

# PROLETARIAN UNITY



Theoretical journal of  
the Marxist-Leninist Organization  
of Canada IN STRUGGLE!

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## **The Third Congress of the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Canada IN STRUGGLE!**

**(documents)**

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## Table of contents

Presentation .....	5
Political Report presented to the Third Congress of the MLOC IN STRUGGLE! .....	9
Introduction .....	11
Chapter one: The entire world is living in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution .....	13
Chapter two: The proletariat must fight back vigorously against the crisis of imperialism in Canada .....	43
Chapter three: IN STRUGGLE! consolidates itself as a Canadian Organization .....	77
Chapter four: The unity of the international communist movement and the struggle against revisionism .....	99
Conclusion .....	111
Programme for the proletarian revolution in Canada and Constitution of IN STRUGGLE! .....	113
Presentation of the Programme and the Constitution .....	115
Programme for the proletarian revolution in Canada .....	119
Constitution of IN STRUGGLE! .....	127
For the political and organizational unity of the international communist movement Appeal from the 3rd Congress of IN STRUGGLE! to the communists(m-l) of the world .....	133
Index of the organization abbreviations used in the Political Report .....	147

# Presentation

This issue of PROLETARIAN UNITY is a special issue in many ways. It includes all the major documents of the Third Congress of the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Canada IN STRUGGLE! (MLOC IN STRUGGLE!): the **Political Report** presented by the Central Committee elected at the Second Congress; **Programme and Constitution**; and the **Appeal** issued by the Third Congress calling for the political and organizational unity of Marxist-Leninist forces around the world.

The adoption of the **Programme for the proletarian revolution in Canada** was without a doubt the highlight of the Congress. The Programme affirms clearly and unequivocally that the mission of the working class is to bring about communism, to free all of humanity from the chains of capitalist exploitation. To carry out this task, it is essential that imperialism be defeated on a world scale and the dictatorship of the proletariat established in all countries, including Canada.

The MLOC IN STRUGGLE! has devoted three years of work, study, debate, inquiry and struggle to writing its Programme. The result, a programme that is above all the programme of the proletariat in Canada in its struggle for socialism, is proof that these three years were very productive. The publication of the **Draft Program** gave rise to many debates that have considerably enriched the final version of the Programme. It reaffirms that communism is our final goal. It puts a great deal of emphasis on the resolution of the oppression that afflicts nations and national minorities in various parts of Canada. The unity of all working people in Canada must be founded on total equality, beginning with the equality of languages and nations. Equality in practice is the only way to unite Canadian workers, regardless of the nation or national minority to which they belong, in the struggle for socialist revolution in Canada.

IN STRUGGLE!'s Programme also takes account of the fact that

Canada's political sovereignty is threatened by more powerful countries, and notably by the U.S.A. In contrast, however, to all the revisionist programmes — from that of the CPC(M-L) to that of the CP, not to mention that of the CCL(M-L) — the struggle for the "repeal of all treaties, accords, or agreements between Canada and other countries that interfere with the country's political sovereignty" is not seen as preliminary stage that will postpone the struggle for socialism. Instead, it is an issue around which working people can and should be mobilized today to struggle against capitalism and imperialism and for proletarian revolution.

The Third Congress also examined organizational questions and assessed the progress accomplished since the Second Congress. On the basis of more than two years of work, the Congress voted important changes in the **Constitution**. All the changes are designed to strengthen the understanding and application of democratic centralism, the sole organizational principle that can truly guarantee the application of the communist programme and ward off revisionism in organizational matters.

The struggle to equip the working class with its revolutionary programme led us to pursue and deepen our understanding and criticism of revisionism. We began to understand where it comes from and undertook to expose and discredit it on a principled basis. The principal results of this struggle are summed up and analysed in the **Political Report** presented to the Third Congress by the Central Committee, to which most of this issue of PROLETARIAN UNITY is devoted. The major conclusions of the Political Report, which analyses the forces at work in the world and in Canada as well as the work of our Organization over the past two years, were endorsed by Congress delegates, after a thorough study and expression of their criticisms, in the following resolution:

*"After broad and democratic discussions both before and during its proceedings of March 1979, the Third Congress of the MLOC IN STRUGGLE! affirms its full agreement with the fundamental conclusions of the Political Report of the Central Committee.*

*"This holds true for both the internationalist tasks and the work of our Organization in the class struggle in Canada.*

*"The very real development of our political line that is evident in the Report is greeted by the Congress with great enthusiasm.*

*"The Congress considers that this development can be largely attributed to the reaffirmation of the principle that we live in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. In reaffirming this principle, our Organization also invites the international communist movement to defend it firmly against all the revisions to which it has been and is still subjected.*

*"The Congress considers that the adoption of this position is especially important at a time when the struggle against revisionism is entering a new phase. It is to be hoped that the international communist movement will emerge from this struggle considerably strengthened both politically and organizationally."*

Revisionism is still the enemy to be defeated in the working-class movement. Revolutionary storms are already raging in some countries, and the profound crisis now ravaging the imperialist world may well spark even greater revolutionary upsurges in the near future. In this situation, the duty of communists is clear: to provide revolutionary leadership for the

proletariat and working people. To do this, they must expose the rotten revisionist leaders who have usurped the leadership of the working-class movement's organizations. This is also why the Political Report emphasizes the need to work at intensifying the rallying of as many workers as possible around the communist programme so that the programme becomes a truly active force in the struggle of the working class in Canada.

On the basis of the orientations set out in the Political Report, we have also come to realize the full implications of what it means to say that the proletarian revolution has an international character. Today, we have a solid basis for renewing with the principles that lay behind the creation of the Communist International in 1919 and that guided its action through, until the Second World War.

This orientation in the struggle for the unity of the international communist movement was summed up and applied by the Third Congress in a call entitled: **For the organizational and political unity of the international communist movement: Appeal from the Third Congress of IN STRUGGLE! to the communists (M-L) of the world.**

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The Third Congress of IN STRUGGLE! was a brilliant victory for Marxism-Leninism. The proletariat in Canada now has a programme to guide it along the path of the revolution. This is, without a doubt, the most important achievement of the Congress, for such a programme is the key to a victorious struggle against the revisionism that has dominated the working-class movement in Canada for more than thirty years now.

The Third Congress of IN STRUGGLE! is historic for another reason as well: on this occasion the communists in Canada committed themselves fully to the struggle against revisionism on the international level and for the principled unity of the international communist movement. Despite some very real and important difficulties, the conclusions reached by the Congress and our analysis of the international communist movement give us every reason to believe that the pseudo-communists of the CP, the CCL(M-L) and the CPC(M-L) will soon be thoroughly discredited and that their downright servile tailing after Moscow, Peking or Tirana will eventually be widely recognized for what it is: full-blown opportunism.

History has proven that parties that give genuine leadership to the working class and that lead it forward along the path of revolution have nothing in common with these counter-revolutionaries who cover up their opportunism and utter contempt for the revolutionary cause with servile attitudes and pompous words.

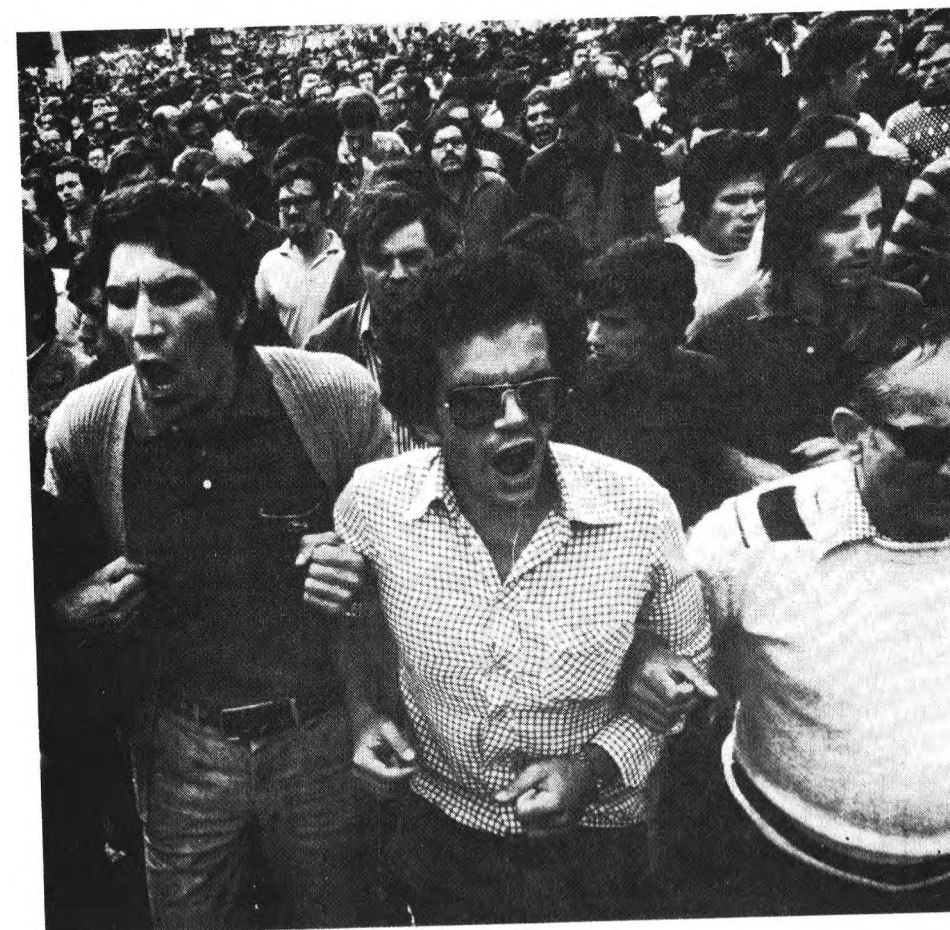
Communists around the world and workers in Canada will not be taken in for long by these mystifiers. Solidly united around the correct decisions of its Third Congress, the MLOC IN STRUGGLE! will strive all the more to have the Marxist-Leninist line triumph in Canada and throughout the world. Its confidence and determination to carry out this task are all the greater

because it realizes that thousands of Marxist-Leninists in many countries are engaged in the same struggle.

**The Marxist-Leninist Organization  
of Canada IN STRUGGLE!  
August 1979**

## **Political Report presented to the Third Congress of the MLOC IN STRUGGLE!**

*Ed. note: The reader should take into account while reading the Political Report that it was written some time ago. In fact, the writing of this Report was begun several months before its presentation at the Third Congress in March 1979. It is therefore quite possible that certain recent events of the Canadian or international situation are not mentioned or taken into account.*



# Introduction

It has been more than two years since the Second Congress of our Organization, held in November 1976. In the intervening period, there have been considerable changes in the situation in the world, in Canada and in our Organization, as well as in the ranks of the international communist movement. The purpose of this Report is to take stock of the situation, evaluate the work done in these various fields and outline the orientations that should underlie our work in the coming months and years.

The work done cannot be correctly appraised unless we refer to the decisions made previously and verify whether or not they have been carried out. In evaluating our work over the last two years, it should be remembered that our Second Congress decided that the question of the programme should be our central concern and gave the new leadership a specific mandate for dealing with it. The Second Congress also issued a call to turn the Organization towards the masses and pursue the struggle for the unity of communists in Canada.

We believe we have made substantial progress in all these fundamental areas of our work, even if we have also made some mistakes. IN STRUGGLE! does not pretend to have a monopoly on the "correct line", nor on the qualities of honesty, dedication, determination and steadfastness that characterize communists. We even find it rather disquieting when communists, whoever they are and whatever their history, affirm that

they have always had, still have and will always have a perfectly correct line. History has amply shown that such pretensions are utterly devoid of any materialist basis; we are wary of this form of misleading idealism.

It is not easy to apply Marxism-Leninism correctly; even the best parties and the most dedicated communists can make mistakes. We must be modest and honest enough to recognize this and point it out to the masses, including the opportunists. Anyone who can read and write can copy sentences and paragraphs from the Marxist-Leninist classics, but this has nothing to do with applying Marxism-Leninism. Applying Marxism-Leninism, developing a correct point of view on any question, necessitates, in the words of Lenin, "a concrete analysis of the concrete situation".

This is why the analysis of the situation in Canada and in the world, of our work and of the international communist movement constitutes a substantial part of this Report. This is also why history is of such importance in it, and why we have paid special attention to restating and emphasizing the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism concerning the crises of capitalism in the stage of imperialism.

A knowledge of the history of class struggle is indispensable in understanding correctly the situation today. The history of the communist movement, in particular, should be more fully explored. It is rich in fundamental lessons that the proletariat urgently needs to

master at the present time, when new revolutionary storms are brewing in different regions of the world and when the crisis, which gets steadily worse, spawns renewed dangers of fascism and another world war.

Finally, the Marxist-Leninist theory of capitalist crises is necessary if we are to understand why the economies of imperialist countries are headed towards a hopeless dead-end and why socialism is the only possible solution to the current crisis. The setbacks encountered by the proletariat in recent years have made

some people wonder whether socialism is really possible. They should be reminded that it is the survival of capitalism that is impossible, that its destruction is not only possible but inevitable.

The revolutionary enthusiasm of communists is not founded on illusions, either old or new. It is founded first and foremost on a scientific conclusion: capitalism, like all the other modes of production based on class society, is doomed to perish.

## Chapter one

# The entire world is living in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution

After years of fascism, which was presented as a solution to the crisis; after a world war with its millions of victims and its ravaged Europe; after dozens of military "adventures" on the part of imperialism in the four corners of the world — supposedly to guarantee progress through capitalist freedom and democracy; after declarations that the world had entered a new electronic and space age and that no dream would go unfulfilled; after all that, the entire capitalist world is in a crisis situation, as serious as that 45 years ago...

Famine is the daily lot of millions of individuals, and tons of food are thrown out — tons of Canadian milk, for example. Arable land is left fallow and farmers are asked to produce less, less beef, less butter, less cereal... depending on the risks of the market, that is depending on the effects of the anarchy of capitalist production.

Armed repression, the absence of all democratic rights, the oppression of women, the negation of national rights, fascism, military regimes — these are situations which millions of people experience day after day.

Unemployment, welfare, the spiralling rise in the cost of living, inflation and the devaluation of currency are problems faced by most advanced societies in the world, including the United States.

Wars, political instability, growing rivalries, and the threat of another world war mark the relationships between countries.

Is this the social system we must save at all costs because there is nothing better?

The real question is: could anything be worse? The situation today is comparable to the 1930's — indeed, it's already a lot worse if you consider that poverty is increasing at the same time as wealth and the capacity to produce more goods increase.

Given this situation, it should come as no surprise that the masses, in particular the youth of the capitalist and revisionist countries, are subject to more and more ideological confusion and despair. It should come as no surprise that in some of the most developed countries, like the U.S.A., different promises of utopia are making a comeback and various attempts are being made to build "new societies" outside of society.

It should come as no surprise that religion is regaining popularity and finding new followers, often among marginal populations, those whom the "society of abundance" has reduced to begging and idleness.

Of course not. The ideological confusion and despair of the most oppressed sectors of the working people and youth illustrates the bankruptcy of the system we live in. It indicates the depth of the crisis which this system is going through.

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The First World War (1914-18) and the 1917 October Revolution in Russia ushered in for the whole world the "era of imperialism and proletarian revolution", as Lenin put it. Since then, the development of the international situation has been ruled by a constant and bitter struggle between the camp of decaying capitalism, imperialism, and their reactionary forces, and that of proletarian revolution, progress, democracy, and socialism.

The October Revolution initiated the consistent and organized struggle of the proletariat to put a definitive end to capitalist exploitation and overthrow the rotten and decadent system. It was a catalyst for immense enthusiasm among the peoples of the world.

The Communist International, known as the Comintern, was created in 1919 and grew quickly. The communists in many countries regrouped to form new parties which relied on both Marxism and the political and organizational lessons of the revolutionary struggle of the Bolshevik Party and its historic victory. Marxism-Leninism was born; in the era of imperialism, it is the only theory capable of guiding the struggle of the proletariat and of oppressed peoples and nations towards liberation and socialism.

The successes of the Soviet Union in building socialism and the growing influence of the Comintern and different communist parties soon began to sow panic among capitalists and reactionary forces. The October Revolution had proved that if the proletariat was guided by its vanguard party, it could topple the bourgeoisie and reactionary forces from power.

Their worry grew when it became obvious that "The Great War", as it was called, had solved nothing. With the 1920's, another major capitalist crisis loomed on the horizon. The imperialist powers which had taken part in the First World War, winners and losers alike, still nursed the same ambitions of establishing their domination over larger and larger areas of the world.

The conditions for the development of fascism were ripe. The conservative, nationalist, and reactionary ideas which had begun to flourish in Europe towards the end of the 19th century, fed by the competition between opposing capitalist countries, between rival nations, now found a fertile ground to develop and shrewd demagogues to help spread them.

The First World War did more than just leave the problems of the capitalist economy in the same acute state: it also seriously shook up the colonial system from which capitalism draws some of its lifeblood. In many colonial and semi-colonial countries, the revolt of

the masses was smouldering and the aspiration for liberation growing. China and India are but two examples. This of course increased the contradictions facing the imperialist countries.

The 1929 Crash marked the greatest economic crisis of capitalism. Ten years later, the Second World War broke out. Once again inter-imperialist rivalries had reached such a point that the contenders saw no alternative but armed conflict to settle their differences. But this new world war had a specific characteristic: the rise of the Axis powers, a bloc of fascist countries made up of Germany, Italy and Japan, which achieved lightning victories all over Europe and in the colonies of Asia and Africa.

When Nazi Germany finally attacked the Soviet Union directly, it became obvious that this war was not only a confrontation between great imperialist powers for a new division of the non-socialist world; it was, above all, a war against the peoples whose purpose was to bring the peoples of Europe and the colonies under the yoke of the most violent and savage domination, in the interests of an imperialist bourgeoisie thirsty for power and armed with a treacherous and extremely reactionary ideology. It also became a war to eliminate progressive forces, to put socialist revolution in check, subdue the Soviet Union, and thus put an end to the victories of socialism.

In this context, a broad anti-fascist movement developed world-wide. In China, the peasant and proletarian masses under the leadership of the Communist Party of China (CPC) were already fighting alongside the national bourgeoisie against Japanese imperialism. In the countries of Europe which were the most threatened, the proletariat entered united fronts with the bourgeoisie or factions of it which were opposed to fascist Germany's domination. The communists who had denounced the fascist threat in the 1920's were now to be found on the front lines of the resistance in most countries. It was, according to the Comintern, no longer only a question of defending democracy against fascism. It was a question of saving the U.S.S.R., the bulwark of proletarian revolution.

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The Second World War didn't resolve the contradictions of imperialism anymore than the First World War had. In fact, the world today is rife with the same fundamental contradictions that characterized it after the Great War of 1914-18. The new big powers are nursing the same ambitions as their forerunners, and they are in constant conflict with each other as they manoeuvre to

extend their activities to all corners of the globe. To one degree or another, the peoples of the world are subject to their control; and their power is entrenched through methods ranging from the corruption of existing regimes to the use of armed force.

The world has nonetheless undergone immense upheaval in the last thirty-five years. New powers like the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. have emerged, and former great powers like Great Britain, France, and Germany have been dislodged. Many colonies have acquired political independence and most of them have taken up the job of developing their economies. However, these economies are to a large extent dependent on imperialist capital investments which take advantage of their situations.

Decolonization which was so talked about in the 1950's and 1960's has been stopped in midstream. In fact, the peoples under the thumb of imperialism are yet to be liberated.

Anger is growing everywhere, and in underdeveloped countries, regimes on the payroll of imperialism often need military fascist dictatorships to stay in power.

The situation in imperialist countries is similar. As inter-imperialist contention heats up and the crisis of capitalism deepens, the living conditions of working people are deteriorating everywhere. Everywhere, there is an upsurge in the resistance of the masses. Once again, the bourgeoisie is using the type of repression common in the 1920's and 1930's. There are more and more anti-working class measures and attacks against unions and democratic rights. Anti-communist and fascist ideas are making a comeback.

The situation today resembles in many ways the pre-war situation in the 1930's. The danger of a new worldwide holocaust is growing day by day, with billions of dollars of weapons now stockpiled around the world. History has demonstrated that the only way Capital at its highest stage can cope with these contradictions is through imperialist war, attacks and counter-attacks among rival imperialists and popular repression — including the violent dictatorship of fascism. It is the only way to maintain the reign of Capital and the law of profit.

As long as imperialism exists, the only way for the people of the world to do away with exploitation and oppression will be through proletarian revolution. The serious setbacks the camp of revolution has suffered since the 1950's have led some to doubt the justice of the fight for socialism and communism. The regular, cyclical crises of capitalism, continual wars and the growing gulf between the rich and the poor are all reminders that capitalism is doomed to disappear. Illu-

sions about gradually transforming it have been debunked by the history of the last fifty years.

The working class must assume its historic mission. It is the only thoroughly revolutionary class and it is up to it to take the leadership of the struggle against imperialism and lead this fight to victory — to the abolition of class society and the complete elimination of the exploitation of man by man.

## Inter-imperialist rivalries are sharpening

Since the turn of the century, relations between countries have been ruled by the ceaseless struggle between imperialist powers for the control of ever-greater and richer areas of the world. History has shown that the agreements, pacts, treaties, and alliances between these powers have always been governed by their imperialist interests. These agreements never interrupted the death-struggle between great powers, and they have certainly not prevented the world from having to endure a situation of permanent war since the First World War.

The imperialists, however, have always known how to unite when their interests require it, in particular when the revolutionary wind is blowing and threatening their existence in one part or another of the world. The camp of U.S. imperialism, which was created in the context of the Second World War and its aftermath, provides an excellent example of all the means used by the imperialists to develop their power.

Both the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. participated in the Allied victory over the Axis countries in 1945. This victory has long been presented as the decisive victory for democracy over reaction and especially fascism. 1945 was a great victory for the peoples of Europe and the Soviet Union over Hitlerite fascism, over the most violent and the most reactionary form of dictatorship ever to be exercised by the bourgeoisie of industrialized countries. 1945 was also the year Japanese imperialism was defeated in Asia, notably in China.

Even though many peoples of the world gave their lives in this war, and even though everywhere communists were in the frontlines of the fight, when looked at in retrospect it is clear that U.S. imperialism won the most in 1945. The United States quickly grabbed the fruits of the bitter struggle that had been waged by the Soviet and European peoples to use them for its own benefit as an hegemonic power, even though it had played a minor role in the defeat of the fascist powers.

The U.S. set about giving itself an image as the liberator of the peoples of the world and the champion of democracy. There is no doubt that this demagoguery has served U.S. imperialist interests very well.

Even before the end of the Second World War, the imperialists, led by the U.S., had already begun to direct their main attack against communists, who were still devoting all their energies to the struggle against the fascist foe. The immediate goals of the imperialists were to isolate the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, prevent a victory for socialism in other countries and push communists back wherever possible. Once again communism was the main enemy in China, Albania, Greece and Yugoslavia and in all countries where communists had played an important part in the anti-fascist Resistance.

They did in fact succeed in preventing the reunification of Germany and to the advantage of the German Federal Republic (West Germany), which they controlled. They butchered the communists and the people in Greece, with the help of the most reactionary local forces. They chased the communists out of the French government and succeeded in splitting Yugoslavia from the socialist camp. But in China, Albania, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, they failed. The communists of those countries were able to see through the manoeuvres designed to sabotage the struggle for socialism that lay behind the imperialists' offers of collaboration.

