardly begun in our movement and there is absolute necessity to pursue and deepen it. The success of our current struggle against opportunism within the Marxist-Leninist movement, the success of our struggle to rebuild the authentic vanguard Party of the Canadian proletariat depend on it.

Thus it is not by accident or by intellectual curiosity that we have begun this history of the Canadian Marxist-Leninist movement with the presentation of our viewpoint on the development of revisionism within the Communist Party of Canada. We have done this because we are convinced that the lack of polemics on this point on the part of Canadian Marxist-Leninist groups constitutes a major obstacle in our current struggle against revisionism and opportunism. Finally we should add that we are undertaking this debate while being fully conscious of the important weaknesses which we still have in our concrete analysis of the subject.

To go right to the heart of the subject, it was at the August 1943 Congress that revisionism became the dominant aspect of the line of the Canadian Communist Party. Not only did this Congress adopt a new name for the Party, which became the Progressive Labour Party, (PLP), but it also adopted a new political line which was contrary to Marxist-Leninist principles. And from that moment the Party abandoned all truly revolutionary strategy and accepted to submit all of its action to the narrow framework of legalism and bourgeois parliamentarism. Instead of systematically preparing the masses for revolution, for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the new party proposed the election of a workers' and farmers' government, which later would transform itself into a socialist government — without armed struggle, without revolution. The Party thus tried to make the masses believe that the bourgeoisie, by itself, would abandon its class privileges, without repression, without having recourse to the violence of its State apparatus.



Monster Demonstration
 Wednesday, September 30th, 1931, at 7 p.m.
 At Dundas Street and Spadina Avenue
WORKERS OF TORONTO
 Came in thousands to this DEMONSTRATION and
 protest against the attack upon your rights
 FIGHT FOR THE RIGHTS OF THE WORKING MAN
 Demand the release of the British Workers' (see leader)



From 1921 to the Second World War the CPC successfully led the struggles of the Canadian proletariat.



Since that time the CP has completely fallen into revisionism and nationalism; on the pretext of "reinforcing Canada", it has become one of the Canadian imperialist bourgeoisie's most dependable supporters. And so the leaders of the CP (such as William Kashtan in the middle of the picture) have totally sold out to the bourgeoisie's interests, and thus the struggle to rebuild the Party of the working class is on the agenda.



This was a clear betrayal of the entire history of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, betrayal of the Marxist-Leninist principles on the question of the State and revolution.

Further still, the PLP even went so far as to propose to the proletariat that it ally itself with the Liberal Party, with a party which long had served the interests of the grand Canadian monopoly bourgeoisie, a party which had long waged open war against the communist and workers' movement — forbidding strikes, freezing wages, rationing food-stuffs— all of that to fatten great Capital. It's with this party that the PLP proposed an alliance against the Conservative Party! In brief, the only solution that the PLP offered to the masses who were cruelly oppressed by Capital, was to support one faction of Capital against the other. In fact, what they preached to the masses was to accept their miserable life conditions, and nothing more!

This act of betrayal, this denunciation of the revolution, were also accompanied by a complete abandonment of Marxist-Leninist principles on the very nature of the Party. In effect, the PLP no longer defined itself as a class Party, as the Party of the proletariat, but rather as a "Party of all the workers". This sad refrain which is still defended today by the revisionists and Trotskyists, has but one goal — to make the Party acceptable to the hesitant and unstable elements of the

petty-bourgeoisie. The history of the Paris Commune and of the Bolshevik revolution on which all authentic communist parties base themselves, show that, on the contrary, the revolutionary Party can include these elements to the extent that they abandon the point of view of their class of origin and entirely and unreservedly adopt that of the only class which is revolutionary to the core, the class point of view of the proletariat. Only the **Party of the proletariat**, composed of its most conscious and devoted elements, can wage the revolutionary struggle of the masses to its final victory against the bourgeoisie.

Consistent with its line, the PLP dissolved its factory cells, which are the fortresses of all authentic communist parties, built from within the proletariat, to constitute itself on an electoral basis like all other bourgeois parties.

For all of these reasons it is correct to affirm, that as of 1943 the CP (which had become the PLP) had abandoned the path of the revolution, the political independence of the proletariat, and had ceased to be an authentic proletarian party. From that moment up until it rallied to the positions of the Soviet revisionists, the gangrene of revisionism led the party from split to split, devoiding it of its authentic revolutionary militants, in order to let in a series of opportunists and petty-bourgeois and bourgeois careerists.

In 1945, Fergus McKean, who was then secretary of the provincial wing of the Party in British Columbia, in a book entitled **Communism versus Opportunism** (1), launched a full scale attack against the revisionist line of the PLP, and put forward the necessity of recreating a new Party. McKean did not succeed in organizing real opposition to the leadership of the PLP and was quickly expelled from the Party. He created a short-lived party which only lasted a few months.

The PLP, and before it the CP, had always had an erroneous line on the Quebec national question, and had never been a firm defender of the Quebec nation's right to self-determination, nor a solid fighter against great nation chauvinism in English-Canada. At the 5th Congress of the PLP in 1949, there was a split within the party because of its chauvinist line concerning the national question. 300 of the 700 delegates left the Party when the leaders refused to change their positions. This split led to the departure of the major part of the Party's forces in Quebec. They, for their part, fell into narrow nationalism.

The great nation chauvinism of the English-Canadian militants increased the narrow nationalism of the Quebec militants. From the viewpoint of the interests of the entire Canadian proletariat, the two parties were in the wrong, both their positions leading to a reinforcement of the division of the proletariat on a national basis.

Thus the fall of the revolutionary general headquarters of the Canadian proletariat led to the crumbling of the Canadian proletariat's unity. This sad episode in the line struggle within the PLP should remain engraved in the memory of the Canadian proletariat as well as in that of present-day Marxist-Leninists. The lesson which must be drawn is that the building of an authentic revolutionary workers' Party is an essential condition for the iron unity of the Canadian proletariat, and that this Party must be built in the struggle against the two faces of bourgeois nationalism — great nation chauvinism and narrow nationalism.

When in 1957, the PLP formally rallied to the line of modern revisionism put forward by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, it was a party which had already developed a revisionist line ten years before. Other struggles broke out in the Party which resulted in other splits. The most important of these was the struggle waged by the militants who later founded the Progressive Worker Movement (PWM).

In the late 50's and early 60's, an extremely important line struggle opposing Marxism-Leninism to modern revisionism was intensified within the international communist movement. This line struggle was waged parallelly on the international level and within each party. On the international level the **Party of Labour of Albania and the Chinese Communist Party** waged principled struggle against the clique of renegades which has usurped the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and their allies in the different Communist Parties. Unmasked, the pseudo-communist Krushchev and his gang of unscrupulous bourgeois power-seekers, provoked the split of the international communist movement by plotting to expel the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania.

This split between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism on an international scale, sharpened the contradictions between the two lines within all the Communist Parties in the world. In all of these Parties the revolutionary elements, basing themselves on the correct positions elaborated by the Albanian and Chinese comrades, undertook the struggle against revisionism with new ardour. Such a struggle took place within the Communist Party of Canada. It broke out with the publication of the programme **Socialism for the Sixties**, which the party's leadership presented to its members in 1962. This programme, which appeared at a period of economic progress in

Canada, was one step more in the consolidation of the revisionism which was already present within the CP. It questioned the historical role of the proletariat, identifying it not as the only class that is revolutionary to the core, but rather as one of the forces of the nation. Its objectives were merely to reduce the power of the monopolies. It proposed reforms and changes in the "structures of the economy", in the structures of capitalism. It called on the working class to reform capitalism rather than to destroy it.

The Progressive Worker Movement

Early in 1964 in Vancouver, Jack Scott and his cell companions who opposed the line of the CP, created the Canada-China Friendship Association, which, by the way, was the first to be created in a Western capitalist country. This action was consciously and clearly the sign of a proletarian position which opposed the bourgeois line of the CP and all the revisionist parties, with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at their head. This too obvious support for China on the part of Scott and his companions led to their expulsion from the Party in the summer of 1964. They then tried to bring together all Canadian revolutionary forces, but their attempt failed. (2) Turning inwards to British Columbia, they founded the Progressive Worker Movement (PWM), in October 1964.

Although it was in fact the most vigorous attack at the time against revisionism in Canada, the very creation of the PWM is the consequence of the first failure in the struggle to rebuild an authentic proletarian Party. The history of this group was to be marked by the repetition of this defeat, always for the same reason. Even if it was the first Canadian group to wage struggle against revisionism during the 60's, the PWM was never really able to break with revisionism. And we are going to look at the reasons why.

The struggle against revisionism

In a **Declaration of Principles**, the Central Committee of the PWM wrote in the first issue of the newspaper *Progressive Worker*:

"The contemporary period is marked by a resurgence of revisionism in the service of imperialism and demands a united and unyielding struggle on the part of Marxist-Leninists in defence of the basic concepts of Marxism-Leninism and for the socialist revolution". (3)

(1) We invite our readers to attentively study this historical work on the line struggle within the CP, which we have recently reedited. Fergus McKean, *Communism versus Opportunism*, republished by IN STRUGGLE!, Montreal, July 1977, 327 pages.

(2) Scott gave a brief but moving account of this defeat before the entire Canadian Marxist-Leninist movement during the National Conference on the Unity of Canadian Marxist-Leninists, held in Montreal on October 1976. This speech is available in: *Documents of the National Conference on the Unity of Canadian Marxist-Leninists*, Montreal, October 9, 1976. Published by IN STRUGGLE!, Montreal, January 1977, p. 69-70.

(3) *Progressive Worker*, vol. 1, no. 1, Oct. '64, p. 4

After having explained the role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as that of main leader of modern revisionism, the leadership of the PWM analyzed the Canadian Communist Party in the following terms:

"The communist party has fallen into the hands of the revisionists led by Morris and Kashtan (4) who are supported and encouraged by the Krushchevites. They engage in vicious unprincipled attacks against the Communist Party of China (foremost defender of Marxism-Leninism in the international movement): they promote the "parliamentary" and "peaceful" road to Socialism, thus disarming the working class in the face of capitalist class violence; they abandon the Marxist-Leninists concepts on Socialist Revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat: they abandon proletarian internationalism in favor of allying themselves with the Canadian liberal bourgeoisie; they accept — and try to get the working masses to accept — the ideology of social democracy, the main bulwark of capitalism in the labour movement. Having abandoned Marxism-Leninism, the CP leadership is quite incapable of leading the struggle for the realization of a program of fundamental working class demands". (5)

At the end of its declaration of principles the Central Committee of the PWM launched an appeal for the unity of the other Marxist-Leninists in the country to create the Party.

"We propose that the Marxist-Leninist workers' groups begin discussing plans for holding a national conference in the near future for the purpose of organizing a Marxist-Leninist Workers' Party in Canada which shall dedicate itself to raising again, to a place of conspicuous honor, the proud banner of proletarian struggle". (6)

The PWM thus clearly placed its task at the level of the struggle against revisionism, and from that point of view, we must accord it much merit. Particularly on the ideological level, it traced a first demarcation between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism and all other opportunist and counter-revolutionary ideologies, such as Trotskyism, Castism, and social democracy. It unceasingly denounced the class collaboration practised by the traitors of the CP. On the international level, it denounced the manoeuvres of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (such as the invasion of Czechoslovakia), and firmly supported the socialist countries and the struggles of the peoples against imperialism, particularly the just struggle of the Indochinese people. It once again took up the historical tradition of the international communist movement by establishing a center for the distribution of Marxist-Leninist books, by placing revolutionary songs in the place of honour, and by recalling the high points of the proletariat's struggle, (Commune of Paris, October Revolution, Winnipeg General Strike). The PWM was a firm defender of the immediate interests of the masses, participating in the struggles for the right to work, opposing work speed-ups, fighting for the improvement of the masses' living conditions and struggling for the democratization of unions.

However, it committed two determinant errors which prevented it from really rebuilding the Canadian Marxist-Leninist movement. It abandoned the tasks of rebuilding the Proletarian Party, as well as that of applying the independent policy of the proletariat on all questions, that is, a policy distinct from all the other classes of Canadian society. From then on, it had irremediably started down the slope of revisionism.

The PWM was characterized by its spontaneism with regard to party building. From its creation, the PWM had established the necessity of uniting the revolutionary forces in the country and creating the Party. But to be truthful, this question was more a declaration of intention. Except for the last year of *Progressive Worker* (7), where it constituted the subject of a few articles, the question of the Party was never really the object of intense propaganda in the PWM's press. Already, by its creation the PWM failed in its attempt to create the Party on a national scale. This failure rapidly led it to turn inwards on itself, to capitulate before the struggle to be waged for the whole Canadian proletariat.

Afterwards, it was to raise localism to the level of a principle for the construction of the Party, by putting forward the unification of communists on a regional basis before their unification on a national basis. In fact, the militants of the PWM devoted the essential of their energies to the development of their work in the union movement, without submitting this task to the task which must be the first of all the tasks of communists within the workers' movement, that is, the rallying of advanced elements of the proletariat to communism through the activity of communist agitation, propaganda and organization.

The Canadianization of the unions

Throughout the greater part of its history, all of the PWM's tactics were to be determined by the call for the Canadianization of the unions. According to these comrades, it was necessary to rid the Canadian unions of the hold which the American union bureaucrats had on them and return them to the militant control of the rank and file in order to turn them into arms which were not only defensive, but also offensive, for the liberation of the country and the emancipation of the workers.

"Revolutionaries must, therefore, strive to show the working class how to use the unions as a weapon to shape their future, a revolutionary weapon for the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man". (8)

And further on:

"It will, therefore, be necessary for us to raise this question (the creation of an independent trade union movement - editor's note) in conjunction with the whole broad front of struggle and do more effective work in pointing out that the defeat of the US bureaucracy is essential to democratic worker control of the unions and that such control is a necessary prerequisite for turning the unions into the effective fighting organs they can and must become in order to defend the rights and living standards of the workers and free our land from alien domination". (9)

(4) Leslie Morris and William Kashtan were leaders of the CP. Kashtan is the current general secretary of the CP.

(5) *Progressive Worker*, vol. 1, no. 1, Oct. '64, p. 7

(6) *Progressive Worker*, Idem, p. 8

(7) The PWM existed from 1964 to 1970.

(8) Taken from the union program of the PWM which appeared in vol. 3, no. 6 of *Progressive Worker*.

(9) Idem, p. 8



In spite of the struggle it waged against revisionism, the PWM failed in carrying out the task of rebuilding the vanguard party of the working class.

In fact, the PWM even conceived of the creation of such an independent Canadian union movement as:

"the primary task confronting Canadian workers at this point in history..." (10)

This was in fact a disavowment of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the building of the proletarian Party, and the most base economism. Furthermore, the question of the Party rapidly became nothing but a mere reference in the PWM's line. In fact, its work consisted essentially of "reviving" unions, seeking to make them militant by radicalizing workers' struggles. On this point as on many others, **the great similarity between the PWM's practice and the current economist line of the Canadian Communist League (M-L)** should be noted. The latter does the same work only this time with the slogan of "class struggle unions", which is no different than the "militant unions" of the PWM.

Moreover, the PWM and the League do not have the monopoly on this sort of practice which limits communist activity in unions to the radicalization of local struggles. It also characterized the line of the Regroupement des Comités des Travailleurs (RCT — Federation of Workers' Committees), an opportunist group whose still active militants have today joined the ranks of the League. This practice is like an old refrain which continues to reappear throughout the history of the movement, and which certain are still singing.

The PWM's abandonment of the central question of the Party was also manifested by the little importance that it accorded to the elaboration of revolutionary theory. On this point Marxist-Leninists have always been clear. As Lenin himself stated: "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement". To this extent, the first task that the PWM should have taken up was to produce and distribute a rigorous criticism of the revisionism of the Communist Party of Canada, among the masses. By rigorous criticism we mean a criticism which would have analyzed the concrete history of the development of revisionism in our country, unmasking all of the most important manifestations by opposing them with the proletarian line.

On the contrary, the criticism produced by that group was partial and unilateral. Partial because it touched only certain aspects of the revisionist line, in particular union work and the attitude with regard to US imperialism. Unilateral because often the only reply it gave was to present the opposite position. And this reply was also often accompanied by a mechanical application of the line of the Communist Party of China rather than by a creative application of that line to the concrete practice of the revolution in our country.

With regard to the Quebec national question, the Communist Party of Canada had always adopted a chauvinist position which refused to recognize the Quebec nation's right to self-determination and to set itself up as an independent State. Once again the PWM gave a unilateral reply without making a concrete class analysis. The PWM answered the chauvinism of the CP with narrow nationalism, giving its support to Quebec independence and even going so far as to break off relations with the militants in Quebec on its own initiative. The importance of this error should not be underestimated for its direct effect was to maintain the brick wall which already separated both the proletariat and the revolutionary movements of the two nations.

The modern revisionists in Canada, as elsewhere, had, at the time, abandoned the revolutionary struggle against Ame-

rican imperialism preaching their rot about peaceful coexistence. According to the correct analysis of the Chinese Communist Party and the Party of Labour of Albania, American imperialism was at the time the main enemy of the peoples on a world scale. Mechanically applying this line to the Canadian reality, the PWM identified American imperialism as the main enemy of the Canadian people, to the point of advocating the alliance of the proletariat with the Canadian bourgeoisie. Through its unilateral criticism of the Communist Party of Canada, the PWM finally ended up in practice, with this type of a line of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

Here we should draw our readers' attention to the fact that this error of mechanically applying the line of another Party instead of setting down to the task of developing one's own line in all independence, by applying the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practice of the revolution in one's own country, still persist right up to the present time. Groups like Bolshevik Union (BU) and "C"PC(M-L) have developed such political laziness to the point of trying to make us believe that now the line of the Party of Labour of Albania and before that the line of the Communist Party of China could take the place of the line of the Canadian communist movement. For their part the CCL(M-L) and the Red Star Collective try to justify their propensity for supporting the Canadian bourgeoisie, by taking up as their own, the line of the Communist Party of China on the international situation. Dogmatic errors of this type if they are not rectified will sooner or later lead to a betrayal of the revolution.

Without a resolute struggle against great nation chauvinism and bourgeois nationalism, it's impossible to unite the proletariat of the two nations, and **this struggle for the unity of the entire Canadian proletariat is an essential aspect of the struggle to build a single party of the Canadian proletariat.**

The abandonment of the central task of party building, and the abandonment of the work of elaborating and publishing the revolutionary theory of the Canadian proletariat, of the communist programme, could only lead the PWM to line itself up in the camp of bourgeois nationalism.

The massive penetration of American imperialist capital, organizations and culture in the '50's and '60's, and the powerful development of the national liberation movements of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America created fertile ground for the development of petty-bourgeois anti-imperialism in our country, particularly among Canadian youth. Because of its own errors, the PWM, far from channeling this movement towards the revolutionary proletariat, found itself literally caught up in it.

In what was to be its most complete document of political line, "Independence and Socialism in Canada", published in 1968, the PWM advocated nothing less than a national liberation struggle against American imperialism:

"Recognizing US domination as being the chief obstacle on the road to socialism, socialists should direct their efforts towards removing this obstacle. This means working among the various sectors of the Canadian population and uniting as many Canadians as

(10) *Idem*, p. 8

possible against their number one enemy, US imperialism. A broad coalition must be built, a broad coalition whose purpose is the breaking away of Canada from the American empire, the achievement of the power of self-determination of the Canadian people". (11)

Following this, in the same manifesto, came a whole series of tactics, which on the basis of this strategic objective, sought to rally workers, farmers, students, and petty-bourgeois intellectuals. As history was to reveal, this was to objectively divert them rather than bring them closer to the proletarian revolution. Furthermore, it is significant that in this document which was the fundamental document of the PWM, the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat are not at all mentioned!

Thus this first attempt to organize the struggle against modern revisionism in Canada was bound to fail. And, not long afterwards, the PWM was forced to end its activities. However, its line was to be taken up and pushed to its logical conclusions by the "C"PC(M-L), that group of counter-revolutionaries which has never done anything more than try to "marxize" bourgeois nationalism and which today still constitutes a major obstacle to the development of the Canadian Marxist-Leninist movement.

Another particularly negative effect of the PWM's experience was that it reinforced the tendency of the petty-bourgeois intellectuals who were under its influence, particularly in the West, to retreat into small, closed study circles and to conceive of militant unionism as a model for the revolutionary work to be done within the working class. These circles, many of which still exist today, devoted themselves to studying theory completely cut off from the class struggle, and to practice which tailed after the workers' movement. The effect of this was basically to abandon the struggle for the Party.

The history of the PWM and its failure in the struggle against revisionism is rich in lessons for the current young Marxist-Leninist movement. In the first place, it concretely shows how the struggle to elaborate the proletarian line and the communist programme is indissolubly linked to a profound and rigorous criticism of **revisionism in Canada** in all of the most important manifestations of its development. It also shows how in the absence of a real proletarian Party, the building of this party must be at the center of all the tasks of Marxist-Leninists. If not, we will find ourselves progressively drawn to the different petty-bourgeois and even bourgeois opportunist currents. More precisely, it indicates all of the importance of the elaboration of revolutionary theory and the revolutionary programme and their wide distribution among the masses, at this stage in the revolutionary struggle.

To fail at this duty, to be satisfied with winning immediate victories in any given struggle or on any given question, is to just as inevitably slide into opportunism and to fall into revisionism again. Finally, it permits us to understand the dialectical unity which links communist strategy and tactics. An economist tactic for work in workers' and peoples' struggles, or in mass organizations is a definite reflection of an attitude of collaboration and capitulation before the bourgeoisie and leads to renouncing the class interests of the proletariat. As we will see further on, these lessons apply just as much to the opportunist positions which still exist in our movement.

3. THE GROWTH OF THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

The result of the degeneration of the CP and the control of the workers' movement by its corrupt stratum, the labour aristocracy, was the considerable weakening of the proletariat's struggles in the '50's and '60's. More precisely, in the absence of a real revolutionary leadership, the proletariat found itself unarmed in the face of the open attacks of the bourgeoisie, in particular the vast "witch hunts" directed against the communists like, for example, the disguised attacks of reformism, apoliticalism and class collaboration unionism. During the '50's and '60's, all of that was to lead to a profound division within the workers' movement, particularly on a nationalist basis, as well as to its being pushed out of the political scene.

In those conditions, the most important political movement in Canada, during the '60's, and even more so in Quebec, was the nationalist movement. It was even easier for this movement to develop, given the objective conditions of the period which really lent themselves to it. For it was during these years that the penetration of American imperialism was greatest. Favoured by the development of a tighter alliance with the Canadian bourgeoisie following the Second World War, American imperialism penetrated practically all spheres of our social life. On the economic level of course (12), but also in the political, military and cultural spheres.

On the Quebec scene, nationalism was even more exacerbated because of the considerable centralization of political power in the hands of the federal government during and after the war. The objective effect of this centralization was to accentuate the age-old oppression of the Quebec nation.

Thus, in Canada and Quebec, large sectors of the population reacted strongly to these phenomena. Particularly among the petty-bourgeois radicals, many began to compare their situation to that of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America who at the same time were the impetus for a vast revolutionary movement of liberation against imperialism. Frantz Fanon's (13) ideas on anti-colonialism, Che Guevara's (14) on

(11) *Independence and Socialism in Canada, Progressive Worker* (quarterly) p. 44

(12) See the article *The path of the Revolution in Canada, Proletarian Unity*, Vol.1, No.3, Feb. 77

(13) Frantz Fanon: theoretician of African national liberation struggles during the '60's, particularly in Algeria. Fanon's ideas represented the revolutionary aspirations of the bourgeois nationalists in the struggle against colonialism. These ideas reflected the double character of the bourgeoisie in a colonial context. That is, they were both anti-imperialist and anti-communist at the same time.

(14) Ernesto Guevara, called "Che": revolutionary of Argentine origin who was one of the leaders of the Cuban revolution. He was assassinated by the CIA in Bolivia in '67 where he was trying to organize a revolutionary movement. Guevara was a sincere anti-imperialist fighter, even if his theories were anti-Marxist. He put forward that the masses would be stimulated into making revolution by the exemplary action of small armed groups. These ideas were opposed to the Marxist principle that it's the masses who make history and that the role of the Party is to make them conscious. To this he opposed the bourgeois concept according to which it's the heroes who make history and that the vanguard of the masses is but a group of elite. Guevara's ideas represented the aspirations of the petty-bourgeoisie in Latin America who were up against the oppression of American imperialism.

the Cuban revolution and the Black Panther movement's (15) in the United States, began to ferment in the minds of many revolutionary intellectuals. Groups like *Partis-Pris* (16), the *Front de Libération du Québec* (F.L.Q.) and *Red Morning* (17), took up their wide propagation. Today's Marxist-Leninists and conscious workers must understand the role that the nationalist movement played at that time in the development of the revolutionary movement in Canada. This wide-scale political movement set great social forces into motion and no class was left indifferent. It was a powerful factor in making the masses conscious of the necessity of political action, even if it objectively maintained the proletariat under the domination of the bourgeoisie. In fact, to a great extent the current Marxist-Leninist movement was founded by the revolutionary elements of the petty-bourgeoisie who came out of the nationalist movement. How is that possible?

The deepening of the general crisis of imperialism and its effects in Canada in the '60's caused a fraction of the petty-bourgeoisie (intellectuals, students, social-animators) to become radicalized. For all of this fraction, the nationalist movement constituted the grounds for this radicalization. But rapidly, the stupendous growth of the workers' movement in the late '60's, revealed what was really at stake in the class struggle in Canada. Among the radical intellectuals, revolutionary elements stood up and proceeded to criticize the reactionary character of nationalism and to adhere to Marxism-Leninism by seeking to approach the workers' movement.

Because of the material conditions of the exploitation of the proletariat in capitalist society, the workers' movement on its own cannot become a conscious movement, a Marxist-Leninist movement. A scientific understanding of the economic relations in society cannot spring up from its daily struggle. For the workers' movement to become a revolutionary movement, it is necessary to import this knowledge of the economic relations of society, Marxism-Leninism, from outside.

Historically, bourgeois intellectuals, having broken with their class, have been the ones to elaborate revolutionary science, and it is their task to carry scientific socialism into the workers' movement.

But while fulfilling their historic role of carrying Marxism-Leninism to the proletariat so that it can assimilate it, these intellectuals have also brought with them the shortcomings of their class. These shortcomings often take on the following appearance: on one hand there is the tendency to exercise its domination on the workers' movement which is mainly expressed by the action of reserving revolutionary theory for the intellectuals and leaving the workers' movement busy with economic struggles. On the other hand there is the tendency to conciliate the interests of the proletariat and those of the bourgeoisie, which is particularly expressed by bourgeois nationalism.