The Cold War was on. The imperialists, especially the U.S., spent the 1950's doing their best to create the greatest possible difficulties for the socialist camp. They waged the greatest propaganda campaign the world had ever seen in order to make the socialist countries out to be lands of repression, misery and perpetual and systematic violence against the peoples... while only five years earlier, the prestigious *Life* magazine had presented Stalin as a great statesman who had done a lot for his country.

The Cold War and its spearhead, McCarthyism, were soon toned down. It had become obvious by the end of the 1950's that communism had ceased to be an immediate threat, at least in Europe or America. The most dangerous revolutionary storms were now developing in the colonies and underdeveloped countries. The war had ruined the former colonies and underdeveloped countries. The war had ruined the former colonial powers of Europe and Great Britain. National liberation movements were growing like mushrooms in regions that had been ruled by these former powers, like black Africa, North Africa, the Middle East and Southeast Asia. After the total libera-

tion of China in 1949, dozens of former colonies or semi-colonies conquered their political independence.

In all these situations, the U.S. manoeuvred skilfully. First, they found a fantastic outlet for their goods and capital in the reconstruction of Western Europe, where they presented themselves as champions of anti-communism, ready to back up local bourgeoisies in all matters, including, of course, military matters.

Subsequently, they found another vast market in a great number of former colonies where they showed up and played upon the fact that they had helped defeat fascism in Asia, North Africa and Europe; that they had never had colonies, and that, in fact, they had had to conquer their own independence from Great Britain, a colonial power, in 1776!

For more than 20 years, the U.S. managed to spread their tentacles throughout the world, consolidating their hold on Latin America and extending it in the Middle East, Southeast Asia and Africa. Their main weapon was capital, "aid" for the development of the former colonies; but the military advisers and the aircraft carriers were never far behind the bankers, because the independence of underdeveloped countries must never help the development of the socialist camp. In fact, imperialism continued to fight socialism energetically wherever it seemed to be a threat. There were innumerable U.S. military interventions during that period in every region of the world, starting with Greece in the 1940's and then Korea in 1950...

The American saga continued in various forms, some more or less covert depending on conditions. In 1953, the Iranian people found themselves "liberated" from Mossadegh in favour of Pahlavi, the "democrat". In 1954, it was Arbenz who was overthrown in Guatemala. In 1960, Lumumba in the former Belgian Congo was ousted. In 1962, it was the Bay of Pigs attack against Castro. In 1964, Goulart was overthrown in Brazil. The saga continued with Santo Domingo, Vietnam and Cambodia... and Allende in Chile in 1973.

We could go on listing American interventions in underdeveloped countries; we could also add those of France, Great Britain and the other imperialist powers, including Canada, all of which have done their utmost to protect "democracy" and "progress" in the world for the past thirty years. Today, these same powers are still coming to the "rescue" of the Arab and Jewish peoples, and the peoples of southern Africa. They are stepping up their calls for the respect of democratic rights and worldwide disarmament! However, they sell billions of dollars worth of arms to Israel, Egypt and South Africa. Defending human rights imposes certain obligations...

Isn't that enough to show that imperialist propaganda about the defence of peace, democracy and progress is simply an enormous hoax designed to cover up the hegemonistic endeavors of these powers, which now include the U.S.S.R. Indeed, for more than ten years now, this power has been applying the same policies, except that instead of hiding behind its "democratic" victories it hides behind its history as a socialist country up until the 1950's. Indeed, the U.S.S.R. has no reason to envy the United States when it comes to the oppression of the peoples it has established its control over.

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At the end of the Second World War, the proletariat and the peoples of the world looked to the U.S.S.R. for inspiration. Not only had the Soviet Union won great victories in socialist construction; it had also played an essential role in the defeat of fascism and Hitlerite Nazism and in the liberation of many European countries and the Chinese people. With the Eastern European countries, and China after 1949, it formed a camp of socialist countries; and with the international working class and oppressed peoples and nations, it formed the camp of proletarian revolution, the sworn enemy of imperialism, whose main force on a world scale was the United States.

Things started to change in the 1950's. After Stalin's death in 1953 and more particularly with the 20th Congress of the CPSU in 1956, which was dominated by Khrushchev's clique, the Soviet Party rapidly degenerated into a revisionist party, and the U.S.S.R. came to be ruled by a new exploiting class which had seized full control of State power to transform the country's economy into a capitalist economy, dominated by the laws of profit.

During the 1960's, the U.S.S.R. forced all its allies to organize their economy around its own needs, threatening to deprive them of all economic, technical and military aid if they didn't comply with its demands. It had absolutely no compunction about cutting off all aid to Albania and China, and recalling its advisers from these two countries when they refused to give in to this ignominious blackmail.

By the end of the 1960's, the U.S.S.R. had become an imperialist power like the U.S. A capitalist economy had been completely restored, an economy based to a large extent on the exploitation of foreign countries through COMECON and the many other treaties used by the U.S.S.R. to appropriate the wealth of others. So the Eastern European countries export mostly to the U.S.S.R., which buys what they export at ridiculously

low prices while selling essential goods — for example, oil — to these same countries at a cost sometimes double their value on the world market.

The other countries that the U.S.S.R. "helps" in this way are also forced to send their exports to the U.S.S.R. For example, between 1976 and 1980, India must send 40% of its exports to the U.S.S.R. because of previous contracts and treaties.

The U.S.S.R.'s imperialist activities are still expanding. There are apparently no bounds to its ambitions. An illustration of this is the fabulous amount of money it spends on military equipment. Although its immense military industry helps reduce certain effects of the economic crisis that the U.S.S.R., like the other imperialist countries, is experiencing, its most striking feature is the enormous burden it represents for the working people.

Soviet society today is experiencing the suffering and repression which inevitably accompanies a crisis of Capital. Over the years, agriculture in that country has stagnated while the funds needed to transform such a situation are ploughed into weaponry. More than 6 million people are unemployed. Managers and administrators put the squeeze on workers to increase productivity by prolonging the hours of work and imposing work speed-ups. Profit is now in command everywhere. The growing revolt of the Soviet masses meets greater and greater repression. But the number of working-class struggles is growing, and sometimes the army must be brought in to overcome them.

As in all imperialist countries, democratic rights are continually eaten away at in the U.S.S.R. The State has taken up the task of the "Russianization" of Soviet society, although the Russian nation represents only 50% of the total population. It wants to force the assimilation of the national minorities as rapidly as possible by making the Russian language compulsory for everyone and displacing large sectors of the population to break up homogeneous concentrations of minorities. It constantly violates freedom of speech, and the "psychiatric hospitals" are overcrowded.

To continue calling the U.S.S.R. a "socialist country", as the revisionists do, or a "workers' State", as their friends the Trotskyists do, is pure and simple demagoguery, mystification that can only result in driving workers away from the struggle for socialism. The U.S.S.R. is not a socialist country. It is a social-fascist and social-imperialist country, that is a country which claims to be socialist but which practices a fascist and imperialist policy towards the Soviet people and the other peoples it dominates throughout the world. It is a

country fully engaged in the struggle for world hegemony.

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The U.S.S.R. is today active in all the regions of the world and tries by all means to ensure a greater share in the exploitation of poor countries for itself, to the detriment of the other imperialist powers, especially the United States. The U.S.S.R.'s ambitions, like those of all the great powers in history, are limitless; they affect Latin America and Europe as well as Africa and Asia.

In the same way that the U.S. took advantage of its overblown reputation as a champion of the anti-fascist struggle and the struggle for democracy, peace and progress in the post-war period, the U.S.S.R. today falsely presents itself in the underdeveloped countries as the homeland of peace, progress and socialism.

Just in the last few years, the U.S.S.R. has been at work in many African countries, including Angola and Ethiopia, where it didn't hesitate to use the armed forces of allied countries like Cuba and East Germany in addition to sending substantial quantities of military equipment. Soviet imperialism also has fairly close links with the Congo, Mozambique and other countries of central and southern Africa. Although the U.S., together with France, Belgium and West Germany, still dominates most of Africa, the U.S.S.R. has nevertheless achieved important breakthroughs on that continent and is still making headway.

The confrontations between the two superpowers in the Middle East grow sharper from month to month. The region's economic and strategic importance is well known. Even if all the official actions of the two countries are hidden behind a pretense of concern for the future of either the Palestinian people or the people of Israel, the fact remains that what is really at stake is the Arab world and its oil, and the military control of the eastern part of the Mediterranean, which borders southern Europe, the Middle East and northern Africa.

Iran is just as strategically located just south of the U.S.S.R., between it and the Indian Ocean, which the imperialist powers fight over fiercely as well. Recently, in the same region, the Soviet Union succeeded in strengthening its domination over the present regime in South Yemen and managed to establish a friendly government in Afghanistan. It has thus scored several victories in this part of the world where inter-imperialist rivalries have been escalating constantly, as in India and Pakistan.

Soviet ambitions in Southeast Asia are also well-known. Vietnam's joining of COMECON in the fall of 1978 constitutes an important victory for the U.S.S.R. in this area. Tensions in the region, where the U.S. still has the upper hand — in the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia, and Singapore — will develop even more as China starts to intervene more. China has quite clearly decided to take an active part in the imperialist manoeuvring which undeniably underlies the confrontations currently happening in the region.

There is no longer the slightest doubt that the most important inter-imperialist rivalries at the present time are those between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. The United States and the bloc of Western countries allied to it (in more ways than one) — Western Europe, Great Britain, Canada, Australia and Japan — is the more powerful force at the present time. However, the U.S.S.R. and the countries of Eastern Europe constitute a rival whose economic and military power is constantly growing.

There is practically no conflict in any region of the world, especially in Africa, the Middle East and in Southeast Asia, where the two blocs don't confront one another in some way.

The international situation is in constant change. Things are continually taking place which could transform the present balance of power considerably. That includes recent developments in China.

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After years of internal conflict during which the socialist path of building socialism successfully countered the capitalist path, China has finally fallen under the leadership of out-and-out capitalist roaders. Initially hiding their criminal intentions under the banner of "Mao Zedong Thought", Deng, Hua and Co. are clearly continuing the policies of Liu Shaoqi (a man quite sympathetic to Khrushchev's U.S.S.R.). They have undertaken the task of trying to boost China up to the rank of great power. The economic and social cost of such an adventure, which will be borne by the Chinese people, is of little concern to them.

Like any big country with hegemonistic ambitions, China has embarked on the path of industrial development, arms buildup, and developing its links with foreign countries including the less developed ones which it is trying to dominate. There has been a rapid growth in the number of treaties and trade agreements between China and other countries. Chinese economic, trade and diplomatic delegations are moving around the world at an astounding rate. The Chinese military is do-

ing its utmost to obtain modern military hardware in the advanced countries. Growing trade concessions open the door to foreign investment, to monopoly capital.

Some are surprised to see China denounced as an "imperialist power" when not so very long ago it was generally considered an underdeveloped country. But this apparent contradiction is quickly cleared up. While it is true that China's industrialization is very backward in many respects in relation to many other countries, it is also true that the new leaders of this country have set the objective of catching up very quickly by using all possible means, including a growing and constant rapprochement with the U.S.A., which is, at least in theory, one of the superpowers of the "first world". (\*)

Relations between China and other countries are defined and put into practice on the sole basis of China's national interests, without any practical consideration for the development of the proletarian revolution throughout the world.

China was hoping to force socialist Albania to take up its counter-revolutionary and chauvinist international policies, especially in the Balkans, where its first aim is to establish closer ties with Yugoslavia and Romania in order to weaken Soviet influence in this strategic region. Faced with Albania's refusal to give up the struggle against revisionism and to rely on one imperialism to fight another, China unilaterally and brusquely cut off its mutual aid programmes with Albania and abandoned projects it had promised to complete.

Chinese policy in Indochina is similar. With Vietnam moving closer to the U.S.S.R., China was faced with a major obstacle in extending its influence in Southeast Asia. China then undertook a major campaign to discredit Vietnam. It added fat to the fire in the Cambodia-Vietnam quarrel, and then wanted to dictate its line to Vietnam on the question of the Hoa who have lived in Vietnam for generations and should not be subjected in any way to the government of another country.

In the same vein, China has undertaken a campaign in all countries of the region to strengthen its links with them and keep them out of the Soviet sphere. It has no hesitation about establishing the closest relations with the most reactionary regimes installed by the U.S. In Southeast Asia, in Iran, in Zaire, and elsewhere, China's policy is totally divorced from the interests of the masses and the interests of the proletarian revolution.

Finally, China is now notorious in some "second world" countries for its use of so-called Marxist-

Leninist organizations — who, incidentally, are the same kind of "communists" as the parties that support the U.S.S.R. in all its adventures — in establishing links with the monopoly bourgeoisies of these countries. Thus, in the fall of 1978, it was with the help of the Canada-China Friendship Society, where the so-called Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist) exerts a strong influence, that a delegation of some of the biggest financiers and industrialists in Canada were invited to China... Shortly thereafter, a major Canadian bank reported on the event in its monthly bulletin, and used it to present the "three worlds theory" and urge its readers to profit from it! (\*)

When any country, irrespective of its past and its economic development, adopts a policy essentially aimed at serving its national interests; and when, to this end, it has no hesitation about resorting to pressure tactics and reprisals against countries which might hamper it in attaining its objectives, then such a country is not practising a proletarian internationalist policy; it is practising a bourgeois chauvinist and hegemonistic policy.

In the meantime, China is demonstrating the unqualified and firm intention to link its future with that of the camp of Western imperialism. The diplomatic recognition that the U.S. has just granted it is significant in this respect. The U.S.S.R. realizes very clearly that China's present action could cause it some difficulties and be of help to its U.S. rival. This was already clear in the fall of 1978, when China signed a treaty with Japan. Japan is also a very active imperialist power in Southeast Asia; furthermore, it maintains very close links with the U.S.

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But it has been shown several times since the beginning of this century that agreements and treaties between

(\*) Revisionist China bases its international policy on what the Communist Party of China calls the "three worlds theory". The "first world" is supposedly made up of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., the greatest enemies of the peoples of the world; in practice, China is conducting a frenzied campaign to get U.S. aid in order to become itself a great power. The "second world" is made up according to this schema of the second-rank imperialist countries and the "third world" includes all the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. We will deal with this question more thoroughly in Chapter 4 of this Report.

(\*) "Le commerce Canada-Chine", *Bulletin mensuel* of the Bank Canadian National, Montreal, October 1978, vol. 54, no. 10

rival hegemonic powers only last as long as they share common interests more important than their fundamental rivalry. In this respect, we can already see signs of an eventual erosion of the Western bloc dominated by the United States. For the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. are not the only imperialist countries in the race for hegemony. The rise of West Germany and Japan is becoming more and more significant.

The economies of these two countries have surged ahead more than any others in recent years. West Germany has been able to carve out a predominant place for itself in the Common Market while expanding trade and investments throughout the world. West Germany's production accounts for 32.2% of the entire production of the European Economic Community (EEC), or as much as that of Great Britain, Italy and the Netherlands combined. The arms industry employs 200,000 people, and there are over 500,000 men in the standing army — which, by the way, regularly comes to Canada for advanced training. There are also 148 ultra-right-wing and neo-Nazi parties and organizations in West Germany.

Bolstered by its recent success and wishing to break away from U.S. domination, West Germany was behind the creation of the European Monetary Fund (EMF). It will back up the creation of a new currency, the ECU (European Currency Unit), enabling Europe to compete with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the U.S. dollar.

Japan is in a very favourable economic situation, compared to the U.S. and most Western countries. It maintains close economic links with other imperialist countries, and the treaty that it has just signed with China will undoubtedly favour its development still further. So far, Japan has concentrated its imperialist activities in Southeast Asia, in collaboration with the U.S. and now with China. Japan is the main economic partner of many countries in the region in terms of both trade and investments, with the U.S. coming second.

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U.S. imperialism lost its uncontested hegemony over almost all of the non-socialist countries in the 1960's. As in the period preceding the Second World War, a certain number of great powers, with the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. first in line but also including West Germany, France, Japan and other medium-sized powers like Canada, battled for their share of the world. Inter-imperialist rivalries are again growing sharper. Major difficulties stand in the way of the development of capital. The economy is at a standstill in several

countries and the arms race has started a new sprint. This makes world peace very precarious. It is already threatened by various hotspots throughout the world which often involve countries that are actors in a play which is beyond them and that they do not master. This is a bit what is happening in the Middle East and Indochina, where war or the threat of war between "small powers" is in fact the expression of rivalries amongst "big powers".

Nevertheless, it is not the imperialist powers that will ultimately determine the future of humanity. This role belongs to the peoples of the world who, in varying degrees, are struggling everywhere for their emancipation. It belongs even more to the revolutionary proletariat, which alone can lead the struggle away from the dead-ends into which the imperialists and their agents, the reactionary classes of the dominated countries, regularly lead it.

Inter-imperialist rivalries continue to sharpen as a consequence of the growing penetration of monopoly capital in all areas of the non-socialist world. There are but two paths open to the peoples of the world. One path means submission to one or another great power and participating in their rivalries and wars. The other road is the path of proletarian revolution, revolution led by the proletariat, with or without a democratic stage prior to the full establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This is not in any way just an abstract theoretical conclusion. It is based on an examination of the evolution of the newly-independent countries that since the Second World War have claimed to be on an "original" path of development, a path which some people call "non-alignment".

### **The underdeveloped countries remain under the thumb of imperialism**

Decolonization has certainly been one of the major features of the first 20 years following the 1939-45 war. Many parts of Asia, Africa and the Middle East which had up to then been under French, Belgian, British or other colonial administrations won their independence. The wars in Korea, Algeria, Vietnam and many other countries were the sign of the times in this vast wave of popular liberation struggles that enjoyed almost universal sympathy. The victory of Castro over Batista in Cuba even led some people to think that this movement was going to extend to Latin America too. This region differed from the others on the road to liberation in that

it was still under the thumb of U.S. imperialism. The opposite happened: the United States didn't lose any ground in Latin America — except in Cuba. The Americans gained ground in all the former colonies at the expense of the previously reigning European and British powers.

Decolonization did not lead to liberation. The economies of the newly independent countries have remained largely dependent upon capital and technology from the imperialist countries. In the best cases the local bourgeoisies have been able to develop to the point where they were playing some kind of role in the country's economy. In others, the regimes in power are scarcely distinguishable from the colonial administrators that preceded them.

It should be said that the post-war decolonization movement took place during a tragic period for the working-class and progressive movements. On the one hand, the American imperialists were in peak expansion, scurrying around the world with bagfuls of millions of dollars ready to "help" those who wanted it. They were just as ready to send their armed forces anywhere around the globe to fight the "communist menace" — that is, all those who were less than 100% pro-American — that was threatening "democracy" (read American hegemony).

On the other hand, the communist movement was in the midst of the greatest split in its history. The Comintern was dissolved in 1943; the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, (CPSU) still the beacon light for the proletariat and the oppressed peoples, definitively abandoned the path of revolution at its 1956 Congress. Nationalism and chauvinism won out over Marxism-Leninism in many formerly communist parties. This process was so widespread and thorough that many of these parties found themselves after the war on the side of the colonial metropolises instead of the decolonization movement. Before the days when it got all excited about the U.S.S.R.'s military incursions into Eastern Europe, the French Communist Party didn't blink an eyelash in shouting "Long live a French Algeria"... in harmony with its "own" bourgeoisie.

It is scarcely surprising that in such a context the capitalist forces triumphed over the genuine liberation and socialist forces. Lots of liberation movements fixed their goal as the complete ousting of imperialism from their country. But they found, after achieving political independence, that they were not blessed with a strong socialist camp capable of providing the necessary support for reviving their economies and building their countries on an autonomous basis. Rather they were confronted with a bloc of powerful countries, including the Soviet Union, which had but one desire: to profit

from their weakness, to seize their resources and exploit their labour force.

While all these vultures were cawing their deceitful rhetoric to the skies, the forces which remained faithful to Marxism-Leninism and which continued to wage the combat for socialism, including Albania and China, failed to make their viewpoint win out. The material support that they were capable of giving was laughable beside the millions of dollars that imperialism and social imperialism were able to flash in people's faces. Capitalist ideology triumphed in most of the ex-colonial countries. Little by little, the viewpoint that the underdeveloped countries must take an "original path", neither capitalist nor socialist, won growing numbers of disciples.

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It is within this framework that the "non-aligned" movement was started up in the early 1960's by leaders who were more nationalist than socialist, such as Tito in Yugoslavia and Nasser in Egypt; from the beginning this involved more than 20 countries. The "non-aligned" movement came into being in the wake of several other coalitions of Asian and African countries formed after the Bandung Conference of 1956. And it was to be followed by a large number of conferences and different organizations all dedicated to safeguarding the interests of the underdeveloped countries against domination by the imperialist powers.

The "non-aligned" movement still exists today, along with dozens of other organizations equally devoted to the independence of the underdeveloped countries and their progress. "Non-alignment" is no less an illusion and a fraud today than it was yesterday. It is an illusion because not one of the ex-colonies has freed itself from the clutches of imperialism since the Second World War. The economic dependence of the underdeveloped countries has in fact constantly increased over the years. Their debts to the imperialist countries hover over the \$300 billion mark. The figures are so high that soon all the new "aid" from the rich countries together will not even be enough to cover the repayment of the earlier debts. Despite some deceptive appearances, the gap between the rich and poor countries has continued to widen steadily.

"Non-alignment" as an original path to progress and socialism is a fraud. When a country's development depends on the penetration of capital, even if it comes from several different countries, it leads to capitalism not socialism. Despite the sometimes significant vestiges of feudalism which remain in many underdeveloped countries, it is evident that all of these

countries are in the course of being transformed into areas completely under the sway of the laws of capital — and furthermore, subject to the laws of monopoly and foreign capital.

It is very significant that the movements to unite the underdeveloped countries, including the "non-aligned" movement, have generally had the support of one or the other of the great powers. When Tito was the band-leader of the forces denouncing the Soviet Union in the 1940's and 1950's, the United States displayed great sympathy for him and supported his various undertakings. When Nasser and Castro became the champions of those condemning U.S. imperialism, the Soviet Union was quick to come a-courting with words of encouragement for the coming together of the underdeveloped countries. Today it is China that holds the "non-aligned" movement in the highest esteem. It is easy enough to see what lies just barely beneath the surface of China's hypocritical pretence at a disinterested involvement.

The different imperialist powers have got their tent-hooks into all parts of the world. They can only be dislodged by force. The unity of the underdeveloped countries will remain an illusion because each one of these countries is divided from the other in accordance with the interests of the imperialist powers which dominate them. The conflicts occurring now in Africa, the Middle East and Southeast Asia are eloquent enough testimony that we need say no more. By the same token, progress and socialism will remain impossible dreams in these regions of the globe as long as the imperialist powers have not been completely and definitively thrown out.

It is high time that the nonsense that was all the rage in the 1960's about "original models of development" for the underdeveloped countries be put to rest: those models do not exist. There is only one path that is capable of throwing off the imperialist yoke that weighs on the shoulders of the whole world: proletarian revolution. The economic situation of the underdeveloped countries is proof by negative example. Further "negative" proof is provided by the ongoing reality of imperialist domination in all these countries, based on the most reactionary local regimes.

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In general, the imperialist countries have managed to maintain the outward appearance of democracy at home. But the situation is very different in many less-developed countries. With few exceptions, Latin America and many underdeveloped countries live under the jackboots of military regimes which are barely dis-

tinguishable from fascist ones. We are all familiar with the bourgeois explanation for this: the people in these countries are just too backwards politically to apply the rules of European and American democracy. Such hypocritical rationalizations are radically contradicted by historical fact.