It's particularly in Quebec that this process was accomplished the most quickly, and that it had the greatest influence among the masses.

The nationalist movement in Quebec

Among the debates waged in the nationalist movement in the '60's, the debate on the relation between socialism and independence was the most decisive. All of the nationalist groups had reform programmes often proclaiming to be anti-capitalist, or anti-imperialist. The debate was crystallized around two themes. The first consisted of claiming that the independence of Quebec was a pre-condition to the future of socialism. The other put forward that the struggle for political

independence and the struggle for socialism were one and the same struggle. (18)

Each of these tendencies was represented by a journal. *Parti Pris*, founded in 1963 by a group of intellectuals at the University of Montreal, applied Fanon's theses on colonialism to Quebec. Its founders supported "tactical support" for the national bourgeoisie, in order to obtain the political conditions which would permit the waging of the struggle for socialism afterwards.

In opposition to *Parti Pris*, the journal *Révolution Québécoise*, founded in 1964 by Charles Gagnon and Pierre Vallières, was against support for the national bourgeoisie, and put forward the struggle for socialism on the basis of a working class organization.

The polemic between the two journals was concretized with the creation of the *Mouvement de Libération Populaire* (MLP) (Peoples' Liberation Movement) whose manifesto proclaimed the rejection of support for the bourgeoisie, the necessity of building a revolutionary working class organization, the necessity of the Party and of a vanguard to build the Party.

At this point, we should bring a few clarifications. The concept of the "vanguard" at that time did not mean what it means today. It was not the Marxist-Leninist concept which designates the most advanced elements of the proletariat who must be rallied to create and build the party. The term "vanguard" had an elitist conception behind it. It was the "conscious" elements of the petty-bourgeoisie who had given themselves the mission of being the vanguard of the masses. The MLP was impregnated with this anti-Marxist pretention, as were the *Front de Libération du Québec* (FLQ) and the *Front de Libération Populaire* (FLP).

The MLP tried to approach the workers' movement, but it had a very short life span. On the prompting of the Trotskyists a part of the MLP passed over to the Socialist Party of Quebec (*Parti Socialiste du Québec* — PSQ) — a social democratic party issued from a split in the NDP and founded by Michel Chartrand, Emile Boudreau and others that disappeared after the electoral defeat in 1966. The goal of adhering to the PSQ was to radicalize it, according to the well known Trotskyist tactic which consists of infiltrating (or creating) a social democratic or revisionist type of bourgeois party so as to afterwards try and lead it on to revolutionary positions.

(15) **Black Panther Party:** a radical reformist party of the Black American petty-bourgeoisie. The party acquired international fame in the '60's when, under the guidance of Eldridge Cleaver it had a terrorist line which led it into direct confrontations with the police. In '71 there was a split in the Party. Cleaver was expelled and his line was liquidated. Today the Black Panther Party wages struggles for social reforms (housing, milk distribution to children, etc...).

(16) **Parti-Pris:** a journal published by radical intellectuals in the 1960's. It was mixture of nationalistic and socialist writings. These writings stressed the "colonial" situation of Quebec.

(17) **Red Morning:** Canadian political group which existed in English-Canada, particularly in Toronto, around 1970-72. It adopted a terrorist line inspired from the Black Panthers and the radical movements among American youth, in particular the Weathermen.

(18) This debate continued into the early '70's. It ended with the publication of two works: *L'Urgence de choisir* (The urgency to choose) by Pierre Vallières and *Pour le Parti prolétarien* (For the proletarian Party) by Charles Gagnon, a document which was the basis for the creation of the group IN STRUGGLE! in 1972, and which constituted the most complete polarization of these two theses. From that moment on, it became clear that the two theses are irremediably antagonistic. It was no longer a contradiction within the progressive forces, but a fight to the finish between Marxism-Leninism and bourgeois nationalism.

Approaching the Workers' Movement

The second half of the '60's saw a considerable widening of the social strata won over to the nationalism and independence of Quebec. Thus, when in 1967, René Lévesque left the Liberal Party, slamming the door behind him, he represented and brought out with him an entire segment of the Quebec bourgeoisie. With the creation of the *Mouvement Souveraineté-Association* (MSA) and its fusion with the *Ralliement National* (RN) itself issued from the Creditist Party which ended up in 1968 with the creation of the *Parti Québécois*, the bourgeoisie really took the nationalist movement in hand. The question of supporting or opposing the national bourgeoisie was more than ever concretely and clearly posed.

It's at that moment that certain of the more radical nationalists began turning more systematically to the workers' movement which began making strides forward on the political scene. The development of the workers' and peoples' struggles at the time, led to the sharpening of the existing contradictions among these elements. And so, two very distinct currents whose influence is still being felt today within the Marxist-Leninist movement appeared. The first, whose break with the bourgeoisie was least advanced, was the current that was at the time called "social animation". Payed and financed by various governmental organisms or by religious and "charitable" organizations, the social animators threw themselves into the organization of citizens' committees, tenants organizations and other peoples' organizations. The characteristic of these different committees was to bring people together to defend themselves against rent increases, the destruction of homes, health problems, debts, etc. Through these actions, the social animators sought to attain political objectives, going from "workers' power" to supporting the *Parti Québécois*. But precisely because of their conceptions of political work based on a contempt for the masses, they camouflaged these objectives. And so they quite well represented that tendency of the petty-bourgeoisie which when it approaches the workers' movement, seeks to keep or to conquer control, and to do so, conceives of its political work as work of manipulating the masses, for, according to them, the masses... can't understand. In opposition to this tendency, the tendency called "mass political agitation" developed. Grouped together around organizations such as the *Front de Libération Populaire*, the *Front de Libération du Québec* (the 1966 tendency (19)), the *Mouvement syndical politique* (the political union movement), and the Vallières-Gagnon committee (a support committee that fought for the release from prison of Pierre Vallières and Charles Gagnon), this tendency was at the origin of the great political demonstrations in the late '60's: McGill Français (1969), against the language Bill 63 (1969), Murray Hill (1968), Anti-Congress (demonstration led against the Union Nationale which was then in power) (1969), numerous demonstrations for the liberation of Quebec political prisoners, etc... These groups also manifested an active participation in all the important workers' struggles in these same years: construction, taxi... As opposed to the social animators, these groups were not afraid to openly present their political objectives. They contributed to the development of political debates among the masses, thus widening their political horizons, while the animators reduced these horizons to their immediate problems. However, besides stimulating nationalism, these groups were incapable of the least bit of continuity in their work, of which the bourgeoisie quickly gained control. Just like the social animators, these groups were incapable of organizing the masses on the basis of their fundamental interests.

The evolution of these two tendencies was to lead both of them to defeat. On the one hand, the social animators for whom open political action was to become a necessity, in 1969-70, united with the social democrats of the union centers,

and the Trotskyists, in the electoral experience of the political action committees (FRAP) (20). This led to a new defeat whose organizational result was the departure of the political action committees (comités d'action politique — CAP) of St-Jacques and Maisonneuve from the FRAP. We will come back to this later.

For their part, the action of groups such as the FLP and the MSP did not meet with much better results. They rallied very few workers and perpetually had to begin their actions over again. The October Crisis of 1970 confirmed their total failure. These groups were easily disorganized by the effects of the sudden and brutal repression. The repression accelerated the explosion of their contradictions and spelled their defeat.

And so, the early '70's was a time of great reflection for all these groups. And a short time later, out of this arose two new organized tendencies,, that of CAP St-Jacques which withdrew from the FRAP on the basis of a criticism of its electoralism, and that of the *Equipe Du Journal* which was at the origin of the group IN STRUGGLE!, and which took up the ideas of mass agitation and propaganda, but this time on a Marxist-Leninist basis.

The debates which opposed these two tendencies at the end of the '60's are rich in lessons for the current Marxist-Leninist movement. For their struggle was in fact the struggle between two conceptions of how to link up with the masses. The foundation of this debate is still of current interest because the present-day Marxist-Leninist movement is still largely composed of petty-bourgeois elements, and thus of elements who are under the influence of the ideology of their class.

What was presented in the late '60's as a struggle between those doing work in the working class on the sly, or in secret, and those who threw themselves into vast campaigns of mass political agitation was to reappear in 1972-73, as a struggle opposing those, who like the CAP St-Jacques, limited their work to implantation (that is, sending intellectual militants into the factories), and militant unionism, and those, such as our group, who put forward the necessity of establishing links with the working class through communist propaganda and agitation.

Or in other words, there were those who put forward that communists could only link themselves to the masses on the basis of their revolutionary objectives, and there were those who claimed that it was first necessary to link up with the masses before presenting them with objectives of the revolution. This same struggle still goes on today, but in another form. Today it opposes those who like the League, seek to radicalize the economic struggles of the masses in order to give them a political character, and those who, like us, seek to unite the working class on the grounds of the open political struggle against the bourgeoisie and its State.

We have already presented the general situation in English-Canada in the preceding chapter, by situating the role played by the Progressive Worker Movement. However it is necessary to complete this by situating, in a more precise way, the role played by certain other important groups such as the Canadian Liberation Movement (CLM), the Waffle, and the "C"PC(M-L).

As was the case in Quebec, what all of these groups had in common was to propagate an essentially nationalist line in somewhat different forms from the Quebec nationalists, given the different nature of the national question in that part of the country. For, Quebec really does suffer national oppression. It

(19) The FLQ went through many phases. The first, in around '63, was essentially anti-British. The second tried to approach the workers' movement. That was the tendency of '66. The third, in '60, was marked above all by its radicalism.

(20) A reformist party which ran in the Montreal municipal elections in 1970.

is deprived of several of the fundamental rights of nations. While Canada is a politically independent State, which does however suffer vexations at the hands of American imperialism. Something else which these groups all had in common was to put forward fundamentally petty-bourgeois positions, and to recruit the great majority of their members from this class.

The nationalist movement in English-Canada

The Canadian Liberation Movement was formed in Ontario in 1969. It produced and distributed a newspaper, *New Canada*, and even had its own publishing house. Its influence went far beyond Ontario to the West of the country. This group, which was able to develop thanks to the decline of the PWM in the late '60's, shared the same nationalist line. However, in opposition to the PWM, there was never any question, in its official line, of basing itself on Marxism-Leninism, nor was there question of the necessity of a proletarian Party. For a fuller understanding of the line of this group, we refer the reader to the pamphlet **"One step backwards, two steps backwards"**, by Harry, (reedited by IN STRUGGLE!, April, 1977).

The Waffle corresponded to a somewhat different situation. It was a nationalist tendency formed within the New Democratic Party around the Watkins Manifesto. There was never any question of revolution for this group, not even a "national" one. In fact, it reflected the broad denying of the nationalist influence within social democracy. It was particularly strong in the early '70's in provinces like Saskatchewan and Ontario where the NDP constituted a major political force. However, once again, internal contradictions sharpened. One part of the movement became the nationalist caution of the completely corrupted leaders of the NDP while another fed into the various Trotskyist sects in English-Canada. Yet another, not very numerically important, recently rallied to the Marxist-Leninist movement. We should note that two Marxist-Leninist groups from Regina, (the Regina Communist Group, today rallied to IN STRUGGLE!, and the Regina Marxist-Leninist Collective, today rallied to the League) came out of the Waffle movement.

The "C"PC(M-L) merits particular attention. First of all because it still exists today, although the recent successes of the Marxist-Leninist movement have reduced its influence. But also because its work of sabotage continues to produce negative effects among the masses, and above all, because at a certain epoch, it was the only one of these groups to openly declare itself as being Marxist-Leninist.

The "C"PC(M-L) had its origins in a student group called the Internationalists formed in 1963 by Hardial Bains. With a leftist and ultra-leftist appearance, the "C"PC(M-L) always was and still is today, a fundamentally counter-revolutionary group.

In 1970, when it became a party, the "C"PC(M-L) self-proclaimed itself the Party of the working class. This self-proclamation was a serious act. For communists, the question of the supreme organization of the proletariat, its single party, constitutes a question of principle. You don't create a party... because it's necessary to create the party! You create the party when certain historical conditions have been met. You create the party when you have developed the programme of the revolution in your country, when you have united the Marxist-Leninists around this programme, and when a significant part of the advanced elements of the proletariat have rallied to this programme.

Even if it is clearly unrealistic to specify these preliminary conditions with precision and in detail, it is **in any case**, absolutely essential that the creation of the Party be preceded by work of this nature, and further, that **the creation of the Party**

be a factor which permits the development of this work. However, this was not the case with the creation of the "C"PC(M-L).

The "C"PC(M-L) never established a communist programme, all of its theoretical work was reduced to the eclectic ill-assorted, illogical reproduction of bits of quotes from Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse Tung and today Enver Hoxha. The only common point in the dozens of lines which it elaborated throughout its history, (in effect, the "C"PC(M-L) changed political lines whenever the wind changed), is their opposition to proletarian revolution. In fact, all of these "political lines" were able to agree about one thing: the path of the revolution in Canada goes by bourgeois nationalism! Through all of its clothing changes, the "C"PC(M-L) never forgot the one stable point in its line: its conciliation with the Canadian bourgeoisie. Once again today, while it displays virtuous indignation in its press against those who support the "three worlds theory", it publishes documents which contain the basest and most obvious pearls of social-chauvinism:

"1- The principal contradiction is between American imperialism and its lackeys in Canada and the great majority of the Canadian people. That is the principal contradiction which plays the decisive role in the forward movement of society.

2- The second contradiction is between the monopoly capitalist class and the Canadian working class. This fundamental contradiction manifests itself in the form of the struggle between the American imperialists and their Canadian lackeys (sic) on one hand, and the Canadian people on the other..." (21)

In effect, instead of a communist programme, we have something that is totally devoid of a class point of view and bathing in bourgeois nationalism, which soothes the Canadian monopoly bourgeoisie. Because a programme like that assures it of the proletariat's support for its struggle to be "competitive" in the international arena and to rival all the other imperialist countries, including American imperialism. At the same time, it is assured that the political struggle for the long term interests of the proletariat will be completely drowned out and left aside in the interests of the so-called mass anti-imperialist struggle. This was caricaturedly shown by the list of "13 mass revolutionary movements" which the "C"PC(M-L) drew up, with point 4 being a vague reference to the "the struggle against capitalist exploitation":

"There are thirteen revolutionary movements within the Canadian people:

1- the struggle of the Canadian people against imperialist domination and control and to support the national liberation struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America;

2- the national liberation struggle (sic) of the Quebec people against Anglo-Canadian colonialism (re-sic);

3- the just struggle of the Native peoples for the restoration of their hereditary rights;

4- the fundamental struggle of all workers against capitalist exploitation and wage slavery;

5- the fundamental struggle of all working women for social, political and cultural equality;

6- the economic struggles of workers for better wages and working conditions;

7- the struggle of the unemployed to obtain jobs;

8- the struggle of all workers to politically organize themselves in the workplace;

(21) In *Documents, Political Report 1970, Political Report 1973*, p. 48, French version, CPC(M-L), 1976.

9- the struggle of the fishermen and the farmers against foreign monopolies;

10- the revolutionary struggle of all immigrants and national minorities against racial discrimination and repression;

11- the struggle of working youth against capitalist cultural aggression;

12- the struggle of the students against the decadent capitalist educational system;

13- the struggle of all progressive and democratic people against the fascist laws and regulations and repression by violence". (22)

As you can see, it wasn't the Canadian Communist League (M-L) who invented the "shopping list" of contradictions and tasks!!!

This is why it is correct to say that the "C"PC(M-L) is a caricature of a proletarian Party, that historically it has been the groups which painted bourgeois nationalist ideology red in order to better trick the masses and to corrupt the Canadian revolutionary movement from within. A Marxist-type vocabulary and the shameless usage of the Chinese Revolution and its great leader Mao Tse-Tung served to paint it red until the time when the young Marxist-Leninist movement broke with reactionary nationalism and unmasked this group of counter-revolutionaries for what it is — a gang of active agents of the bourgeoisie within the Marxist-Leninist and workers' movements.

During the 1970 October Crisis, this Party even went so far as to openly advocate petty-bourgeois terrorism. Its practice and its conception of unity have always consisted in seeking the best means of swallowing up the groups that is met on its path, even to the point of infiltrating them, and practising "entrism". (A tactic widely used by the "C"PC(M-L) at one time, which consisted of secretly infiltrating into political groups and causing them to break up).

Its practice has always been one of dividing the Marxist-Leninist forces. Finally, except for a few students who venerated its leader, the "C"PC(M-L) never rallied the vanguard of the working class. What characterizes the "C"PC(M-L) on the question of the creation of the Party, is the inversion of the relation which it establishes between the political objectives of the working class and the organizational forms that it establishes to achieve them. For communists, form is always subordinated to the content; organization must serve ideology. For the "CPC(M-L)", on the contrary, the political line was reduced to organizational tasks:

"Political line is the sum-total of the tasks an organization sets for itself in order to advance the over-all general tactical and strategic work." (23)

The entire history of the "C"PC(M-L) is the expression of the ultra-leftist tendency of the petty-bourgeoisie which seeks to exercise its hegemony over the proletariat, and which in fact, doesn't recognize the principle proclaimed by Marx and Engels in their Manifesto... "that the emancipation of the workers is the work of the workers themselves", that is, which doesn't recognize that the masses must have their own experience and wants to make revolution in place of the masses.

The existence of the "C"PC(M-L) is an important obstacle to the central task of building a really proletarian Party. In English-Canada, the social-fascist manoeuvres of the "C"PC(M-L) have pushed circles into localism and caused them to turn in on themselves, and have been an obstacle to



At the time of its foundation in 1970, the "C"PC(M-L) proclaimed itself the party of the working class while remaining a fundamentally counter-revolutionary group.

the undertaking of the task of party building. And generally, they have developed a repulsion for Marxism-Leninism among the masses. Canadian Marxist-Leninists must pursue the criticism and struggle against the "C"PC(M-L). First of all because it still exists and continues its undermining work. But also because it's urgent that we protect ourselves against its deviations which risk reappearing in other forms. At the present time, there is a part of the movement which tends to adopt attitudes and a point of view similar to those of the "C"PC(M-L)

For, after having self-proclaimed itself the organization of struggle for the Party, the Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist), who, in passing, has as one of its founding groups the *Mouvement révolutionnaire des étudiants du Québec* (Revolutionary Movement of Quebec Students), which originated, in part, from a split in the "C"PC(M-L), is heading straight to its self-proclamation as the Party of the working class. The sectarianism that the League has manifested with regard to the Marxist-Leninist movement, its tendency, in the last while, to promote its organization before the masses in an unprincipled manner, not to talk of its habit of substituting itself for the masses, as it is currently doing in the flourmill workers' struggle, all of this originates in the same class position as that of the "C"PC(M-L). And if there is no serious rectification, all of this can only lead to the same result — the creation of another counter-revolutionary Party.

(22) *Idem*, p. 70

(23) *Peoples Canada Daily News*, vol. 2, no. 8, p.1

The Third Conference of Canadian Marxist-Leninists which was held last September 9, 10, and 11, gave us the opportunity to note that Bolshevik Union (BU) has more in common with the "C"PC(M-L) than with the Canadian Marxist-Leninist movement. During those three days, BU's militants adopted a splittist attitude which was, on all points, similar to that of the "C"PC(M-L). They sought to antagonize the current differences within the movement rather than to resolve them by frank and open ideological struggle. They refused to debate with those who recognized the "three words theory", and were content to label them "revisionist renegades". They openly sought to sabotage the debates by attacking IN STRUGGLE! on the basis of lies and by centering the conference's attention on secondary questions. They systematically refused to develop one word of solid argument against the "three worlds theory". And furthermore, just like the "C"PC(M-L), BU adopted a tailist attitude with regard to the line of the Party of Labour of Albania, and used the prestige of that glorious Party to justify its splitting and wrecking actions.

The struggle against bourgeois nationalism in English-Canada had its start in the late '60's. In particular, it was crystallized around the Simon Fraser Student Movement, a movement of student youth in British Columbia, which criticized the PWM for having put the exploited at the mercy of the bourgeoisie, and which was opposed to the CP because of its too obvious conservatism. The youth movement of this epoch produced many different organizations which opposed bourgeois nationalism. Among them, there was the Partisan Party which supported the necessity of building a single Marxist-Leninist Party on a Canada wide scale. However, the Partisan Party was waylaid by the "C"PC(M-L). And that spelled the defeat of the anti-nationalist movement in English-Canada.

The following years, that is from 1972-77, were to see a certain development of bourgeois nationalism in English-Canada, particularly in the Vancouver region. Groups such as the Western Voice and the Vancouver Study Group (VSG), were formed, set up by the ex-militants of the PWM. These groups had militants who were active in the union movement where they defended an essentially nationalist line: the struggle for the canadianization of the unions seen essentially as a struggle to democratize the unions. Even if these groups weren't very big, even if the VSG, for example, never did political work within the workers' movement on its own basis as a group, their line carried considerable weight, given the active role played by their militants and the prestige that certain of them had among the masses.

The influence of bourgeois nationalism will only be questioned with the appearance of a Marxist-Leninist movement, which was able to succeed where the youth movement had failed.

4. THE BIRTH OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST MOVEMENT

The '70's began with an exacerbation of the contradictions in the world which led to a deepening of the general crisis of imperialism. The oppressed peoples had the wind in their sails. In particular, the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people won international support, and the serious defeat which this small

people inflicted on American imperialism accentuated the contradictions within the United States themselves. The invasion of Czechoslovakia by Soviet troops, in 1968, discredited the USSR in the eyes of the peoples, and revealed its real imperialist nature. As of then, a new superpower had made its entrance onto the world stage and its voracious appetite and rivalry with American imperialism, became a threat for the security of the peoples.

The firm principled struggle led by the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of China against modern revisionism, led by the pseudo-communist party of the Soviet Union, the successes in the building of socialism in Albania and China, and the resounding success of the Great Cultural Revolution in China rapidly increased support for the socialist countries among the peoples of the world. This support and the prestige of the socialist countries resulted in the expulsion of Taiwan from the United Nations in 1972 and the triumphal entry of China.

In the industrialized capitalist countries, the accelerated rise in the cost of living and in unemployment, increased the anger of the workers' movement. In Quebec, unlike in the '60's, it is no longer the petty-bourgeoisie which is to be found in the heart of the great mass movements. Rather, it is the working class. During the conflict at La Presse in 1971, more than 10,000 workers took to the streets to support the strikers' struggle.

Strikes succeeded one another as if by chain reaction. They were longer, more frequent and more militant. The vigour of the workers' movement was so great that the union centers published Marxist-sounding social-democratic and nationalist literature. The QFL denounced the State as "the instrument of our exploitation". The CNTU launched an anti-monopoly campaign in which it explained the volume of American imperialist penetration in Quebec. Louis Laberge, that anti-communist and champion of business unionism, completely sold-out to the bourgeoisie, began threatening that he was going to "break the regime", right in the middle of workers' meetings.

The growth of the workers' movement reached a high point with the civil-servant and semi-public workers' Common Front strike in the spring of 1972. Following walkouts by more than 200,000 workers across the province, the bourgeois State tried to put down this movement by condemning Yvon Charbonneau, Louis Laberge, and Marcel Pépin, the leaders of the three large union centers in Quebec, to a year in prison. The answer from the workers' movement, and in particular from the industrial proletariat, was lively and quick. Across the province factory occupations and occupations of entire cities multiplied. The heroic example of the workers of Sept-Isles, who completely paralyzed their city, resounded across the province.

And so, the early '70's witnessed once again extremely difficult economic struggles. Despite the still important weight of business unionism, social-democracy and "militant" unionism, often linked to bourgeois nationalism, were the dominant tendencies in the workers' movement. It's in this context that the Marxist-Leninist movement appeared in Quebec with the publication of the pamphlet **For The Proletarian Party**, in 1972, and with all that followed, that is, the formation of the Equipe du Journal around the line developed in the pamphlet. From that moment on the Equipe saw to the production and distribution of the newspaper IN STRUGGLE! and began concrete work to apply the line put forward in **For The Proletarian Party**. To understand what an important step forward **For The Proletarian Party** was, we must situate it in the historical context of the period and examine what was dominant in the progressive groups at the time.

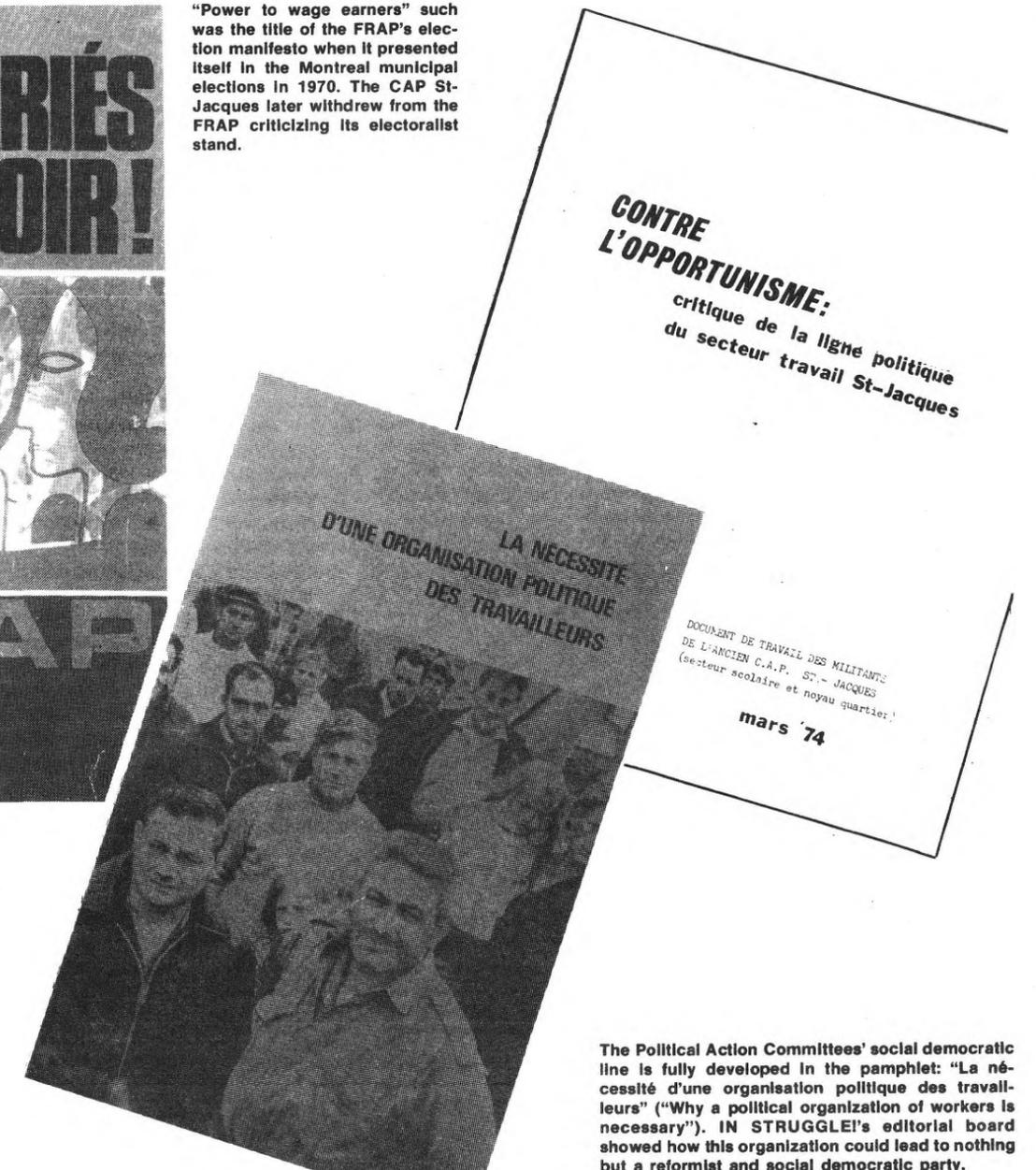
The Trotskyists dominated the FRAP but were quickly losing ground, although they had a certain influence in the citizens' groups and in certain union centers in Montreal. The "C"PC(M-L) (or the "CPQ(M-L)") which changed names in the most opportunist manner possible, depending on whether the situation was favorable or not to nationalism, was a marginal phenomenon, but had some influence in a few citizens' groups, unions and schools. It was their "leftist" period, one of raging battles with the police where the "C"PC(M-L) responded tit for tat. In the student movement many tendencies were to be found, including the Trotskyists, the "CPC(M-L)", the student sector of the Political Action Committees (CAP) St-Jacques and Maisonneuve, and the MREQ, which was Marxist-Leninist in name, but whose practice was far from being consistent. Instead of attacking the central task commanded by a creative and rigorous application of Marxism-Leninism, and by the concrete situation of the workers' movement, that is the reconstruction of the revolutionary Party of the proletariat, the militants of the MREQ limited their activities

to what they called, at the time, the struggle against the capitalist school and support for the working class and anti-capitalist struggles. There were also a few Marxist-Leninist study circles, with no unity between them and a few progressive workers' committees. As for the relations between this movement in Quebec, and the movement in Canada, there was voluntary ignorance on both parts, which clearly shows the weight of bourgeois nationalism.

Within the progressive movement, the two most influential groups at the time were the CAP St-Jacques and the CAP Maisonneuve. The two CAPs merged in 1972. Their unity and fame were achieved during the struggle within the FRAP in December, when they opposed the social-democrats and Trotskyists. They demarcated from the electoral experience of the FRAP. They criticized the FRAP for not being well rooted in the working class and for not sufficiently educating its militants to work within the proletariat. These criticisms are to be found in the manifesto published in December 1971 by the CAP St-Jacques, This manifesto entitled **For an autono-**



"Power to wage earners" such was the title of the FRAP's election manifesto when it presented itself in the Montreal municipal elections in 1970. The CAP St-Jacques later withdrew from the FRAP criticizing its electoralist stand.



The Political Action Committees' social democratic line is fully developed in the pamphlet: "La nécessité d'une organisation politique des travailleurs" ("Why a political organization of workers is necessary"). IN STRUGGLE!'s editorial board showed how this organization could lead to nothing but a reformist and social democratic party.

mous political organization of workers was much talked about in the progressive milieu of the time. The manifesto identified American imperialism as the principal enemy of the Quebec people. It put forward the necessity of an autonomous organization of Quebec workers to wage the struggle for the national liberation of the Quebec people and for "socialism." (One did not yet speak of the dictatorship of the proletariat). To do this, the manifesto proposed the setting up of groups of workers, in the community or in the workplace, which would be the basis of a future organization of workers. As well, it insisted on the necessity of giving the militants a Marxist education. (Marxism-Leninism was presented as a "tool").

The manifesto arrived at a period of intense mass struggle which enabled the CAP St-Jacques and Maisonneuve to develop. As in all periods where there is an intensification of class struggle, the mass movement forces the clarification of positions and accelerates the polarization. At that particular moment, the Common Front strike of '72, put on the agenda the necessity of uniting the CAPs to centralize their political work. Two lines were crystallized in the debate which was held during and after the struggle.

The first line considered that, not to intervene in the struggle, was unthinkable. It proposed to develop a class analysis of the interests at stake in the struggle so as to be able to undertake propaganda work, counting on the militants who were implanted in factories, and assuring a presence on the picket lines. Those who held this line affirmed the necessity of uniting among themselves, and of uniting the forces in order to centralize the work. The line of the opposition had its stronghold in the work sector of CAP St-Jacques (24). The leaders of the Work Sector completely refused to intervene in the class struggle on the pretext that the Common Front struggle was too vast for the CAP, that the militants were hardly experienced, and that since they had been implanted for such a short time, it was asking too much of them. The work sector supported the idea that the militants **should educate themselves before acting**, by means of their implantation in the factories, by the carrying out of inquiries and by developing their local work. Once the militants were educated, then the real political work could take place. Consequently, the Work Sector opposed the centralization by the CAPs because that would lead the CAPs to turn inwards on themselves. The Work Sector proposed the decentralization of the CAPs into different nuclei of militants, to better penetrate the working class. Briefly, the Work Sector, opposed the unity of the CAPs, and advocated local work and amateurish organizational forms.

The work sector's line wanted to stimulate the economic struggles by union activism and to organize the proletariat around economic struggles. The political struggle was reduced to the struggle to democratize the unions. The Work Sector's line consisted in no more no less than promoting local work and refusing the revolutionary political struggle of the proletariat. Furthermore, in practice, these militants rejected the idea of Marxism-Leninism as a guide for action. They conceived of theory as an historical and economic analytical grid for militants, and that is all! This rejection of revolutionary theory was also expressed in the refusal of debates, which characterized the work sector. In other words, the work sector's line, when it came to party building, consisted of doing economic organizational work among workers, while they educated their militants by lectures.

This line is fundamentally **economist** because it limits the working class to the economic struggle and reserves theory for the intellectuals. It is certainly not with this line that the proletariat will advance on the road of the revolution.

The work sector's line once again took up the line of social animation which had reigned in the late '60's within the citizens' committees in St-Jacques, which gave birth to CAP St-

Jacques. Just like the social animation line, the positions of the Work Sector consisted of saying that the working class wasn't ready for political action and that consequently it was first necessary to prepare the workers for political struggle by making them wage struggles which concerned their most immediate needs. Briefly, the work sector's line was profoundly marked by the same "workerist" point of view, and the same contempt for the masses, as was the social animation current.

Despite the sectarian and putchist methods of the leadership of the work sector, the line of the work sector was the most influential line in the progressive movement, at the time that **For The Proletarian Party** appeared in October '72.

The appearance of **For The Proletarian Party** was the most articulated and solid opposition to the economism which reigned at the time in the work sector. **For The Proletarian Party** affirmed the necessity of adopting the proletarian ideology, that is, Marxism-Leninism, as the science and the arm of the proletariat in its struggle against the bourgeoisie. It called on the necessity of struggling for the creation of a Marxist-Leninist proletarian Party, having as its objective proletarian revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. To do this, it was necessary to develop the ideological struggle against bourgeois ideology, in particular bourgeois nationalism and reformism, by wide-scale propaganda and agitation, by rallying conscious workers, and by uniting Marxist-Leninists.

For The Proletarian Party constituted a qualitative leap forward among the progressive forces at the time. The affirmation of the "PROLETARIAN" character of our tasks, in itself, marked an important rupture with the use of such terms as "salaried workers" or other expressions of the same nature. The fact that Marxism-Leninism was no longer considered to be an analytical grid, but a science and a guide for action, permitted the masses to grasp Marxism-Leninism and to demarcate from the economist point of view of the CAPs on the question.

For The Proletarian Party represented the first real break with revisionism and economism with regard to the strategy for building the Proletarian Party, which was seen as the **expression of the fusion of Marxism-Leninism and the workers' movement**. Because of that, it constituted the birth of the real Canadian Marxist-Leninist movement in Canada. For the first time since the complete degeneration of the CP, Canadian revolutionaries fixed the creation of a Party as their objective and established the method - ideological struggle among the masses. They also developed the means to attain their objective, buckling down to the task of publishing a newspaper, putting into practice the line and practicing criticism and self-criticism. If we recall the experience of the PWM which we talked about before, we will remember that the mistake of the members of this group was to be content with stating the necessity of such a Party, without making it the center of the revolutionary struggle, without giving themselves the means for achieving that task. In brief, the militants of the PWM never really undertook the task of building the Party. They were more content with supporting local workers' struggles. That is what distinguishes them from the militants who published **For The Proletarian Party** which constituted the beginning of the Marxist-Leninist movement because that's where the process of the fusion of Marxism-Leninism with the workers' movement began. Because the building of the Marxist-Leninist

(24) Cap St-Jacques was divided into three sectors - WORK - COMMUNITY - SCHOOL - which were defined according to the places where the militants worked. The so-called "work" sector took charge of the political work in the workplace, especially in the factories; the "community" sector grouped together the militants who worked in the peoples' organizations, in particular a medical clinic; the "school" sector was specialized in the struggles being waged in the schools (student struggles, professors' strikes).

Party is precisely the struggle to unite Marxism-Leninism with the workers' movement.

In a recent article criticizing our group's thesis on the path of the revolution in Canada, the CCL(M-L) put forward the following opinion on the strategic line explained in **For The Proletarian Party**.

"This text (For the Proletarian Party - editor's note) presented a completely erroneous, bourgeois nationalist line. It identified the national question as being the principal contradiction and put forward socialist revolution in Quebec only". (25)

Five years later, the League finally decides to pass judgement on **For the Proletarian Party**... better late than never! However if we are to follow the League's reasoning, this line was completely erroneous and a **bourgeois nationalist** line. But, if this is really true, how do you explain that **For The Proletarian Party** called for the struggle against nationalism, and clearly proposed the proletarian revolution, a revolution in which the proletariat would exercise its hegemonic role. If the League wasn't so blinded by sectarianism, if it had a materialist conception of history, and if it had the least little concern to educate the proletariat, it would have criticized the fact that **For The Proletarian Party** did not make a complete break with bourgeois nationalism, in that it **confined the proletarian revolution to the limits of Quebec**.

But at the same time it would have had the honesty to say that we advanced the project of the **proletarian revolution** for the first time, we affirmed the leading role of the working class, and we called for the struggle against bourgeois nationalism. Then the League would have concluded that, in the context of the epoch, **For The Proletarian Party** represented the most advanced position on the question, that it constituted a precise demarcation with revisionism, and that it contained the necessary elements to establish a decisive rupture with bourgeois nationalism. Then the League would only have been able to submit to the judgement of practice, and recognize what life experience had made evident.

But if the League had adopted such an attitude, well then it wouldn't be the League! It's quite easy today, outside of the conditions of the epoch, to say that **For The Proletarian Party** had a **bourgeois** nationalist line. With reasoning like that, we could retell the history of humanity and show, for example, that the defeat of the slave revolt at the time of the Roman Empire, was due to the non-application of the principle of mass line by its leader Spartacus! This example is a little exaggerated of course. But what we wanted to say with this caricature is that we cannot evaluate a past political line, we cannot evaluate something which at a given time constituted a progressive factor, if we look at things strictly from the point of view of what exists today. What constitutes progress in the past is not the same thing that constitutes progress today. It is completely anti-Marxist and idealist to criticize a group of individuals for not having, in the past, the knowledge that we have today. In other words, if we follow the reasoning of the League, you'd have to believe that the proletarian line appeared all of a sudden, that the correct line came down from the skies and ended up somewhere... who knows? Or perhaps it ended up in the Statement of Agreement of a few individuals who were gathered together in their garden one evening, under the full moon of course! No! The proletarian line is the result of struggles which went on for years. The proletarian line was always present but it was dominated. The proletarian line in Canada was developed and reinforced during the experience of the nationalist movement in the '60's in Quebec. Thus, in 1972, at a very specific moment, **For The Proletarian Party** represented the highest interests of the Canadian proletariat and a superior

development of the proletarian line. And in fact, the step forward that **For The Proletarian Party** constituted permitted the advancement of the struggle of the revolutionary proletariat in Canada and the breaking with bourgeois nationalism in a more complete way.

Not to recognize this is to demonstrate that we are motivated by petty-bourgeois revolutionism rather than by Marxism-Leninism. The League has much interest in finding all possible means for discrediting the historic role of **For The Proletarian Party**. For, all the opportunist groups such as the APLQ (Agence de presse libre du Québec - the Free Press Agency of Quebec), the CRIQ (the Centre de recherche et d'information du Québec - the Research and Information Center of Quebec) a research group which became the GAS (Groupe d'action socialiste-Socialist Action Group) before rallying to the League), the NPE (Noyau des petites entreprises - Small Factories Nucleus) and the Librairie progressiste (Progressive Bookstore), which opposed Marxism-Leninism and fought our group during that period, have today rallied to the League. When one is open to criticism about his opportunist past, it's of interest to be able to present a vision of history which can, to some extent, justify his errors.

The Librairie progressiste, the APLQ and the CRIQ were groups of intellectuals who defined themselves as workers' "support groups". They were groups of parasites who supported the work sector's line because the role of intellectuals was to blindly follow those who had links with the masses. Indeed, these groups were in ardent opposition to the line defended by the EDJ.

The EDJ, from its creation, waged a very firm line struggle against the opportunism of the CAPs. This had the effect of accentuating the contradictions within the CAPs, where for a long time, opposition to the leadership of the work sector had been developing. The most vigorous and important opposition came from the militants of the school sector and the neighbourhood nucleus of the CAP St-Jacques, who registered their attacks in a document entitled **Against Opportunism** (26), which, in our opinion, remains one of the best documents to study in order to understand the opportunism of the work sector, and the roots of the current opportunism in our movement. The very line of the work sector which favored the turning inwards of small groups, led to the crumbling of the CAPs. In the face of the sharpening of the differences, and the splits which took place - many militants joined our group, others formed the Cellule militante ouvrière (CMO - Militant Workers' Cell), others the Noyau des petites entreprises (NPE), which later became the Cercle Communiste marxiste-léniniste (Communist Circle Marxist-Leninist), before rallying to the League last winter in the most opportunist way imaginable. In an utterly putchist manner, the leadership of the work sector, reorganized the CAPs and in the spring of '74, formed the Regroupement des comités de travailleurs (RCT).

The RCT constituted the degeneration of the work sector, which wallowed in bourgeois nationalism and revisionism. The RCT's line was a completely revisionist line. Not only did the RCT's militants not propagate Marxism-Leninism in the masses, nor do communist organizational work, but further, they firmly opposed it. Moreover, they opposed the recognition of Marxism-Leninism as a guide for action. The RCT put forward that it was a priority to work "at the base" to organize the workers into committees which would wage economic struggles and to seek to radicalize local struggles. The gathering of the different workers' committees would result in an "organization of Quebec workers".

(25) October, Vol. 1, no. 1, summer '77, pp. 27-28.

(26) *Against Opportunism*, work document of the militants of the ex-CAP St-Jacques (school sector and neighborhood nucleus) March, '74, 31 pages.

The RCT's militants' practice consisted of infiltrating into factories, and, without identifying their political convictions, taking over a union factory or newspaper committee, and trying to pass off their political line. And that's what the RCT called, with a little less refinement than the League, the tactic of implantation. These literally putchist methods came from the same line as that of the work sector. And this same workerist line put forward that the awakening of socialist consciousness passes through many stages. The first stage was the economic struggle, followed by a second stage which was the political struggle. In **What is to be done?** Lenin qualified this opportunist theory as the "theory of stages", which, by mechanically applying the principle according to which the masses must make their own experiences, consisted, no more no less, in confining the masses to economic struggles. (27) But it was not only the RCT and the work sector who put forward this line. It was also to be found in Vancouver and in the Maritimes, in groups such as the Western Voice and the East Coast Socialist Movement. The Western Voice Collective in Vancouver was a group of petty-bourgeois revolutionaries which existed between 1973 and 1976 (28). The East Coast Socialist Movement was a group quite similar to the Western Voice, which existed in the Maritimes from 1970-1972. The group published a newspaper entitled the "East Coast Worker" (29) These groups were composed of petty-bourgeois elements freshly arrived from their university desks, just like the RCT and the Work Sector, and their militants, who, while studying the classics of Marxism-Leninism in their rooms each evening, by day, devoted themselves to completely economist work among the masses.

Our group waged firm struggle against this erroneous line which, in Quebec was led by the RCT, although, it was substantially shared by parasite groups, that we have already named. Our propaganda attacked the opportunist character of this line by showing its relationship with the partisans of the "theory of stages", who Lenin had condemned in his time. It denounced the reformist character of the RCT's line, and revealed its practical implications, that is, the maintenance of the proletariat under the yoke of capitalist exploitation and at the mercy of bourgeois politics.

In the manner of the Work Sector, the fundamentally erroneous line of the RCT led it to its failure. A grouping of small autonomous circles was unable to ensure the centralization needed to resolve the internal contradictions which were inevitably engendered by their scattered method of work. Moreover in many factories, the petty-bourgeois elements which had been sent there to do political work were kicked out by the union bosses, without having won the workers over to communism. The groups who had always considered IN STRUGGLE! to be a gang of "theorists" and had always opposed it, began to turn away from the RCT. A typical example of this type of opportunism was the Librairie Progressiste (Progressive Bookstore) which began to adopt centrist positions. And so, the Librairie Progressiste considered that IN STRUGGLE!, like the RCT, had its "good sides". IN STRUGGLE! had interesting theoretical findings; the RCT had long experience of concrete work with the working class. However, the RCT had the fault of not doing "vanguard" work (as it was called at the time), while they had disagreements with IN STRUGGLE!, but, as they themselves said, "We still have not clearly identified them, and consequently, we cannot grasp their full significance". (30)

Thus, because it was becoming too obvious that the line of the RCT was rotten, it was impossible not to denounce it and to demarcate from it. But at the same time, these groups were too opportunist to recognize the correctness of our line. For this precious experience of links with the working class which the RCT had acquired was probably valuable for reformist

work but was absolutely useless for communist work. But the most remarkable consequence of the line struggle against the line of the Work Sector and the RCT was the recognition, at least formally, by all existing groups that the task of the hour was the creation of the Marxist-Leninist Party and that agitation and propaganda were the tasks to be accomplished to achieve this objective.

The RCT was to perish, corroded by its internal contradictions which had intensified by its setbacks and by the struggle against its opportunism which our group spearheaded. Even so, economism did not disappear within the movement. It even existed within our ranks. And that is what pushed us to support the idea of turning the CSLO (Committee of Solidarity with Working Class Struggles), a mass organization which we had contributed to set up during the strike at Firestone in 1973, into a permanent committee.

The heirs of the RCT

Though the RCT was crumbling to pieces, its line continued existing without any doubt. It continued in groups such as the MREQ, who had kept aside from the struggle against the RCT; in the CMO, which did not claim to be for the "propagandists", as we were called, or for the "implantationists", and in the COR (Cellule Ouvrière Révolutionnaire - Revolutionary Working Class Cell), set up in April 74, Mobilisation, etc. These groups were the political heirs of the line of the RCT. It is true that these groups opposed the most openly revisionist aspects of the RCT. They recognized Marxism-Leninism to be a science, they acknowledged (at least formally) the central task - the building of the Marxist-Leninist Party - they agreed in words with the necessity of communist agitation and propaganda. But at the same time, these groups were carriers of the same fundamentally economist line of the RCT. Their political work in the working class was basically trade-unionist. They made the theory of implantation which had been so precious to the RCT, their own. The COR and the CMO considered that implanting petty-bourgeois elements in factories was the way to establish links with the working class. The MREQ believed that it was a method of proletarianizing a Marxist-Leninist organization. All of these groups considered it a good way to re-educate the petty-bourgeoisie.

Linked to this conception of implantation, was the idea that it was necessary, for workers to be able to judge the revolutionary value of this or that group, that intellectuals take the workers' place in the factories and in the leadership of their struggles, and that in this way prove their devotion.

This political conception, the origins of which can be traced back to the petty bourgeoisie's desire to establish its hegemony over the proletariat, denied, for all practical purposes, the principle according to which it is the masses who make history. Those who supported such a theory considered that propaganda outside the factories was not enough. However, as the self-criticism of the League's founding groups

(27) Lenin, *What is to be Done?*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1973

(28) To understand its history and its errors, read *Documents of the ideological struggle within the Western Voice Collective*, published in 1976 by the militants of the Western Voice, 19 pages.

(29) To understand the line of this group, we refer our readers to the criticism made by the Halifax Communist Group in *To develop conditions locally for the building of the national vanguard, struggle against the economist error in our group*. Dec. '76, 12 pages.

(30) Mobilisation, *Début d'un Mouvement Socialiste à Montréal*, 2ième Ed., 1971 ("Beginnings of a socialist movement in Montreal").

attested, it so happens that these "dedicated implanted workers" never did any serious communist propaganda. In practice, this political conception led to reserving theory for the intellectuals (or circles for those who did vanguard work) and keeping the masses subjected to the yoke of bourgeois ideology.

Our group firmly opposed this way of considering links with the masses. It held that the role of communists is not to do what the working class has been doing for more than 150 years - that is, to be able to organize to defend its immediate interests; rather, their role is to give the masses revolutionary ideological and organizational leadership so that they can overthrow the bourgeoisie. Our group vigorously denounced this "theory" because it led in practice to a refusal to have Marxism-Leninism penetrate among the masses.

Two lines on the nature of links with the working class confronted each other. These contradictions were most clearly manifested on the practical terrain of the CSLO, a committee which undertook to support workers' struggles and in which all the groups of that period participated. The publication of **Against Economism**, which sets forward the theoretical synthesis of the struggle within the CSLO, and which, moreover, proposed its dissolution, was an answer to the CMO's pamphlet "**De quelques questions brûlantes...**" (Some Burning Questions...), the MREQ's platform, and Mobilisation's theory of "mass political organizations", a theory inspired by the neo-Trotskyist group **Lotta Continua** in Italy which had a certain effect on the movement here. **Against Economism** was also a self-criticism of the economist errors that our group, among others, had committed.

The economist line proposed gathering together the most combative workers in "intermediary organizations" - the expression is the CMO's - that is, organizations whose platforms were neither communist nor really broadly-based, in spite of what was said at the time. The most typical example of these platforms was the CSLO's, which was anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, against national oppression, and for the defence of democratic rights. On the contrary, our group defended the idea, the simple and straight-forward idea, that communists' work in the working class should be communist work, be it ideological or organizational. It explained that communists didn't link themselves to the masses by implanting themselves in factories, but rather by their work of agitation and propaganda. In other words, the link with the masses is a **political** link, not a trade-unionist link. **Against Economism** showed that because it advocated assembling advanced workers in organizational frameworks that had neither a truly communist nor a truly mass character, this conception of intermediary organizations contributed to isolating the masses from advanced workers, and maintaining a reformist level of class consciousness. These conceptions led directly to lowering the political level of agitation and propaganda to a level acceptable for the bourgeoisie, and could only lead to failure and moving away from the revolution. An important characteristic of this error, still found among today's opportunists, was the isolating of the work of agitation and propaganda from the other tasks of communists. And this is a striking example:

"We have thus determined that our principal task in the first stage of the struggle for the Party is that of rallying the vanguard of the proletariat. To fulfil this task, communists' main form of activity is agitation-propaganda. However, during this period the communists must not stand aloof from the struggles waged by the toiling masses; rather, they must involve themselves in them, inasmuch as their forces allow, in order to transform them into political struggles and to carry out their work of agitation-propaganda. In their work within the

working class and the masses, communists must never forget either to set up and work within mass and vanguard organizations, always with the principal objective of rallying the vanguard to communism. And to accomplish this work, communists must be linked to the working class and the masses. That is why we advance implantation in factories as the principal means of linking ourselves to the masses, without, however, rejecting other forms of links with the masses. (31)

Thus, ideological and organizational work are separated: on the one hand, (supposedly) communist work of agitation-propaganda, and on the other hand, economist organizational work. Now, since ideology and organization are not separated in reality, the CMO militants had, like others, an ideology in conformity with their organizational work - i.e., reformist - which meant in practice that they linked themselves to the masses in a reformist way and liquidated communist agitation and propaganda. **Against Economism** had an important impact in English Canada, for it furnished important clarifications regarding current errors. Thus, in Vancouver, in particular within the **Western Voice Collective**, the publication of our pamphlet permitted a consolidation of the struggle already undertaken against economist errors. If **For The Proletarian Party** had, for the first time, correctly stated an objective, a method and a means of accomplishing the proletarian revolution, and thus constituted the act founding the movement, **Against Economism** constituted a decisive step forward in the development of the proletarian revolution in Canada, inasmuch as it clarified fundamental aspects of the nature of communists' political work among the masses. **Against Economism** was the final blow for the CSLO experiment, but not, however, for the rightist economist and opportunist line. This line was to reappear under new colours with the creation of the Canadian Communist League (ML) in October 1975.

The Work Sector is dead, long live the CCL(M-L)!

The creation of the League was a direct result of the struggle between IN STRUGGLE! on the one hand and the COR, and the MREQ on the other hand within the CSLO. The CSLO had already been dissolved with astonishing rapidity and unanimity. The MREQ, the CMO and the COR had for several months defended vigorously the continuation of the CSLO. A few days before the meeting which voted to dissolve the CSLO, they had prepared a text which proposed its continuation. Meanwhile, **Against Economism** was published, and suddenly, the day of the meeting, our "friends" began to support, without discussion, our proposal to dissolve the CSLO. Two months later, the CCL(M-L) appeared on the scene, sounding off like a moose that has just had its hide filled with buckshot.

It is clear that the League was created in opposition to our group. Thus, in its version of the history of the struggle for the unity of communists in Quebec (32), our group is presented as the historical obstacle to the unity of Marxist-Leninists in Quebec.

The League deluges us with all sorts of verbiage which is supposed to prove our sectarianism: we don't want unity. We have refused political debate. We have carried the line strug-

(31) *De quelques questions brûlantes sur la ligne tactique*, CMO, June 1975. (our translation).