The people in these countries have carried out long struggles, most often armed struggles, against European and North American imperialism and for freedom and democracy. Most of these countries had established democratic regimes once the colonial powers had left. It was foreign imperialism, most notably the United States, that abolished democracy in these places and supported the coming to power of local despots utterly sold out to the interests of imperialism.

In Latin America, countries like Argentina, Brazil and Chile — to name but a few — had their first bourgeois constitutions as long ago as the beginning of the 19th century. The military dictatorships headed up by Videla, Pinochet and Geisel took power in 1976, 1973 and 1964 respectively. All of them were established in the wake of the overthrow of constitutional bourgeois governments. In Argentina, the corruption of the Peronist regime served as the pretext for the coup d'état. In Brazil, the excuse was Goulart's attempt to enact a land reform. In Chile, the anti-Americanism of the Allende government was what provoked the Chilean army, which had been touted as neutral, to intervene to "serve the higher interests of the Nation". In all three cases, the CIA (the intelligence agency of the biggest "democracy" in the world) provided direct support in overthrowing the governments — governments which were no less bourgeois — and in establishing fascist dictatorships. This is a fact worth keeping in mind.

Similarly, in Africa, nearly all the various national regimes established in the 1950's and the 1960's ended up as dictatorships of a fascist clique. This is what happened in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Egypt. The same is true for Nigeria, where a government which was democratically elected when it achieved independence in 1960 outlawed all opposition parties in 1968.

The same pattern holds true for Asia. In Iran, a democratic government which even included the Communist Party was elected right after the victory over Hitler. The communists were soon ousted, but Mosaddegh continued in power and dared to put forward a programme of nationalizing oil. The democratic CIA lost no time in ousting him too in 1953 and bringing in Shah Pahlavi as his replacement. In Pakistan, independence brought with it parliamentary democracy... until 1958 when a military coup d'état was carried out by Ayub Khan. Ever since then, one military group has been succeeded by another. In the Philippines, the dic-

tator Marcos took power by means of parliamentary elections. He kept power in that way up to the point where he declared martial law (which is still in effect) in 1972.

In short, the reactionary dictatorships in the underdeveloped countries are the direct consequence of imperialism. The imperialists need such regimes to serve their interests, to keep the people deprived of their freedom and under their thumbs and to suppress the progressive movements which are struggling everywhere you look against oppression.

### The rise of reactionary forces emphasizes the seriousness of the current crisis of imperialism

Imperialists don't go to war for the pleasure of fighting, but out of necessity. The same is true for the growth of repression against the working-class movement and the oppressed peoples and for the growth of fascism and the reactionary forces. These are not the result of certain violent and bloodthirsty individuals who take power and who modify the course of history because of their disturbed psychology. No, reactionary forces and fascism, the intensification of repression, and the rise not only of ultra-right ideas but also of ultra-right organizations in the majority of capitalist countries today, are responses to the social and political conditions which result from the development of capitalism in its imperialist stage. At the turn of the century, Lenin established that in terms of politics, imperialism means reaction. History has confirmed this conclusion and clearly shown that the bourgeoisie adopts an ultra-right policy each time that it is faced with the real possibility of resistance on the part of the working class and masses to bourgeois measures for intensifying exploitation. The bourgeoisie has been forced to implement these measures because of the increasingly acute crises of capitalism.

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Bourgeois society, a society where the capitalist mode of production predominates, came into being more than two centuries ago and spread, first throughout Europe and then to the rest of the world, on the basis of the republican slogan of "Liberty, Fraternity, Equality". Much blood was spilt to establish the society of bourgeois democracy throughout the world. More

blood was spilt again to defend this society against the fascist threat at the time of the Second World War. And even today, people are waging armed struggle in many regions of the globe to achieve democracy.

Has all this blood been spilt in vain? Are the aspirations of millions of men and women who are subjected to the most barbarous forms of oppression but an illusion? We cannot give absolute answers to these questions. Historically, the bourgeois revolution and the forms of democracy that it brought represented enormous progress for humanity, even though bourgeois democracy has always been, first and foremost, democracy for the bourgeoisie. But today, even in the most advanced societies, capitalism no longer produces democracy because of the very nature of its internal contradictions. The product of capitalism today is repression, reaction and fascism. The forms of reaction that it produces are just as reactionary and barbarous as those of the most reactionary and barbarous systems that preceded it.

Fascism in Europe in the 1930's and 1940's was not the product of feudalism. And fascism today in the underdeveloped countries is not the result of feudalism or tribalism either. No. Fascism in the 1930's developed in the midst of a profound crisis of capitalism and as the consequence of this crisis. Fascism today in the underdeveloped countries was established and is maintained by imperialism because it is the political regime best suited to the continuation of its superexploitation of the people that live in those countries.

It is also a fact that violent repression of the broad masses is more than just a bad memory or a far-off reality limited to countries that aren't very developed. In the past few years, the reactionary tendency has been clearly dominant in capitalist countries. Countless repressive measures have been adopted recently throughout the world to contain popular revolt, disorganize the working-class movement, and reduce democratic rights gradually while constantly broadening the power and tools of the police and the army. Attacks on free expression increase daily. The most sophisticated means are used to spy on mass organizations and progressive individuals. And if the police or the army is caught red-handed in illegal acts, there's no problem — the law is quickly changed to meet the demands of State security!

The reasons behind all of this are very clear. The goal is to totally disarm the masses, to nip their resistance in the bud, and to keep them politically powerless. This becomes even clearer if we examine the particularly repressive treatment reserved for progressive movements in general and for communists in particular.

The methods used to make the labour movement stray from its essential purpose, which is to defend the working-class movement from the attacks of capitalism, give us a very good idea of the range of methods that the bourgeoisie uses to attain its goal.

In countries where the total collaboration of the trade unions cannot be taken for granted, collaboration which in numerous countries has been confided to social democracy and revisionists, the unions are first on the list. In many cases the "labour codes" (all of the laws controlling the relations between bosses and workers) have become real strait jackets that tend to transform unions into simple appendages of State power. Their internal operations are rigorously regulated by an elaborate system set up and controlled by representatives of the bourgeoisie. The State is able in this way to control the process of compulsory recognition of unions and to regulate their internal operation, in particular concerning calling a strike. The State can also destroy unions by levying fines or by purely and simply dissolving them if they do not abide by its dictates.

In many cases, union officers are placed in a position of having to defend the bourgeoisie rather than the union members under the threat of judicial action, revocations, the dissolution of the union, etc.

If we add to this the fact that union leaders are regularly called upon to take part in different conferences and advisory commissions or to send delegates to boards of directors of State enterprises and even, in certain countries, to boards of directors of private companies; and if we add the different and sometimes generous grants which they receive on different pretexts, the pattern emerges of how, little by little, unions are on their way to being totally integrated into the bourgeois State apparatus.

The hope is that, in this way, little by little, unions will be a bit less concerned with the interests of the working class and a bit more concerned with those of the nation which shares the hardships of the crisis, the assault of foreign capitalists, and the disastrous effects of the unreasonable demands of workers!

The bourgeoisie's tune is well known, or at least it should be. Little by little, corporatism is taking over through the institutionalization, at the expense of the working-class movement, of the collaboration of management, the State, and unions. (It seems that while the dogooders are happy that corporatism is apparently on the way out in Spain, they may not be so adverse to supporting its establishment in Canada.) Corporatism also makes good bedfellows with nationalism, chauvinism, and anti-communism. Indeed for them, the nation should not only remain united against foreign threats to

its wellbeing; it should also be on the watch for all the "leftists", the communists, whose radical demands might at any moment destroy the precarious equilibrium which remains essential.

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The dominant tendency towards reaction on the part of the bourgeoisie, by way of its State, and the support which it is able to win in the union movement thanks to the labour bosses, are already bad enough. But they do not describe the whole situation. We must also point out the rise of the extremist ideological tendencies among the reactionary forces. We can and should speak of openly fascist tendencies in many countries.

Open calls for the repression of progressive movements are being heard increasingly. The defence of the family, the homeland, and religion finds followers even among youth. Racist and chauvinist ideologies are reappearing. Reactionary literature is distributed widely. The masses are invited to oppose all progressive measures in the name of bourgeois morality, the morality of maintaining the established order. At the same time, songs and magazines promoting the white male and indiscriminate violence get top billing. Hitler and his cohorts would be envious.

These tendencies are organized. Their material resources seem to be unlimited. Religious sects are multiplying, fascist groups are openly demonstrating and are progressively being transformed into officially recognized political parties. These organizations are increasingly turning to open terrorism, physical assault and even assassinations to establish their domination over the communities they seek to control... in the name of the anti-communist struggle, in the name of the struggle against the invasion of coloured people, or against "sexual deviations", in the name of protecting jobs against immigrants or of the right to work for "scabs" and strikebreakers — in short, on all kinds of pretexts which have an appearance of legitimacy.

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We can still find people today who claim that fascism has had its day, that it's an ideology and policy that died with the defeat of Germany in 1945. Supposedly fascism today is but a parlour game for backward intellectuals... We won't play around with words. It is quite evident that the fascism of the 1920's through the 1940's presented characteristics which the new extreme right-wing may not have, should it rise to power in the advanced capitalist countries. Moreover, there exist regimes which can be called fascist in many un-

derdeveloped countries which don't use Hitler as an authority and which aren't, in principle, based on anti-semitism... So what?

Fascism is not only a horde of hoodlums pitched against workers on strike or communist demonstrations. Fascism is not only concentration camps and crematorium ovens, where thousands of Jews were killed. Fascism is not only parades of militarized youths, dressed in brown, carrying iron crosses. Fascism begins as an ideology, the ideology of national and social renewal (giving rise to the expression of "national-socialism", shortened to "Nazi"). It is the ideology of the struggle against trusts which are too powerful, corrupt politicians, unemployment, social misery, and national humiliation; and for a strong nation, economic recovery, and a return to the moral values, now lost, that were the guarantee of happiness for past generations — free enterprise, the family and religion.

Fascism is the last stronghold of decaying capitalism in times of very serious difficulties, when popular demands grow and threaten the established order of things, and in particular when the call to revolution falls on attentive ears among working people. And this is precisely the situation which is developing throughout the imperialist world at the present time.

It is high time that the working-class movement, sincere progressive people and youth looking for a better future remember that fascism did exist, that it developed in the context of a serious crisis of capitalism, and... that it led humanity to wholesale slaughter.

It is high time that the working-class movement understand what really lies behind the smokescreen of reformist theories that the bourgeoisie has been promoting for the past thirty years in an attempt to make socialist revolution appear unnecessary. The real aim was and is the defence of capitalism at all costs, even if the cost is fascist dictatorship.

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The violent anti-communism that has characterized the 1940's and 1950's tapered off in the 1960's. The U.S.A., that model of progress, democracy, and freedom, was experiencing "weaknesses" that were harder and harder to conceal. The GIs and the Marines were landing all around the world supposedly to defend freedom and contain communism in the Eastern countries. This looked a little suspicious. What freedom were they talking about when it took the most powerful army in the world to maintain it in the smallest and poorest countries, where nary a trace of the "international brigades" could be found?

Besides that, the inhabitants of the Black and Chicano ghettos of "America the Free" went about demystifying all these illusions cultivated at a cost of millions of dollars.

The time came when the American dream, filmed in Hollywood and projected onto the screens of millions of movie houses around the world, was no longer able to counter the tragic images of war in Vietnam and the revolt of Black and Chicano Americans.

Bourgeois ideology evolved. Capitalism was "in trouble"; socialism had its good sides. A mixture of the two was the path to the future. It was only a question of socialism taking on a more "human face", like Tito's for example, or later, Dubcek's, and of capitalism adopting "socialist measures". And the Scandinavian countries, especially Sweden, provided the model.

The so-called avant-guardist tendency among intellectuals, economists, sociologists, and philosophers of the time was to affirm that capitalism and socialism were inevitably going to merge. The promoters of this tendency claimed that in capitalist countries, the State was playing an increasing role in economic affairs, while in the "socialist" countries — i.e. the U.S.S.R. and other revisionist countries, like Yugoslavia — the State was on the road to giving greater room to initiative by factory managers who were better placed than the State bureaucracy to develop production and assure the economic efficiency of an enterprise. In short, according to them, socialists were going full circle — back to private enterprise!

It was the era of the defeat of socialism in the U.S.S.R. and the triumph of a temporary return to capitalism, a return to the rule of profit and the accumulation of capital. It was the era during which a large number of communist parties degenerated into revisionism and began to move towards social democracy, a trend which has continued since then. It was possible to be socialist and even communist without being a Bolshevik or a Stalinist! Socialism would come, it was inevitable. Socialism was the path of progress, of course. But revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat were no longer necessary. What a relief! The only thing that had to be done was to put a little pressure on capitalism so that it evolved in the right direction. The "Swedish model", which was so fashionable in Europe and the U.S.A., and perhaps even more so in Canada, was there just waiting to be imitated.

The years went by. The socialist countries of the 1940's, led by the U.S.S.R., did in fact move closer to the capitalist countries — to such an extent that they could no longer be distinguished from them, except by their phraseology. As for the capitalist countries, they

adopted one "socialist" measure after the other, from medicare to crown corporations. And yet crises continued to occur regularly and the "American dream" continued to fade away.

The crisis of the 1970's, which affected all the countries, of the capitalist world, destroyed some illusions. Bourgeois intellectuals were seeing things in a new light. If socialism and capitalism do merge, they said, it won't happen in the near future. And in any case, who says the merger is necessary? In short, the problem was not the capitalist system, but the fact that the laws of capital had not been applied! That was why the future would be a return to the past!

And the fact that the masters of this system are trying to polish up their image, that they mandate "specialists" to demonstrate the system's superiority over all other systems, comes as no surprise. Capitalism has always maintained an army of intellectuals charged with defending its virtues with an appearance of scientific rigour. In many cases it has even underwritten reformism and the criticism of the system as proof positive of its attachment to democracy, of course, but more particularly with the goal of clipping the wings of all genuinely revolutionary forces which might be the least bit threatening.

Today the bourgeoisie must once again not only maintain reformism; it must go much further. It must try to convince us that it is the reactionary camp that can attain the ideal of a new society. What should draw our attention at this time is the increasing difficulty of distinguishing between the theoreticians of the superiority of capitalism (like the American Milton Friedman, whose reactionary economic theories are penetrating milieus previously close to Keynes and his reformist ilk) and the propagandists of the most profoundly reactionary ideologies, most of which clearly present themselves as movements of new morality and religion and whose slogans come directly from European right-wing nationalists of the turn of the century and the fascist organizations of the 1920's and 1930's.

The evolution of bourgeois ideology has not been confined to the academics who took up the task of improving capitalism's image. For example, Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada, long promoted certain reforms of capitalism, a system which he says should not be seen as unchangeable. Today, we see him claiming to be one of the firmest partisans of less State intervention in the economy, of a return to a more rigorous application of the capitalist rules, of the denationalization of certain crown corporations, and of smaller budgets for social affairs, cultural affairs, etc., to the benefit of increased aid for business, the real source of new jobs.

Despite the opportunism and electoralism behind some of these statements, they are noteworthy. They announce the start of a major about-face within the bourgeoisie, in terms of the way it is going to try to solve the contradictions of capitalism in imperialist countries, whose heads of State and ministers are meeting more and more frequently in summit conferences.

Heads of State are not alone in getting together to discuss the crisis and its solutions. The Trilateral Commission, an initiative of the big U.S. financier Rockefeller, is another example of these "exclusive clubs" where high-level government aides, intellectuals, aspiring politicians, and "labour bosses" (the term they themselves use to describe trade-union leaders) get together to study the great issues of the day, including the "crisis of democracy".

The work of the Trilateral Commission ("trilateral" because it includes members from Western Europe, Japan and North America) becomes all the more interesting when we look at some of its members. It includes people like Jimmy Carter, his special adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, the ex-chancellor of West Germany Willy Brandt, the Prime Minister of France Raymond Barre, the ex-president of the United Steelworkers I.W. Abel, the ex-boss of the Anti-inflation board in Canada Jean-Luc Pépin, and the present leader of the Liberal Party of Quebec Claude Ryan!

In 1975, the Commission published the results of its long debates on democracy (1). Many Canadian trade-unionists, intellectuals and politicians, including Ryan, took part in these debates. These documents tell us that democracy has never been in such good health as it was in the 25 years following the Second World War. This remarkable success is due to the leadership given by the United States "... for the community of democratic nations" (2), sustained economic growth, the decrease in class conflicts... "and successful resistance on a collective and individual basis, to the challenges posed externally by Soviet military might and internally by communist party strength." (3) "But", add the authors, "this happy congruence of circumstances for democracy has come to an end." (4)

The Trilateral Commission goes on to describe the cure for the current crisis of democracy. Its prescription includes the reduction of social measures by the State, the reinforcement of the community of interests of all of society, and the restoration of the authority of the family, church, schools, and the army over youth!

(1) Crozier, Huntington and Watanuki, *The Crisis of Democracy, Report on the Governability of Democracies to the Trilateral Commission*, N.Y., University Press, 1975

(2) *Ibid*, p. 157

(3) *Ibid*, p. 157

(4) *Ibid*, p. 158

It takes a lot of gall to laud the wonderful democracy in countries which have not ceased for a minute since the war to use their military and economic power to subjugate other weaker countries. And it takes just as much gall to talk about "spectacular economic growth" for countries which have only been able to avoid a major crisis in the past thirty years at the price of robbing other countries, and which today are in the thralls of an insoluble crisis.

But what we should really pay attention to is the fact that the solutions of these so-called democrats call forth the same slogan which the fascists made their fortunes with in the 1930's. And another thing which we must pay attention to is that they affirm quite openly that these measures are necessary to assure that the dictatorship — which is inevitable in the next twenty or thirty years, according to Willy Brandt — is not a communist dictatorship! In short, what these people are saying is that to save "democracy", they have no hesitations about re-establishing the open dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. In other words: 'Capitalism is in peril. We must be ready to use all means necessary for its survival.' That's the kind of "democracy" we should expect from the capitalists when capitalism is in crisis: fascism, the maintenance of social cohesion through the return to traditional values, and the conviction that the welfare of society presents a challenge for all its members! And long live the unity of the nation against internal and external danger, just as in the 1930's and after the war!

The respectable members of the Trilateral Commission are not right-wing extremists. As far as we know, they don't belong to the Ku Klux Klan, the John Birch Society, neo-Nazi parties, or the Michaelites. The Trilateral Commission is composed of politicians, trade-unionists, and academics who are active today in the industrialized countries where they have earned the reputation of being perfectly "upright citizens". Faced with the current crisis, these men are taking positions in very unambiguous terms: to save "democracy", we have to be ready to reduce the exercise of democracy; to save our advanced Western societies, we must re-establish the traditional values of the family, church, army, and reinforce the community of interests of the whole of society.

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During democracy's "finest hour" — the 25 years from 1945 to 1970 — the bourgeoisie spoke of the imminent marriage between capitalism and socialism and scattered a few reforms around, in an attempt to tone down the demands of the masses. It advertised its reforms as the prelude to a fabulous future that was just

around the corner through economic growth and scientific progress. There were, of course, a few backward countries which had serious handicaps, but with the "aid" of the civilized world, they would surely find the "original path" for their development. The reformists' optimism was flying high. The communists and revolutionaries were becoming an extinct species...

But suddenly, the reformists started humming a different tune. In order to overcome the crisis and save democracy, it became necessary to restore social cohesion, re-establish the community of interests of all of society and remove the burden of social obligations from the State. Why this about-face? Bourgeois ideology corresponds to bourgeois interests. It was a matter of nothing less than rescuing capitalism from one of the most severe crises of its history. And that is how reformism proves to be the vanguard of reaction and fascism, just as it did in the 1920's and 1930's.

It is high time that working people pay attention to this situation. The twenty years of suffering which the European peoples experienced under fascism, the super-exploitation and fascism which the underdeveloped countries have been victim of, and finally, the two world wars, teach us lessons which each one of us should remember. Imperialism is condemned to pass from one crisis to the next; it is on the edge of a new major crisis. Conditions for a third world war are almost ripe. Fascism is also a growing threat. It is not enough for communists to be conscious of this; they must alert the peoples of the world and prepare the resistance — resistance which must lead to proletarian revolution, the only solution to the repeated and ever more serious crises of decaying capitalism.

### The current crisis illustrates the inevitable decay of capitalism

Today, many people are conscious that capitalism is not paradise on earth. In fact, the material conditions of the masses are constantly deteriorating, not only in underdeveloped countries but also in the most industrialized ones. Everywhere, unemployment has attained levels unknown since the 1930's. The prices of consumer goods, in particular food, clothing and housing, are rising at a frantic rate.

No further proof is needed of the misery of the populations of the underdeveloped and dominated countries. In Latin America, Southeast Asia, the Middle East and Africa, low wages, an astronomical rate of unemployment and, in many cases, famine, are the rule. These countries remain reserves of raw materials and cheap labour. This is the practical result of the numerous political, diplomatic and military interven-

tions on the part of Western imperialism in these countries during the period following the Second World War. These interventions, which were made in the name of the defence of freedom and democracy against the "communist threat", had but one goal: to dominate these countries and establish regimes subjugated to the interests of Capital.

For many years, the military and economic activities of Western imperialism, notably U.S. imperialism, in the underdeveloped countries, in addition to the investments necessary for the reconstruction of Europe, devastated by the war, allowed it to get through the cyclical crises of capitalism without too much trouble. In general, the crises were not very long and were soon followed by a resumption of production, as occurred in the early 1960's.

But since the 1970's and especially since 1974, the entire capitalist world has entered a period of successive crises, and the system is no longer really able to recuperate. There is a relative stagnation of production, and capitalism cannot cope with this indefinitely.

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Capitalist crises are not a new phenomenon. It is by way of such crises that capitalism has developed since its origin. They are part of the very nature of Capital: they are its inevitable product. At the level of each enterprise, capitalism is based on a rigorous organization of production which favours the greatest productivity; on the level of society, however, capitalist production is characterized by the greatest anarchy. Each capitalist, each enterprise, each trust, does not seek the welfare of society in general: it seeks its own profit. It thus produces what is profitable; and that, only when it is profitable.

This is the famous law of supply and demand. When market conditions are favourable, when consumer buying power is high, all the capitalists and all the enterprises, without exception, go full swing into production so as to be the one who will profit the most, the fastest. That's all fine and dandy... until such time as the market can no longer absorb such an influx of products or, more precisely, until such time as the consumers are incapable of buying all these products at prices which will assure a "reasonable" profit for the capitalists. So the stock of merchandise accumulates, enterprises must temporarily, and then permanently, close their doors, and workers by the thousands and tens of thousands are reduced to unemployment; and the result is a new fall in the demand for products, new layoffs, and so on and so forth...

Capitalist anarchy leads to crises of overproduction, to the catastrophic situation where the masses cannot clothe, feed, or house themselves properly, not because there is a lack of clothing, food or houses, but because there is too much! The only solution to the crises of capitalism is the massive destruction of production — wars often being the main means by which the ruling class can achieve this.

Stocks of merchandise are sold at reduced prices or even destroyed, machines are replaced by more modern ones to reduce production costs, a certain number of competitors are eliminated through bankruptcy — all these factors combine to boost the economy. The entire history of capitalism, from its beginning, has been punctuated by such crises, which act as regulators of capitalist production. At the same time, they have favoured the concentration of capital, i.e., the constitution of increasingly powerful enterprises, to the detriment of the smaller ones which are no longer able to support the competition and are reduced to bankruptcy.