(32) *The Struggle for the Creation of the Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist)*, p. 6-8, undated document.

gle to excesses by being too insistent about the demarcation between groups. We have denied the role that "even the smallest group can play in the building of a revolutionary organization" (33). In short, we have contributed to developing sectarianism among militants. But the League is not satisfied with attributing us with a supposedly sectarian history. It even asserts that we have an erroneous conception of unity! Thus, according to the League, we originated the theory of joint political actions as the main method of achieving the unity of communists. And by a judicious use of insinuations, it implies that its founding groups played an important role in our abandonment of this erroneous conception of unity.

We refer our readers to our supplement **Create the Marxist-Leninist organization of struggle for the Party**, published December 12, 1974, where, well before the CMO or the COR ever published anything whatsoever, we wrote as a headline, "The unification of Marxist-Leninists cannot take place without ideological struggle". (34) As for the MREQ, it did not attack this conception any more explicitly than we did in its document of October 1974, entitled **En avant pour la création de l'organisation marxiste-léniniste**. But, never mind!

The important thing to remember is that for the League we were an obstacle to the unity of communists and these three groups "suffered" from our sectarianism and our erroneous conceptions of unity. That is why these three groups were unable to unite with us! And thus they were justified in uniting amongst themselves! Is it possible that we were so sectarian and repulsive? To be clear about this, let's analyse their self-criticisms of their errors.

Consider the question of their economist errors. Firstly, everyone reproaches himself for having neglected communist agitation and propaganda, for having done trade-unionist work. In short, if we have correctly understood the self-criticism, nobody did communist work. In this way, the three groups pretend to bare their economist errors. But nobody except the COR makes self-criticism for its participation in the CSLO, and the COR takes care to point out that all Marxist-Leninists in Quebec made the same mistake. (p. 27) The COR also tells us, in these terms, that it has corrected its mistakes:

"Later, we waged the struggle for a correct line in the support of workers' struggles. We put forward the necessity to create support fronts instead of mass organizations for the support of workers' struggles. Communists should participate openly and actively in these fronts". (p. 27)

If we re-read this quotation closely, we must conclude that the CSLO's error was that it was a mass organization, and that the correct thing would have been for the communists to create "support fronts" where they would have participated openly and actively. If the COR asserts that the CSLO's mistake was that it was a mass organization, it is mistaken. The CSLO's mistake was that it was neither a mass organization nor a communist organization, and this led to isolating the advanced elements from the rest of the proletariat and lowering the political level of communists' political work. In short, it would seem that the COR doesn't recognize the essence of its errors, and that it continues to repeat them today within the CCL(M-L).

Let's look at the CMO's criticism of its conception of intermediary organizations, criticized in **Against Economism**:

"Moreover, in speaking of these mass groups in our pamphlet 'De quelques questions brûlantes sur la ligne tactique' (A few burning questions on tactical line, ed. note), we used the term 'intermediate organization' which gave the impression that we considered them as something other than mass groups". (p. 23)

Thus, the CMO does not recognize its errors with regard to this question. Moreover, it is still reproducing these same errors. Reading this passage should convince you:

"Through study, summing up of practice and the criticism of the economism of the CAP St-Jacques, we came to understand the fundamental importance of communist agitation and propaganda. But we committed the error of not considering this as the principal practical task at the present time; rather, we considered it as equal importance with the tasks of organization and participating in and initiating mass struggles". (p. 22).

If we have clearly understood this passage, the CMO's mistake consisted in having given as much attention to the work of organizing and initiating mass struggles as to the work of communist agitation and propaganda. So, if we are to believe the CMO, it would be correct to devote more efforts to the work of communist agitation and propaganda than to the work of organizing and initiating mass struggles. There again, the same mistakes are reproduced. In fact, the essence of the economist error was not that too little time was given to communist agitation and propaganda. The essence of this error was the separation of the links with the masses from the tasks of agitation and propaganda. This led in practice to the liquidation of communist agitation and propaganda, and to links with the masses developed on reformist bases.

Moreover, the CMO talks about the criticism of the CAP St-Jacques's economism, and about the fundamental importance of communist agitation and propaganda, but says nary a word about the Equipe du Journal that waged a firm struggle against the CAP's economism. It doesn't mention the group that tried for three years, against all opportunist currents, to convince everyone of the preponderant role of communist agitation and propaganda in the activities of Marxist-Leninists.

With regard to the practice of implantation, each of these groups made self-criticism. But none of them accuse themselves of having had an erroneous line of which implantation was one aspect. Rather, they talk of having had a "confused" position, of having over-emphasized one aspect or another. In the end, it's not so much the line itself that was wrong, but such and such an aspect that was "unclear", etc. If we re-read the quotation from the CMO, concerning intermediary organizations, we'll see that what it questions is not its line, but the use of an erroneous term.

To be truthful, the self-criticism of the League's founding groups is a superficial self-criticism that pretends to recognize the most glaring aspects of their opportunism that the victories of the proletarian line made impossible to disguise. But they in fact reproduce the same errors. The League's three founding groups retreated visibly when faced with the criticisms made of them in **Against Economism**. The CMO's, MREQ's and COR's self-criticisms are made in the style of someone filling out their income tax forms. The errors are added up without ever establishing the relationship between them. And so the COR, which has only a few ideas on the international situation, which has no position of the question of women, and which says that it had a confused and erroneous analysis of the tasks of Marxist-Leninists in Canada—which would be sufficient, according to the current criteria of the League, to toss this group out of the Marxist-Leninist movement - does not try to establish the link between all these mistakes or weaknesses in its line and the fact that its militants put most of their efforts into producing a small shop newspaper or going bowling with working-class families.

For us, the League's self-criticism is a formal, hypocritical and opportunist self-criticism. But what is most alarming in all this so-called self-criticism process is that all these groups criticize their former errors without the least reference to the line of the group that for the last two years waged, often alone, the most resolute struggle against these same errors.

Indeed, in these dozens of pages there is not a single reference to **Against Economism**, the theoretical text that was the fatal blow for the CSLO, (rejected by all now), except to say that the CSLO exaggerated and ridiculed economist errors! We could point out in passing that, two years after its publication, we are still waiting for criticism of this text. Perhaps we'll have to wait as long as was the case with **For the Proletarian Party**.

What can we conclude other than that the sugary self-criticism at the base of the creation of the Communist League sought only to rehabilitate economism and opportunism — both of which were badly in need of rehabilitation! It was no longer possible to put forward open conciliation or the lowering of the level of agitation and propaganda. And thus — as the history of this group has shown more than amply — the League camouflaged its economism with fashionable radicalism, a leftism that constantly repeats, as if to convince itself, that it is the purest of pure as far as Marxism-Leninism in Canada is concerned. But to make this metamorphosis believable, they still had to end with up the upper hand and so they decided to serve up the same old dish, heated up with a new sauce. The chosen ingredient was to be our supposed sectarianism, for the League accused us of sectarianism right from the beginning of this famous self-criticism. The accusation is serious, but since this group has a habit of making "serious" accusations backed up with unprincipled arguments and without any relation whatsoever to reality, we'll go on to these groups' process of unity, and how we were supposed to have been sectarian. The unity process of the three groups, which lasted from the spring to the fall of 1975, seems to have consisted mainly of debates between the leaderships, in which the role of members' and sympathizers' participation leaves one wondering.

"We did not carry on polemics and open ideological struggle sufficiently and we did not prepare our militants and sympathizers adequately for the creation of the Marxist-Leninist organization". (p. 40).

Of course, this is less astonishing when one has seen the League discourage its members and sympathizers from attending the First Conference of Marxist-Leninists in October 1976, and afterwards calling for a boycott of the conference last April. For the League, the matter of unity concerns above all its central committee, and not its members or the masses. But, back to the process of unity. Why this unity? Because an organization was necessary! The three groups accused themselves of having had a "wait and see" attitude in terms of organization. They emphasize that they were in agreement on all points except the "deepening of the class analysis in Canada in particular, the identification of the principal contradiction" (a very important minor difference, when one is acquainted with the League's criteria for unity). Consequently, the three groups created a commission to smooth out differences, and in one month this commission was able to arrive at an ideological consensus between the three groups.

Since finally the manoeuvre was a bit gross, the League hurries to say that the history of the process of unity of its three founding groups is not a "universal model" (p. 15) — that they neglected debate, they neglected the importance of certain questions, putting off their resolution until the end of the tripartite debates. These facts force us to conclude that the unity

that predominated in the founding of the League put organizational unity well to the forefront, ahead of ideological and political unity — i.e., it was necessary to unite!

In short, the way the ideological differences between the three groups were ironed out leave us with the distinct impression that the groups reached an unprincipled unity. They united because they had to create an organization!

In **Fight the Sectarianism of the CCL(M-L) IN STRUGGLE!** pointed out that self-proclamation was the underpinning of the creation of the League. Proof of this has been so striking and overwhelming that the League has tried to drown the criticism by self-criticizing for the pompous and sectarian attitude which marked its first public stammerings, while at the same time protesting much too much that its line on unity has no sectarianism in it at all (see **For the Unity of Marxist-Leninists**, by the CCL(M-L), pp. 43-44). But this was not and is not an accident, nor an overly enthusiastic cry from baby after his first burp! The self-proclamation of the League was a mask to hide what was really involved in the process leading to the creation of the League: this process, this opportunist process, was in fact aimed at consolidating an opportunist line.

Moreover, the League has never daigned to reply to our pamphlet, **Against Economism**. The very superficial criticism it does of the errors of the three founding groups in no way put into question their economist errors. Today it is possible to see how and why the creation of the League was not, in fact, a step forward for the Marxist-Leninist movement, but rather the beginning of the consolidation of the right opportunist line within the movement.

And it's precisely for that reason that all of the groups which opposed **For The Proletarian Party**, have joined the League. It would appear that all those who supported the Work Sector and the RCT, as well as those who wanted to maintain the erroneous experience of the CSLO, have been reborn as the pure and fervent defenders of unexpurgated Marxism-Leninism. This change of clothing or change of theme song might have fooled some for awhile, but sooner or later the unfolding of events was bound to reveal the real nature of things. The act of creating the League was a very serious one because it constituted an act of opposition to an already constituted Marxist-Leninist line which had won important victories. The League was created without the knowledge of the movement, in an opportunist way. The sectarianism which it flaunted from the moment of its birth, served in fact to camouflage its right opportunist line.

Today, from an historical perspective, we are able to trace the birth of the Canadian Marxist-Leninist movement back to the publication of **For The Proletarian Party**, and the foundation of the Equipe du Journal (EDJ). Practice has proven that it was in **For the Proletarian Party** that the central task of building the Marxist-Leninist Party and the means and method for doing so were posed in a correct manner for the first time. The EDJ-EN LUTTE! (IN STRUGGLE!) (35) was the most faithful propagandist of this line and it was because it was able to maintain itself on the course of the strategic objec-

(33) By the way, knowing how the League looks down its nose at the small, confused groups, and encourages, as a way of achieving unity, petty-bourgeois competition between large groups, we can presume that it would today disown this remark.

(34) We go on, "That is why the unity of Marxist-Leninists absolutely cannot be realized without proceeding from a clearly formulated political proposal, distributed among the groups, widely debated and developed, in order to become the political rallying point with regard to which each and every person will be able to form an opinion and act accordingly." Supplement to IN STRUGGLE!, no. 29 (December 12, 1974), p. 19. In English, *Western Voice*, November 1976, p. 55.

(35) The EDJ is the initial name which the nucleus of militants who published the newspaper EN LUTTE! itself. It wasn't until its first congress in November '74, that the group adopted the same name as its newspaper.

EN LUTTE!

JOURNAL DE COMBAT DE LA CLASSE OUVRIÈRE

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UNITÉ OUVRIÈRE POUVOIR OUVRIER

Pour le
parti prolétarien

Mai 1986-mai 1973
La classe ouvrière
ennemi principal

★ PUBLÉ PAR EN LUTTE!

The publication of "For the Proletarian Party" brought about a radical break from the reformism propagated by the CAP's and the entire progressive movement of the 1972-73 period. For the first time since the CP and the PWM, the question of the Marxist-Leninist Party was set as an immediate task. With the publication of its bi-monthly newspaper (shown here is the first issue published on May Day 1973), the "Equipe du Journal", as it was called at the time, once again hoisted the flag of Marxism-Leninism and moved the struggle for the Proletarian Party forward. Today the group IN STRUGGLE! is active from Vancouver to Halifax and the correctness of the ideas of those who were called "intellectuals cut off from the masses" is becoming a powerful tool in the hands of the working class.



tive of building the Party, as formulated in **For The Proletarian Party**, that it was afterwards able to rectify its nationalist errors on the path of the revolution.

The opportunism in our movement has been constantly defined in opposition to the line in **For The Proletarian Party**. At the time of the Work Sector and the RCT, this opposition was manifested in open opposition to Marxism-Leninism, by a refusal to spread revolutionary science within the working class. It was a time when the small groups were all turned inwards on their local practices. It was a time when the opportunists were so tailist with regard to the spontaneous movement of the working class that they supported the PQ during the elections because the workers in the shops voted PQ!... In brief, it was a time of reformist work in the working class and of open conciliation with the bourgeoisie.

But life is such that if we have a correct line and if we persevere, sooner or later we are going to develop and be successful. Basing itself on the line in **For The Proletarian Party**, IN STRUGGLE! waged a firm struggle against opportunism in the movement and its ranks grew with the addition of new militants. The Work Sector and the RCT rapidly perished. All of the remaining groups, as well as the new groups to appear on the scene, formally recognized the line of **For The Proletarian Party**, while all the while maintaining their opposition to the group which advanced this line. In words they recognized the necessity of building a Marxist-Leninist type Party, and the imperative of doing communist agitation and propaganda, but in practice, they conserved the heritage of the RCT, and they lowered the political level of their work within the working class to a level acceptable to the bourgeoisie, to the level of reformism.

The result of the struggle against this tendency to lower the level of agitation and propaganda was the publication of **Against Economism**. Because of the answer which it gave to the question: How should we build links with the working class? **Against Economism** constituted another leap forward for the proletarian line. From that moment on, it was no longer possible to be satisfied with a formal recognition of someone's adherence to Marxism-Leninism. It was now necessary that deeds be consistent with words!

The direct result of the publication of **Against Economism**, was the fusion of the most important opportunist groups into one new organization, the CCL(M-L). The League was created without the knowledge of the movement and in opposition to a Marxist-Leninist line and group, which for three years had caused all of the progressive forces to advance. The League pretended to recognize the greater part of its economist errors without ever mentioning the group which had contributed to the criticism of these errors. The League constituted the consolidation of the right opportunist line, present throughout the movement's history, only this time hidden behind a new mask.

Thus, the Marxist-Leninist movement was born in Quebec as a break with bourgeois nationalism, and it was developed and reinforced in the struggle against economism. The victories won in Quebec in the struggle against economism were to stimulate similar struggles in English-Canada, and aided the coming together of the communists of the two nations. And this is what we are going to examine in the next chapter.

5. THE GROWTH OF THE MOVEMENT ON A NATIONAL SCALE

We stated in the previous chapters that one of the results of the degeneration of the Communist Party of Canada and the

rise of modern revisionism was the crumbling of the proletariat's unity and its division on a national basis. One of the most negative effects of the rise of nationalism in the '60's was to deepen the ditch which separated English-Canadian and Quebec workers. Of course these divisions have an objective basis. It's a sad fact, but true, that the national oppression of the Quebec nation by the Canadian bourgeoisie furnishes the conditions for this division. Throughout Canada's history, the bourgeoisie's policy has always consisted of arousing national hatred to maintain its domination. Throughout the country, the ruling class has continually persisted in not recognizing the national rights of the francophones. We have only to recall that very few of the bourgeois political parties recognize the Quebec nation's right to self-determination. And among the chauvinist parties we find the rotten social democratic NDP, which still tries to pass itself off as a "workers" and even a "socialist" party.

In the past few years, the most popular tactic for arousing national hatred in Canada, has been to play off the national minorities and the immigrant colonies against the Quebecois and vice-versa. We have only to recall how two years ago, the Montreal millionaire Bronfman financed a hysterically racist campaign on Montreal radio, on the pretext of opposing Bill 22. We only have to think of the war which the Inuit are presently waging against Bill 101 (the Language Act) and the way in which the different factions of the bourgeoisie are trying to use this struggle to make political hay. The federal State is publicizing this struggle in order to heighten our mistrust of Quebec workers, while the nationalist faction of the bourgeoisie in Quebec is trying to pretend that this correct struggle is a manoeuvre of "les anglais" to suppress the linguistic rights of the Quebecois. We can also talk about how the nationalists have been bringing out the bogeyman of the assimilation of the race, due to the massive entry of immigrant workers, and presenting these class brothers and sisters of the Quebec workers as the cause of their national oppression. There's no end to the examples of the bourgeoisie's policy of division.

The reinforcement of the Canadian monopoly bourgeoisie after the Second World War had as an effect, the hardening of the resistance of the nationalist faction of the bourgeoisie in Quebec. The policy of this nationalist faction of the bourgeoisie in Quebec consisted of promoting narrow nationalism so as to gain support in the masses and to reinforce its positions in its contradictions with the Canadian monopoly bourgeoisie. The reason for the PQ's success can be found in the fact that it sought to and, in fact, was able to attack the working class to the tail-end of its kite. Up until then, all of the nationalist parties or organizations in the history of Quebec were characterized by their openly contempt and antagonistic attitude towards the working class. The nationalists of the 19th Century opposed the working class's right to association. Those of the '30's supported fascist theses and openly praised private property. The strength, the political genius of the PQ consisted in making an alliance with the workers' movement through union centers. This alliance was illustrated during the United Aircraft strike, one of the longest and hardest strikes in our history. During this conflict, the PQ deployed its entire machine (artists, unionists, politicians) to "come to the aid" of the strikers. At the end of the strike, Louis Laberge, while praising the unionist past of René Lévesque, solemnly announced that the QFL would give its support to the PQ in the next elections. From that moment on, bourgeois nationalism had a direct and open door to the working class through the intermediary of the union leadership. This fact deserves attention, for it gives an idea of the position of strength which bourgeois nationalism holds and of the real danger that it represents for the proletarian revolution. Bourgeois nationalism in Quebec is no longer a simple social movement involving the

petty-bourgeoisie, it now has stubborn roots within the working class.

These facts should permit us to judge the importance of each step made in the direction of the unity of the whole Canadian proletariat. In the entire history of Canada, and this is particularly true today, the Canadian Marxist-Leninist movement is the only political force to have fought great-nation chauvinism and narrow nationalism, and to have been the vigorous defender of the national rights of the Quebecois. It is among the very few to have recognized the Quebec nation's right to self-determination (including the right to separate), while all the while putting forward the necessity of the unity of the proletariat of the two nations and showing that the achievement of this contradiction must be preceded by the recognition of the national and democratic rights of the Quebec nation.

As the general crisis of imperialism deepens and the political crisis shaking the Canadian bourgeoisie intensifies, as the factors of division grow within the proletariat, at the same time we can see the factors of unity progressing. We have only to think of the manifestations of solidarity between the proletariat of the two nations which are increasingly frequent. This solidarity is testified to by the different committees created in Vancouver and Ontario to support the flourmill worker's struggle. We should also remember the demonstration in Ottawa on March 22, 1976, where for the first time in a long time, the workers of the two nations united to mark their opposition to the bourgeois State, and in particular to the Wage Control Act. But clearly the most important phenomenon in this sense is the birth of a Canadian Marxist-Leninist movement.

Victories of the Canadian Communist Movement

When **For The Proletarian Party** launched the idea that the proletarian revolution was henceforth on the agenda, and that one of the things this implied was the struggle against bourgeois nationalism, a great step forward was taken in the proletariat developing its own policy independent from that of all the parties of the bourgeoisie.

However, **For The Proletarian Party** did not represent a complete break with nationalism even if the most decisive steps in that direction had been taken. **For The Proletarian Party** made the error of limiting the framework of the revolution to that of Quebec. This indicates the weight of bourgeois nationalism then present within the revolutionary forces.

It was towards the end of 1974, the beginning of 1975, that the Quebecois groups understood that the Quebecois proletariat cannot make proletarian revolution if it does not unite with the rest of Canada. One after another, documents were published - **En avant pour la création de l'Organisation marxiste-léniniste (Forward for the Creation of the Marxist-Leninist Organization)** by the MREQ in October 1974, and **Créons l'Organisation marxiste-léniniste de lutte pour le Parti (Create the Marxist-Leninist Organization of struggle for the Party)** by IN STRUGGLE! in December 1974 - which argued that the proletarian revolution must be carried out on a Canadian scale. From that point on, little by little, all of the Marxist-Leninist groups in Quebec were to rally to this point of view.

Until then, the links between the Marxist-Leninists of the two nations had been very tenuous. The creation of the journal **Canadian Revolution** in May 1975 changed the situation. The creation of the journal **Canadian Revolution** is an important milestone in the history of the Canadian Marxist-Leninist movement. By translating some of the texts of Quebec groups, the new journal carried the debate to a national level. At the same time, it obliged the circles of English-Canada to come out of their state of isolation and to stop turning in on themselves. **Canadian Revolution** also marks the beginning of the adhesion of

the circles of English-Canada to the idea that the creation of the Party is the central and immediate objective to be achieved at the present time. Until that time, the circles had considered that the central task was to develop a political line, and they had an erroneous conception of this task, divorcing it from practice in the masses and from the struggle for the unity of Marxist-Leninists. The success of the struggle against economism in Quebec helped small circles to move out of their isolation. We have previously mentioned that the publication of **Against Economism** had stimulated the line struggle which was being waged in the Western Voice Collective. The debate now had a national character.

On May 1st, 1976, our newspaper became a bilingual newspaper. From that time on, our propaganda and our agitation was to reach workers of both languages. This was a concrete application of our strategic line, and a clearer break with bourgeois nationalism.

The widening of the debate on the national scale led to the rallying of groups in English-Canada to groups in Quebec. In June 1976, Worker's Unity of Toronto announced that it had rallied to the League. Just a little while later, the Toronto Communist Group joined IN STRUGGLE!

While the debate was gaining national scope, the consolidation of right opportunism in the League was becoming more and more apparent. The rallying in rapid succession of Mobilisation, the GAS, the APLQ, and the CC(M-L), opportunist groups which had always, in the past, slowed down the development of the Marxist-Leninist movement, is an eloquent sign of this. Our group is partly responsible for the fact that this tendency within the League was reinforced, and thus able to cause the damage it is presently doing to the revolution. Our silence, our slowness in reacting to the appearance of the League, deserve to be criticized by the masses. We attribute this error to the dogmatism which existed in our ranks and which gained strength in the struggle against economism. Following the success of the struggle in the CSLO, our group developed the tendency to close in on itself, as if the struggle against the lowering of the level of agitation and propaganda meant that we had to stop all political work in the struggles of the masses. The consequence of this was that the way was left open for the League in the masses. This enabled the League to take advantage of the good faith of honest militants, without having to face any firm and articulate opponents who could have armed these people to resist the attacks of the League's divisive and sectarian line which was being presented to them as the latest thing in revolutionary matters.

October 9, 1976, was the occasion of an important event which was to materialize the desire for unity of Marxist-Leninists across the country. It was the National Conference of Marxist-Leninists which our group had taken the initiative of organizing. For the first time since the degeneration of the Canadian Communist Party, Marxist-Leninists of both nations participated in a common political meeting and expressed their firm desire to unite in a Marxist-Leninist Party. It was following this conference that the Group for the Proletarian Revolution (GRP), the Halifax Communist Group, the Vancouver Communist Group and the Regina Communist Group decided to join our ranks.

A second conference of Canadian Marxist-Leninists on the path of the revolution in Canada was held in Montreal April 9 and 10, 1977. Following this conference which forced the participants to demarcate from bourgeois nationalism, three Marxist-Leninist groups in Vancouver, the Long March Collective, the May First Collective and the October Study Group announced their decision to rally to IN STRUGGLE! If we take into account the historical weight of bourgeois nationalism in the Canadian communist movement, and the power of "small-groupism", each group being jealous of its own autonomy, the rallying of these groups to IN STRUGGLE! marks another important victory for the Canadian Marxist-Leninist movement. It

May First Collective, an opportunist group

Western Voice's self-criticism of right-opportunism

Half-way measures don't work

Documents of the ideological struggle within the Western Voice Collective

Deepen the struggle against Right Opportunism

In Struggle has sunk completely into revisionism!

Mobilisation must choose: Climb out of the opportunist swamp or drown

On Canada as a second world country

The League: Since its creation in the fall of 1975, the CCL(ML) has expelled from the Marxist-Leninist movement, one after the other, Mobilisation, the Western Voice from Vancouver and the May First Collective. And in October of this year it was IN STRUGGLE's turn to come under the League's decrees. Following the CPC(ML)'s steps in 1970, the League is refusing all line debate around the political program and is about to proclaim itself the party of the working class. But the masses don't want to have anything to do with self-proclaimed phoney parties!

represents a step forward in the struggle for the reconstruction of the revolutionary Party of the proletariat.

At the present time, the Marxist-Leninist movement is a living reality. The groups of English-Canada have come out of their state of isolation and are active in the line struggle within the movement. The polemic has a national character. Marxist-Leninist literature is becoming more and more abundant, more and more rigorous. At the same time, the intensification of the polemics at the National Conferences of Marxist-Leninists enabled us to perceive more clearly the differences which divide us.

However, in spite of the progress of the proletarian line, in spite of the fact that the unity of Marxist-Leninists is growing, we realize that there are still obstacles which stand in the way of the achievement of this unity.

The League

The League has been and remains one of the most important obstacles to the unity of Canadian Marxist-Leninists, to the unity of the Canadian proletariat. For a year now, the League has demonstrated an attitude of contempt for the small Marxist-Leninist groups. If they do not swear to rally to the League, it pretends to ignore them, it accuses them of generating confusion or else it expels them from the movement, with the threat of excommunication as the only form of trial. The League refuses to debate with the movement. It has substituted sensationalism and slander worthy of the worst yellow newspapers for honest and open ideological struggle. The League has a peculiar conception of line struggle, according to which whoever does not have a point of view absolutely identical with the one it holds is the worst sort of leper and is going to sink into the dark brown swamp of revisionism.

Moreover, the League believes that the masses are too stupid to participate in the line struggle and in the struggle for the unity of Marxist-Leninists. It is the only possible explanation of the fact that it called for the boycott of the Conferences of Marxist-Leninists, that it has systematically refused to participate in public debates in various parts of the country, that it has forbidden our militants to distribute our literature at its public meetings, that it has refused to sell Marxist-Leninist literature with which it has differences. The League is attempting to keep the masses ignorant of the Canadian, as well as the

international, Marxist-Leninist movement. It is understandable that the League, which has up until now restricted its theoretical activities to the incessant repetition of general and abstract principles, should fear that its militants and sympathizers become aware of the fraudulent nature of its own line by reading documents other than its own. So be it! We must understand that, objectively, the League contributes to dividing the Marxist-Leninists of the two nations, that it opposes the unity of communists.

The League is attempting to create its party outside and apart from the struggle for the unity of the masses. It is seeking to create its Party without debate among the masses, who must be preserved from "deviations". One group has already practiced this type of sectarianism: the "C"PC(M-L). Like the "C"PC(M-L), the League wants to create the Party without the masses knowing about it. It wants to make revolution in their stead. But let us not be mistaken, behind these "leftist" errors hides a strong tendency towards right opportunism.

The political work of the League in working-class struggles aims at radicalizing the economic struggles in order to make them political. The League seems to think that workers must be hit over the head with a club or shot at with a gun before they can understand that they are exploited not only by one boss, but by a whole class which maintains its dictatorship thanks to the strength of the State apparatus. Reasonings such as these are not new in the history of our movement. They were brilliantly put forward by the RCT before the later's total political downfall. This is not surprising when we know that the League is the product of three groups which were looking for a way out of the young Marxist-Leninist movement errors which had been revealed to the masses in **Against Economism**.

This is the League's heritage. The League is the heir of the opportunist errors of the "C"PC(M-L) and of the RCT, that is to say of the two main opportunist tendencies in Canada. But these are not the only opportunist tendencies which exist in Canada.

Another tendency, typical of the circles in English-Canada, consists of elaborating in great detail, and in isolation, the political line, and putting off to some later date, for all practical purposes, the struggle for the Party. This tendency is strong mainly in the region of Vancouver and the Red Star Collective is the most articulate example of this.

The Red Star Collective

In a pamphlet published recently by the Long March Collective of Vancouver (36), it is stated that the RSC established the development of the political line which would make possible the unity of communists in view of the creation of a Marxist-Leninist organization as the priority of communists. Once this organization was created, the task of communists would be to rally the advanced workers to communism.

The Vancouver Study Group, the ancestor of the RSC, had formulated a similar position in 1976 when it proposed the setting up of a liaison committee to unite the various groups in the region of Vancouver (37). This way of separating the struggle for the unity of communists from the struggle to rally advanced workers is, in essence, erroneous and economist, as the Long March Collective has pointed out; it leads to restricting the theoretical debates to the intellectuals and to leaving the economic struggles for the workers. This line made a principle out of the very real isolation in which the Vancouver groups found themselves. By putting off to some later date the rallying of advanced workers, it leads in practice to the refusal to build an organization on a national scale.

The literature which the RSC has been publishing for some time now deals mainly with questions pertaining to the development of the line. In most cases these documents consist of long lists of facts, said to be concrete, in which an empirical method takes the place of dialectics. Even if it is important and necessary to publish documents on these questions, this is not enough. It is not just a question of writing long theses, it is also a question of inserting these positions in the conjuncture of the working-class movement. We must also submit our positions to the criticism of the masses and verify them in practice. We must not only elaborate a line, we must also enable it to penetrate the masses, translating it into lively slogans which will mobilize the masses for revolutionary action. This dialectical movement between theory and practice is the only way to make sure that a line develops in a proletarian manner. Whether we like it or not, a Marxist-Leninist political line cannot develop outside of the struggle to rally workers.

The RSC includes militants who formerly belonged to the PWM and the Vancouver Study Group. These militants still refrain from recognizing PWM's nationalist errors, and up until now have never produced an evaluation of the experience of PWM. Regarding Party-building, the RSC makes mistakes which are a continuation of the mistakes of PWM. They undoubtedly put less emphasis on the struggle for the Canadianization of unions and devote more energy to developing their political line, but in practice the militants of RSC, like those of PWM, do not do communist agitation and propaganda in the working-class movement. This will inevitably lead to capitulation in face of the task of building the Party, just as happened with PWM...

Bolshevik Union

Although we can go back and uncover the historical roots of the RSC and the League, the task seems more difficult in the case of Bolshevik Union (BU), a circle formed in the fall of 1975 around a few militants from the journal **Canadian Revolution**.

Bolshevik Union appeared at a time when the debate among Marxist-Leninists was emerging from the narrow framework of small circles and taking on a national dimension. This group is thus the consolidated expression of these small circles that refuse to transform themselves into Marxist-Leninist organizations. This small-group obstinacy and resis-

tance is demonstrated by Bolshevik Union's opposition to democratic centralism, that is, the principle of leadership of all authentic communist parties. It is also revealed in its contempt for the proletariat's struggles, and its elitist conception of the vanguard of the proletariat.

In social terms, Bolshevik Union represents the interests of the segment of the intellectual petty-bourgeoisie radicalized by the crisis, but which refuses the proletarian revolution. This group's line is closer to Trotskyism, which is moreover the political expression of the intellectual petty-bourgeoisie, than it is to Marxism-Leninism.

The relationship between BU and Trotskyism can be found in various aspects of its political line. Its elitist conception of the vanguard of the proletariat is curiously reminiscent of the Trotskyist theory of cadres that the Albanian communists fought in the early 1940's, and which results in refusing to have communists intervene in the masses' struggles on the pretext that the cadres, the future leaders of the Party, are not "ready". This theory expresses the fear and cowardice of these petty-bourgeois elements when faced with the revolution. In the same way, BU's line on the role of the State unequivocally recalls the Trotskyist theory which states that the revolution consists in taking over factories one by one because the necessity of destroying the bourgeois State is plainly secondary, priority being given to "taking over the means of production". Such a theory serves to delude the masses concerning the role of the State and the repressive nature of this instrument which is indispensable to the bourgeoisie in maintaining its dictatorship.

But BU's counter-revolutionary line is most clearly demonstrated in its practice of unity, which is in fact a practice of splittism. During the Third Conference of Canadian Marxist-Leninists it became evident that the more the militants of BU had points in common with a line, the more they tried to demarcate from it. This is the very essence of splittism. It consists in subordinating points of agreement, that is to say, subordinating what already constitutes a factor of unity. This can only lead to division. This is indeed very petty-bourgeois behaviour: emphasizing heavily what sets us apart from ordinary mortals instead of basing ourselves on what unites us with our exploited brothers. In practice, such a position leads to splits among communists, which means the sabotaging of the revolutionary struggle. We were wondering which family tree BU could be attached to. Well, splittist seeds grow on "C"PC(M-L) trees!

The current Marxist-Leninist movement has become a political reality on the Canadian level. The factors of unity have been reinforced by the national conferences and the frank and open debates. Significant victories have been won against bourgeois nationalism and small-group spirit. But the more the movement develops and the more the debates accentuate, the more we realize that the obstacles we currently confront have deep historical roots. The affiliations are becoming clearer. When we see how the League practices unity, we are convinced that the umbilical cord which attached the MREQ, one of its founding groups, to the "C"PC(M-L) has not been entirely severed. As for BU, it has just given us proof that it is the adopted child of the Bains gang! The RSC, for its part, is the leader of the gang in the bourgeois nationalist tendency which goes back to PWM. Both rightist and "leftist" errors are

(36) *The Progressive Worker's Movement and the Red Star Collective: a Legacy of Economism and Bourgeois Nationalism in the Marxist-Leninist Movement, by the Long March Collective, May 77, p. 22. This pamphlet has just been published by IN STRUGGLE! in Proletarian Unity* ol. 1, No. 6, August 77, pp. 14-30).

(37) See in *Proletarian Unity*, Vol. 1, no. 2, p. 54, the article from May First Collective, "Ideological struggle is class struggle".

to be found in all these groups. Thus, the League's sectarianism is a screen for its economism. BU talks constantly about absolutely demarcating from the worst opportunists, but it doesn't hesitate to call upon the proletariat to support the Canadian bourgeoisie in defending the country's independence. The RSC has a dogmatic conception of how to elaborate a political line, but at the same time it compromises with the Canadian bourgeoisie, which it perceives as not "really" imperialist! In short, right opportunism is often combined with dogmatism and sectarianism, and this is understandable. For the more the proletarian line is demarcated from the bourgeois line, the more the bourgeois line is obliged to disguise itself in radical clothing, under "left-wing" colours, in order to win the attention of the masses.

6. CONCLUSION

The Canadian Marxist-Leninist movement had its origins in the petty-bourgeois revolutionaries who became politically active in the wake of the nationalist movement of the Sixties (particularly in Quebec). In the face of a rapidly developing workers' movement, these revolutionaries became aware of what was really involved in class struggle.

But at the same time as this fusion was taking place and revolutionary theory began to take hold in Canada, nationalist ideology — as a bourgeois deviation — was grafted onto revolutionary theory. Thus the movement and ideology of the petty-bourgeois continued to exist, even within the Marxist-Leninist movement. In part, this was possible due to the great affluence which existed within the ranks of the petty-bourgeoisie who, despite their efforts to adopt the proletarian viewpoint, continued to carry with them their own class interests.

The tendency to substitute oneself for the masses, to want to make the revolution in place of the masses, and to doubt the revolutionary capacity of the masses, are also errors characteristic of the attitude of the petty-bourgeoisie in regard to the proletariat. These tendencies were expressed when the petty-bourgeoisie tried to link itself to the working class, and, it was in the struggle against these deviations that the proletarian line became distinct.

In recent history, the struggle within progressive and Marxist-Leninist groups between the two lines — between the forces of progress and of reaction — included three important occasions.

First: during the Sixties the progressive forces were represented by those who favoured political agitation in the masses in order to raise the level of consciousness of the people; they had acquired their experience in the nationalist movement and in the struggle to demarcate from it. Opposed to this current was the tendency of the social animators, those who favoured a low-keyed approach to the masses, refusing to deal with political questions.

Second: in 1972 with the publication of **For a Proletarian Party**, which was the founding act of today's Marxist-Leninist movement, came the realization that it was not enough to do mass political agitation in order to link with the masses, but that propaganda must also be undertaken; and that both agitation and propaganda must be of a communist nature. Opposed to the Marxist-Leninist line were those who more and more doubted the ability of the masses to make revolution, and who at that point, were trying to link with the proletariat on reformist bases through the implantation of petty-bourgeois elements in factories and in union struggles.

Third: today, at a time when the proletariat is suffering under the heavy weight of the crisis, at a critical time when a short-term victory of the proletariat against the savage attacks of the bourgeoisie would put the working class as a whole in a better position to pursue the revolutionary struggle, the old opportunist line has re-emerged in all its splendour in the form of the radicalization of economic struggles in order to make them political. Opposed to this line is the proletarian line which seeks to unite the working class on the basis of the political struggle against the bourgeoisie. This tendency, which refuses to come into contact with the working class on a political basis, and which in practice prevents the working class from seizing the invincible weapon of Marxism-Leninism, persists today.

We cannot reduce the struggle against opportunism in our movement to the struggle against this strong current alone, although it is the most important and most firmly consolidated opportunist tendency. Just as this tendency is characterized by the wish to gain hegemony over the entire movement, there is another tendency which refuses to develop within the masses. In this case certain small groups want to maintain organizational primitiveness and the division between the workers' movement and the Marxist-Leninist movement. In the past this has led to compromise in respect to the task of party building and has allowed proletarian politics to trail behind the nationalist movement. Today this current is trying to separate the struggles to develop the theory of revolution in Canada and the unity of Marxist-Leninists from the diffusion of Marxism-Leninism in the masses and the struggle to rally advanced workers to communism. In practice this leads to the isolation of Marxist-Leninists from the masses and to the liquidation of the task of building a strong country-wide Marxist-Leninist Party.

Although the history of our movement is not very long, it is rich in lessons, lessons which we must grasp in order to go forward to even greater victories. Opportunist errors, in different disguises, have a habit of reappearing during the course of the development of the proletarian line. The struggle against opportunism requires that we have an understanding of the development of revisionism in Canada and a critique of its most important manifestations. One of the characteristics of opportunism is to make compromises with the bourgeoisie. History shows us that those who tend to make compromises with the bourgeoisie in terms of the strategic plan, tend also to make secondary the struggle for building the Party — even liquidating the struggle.

In short, the success of the revolution in Canada depends upon the unity of the proletariat of the two nations. The existence of a Marxist-Leninist Party is the essential element necessary in order to realize and consolidate this unity and shape it into a powerful force for the liberation of all workers.

We can say that the situation in our country is positive. We have begun to draw lessons from our past struggles, and if we are able to do so, even in a limited way, this is because we have applied Marxism-Leninism to the practice of proletarian revolution in our country. These lessons represent the results of revolutionary work in Canada. They are the products of our experiences in our revolution.

We are advancing upon a difficult path. It is one which places us in irrevocable opposition to the Canadian bourgeoisie and its allies, all the reactionary forces around the world. Weak, divided, spread out across a vast country, the Marxist-Leninist and workers' movement will defeat the enemy and achieve our final objective if we put into practice what we learn. Positive steps forward will lead us to positive leaps forward and will be transformed into great victories. The Canadian revolution has begun!

A FEW POLITICAL LESSONS OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST RACIST BILL C-24

Profiting from the summer season, on the eve of the last parliamentary session, the Canadian ruling class finally succeeded in making that damned Bill C-24 into law. In hardly any time at all it voted a new repressive law which is another aspect of the attack against the entire Canadian working class, even though it is mainly directed against our immigrant brothers.

The mobilization last winter and spring against this Bill clearly posed the question:

how can we reinforce the unity of the Canadian and immigrant working class, how can we win over our immigrant brothers to the revolutionary struggle?

At a time when the changes in the situation force us to reorient our action, it's necessary to do a summation of the struggle we have waged against Bill C-24, and to draw out the lessons, so that we clearly understand our revolutionary tasks with respect to the immigrant working class.

A thoroughly racist and reactionary law

But beforehand, we should recall all of the despicableness of this infamous law. First of all, it restrains our immigrant brothers' entry into Canada in the most arbitrary way. The merest suspicion, or a "secret report" on the part of the Immigration Department are now sufficient. And what is worse, it permits the expulsion of any immigrant worker in a revolting fashion. Even permanent residents can be thrown out of the country, just as easily. All political refugees who have managed to enter Canada automatically fall under the bludgeon of this law and thus risk expulsion at any moment. And that's not all. This same law directly threatens all immigrant patriotic organizations in Canada. Any immigrant comrade who dared to stand up to the fascist dictatorship in Chile, Brazil, Iran, the Philippines, or elsewhere, and who continues to struggle here against these regimes which torture his people, can be expelled under this law. Forced to return to his country, it's prison, torture or death which await him. All revolutionary, patriotic, or even simply democratic immigrants are treated like criminals, and can be booked, intimidated or interrogated by any immigration officer. This law gives the police total freedom to make completely arbitrary decisions.

And it doesn't stop there. Even if the Immigration Act is aimed mainly at our immigrant brothers, it also

attacks the entire Canadian people. Thus, any non-immigrant worker is liable to fines or imprisonment if he ever denounces the harassment of his immigrant brothers or if he offers help to an immigrant who is wanted by the law.

A Marxist-Leninist analysis of this law.

It's thus once again a question of a savage attack against our rights on the part of the bourgeoisie. Those who are satisfied with a superficial analysis will say that it's just one more attack. But is it really just another attack? It is an attack which arrives at a very particular moment in the Canadian bourgeoisie's strategy of consolidation on both the internal and international fronts. IN STRUGGLE! has put this point of view forward since the beginning of the struggle against Bill C-24, with the goal of mobilizing the Canadian and immigrant working class, with a full knowledge of the facts, with the goal of reinforcing their unity and advancing the struggle for the proletarian revolution in our country.

By restraining the rights of the entire immigrant working class, by preventing our revolutionary, patriotic, and anti-imperialist immigrant brothers from entering the country, by expelling those who are already here, and by destroying their organizations of defense, the bourgeoisie hopes to create a reserve of manpower which it can shape as it likes, and which is totally at its mercy. **Thanks to the organized competition which is provoked by "regimented" immigrant manpower, which is selected according to the needs of the Canadian bosses, the ruling class hopes to push the wage rates of the entire Canadian working class down.**

Clearly, the capitalists want to bring in the cheapest possible manpower, to send them off to work in far-off regions at wages which Canadian workers will no longer accept. In fact, the Immigration Act gives full power to the immigration officer to let an immigrant enter, if he agrees to accept any job in any region. In this way the Canadian bourgeoisie hopes to kill two birds with one stone. On one hand it fills its pockets with the superprofits gained from the surexploitation of the immigrant workers. And on the other it develops racism and chauvinism between the Canadian workers and the immigrant workers by the competition which it provokes. In this way it prevents them from unifying their forces in the struggle against their common enemy.

Furthermore, it's also known that in the past few years the Canadian bourgeoisie has been doing everything in its power to consolidate its imperialist position on the world scene. Lately, in particular, it has multiplied its economic and political agreements most frequently with the most reactionary countries of the Third World, such as Brazil, Iran and Chile. The growing number of struggles on the part of immigrants, who originally come from the countries where the bourgeoisie is spreading its tentacles, is a festering sore. What better way to assure the collaboration of the fascist dictatorships to facilitate the penetration of its investments, at the expense of its competitors, than to guarantee to those same fascist allies that the immigrant patriots in Canada are completely suppressed, unable to do any harm, and that it is ready to send them back to be massacred in their country of origin?

In short, the Immigration Act directly contributes to the weakening of the position of the whole Canadian working class by dividing it and by lowering its buying power, while reinforcing the Canadian ruling class's position in the international arena. That is why since the beginning, IN STRUGGLE! has upheld that Bill C-24 is but another aspect of the central attack of the **whole** Canadian bourgeoisie, behind its State, against the **whole** Canadian working class: the Wage Control Act. It isn't that the law which is being used to attack the buying power of the whole Canadian working class, to attack its democratic rights to go out on strike and to negotiate? That is why IN STRUGGLE! states that it's the **main** arm that the bourgeoisie has given itself to increase its profit rate and to be in a better position of strength to compete with its imperialist competitors on the world market.

Since it is the central attack of the whole bourgeoisie behind its State of dictatorship against the entire Canadian working class, the Wage Control Act necessarily affects immigrant workers as well. That is why in our participation in the mobilization campaign against Bill C-24, we unceasingly called on immigrant workers to become involved in the struggle against the wage freeze. That is why we called on the entire Canadian working class to join with its immigrant brothers to resist Bill C-24. **It's this same community of interest between Canadian and immigrant workers against the attacks of the bourgeoisie, which determined the orientation which IN STRUGGLE! gave to its work in the mobilization committees against Bill C-24.**

In this manner, IN STRUGGLE! applied a fundamental tactical principle of how to act in a given situation. That is, to seize the central link which will permit you to grasp the whole chain forcing the bourgeoisie to retreat and reinforcing the position of the entire working class. To force the bourgeoisie to withdraw the wage freeze is to weaken it on all fronts including its attacks against the immigrant workers. And only the unity of the Canadian and the immigrant working class can make it happen.

IN STRUGGLE! called on the immigrant working class to struggle against the Wage Control Act so as to concentrate our forces and our energies on the central link, so as to avoid fighting in dispersed ranks and so as to join our short-term interests (make our main enemy back down) to our long-term interests (destroy that enemy). That's the communist method of orienting a struggle. That's a method which tries to unify our forces, center them against our main enemy, and raise the masses' level of consciousness concerning their short and long-term interests.

An attack which provoked massive resistance

If the ruling class was able to pass its hateful Bill, it didn't do it easily. In a matter of months anti-imperialist and democratic forces, as well as the entire Marxist-Leninist movement across the country, rose up and mobilized the Canadian masses against the Bill. This mass mobilization pushed the unity of the Canadian and immigrant working class forward. How many Canadian workers became aware of the revolting situation in which the Canadian bourgeoisie places our immigrant brothers, thanks to this massive campaign of mobilization? How many immigrant workers became conscious that their real enemy, far from being the Canadian workers, was in fact the Canadian bourgeoisie, which by its savage attack was striking the entire Canadian working class? Initiatives taken by Marxist-Leninists, including IN STRUGGLE!, to invite immigrant workers to workers' meetings, favored this unity.

During this mobilization, Marxist-Leninists broadened the penetration of communist ideas among the immigrant workers who had been distrustful and fearful up until then because of the constant repression the bourgeoisie subjects them to. In some areas, Marxist-Leninists played an active role in bringing together certain anti-imperialist groups which had been divided until then. Yet in other regions, communists were able to establish their first contacts with the immigrant working class which is maintained in isolation. They were able to measure the strength of the racism maintained by the capitalists and their agents in the ranks of the workers' movement. Still elsewhere, communists were able to link up with new progressive forces liable to become involved in the struggle against the Wage Control Act and to rally to the Marxist-Leninist movement.

The Marxist-Leninist movement divided on tactics

Nonetheless, despite all these lessons for the whole Canadian working class and in particular for the Marxist-Leninist movement, all the mobilization committees where Marxist-Leninists worked saw their impact among the masses reduced. In many cases as well, these mobilization committees were not able to link their efforts to the progressive movements which were also waging, in a parallel way, the struggle for the withdrawal of the infamous Bill. This situation much reduced the impact of the movement of resistance to the Bill.

This is not surprising since the whole Marxist-Leninist movement and the parts of the anti-imperialist movement which are linked to it were, throughout the struggle, divided on the tactics to follow in the mobilization against the Bill. The struggle which followed was crystallized around the positions of the two main Marxist-Leninist organizations in Canada, the League, and IN STRUGGLE!

Right from the beginning of the mobilization campaign, the League accused IN STRUGGLE! of sabotaging the struggles of the immigrant working class, of compromising with revisionism, etc. It is important to see behind the hysterical accusations that the League is so fond of, particularly in the last little while when it has stopped coming up for air before qualifying us as vomiters of rot and garbage, etc. It's important to see what line it has put forward and what it is continuing to put forward today on this question.

OUVRIERS
UNISSONS-NOUS
TOUS
ET NOUS
VAINCRONS



Immigrant workers have always been the first to suffer from the repression and the crisis measures of the bourgeois State. In this struggle against the Canadian bourgeoisie, the immigrant workers' as well as the Canadian workers' most important weapon is revolutionary unity no matter what nationality.



In fact, just what are the criticisms that the League has been making of us since the beginning?

Essentially, there are two things. IN STRUGGLE! is revisionist because it refuses to include the denunciation of the two superpowers in its platform for the mobilization committees. IN STRUGGLE! is sabotaging the specific struggle of the immigrants because it tries to link it to the struggle against the Wage Control Act. And more recently the League has added another refrain. IN STRUGGLE! refuses to defend the rights of immigrants because it refuses to make the committees against Bill C-24 permanent.

In the criticisms that it addresses to IN STRUGGLE!, we can clearly see what conception and what line the League defends concerning the work of communists among the immigrant working class. The League continually repeats that it's necessary to include the struggle against the two superpowers and the struggle for socialism in the platform, because that's how we demarcate from trotskysts and revisionists. Let's take a closer look. Don't the revisionists, the trotskysts and the counter-revolutionaries of the "CPC"(ML) have the word socialism in their vocabulary? In what does including the word socialism in a platform demarcate us from them? And besides, comrades of the League, who is able to recognize the existence of two superpowers, if not those who analyse reality from a Marxist-Leninist point of view? It's quite clear that with platforms like that, we find ourselves excluding from the mobilization committees all those

who don't share a Marxist-Leninist analysis of reality but who, may on the other hand, be determined to struggle against such an openly repressive piece of legislation.

Thus, in the name of the demarcation from revisionism and trotskysm, we are alienating numerous anti-imperialists and democrats, who, after contact with communists and their ideas, might precisely end up rallying to the Marxist-Leninist movement and abandoning their social-democratic, revisionist or whatever ideology.

The League refuses to have anything to do with reality. It's too dirty. It prefers holding on to its little mobilization committees with their ideological purity, for Marxist-Leninists only.

To cut itself off from revisionists and trotskysts, the League chooses to cut itself off from the masses. Funny way of rallying the masses to communism. But precisely a good way of forever keeping them under the influence of revisionism and trotskysm. Because who's going to rally them to Marxism-Leninism if we close ourselves off for fear of being contaminated by trotskysts, revisionists, and reformists?

So, what purpose do the League's platforms serve?

But, the League will tell us, to rally to these committees, you don't necessarily have to agree with all the points in the programme. You just "have to be aware of them". That's what it clearly prints out in its pamphlets

which call on the masses to participate in class struggle food co-ops or in SOS-Garderies.

But tell us, comrades. How come you work away at us so hard to have your platforms "of struggle against the superpowers for socialism" voted in, **when those who participate aren't even obliged to approve them nor defend them, but only "to be aware of them"?** A single answer comes to mind. It's a question of the most rampant opportunism, which tries to conciliate a so-called socialist platform with the basest methods of enticing workers into its "class struggle" organizations.

For us, a platform's a platform: it's a means of creating a basis for unity. If that isn't the case, then be consistent: don't fight tooth and nail to have it adopted! And don't prevent anyone from joining your committees just because he doesn't agree with the platform!

But we should note that such platforms also end up excluding from the mobilization committees authentic anti-imperialist organizations such as the Association Québec-Palestine (PLO) as well as all the Palestinians who are nonetheless submitted to this law in Canada, and who are faithful to the political line of the PLO. For as we know that line does not denounce social-imperialism.

In other words, such struggle committees "against the superpowers and for socialism" were not really broadly based and open to all those who wanted to fight for the withdrawal of Bill C-24 or to all the progressive elements liable to be open to communist ideas after participating in common action and ideological struggle with Marxist-Leninists.

Intermediate organizations like the CSLO

Furthermore, in such committees where we found ourselves among Marxist-Leninists or those sympathetic to Marxist-Leninist ideas and where everyone agrees with the "struggle for socialism and against the two superpowers", we were nevertheless satisfied with organizing the mobilization, demonstrations, and meetings in the masses and this **only** against Bill C-24, of course, since wasn't that the aim of these committees. And, of course, those who, like IN STRUGGLE!, attempted to widen the point of view of the struggle against Bill C-24 and link it to the fightback of the entire Canadian proletariat against the bourgeoisie's central attack, the Wage Control Act, are described as saboteurs.

In short, we find ourselves with a hotbed of Marxist-Leninists who refuse to take up all the tasks of Marxist-Leninists, who refuse to educate the proletariat on all the questions related to the revolutionary struggle, and who limit themselves to mobilizing the masses against a **single aspect of the repression** of the bourgeois State. In practice, they reduce their agitation-propaganda to the sole level of denouncing one law and in defending the democratic rights of **one** social stratum of the people - the immigrants. They are repeating the same mistake made by the CSLO (Committee of Solidarity with Workers' Struggles).