It is true, however, that for over thirty years now, imperialism has not experienced a crisis as catastrophic as the depression of the 1930's. This fact led many to believe that capitalism had found the solutions to its problems and that henceforth, the future would be smooth sailing. They did not consider what price was paid to avoid a new major crisis of capitalism during those thirty years. This price was so astronomical that the current crisis will undoubtedly be more disastrous than all the previous ones.

The non-socialist world was clearly dominated by the U.S. superpower during the twenty years which followed the Second World War. Throughout this entire period, the economies of all of Western Europe and that of Japan had to be rebuilt. This evidently offered considerable possibilities for investments, and the major U.S. monopolies did not miss their chance; and increasingly, neither did their European and Japanese partners. The result was a period of general prosperity for imperialism, and more particularly for U.S. imperialism, which had no real competition in the conquest of the very substantial European and Japanese markets. Nor did it encounter any competition in the conquest of the markets and sources of raw materials and labour in the former colonies and semi-colonies of Asia and Africa.

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But such favourable conditions could not resist for long the insatiable appetite of big Capital, which is not exclusively American. Other powers, which were "rebuilt" after the war, also sought markets, and Soviet

social imperialism began to intrude on the private preserves of Western imperialism. Difficulties cropped up more and more rapidly in the late 1950's and early 1960's, and the major imperialist countries all suffered a drop in production. To combat this, they increasingly turned to artificial means of stimulating the economy.

This led to a tremendous increase in State expenditures and debts and the use of consumer credit to an unprecedented extent. The different capitalist governments succeeded in stimulating production by creating a demand for goods and services which was well beyond the real buying capacities of consumers. In this way they simply put off the explosion of the crisis until later, accentuating each time the disastrous consequences.

When imperialist countries open credits with underdeveloped countries, in exchange for the agreement of these countries to buy merchandise from them, they stimulate production. Enterprises in the imperialist countries produce goods and sell them at huge profits to these underdeveloped countries which have not only to pay for the goods in question, but have also to pay interest, usually at an exorbitant rate.

The importance of this phenomena is underscored by the fact that the public debt (the State's debt) of the underdeveloped countries jumped from 20 billion dollars to 50 billion dollars during the 1960's. The total debt of the underdeveloped countries is now estimated at more than 300 billion dollars.

In imperialist countries like Canada and the U.S.A., in particular, the same result is obtained when consumer credit is generalized in all its forms: the immediate sale of merchandise which otherwise would have remained on the shelves and constituted a surplus, an overproduction, is made possible. In both cases, however, the real buying price is raised, because the interest must be added to the price of the merchandise. This alone is a factor of inflation.

The imperialist countries also had recourse to another means for maintaining the economy in good running order: they increased State expenditures enormously. In all these countries the bureaucratic apparatus of the State has attained monstrous proportions, without any relation to the real capacities of the productive apparatus. This does, of course, create jobs, but since they are often unproductive jobs, which don't lead to increased social wealth, this is another source of inflation. The monetary mass must be increased, although production does not increase proportionally.

The marked tendency of imperialist States to increase unproductive expenditures is particularly evident when we consider military expenses, which have attained unimaginable levels. In constant 1970 U.S. dol-

lars, the figures are the following. In 1908, world military spending equalled \$9 billion; in 1938, \$61.6 billion; in 1948, \$64.7 billion. Since that time, it has grown steadily from year to year. In 1958 it reached \$126.8 billion; in 1968, \$209.2 billion; and finally by 1975, it had attained \$213.8 billion. It is evaluated that between the Second World War and 1975 inclusively, world military expenditures attained 4,500 billion dollars. As a point of comparison, military expenditures attained 15 times the value of all the official "aid" given to the underdeveloped countries. This gives an idea of what a waste of resources they represent. It should also be pointed out that military spending is completely unproductive. A tractor represents an expenditure of social wealth, of raw materials and labour; but with a tractor, we can farm, we can create new wealth. A tank represents a lot of labour, but it has no use other than to sit around rusting or to kill! The 213.8 billion dollars spent on all sorts of arms in 1975 has to be paid for ultimately. And it is the masses who are bled white through income and other taxes of all kinds demanded by the imperialist States. The 213.8 billion dollars for military spending represents an incredible amount of money which the masses in the capitalist countries cannot use to buy clothes, furniture, food and other useful goods. The result is that the market in all these sectors shrinks perceptibly which leads to an aggravation of the economic difficulties, more layoffs, bankruptcies, etc.

But what is even more serious is that the imperialists are obliged to relentlessly pursue their military build-up if they do not wish to let their rivals get ahead and take over regions of the globe that they dominate and that they need to develop their capital. The imperialists are caught up in a vicious circle which can only lead to a new world war. As the economic crisis worsens, they need markets and sources of cheap raw materials. They need soldiers, tanks and planes to conquer them and keep them, and that costs more and more, and accentuates the economic crisis. How long can this go on?

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In late 1960's, the economies of the imperialist countries began to fall apart. Several factors explain this evolution. Once again there was greater and greater contention between a certain number of big powers. The United States was not the only one seeking new markets, cheap manpower, and natural resources; it was increasingly confronted by its voracious Soviet rival, as well as its own allies the West German, Japanese, French, Australian and, of course, Canadian imperialists.

As well, the palliatives, employed until then to control the crisis were no longer sufficient. The monetary

system was brought to a standstill. The U.S. dollar, which could no longer be covered by U.S. gold reserves, was contested. The 1945 Bretton Woods agreement was broken: the U.S. dollar remained the exchange currency of the capitalist world, the currency used in commercial deals between countries, but it was no longer guaranteed by its equivalent in gold, whose price is now floating.

U.S. leaders, in turn devaluated the dollar and so lowered the price of their merchandise for export and tried to reconquer their commercial supremacy in the Western bloc. This is what President Nixon tried to do in 1971. The result was a slight recovery for the United States, but at the price of extending the crisis to most other countries that were shaken by the fall of the U.S. dollar.

In 1974, a new overproduction crisis broke out in all the capitalist countries, including the U.S.A. It can be said that since then, the imperialist economy has not yet begun to recover, and the bourgeois economists don't see a recovery in the near future, despite repeated promises on the part of the politicians, who announce this recovery every six months. At all of their conferences, like the 1978 summer conference in Bonn, the heads of the most powerful States announce measures to put the economy back on its feet, but nothing really changes.

In the majority of industrialized countries, industrial production has either not increased or has hardly increased at all since 1974; in many cases, it has even dropped. This is the case in Australia, Belgium, Finland, Luxemburg, Switzerland and even Norway and Sweden, those "artificial paradises" of social democracy. Elsewhere, in all the countries of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) — that is, all the countries of Western Europe, North America, Australia, and some others) the index of industrial production went from 109 to 110, between 1974 and 1978. This means that despite a growth in population and technical development, the production of new goods, including military equipment, has practically remained the same for four consecutive years. So it's not too surprising that unemployment has reached such high levels in several countries during the same period. In Belgium, the rate rose from 4% in 1974 to 10.2% in 1978; in Germany, from 2.6% to 4.1%; in the United Kingdom, from 2.6% to 5.7%; in Italy, from 2.9% to 6.8%...

With industrial production stagnating and unemployment showing no sign of slowing down, all of these in-

dustrial countries have experienced extremely high rates of inflation. One thing is already clear — the postwar recipe no longer works. Up until now, inflationary policies have been able to maintain a relatively "low" level of unemployment and moderate economic growth. Today, however, all the imperialist governments, without exception, are stuck with spiralling inflation, which they can no longer control, and ever-increasing unemployment rates.

The financial and economic crises are now overlapped and mutually aggravate one another. In the majority of countries, the monetary mass has increased 50% in the same four-year period. This means that though the real value of goods has remained almost stationary, the mass of money in circulation is almost 50% greater than it was four years ago. This mass of money did not fall from the sky. It was put into circulation by the bourgeoisie to stimulate the economy, either by credits for production, military expenditures, or general State expenditures. It is new money which does not correspond to useful goods. It is new money which fattens capital by artificially stimulating production, but which impoverishes the masses at a frightening rhythm.

And although the capitalists, and more particularly big finance Capital, can almost daily adjust the price of their merchandise to the real value of money, the workers — whose wages are generally fixed for two or three years in advance are in a very different situation. As well, in recent years, all the imperialist States, with a few rare exceptions, have intervened with special legislation to freeze wages and prevent their adjustment to the cost of living, thus assuring that they remain as low as possible, for as long as possible. With ridiculous nominal wage increases and a rate of inflation which is almost always higher, the workers of the capitalist world have in fact suffered a reduction in their real income.

It would seem that the bourgeoisie is finally confronted with the disastrous results of the measures to artificially stimulate production to which it has resorted so extensively since the Second World War. But there is a law of capitalism which cannot be continually ignored. This law is that production depends on consumption. However, the masses' capacity to consume is constantly decreasing. The weight of personal debts, the continual increase in taxes (often for unproductive expenditures), the breakneck speed with which the cost of consumer goods increases, linked to growing unemployment, augur very somber days for the future of the capitalist economy. The stagnation of production, and, what is worse, economic recession, mean the death of Capital.

## Conditions for a new world war are developing

After the Second World War, the defenders of capitalism, the mouthpieces of the bourgeoisie, insisted that an economic crisis like the depression of the 1930's could never again occur. It was now possible to avoid such crises through the use of "regulating mechanisms". This did in fact seem to work for a number of years, and all the economic crises were solved before they assumed serious proportions. The "regulating mechanisms" worked: by controlling the money in circulation and interest rates, by pumping capital into the economy through government spending, and so on, the State could keep crises and depressions under control.

It was, however, all an illusion. A new, major crisis in capitalism has been latent for many years. Up until now, it has been repeatedly postponed thanks to a series of more or less temporary circumstances and expedients. But these devices in no way resolved the inherent contradictions of capitalism that inevitably result in crises. When these devices no longer work, the crisis will be all the more catastrophic.

The more or less temporary circumstances included the large-scale destruction of the means of production during the Second World War and their subsequent reconstruction. They also included the vast fields of investment that were opened up as the underdeveloped countries began to undergo substantial industrialization. The expedients included a disproportionate rise in unproductive spending, credit, inflation...

Nevertheless, there is a limit to the opportunities for profitable investments in underdeveloped countries. These countries tend more and more — quite rightly — to demand more favourable conditions. The production that gradually migrated towards these countries with their reserves of cheaper labour now competes directly with production in imperialist countries. It is increasingly difficult to work out trade agreements between developed and underdeveloped countries. As the flow of trade and especially of capital becomes an international phenomenon, there will be an inevitable trend towards more uniform production costs. Capitalism develops through the export of capital as well as goods.

In any case, despite all the expedients employed up until now, the economies of the imperialist countries are falling apart. All the industrialized countries today admit that they are powerless to combat effectively both unemployment and inflation. It stands to reason, since for many years now economic growth has only been

maintained at the expense of unproductive spending and the inflationary creation of money.

But profits are still vitally essential for capital if it is not to lose all value; and profits come basically from production. This is the economic basis of the ever-sharper inter-imperialist rivalries. The battle for markets and investment opportunities has its political parallel in the opposition between the various big powers and monopolies. This opposition threatens once again to escalate into a world war. Since the imperialist powers can no longer dominate their adversaries on strictly economic grounds, with all the intrigue, manoeuvring and corruption that that entails, their only recourse is military confrontation.

If heads of State are to be believed, they are all fervent advocates of world peace. But meanwhile, the United States and the U.S.S.R. are negotiating an agreement on a supposed arms limitation; and China is appealing to the entire world to unite against the U.S.S.R. to ward off the war that only the latter can possibly instigate. Meanwhile, NATO refines its strategy *vis-à-vis* the Warsaw Pact; China is frantically searching for modern arms the world over; and military budgets are growing more rapidly than ever before, even more rapidly than in times of war.

What heads of bourgeois States do is more important than what they say. The peoples have learned from history that there are no more barefaced liars than bourgeois politicians. Their pacifist demagoguery should not make us overlook the fact that the economies of the capitalist countries are in bad shape and that there are already many local conflicts in which the big powers are very obviously involved because their interests are at stake.

Last but not least, fascist ideology is on the rise, as we have already seen; and fascist ideology is also an ideology of war. The defence of the "community of interests of society as a whole" can be used in two ways. It can be used to cover up the conflicting interests of the classes that make up society — the "internal threat", in the words of the Trilateral Commission. It can also be used to appeal to the entire society to unite against the "external threats". In other words, the class collaboration and corporatism that are rooted in the alleged community of interests of society as a whole are closely related to the nationalism and chauvinism that are also based on the "transcendental" unity of the "national society" as a whole in the face of other societies.

It is undoubtedly true that the capitalists do not establish fascism or go to war for the sheer pleasure of doing so. Nonetheless, whenever it becomes a vital neces-

sity for the survival of Capital, there are capitalists ready to establish fascism or go to war. They even do it enthusiastically and zealously, and some of them seem to enjoy it.

Many people in the world today have to live with fascism and war, and others lived through them not so very long ago. The cyclical return to a similar situation today should remind each and every one of us that the only way to put an end to war, oppression and the dictatorship of a handful of bloodthirsty profiteers is to exterminate them in each country and throughout the world.

### The revolt of the masses must be channelled towards proletarian revolution

The fact that the bourgeoisie is doing its very best to control the working masses is no coincidence. It is no coincidence that it is once again adopting the most radically reactionary and anti-communist positions. It is doing so because, apart from the difficulties it experiences in developing in the context of current sharp inter-imperialist rivalries, it is also well aware that the resistance of the masses is growing rapidly and assuming revolutionary forms in many parts of the world.

One thing is certain: significant numbers of working people are convinced that capitalism does not serve their interests and that it must be replaced or at the very least thoroughly transformed — because the idea that capitalism can be reformed is still very widespread. For growing numbers of these workers, however, socialism is the only solution. This is a growing conviction in relation to a number of different issues: the growing inequalities on a world scale and within individual countries; the waste of natural resources and pollution; national oppression and the oppression of women; unemployment and the deterioration in living and working conditions; the idleness of many young people in these countries; the utter corruption of bourgeois politicians, etc.

It is precisely on the masses' sense of revolt and reaction against the decay and degeneration of capitalist society that the bourgeoisie plays to instil its extreme right-wing beliefs. It is a historical fact that in the era of imperialism, reactionary and fascist ideologies penetrate some strata by offering a criticism of the most blatant examples of the misery caused by capitalism itself.

Although extreme right-wing tendencies and organizations exist and are at work among the masses today, their influence is still fairly marginal. The present period is, on the contrary, chiefly characterized by

the multiplication of different struggles: economic struggles, democratic struggles and, in some cases, struggles for political power.

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The struggles of the Iranian and Nicaraguan peoples have held people's attention in recent months (summer 1978), and rightly so. In both cases, the masses have risen up against thoroughly reactionary and corrupt regimes, to such an extent that even U.S. imperialism no longer dares support these regimes, especially the Nicaraguan regime, directly and wholeheartedly, and has instead had to try to protect its rear flanks by preparing a "back-up" regime in the event that change proves to be inevitable.

Mass struggle for power has currently reached a high level of development in other countries as well. The struggle of the Palestinian people continues, as it has for many years now, and the combined forces of U.S. and Soviet imperialism, Zionism and reactionary Arab forces have not yet succeeded in crushing it. The peoples of Azania, Namibia and Zimbabwe are engaged in a combat which can only result in the overthrow of racist white power.

At the same time, in most countries of South America, the local bourgeoisie and reactionary forces, and U.S. imperialism are only able to hold off the assault of the masses by resorting to savage, repressive military dictatorships. And even these are unable to contain the popular revolt, which takes the form of strikes, and movements against inflation and poverty and for the re-establishment of democracy. The revolutionary forces in some countries are even sufficiently developed to launch direct attacks against bourgeois-feudal power and its army.

Many popular struggles have developed in Southeast Asia in recent years; and despite the fact that the bourgeois press hardly ever mentions them, they have reached an advanced stage in many cases — for example, in Thailand, Malaysia, the Philippines and Singapore. In every case, U.S. imperialism is the main counter-revolutionary force propping up the reactionary local regimes.

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Mass struggles are not only taking place in underdeveloped countries still dominated by foreign imperialism. Important mass and working-class struggles have occurred in Eastern and Western Europe, Australia and New Zealand, Japan, Canada, the

U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. in recent years. In some places, such as Portugal, Spain and Greece, these struggles have resulted in major political changes in the direction of greater democracy. Elsewhere — in Italy, in particular, but also in Great Britain, France and Belgium — there have been major strike movements and periods of varying lengths of political instability. In many cases, the present equilibrium remains precarious. Social democracy has proved its impotence and its essentially bourgeois nature in the Scandinavian countries to such an extent that the most conservative parties have gained ground as the crisis deepens.

There is an upsurge in many countries in the number of struggles being waged by young people, both students and workers, and women. In addition to the age-old oppression they have endured, women are the first victims — along with young people — of low wages and layoffs. Their resistance is on the rise in every part of the world.

Soon the underpaid or unemployed workers, the tenants and consumers unable to meet the rising cost of living, the women fed up with being promised pie in the sky and seeing their situation of inferiority perpetuated, the students disgusted with being treated as raw materials to be shaped according to the requirements of the labour market, the immigrants condemned to lives of super-exploitation and chronic insecurity, and people deprived of their national, linguistic and cultural rights... will rise up in their millions around the world to express their revolt and their refusal to accept the steady deterioration of their lives and their future.

There is one obvious conclusion. Not only is imperialism threatened by its own contradictions, namely overproduction, inter-imperialist rivalries and competition among the various monopolies; it is also under growing attack from the proletariat and the masses of the people.

This suggests that the conditions exist for the ripening of revolutionary conditions in various countries and on a world scale in the near future. Such a conclusion is indeed justified if we consider the lessons to be drawn from the proletarian and popular struggles in the years of acute crisis leading up to the Second World War.

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Revolutionary conditions do not necessarily give rise to revolution. It is also necessary to have revolutionary leadership that can channel working-class and popular struggles towards the overthrow of bourgeois power and the establishment of revolutionary power and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Any serious consideration of the current situation, however, leads one to conclude that in most countries and on the international level this

kind of leadership does not exist. Nearly everywhere, the working-class movement is still dominated by reformist, social-democratic and nationalist tendencies that are all characterized by the class collaboration they practise, opening the door to corporatism, nationalism and chauvinism. The working-class movement and people throughout the world are today confronted with the same question they have had to deal with in each serious crisis experienced by capitalism since the beginning of the century: are the popular forces, and more specifically the working class, going to let themselves be saddled with the burden of the bourgeoisie's contradictions and its solutions, namely the negation of class struggle for the sake of the "community of interests of the entire society" and the defence of national interests against foreign threats? Or are they going to adopt a class line, a revolutionary political line of struggling against the bourgeoisie until it is utterly defeated? This is what is really at stake today. This is the question that the working class must today consider and resolve.

The solutions put forward at the present time by the dominant tendencies in the working-class movement are not revolutionary solutions. Whatever their chosen labels, they are solutions of class collaboration, capitalist solutions, reactionary solutions.

Desiring to assert one's revolutionary optimism, there is sometimes a tendency to talk as if revolutionary forces are making considerable progress throughout the world and to conclude that the proletariat and the masses everywhere are rejecting the rotten leaders in the labour movement and the reformist political parties active in the working-class movement. This is a dangerously narrow way of looking at matters, because it does not reflect reality.

The cold facts are that old-style revisionism (more commonly known as social democracy) and modern revisionism (namely the parties that used to belong to the Comintern and that have now by and large adopted the line of the CPSU) are still the main political trends at work in the working-class movement throughout the world today. There are many other more-or-less highly developed organizations and parties that claim to fight revisionism but that in practice simply defend a new version of it. These include the Trotskyists, the partisans of the "three worlds theory" and the various brands of supposed Marxist-Leninists, some of whom are nothing more than out-and-out agent-provocateurs. Furthermore, in a great many underdeveloped countries, all political parties are banned by the regimes in power; and, apart from the revolutionary organizations and parties which exist (generally at a fairly low level of development) in some of these countries, there is very little organized political opposition. What opposition there is reflects the same tendencies as exist in the imperialist countries.

Reformism and revisionism are two different forms of the same basic betrayal of the working class. They both fundamentally consist in denying in practice the necessity of revolution. They are both limited to advocating modifications in the capitalist system. In power, both reformists and revisionists implement bourgeois policies.

We have already had ample opportunity to appreciate the real nature of social-democratic reformism: the social democrats have been in power long enough in enough countries since the First World War to dispel any lingering illusions as to their revolutionary potential. Since the end of the Second World War, we have also had ample opportunity to assess the modern revisionists. In the industrialized countries, they have advocated collaboration with the bourgeoisie. In the many national liberation struggles in the postwar period, they either came out squarely against independence for the colonies and in favour of "their own" bourgeoisies, or else encouraged the oppressed peoples to throw themselves into the open arms of the U.S.S.R. on the pretext of combatting U.S. hegemony. The Chilean example clearly illustrates the results of this kind of policy: they led the working class down a blind alley.

Today, all the revisionists — be they old-style or modern, pro-Soviet or pro-Chinese — have the same political outlook: they all encourage nationalism, even if they invoke different reasons for doing so. Some of them condemn big foreign monopolies, while others campaign frantically against the threat of war and insist that the bourgeoisie counter it through a military build-up.

When it comes to domestic matters, their tactical line is again justified in the name of national interests. They seek to put the national economy back on its feet; or deal with the crisis that is tearing the nation apart; or make the country a "great power" as soon as possible — the goal of the Chinese revisionists. In each case, there is an underlying assumption that capitalism is here to stay and that progress consists in administering it efficiently on a day-to-day basis, solving as rapidly as possible the crises that it has the nasty habit of getting tangled up in on a regular basis.

The working class must guard against these sleight-of-hand artists who claim to want to do away with capitalist exploitation but who adhere to a policy of collaboration with the class whose very *raison d'être* resides in the continued existence of capitalism. Sooner or later, they wind up supporting the forces of reaction, if not fascism. History has proven that support for one's "own" small or middle-sized bourgeoisie against bigger or stronger bourgeoisies in times of serious economic

crisis leads to defending the most reactionary kind of policies — voluntary wage controls, no-strike pledges, support for arming the bourgeoisie, and so on.

There has been a steady growth of nationalism in all regions of the world in recent years; the working class must be warned of this danger and remain on its guard against it. Nationalism is a bourgeois and reactionary ideology. It is a dangerous weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie, which has made regular use of it, since the First World War, to sabotage the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the masses. Today, there is no getting away from the fact that the best defenders of nationalism in the working-class movement are the revisionists who call themselves Marxist-Leninists and who, for the most part, derive their ideology from the revisionist Chinese party.

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Imperialism is once again in serious crisis, and the masses of the people are more and more determined in their refusal to foot the bill. The working-class movement, however, is still almost entirely dominated by reformist leaders who collaborate fully with the bourgeoisie, and especially with their "own" bourgeoisie, in an attempt to bring the economic crisis under control, or to be ready to stand up to the stronger bourgeoisies that threaten national sovereignty, or to prepare to defend the homeland in the event of a new world war.

This is certainly not the kind of political line the working-class movement needs if it is to triumph in the combats that are inevitable in today's conditions. On the contrary, as long as this line predominates in its ranks, there can be no real victory over the bourgeoisie nor any perceptible progress along the road to revolution. This is strikingly borne out by even the briefest of glances at the past 30 years of world history.