But the worst is that the League wants these committees to become permanent at all costs and denounces IN STRUGGLE! who calls for their dissolution now that Bill C-24 has become law.

In fact, when we examine the League's conception of mobilization committees, we see that it clearly resembles all of the other phoney "class struggle" organizations "against the two superpowers and for socia-

lism" that it has created everywhere, to give the impression of leading the mass movement. All these strangely and increasingly resemble the late "intermediate organization", the CSLO, where hardly anyone but communists was present, but where the communists nevertheless lowered their work of agitation-propaganda and organization to the economic struggle or to an isolated democratic struggle cut off from the proletariat's struggles as a whole.

So why be surprised that the League continues to be in such a hurry to put forward such committees where economism flourishes in abundance, when it has never broken with economism or drawn the slightest lesson from the CSLO experience and when, on the contrary, it does everything to reduce the scope of the struggle against economism that IN STRUGGLE! has undertaken since the autumn of 1975?

And it is by means of such bogus organizations, which moreover keep immigrant workers isolated from the other aspects of the struggle of the Canadian working class, that the League hopes to mobilize the immigrant proletariat, to unite it to the Canadian proletariat, and to move in the direction of the socialist revolution in our country!

Facts which speak for themselves.

We have seen how the League's neat platforms only serve to isolate Marxist-Leninists from the masses and to lower their revolutionary work to the level of the most vulgar reformism. Let us now examine concretely the lessons that we can draw from the experience of the mobilization committees.

Everywhere that the League succeeded in imposing its viewpoint, the mobilization committees were cut off from the masses. In this respect, the example of Toronto is the most caricatural. The mobilisation committee, composed essentially of Marxist-Leninist groups, never succeeded, apart from some minimal political work in the masses, in reaching the democratic organizations of the region, some of which were nevertheless engaged in the struggle against the Bill. That is why IN STRUGGLE! withdrew from the committee and called for its dissolution.

The relatively massive mobilization in Montreal should not fool us. For the major forces of the Canadian Marxist-Leninist movement, as well as numerous anti-imperialist organizations, are located there. Despite a relatively large mobilization, how many anti-imperialist organizations or groups stayed away from the actions organized by the mobilization committee? It practically never succeeded in coordinating its action with the other forces opposing the bill in one way or another and, in particular, those working with the Ligue des droits de l'homme (1).

That is why IN STRUGGLE!, in Montreal as elsewhere, struggled against the League's conception, which in practice was an obstacle to mobilization. There again IN STRUGGLE! once called for the committee's dissolution, thus meriting the League's denunciation for sabotage. **To properly situate IN STRUGGLE!'s proposal and to see that the League's accusations have no relation to reality**, it is useful to recall certain facts.

IN STRUGGLE!'s proposal was made during a regular meeting of the mobilization committee which dealt precisely with the future of this committee. It was accompanied with a mandate to continue our participation if our proposal were rejected by the majority. Mo-

reover, it advanced concrete forms for intensifying the struggle against Bill C-24 with our own resources and an invitation for all groups to participate in the campaign against the Wage Control Act. In other words, this was a working proposal during a meeting where everyone was to give their viewpoint on the continuation or not of the committee and on the orientation of this work.

In Vancouver, however, the struggle was victoriously waged against the League's desire to insist on the denunciation of social-imperialism as an essential condition to the participation in the struggle against Bill C-24. Thus the committee was able to unite and mobilize numerous immigrant organizations and firmly wage the struggle against the revisionists and trotskysts who were present. In Quebec City as well, the same thing happened where an organization like CUSO (Canadian University Students Overseas) participated in the mobilization committee. In Halifax also, where the committee included numerous anti-imperialist and democratic organizations, IN STRUGGLE! maintained its independence and waged a fierce struggle against the revisionists and other reformists. What happened there was precisely the opposite of the false accusations insinuated by the League. It was the same in Regina where communists united in action with anti-imperialist, humanitarian, and even religious groups and once again maintained total liberty to advance their viewpoint in the masses and to demarcate from reformists and counter-revolutionaries. These are the facts; they speak for themselves, for those who are able to look at them with a minimum of honesty.

How to achieve our revolutionary tasks among the Immigrant proletariat?

Since the legislation was passed in the bourgeois Parliament, IN STRUGGLE! has withdrawn from and called for the dissolution of the mobilization committees across the country. In this way, IN STRUGGLE! remains conform to the aim given to these committees: to organize the struggle against Bill C-24 and not against a law and its subsequent application. Does this mean that IN STRUGGLE! is no concerned with the situation of immigrant workers, that it no longer wishes to fight for their rights? No! But IN STRUGGLE! is concerned about this situation from a **communist perspective**. That means in terms of how this work will advance the revolutionary struggle of the Canadian proletariat. The problem is understanding how to defend the rights of our immigrant brothers and sisters while never losing sight of this. Immigrant workers are constantly having their rights denied and the new Immigration Act is another of the bourgeoisie's attack on them. This law must be fought incessantly, in the same way that all racist and fascist attacks aimed at immigrants must be unrelentingly denounced. But that doesn't necessarily mean setting up mobilization committees every time, nor making such committees permanent.

Right now, for communists **the task is first and foremost working to rally the advanced elements of the Immigrant proletariat to Marxism-Leninism**.

Our duty consists of doing political work among this strata of the proletariat not by proposing a different-but-parallel form of organization to

that of advanced workers of the Canadian proletariat. This would only serve to perpetuate their isolation from their Canadian brothers and sisters. **Our duty consists of constantly putting forward that immigrant workers participate in the Canadian revolution.** In short, we must first and foremost work to win the immigrant proletariat to communism. That is to say that on the question of immigrant workers, the communist position must be quite clear: these workers are an integral part of the Canadian proletariat and it is on **communist bases** that we must rally and educate them. In this sense, we completely disagree with the League when it states that these committees are the specific basis for working with immigrants: "IS claims that the Committee should not be permanent. It denies the specific work that must be done with immigrants". (The Forge, August 19, 1977, p.14).

According to us mobilization committees cannot and must not replace the development of communist agitation and propaganda among these workers. It is not the role for communists to spread themselves out into all sorts of committees set up on the basis of so-called socialist platforms that demarcate from revisionism and trotskysm - but lead right to economism and reformism. The role of communists is to put their energies into **unifying** the struggles and forces around unified demands with the perspective of making the bourgeoisie backdown and advancing the struggle for the creation of the Party and the socialist revolution by the proletariat of our country.

IN STRUGGLE! clearly wants to work among our immigrant brothers and sisters. But it categorically refuses to lower its communist work to the level of the League's, for at such a level the work neither reaches the masses nor accomplishes the tasks of communists at the current stage.

The League puts these tasks aside in order to put forward its own big-group interests; in order to create within the ranks of the immigrant proletariat bogus organizations of "class struggle, against the superpowers and for socialism" to be able to give itself the impression that it is leading the immigrant masses in our country. This sort of opportunist undertaking must be denounced, and we must firmly take up our communist tasks as far as our immigrant brothers are concerned. We must wage the struggle in order that our immigrant brothers and sisters join the Canadian proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie, and this on all fronts.

Does this mean rejecting any form of coalition? Not at all. In the realization of our tasks it could be necessary to set up or to participate in the formation of **defence committees** to struggle against a particular case, or particular cases, of deportation for example. This is all the more possible seeing as since the bourgeoisie passed the despicable Bill C-24 the bulk of immigrants run much more risk of being deported. We must never waste any time in mobilizing to defend our immigrant comrades.

These committees must be open to all those who agree to defend the rights of the immigrant proletariat and are willing to struggle for them. Does this mean that such coalition committees, with their democratic bases, are going to lead to the lowering of communist tasks? Not at all. The democratic basis of these committees are precisely what will allow communists to demand and defend the right to do communist agitation and propa-

ganda. The democratic basis will allow for the struggle to see that this right is respected and upheld more.

We must always struggle to preserve our political independence. Only such independence will allow us to do our propaganda, the propaganda of a Marxist-Leninist group committed to the reconstruction of the Party of the Canadian proletariat and actively working for the Canadian revolution.

We must not recoil in the face of the ideological struggle within such committees against all the phoney solutions that are current within the working-class and progressive movements. Only autonomy will allow us to unmask the trotskysts, the revisionists and other counter-revolutionary ideologies as well as the groups that uphold these lines before the eyes of the masses. Ideological struggle is our main weapon and not forbidding the participation of all those who do not denounce social-imperialism!

As far as the trotskysts and other counter-revolutionary political groups like the "CPC(M-L)" and the "C"PC are concerned, groups we might very well come across in our work, particular tactics are necessary. We should look at the experience acquired by the international Marxist-Leninist and working-class movement as well as here in Canada. Firmly and concretely denounce the positions of these groups. Whenever we find ourselves in their presence in these committees we must propose that they be expelled in such a way as to educate the masses on the dangers that these groups represent and how they have a long tradition of sabotaging struggles.

Communists isolate counter-revolutionaries by the force of Marxist-Leninist arguments and not with two-by-fours and physical violence. These are arguments of the weak, arguments of those who don't have confidence in the strength of Marxism-Leninism, of those who don't have confidence in the capacity of the masses to grasp the correct position and to see through the manoeuvres of the counter-revolutionaries.

The immigrant proletariat is an important part of the revolutionary forces in Canada. We must learn to identify the obstacles they have to getting involved in the revolutionary struggle through our presence in the heat of the action, and through our political work among them. We must learn to intervene among Canadian workers and identify the degree to which racism is present among them, to identify who are its principal supporters, what are their principal arguments, etc... It is through such interventions that we will be able to carry out real investigation, that we will understand the concrete reality of the Canadian proletariat and thus strengthen our capacity to overcome the obstacles to the penetration of communism into the proletariat as a whole. This is how we will strengthen the unity of the Canadian proletariat and move forward in accomplishing the current tasks of Marxist-Leninists: tasks that consist of rallying the vanguard of the Canadian and immigrant proletariat to the construction of our proletarian Party.

(1) Ligue des droits de l'homme (Human Rights' League) organization formed of individuals for the defense of certain democratic rights.



This year Immigrant workers and their Canadian brothers held a demonstration in Ottawa to express their refusal of the racist Immigration bill.

THE WORLD IS IN UPHEAVAL, THE SITUATION IS EXCELLENT!



Last May First, approximately 2,000 people attended the meeting organized by IN STRUGGLE! in Montreal. The following speech was delivered.

We are publishing the speech delivered by the spokesman of IN STRUGGLE! during the May first 1977 celebrations held in Montreal.

The speech's tone and content clearly illustrate that the forces of the revolution are developing everywhere in the world. This text is a tool of struggle against the defeatist ideologies such as "the revolution is impossible" or "war cannot be avoided" which are currently circulating among the working class. It provides an incisive exposé of the hypocritical manoeuvres undertaken by several union bureaucrats, following Joe Morris' lead, in order to negotiate plans for "tripartism". And finally it is a concrete appeal to all conscious workers to join the ranks of those who once again want to give the proletariat its indispensable weapon, its own political party.

Today we celebrate May 1st, the celebration of proletarian internationalism.

We celebrate the struggle and the victories of the proletariat and oppressed peoples in their struggle against imperialism, hegemonism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. We celebrate the building of socialism and we declare our unconditional support for socialist China and Albania, examples and inspirations for the proletariat struggling for socialism.

As the Chinese comrades say: "The world is in upheaval, the situation is excellent". Just look at the heroic struggle of the Palestinian people. Its struggle is moving forward and is developing in spite of the plots of the two superpowers, helped by the reactionary regimes of certain Arab countries. Just look at the struggle of the Zimbabwean, Namibian and Azanian

peoples, the struggles of the peoples of Asia and Latin America who are fighting against the most barbarous repression. Just look at the rise in the struggle of the proletariat of the capitalist and imperialist countries and the political disorder in Europe.

Just look at the increasing participation of working women and women of the people in all these struggles and the growing consciousness that socialist revolution isn't possible without the massive participation of "half the sky". Just look at the development and the penetration of Marxism-Leninism, and of the Marxist-Leninist organizations and parties around the world.

But if the factors of revolution are moving forward we must not underestimate imperialism. The imperialist powers inter-

vene everywhere, directly or indirectly, in order to preserve their position, and to have the upper hand on the other imperialist powers. Imperialism is war. US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism try to make us believe that they want to agree in the name of peace and for the well-being of all the peoples of the world. But in fact, each tries to crush the other, each tries to better its position with regard to the other imperialist countries, each tries to crush the socialist countries, each plots wars in different areas of the world, and each is preparing for war.

But the question isn't whether the third world war is going to happen December 3, 1980 or February 5, 1981. **Comrades, the question is one of knowing how we are going to develop the factors of revolution in our country and in the world. For either war provokes revolution or revolution prevents war.**

And it isn't a question of supporting one or another of the other imperialist bourgeoisies just because it sticks its tongue out at Carter or Brejnev, or of supporting a reactionary regime of the Third World because it declares itself as being against one or the other superpower, often depending on the country it finds itself addressing, while all the while crushing the people in its own country.

Of course we must take into account and use the contradictions between the bourgeoisies. Of course we must unite those who can be united in the struggle against imperialism.

But **what's principal**, is the socialist revolution. **What is principal**, is the support for the forces of progress, for the oppressed peoples and nations of the Third-World, and for the proletariat of the capitalist and imperialist countries.

What is principal is that this support must be linked to a denunciation of imperialism everywhere and particularly of the two superpowers, must be linked to the struggle against our own imperialist bourgeoisie, and to the struggle for the proletarian revolution in Canada.

As for the League, it prefers to applaud the "good moves" of our ruling class such as Trudeau's visit to Cuba. Why doesn't it congratulate Jamieson for signing agreements with the Brazilian fascist dictatorship? Hurray! for Jamieson who attempts to weaken American positions by this noble act. But what about the Brazilian and Canadian people?

Reality is much more complex and less static than the clear and correct line of the League. A line which is so clear that it brings the League to support the reinforcement of the Canadian army in the name of national independence.

But this small mistake, according to the League, doesn't put its correct line into question. This mistake isn't a line mistake, it's simply because the writer of this article and all the other articles on the subject, wasn't feeling good, having slept poorly the night before.

It's not necessary to reexamine the foundation of this political line. The League is simply going to take better care of its writers... in a class struggle clinic of course!!!

Learn from Mao Tsetung. Transform the sorrow and pain that his death caused us into revolutionary strength. Learn from his life, from his teachings and instead of unceasingly repeating the same memorized sentences, we must try to acquire the Marxist-Leninist position, point of view and method to make the concrete analysis and to struggle in the interests of the Canadian revolution.

**The bourgeoisie is united
to oppress the people**

Since Canada is a country where capitalism has reached its supreme stage, imperialism, it doesn't escape the political and economic crisis which is shaking up all of the capitalist countries, including the revisionist countries. Men and women comrades of the proletariat and the people, I don't

have to go into a lengthy description of the crisis in our country. You know the situation only too well.

Faced with the crisis, the Canadian ruling class and its State do not seek to answer the needs of the masses. The Canadian State is the tool of the Canadian bourgeoisie, particularly its monopolist faction. It does not serve all the classes of society. It is from this point of view that we must understand the crisis measures of the bourgeoisie, crisis measures which have but one goal: to maintain and improve its position without harming its alliance with US imperialism.

The wage controls aren't just any crisis measures. They don't only attack our wages. They aren't only an economic measure. They aim at more than that; they aim at putting down the resistance of the working class. They aim at reducing the unions to nothing. They aim at dividing the proletariat. The wage controls are at the heart of the political offensive of the Canadian ruling class, our main enemy, against the entire proletariat. And in the wake of this law, there has been a series of other measures attacking all of the strata of the proletariat and of the people: the unemployed, welfare recipients, women of the people, students, Native people and the immigrants with bill C-24.

But the proletariat's resistance to this filthy law didn't take long in developing. In certain cases, this resistance allowed groups of workers to smash the norms. But more important, this resistance allowed the Canadian proletariat to make steps forward in the struggle for its unity, despite the divisive tactics of the bourgeoisie, aided by its agents within the workers movement. March 22 1976 and October 14 1976 are victories because they clearly demonstrated the working class's will to unite against its main enemy.

But, comrades, we cannot cry victory, far from that. Not even if the bourgeoisie is divided on the subject of the law itself, for we must realize that this law has not only sharpened the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie but also within the bourgeoisie itself. The ruling class is also divided on the subject of the relations between the provinces and the federal government, on the relations between Canada and the USA and on the national question in Quebec. **Even if the bourgeoisie is divided, we must realize that it is united on one fundamental question: the upholding of the capitalist system, of the exploitation of the proletariat, of the oppression of the people, the upholding of the repression of the workers' movement and the Marxist-Leninist movement.** The bourgeoisie is united on this fundamental question and it has a sure ally within the workers' movement, the social democrat reformism and class collaboration of the union bosses.

**The bourgeoisie is smarter
than our union bosses**

The wage controls have not been repealed and the reformism of the union bosses has a very strong hold over the workers' movement. But unfortunately, there are those in the workers' movement and even in the Marxist-Leninist movement who act as if this law had been repealed, and they have yielded to the propaganda of the bourgeoisie and the union bosses. They say: "The Wage Control Act is one measure among many others and it's no big deal for the workers anymore". So instead of working to tie all the different struggles of the working class and people to the wage controls, they scatter and divide the struggles: job security here, safety in the workplace there, unemployment here, rationalization of services there. There's a good reason why the flourmill workers' struggle and the



Contrarily to what traitors from the CLC and certain Marxist-Leninists are trying to tell us, the Wage Control Act is not a thing of the past, we must more than ever wage the struggle for its immediate and unconditional withdrawal.

struggle at Mussels (1) are left hanging. And if the bourgeoisie is preparing to withdraw its law in six months or a year's time, it's preparing something else. And if we don't stop it, the consequences will be even worse — even more disastrous for the workers' movement.

Lately we've been talking a lot about tripartism, but this animal isn't new in our country or in the history of the international workers' movement. For, with the development of imperialism, the bourgeoisie has succeeded in buying the political support of the superior stratum of the proletariat, the labour aristocracy, which along with some elements of the petty-bourgeoisie, is always ready to collaborate to maintain the capitalist system, to crush the struggle of the working class, and to repress the communist movement.

We all know Jean Gérin-Lajoie, Joe Morris, Louis Laberge and Michel Bourdon. You took your places in the bourgeois camp a long time ago. We know you and all the other union bosses. Yes bosses! Even if Robert Dean, the Quebec director of the UAW (United Auto Workers) is hurt to hear this. Poor Bobby Dean, so hurt, so sad, but not hurt enough to keep himself from selling out the interests of the workers at Renault in '73, at GM, or at Mussels.

Since the beginning of the struggle against the wage controls, the union bosses haven't stopped trying to sabotage the struggle. And for the past few months, they've even systematized it. On March 22, Joe Morris, with his old friend, the president of Noranda Mines, went to see Trudeau to beg him to repeal the controls, in exchange for a few concessions of course. But Trudeau isn't satisfied: "You have to give me more guarantees Joel!" So, the day after the Federal budget was brought down, Joe criticized the government for having done nothing against unemployment and returns to see Trudeau on

April 22. Now, Joe is very stubborn! He's a fighter! This time he says to Trudeau that "it is correct to subordinate the struggle against unemployment (2) and that it is not necessary to say when the government is going to repeal the controls." And Trudeau replies "Joe's beginning to understand".

And the same thing is going on in Quebec. The union bosses aren't struggling against the bourgeoisie. They're struggling among themselves to win the favours of the PQ government. And the winners to date are Louis Laberge, and Jean Gérin-Lajoie. Now Laberge, he's consistent. It isn't correct to collaborate with Ottawa but it's quite alright to lick the boots of the Quebec bourgeoisie, because this bourgeoisie isn't at the service of the monopolies.

Come on Louis! Stop thinking that everybody is as stupid as you are! Did you listen to Lévesque's speech in New-York, did you read the budget? Yes! I'm sure you did! And you know very well that the PQ is a bourgeois party. But it doesn't bother you because you have a favourable prejudice... in favour of the **ruling class**.

And as for Rodrigue — he too wants to go to the summit (3) but as the spokesman for the "left wing"! The "left wing" of the PQ? The "left wing" of the Trotskyists or of the revisionists? The "left wing" of the union bosses?

(1) Mussels: a factory in Lachine near Montreal, where the workers led and are still leading a hard struggle against the cutbacks of the SIB.

(2) Ed. Note: these were Joe Morris's words in April '77. But the wind changed direction and this same Joe Morris has today decided to put forward the struggle against unemployment. What will happen in a few months?

(3) Ed. Note: we are talking about the economic summit organized by the PQ in May '77 which was attended by the finance milieu, the senior technocrats of the Quebec State and of course the union bosses of the Quebec unions.

The bourgeoisie is smarter than you Norbert. It knows what the workers want but it needs the representatives of the "left wing" like you and Yvon Charbonneau to try and convince the working class that if the labour code is changed a bit, and if the President of the Royal Bank is forced to speak French, we would be able to civilize capital and have our own real home-grown kind of social-democracy.

An old tactic of the bourgeoisie: divide to better rule

Division is a means which the bourgeoisie and its agents within the workers' movement have long used to crush the resistance of the proletariat — division between men and women, between unemployed workers and workers, between social welfare recipients and workers, between white people and Native people, between immigrant workers and Canadian workers and finally and mainly between anglophone and francophone workers.

The national question in Quebec has always had an important place in our country. The oppression of the Quebec nation is real and it is accentuated by the crisis of imperialism and by great nation chauvinism that the Canadian bourgeoisie has always nursed. It's by means of the national question that the bourgeoisie tries to divide the proletariat and lead it on the path of collaboration.

Today, Trudeau multiplies his meetings with the union bosses to convince them that the separation of Quebec is a threat to all classes and that in the name of national unity, to save the country we must limit the struggles and unite behind Trudeau to save the country.

In Quebec, the PQ uses bourgeois nationalism to call upon the nation, without class distinction, to unite behind it for independence. It also asks us to limit our demands so as not to hurt the independence project. For, the enemies we must overthrow are the English Canadians, without class distinction. Not US imperialism however. We must take care of it. We must assure that if it doesn't support the independence project, at least it won't block it.

But if we look closely at this project we can see that there are in fact some class distinctions. Look at the PQ's budget, look at what the PQ is doing for the workers of MLW Bombardier, even if it is a Quebec company, tru-blue francophone. For if it is clear that the anglophone cadres will be able to speak English at work, the anglophone workers also an enemy of the Quebec people according to Camille Laurin, will not be hired at the roads department.

This song isn't new in Quebec. Lesage wanted to unite the nation behind the slogan "Maître chez nous" (Masters in our own house) and had won the collaboration of the union bosses in all sorts of tripartite committees. It was during this period that Lévesque, Parizeau and Morin learnt the "magic formula" of class collaboration and nationalism.

Faced with this situation, many say: "What is important is independence so that we can conquer our rights, and afterwards we will work to unite the Canadian proletariat!" This statement denies reality from several points of view. In the era of imperialism, in an imperialist country we cannot conquer our rights, even our national rights, without destroying capitalism, without establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. Ask the workers of MLW-Bombardier who have the right to communicate in French with their bosses... during the lock-out. Struggling for independence under the PQ's leadership is to consolidate and develop the division between the proletariat of the two nations. It's to consolidate capitalism in Quebec, and to consolidate the repression of the workers' and Marxist-Leninist movement. For after independence, the PQ will say: "Now, we must tighten our belts to save independence

and we must repress the combative and Marxist-Leninist workers to conserve social peace!"

Others like the revisionist "Communist" Party, always in the vanguard of... the labour aristocracy, say we must give the PQ a chance.

The Trotskyists say that the PQ isn't social-democratic enough, that we need a purely social-democratic party to achieve independence.

As for the "CPC (M-L)", it's completely out to lunch, being engaged in a broad political campaign... for the defense of Hardial Bains (it's president, ed. note).

There is a group in the Marxist-Leninist movement which is trying to be more nationalist than the PQ. The League, contrary to the teachings of Lenin, demands that only the francophones be allowed to vote at the referendum, as if it was only the Quebec nation and not all the residents of the territory that were separating.

So, to give democratic rights to one nation, we take them away from others; anglophones, Native peoples and immigrants. But who is francophone? Are we going to establish linguistic tests like the Bill 22 tests? And those with a francophone mother and an anglophone father? Will they have the right to vote?

Maybe we should use the Nazis method which decreed that those who had only one Jewish grandparent were Jewish. And maybe, after independence, we'll continue to prevent anglophones and immigrants from voting so as not to prejudice the nation's interests.

You find these examples exaggerated? Don't forget that bourgeois nationalism whether it is linked or not to social democracy leads there. We must learn from the rise of fascism in the capitalist world, particularly in Europe, before World War II.

We must win the struggle against the Wage Control Act

The situation is serious for the workers' movement. The class collaboration that the bourgeoisie and the social-democrat reformists are preparing will not only serve to control our wages but also to control our mass organizations and to stir up the division of the proletariat. The outcome is decisive, because class collaboration doesn't replace repression, it systematizes it and it makes it more efficient. If the proletariat loses the struggle against the wage controls, "voluntary" or not, it will be weakened and more divided. The hold of the union bosses' reformism will be reinforced and the bourgeoisie will be in a position of strength to repress the workers' and Marxist-Leninist movements. We make a lot of jokes about Laberge and Gérin-Lajoie, but they are dangerous men, men fiercely opposed to the immediate and fundamental interests of the working class.

Winning this struggle, will reinforce the camp of the proletariat and of the people, and make it take a step forward towards its unity. They will be steps forward to show the masses that their interests will be realized only through proletarian revolution. And it is in this context that the struggle for the unity of the proletariat against its main enemy including its Quebec faction, takes on all its importance.

The struggle for the unity of the proletariat, linked to the struggle against social-democratic reformism, against revisionism and Trotskyism, linked to the struggle against great nation chauvinism and against bourgeois nationalism, must be at the center of the current preoccupations of the Canadian workers' movement. And Canadian Marxist-Leninists have the duty of leading this struggle with determination if they want to be consistent with the strategic line which puts the principal



The revolutionary program we are working to build, is the program that will lead us in the war against capitalism, it is the program that will defend without compromise the interests of the working class until victory.

contradiction between the Canadian proletariat and the Canadian bourgeoisie.

The Quebec proletariat must know that it has nothing to gain in flirting with the Quebec independence movement, whose fundamental interests are anti-worker. The Quebec proletariat must realize that its future resides in the socialist revolution and that this isn't possible without the unity of the workers and people's forces throughout Canada. Because all the factions of the ruling class, whatever their nationality, are united to maintain capitalist exploitation.

The proletariat of English-Canada must fully and unreservedly recognize Quebec's right to self-determination up to secession, as well as its other national rights, and all the national rights of all the other minorities in Canada. For without the true conviction that a socialist Canada will recognize their national rights, the Quebec proletariat and the national minorities will refuse to become involved, united in the struggle against the Canadian ruling class.

The unity of the proletariat is our responsibility!

Comrade men and women workers, you have the responsibility of becoming involved, right now, in the struggle to build the unity of the Canadian proletariat against its main enemy the Canadian bourgeoisie and its ally US imperialism. And the struggle for the unity of the proletariat makes sense only if it is linked to the struggle against class collaboration and false solutions and if it seeks to overthrow the Canadian ruling class and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

If we must work to build this unity right now, there is an indispensable instrument to cement it, the Canadian proletarian Party that will lead us on the path of the Canadian revolution. But to create this Party and to achieve true revolutionary unity of the proletariat and the people we need the unity of Canadian Marxist-Leninists.

Today there are some who see the struggle for unity as a bulldozer, leaving Quebec with audio-visual presentations under its arm, like a used car salesman, to show how many people came to their meetings in Montreal, who use lies, and rumours instead of ideological struggle (4), who get swell-headed with their own importance because others Marxist-Leninist newspapers publish a few of their articles. These same Marxist-Leninists refuse polemic struggle. They refuse to engage in it in their publications. They refuse to participate in the conferences on the unity of Marxist-Leninists.

Others who call themselves Marxist-Leninists state that the entire Marxist-Leninist movement, except for themselves of course, is opportunist and that what we must do, according to them, is divide the communist movement. Strange dialectic! In the name of Leninism they propose Trotskyism.

Comrades, IN STRUGGLE! still advocates the organizational unity of Canadian Marxist-Leninists on the basis of a Marxist-Leninist programme for the proletarian revolution in Canada. The struggle for this unity is indissociable from the struggle against opportunism in our movement. It's by open, firm and frank ideological struggle. In a few months IN STRUGGLE! will propose a draft programme to the Marxist-Leninist movement and to the Canadian masses. We invite you to study, debate and criticize it in the regional and national conferences that we are going to organize.

There are Marxist-Leninists, like those of the League, who see political work in struggles as the promotion of their clear tactic. For each struggle, they have a tactic and for each tactic they have a platform to take over the leadership of the struggle no matter what the political bases on which it is done, no matter what conditions prevail in the struggle. The League forgets that revolutionary strategy isn't built by lining up a series of class struggle platforms on any old question, platforms which are communist in name only. It forgets that strategy commands tactics, not the other way around.

Others raise a stink about economism and opportunism when they see communists intervening in immediate struggles. For in their contempt for the immediate struggles of the proletariat, they see only the real final struggle. For them, the immediate struggles are only the struggles of the backward workers.

Comrades, beware of these two erroneous and unilateral viewpoints for they will lead you to a dead end, to the separation of the immediate struggles from the struggle to overthrow the ruling class.

Men and women workers, we are not asking you to chose between the immediate struggles of the proletariat and the people and the struggle for the Party. For the Party of the proletariat will be built within these struggles on the condition that we work to orient them on the path of the Canadian revolution.

Political work in the struggles of the proletariat and the people cause the revolutionary struggle to advance only if it raises the masses' level of consciousness, only if it struggles against false solutions, and only if it educates the masses as to their true short and long term interests. This is why you must grasp Marxist-Leninist theory, this is why you must be part of the struggle for the unity of Marxist-Leninists, this is why we call upon you to join our ranks to build the Canadian proletarian Party, the tool, the general headquarters which will allow the proletariat to pass to the offensive, destroy bourgeois power and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

**STRUGGLE AGAINST
THE WAGE CONTROL ACT
AND ALL OTHER FORMS OF CRISIS MEASURES!
NO TO CLASS COLLABORATION!
LONG LIVE THE UNITY
OF THE CANADIAN PROLETARIAT
AND THE PEOPLE!
LONG LIVE
PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!
STRUGGLE FOR THE
CANADIAN PROLETARIAN PARTY!**

(4) Ed. Note: IN STRUGGLE!'s representative demonstrated this affirmation by quoting two excerpts from the Forge and from IN STRUGGLE!'s newspaper. These examples can be found in the article "Fight the lies of the CCL(M-L): Free the spirit from the cell" in Proletarian Unity VOL. 1 No.5 p.46.

THE '76 OLYMPIC GAMES WERE A SPLENDID DEMONSTRATION OF IMPERIALISM'S CONTROL OVER SPORTS



When they published this poster to support their struggle, City of Montreal blue collar workers fully understood the capitalist rot surrounding the Montreal Olympic Games.

The City of Montreal's blue collar workers recently distributed a sticker showing a hand throwing dollars into a toilet bowl, the seat of this bowl representing the olympic stadium...

This sticker is a splendid expression of what more and more workers think of the 1976 Olympic show which caused a 60% unemployment hike in Montreal in one year and whose global deficit exceeds one billion dollars.

The Montreal Olympic Games served to fatten capitalists from the construction and trade industries with millions of dollars but resulted in a worsening of working and living conditions for the masses. And so, month after month, the "artificial growth" generated by construction work for the Olympic park is over, and recession is striking the building sector and more particularly the industrial construction sector (the new plants). Olympic sport has become a capitalist industry which has developed on the international scale and the "Olympic spirit" is nothing but a vast propaganda campaign which no longer has anything to do with the true nature of sports.

**The Olympic games
on the international scene**

If the Montreal Games' television transmission rights were sold to the big television chains for 40 million dollars in 1976, they'll be sold for 100 millions for the 1980 Moscow Games.

These enormous figures show that Olympic sport is in the process of becoming one of the imperialist and social-imperialist countries' biggest sensational shows. A "great show", profitable from a financial as well as ideological point of view. Through "international" publicity, all the bourgeois-revisionist values get across: national chauvinism is rewarded with gold, silver and bronze medals! The superstars who raise themselves above the "passive" masses get an abundance of praise.

Since the Soviet Union entered the race in 1956, the news media haven't stopped opposing athletes from the "socialist system" (sic) to those of the "capitalist system" (and more particularly the United States) but these same media nonetheless deny "making political hay with the Games"!!! But if the two superpowers distinguished themselves in the stadium, the situation was quite different for the African, Asian and Latin American countries whose delegations were often made up of a few athletes (sometimes a single athlete). This gave sport commentators the chance to say, "these developing countries sure are poor".

Imperialism's conception of international relations is reproduced on the stadium grounds. And so, the IOC (International Olympic Committee) has always refused to recognize the People's Republic of China as China's only legitimate government; by only recognizing Taiwan (which is only a pro-

vince of China) the IOC shows its true face and demonstrates that it is a defender of imperialist interests in the world. At the Montreal Games it defended South African white racism in contempt of the African delegations who refused to participate in the competitions and returned home angry. The IOC is caught in the fundamental contradiction of the imperialist era and the positions it took are prescribed by the political necessities of the great powers of our time, particularly American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

As far as the masses of the "host country" are concerned, they are the ones who have to pay the bill for this denaturation of sports the Olympic games have become. The Montreal Games are a concrete example of this.

One year later: what has become of the Montreal Olympics?

Besides the death of twelve workers that the capitalist ruling class wants us to forget, the financial mess in terms of public funds, the tax on children's clothing, on cigarettes, and the "voluntary tax" through Loto-Canada, what remains for Quebec people of this costly extravaganza? In what way have the Olympics improved the sports and physical education programmes in the elementary and secondary schools? The question has to be asked... when we consider that in Quebec more than 80% of the children at the elementary level receive less than 30 minutes of physical education per week. But has the State ever demonstrated any concern for the improvement of the masses' health? No, as far as sports and physical education for the masses are concerned, nothing has been done since the end of the Olympics. Last December, the minister in charge of the Olympic installations, Claude Charron, made the following pompous statement: "These superb Olympic installations must be given back to those who paid for them". At the beginning of June, the OIMC (Olympic Installations Management Committee) announced its sports animation summer program! All in all, for a population of more than two millions, they promised **17 amateur athletes** to animate sports activities for the entire summer!!! As for the winter programme, it had not yet been established! And to think that the OIMC's slogan was "The Olympic Park... that's for me". Those who really took advantage of the park are the owners of the **Expos** and the **Alouettes**, not to mention the producers of **Pink Floyd**, who all through the summer reminded us of the real use of the stadium: encourage the spectator's passivity while filling your pockets.

The Olympic Park is a part of the showbusiness industry and it isn't on the verge of breaking away from it. As far as the working people are concerned, they have the choice between watching sports on television or paying an expensive ticket to go to the stadium. The PQ will change nothing in this situation. Charron may very well demand "in the name of his government, total and exclusive powers" in the sports and recreation field as he stated at the International Conference of Sports and Recreation ministers, held in Winnipeg last June. It will change nothing in the situation of mass sports in Quebec. Whether sports be of federal or provincial jurisdiction, the bourgeoisie is in control and plans its programs according to its own class interests, with no concern whatsoever for the real needs of the masses as far as physical activities and the practice of sports are concerned. This is also true for the rest of Canada. English Canadians from the East and from the West will have to **endorse** the 1983 Panamerican Games in Hamilton and the 1978 Commonwealth Games in Edmonton!

The Montreal Games were organized in total corruption. So much so that the PQ found itself obliged to state: "In the billion dollars spent for the Olympics, there is room for an

inquiry ... considering the extent of elasticity in the contracts, the door was open for all sorts of abuses" (Le Devoir, 7-8-77, p.1). But what will come out of this inquiry besides what we have already known for a long time! That the capitalist system is degenerate and that the bourgeoisie robs the working people at full speed.

Physical education and mass sports In socialist countries

But can we expect anything else from the capitalist system? Can you imagine the handful of capitalists that control the riches of our country becoming interested in the health of workers? And yet, there exists a type of society where things work differently.

"Develop sports, invigorate the people's physical constitution", such is the slogan put forward by Mao Tse-Tung in China. And this slogan is applied by a population of eight hundred million men, women and children. The same is true for Albania where the improvement of the people's health through physical activity and the practice of sports is a constant preoccupation. Why is this possible? Because the working class has overthrown the bourgeoisie and controls all the means of production. In these countries, the State dictatorship of the proletariat assures the people the possibility of practicing gym activities. Workers get rest time on their work premises to practice sports for physical education activities. In elementary and secondary schools, the State plans concrete programs to develop methodical sports training. And so children of the people learn to practice sports in a spirit of comradeship and healthy competition at an early age. In socialist countries there exists no sports industry to manufacture super stars and to turn sport activities into shows where only "performance" counts. Violence which represents the main attraction of certain sports in capitalist countries is totally absent from socialist sport activities. You won't see athletes massaging themselves with hockey sticks or even killing themselves to break a record in China or Albania.

For example, the Chinese have as a principle: "Sports must be in the direct service of the workers and they must be introduced among the masses". It is in accordance with this principle that competitions between factories or schools are organized at the local, regional and national levels. And when Chinese athletes attend international competition, the principle then put forth is "Friendship first, competition after". That is quite different from the bourgeois values transmitted by the Olympic games: careerism, individualism, competitive spirit, starism, etc...

Comrade workers, if at certain times the bourgeoisie attends to our sport and recreational needs, it is in order to get us to give our full output when we work in their factories. But it even makes money with that! Whether it be at the factory or at the stadium it fills its pockets with our money! It doesn't give a damn about our physical well being! For the bourgeoisie, mass sports mean **sit down and watch!** The sport installations and equipment do not belong to the working people. They are managed by an elite which profits from them for its own account. The bourgeoisie would rather not see workers become good athletes. It prefers them when they remain good spectators or good TV viewers. The Montreal Olympic Games were a caricatural reflection of this.

Comrade workers, the practice of sports and physical education are important to our health in the struggle for socialism. In spite of what it says, the bourgeoisie doesn't give us the means to practice sports adequately but we must count on our strength and not hesitate to organize ourselves with our comrades at work, in our neighbourhoods and families to develop sport activities and strengthen our physical health.

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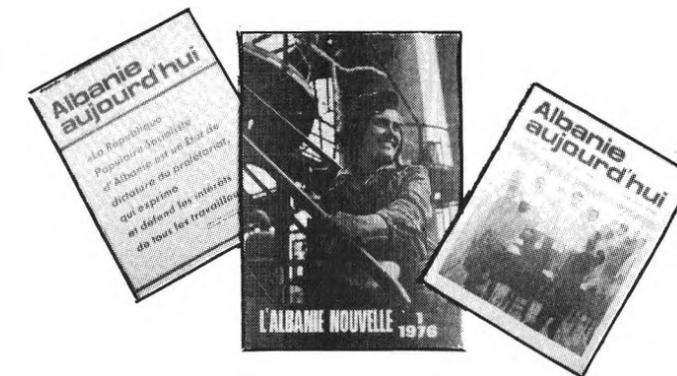
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The C.I.P. produces and distributes films, videos, and audiovisual material, in the following perspective:

1- To develop in the Canadian proletariat a clear consciousness of its historical mission. To do this we widely distribute documents on workers' struggles, especially those which take into account the lessons drawn from the international workers' movement and which put forward the necessity of the proletarian revolution, and of the unity of the Quebec and Canadian proletariat. Those documents which link the peoples' struggles, and those of women and national minorities, to the struggles of the proletariat.

2- To develop a clear consciousness of the internationalist duties of the Canadian proletariat, by distributing documents which publicize the just anti-imperialist struggles of the peoples of the Third-World, the experiences and lessons of the revolutionary peoples of China, Albania, Korea and Vietnam, and the most exemplary struggles waged by the proletariat of the capitalist and imperialist countries of Europe and of the United States.

The international communist movement on the march



We introduce, in the present issue of PROLETARIAN UNITY a new column on the international communist (Marxist-Leninist) movement! The editorial of the issue has clearly demonstrated how important it is that Marxist-Leninists and vanguard Canadian workers become familiar with the experience of struggle of the international communist (Marxist-Leninist) movement.

The movement is young but it grows vigorously plunged as it is in the heart of the international class struggle. It is presently engaged in a resolute struggle against all kinds of opportunist deviations. And it is a good thing! For, a stronger and more united international Marxist-Leninist movement will emerge from this struggle.

Faithful to its position of exposing to workers what is at stake in the present struggle waged within the international communist (Marxist-Leninist) movement, IN STRUGGLE! believes that there is no better way to do this than to make known the work and the struggles waged by Marxist-Leninists around the world. This has nothing to do with book knowledge. We must know the international Marxist-Leninist movement in order to learn from its experience for the sole aim of reinforcing our revolutionary struggle here and now.

We open this column by presenting texts from the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) of Chile. But why start the column with Chilean Marxist-Leninists? The answer is simple. First Chilean communists are engaged in a revolutionary struggle against one of the worst dictatorship of history, that of the sadly famous Pinochet, actively supported by Yankee imperialism. One remembers that the overthrow of the anti-imperialist regime of

Allende by the army of Pinochet more than 4 years ago had aroused in the peoples of the world a strong wave of support for the courageous Chilean people and of massive denunciation of the pro-Yankee fascists. And the Canadian people was one of the first to bring its support to its brothers of Chile and to force the Canadian bourgeoisie to allow into the country many Chilean comrades who were victims of the repression in their own country.

But we also begin the column with Chilean communists because they are directly engaged in the struggle against our own main enemy: the Canadian imperialist bourgeoisie. Indeed, we know that the latter still supports by every means, economical (loans) as well as diplomatic, this completely rotten and reactionary regime; without mentioning the many interests they have in Chile which are well protected by the fascists of Pinochet.

The first text we present sums up the history of the creation of the RCP. The history starts with the demarcation from the revisionists in order to lead, through the struggle against sectarianism in particular, to the formation of the vanguard of the Chilean proletariat. This history is full of lessons for us, Canadian Marxist-Leninists who are engaged in the struggle for the creation of the proletarian Party in our country.

The second text rigorously criticizes the MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), this radical petty-bourgeois organization which claims to be revolutionary. To know the positions of Chilean Marxist-Leninists on such an organization is all the more important since the MIR has had for a long time, and still enjoys today, some influence among the Canadian anti-imperialist movement because of its revolutionary style.

THE BIRTH OF AN AUTHENTIC COMMUNIST PARTY

Text by Jorge Palecios, founder and member of the secretariat of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, presently in exile in France (Taken from "Chili, Une Tentative de Compromis Historique (1), Volume 1, Edition N.B.E. 1977)

THE MARXIST-LENINIST OPPOSITION

Following the XXth Congress of the CPSU, when the leadership of the Chilean "C" P began to openly express its revisionist theories, militants of the old "C" P, who were honest and faithful to Marxism-Leninism, began to criticize it. At a congress which took place during the '60's, many militants, and even complete cells, adopted positions which were contrary to the official line, and at the same time, criticized the purely reformist, legalist, and economist activities into which the leadership was drawing the Party. The ideological debate was mainly centered around the opportunist theory of the "peaceful path" to socialism, which the leadership of the "C" P of Chile had made the official line.

However, the struggle which took place during this congress did not in any way succeed in changing the opportunist positions. The bureaucracy, which was sold out to the revisionist pro-Soviet leadership, had a strong control over the key organs of the "C" P. This enabled them to work slavishly at shutting up all who disagreed, using threats and pressures, corruption and other manoeuvres, thus preventing those who disagreed with them from being delegates to the municipal or regional congresses.

A little later, in 1963, the publication of the first public writings of the Communist Party of China and of the Party of Labor of Albania against modern revisionism were of priceless assistance to the Marxist-Leninists who had begun to group together within the Parties which were manipulated by the pro-Soviet revisionists. This polemic helped them to strengthen their opinions against the distortions of Marxism which were in vogue, to find new arguments for ideological struggle, with the important

support of those Parties which had already conquered power, and, finally, to point out that the deviations were not merely a local and national problem, but a world-wide opportunist counter-current, sparked off by the Soviet leaders. Thus, in 1963, on the basis of this polemic, a group by the name of "Espartaco" (Spartacus) set itself up in the very heart of the "C" P of Chile and began distributing and editing Chinese and Albanian publications in Chile in open opposition and revolt to the opportunist leadership of the "C" P.

The struggle against these leaders and against their anti-Marxist line within the "C" P taught those who waged it that such leaders were not honest leaders who had committed an error, but traitors to Marxism-Leninism who were fully conscious of what they were doing and uncritical servants of the Soviet leaders. They would never agree to debate openly within the ranks of the old "C" P with those who disagreed, nor even with those who agreed with them but had certain doubts. To fight Marxist-Leninists, they simply resorted to slander, aggressions, attempts at corruption, and forbid the presentation of their point of view. All of this served to prove that within the old "C" P the minimal conditions of internal democracy that would have made it possible for the Marxist line to win, did not exist, for the bureaucrats, sold out to the Soviet leaders had been ordered to impose, their anti-Marxist schemes, no matter what the cost. And so, there was no other alternative but to draw the honest militants away from the old "C" P and to create an authentic Marxist-Leninist Party.

The internal struggle resulted in a split within the old "C" P at the end of 1963 and in the creation of a Marxist-Leninist group, which kept the name "Spartacus", and which was the forerunner of

the Revolutionary Communist Party. When it began to have its own activities, "Spartacus" also had to fight against the Trotskyists who were attempting to take advantage of the struggle against revisionism in order to infiltrate the newborn Marxist-Leninist organization and control it. It also had to fight against the Cuban leaders and their partisans who attempted, in an hypocritical and veiled manner, to serve revisionism by hiding behind leftist positions which differed in appearance from those of the Soviet leaders. They rendered an incredible service to the Soviet leaders and their lackeys in Latin America by bringing many petty bourgeois sectors, dissatisfied with the reformism of the pro-Soviet Parties, to adopt forms of armed-struggle without any link with the masses, and consequently, doomed to failure and destruction. At the same time, they actively preached against the necessity of building authentic proletarian Parties and united fronts under the leadership of the proletariat in order to conquer power. In this way, they alienated many sectors, which could have played a positive role in truly Marxist-Leninist Parties, from the masses of the people, striving to leave the way open for the poisonous influence of revisionism and leading these sectors to unquestionable death in the hands of the reactionary armed forces, counselled by Yankee imperialism. It is in this way, that the "guerrilla centers" (and their subsequent variants: urban guerrilla, expropriations, terrorism, etc.) having been crushed in all of Latin America, were used by the revisionists to discredit, by means of their propaganda, armed-struggle in general, and to strengthen their arguments in favour of the peaceful and reformist line. Finally, as Fidel Castro and the other Cuban leaders increasingly proved to be lackeys of Soviet social-imperialism, they compelled those who were close to them to openly place themselves in the



service of the revisionist parties of Latin America. In fact, by maintaining disagreements of a secondary nature with the revisionists and by putting forward positions which were in appearance more radical, these groups served to bring together those who were dissatisfied with revisionism, prevented them from struggling in the masses on the basis of correct positions, and kept them, in fact, bound to their opportunist line on all essential question. The line of the leadership of the MIR in Chile, in particular during the time of the Popular Unity government, is a good example of this.

The group "Spartacus", not only worked with the masses and led many struggles, but also worked at ideological education and propaganda. From its very beginnings, it published a daily newspaper called "Combate" and a theoretical journal called "Principes Marxistes-Léninistes", as well as many shop-papers, pamphlets, leaflets, etc. In the second issue of the journal (May-June 1964), I was charged by the leadership of "Spartacus" with the writing of a detailed article entitled "The Pacific Path of Corvalan: a Counter-Revolutionary Road". Already at that time, six years before the experience of the Popular Unity government, this article repudiated the farce of the "pacific path" to socialism and predicted the tragedy to which the Chilean people would be led if the revisionist strategy won.

In the context of the international struggle against modern revisionism, the group "Spartacus" also began setting up links with the Marxist-Leninist organisations which were being set up in Latin America and in other parts of the world, especially with the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania, which had always held high the flag of Marxism-Leninism.

The lengthy interview which the greatest revolutionary leader and Marxist ideologue of our epoch, the Comrade Mao Tsetoung, granted to the leaders of "Spartacus" at the end of 1964 was particularly decisive in the building of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party. During this interview Comrade Mao greatly encouraged us for the hard struggle which we were preparing to wage, pointing out that, even if we were few at the start, we would undoubtedly succeed if we remained faithful to the

principles and if we established close ties with the masses. He warned us that we would suffer defeats and taught us how to learn from them by recalling the history of his own Party and of the revolution in his country. He urged us to establish close links with the masses, especially with the workers and peasants, to provide them with leadership and to learn from them. And finally, he urged us to study the concrete conditions of our country in the light of Marxism-Leninism in order to be better able to struggle against revisionism without falling into dogmatism and without copying foreign experiences in a mechanical way.

THE CREATION OF AN AUTHENTIC COMMUNIST PARTY

Clearly having as its objective the creation of a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party in Chile, the group "Spartacus" had set itself three basic preconditions to do so: firstly, to elaborate a long-term programme for the Chilean revolution which would serve to lead the masses of the people on the revolutionary path, and at the same time, to unite politically and ideologically those who entered the Party. Secondly, to extend the "Spartacus" organisation to all of the national territory with a Leninist organisational structure (cells, local committees, and regional committees). Thirdly, that, in its ranks, militants of peasant and working class origin predominate. These basic conditions were attained in the course of the years 1964-65. Concretely they manifested themselves by the active and militant participation of "Spartacus" in the struggle of the workers, of the peasants, of the students and of other strata of the people against the deceitful, reformist, pro-Yankee line of the Frei government.

The founding Congress of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile (RCP) was held in Santiago in February 1966 in absolute clandestinity. 93 delegates from the various regional committees which had been set up across the country, of which a predominant number were workers and peasants, participated in this congress. The Rebel Communist Union, a Marxist-Leninist organization, set up in the northern part of the country for the same ideological and political reasons as "Spartacus", also sent delegates to this congress. Fraternal dele-

gates from Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations of Argentina, Brazil, Ecuador, and Peru were also present, and they were able, thanks to their experiences, to make important contributions to the congress and to the birth of the party.

Since its creation, the RCP has set the acceptance of the essential part of its political line, and ideology as a basic condition to enter its ranks. It has always objected to uncontrolled rallying, whether it take the form of a merger with groups which were led by a fundamentally different line or set of principles, or whether it take the form of an unprincipled proselytism. Just like "Spartacus", it decided to maintain a fundamentally clandestine structure. It firmly refused to organize the Party and its activities along the lines of the bourgeois parties, that is on the basis of public headquarters, of meetings of militants, of propaganda of a commercial type, of a large number of paid officers, of exposed activism, etc. Bourgeois laws and institutions can be made to serve a basically revolutionary line, provided that we not submit to them, or adapt to them, for we would then be endangering the political independence of the Party as well as the security of its illegal work. The fact that the struggles of the RCP and its political work in the masses were not known to be as widespread as they actually were is due, in part, to these factors, and to the deliberate desire of the right, as well as of the traditional left, to block all information about this Party. The RCP does not aspire to showy actions of a public nature and it is for this reason, as well as for reasons of security aimed at making the struggle more efficient, that it does not take credit for all the struggles which it leads, and even less the struggles of others. However, larger and larger strata of the masses — and that is what is important — know of its activities and of its positions, which were developed while living with the masses, while sharing their struggles, their joys and sorrows, and while building the Party in the very heart of the masses. And so the development and the influence of the RCP are solid, deep, and stable and they do not suffer from the fluctuations well-known by the bourgeois parties which base their influence on demagogical propaganda by means of which they try to manipulate the people from "outside", that is, without truly uniting with the people and without serving their true interests.

The international communist movement on the march

While intensifying its activities in the masses, the RCP developed widespread work of propaganda and of political education of the masses to serve this task. Besides many political and theoretical pamphlets, it published several periodicals which were distributed nationally, such as *Espartaco*, *Denuncia Popular* (Accusation of the People) and *El Pueblo* (The People), which are still published today, in clandestinity. From May 1968 until the coup d'Etat of 1973, it published 25 issues of a theoretical journal (*Causa Marxista-Leninista*) whose influence spread even beyond the boundaries of Chile, for many articles were reprinted in many other countries.