What has been the history of the camp of progress and socialism during this 30-year period? The U.S.S.R., the first socialist country in the history of the world, abandoned the revolutionary road and opted instead for the restoration of capitalism. At the same time, the majority of parties belonging to the Comintern, which constituted the international vanguard of the revolution for the 25 years it existed, degenerated into revisionism. Communist forces came to be characterized by their total lack of unity. Of the two great parties that led the struggle against revisionism in the 1960's, only the Party of Labour of Albania has remained faithful to Marxism-Leninism. As for the Communist Party of China, it too has opted for the capitalist road in the past few years.

The result? The peoples of the world have shed their blood repeatedly — in the struggle against fascism during the Second World War, and then in the many liberation struggles that followed. Yet today, imperialism still reigns throughout almost the entire world.

This situation needs to be analysed carefully and thoroughly. It is already quite clear, however, that the struggles of the working class and oppressed peoples cannot result in anything more than partial and temporary victories, as long as they lack proletarian leadership. The proletariat and peoples can never be assured of decisive and lasting victory until imperialism has been utterly banished from the face of the earth, a lesson vividly underscored by the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and China after years and years of socialist construction. Nevertheless, the historic experiences of the Soviet Union, China and Albania indicate that socialist construction is only possible on the basis of genuine proletarian leadership, on the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The history of China and the Soviet Union also indicates that the inevitable result of the defeat of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the restoration of capitalism.

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We have the advantage of hindsight when we look at the history of the past 30 years. But our task is not to imagine what could have been — to speculate, for example, on what might have been the result of the anti-fascist struggle in Europe in the light of what we now know of the revolutionary road it took in Albania, or to surmise how the national liberation struggles in Africa and Asia might have turned out, given what we know happened in China in the 1950's and 1960's. Analysing past errors, however, can help us to avoid repeating them. More specifically, in the present situation it can be a weapon in the struggle to eradicate the erroneous conceptions in the working-class movement that gave rise to these errors, for these erroneous conceptions are still present and even dominant in most countries.

In other words, if the changes in the current situation are to lead to progress, the emancipation of the peoples and the elimination of exploitation instead of the renewed expansion of fascism, world war and the consolidation of new powers capable of dominating the entire world, it is vital that the proletariat and progressive forces around the world adopt a correct orientation — a revolutionary orientation.

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Lenin stated more than sixty years ago that it is not the task of communists to speculate on the level of class consciousness of the proletariat and masses. He also demonstrated that the victory of the revolution — and he acknowledged that he could not say if it would be achieved during or after a first or a second world war — depended on the fulfilment of two kinds of conditions: the objective conditions and the subjective conditions. The objective conditions occur when the ruling classes are no longer able to govern and the masses no longer accept their rule. The subjective conditions basically involve the level of consciousness and organization of the proletariat and its allies.

It is a fact that in both the imperialist countries and in underdeveloped countries, the working-class movement and the popular forces remain dominated by one form or another of revisionism. In the imperialist countries, old-style revisionism (namely social democracy) and modern revisionism increasingly work hand-in-hand to maintain the working class under the domination of bourgeois ideology — reformism, parliamentary struggle and class collaboration — on the pretext that the present crisis affects all classes in society and that the proletariat and working people will also gain from strengthening the national bourgeoisie in the face of foreign competitors.

It is quite evident that with such a programme, proletarian revolution is postponed; it becomes a vague and distant perspective, when it is not totally rejected as a useless strategy. These people are no longer concerned with class war. What interests them is world peace, either through Soviet-style disarmament or through a united front against the world war, which they say is inevitable, a united front against the "rising" superpower (the "third worldist" codeword for the U.S.S.R.) and the danger of war; a united front which, curiously enough, includes a considerable number of countries that have themselves long been preparing for... war!

It does not take much reflection to realize that this so-called proletarian political line is nothing but a disgusting mask to cover up clear nationalist and chauvinist aims. The continual and growing interference of countries that advocate this line in many parts of the globe where political stability is precarious, is very significant in this respect. So far, we can say that these interventions have, by and large, succeeded in deflecting the struggles of peoples fighting for freedom away from the revolutionary path, from the path of liberation and socialism. In fact, there are very few countries where a Marxist-Leninist party now leads the struggle or is likely to do so in the near future.

The current examples of the struggles of the Iranian, Nicaraguan, Palestinian and southern African peoples

confirm this reality all too well. This certainly does not mean that these are not just struggles, or that they do not deserve our support; on the contrary. Nor does it mean that they have nothing to offer the people. They could certainly lighten the burden of the masses and favour a greater industrialization of these countries. Moreover, in cases such as those in southern Africa, they will destroy particularly reactionary and repressive racist regimes.

But these possible successes should not generate any illusions. To really serve the interests of the working people, they must be rapidly followed by profound transformations oriented towards the building of socialism and the achievement of real independence from all forms of imperialism. Otherwise, they will be victories that can easily be transformed into defeats in the same way that many of the economic and democratic victories of the working class are regularly sabotaged by the action of the bourgeoisie and its agents in the working-class movement in the imperialist countries.

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We live in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. This is one of the conclusions of Lenin's analysis that no one in the international communist movement (Marxist-Leninist) has ever questioned. On the contrary, it is repeated more often than not. What is less obvious, however, is whether people are always concerned with drawing the practical conclusions. Indeed, it is clear that this is not the case. Our Organization made this mistake for a long time. This explains why we accepted the "three worlds theory" for such a long time (from our founding congress in December 1974 to July 1977) and why we were hesitant on questions of international politics and more particularly on the question of support for national liberation struggles.

Modern revisionism has completely betrayed Leninism by abandoning proletarian revolution in theory and in practice. And the trend which we call "neo-revisionism", and which first presented itself under the slogan of "independence and socialism" before adopting that of the "united front against the U.S.S.R.", has also rejected proletarian revolution as the only solution to the inevitable decay of capitalism at the stage of imperialism.

As happens so often, Lenin has been used to distort Lenin. Lenin took up the call of the **Communist Manifesto** "Workers of all countries, unite!", and developed it to say, "Workers of all countries, oppressed peoples and nations, unite!" But if this correct call to action is to lead to a correct political position, it cannot and must not be isolated from the scientific conclu-

sion which sums up the fundamental characteristic of our era, which is that of **imperialism and proletarian revolution**. The workers of the world and the oppressed peoples and nations must not unite simply to achieve national independence for a particular colony or people, or to defend the independence of the homeland, or to defeat fascism and establish democracy, or to oppose war or this or that superpower. Fundamentally, they must unite to push forward the main revolutionary task: the abolition of capitalist exploitation, the total defeat of imperialism.

All through the 1960's and up until now, national liberation struggles, struggles for democracy in fascist countries, etc., were presented as struggles that were revolutionary in themselves. Lenin, however, never said any such thing. He even made support for anti-colonial and national struggles conditional on certain circumstances. What we must remember (and the history of the anti-fascist and national liberation struggles from the 1940's through until the 1960's is proof of this in practice) is that there is a basic difference between a national liberation struggle whose outcome is the building of a capitalist society dominated by imperialism, and the liberation struggles in China and Albania which in the same era laid the groundwork for building socialism.

Nationalism has undeniably marked the Marxist-Leninist movement substantially in the past thirty years. Nationalism is no more revolutionary in 1979 than it was in 1918 when Lenin denounced it vehemently for having corrupted social democracy and prevented revolution in certain countries where the proletariat had been led to defend the homeland.

Two historical reasons may have contributed to the development of this error. First, the anti-fascist struggle of the 1930's and the 1940's united communists and bourgeois elements in many countries. After the war, after Hitler's defeat, these same communists joined the bourgeoisie in rebuilding the national economy.

Secondly, the postwar years found national liberation and anti-colonial struggles in the forefront. Consequently, it was a period when imperialism was often seen solely as a system for oppressing dominated peoples rather than the highest stage of a mode of production fundamentally based on the exploitation of the proletariat.

It is true that this narrow conception of imperialism suited a lot of people, beginning with those in power in the newly independent countries and the petty bourgeoisie and labour aristocracy which could give themselves socialist, if not revolutionary, airs simply by weeping over the fate of the poor Vietnamese people

and by denouncing the U.S. monopolies which disrupted their country's economy and hindered its further development, and threatened the world with murderous wars. Today the Soviet Union has replaced the United States as the main enemy for some of these opportunists, but the same petty-bourgeois conception of imperialism remains.

This nationalist conception of imperialism furnishes the best pretext for ignoring proletarian revolution as an immediate question everywhere in the world and in particular in imperialist countries, in favour of different "intermediate" struggles and especially the struggle against the "most dangerous superpower" or against the next "inevitable world war". The "struggles-to-be-waged-while-we're-waiting" provide a justification for these revisionists to support the "positive actions" of "their" bourgeoisie and of all the other bourgeoisies except for "the most dangerous one", all in the name of national sovereignty.

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But what exactly does it mean to say that proletarian revolution is on the agenda all around the world? Does it mean that the revolutionary process will be exactly the same in the United States, Brazil, Great Britain, South Africa and the Philippines? Of course not! Indeed, it would be rather presumptuous to try to determine in advance the course of the revolution anywhere in the world, because the development of the revolutionary struggle in each country is ultimately determined by the forms the class struggle takes; and these are the result of objective conditions that no one can decide.

Saying that proletarian revolution is on the agenda throughout the world means recognizing first of all that in the era in which we live — when imperialism dominates the entire non-socialist world — only the working class can carry the revolution through to the end, to the abolition of capitalist exploitation. It also means recognizing that even in countries where feudalism still exists and where the democratic revolution may be a necessary preliminary stage before socialist revolution, even in fascist countries where the re-establishment of democracy would represent a considerable step forward, only revolutionary leadership can ensure victory in these struggles, because real victory in these struggles requires destroying the power of Capital in the countries in question. And the proletariat is the only class that has a fundamental interest in putting an end to capitalism.

Lenin reached this conclusion at the turn of the century, and it has since been confirmed on many occasions

in both the victories and failures of the revolution. The anti-fascist and national liberation struggles of the past half-century confirm that when these struggles have lacked proletarian leadership, they have been co-opted by the bourgeoisie and imperialism.

People have fallen into a bad habit of separating the struggle against imperialism from the struggle against capitalism. Yet imperialism is a stage of capitalism, not another mode of production. Only socialism can put an end to the capitalist mode of production, including its imperialist stage. Leninism is clear and unambiguous on this point as well. Lenin did not hesitate to admit that the survival of capitalism was a temporary necessity in the early years of the history of the Soviet Union; nor did he hesitate to say that the Russian workers and peasants should first unite to carry out the democratic revolution — the bourgeois revolution against the Czar — and that the proletariat should subsequently continue the struggle to achieve the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In other words, Lenin called a spade a spade, a practice that avoids much of the confusion the revisionists have always so carefully cultivated.

What, indeed, are the revisionists preaching these days? In the imperialist countries, they talk about nationalizing the monopolies, beginning with the foreign ones; defending national sovereignty against domination by stronger powers; and preparing the people to defend the homeland in the event of war... These are all policies that, far from weakening the power of the bourgeoisie, of Capital, tend instead to consolidate it. The difference would seem to be that it is consolidated to the advantage of the local bourgeoisie, at the expense of foreign bourgeoisies. These are policies that have nothing to do with a revolutionary political line.

In underdeveloped countries, the revisionists side with the local capitalists and support the latter's resistance to the domination of foreign imperialism. This line is not any more revolutionary than the first. Dozens of examples in the past twenty years have shown that, as soon as the local capitalists acquire what seems to be a little power, their first concern is to obtain capital from one or another imperialist bourgeoisie. To do so, they are ready to disarm the people, deprive them of all political liberties and even, in many cases, establish a literally fascist regime.

Given the balance of power between countries in today's world, one has to be naive indeed to believe that a small, unindustrialized country can hope to free itself from imperialist domination and develop as a capitalist country unless it establishes ties with imperialist powers, thereby inevitably falling back under their con-

trol. There are, nevertheless, some people who are, or who pretend to be, this naive. They would like us to believe that capitalism can develop in an underdeveloped country in 1979 in the same way it did in the European countries in the 18th and 19th centuries. They would like us to believe that today, in 1979, there are capitalists who want to "re-invent the spinning wheel" and re-live each stage of the development of competitive capitalism in an attempt to avoid the domination of foreign monopolies. The idea is absurd. Profits are always and everywhere the vital condition for the continued existence of Capital; and those who possess capital have only one concern: to invest and use it profitably. The laws of capital hold true for all capitalists, in all countries.

Saying that proletarian revolution is on the agenda everywhere means affirming that all the peoples subjected to the laws of capital have one and the same goal: the elimination of Capital. This goal can only be achieved under the leadership of the proletariat.

It would be a glaring mistake, however, to take this general affirmation and conclude that "Forward to the dictatorship of the proletariat!" is the only valid call to action, to be applied indiscriminately in all parts of the world. The only call to action that is correct on a world scale is the call to build proletarian leadership. The masses will have many struggles to wage: anti-imperialist and anti-fascist struggles, struggles against repression, general strikes against the rising cost of living and wage controls, struggles against the participation of one's country in an imperialist war. The specific circumstances of these struggles will vary. But only proletarian leadership can correctly orient all these struggles towards the struggle for socialist revolution.

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The stagnation and serious setbacks that have characterized the struggle for socialism since the Second World War cannot be imputed to a lack of struggle on the part of the working class and oppressed peoples. On the contrary — there have undoubtedly been more struggles against imperialism and all the misery it causes in the last thirty years than in any other period in history. The struggle for socialism has stagnated for the past thirty years because the working class and peoples have remained dominated by revisionism, reformism and opportunism. It has stagnated because the vast majority of communist parties abandoned Marxism-Leninism, because the international communist movement fell apart and no longer provided leadership for the progressive forces in the world that were looking for a valid alternative to the dubious theories on the "peaceful transition" to socialism, the "original path"

of progress in underdeveloped countries and other such nonsense which the bourgeoisie propagated and encouraged in so many ways.

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In this context, the struggle to build socialism — notably in Albania — takes on crucial importance, because socialism in action is the clearest demonstration that therein lies the only solution to the crises of capitalism. This is why, for more than half a century, socialist countries have been the object of constant attacks on the part of imperialism. These attacks have taken many forms: rabid anti-communist propaganda; sabotage within the socialist countries; boycotts and embargoes to deprive their economies of essential products; support for the counter-revolutionary forces in those countries and in the world.

This is also why the imperialists never fail to give revisionism enthusiastic support as soon as it emerges in a socialist country. They did this with Yugoslavia in the 1940's, and with the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries in the late 1950's and early 1960's. They are doing it today with the China of Hua and Deng. Never has the bourgeois press been so eager to cover China then since the Eleventh Congress of the CPC in the summer of 1977.

The socialist camp has shrunk considerably in the last twenty years. It would be wrong and deceptive to try and forget this. Above all, it would be very dangerous not to draw the lessons from this evolution, something we will come back to in the fourth chapter of this Report. Nevertheless, the socialist camp does exist; and even were it to be reduced to a single country, it would still be a concrete and living example of the road to liberation from exploitation and oppression for the proletariat and the peoples. This is why the imperialists will never abandon their efforts to wipe socialism off the face of the earth.

As the only European country to have maintained a revolutionary line and to have rejected all compromises, Albania is indeed isolated, a fact underlined by China's betrayal in July, 1978. This is why the international proletariat has special duties towards Albania. The first is to inform people of what is happening there. In doing this, we must especially avoid presenting that country as heaven on earth, or presenting its party, the PLA, as the one and only infallible party and its principal leader, comrade Enver Hoxha, as the living incarnation of Marxism-Leninism. Although the first disturbing signs of this kind of support have begun to appear, it is wrong. To start with, it is a distortion of the truth. The Albanian people still have to work hard to build their

country, as they have ever since the war of liberation almost forty years ago. The PLA has made mistakes, and it has had to purge traitors within its ranks on more than one occasion.

Having clarified this, it should be emphasized that nobody — and certainly not the "three-worldists" of the Canadian Communist League or of any League in any country — will prevent us from affirming that Albania is a country where socialist construction has been going on for more than thirty years. This has meant the development of agriculture, industry, education, health and culture. It has meant that this tremendous development has been achieved without any foreign capitalist investment and has largely surpassed that achieved in countries which have received the booby-trapped financial and technological "aid" of the imperialists. It means that unemployment, inflation, and scandalous income inequalities are unknown in Albania. It means that in Albania, the entire population benefits from the progress accomplished. It means that capitalism and its inevitable crises have been eliminated. It means that Albania is developing without exploiting the peoples of other countries. It means that Albania is an independent country which does not tolerate any imperialist intrusion in its own affairs... It means that in Albania it is the people that decide its destiny.

Those are sufficient reasons for having the greatest admiration for socialist Albania and for giving it our fullest support, without it being the least bit necessary to pretty up the situation in that country. Albania's greatest victory is that it has eliminated feudalism and capitalism and that it now spares its people the endless crises of capitalism. It is above all for this reason that it must be supported and defended: it shows the road forward for the world proletariat.

### Conclusion — For a correct application of proletarian internationalism

The new period of crises that has engulfed the capitalist and revisionist world since the beginning of the 1970's has once again confirmed the truth of the conclusion formulated by Lenin after the First World War and the October Revolution. At that time he affirmed, "We are living in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution". Imperialism is the enemy of the peoples of the world; proletarian revolution is the only road to socialism.

The current imperialist crisis is the worst since the Second World War. During the past 30 years, imperialism managed to minimize the effects of the

general crisis of capitalism. To do so, it took advantage of the possibilities offered by the reconstruction of Europe after the war. It put to good use the openings created by the capitalist transformation of the many newly liberated colonies. It turned the revisionist decay of the U.S.S.R. and the Eastern European countries to its own advantage, developed an economy based on war on a permanent basis, and extended the use of credit on a vast scale.

Since the 1960's, the number of powerful imperialist countries has grown, and the contention among them is intensifying rapidly. In 1945, Japan and West Germany were in ruins; Canada was an imperialist country with very little activity on the world scene and the U.S.S.R. and the Eastern European countries were socialist countries. Today, Japan and West Germany are powerful imperialist countries competing seriously with the United States. The U.S.S.R. is even more aggressive, and is carving out footholds in countries formerly dominated by U.S. or European imperialism. Even Canada is much more ambitious: it is active throughout the world, seeking to conquer new markets and invest capital.

The world is getting too small to satisfy all these vultures, although the fact that China is opening its markets to Western capital and goods will undoubtedly alleviate the situation for a while. The haste with which capitalists from all over the world have been checking into hotels in Beijing (Peking) and Shanghai and striving to conclude trade agreements with this vast country is an indication that current developments in China could not have happened at a better time. Imperialism will benefit, just as it did ten years ago when the U.S.S.R. opened its doors to foreign capital, thus following the example set by Tito's Yugoslavia in the 1940's.

It is true that China represents a vast market, with its population of 800 million and its low level of industrialization. But the imperialists will soon saturate it, given that they already have a major problem of overproduction. And in the process, they will hasten (no doubt unwittingly) the day when they will find themselves face to face with a new competitor, just as anxious as they are to export, invest and "aid" the underdeveloped countries — in short, a new competitor hungry for profits. Capitalism develops according to well-known and unchanging laws; and imperialism is the inevitable result for countries that adopt the capitalist road instead of socialist revolution.

The crises of capitalism in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution inevitably heighten contradictions between the camp of imperialism and reaction and the camp of socialism and revolution. Faced with the

vital necessity of defeating their opponents, the monopolies and the imperialist bourgeoisies intensify the exploitation of the proletariat and the suppression of the masses. Faced with the growing resistance of the masses and the increasing probability of being attacked and overthrown by the revolutionary proletariat, the bourgeois regimes rapidly realize that socialism, proletarian revolution and the communist vanguard are their worst enemies, and make the destruction of these enemies their main objective.

Imperialist wars and fascism are not isolated phenomena; they are direct products of imperialism, decaying capitalism, inter-imperialist rivalries and the relentless and ever-sharper opposition between the camp of imperialism and the camp of socialism.

There are many signs of the growing rivalries between imperialist countries: the monetary crisis; inflation; the "energy crisis"; the emergence of opposing blocs of countries; the acceleration of the arms race; and the insurmountable problems encountered by them in working out a *modus vivendi* in various fields like nuclear arms and international trade. There are also many signs that imperialism intends to solve its problems at the expense of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples and nations: the elimination of democratic rights; the violent repression of working-class and popular struggles; the rise of many new reactionary ideological tendencies; growing anti-communism; and the emergence of military and fascist regimes in an increasing number of countries.

On the other side, there are many indications that the masses of working people are rejecting capitalism and that they aspire fundamentally to a thorough change in this situation: the struggles of oppressed peoples and nations; the seeds of revolutionary wars; the active resistance of the masses subjected to military and fascist regimes; the many battles for democracy and against reaction and repression; and workers' struggles for better living and working conditions and against the imperialists' crisis measures.

This situation opens up dazzling possibilities for the world proletariat and the peoples and nations still subjected to the yoke of imperialism — if, that is, they opt for the path of proletarian revolution. Despite the considerable setbacks suffered in the past, despite the many betrayals endured in the struggle of the proletariat and people, despite the fact that the communist movement is still weak in many countries and on the international scale, proletarian revolution is nevertheless still the only way to do away with the misery caused by imperialism. Proletarian revolution is not a hopelessly impossible dream; it is a historic necessity.

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The tasks that the revolution imposes are not necessarily the same everywhere, for the prevailing class relations differ considerably from one country to another. In each case, the path of the revolution can only be determined on the basis of an analysis of the specific situation. There can be more than one way to struggle for socialism, for proletarian revolution and socialism are precisely the transition between the present situation, which varies from one country to another, and communism. In every case, however, the correctness of a political line must be evaluated in terms of how it can contribute to the advancement of the proletarian revolution.

Proletarian revolution is on the agenda throughout the world, because it is the only solution to the growing contradictions of imperialism. There are very few countries, however, where a revolutionary situation exists at the present time, although in many others the aggravation of the imperialist crisis could rapidly lead to such a result. Where a revolutionary situation exists, no effort should be spared to ensure that the struggle has proletarian leadership. The primary task is the creation of the revolutionary party of the working class in the heat of the people's struggles to gain political power.

Where there is not yet a revolutionary situation, the struggle to build the camp of the revolution must be waged on other fronts, and first and foremost in the fightback against all the attacks, both economic and political, of the bourgeoisie.

In the world today, the crisis of imperialism affects the working people in all the non-socialist countries to a greater or lesser extent, depending on the specific conditions in the different countries. One obvious result of this crisis is the deterioration in their standard of living. Another is the substantial accentuation of the bourgeoisie's repressive measures. This should be of vital concern to all communists and all progressive people. The current crisis bears the seeds of a new, world-wide wave of fascism. The masses must be prepared to face this situation, but they must also take up the struggle now to prevent the bourgeoisie from going any further in its denial of democratic rights and its attempts to propagate fascist ideology.

The current crisis also bears the seeds of a new world war. The capitalist and imperialist countries and the superpowers have steadily increased their military spending over the past twenty years. Their frantic arms race is tangible proof that the big powers could drag the world into a third world war at any time. Inter-imperialist wars are the result of the contradictions of capitalism in its advanced stage and, in this sense, are inevitable. But the peoples aspire to peace and progress. They must mobilize and struggle against all the plots

and conniving of the bourgeoisie that could well lead to a new war.

There are many struggles in store for the proletariat and the masses, youth, women and oppressed minorities simply to resist the bourgeoisie's attacks on their living and working conditions and their democratic rights. But in the heat of the struggles, it is important not to lose sight of two major phenomena: the rise of fascism and the growing danger of a new world war. It is none too soon to point out that fascism and war are the bourgeoisie's ultimate solutions for rescuing capitalism from the crisis that plagues it. Nor is it any too soon to warn and mobilize the masses against these dangers. In the event that one or the other, or both, of these dangers becomes a concrete reality, the duty of the proletariat will be to struggle to transform such a situation into a revolutionary situation.

The peoples want neither war nor fascism. It is imperialism that breeds crises; it is imperialism that is responsible for repression and that produces reactionary extreme right-wing and fascist regimes; it is imperialism that unleashes wars. As long as imperialism exists, these scourges will remain a constant threat for the peoples of the world. It is vital that the masses realize this, and adopt a revolutionary proletarian point of view. It is vital that they side with the revolutionary proletariat and join the camp of the revolution and the struggle for socialism.

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Up until now, our internationalist work has been

quite limited. We only very recently began to really understand just how important this work is. This situation must be rectified. We must realize that there is no contradiction between our tasks in building the party here in Canada and our tasks in the struggle on the international level, including support for the struggles of the international proletariat and oppressed peoples and nations and dynamic participation in the reinforcement of the international communist movement. On the contrary, we will not be able to build a real communist party unless we pay very close attention to these matters.

These conclusions, based on a firm application of Marxism-Leninism to conditions in the world today, must constitute the foundation of our Organization's work on the international level. More specifically, the following four tasks must lie at the heart of our practical work:

1. Support for socialist construction in the countries where imperialism and the bourgeoisie have been ousted from power.
2. Support for the struggles of the proletariat throughout the world against the bourgeoisie and for the construction of the communist party, in its march towards proletarian revolution.
3. Support for the struggles of oppressed peoples and nations against imperialism; support for the efforts of communists to give these struggles proletarian leadership, the only guarantee of true victory over imperialism, genuine liberation of the peoples and progress towards socialism.
4. Special support for the struggles of the peoples and nations subjected in one way or another to the yoke of Canadian imperialism.

## Chapter two

# The proletariat must fight back vigorously against the crisis of imperialism in Canada

Canada, like all imperialist and capitalist countries in the world, is presently experiencing the longest and most acute crisis in its history. As a matter of fact, the country has been hit by a combination of several simultaneous and interrelated crises. There is no reason to believe that the situation is going to improve in the near future. On the contrary, everything indicates that it will get even worse.

For several months now, the economic situation has been characterized by a sizeable growth in unemployment, galloping inflation and a very substantial rise in consumer prices. The Canadian dollar, which has been floating for several years now, started to drop very abruptly, just as the British pound did, not very long ago. Its drop parallels that of the U.S. dollar, although it is more drastic. All this is linked to a new crisis of overproduction that accentuates competition between monopolies and between the various imperialist countries fighting for the world market. Such a situation inevitably results in bankruptcies, cutbacks in production and ... a new round of concentration of capital.

In Canada more than in any other country, perhaps, an economic crisis soon has political consequences. The unity of the Canadian bourgeoisie has always been fragile; and, up until now, the federative structure of the country has never permitted a solution to this problem. In Canada, State power is shared between the federal and provincial levels of government, as well as with

municipal administrations and school boards. The consequences of economic crises are generally less serious and less immediate in Ontario, the heartland of Canadian capitalism. As a result, economic crises inevitably lead to an upsurge of resentment against "central Canada", namely Ontario and Quebec, the second most industrialized region of the country.

This situation, arising from the rivalries between monopolist groups, is accompanied by significant interference on the part of U.S. imperialism. Industrialized Canada is a very long, narrow strip of land, still fairly unpopulated, strung out along the northern border of the United States. There have always been extensive north-south exchanges — between the United States and Canada, and between the various American states and the different Canadian provinces.

Canada is divided by more than often diverging regional interests. Historically, national differences have also been a central factor in political life. This is still true today, as a strong pro-sovereignty movement develops within the French-speaking Quebec nation, an important portion of which wants to secede. Moreover, French-speaking minorities outside Quebec, and in particular the Acadians, have in recent years renewed with the tradition of struggle that was theirs at the turn of the century.

At the same time, the Indians, Metis and Inuit who together make up the Native peoples are opposing

growing resistance to the age-old contempt with which they are treated by the bourgeoisie and its State. Their resistance is more especially focused on the huge energy projects of Canadian and U.S. monopolies, projects that tend to be concentrated more and more in the northern territories inhabited by the Native peoples and that threaten to dispossess the Native peoples of all their lands. The different Native communities are increasingly defining themselves as nations and demanding the right to self-determination and complete control over their lands and the wealth they contain.

Indeed, the image of Canada as the "peaceable kingdom" of democracy and social harmony, a peace-loving country without imperialist ambitions, is an utter illusion. The myth of Canada as an exemplary democracy was seriously tarnished by the military occupation of Quebec from October 1970 to April 1971 and all the subsequent disclosures concerning the uninterrupted work of the political police in Canada since the 1950's. The reactionary and repressive nature of government action for some years now simply confirms that the Canadian bourgeoisie has one overriding goal: to ensure the development of its capital. Especially in a period of crisis, a "strong State" is necessary to bring the working class to heel.

Canada's imperialist nature is borne out by the substantial development of its economic activity abroad — trade, investment and "aid" to underdeveloped countries — and by its military interventions in all parts of the world since the Second World War as it seeks to shore up imperialist domination in the underdeveloped regions of Asia, Africa and the Middle East.

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Like the oppressed peoples, working people in Canada refuse to pay for this new crisis. Since the beginning of the 1970's, they have waged an increasing number of struggles: strikes, occupations, boycotts and demonstrations have followed one another in all regions of the country. However, the control exerted over the big union centrals by the social democrats and the revisionists and their policy of class collaboration are major obstacles in developing working-class struggles and unifying them so as to vigorously oppose the manoeuvres and intrigues of the enemy class.

The bourgeoisie and its agents sow division within the ranks of working-class forces: national and linguistic divisions; division between men and women; divisions between workers and the unemployed; regional divisions; and also political divisions. Anything goes when it comes to opposing the united struggle of all workers.

The present situation illustrates the inevitable decay

of capitalism, which is bogged down in more and more disastrous crises. The conclusion is obvious, and is being adopted by a growing segment of the working-class movement: the existing system must be abolished. It is in this context that the struggle for the revolutionary party of the proletariat takes on its full meaning. Capitalism won't come tumbling down all by itself; working people will only destroy it if they can rely on the revolutionary leadership of the proletarian vanguard.

The party, however, is built in the very heart of the class struggle, in the heat of the battles between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Today's struggles are characterized by the resistance of the masses to the bourgeoisie's many crisis measures. Up until now, the workers' fightback has in general been confined to the economic level, but working people are gradually realizing that their struggle must oppose the bourgeoisie's action on the political level if they want to maintain the rights won over the past century. For with the crisis, bourgeois power attempts to maintain its hegemony over the proletariat and the entire people by constantly restricting democratic rights.

It is of vital importance that the working-class movement realize that the political struggle to take power is both necessary and central. The economist and opportunist line put forward by the revisionists and social democrats, which says that workers should look after their wages and leave political questions to the MPs, must be rejected. Proletarian politics cannot be equated with electing MPs every four or five years. Rather, it means resisting the daily attacks of the bourgeoisie, mobilizing in struggle, uniting more and more workers every day and building the camp of the revolution that will put an end to bourgeois power.

### **The present crisis sharpens historic contradictions in Canada**

Canada is the offspring of a marriage of convenience... as is still often the case in ruling-class circles, where family interests often determine who marries whom. In 1867, the British Parliament passed the British North America Act (BNA Act), formally uniting four colonies of the British Empire: Upper and Lower Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. British Columbia, including Vancouver Island, joined Confederation in 1871 and Prince Edward Island finally did the same in 1873, while Newfoundland held out until 1949.

The Prairie provinces gradually acquired this status; Manitoba becoming a province in 1870 and Saskatchewan and Alberta following suit in 1905.

These provinces were carved out of the Northwest Territories, which had until then remained under the direct jurisdiction of private companies, and notably the Hudson's Bay Company, and the federal government. The federal government eventually bought these lands back from the Hudson's Bay Co. before building the railway through to the Pacific.

In fact, the Canadian federation created in 1867 was based mainly on the interests of capitalists in Ontario and Quebec — merchants, bankers and factory owners who saw in the creation of this vast country the possibility of considerable and rapid development of business. Confederation also reflected the interests of the British metropolis: the union of all its North American colonies would give it an opportunity to dampen the annexationist ambitions of the young American republic.

Although capitalists in the Maritimes finally agreed to join Confederation, they were decidedly unenthusiastic about it. It was clear to them that the new country was conceived in terms of the interests of the central colonies, Upper and Lower Canada. Moreover, their reluctance was reinforced by the fact that the local population was firmly opposed to Confederation. In Quebec, the big bourgeois were alone in supporting Confederation. People in Quebec, like people in the Maritimes, openly demonstrated their opposition to the proposal. In Quebec, opposition to a union decided in top secrecy by the Canadian ruling class and the British metropolis was reinforced by nationalist aspirations born out of the assimilationist policies of the British colonialists — policies embraced and perpetuated by the mostly English-speaking Canadian bourgeoisie.

But the Native population was the one treated with the greatest contempt. It was not consulted; it was in no way represented in the negotiations preceding the adoption of the BNA Act; and once Canada was founded, violence and fraud were used to dispossess the Native peoples of the lands in northern and western Canada to which they had gradually retreated after the arrival of European settlers.

The "treaties" were the fraud. When the bourgeoisie decided that it wanted to develop resources or do business in a region inhabited by the Native peoples, it proposed that they cede their land rights in exchange for what were usually ridiculous benefits, and ratified the whole deal with treaties. It was all apparently quite fair, except that private ownership of land was an utterly foreign concept for the Native peoples. Furthermore, those with whom the Canadian State chose to deal were not necessarily representative of all the interested parties; they were sometimes bought off with personal advantages; and on top of everything else, they were asked to sign treaties in a foreign language written in legal

terms referring to administrative, political and economic realities that were totally unknown to them. The James Bay Treaty, ratified in 1977, is the most recent in a long list of agreements that have been used to cheat the Inuit and Amerindian peoples for centuries. The treaty gave rise to bitter debates and vigorous opposition, including fruitless appeals to the Supreme Court of Canada, which forcefully illustrated the injustice of such a practice. It amounts to nothing less than the forced annexation of lands that have been occupied by the Native peoples for centuries.

The fraud was backed up by violence. Canadian history has shown more than once that when the treaties were not enough to cope with a situation, the police and military forces were there to take over. Ask the Metis of western Canada about it. Their historic leader, Louis Riel, was condemned to death and executed by Canadian justice, and they were thrown off their lands at gunpoint in the late 19th century.

Canada was built by dispossessing the Native peoples and relegating them to parts of the country that Capital had not yet decided it was interested in or else to "reserves", enclaves in regions inhabited by "Whites" that are veritable ghettos. There, they lead a generally miserable existence. Native people leaving these "reserves" face two possibilities: either they become totally assimilated by the dominant nations, or else they head even further north.

At the same time, Canada has regularly resorted to badly exploited immigrant labour, especially during economic booms.

Between 1901 and 1930, a period of economic growth in Canada, almost 5 million immigrants arrived in Canada — an enormous number, given that the population of Canada in 1931 was little more than 10 million. The Second World War was followed by another period of massive immigration. Between 1951 and 1970, nearly 3 million people immigrated to Canada, which had a total population of 21.5 million people in 1971.

The result of all this is that Canada's population has some very specific characteristics. For example, it is commonplace to find factories in major cities where the majority of workers speak neither French nor English nor Native languages. In 1971, the language spoken in the home was English for 67% of Canadians, and French for close to 26%. The Native peoples represent approximately 5% of the total population. This indicates that the vast majority of immigrants integrate into the country's English-speaking community, which today includes the majority of the population.

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Capitalism developed extremely rapidly in Canada. Today, it is one of the most highly industrialized countries in the world and a medium-sized imperialist power, although it has a population of less than 25 million — which is only slightly more than one-third the population of Mexico, a country with a territory about one-fifth the size of Canada's.

In 1971, for example, less than 7% of the total population was still dependent on agriculture for a living, a 55% drop from 1961. The same year, farmers, working farm family members and agricultural labourers accounted for barely 3% of the national labour force.

Furthermore, while agricultural production grew substantially from 1971 to 1976, the number of farms dropped sharply from 732,858 to 338,578. Capital concentration in agriculture stands out even more clearly if one looks at the average capital value of each farm: it has risen from \$5,788 in 1941 to \$27,389 in 1961 and \$144,499 in 1976. Needless to say, small farms are rapidly giving way to medium-sized and big farm operations. The big farms are genuinely capitalist enterprises, heavily dependent on the banks from which they borrow and the monopolies from which they buy farm machinery and fertilizers and to which they sell their crops for processing and marketing.

As well as being highly industrialized, Canada is also characterized by a high degree of concentration of capital. This is especially true in banking: in 1969, five banks alone controlled 93% of the country's banking assets. Here again there has been substantial concentration since the Second World War, given that in 1940 twice as many banks (ten) controlled approximately the same proportion (93%) of banking capital. There is a very high level of concentration in all sectors of the Canadian economy, although it is not necessarily as extreme as in banking.

Since the Canadian economy is so industrialized, the proletariat is the largest social class in the country. Using official statistics, we can determine the relative size of social classes in Canada: the bourgeoisie accounts for less than 3% of the active population; the petty bourgeoisie approximately 30%; and the proletariat close to 65%, which represents more than five million workers. (1)

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Today, after more than a century of existence and despite very rapid development, as we have just seen, Canada faces one of the worst political crises of its history. For the most chauvinist elements of the Canadian bourgeoisie, the problem boils down to "Quebec

separatists who are threatening the very existence of Canada, who want to destroy our country". Reality, however, is a bit more complex.

All the governments in Canada, federal and provincial, agree that it is necessary to amend and "patriate" the constitution, which is currently nothing more than an act passed by the British Parliament. But this is all they can agree on. The federal government would like the provinces to agree to "patriate" the constitution first, leaving its amendment by the Canadian State for later. But the provincial governments are more concerned about the distribution of powers between the two levels of government. Unless agreement can be reached on this prior to patriation, they prefer to stick with the *status quo*. The Quebec government, headed up by the Parti Quebecois since November 1976, advocates a "new Canada" in which Quebec and English Canada would form two sovereign but "associated" States.

The PQ government is getting ready to hold its referendum, to get Quebecois support for the establishment of a "sovereignty-association" regime. According to the PQ leader and his parliamentary wing — because they differ from the party programme — the Quebec government will try to obtain a mandate to negotiate "sovereignty-association" with the rest of Canada. What is new in their position is that the "sovereignty" of Quebec will be proclaimed only if Canada accepts "association". If the PQ were trying to discretely totally abandon its initial plan for independence, it couldn't go about it in a better way. In practice, submitting the sovereignty of Quebec to the approval of the Canadian bourgeoisie means choosing the *status quo*. There is ample evidence of this in the history of the last century.

The contradictions currently dividing the Canadian bourgeoisie are basically the same as those which existed when the country was created. The rivalries between the industrial centre of the country, that is Ontario and Quebec, and the other provinces, which to a certain extent have "subsidized" the industrialization of the country without getting as much out of it as they should have, are still very considerable. That is why the distribution of powers between the federal government and the provinces is of such vital concern to the provinces.

The question of the oppressed nations and national minorities has yet to be resolved. In fact, it is becoming

(1) The bases of this class analysis can be found in two articles published by IN STRUGGLE! in its journal PROLETARIAN UNITY, the first in the August-September 1978 issue no 12, pp. 20-39 ("The proletariat is the only thoroughly revolutionary class") and the second in the October-November 1978 issue, no. 13, pp. 26-40 ("The new strata of the Canadian proletariat").

increasingly important in Canadian political life. The Quebecois are no longer alone in putting forward national demands, as was the case in the early 1960's. A real national movement is developing among the Native peoples, who are also demanding the right to self-determination. This movement will probably continue to develop, given the tendency of monopoly capital to appropriate the territories of the Inuit and Amerindian communities.

The French minorities outside Quebec, particularly the Acadians, have stated their firm intention of having their rights recognized. And immigration has given rise to several communities, some of them very sizeable, that are following the example of the other national communities and demanding the same rights.

To the extent that these movements are opposed to a greater centralization of political power in the country, and to the extent that the concentration of capital requires more centralized power, it is difficult to see how the Canadian monopoly bourgeoisie can attempt to solve this contradiction other than by answering the demands of the nations and national minorities with a categorical 'no'. The history of this country has in fact been the history of the constant centralization of power to the benefit of monopoly capital and to the detriment of minorities.

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There is another factor that has strongly influenced the pattern of development in this same direction since the founding of the country, and which was even an important factor in the colonies' decision to unite together and the British metropolis's decision to yield its power to the colonies. We are referring to the fact that the United States is Canada's neighbour, a very powerful neighbour with limitless ambitions.

U.S. imperialism has played an important role in Canada's economic and political life, and continues to do so. Although the Canadian bourgeoisie has so far maintained its independence, it has nevertheless for many years generally adopted a policy favourable to U.S. imperialism. However, despite very close co-operation, particularly since the Second World War, frequent contradictions, especially concerning the handling of economic and trade matters, have often come to the surface. Since the early 1970's, Canada has been much more actively searching for economic partners other than the United States.

Nonetheless, trade relations between the U.S. and Canada have an undeniable effect on Canadian unity. Industrialists in different regions of the country, par-

ticularly in the West, find it much more profitable to deal with neighbouring American states than with the Maritimes, for example, which are thousands of kilometres away and which don't represent a very large market. In fact, Canada is by far the biggest buyer of U.S. products (\$25.5 billion in 1977, compared to \$10.4 billion for Japan and \$6 billion for West Germany). It also sells more than anyone else to the United States (\$28.7 billion in 1977, compared to \$18.2 billion for Japan and \$7 billion for West Germany). Furthermore, Canada has more direct investment in the U.S. than anywhere else. This investment for 1973 totalled almost \$4 billion. In comparison, Latin America, which ranks second, received only \$917 million in Canadian capital for the same year, 4 times less than the United States received.

The very close ties that link the Canadian and U.S. economies, including major U.S. investments in Canada, explain the existence of contradictory tendencies within the Canadian bourgeoisie with regard to the attitude to adopt towards this situation. In the 1960's, a nationalist tendency emerged. Its major spokesmen were to be found in the NDP, in particular, but also in the Liberal Party. More recently, the tendency advocating closer ties with the United States has been more vocal. Senators, the Economic Council of Canada and some bankers have all spoken out in favour of free trade. These changes in attitude are intimately linked to changing economic circumstances in Canada and throughout the world. They nevertheless illustrate the relative weakness of the Canadian economy and the specific internal contradictions of the bourgeoisie in Canada.

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An important characteristic of the present Canadian political situation is the development of various national movements which so far have been extensively used by the bourgeoisie to maintain division among working people. As we have seen, the origin of these contradictions lies in the history of our country. However, in order to understand their importance in recent years, and the importance they will surely continue to have in coming years, it is necessary to examine more closely the history of the country since World War II.

The development of nationalism at this time in history is the direct result of the development of imperialism in our country. The end of the Second World War marked the beginning of a new era for Canadian imperialism. The Canadian bourgeoisie, well aware of the United States' new status as the dominant power, decided to embark on this new era of consolidation and expansion in close liaison with its southern neighbour. The former British metropolis no longer of-

ferred the "back up" or assistance Canadian imperialism needed to develop its enterprises at home and abroad. The U.S. was to take its place. In exchange, U.S. imperialism was allowed to make deep inroads into Canadian markets and to make considerable investments in our country. Military agreements were also concluded which placed continental defence under joint command.

By the 1940's, Canada and the U.S. were already major allies in their struggle for imperialist expansion, which included the struggle against the socialist camp. The German Nazis had not even been totally defeated when the alliance with the U.S.S.R. was abandoned in favour of a fight to the finish against socialist expansion in Europe and against the North American communist movement, a fight that involved very close collaboration between the United States and Canada.

Imperialism is based on the concentration of economic power. This evolution had already taken place to a large extent in Canada in the period between the two world wars, when the number of corporate mergers and takeovers was very high as a result of the 1929-30 crisis and other factors. This process continued after World War II; and U.S. capital, then in full expansion, made great inroads in Canada. This, of course, had major effects on Canadian society. The monopoly bourgeoisie grew, while small business and traditional agriculture lost ground. They were not eliminated, of course, but they were very definitely relegated to the role of second fiddle. At the same time, the capitalist development of agriculture intensified and was soon to prevail in Quebec, where small farms had previously been the general rule.

It is significant that ultra-reactionary political regimes were then in power, notably in Quebec (Duplessis' Union Nationale) and British Columbia (Bennett's Social Credit). These regimes marked the end of an era. Although they denounced big capital, and "finance" in particular, they did not do so in the name of socialism but rather because they longed for the days when small- and medium-sized business capital was king. To a certain extent, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) (\*) played the same role in the Prairies. This party, which had social-democratic origins and was just as populist as the Social Credit and the Union Nationale, was a great defender of the farmers and small business in general against big capital.

In the 1960's, the old social structures and the old ideas linked to rural society were definitively replaced by ideas associated with the complete industrialization of the country, the concentration of production in big plants, and the social demands of monopoly capital. Big industry needed better-trained labour and a more

sophisticated and developed State apparatus. It also needed more social measures, because it caused a relative decrease in the incomes of many and a lot of chronic unemployment.

The 1960's were years of mounting Canadian nationalism. They were also the years of the "Quiet Revolution" which led to an upsurge of Quebec nationalism. As well, it was in these years that the groundwork was laid for "Native nationalism". It is easy to understand all of this when the consequences of the development of monopoly capitalism in Canada are examined.

Within the bourgeoisie itself, monopoly capitalism led to the concentration of economic power amongst a handful of big financiers. Smaller capitalists were relegated to a secondary status, and the petty bourgeoisie fell even further. This created friction amongst the bourgeoisie, and in particular contradictions between big and small capital. However, big capital in Canada is largely U.S. capital. It should come as no surprise, therefore, that many small capitalists blame their difficulties on the effects of U.S. imperialism in Canada. Indeed, this is true to a large extent. However, even if monopoly capital was more Canadian and less American, they would find little difference in their situation.

The concentration and monopolization of capital does more than dispossess, or at least substantially limit the power of, small and medium-sized capitalists. It also creates new capitalists and whole new strata of the petty bourgeoisie in private enterprise and in the State apparatus. These new petty bourgeois make up what is called middle-level management, and it is their job to manage capital. They neither control nor own the machine, but, in practice, they oversee the managerial aspects of its operation.

It is quite striking that the dispossessed bourgeois strata and the newly-created petty bourgeois strata share very similar ambitions. The former want to retain the power that they are losing more and more and the latter want to exercise the power "normally" attached to their managerial positions.

This situation is intimately related to the system of ownership. Big capital is seen as an obstacle to the bourgeois aspirations of these strata. Given that big capital in Canada is mainly American, Canadian nationalism has solid ground to develop on. The nationalism that characterizes a certain faction of the bourgeoisie, and even more of the petty bourgeoisie, is based precisely on this. And given that in Quebec big

(\*) The party was later to become the NDP.

capital is also English-Canadian, the same holds true for Quebec nationalism, which is even more solidly based on opposition to what is called the "colonial" domination of the Canadian bourgeoisie.

The development of monopoly capitalism is not solely the result of the merger of smaller enterprises. It also requires the constant expansion of production, that is the exploitation of new resources and more labour-power. This is the source of the increasing rivalries between monopolies and imperialist countries. The entire globe is already divided into zones controlled by the big powers.