The solid clandestine Leninist structure of the RCP and its faithfulness to the principles, on the organizational level as well as on the political level, are what has enabled it to be today in Chile, under the fascist dictatorship, the organization which is in a far better position than the others to organize the resistance to the dictatorship. Almost all of its militants and leaders are presently within the country; all of its base organizations and

auxiliary commissions are functioning with the modifications which have been made necessary by the new conditions of repression; only an infinitely small number of its militants have been identified by the organs of repression. Moreover, its militants, having been prepared to struggle in such conditions, have displayed the highest level of revolutionary ethics when confronted with fascist repression. That is why the RCP, far from being destroyed, developed considerably after the coup d'Etat with regard to the numbers it rallied as well as to its links with the masses. While parties which were accustomed only to legal activity (public headquarters, paid officers, propaganda of a commercial type) disintegrated completely, the RCP, because of its direct work methods among the masses, its clandestine activity, its simple and easily accessible propaganda, and its experience of working underground, developed like a fish in water. Another factor contributed to the rise of the RCP in the present conditions — which are the most difficult you can imagine in which to do work of opposing and of struggle against the ruling classes

— the fact that large parts of the population are beginning to recognize that it has always had a fundamentally correct line, which unveiled the farce of the "pacific and electoral path" to socialism and which put the people on guard against the reactionary armed forces and against the fascist coup d'Etat. Moreover, those sectors of the people which want to organize and to struggle against the fascist dictatorship, have a growing trust in the RCP because they know the efficiency of its organization and of its clandestine methods of work. All of these factors have enabled it to play an important part in organizing the resistance, in the clandestine propaganda against the fascist Military Junta, in helping the victims of persecution and their families, in organizing the first struggles against the dictatorship and in the ideological struggle against the opportunist leaders who led the people to the dramatic situation in which it presently finds itself.

(1) "Chile, An Attempt at the Historical Compromise".

THE CLASS ROOTS OF THE MIR'S DEFEAT

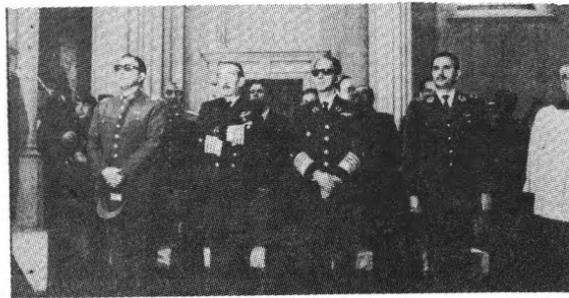
Article taken from "El Pueblo", organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, published in "Nuovo Unita", central organ of the Communist Party of Italy (Marxist-Leninist) (4/29/75).

The recent declarations of four members of the Central Committee of the MIR to the press, radio, and television, sparked some interest in public opinion. They put forth the abandonment of the struggle, and collaboration with the military junta. They also provided a long and detailed list of the deaths of the principal leaders of their movement. On the weight of completely false propaganda, a false image of the MIR, of its aims, its political influence, its revolutionary attitude and its capacity to mobilize the masses, has been created

in international and national public opinion. Meanwhile, the leaders of the MIR avoided criticizing this false propaganda, while all the while hurling insults at those who did criticize it. But today, when more than ever it is necessary to build the unity of all the people in the struggle against the military junta, we must clear up a few points regarding the MIR, within the progressive and democratic forces. Thus a means of advancing towards unity by clearing up the democratic and revolutionary objectives of our people while at the same time de-

mystifying a fact to which the Junta has given great importance — importance which it doesn't deserve.

For many years, the reactionary and pro-imperialist press has paid a lot of attention to the MIR. Its main organ, "El Mercurio", was constantly trying to highlight what the movement was doing, or not doing, often inventing facts and actions in which it had never participated. Many people wondered why the press behaved like that. Today, it is now clear that they were trying to identify the MIR with the revolution to later kill two



In spite of the September 11, 1973 coup d'Etat and despite the most ferocious fascist repression, the Chilean people has never given up the struggle.



The blood of the Chilean people did not flow in vain, it gave birth to a still greater revolt, the revolt of those who drew lessons from history and who learnt how to recognize their enemies even those wearing a "socialist" mask.



The struggle of the Chilean people received the support of the peoples of the world everywhere. Shown here is a demonstration held in Montreal. In these demonstrations the MIR was often wrongly presented as the sole representative of the Chilean revolution.

The international communist movement on the march

birds with one stone: smash the MIR and the revolution!

One of the participants at the government's press conference said: "The MIR's defeat is not only military but mainly political and that's its most important aspect". The secretary general of the government, General Bejares, commented this event: "It's a question of four people who have examined their conscience and who have admitted that they were mistaken and have decided to change course".

For our people, the MIR has never been synonymous with revolutionary struggle and as a proof, the masses have kept on struggling after the disappearance of this movement in Chile and even after the military fascists declared "death" to the revolution.

It is not our intention at this time to politically and ideologically analyze the MIR and the Castrist movements in general. We will limit ourselves to exposing the general lines of the MIR's practice and the policy we consider should be adopted towards petty-bourgeois movements.

The MIR was born about 10 years ago in Concepcion and was composed of students from the local university. Right from the beginning, it was a perfect example of the radical petty-bourgeoisie, with all the waverings and fluctuations peculiar to this class. During its existence, it went from opportunism to adventurism. Trotskyist, Castrist and revisionist tendencies began to grow and coexisted quite easily within its ranks although its main ideological bases was Castrism and Havana was the guide and basis for its policy. The voluntarism, ideological confusion and unprincipled activism it had shown from its birth prevented it from elaborating a political programme. We are dealing with a political movement which claimed, even if it was only in the imagination of its leaders, to be promoting the revolutionary struggle of our people, but which was not even able to propose to the people a programme around which it could unite, nor to mobilize it in the struggle. Nor was it able to identify its enemies and its goals.

During 1968-69, the MIR, in order to make itself famous and keep the small groups of students it had conquered hanging around, organized a series of bank and supermarket hold-ups. This

orientation coming from Cuba, was largely supported by a lot of publicity and the Castrist press went as far as considering these hold-ups as a "method" of revolutionary struggle. Despite all this, the MIR's field of action was until 1970, exclusively reduced to small sectors of students. But the triumph of the Popular Unity in the presidential elections of the same year, led the MIR to make another political about-face. After having opposed the elections, at least formally, the MIR jumped on the "victory" bandwagon, showing apparent opposition within the Popular Unity, without ever demarcating from revisionism and all the critical occasions which called for it.

1971 represents an important moment in the activity of the MIR. Relying on all the technical facilities provided by the State with Allende's agreement, and on the big subsidies it could consequently get, it created a large bureaucratic apparatus for propaganda. Hundreds of civil servants were hired. There were more jobs in this branch of the public administration of the Popular Unity than in any other. They got lots of cars, they organized mass propaganda at unlimited costs. They bought many printing presses, broadcasting stations, they published numerous magazines, periodicals, etc...

All this impressive display of forces and means, linked to the efforts of the reactionary press which had an interest in amplifying it, contributed in the creation of the image of a strong MIR. This image did not however correspond with reality. The MIR was an amorphous body, which had essentially developed through money, in its madness to grow at all costs, no matter how! While using the same methods as revisionism, it claimed to be competing with it by presenting a more "leftist" position. It even participated, without success, in the elections organized by the revisionists in a series of mass organizations. They were trying to make up in two years what the revisionists had developed in fifty, without having, the total and unconditional support of social-imperialism like the false "Communist" Party.

In 1973, with the progressive sharpening of the contradictions in our country and the inevitability of a fascist coup, the real opportunist nature of the policy of the leadership of the MIR began to show. The declarations of its leaders, as well as those of the revisionists, threatening to

bring hell down upon all the putschists and sweep them away, when put into practice, were in fact reduced to creating a few small groups of armed militants and to an effort at propaganda to divide the Armed Forces. All this conducted to the political, ideological, military and organizational demobilization of the broad masses and in particular the working class.

With the putsch on September 11, it became possible to evaluate the results of such a policy. The Armed Forces were not divided. On the contrary, they discharged their brutal rage on the people, which was not ready to efficiently resist and keep this rage in check, much less to smash it. Everybody knows what happened afterwards. The ferocity with which the Armed Forces massacred our people was in direct relation with the quackery and irresponsibility of these false prophets, and the cynicism and treachery of the revisionists who drove the mass movement, hands-tied, into a dead end.

After the coup d'Etat, the decay of the MIR reached a higher stage as a result of the obvious failure of its policy, the fierce repression, and the incapability of its militants to successfully counter it. In fact, the MIR only exists organically and only survives through foreign publications. It is however necessary to admit that the MIR had won over to its cause many honest people within the student movement and among young professionals, who sincerely wanted to make revolution and who worked for it, even if it was in an erroneous way. Many of them have been persecuted, tortured, and killed by the dictatorship. To all of them we render our homage and sincere gratitude. But it is still necessary to invite all those who did not fall and who did not become informers to think over and draw conclusions from their past and present experience. We must show them that to advance in the revolutionary struggle of our people, we must among other things:

- 1) not only struggle against Yankee imperialism but also against Russian social-imperialism
- 2) struggle against revisionism and never surrender to it
- 3) unite the people, rely on the broad masses and not on small groups
- 4) rely on our own forces and not on foreign aid
- 5) serve the people with all our hearts and not try to have it serve our own interests.



Experience has proven that it is possible, by discussing with them patiently and with honesty, to bring the honest militants of the MIR to seriously analyse their past errors and to join the camp of the revolution.

The same tragic fate awaited the MIR as it had previously awaited the Brazilian "foquists", the Uruguayan Tupamaros, the Peruvian MIR, etc, i.e. all the Castrist groups in Latin America. Yankee imperialism and the reactionaries tolerated them for a while. Sometimes, when it was in their interest, they even exaggerated their revolutionary capacity. They exalted their actions in the reactionary press, and they even attributed to them actions in which they were never involved. Thanks to all this as well as to certain spectacular actions, an aura of strength and power was created in public opinion around these Castrist groups, although it was far from reality. But when the imperialists and its agents decided that it was time, these organizations were completely eliminated.

However, these Castrist groups cannot only be considered as the result of Cuban manoeuvres or of the revolutionary euphoria of a few petty-bourgeois intellectuals. These Castrist groups result from the sharpening of class contradictions and class struggle in Latin America. They result from the oppression and exploitation of the people by Yankee imperialism, the oligarchy and the local landowners to which the petty-bourgeoisie is submitted. The petty-bourgeoisie, as all the oppressed classes, struggles for its liberation from this oppression. It does so by defending its class interests and by using its own methods and forms of struggle. But with the birth of the international proletariat as the most advanced new social class, the one which in liberating itself will liberate all of society, the era of bourgeois democratic revolutions or national liberation struggles led by the bourgeoisie is over. These revolutions, to be really vic-

torious and to arrive at socialism through a democratic and people's society, must be led by the proletariat. The international historical experience has proven this. However, in the national liberation struggle, the petty-bourgeoisie is a revolutionary force and as such, it must, under the leadership of the proletariat, play a role in the anti-imperialist struggle. The revolutionary movements of the radical petty-bourgeoisie will continue to exist in Latin America although we can already notice that the Cuban influence on these movements is progressively diminishing because of the increasing dependence of Cuba on Russian social-imperialism. The existence of these movements is not in itself a negative phenomenon, on the contrary. The problem is one of knowing how the proletariat will lead them and integrate them into a consistent anti-imperialist struggle.

Most of the social strata attracted or influenced by these petty-bourgeois movements or parties in our country, no matter what they are called, Socialist Party, MIR, MAPU or other names, honestly want to struggle for national liberation. True proletarian revolutionaries must adopt a friendly attitude towards them, constantly call on them to unite, and join with them in their daily practice without of course excluding ideological struggle and the independence of the working class.

The self-proclamation of these strata of petty-bourgeois revolutionaries as Marxist-Leninists or as proletarian parties or movements must not be a reason to condemn them a priori or to struggle against them. It is quite logical that they act in this way, since for the last century the petty-bourgeoisie has done the same. The prestige of the working class and of Marxism-Leninism is unalterable in the eyes of the broad masses, and that's why many sections of the petty-bourgeoisie will attempt to hide behind it and talk in its name. But we

know very well that it's up to the proletariat to recognize its vanguard Party and a self-proclamation cannot obtain such recognition.

Russian social-imperialism, in its attempt to penetrate Latin America and to oppose the Americans, has planned, with the help of its own agents, the false communist parties, a vast policy to attract some potentially anti-yankee bourgeois and petty-bourgeois sections. Hiding behind the illusion of an anti-imperialist action to which they have joined a display of material means, the Soviets and their representatives participate in the building of broad fronts mainly composed of the sections previously mentioned.

Until the putsch, the successes were relative but not to be scoffed at. But the terrible blow our people has suffered, by which North American imperialism has attempted to frighten by threats, all the Latin American peoples, has helped in unmasking the pernicious manoeuvres of Russian social-imperialism and to show the risks confronting the masses when the revisionist line is imposed on them.

Today, the Chilean people and the Latin American peoples have begun to understand that the anti-imperialist struggle cannot advance without struggling against the influence of the superpowers among the broad masses. Experience shows that it won't be possible to smash our main enemy, North American imperialism, without struggling against and eliminating the influence of Russian social-imperialism and its local agents. An urgent task which presently confronts us is to put into practice a vast policy of alliance which would bring some of the strata of the national bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie presently influenced or led by revisionism, under the leadership of the proletariat, in order to undertake a consistent anti-imperialist struggle. It is necessary to overcome sectarianism and firmly advance in this direction.

AVAILABLE IN OUR BOOKSTORES

FOR THE UNITY OF THE CANADIAN PROLETARIAT

Brief notes
on the present conjuncture

April 1977

★ Published by IN STRUGGLE!

COMMUNISM VERSUS OPPORTUNISM

Fergus McKean

Republished by IN STRUGGLE!

FOR THE UNITY OF THE CANADIAN PROLETARIAT (Brief notes on the current situation)

"The analysis of the conjuncture does not by itself dictate tactics; we must, on the basis of a *line of strategy* establish the means whereby we can transform the situation so as to develop the revolutionary struggle" (extract from "For the unity of the Canadian proletariat")

This is the heart of these "brief notes on the present conjuncture" recently published by IN STRUGGLE! What tactics must be used in this class war against the bourgeoisie? Furthermore: in the present conjuncture, what tactics does our present strategic goal, i.e. the building of the proletarian Party, command?

In this pamphlet, IN STRUGGLE! puts forward that our present tactics must be based on the development of the unity of the Canadian proletariat and people, and that all which prevents this unity from being achieved reinforces the domination of the bourgeoisie. The interesting aspect of such a pamphlet is to establish links between the national and international situation, the struggle against opportunism within the workers' movement and that within the communist movement, the conjuncture and the tasks it commands, the various crisis measures and the policy of the bourgeoisie. To sum up, "For the Unity of the Canadian Proletariat" is an analysis which establishes the links between various phenomena and points out the key-link towards victory!

COMMUNISM VERSUS OPPORTUNISM, by Fergus McKean

Today, we present for our readers, this reedition of an historic document on the line struggle which took place within the Communist Party of Canada...

Fergus McKean, the author of this document, was at the time, secretary general of the British Columbia, provincial wing of the Communist Party of Canada (CP). Before that, he had been a member of the Central Committee of the CP for a period of six years. COMMUNISM VERSUS OPPORTUNISM is the instrument which McKean used to attack the direction of the CP, which he accused of having completely sunk into revisionism...

Documents which deal with the line struggle within the CP are rare indeed. The present document is all the more precious in that it is the first to have tackled the question of the degeneration of the CP, to have tried to trace the historical origin, and to specify the factors which explain this degeneration. Not to mention the fact that McKean is the first to have come to the conclusion that it was necessary to rebuild the revolutionary Party of the Canadian proletariat.

Republished by IN STRUGGLE!

Towards the unity of
Canadian Marxist-Leninists.

Fight the sectarianism of
the C.C.L. (M-L).



PUBLISHED BY EN LUTTE!

AGAINST THE SECTARIANISM OF THE CCL(M-L), for the Unity of Canadian Marxist-Leninists

At a time when the Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist) is getting ready to self-proclaim itself the party of the Canadian working class, when it has just excluded all Canadian groups from the Marxist-Leninist movement, except itself... this pamphlet is still of burning interest. It contains a profound criticism of the errors which marked the founding of the CCL(M-L), and its attitude with regard to the unity of Marxist-Leninists. Published in July 1976, the positions in "Against the Sectarianism of the CCL(M-L)" have since been continually confirmed by the very actions of the CCL(M-L).

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TAKE HOLD OF THE MANIFESTO AGAINST BILL C-73 AND WAGE CONTROLS

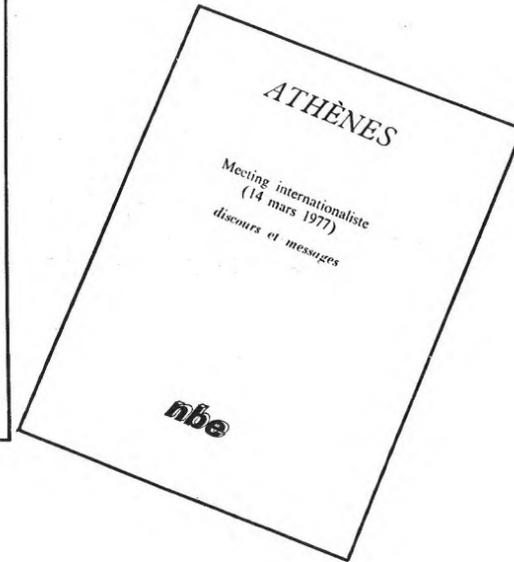
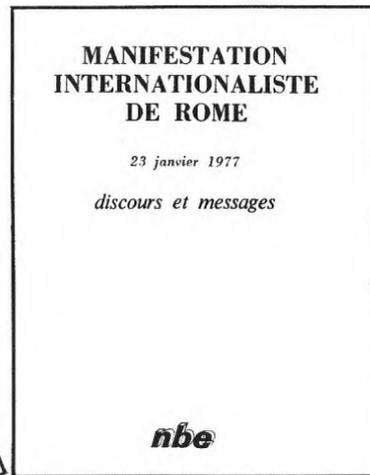
"Sixteen months ago, the Canadian bourgeoisie united behind its State in order to launch a fierce offensive against Canadian workers and against the Canadian people as a whole... Will we succeed in making gains and forcing the capitalists to backdown, or will we go on tightening our belts and having our rights taken away? That is the question, for this is what is at stake in the present struggle."

Published by IN STRUGGLE!



RAPPORT PRESENTE AU VIIIème CONGRES DU PARTI DU TRAVAIL D'ALBANIE', ENVER HOXHA

"In order to unite the peoples in the fight for freedom, independence and social progress, against any oppression and exploitation by whomsoever, first it is necessary to establish the dividing line, to make clear who is their chief enemy, against whom they must unite". (Enver Hoxha - Summary of the Report presented to the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, Special Supplement to Alive Magazine, no. 60, November 20, 1976, p. 6).



INTERNATIONALIST SOLIDARITY MEETINGS:

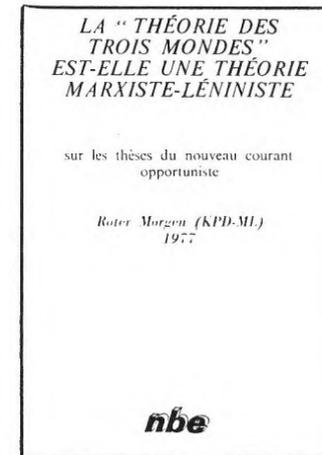
Many internationalist solidarity meetings were held recently in the world bringing together many Marxist-Leninist Parties. There, these Parties explained their positions on the current international situation and the revolutionary struggle in their different countries. The documents of these meetings are available at our bookstores. (NBE Editions 1977, in French only).

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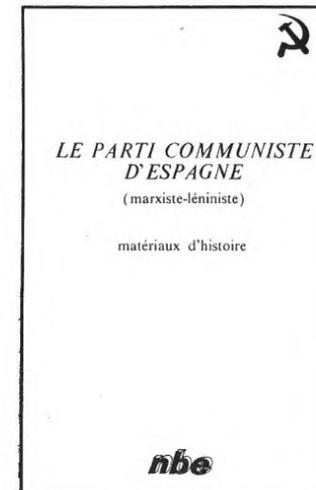
CHILE: AN ATTEMPT AT A "HISTORIC COMPROMISE": Jorge Palacios

In this first volume dedicated to Chile, Jorge Palacios, founder and member of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile (founded in 1966), draws an historical assessment of the experience of the Chilean working class in recent years. Retracing the birth of the Revolutionary Communist Party in Chile, its break with revisionism, analyzing the role of the two superpowers and in particular the treachery of Soviet social-imperialism in the coup d'Etat of September 11, 1973, as well as the strategy of Salvador Allende's Unidad Popular, Jorge Palacios's work, backed up by facts, demonstrates "That it's neither Marxism nor socialism which failed in Chile, and that this theory, refuting those who deform it, and united with our people's heroic capacity to struggle, will lead us to national liberation and to real socialism" (p. 12) (N.B.E. editions 1977, in French only)



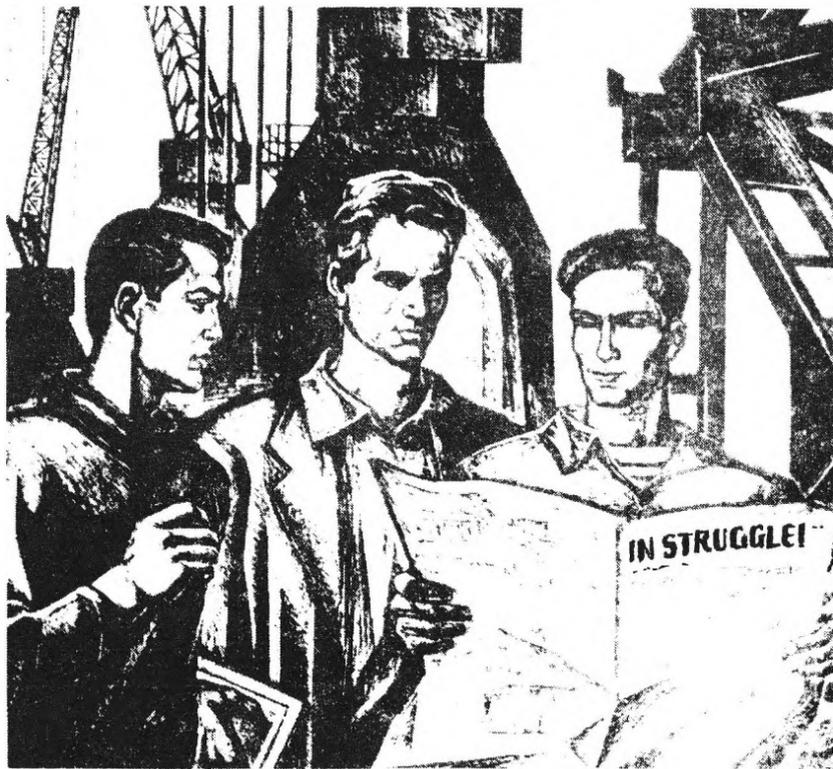
THE "THREE WORLDS THEORY": IS IT A MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY? (on the theses of the new opportunist current, Roter Morgen (KPD(M-L)) 1977)

The Communist Party of Germany (Marxist-Leninist) takes position in the current debate on the "three worlds theory", and rejects this theory. In this pamphlet, the KPD(M-L) explains how the "three words theory" contradicts the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the general line of the internationalist communist movement. This is a document which must be read by all those who want to take an active part in the debates and the line struggle currently being waged in the international communist movement on these question. (NBE Editions, 1977, in French only).



THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN (MARXIST-LENINIST): Historical material

This collection of articles from the Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist), retraces this party's history since its foundation in 1964 and the bitter struggles waged by Spanish Marxist-Leninists under the context of Franco's fascist and bloody dictatorship, for the defence of Marxist-Leninist principles. It also contains the P.C.E.(ML)'s current positions on the line struggle in the international communist movement on international questions. As Raul Marco says: "Once again we affirm that it's not possible to struggle in a consistent way against internal reaction and the two superpowers, without combatting revisionism, opportunism, and social-chauvinism". (p. 10) (N.B.E. Editions 1977, in French only)



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Marxist-Leninist books and periodicals from around the world -- publications on the class struggle in Canada and the liberation struggles in the Third World. All the publications of **IN STRUGGLE!** (newspaper, journal, pamphlets, posters).

BUILD THE WEEKLY COMMUNIST NEWSPAPER OF THE CANADIAN PROLETARIAT!



The Central Committee of **IN STRUGGLE!** recently decided to take up the struggle for the weekly publication of the communist newspaper **IN STRUGGLE!**

The Canadian proletariat needs a weekly newspaper: it needs a newspaper published as often as possible, a newspaper that defends its programme on all fronts, that knows how to distinguish its friends from its enemies, that can provide it with an orientation enabling it to assemble and unite its forces so as to be able to make the bourgeois State back down.

But above all, the Canadian proletariat needs a weekly newspaper in order to counter the bourgeoisie's propaganda as rapidly as possible on as many subjects as possible. The proletariat's communist newspaper is its regular guide against the enemy. It must appear all the more frequent, as the Canadian bourgeoisie, assisted by traitors like Morris, MacDermott, Rodrigue, Gérin-Lajoie, etc, and by all the reformist political parties like the NDP, the PQ and the "C" P, is trying to destroy the emerging unity between the proletariat of Quebec and English Canada, and directly attacking the proletariat to prevent it from struggling, to compel it to submit to the repressive laws of Canadian Imperialists. Through its slogans and warwords, its network of subscribers, its readers' circles, its correspondents and its massive distribution, the weekly communist newspaper will develop even further links between the workers of our spread-out country and with other exploited and oppressed people. It will develop the links that will unify our combat in the same direction, against the same enemy.

What can we do right now to achieve this goal? We must increase the distribution of the newspaper, distribute it everywhere, increase the number of subscribers and correspondents in all walks of life. We must improve the newspaper with letters, criticisms, specific information, and by sending pictures, sketches, cartoons and songs. We must find money and material. We must urge our comrades to volunteer to translate an article, type, or distribute the newspaper in newspaper stands, union halls and the offices of community groups.

Each gesture, added to thousands of others, will make the weekly communist newspaper **IN STRUGGLE!** a truly living reality, a force able to guide even further the struggle for the creation of the Canadian proletarian Party. It will constitute a new victory for the Canadian proletariat in the struggle for the proletarian revolution in Canada.

October 14, 1975: the Canadian bourgeoisie launches its political offensive by imposing its wage freeze on the entire proletariat.

October 14, 1976: More than a million workers held the first general strike in Canada's history.

October 14, 1977: Once again the Canadian working class took to the street to protest against the wage freeze.

After October 14 the struggle has been going on from Vancouver to Halifax:

STRUGGLE FOR THE IMMEDIATE AND UNCONDITIONAL REPEAL OF THE WAGE CONTROLS! PREPARE FOR THE GENERAL STRIKE!