Canada has an important particularity in this respect. It has immense territories within its borders which are sparsely populated and even less exploited. This is the case with the Far North, as it is generally called, which extends from Labrador in the east to the Yukon in the west and includes the Northwest Territories and the northern regions of the provinces.

There is only one obstacle to the "free exploitation" of these territories — they are inhabited by Native populations. This presents the Canadian bourgeoisie with the same problem it had when it wanted to take control of the Prairies in the 19th century. It has to expropriate and drive out the Native populations that the French and British colonialists have driven out of the southern and eastern parts of the country since the 17th century.

The growth of monopoly capital in Canada since the Second World War has not only disrupted the mode of ownership among English Canadians and Quebecois. It has also meant a push to open up the North which can be divided into two major phases.

The first phase began following the Second World War, with the creation of several mining and industrial towns in the near North. From Sept-Îles in Quebec to Kitimat in British Columbia, many forestry and mining operations were started up or considerably expanded. Native populations inhabited the affected regions in many cases. They were ignored.

A second phase began in the 1960's and continues today. It involves exploration for energy resources in the Far North. This includes the giant hydroelectric development at Churchill Falls in Labrador and James Bay in Quebec, the natural gas and oil wells in the Mackenzie Valley in the Northwest Territories and the off-shore developments in the North. Big capital's massive invasion of the North gradually led the Native populations to realize how precarious their situation was and to start organizing to defend their lands and their culture.

The Native national movement is now in full develop-

ment and unity between the northern Natives and those in the southern "reserves" is growing. Increasingly their demands now include the right to self-determination.

## Canadian sovereignty and the proletariat

Nationalism is the ideology of the bourgeoisie. It takes the form that the interests of the bourgeoisie require: nationalism, in the common sense of the word, meaning the ideology of an oppressed nation or colonized people; great nation chauvinism, the bourgeois ideology which is used to justify, or so it is claimed, the domination of a powerful nation over another nation or over other countries or peoples; or finally, fascism, the most extreme form of nationalism because it is the ideology that the bourgeoisie uses when it resorts to the worst violence and most barbaric forms of repression to defeat any threats to its power.

It is true that the oppressed peoples and nations can expect nothing from nationalism since nationalism logically leads to the nation-State, a bourgeois State where their condition, far from improving, will sooner or later deteriorate. It is, however, also a fact that there still exist oppressed peoples and nations, entire populations totally at the mercy of the dictates of imperialism. To ignore this fact would dangerously compromise the progress of proletarian revolution. Indeed, this is so true that communists support all national and anti-colonial struggles against foreign domination whenever these struggles contribute to weakening imperialism and strengthening the camp of social progress.

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Canadian nationalism is as old as the Canadian bourgeoisie. The Canadian bourgeoisie began to play an important role in the first half of the 19th century, in the 1830's to be more precise. At that time, it began flexing its muscles both in Lower Canada, now Quebec, and in Upper Canada, now Ontario. Like all bourgeoisies of the time, it was republican and wanted to end the colonial domination of Great Britain. The 1837-38 uprisings were put down by the colonial army, but thirty years later the British bourgeoisie granted political independence to its North American colonies although it continued to play a major economic role in them. This path was later adopted by many other colonial powers.

The early decades of the 20th century saw Canada complete its political emancipation as it obtained full power over military questions and international relations. This process occurred at the same time as the economic role of Great Britain in Canada was progressively reduced in favour of the young U.S. power, which was growing very rapidly at the time.

By World War II, Canada had acquired total independence from Great Britain. However, the conditions were already ripe for considerably closer links between Canada and the United States. The U.S. already had many investments in key sectors of the economy, and the Allied victory made the U.S. the leading power on the international political scene. U.S. imperialism had major interests to protect in Canada, including the mines and forests that it exploited and the sections of the manufacturing industry that it controlled. In 1945, U.S. investments in Canada accounted for 70% of all foreign investments, while British investments accounted for only 24% of the total.

It is easy to understand why the Canadian bourgeoisie chose to tighten its links with the U.S. on all levels and why it put all the country's resources at the service of the U.S. great power which acted as leader of the "free world" in its fight against the "communist menace". Canada was then the United States' biggest supporter in all its endeavours, including its military adventures such as in Korea in 1950.

This amazing support did not stem from noble motives, of course. The alliance with the United States was the best way the Canadian bourgeoisie had of promoting its own interests. U.S. investment in Canada continued to grow at a great pace, and the aid of the U.S. "big brother" was invaluable when it came to putting the trade-union movement "in its place" and to ridding it of all its progressive and communist leaders.

In this context, it is easier to understand how the revisionist party (the CP), which in 1943 changed its name to the Labour Progressive Party (LPP), became an ardent defender of Canadian sovereignty and a resolute opponent of the U.S. grip on the Canadian economy... in the name of patriotism and the defence of social peace in the country and in the world. From then on, Canadian nationalism became inseparable from resistance to U.S. economic penetration of Canada. In the 1960's, Canadian nationalism fit right in with the international movement against U.S. imperialism, the post-war defender of the "free world" that had become the main oppressor of the underdeveloped regions of the world, where it responded to any challenge to its hegemony by armed forces.

The Canadian nationalist current following World War II was, from the outset, essentially the expression of a reformist and petty-bourgeois outlook which confused the struggle for socialism with the denunciation of foreign imperialist domination — U.S. imperialism, in Canada's case. It has retained this character, being taken up by the NDP, the Waffle, various organizations revisionist in inspiration such as the Progressive Workers Movement (PWW) and the Canadian Liberation Movement (CLM), and others dominated by petty-

bourgeois radicalism such as student and faculty associations. It was even behind groups based on Guevarism and terrorism, such as Red Morning, in the late 1960's and early 1970's...

Like many other currents of thought that originate with the petty bourgeoisie, this nationalist current also expressed the interests of the Canadian bourgeoisie as they are seen by one faction of it. So long as the Canadian bourgeoisie was thoroughly content with its special ties to the U.S. in terms both of investment and of repression of the working-class movement, in terms of its penetration of international markets, and in terms of its lucrative functions as a military ally of the U.S., it paid little attention to the radicals who denounced U.S. imperialism and its tightening grip on Canada. But in the 1960's, it had become evident that the constant penetration of U.S. capital in Canada did not make everything rosy. The manufacturing sector remained underdeveloped, and this made Canada a net exporter of raw materials and a net importer of manufactured goods. Furthermore, there was a considerable amount of discontent over Washington's directives concerning Canada's relations with other countries.

This is when a strong nationalist current began to develop within the Canadian bourgeoisie. By an ironic twist of history, the representatives of this current were in the party which had defeated the Diefenbaker Conservatives with U.S. help when Diefenbaker opposed the presence of U.S. nuclear weapons on Canadian soil. These representatives included the Walter Gordons, Eric Kieranses, Jean-Luc Pépins, and Herb Grays of the Liberal Party of Canada. In the late 1960's, they maintained that Canada had to reconquer the control of its own economy. Trudeau joined this current and proposed that Canada's foreign policy be less dependent on the U.S. and that it be more open to Europe, Japan, Latin America, Africa, and Southeast Asia — in short, that foreign policy be better adapted to the interests of developing Canadian imperialism and that it help to open markets to Canada products and Canadian capital.

The history of Canadian nationalism from 1837-38 to the present time has shown that nationalism is indeed the ideology of the bourgeoisie, irrespective of the banner it waves. Sometimes, the banner is the CP's pro-Moscow revisionism; at other times, it is the Canadian Communist League's pro-Peking revisionism. The anti-Soviet nationalism of the League is no more revolutionary or progressive than the anti-U.S. nationalism of the CP, the CPC(M-L), or other opportunists. The question facing the Canadian proletariat and people is not to determine which big power Canadian sovereignty has to be defended against, but rather how to defend their own interests against imperialism,

starting with Canadian imperialism because it is the principal enemy of the proletariat and of socialism in Canada.

It is only from the point of view of the people's immediate interests and the interests of the revolution that the question of Canada's sovereignty can and should concern the proletariat. It is not the goal of the proletariat, and of its revolutionary vanguard in particular, to strengthen the bourgeoisie — any bourgeoisie, and especially not its own bourgeoisie. Rather, its goal is to weaken it.

The opportunists of the CP and the League and their ilk call for the nationalization of U.S. monopolies in Canada. They claim that the adoption of the 200-mile territorial coastal limit is a great victory. One group supports trade with the U.S.S.R. while the other supports trade with China. They encourage the bourgeoisie to procure more weapons in order to safeguard... peace. In short, they reproach the bourgeoisie for not paying enough attention to strengthening its economic power in the face of other powers. From their point of view, the bourgeoisie is not "consistent" and "steadfast". It isn't nationalist enough, it's not protectionist enough, it is too soft with its more powerful rivals. And these people claim to be communists. This is the kind of communists that Canada has had since the end of the Second World War when the LPP took the patriotic torch which the bourgeoisie had let fall.

However, the fact is that the Canadian bourgeoisie is just as "consistent" and "steadfast" today as it has ever been. The extent to which it defends or doesn't defend the country's sovereignty depends on its bourgeois interests. It is just as "consistent" and "steadfast" as the opportunists who ever since Kautsky in World War I have always sought to turn the working-class movement away from revolution in the interests of "defending the homeland" — in other words, in favour of support for **their** national bourgeoisie. "War is the continuation of politics," said Lenin, borrowing a phrase from Clausewitz. Faced with the possibility of a war which would involve their bourgeoisie, these so-called communists end up defending the bourgeoisie's positions. This shows that they follow a bourgeois policy, and their position on war is simply an expression of this.

The history of Canada provides many examples of the bourgeoisie's capacity for patriotism, its capacity to cultivate nationalism and resort to chauvinism whenever its interests demand it. The anti-colonial rebellions of 1837-38, justified as they were, were to lead to the massacre of Metis on the Prairies in the 1870's and 1880's, and the on-going oppression of various national communities in the country today. The resistance to U.S. domination over the Canadian economy today is of the same nature as the resistance to British domination in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

At the same time, the Canadian bourgeoisie has always been quite capable of accommodating itself to the presence of foreign capital in the country, as indeed all bourgeoisies are. It has always done very well by the assistance that other imperialist powers could offer it in its efforts to maintain its power, notably to repress the working-class movement and prevent the proletariat from developing its revolutionary struggle for socialism. It is in this respect that the country's political sovereignty is of utmost interest to the proletariat.

The close relations between Canada and the U.S. at all levels, since World War II in particular, would clearly not be so developed if the economy of the two countries had not been so closely linked. This is obvious. In other words, U.S. imperialism and Canadian imperialism have many many common interests throughout the world. This explains the convergence of their foreign policies, Canada's regular participation in "peace-keeping forces" where U.S. interests are involved, and the quasi-integration of the armed forces of the two countries through the unified command of NORAD.

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The interests of both the U.S. and Canadian bourgeoisies lie, obviously, primarily in North America. It is these common interests which explain the many agreements concluded in various ways between the two countries to maintain the rule of Capital throughout the continent. It was in the McCarthy era in the late 1940's and early 1950's that the close collaboration between the two bourgeoisies in repressing the working-class movement became particularly evident. At that time, unions which had communist or progressive leadership, notably in the merchant marine, the mines and textiles, were literally decapitated thanks to the combined efforts of agents hired jointly by the U.S. and Canada.

The situation has not changed fundamentally since, except for a trend towards more intensified action by U.S. repressive forces in Canada with the complicity of the Canadian bourgeoisie. U.S. labour bosses sold out to Capital and the U.S. police and army are "at home" in Canada, where they do as they please. Such a situation can only exist because it serves the interests of the Canadian bourgeoisie. Inasmuch as it serves bourgeois interests, it is counter to the interests of the proletariat. This is why it must be vigorously denounced and fought.

The proletariat is thus concerned by the country's political sovereignty, but not because it wants to support the bourgeoisie in its confrontations and eventually in its wars with other powers. Rather, it is concerned solely inasmuch as the concessions of the bourgeoisie in

this respect are additional handicaps which complicate the proletariat's revolutionary struggle and threaten its democratic rights. The proletariat fights capitalist exploitation, whatever the nationality of the factory owners. It also fights repression and oppression, no matter what bourgeoisie is behind them.

In the case of Canada, the struggle against oppression and repression has to take into account the action of U.S. imperialism. This is all the more true when the Canadian bourgeoisie is party to this action, which also serves its own interests. The Canadian proletariat does not denounce infringements of Canada's sovereignty so that U.S. bosses will be replaced by Canadian bosses, nor with the goal of having more unemployment in the United States and less in Canada. It denounces and fights interference in the country's political sovereignty because it is a result of agreements between bourgeoisies that try in this way to maintain their power as exploiters.

### National oppression and bourgeois nationalism in Quebec

Quebec became a French-speaking nation on its own territory, more particularly on the banks of the St. Lawrence and in the surrounding regions, well over a century ago. Since then, the Quebec nationalist movement has often played a decisive role in the political life of the country.

This is easy to understand when one considers that, even if a faction of the French-speaking bourgeoisie in Quebec has regularly been able to rise to the level of the big bourgeoisie in Canada, the French-speaking masses in Quebec — and the French minorities in other regions of the country even more so — have continually been the object of many forms of discrimination and oppression. For years, they have been called "frogs" and "French pea soupers", and they are told to "speak white" (that is, English). Indeed, they still have to "speak white" in many factories, offices and enterprises in Quebec, especially in Montreal, even when the majority of workers are French-speaking.

The linguistic question is only one aspect of national oppression. A government inquiry carried out by the Laurendeau-Dunton Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in the 1960's showed that francophones were, along with the Native peoples, the linguistic community with the lowest income, and that the proportion of them in low-level jobs was much greater than it was for anglophones, irrespective of their origin. And it is still true in Quebec today that education and health services are of better quality for anglophones than for francophones...

This historic situation explains the persistence of nationalism in Quebec for over a century. This situation also explains why Quebec political parties have always used nationalism to get the support of the Quebecois masses, although they have never worked at solving the problem. Their goal has never been anything other than using the nation as a springboard to advance the interests of the bourgeois strata they represent.

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The evolution of the Quebec nationalist movement over the past decade is the best illustration of the reactionary character of bourgeois nationalism. In the 1960's, great efforts were made in Quebec to convince workers that the key to their emancipation lay in the independence of Quebec which would put an end to the rule of U.S. imperialism, and, more particularly, to "English-Canadian colonialism", as it was called. Is it not clear today that this was nothing but demagoguery and lies? What has the PQ done in power except to try to make people believe that it is continuing its march towards independence while it is frantically engaged in the most blatant manoeuvres to consolidate the rule of monopoly capital in Quebec and trying to ensure that Quebec capitalists get as much control over it as possible?

One would have to be blind to believe that Quebec nationalism is an anti-imperialist force. It is a bourgeois current and members of the ruling class can only survive if they turn their capital into monopoly capital, which implies getting fully involved in the export of capital to where it is the most profitable. The recent creation of Hydro-Quebec International (a subsidiary of Hydro-Quebec, the electricity monopoly founded in the 1940's that went on in the 1960's to become the owner of all the private companies in this nationalized sector, to the great satisfaction of those who defended the slogan "masters in our own house") is a good example of the "natural" evolution of capitalist enterprises that have become monopolies. Hydro-Quebec, promoted as an instrument for liberating the Quebec nation in the 1960's, is becoming an instrument for oppressing other less-developed nations. The intentions of Hydro-Quebec International are very clear in this matter. They are the same as those of all the enterprises controlled by Quebec francophones. They are in no way different from those of U.S. or Canadian enterprises. Incidentally, Hydro-Quebec is currently showing great interest in the openings that might come about with the present developments in China. This is certainly not because the League has convinced its directors of the correctness of the "three worlds theory".

If the Quebec nationalist movement, with the PQ at its head, is trying to speak in the name of the great ma-

jority of those who make up the oppressed Quebec nation, it is only so as to better serve those who want more power, people like the directors of Hydro-Quebec, of the Bank Canadian National, of the Provincial Bank, of the Mouvement des Caisses Populaires Desjardins, etc. They can only get this power through the exploitation of the Quebec proletariat and, increasingly, of the proletariat in other regions of the country and in the world where they invest. In fact, they have already begun this on a large scale.

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The PQ's nationalism is increasingly being identified for what it really is — the policy of a bourgeois stratum that wants to develop Quebec in its own interests — by the Quebec working-class movement. But other nationalist tendencies are emerging. They give themselves a progressive image, but in fact they lead to the same dead-end. Their progressive appearances are quickly unmasked, however, when it becomes apparent that they don't criticise the PQ for its nationalism but rather, in the League's terms, for its "inconsistent nationalism". How can the opportunists demarcate from other opportunists? The method is always the same — by being more radical opportunists!

The Trotskyists of the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) and the Groupe socialiste des travailleurs du Québec (GSTQ) and the revisionists of the League and the Parti des travailleurs du Québec (PTQ), who all claim to work in the interests of the working class and to oppose capitalism and the bourgeoisie, do not in fact criticise nationalism. They carry the PQ's (bourgeois) nationalism to its extreme. They radicalize it, because, as "consistent" opportunists, it would never cross their minds to make an articulated criticism of nationalism.

The Trotskyists don't think that the PQ's sovereignty-association is enough. They demand nothing less than independence. Why? Because this is the way to unite the proletariat of the two nations and of the entire continent! The League, which opposes sovereignty-association and independence, nevertheless finds the PQ too timid, not "consistent" and "steadfast" enough in its nationalism. According to the League, real nationalism should lead to the "full development of the nation!" One would think that this was the psychiatrist of the Quebec nation, the PQ's Camille Laurin, speaking. This kind of language resembles that of certain sad personages of the 1930's, who did not, however, have the hypocrisy to claim to be Marxist-Leninists and who, on the contrary, openly avowed their corporatist and fascist leanings. We must

beware like the plague of these so-called revolutionaries who claim to demarcate from nationalism only to spend their time emphasizing national particularities.

Working people have to reject thoroughly independence, sovereignty-association, and any other projects designed only to assure the "full development of the nation". The interests of the working people of Quebec lie first and foremost in the abolition of the present system of exploitation, which only profits the bourgeoisie... of all nations.

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Should this lead us to reject the national demands of the Quebec people? Should we deny the fact that francophones in Quebec and elsewhere in Canada are oppressed? Should we remain silent about the big-nation chauvinism that has always characterized the bourgeoisie of English Canada? Not at all.

Rejecting the independence of Quebec means primarily rejecting a bourgeois movement which, as we have seen, is what it is. It means rejecting a bourgeois movement which, in the present situation, does not mean progress for the Quebec masses, and which bears within it the seeds of the oppression of minorities that live in Quebec, beginning with the Indians and Inuit and also including the anglophones. The Quebec territory is not inhabited exclusively by francophones. This gives an idea of the complexity of the situation and also highlights the implications of the communist point of view on the equality of languages and nations throughout the country.

The Quebecois people are tempted to believe what the bourgeois nationalists say because they experience national oppression. Therefore, it is national oppression that must be attacked and eliminated wherever it exists — in wages, in jobs, and in the language of government services and work. The struggles that have to be waged today on the Quebec national question mean fighting for absolute equality.

It is from this point of view alone that the Quebec nation's right to self-determination should be defended against all forms of chauvinism. This means that the Quebec nation will only have real equality when its status as a nation is fully recognized, including its inalienable right to form an autonomous State.

With the approach of the referendum in Quebec, working people in Quebec should say no to independence. It is very much in their interests to avoid paying the cost of setting up a new bourgeoisie in

Quebec which would be particularly aggressive due to its very weakness.

Recent statements by the PQ suggest that it is entirely possible the referendum will be a huge fraud with the sole aim of giving the Quebec francophone bourgeoisie another card to play in its negotiations to share power with Ottawa. This is truly a scandalous situation. It's simply disgusting. It means reducing the question of national sovereignty to deciding which factions of the bourgeoisie will get the biggest slice of the cake in the exploitation of the working people. Tax-sharing means sharing the results of the labour of the working class.

The working people of Quebec must refuse to play along with this fraud. Their interests do not lie in choosing "their bourgeoisie", nor in arbitrating the difference among various factions of the bourgeoisie. In the event that the referendum question is so biased as to ask, for example, if Quebec can negotiate sovereignty-association, the only legitimate response will be to boycott the referendum by abstaining or, better, by spoiling one's ballot.

At the same time, however, the will of the majority of Quebecois must be respected. This is what defending the right to self-determination means. It means defending the right of a nation to decide its own future without any outside interference.

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Victory over bourgeois nationalism in Quebec is not only of concern to Quebecois workers. It also demands the greatest unity of the proletariat of the entire country. Only this can lead to the defeat of both Quebec nationalism and also big-nation chauvinism, which is a form of nationalism, in English Canada. The struggle against nationalism is inseparable from the struggle against chauvinism. So long as Quebecois are subject to discrimination and oppression, it will be difficult if not impossible to convince them not to believe the nationalist rhetoric. They would be left with no choice.

Chauvinism is the nationalism of a nation that oppresses another. It is a form of bourgeois nationalism which is used to justify or hide oppression under various pretexts, in the name of the higher interests of the majority nation. Chauvinism becomes racism when it explains discrimination against a nation or any human community by their "objective" inferiority. This is used especially against the Native people and the Black or Asiatic minorities, but racism also exists against the "frogs" and "French pea soupers".

The most prevalent form of chauvinism is the out-

right denial of the existence of national oppression. While francophones in Canada, and more especially in Quebec, have been calling themselves a nation for over a century, the Canadian bourgeoisie has so far consistently and categorically denied this fact. Forced by events to recognize the specific character of Quebec, more especially in the past 20 years, bourgeois spokesmen have wracked their brains for vague and false descriptions of this reality in order to continue to be able to speak of the Canadian nation. They speak of the "two founding peoples", "two solitudes", "two linguistic communities", etc.

The policy of forced assimilation practised by the Canadian bourgeoisie should not surprise us. It is the logical continuation of the same policy formulated by the British colonial metropolis back in the 19th century. It wanted all of North America, and all India and all the empire, to "speak white". It is the continuation of the policies of all the provincial governments that have constantly reduced the rights of the French language for over a century. Manitoba's law to this effect has just been declared unconstitutional by the provincial Supreme Court, almost a hundred years after it was passed. In the intervening years, the francophones have become a small minority, by-and-large assimilated!

Any pretext is used to deny the very existence of the Quebec nation and this wash one's hands of the problem of eliminating national oppression. Some say that all that the Quebecois want is a better economic situation... just like all Canadians. Others say that wages are lower and that there are more unemployed in the Maritimes than in Quebec... This is to evade the question, to bury one's head like an ostrich. This sort of thing is flagrant chauvinism. This is how the bourgeoisie and its parties act, from the Tories to the NDP, not to mention the openly fascist organizations that demand nothing less than the elimination of French in the country so as to achieve a beautiful "white" "Canadian unity".

The first duty of the proletariat in English Canada is to disassociate itself totally from this reactionary ideology, which fuels nationalism in Quebec and which is the underlying cause of the chronic division of the proletariat along national lines. It must combat resolutely the policies corresponding to this chauvinist and racist ideology. The duty of the proletariat in English Canada is to firmly support the just demands of the workers of Quebec for the elimination of all discrimination against them. Its duty is to defend the absolute equality of languages and nations.

The urgency of this battle is all the greater because nothing has been done up until now. In fact, no party — not the Communist Party of the 1920's and 1930's and not the unions — has ever demanded the absolute

equality of nations in Canada. None has ever led the fight to have this stance adopted by the labour movement as a whole. Instead, all parties and unions have regularly echoed the chauvinist positions of the bourgeoisie in the name of a hollow unity — hollow because it's based on oppression and inequality — designed to fight more important battles against unemployment or for wage increases and economic prosperity.

In recent times, unions like CATCA and CALPA, made up of air controllers and pilots, have taken up the fight against the use of French by French-speaking pilots in some Quebec airports on the pretext of guaranteeing safety in the air. They have even struck to support this move in favour of the supremacy of English in Canada. CALPA and CATCA leaders are the James Richardsons (\*) of the labour movement — outright reactionaries.

In fact, union bosses as a whole are reluctant to recognize the rights of the Quebec nation and the country's other nations and national minorities. Those who have taken up the task of seeing these rights recognized by union federations have quickly realized that the resolutions ultimately placed before the assembled union members are more often than not distorted and diluted, and usually end up as a pious litany extolling the unity of the working-class movement.

The Canadian working-class movement needs to make a clean break with this pettiness. It should also reject the hypocrisy of people like the revisionists in the Communist Party of Canada who **speak** of self-determination for Quebec — in Quebec. Their opportunism smells all the way across the country, for in English Canada they espouse the same positions as the CLC and the NDP, despite certain nuances in their presentation.

The Canadian working-class movement must take up the battle against chauvinism and the oppression and discrimination against the Quebec nation. Adopting a resolution on the national particularities of Quebec will not do: the battle requires fighting for the absolute equality of languages and nations in practice.

The unity of the entire proletariat in Canada against national oppression is basic to unity of the proletariat in other key struggles against the bourgeoisie and against its repression. Unity is central in the fight for socialism.

### Canada's Native peoples: a million people ruthlessly oppressed

Canada's Native peoples, referred to in school books

not so long ago as "savages", are the country's most oppressed community. It is no exaggeration to say that they are subject to the vilest forms of the racism that still exists in many parts of the world — a fate shared, it should be noted, by Canada's Black and Asian minorities.

Over the last three centuries, the Native peoples in Canada have progressively been forced off their lands. Their wealth has been pillaged by colonizers from Great Britain and continental Europe. They have been slaughtered and exterminated, and their traditional way of life has been destroyed by force.

Today, the bulk of the one million Native people in Canada, — the various communities of Amerindians, the Inuit and the Metis — live in the Far North, that is Ungava, the Northwest Territories and the Yukon, or in the northern parts of most provinces. Others live on "reserves" — the official term — which are, in fact, ghettos of Natives and Metis in various places around the country where the majority is not Native. Still others — and their numbers are growing — come down south, or leave the reserves and move to the big cities where they live, unemployed, in the poorest neighbourhoods under wretched conditions. One-third of Regina, the capital city of Saskatchewan, is Indian and Metis. Chalk this situation up to the credit of the "Canadian nation", that bastion of democracy, freedom and prosperity, according to its bourgeois spokesmen. If there is something in what they say, it's that bourgeois democracy means oppression for the people.

The Native peoples have always fiercely resisted oppression. It took the force of numbers and brute force itself to reduce these peoples to their present dispersed and depopulated state. Today, the Native peoples are relatively weak due to their sparse number spread out over a vast area. This helps the bourgeoisie to retain its grip on Native lands and develop mining, forestry and energy projects.

The Native peoples, however, are becoming aware of the importance of unity amongst themselves, on the one hand, and with the people of Canada as a whole, on the other. Realizing that the "treaties" imposed on them by "the Whites" are nothing but robbery, and that capitalist industry has penetrated the North over the years in total disregard of their rights, many Native communities have decided that the only real option open to them is self-determination, the full and complete exercise of their rights on their territory.

(\*) Former federal Liberal cabinet minister, James Richardson is well known for his extremely chauvinist attitude towards French speaking Canadians.

For a variety of reasons, our Organization has up until now held a position on the question of the Native peoples that was in many ways erroneous. The two major reasons for this are: one, nationalism and chauvinism; and two, an academic way of analysing the situation. For a long time, the debate revolved around the question of whether the Native peoples formed one or more nations according to the criteria laid out by Stalin in the early 1900's. This amounted to forgetting that Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma, but a guide to action. In fact, Stalin never said: Here, these are the criteria that determine whether any given community is a nation. What he said was that there is such a thing as oppressed nations and these nations exist by reason of objective and material phenomena that he identified as territory, history, economy and language. Stalin opposed the position that reduced the phenomenon of nations to the question of cultural identity or "psychological make-up."

A concrete analysis of the concrete situation — which must include an analysis of national movements as expressions of national realities — leads to the conclusion that there are nations and national minorities within the Native populations in Canada. Already, there is the Dene nation and the Inuit nation, as well as Native minorities living in southern Canada, on reserves or in cities. We reject the position of "the Native nation" because it is also chauvinist in denying the national differences between the Inuit of Ungava in Quebec and the Dene in the Northwest Territories. These differences are as great if not greater than those between the Ukrainians and the Georgians in the Soviet Union.

There can be only one just response to the national oppression of the Natives peoples: once again, this response is the absolute equality of languages and nations and its corollary, the inalienable right of oppressed nations to decide on their own future, to self-determination up to and including the right to secede.

But just as we do not advocate independence for the Quebecois, we do not advocate the secession of the Native nations of the North. Even more than in the case of the Quebec nation, secession would mean the emergence of the worst forms of neo-colonialism, akin to what you find in the former colonies in Asia and Africa. It would lead to formal independence whose real impact would be cancelled out by complete economic subservience to foreign imperialism. In other words, the basis for a bourgeoisie is largely lacking for the moment within the Native communities, and the interests of both Canadian and U.S. imperialism in Native territories is so vast that no effort would be spared to subjugate the populations that live there.

The future of the Native communities lies in militant

unity side by side with the country's working class and masses as a whole — and this is true for the northern Native nations as well as the southern minorities. But here, too, unity is only possible if it is based on equality, and responsibility in this question falls largely to the working-class movement. It has the task of breaking with centuries of ignorance, indifference and contempt, centuries of chauvinism and racism.

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For a long time, national demands were considered reactionary by the Canadian "left". During the 1920's, 1930's and 1940's, there was little attention paid to these questions. One of the reasons that nationalism is today so powerful a force within the oppressed national communities in Canada is that national oppression has persisted and even developed.

Only the absolute equality of languages and nations, only the elimination of the chauvinism that fuels nationalist feeling, can conquer narrow nationalism, because this is the only way to re-establish equality and justice between communities history has separated in many ways. All these communities share a common aspiration for a better life, and ultimately their interests are not in contradiction, they are not fundamentally opposed to sharing their victories with others. These divisions, like all others, are due to the ruling classes which create and maintain them for their own advantage.

### Canada is in the throes of one of the worst crises of its history

The most fantastic gadgets in unlimited quantities are now available on the Canadian market — things like electric toothbrushes, etc. — and this in the middle of the "energy crisis". At the same time, there is a lack of decent housing for hundreds of thousands of working-class families. There may be no funds for housing, but it was easy to find fabulous sums for building extravagant stadiums and swimming pools for the 1976 Olympic Games in Montreal — and this did not change the fact that most children in working-class neighbourhoods have only alleys to play in while their parents still pay for the Olympic deficit. To top it all off, tens of thousands of construction workers are unemployed across the country. Can greater anarchy even be imagined?

Canada is one of the most industrialized countries in the world. The most modern production methods are well-known and widespread. The country has great

wealth in abundant and varied natural resources. At the same time, unemployment increases relentlessly even though many working people lack essential goods. In fact, it is estimated that about 20% of the active labour force and their dependents live below the poverty level, not to mention the many, many elderly people in the country. In all, a third of Canadians — nearly 8 million people — live on less than \$4,000 a year (in several big cities like Toronto and Vancouver, decent housing for less than \$250 or \$300 a month, which means \$3000 to \$3600 a year, is practically impossible to find!) while in 1976, 26 Canadians declared incomes of up to \$340,000. — i.e. 85 times more — which were not even taxable. Finally, it should be noted that discrimination against women has not abated because of government "concern" — for example, men's wages averaged 88% more than women's in 1976...

Young people share a similar fate: more than one in five youths leaving school will find themselves among the chronically unemployed.

So what is the problem? Is it a lack of capital which leads to the country's wealth going unexploited, people's needs unfulfilled and manpower lying idle? That answer would explain why the State has increased personal taxes in order to subsidize business — because in Canada taxes have gone up 312% since 1961. Yet...

In August, the Bank Canadian National — incidentally, the most important bank controlled by French-speaking Quebec interests — announced its decision to set up shop in Hong Kong to participate in the coming "fantastic development" in Southeast Asia. The president of the BCN, Mr. Castonguay, has mastered the "three worlds theory". He says he wants to put his know-how (and his capital) to work in Malaysia, Singapore, South Korea, Indonesia and the Philippines and thus encourage the liberation of these countries, whose heads of State — people like Park, Marcos and Suharto — are leaders yearning for peace, democracy and progress! Indeed, it would seem that Mr. Castonguay understood all this some time ago. His bank is already involved in international consortiums in the region, and he would like to increase the share of the bank's assets — currently 20% — already invested in international activities. (1)

Last September, the Canadian finance minister revealed the country was extending one billion dollars worth of credits to Algeria to allow it to buy more Canadian products. At the same time, General Torrijos of Panama announced his country would use one billion dollars in Canadian credit to open a copper mine. Texagulf, a branch of the Canadian Development Corporation, a Crown corporation, holds a 20% interest in

the project and will be in charge of getting the mine into operation.

No, the Canadian bourgeoisie is not short on capital. The social suffering of the majority of Canadians is instead directly related to the fact that Canada, like so many other capitalist countries, is in the throes of one of the worst economic crises in its history. That is what explains the feverish activity of Canadian capitalists around the world. They are trying to liquidate their stock and invest their money. The crisis is the reason behind the various measures the country has taken to reduce wages and weaken the union movement.

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The present crisis in the Canadian economy has the same characteristics as all capitalist crises. And it is the most serious crisis since the Second World War. By 1970, there were serious signs of economic recession. Since 1974, things have deteriorated even further. Industrial production stagnated between 1974 and 1976. After growing by 9% in 1973, industrial production in Canada grew by only 3.2% in 1974; it fell by 4.8% the following year and rose only 5% the year after. Thus, in 1976 it was about at the same level as it was in 1974. Since then, it has grown at an insignificant rate!

Manufacturers' inventories have had a tendency to accumulate since 1973. Inventories were valued at \$252 million in 1971 and rose by a factor of 8 to \$1,900 million in 1973. This was only the beginning. In 1974 they rose to \$4 billion, more than twice as much as the previous year. They fell the following year (1975) but remain at much higher levels than they were at the beginning of the 1970's.

The logic of this situation is as follows: inventories accumulated for three years because companies could not sell their products with a satisfactory profit. The result was a considerable 4.8% drop in industrial production in 1975. Since 1976, the capitalists have once again found themselves with stock accumulating in warehouses.

Another element has to be added to this picture — overproduction culminating in 1974 with a huge commodity surplus at a time when workers were successful in obtaining relatively good wage settlements which more or less kept pace with the consumer price index. But since 1976, prices have continued to skyrocket and wages have scarcely budged. In practice, real wages have fallen. This makes the danger of new stockpiles of goods and a new fall in production even greater than in 1974.

(1) See *La Presse*, Montreal, August, 29, 1978, p. 2.

Furthermore, the steady rise in unemployment (even according to the official statistics of the ruling class) indicates that the country's productive capacities are far from being used to the full. The official unemployment rate in 1967 was 3.8%. It rose to 6.9% in 1971, and then to 7.1% in 1976, 8.1% in 1977 and 9.6% at the beginning of 1978. Unemployment comes from factory shut-downs, personnel reductions and the bankruptcies which inevitably occur in capitalist crises.

The number and importance of bankruptcies in Canada has risen continuously in recent years. There were 2,848 in 1972, with liabilities totalling \$250 million. The number increased only slightly to 2,683 in 1975, but the value reached nearly \$472 million. There were 2,976 bankruptcies in 1976 for a total value of \$1.173 billion. Finally, in 1977, there were 4,131 bankruptcies with a value of nearly \$1 billion.

Such a "performance" is more than catastrophic. Concretely, it means an enormous waste of productive forces: it means that thousands upon thousands of workers, including highly skilled ones, are inactive; that factories, some of them very modern, are only half-used for months and years; finally, that big stocks of machinery, tools and raw materials are removed from the production process. And goods are stockpiled while millions of people are starving around the world and when, in Canada itself, thousands of families lack essential goods and are unable even to feed themselves properly.

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It is clear that Canada is a country that has suffered severely and increasingly from the effects of the crisis of imperialism for several years now. One obvious manifestation of this is Canadian capitalists' new aggressiveness, as they devote much time and effort to giving their activities international scope. Back when the RSC still thought that it had a duty to denounce "IN STRUGGLE!"s errors" regarding Canada's imperialist nature publicly, it liked to point out that Canada has no colonies. But this does not alter the fact that the Canadian bourgeoisie applies a thoroughly consistent imperialist policy (contrary to what the League's pen-pushers would like to have us think). Nor does it alter the fact that this policy leads directly to the domination, together with other imperialist powers (for the time being), of less-developed countries; and, when joint control will no longer be compatible with its specific interests, to inter-imperialist war.

One of the major problems in the Canadian capitalist economy is precisely the limitations of its domestic market. Canada still has a population of fewer than 25

million. It is thus easy to understand why the very idea of Quebec's independence is intolerable for the Canadian bourgeoisie. It is also easier to understand why the proponents of Quebec sovereignty are so intent on economic "association" with Canada and the United States, since it would be impossible for Quebec capitalism to develop on the sole basis of the market provided by its six million inhabitants.

The limits of Canada's internal market were partially compensated for by the enormous development of trade relations with the U.S. This has been especially true since the Second World War. 70% of Canada's foreign sales are now made in the U.S. But the U.S. is also experiencing the effects of the present crisis. Unemployment is high and production is running below capacity. For these reasons, it is not very interested in importing more Canadian manufactured goods. It is increasingly disturbed by the Auto Pact, although it is not likely to renounce it unilaterally given its dependence on Canada for certain raw materials, in particular energy resources like oil and natural gas.

While the U.S. has a big trade deficit which its partners want it to solve, Canada has a trade surplus. Nevertheless, it still wants to increase its exports, if only to help make up for the deficit of its commercial balance of payments that results from the heavy interest payments it has to make on loans contracted abroad and the dividends sent out of the country each year to foreign investors. This is the context for the current devaluation of the Canadian dollar.

Canada undoubtedly encourages the devaluation because it makes it easier to export Canadian products and discourages imports at the same time. Industry gets the double advantage of less foreign competition on the domestic market and a more competitive position for Canadian products abroad.

The fact remains that the phenomenon has taken on considerable proportions. There is a lot of talk about the fairly considerable devaluation of the Canadian dollar in relation to the U.S. dollar. But to get an idea of the general situation, we should note that between July 1977 and July 1978 the Canadian dollar fell by 18% in relation to the German mark and the pound sterling and by 48% in relation to the yen, while it only fell 6% in relation to the U.S. dollar. The reason, of course, is that the U.S. dollar also lost a lot of value for reasons similar to the devaluation of the Canadian dollar: to turn around the balance of payments deficit.

Finance Minister Jean Chrétien stated last fall that "in Canada, the Canadian dollar is still worth a dollar"! The idea was to cheer up Canadians worried about their falling currency... But the minister chose a very bad

argument, because Canadians know very well that their dollar is no longer worth a solid dollar even in their own country. Rumour has it that it was not a good idea to ask ex-president Gerald Ford to walk and chew gum at the same time. It also appears that it is not a good idea to ask Jean Chrétien to connect one idea to another when he's talking. When he spoke of the devaluation of the dollar, he was unable to think of inflation at the same time, much less able to take it into account.

With the exception of Mister Chrétien, who handles the country's finances, all Canadians know that inflation exists and that it has not abated since the beginning of the 1970's. For example, the consumer price index rose an average 8.2% per year between 1971 and 1976, while it rose at an average rate of only 2% between 1948 and 1965. Contrary to what Chrétien would have us believe, the Canadian dollar is no longer worth a dollar, even in Canada. Workers pay for this just as they pay for devaluation.

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The present crisis has not yet reached the catastrophic proportions one would have expected because the bourgeoisie has practised a deliberately inflationist policy. The result is to put off the effects of the crisis until later, and not to solve it. In other words, the country's economy would not only be stagnant, it would also be undergoing a period of major recession if the bourgeoisie had not artificially stimulated production by various means. The inevitable recession still lies ahead.

We do not speak of an economic recession in Canada because, despite the fact that production decreased in 1975, it picked up again the next year. An economic recession means an important and prolonged drop in production. We can, however, speak of stagnation in that the total value of production is stable or growing very slowly — below the rate necessary for capitalist accumulation.

The artificial character of the present stable level of production is apparent when the rate of increase in the Gross National Product (GNP) is compared to that of the total amount of money in circulation. Normally, these two should be about equal since money is supposed to represent goods which exist in reality; at least, that is what it is supposed to represent. However, since 1971 there has been no relation between the growth of the money supply and the GNP. The money supply increased by 10.3% in 1971 and the GNP by 6.7%. In 1974, the respective rates were 24.9% and 3.6%; in 1975, 14.1% and 1.3%; in 1976, 18.4% and 5.5%; finally, in 1977, 15.8% and 2.7%.

Given the nature of the market-place — as a general rule, commodities are exchanged at their real value — inflation inevitably leads to the devaluation of the dollar.

This situation corresponds to a constant and huge rise in the federal government's budgetary deficit as well as in those of the provinces, municipalities and school boards. The relation between the budgetary deficits and inflation is apparent when we compare the 1973 federal deficit of \$8 million with that of 1977 when it was \$8 billion: it increased by a factor of 1,000 in 4 years! Government deficit spending is an important factor of inflation. It means expenditures that do not correspond to an equivalent increase in real goods, in useful production.

This makes it easier to understand the growing protest from an entire sector of the bourgeoisie against rising State expenditures. For although these expenditures stimulate the economy temporarily, they also set the stage for worse things to come. Eventually, unproductive expenditures — namely expenditures which do not lead to the creation of new value remaining in the capitalist network — mean that productive forces are wasted, that possibilities for making a profit are lost.

It is also easier to understand why, when he came back from the Bonn Summit in the summer of 1978, Prime Minister Trudeau informed the "nation" of his decision to prune the federal budget and to cut all "superfluous" expenses in the coming years.

In fact, it is not really State expenditures in general that bother the bourgeoisie. It is only social expenditures that irk it. This is why budget cuts are primarily aimed at the number of public service workers and their wages, at education and health services, UIC benefits and welfare. Meanwhile, the military budget continues to grow in Canada, just as it has done everywhere else since 1945. The position of the bourgeoisie is easy to understand: better education and better health care have no direct impact on profits; on the other hand, building weapons is one of the best sources of profit for many gigantic monopolies. Incidentally, Canada is about to buy military aircrafts at a cost of billions. This comes right after it renewed its tanks and other ground equipment. Next, it will be the navy's turn. Canada, by the way, is one of the world's biggest arms producers.

Artificial stimulation to production is not only the result of State expenditures. The multiple forms of credit, and consumer credit in particular, are also artificial stimulants. Canadians have a remarkably high rate of indebtedness. Personal debts have quadrupled in recent years, going from \$6,668 million in 1967 to \$24,799 million in 1977. This means that an increasing

proportion of workers' income is often paying for goods that are already old and have to be replaced. The aim of consumer credit is to sell goods that would otherwise stay on the shelves or in warehouses, adding to the current overproduction.

But there is an Achilles' heel to the credit solution. It eventually reduces the capacity of workers to consume because the interest on the loans adds to the real cost of the goods they buy on credit. This inevitably results in impoverishing the working masses even further. Concretely, the reproduction of labour-power today already depends partially on work that will be accomplished later. We get a better idea of the problem when we consider that many underdeveloped countries are in a similar situation: their future is already massively mortgaged to imperialist powers, and the phenomenon continues as the imperialists grant them more loans so that they can sell them goods today that they will pay for later with considerable interest. The billion-dollar credit lines, mentioned earlier, that Canada has opened for Algeria and Panama are all designed to help Canadian business sell its products to these countries.

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There is no way out of today's economic crisis, because it is caused by the anarchy inherent to the capitalist system itself. It is caused by the contradiction between the private ownership of the means of production and the social character of that production. This social character, along with the gradual integration of the world economy, means that production, if it is to function properly, requires social control over the means of production, that is, economic planning and consideration of social realities in the organization of production. But the owners of the means of production, the capitalists and more particularly the big monopolies, are beyond all control; they in fact have ultimate control... and the result is periodic crises.

People who say we can wangle our way out of the current crisis by subsidizing residential construction or controlling wages are either liars or ignoramus. The traditional parties have no solution to the crisis except the suppression of the working-class movement and stronger police forces and armies either to put down those who rise up in struggle or to engage in war with imperialist rivals.

The so-called workers' parties are also void of solutions: the NDP, the revisionist CP, and the Canadian Communist League each have their own brand of rhetoric and magic solutions. But no matter how varied the solutions, they all have one thing in common: when

it comes right down to it, they all put forward some sort of support for the Canadian bourgeoisie. At least the NDP and the CP have the honesty to plainly display the fact that their basic aim is developing Canadian capitalism. For both of them, the enemy is foreign — the big multinationals. So they are both happy to see the big Canadian corporations investing abroad... as if the circulation of capital wasn't an integral part of capitalism at its current stage.

As for the League, it pushes rhetoric to the point of hiding its support for the imperialist activities of Canada in Europe and more especially in the underdeveloped countries behind the hideous mask of the "three worlds theory". In point of fact, Canada invests in China, in Southeast Asia, in the Middle East, in Africa... for the sole and unique reason that it is looking for profits.

Paul Desmarais, president of the giant Power Corporation, recently headed up a delegation of businessmen on a visit to China. He returned enthusiastic, and predicted that the volume of trade between China and Canada could be worth \$10 billion or more by 1985. But to achieve this, it would be necessary to be "aggressive" and fully exploit the temporary advantage Canada enjoys vis-à-vis the United States because of its diplomatic relations with China. This advantage would seem to have been just about eliminated by recent events.

It would certainly seem that the Canadian bourgeoisie fully realizes the advantages for it of both belonging to the "second world" and allying with the United States, the "superpower on the decline". The CCL(M-L) sometimes reproaches the Canadian bourgeoisie with being "inconsistent" in defending national interests which, as everyone — or at least, all the defenders of the "three worlds theory" — knows, are identical with the interests of proletarian revolution. But statements like that made by Mr. Desmarais perhaps indicate that the bourgeoisie is becoming more "consistent".

Whatever the specific reasons that explain why Canada straddles the fence (or perhaps we should say the worlds?) may be, they don't seem to hinder the development of the bourgeoisie's imperialist activities. It is highly unlikely that the industrialists and bankers who went to China with Paul Desmarais in October 1978 did so because they like the way he or Chairman Hua or comrade Deng smiled. Canadian imperialism's offensive in China is certainly an integral part of the titanic struggle it is engaged in to conquer markets for its goods and its capital. Canadian imperialism's "successes" in this field are pointed out in dozens and dozens of bourgeois newspapers these days.

For instance, the engineering firm Simons-Tecsum of Vancouver, B.C., was getting ready to sign a \$400-million contract to build a pulp and paper mill in Czechoslovakia, much to the disappointment of its French and Austrian competitors. Bombardier, a Quebec company, is about to close new sales of locomotives to Mexico as part of over-all trade between that country and Canada which may total as much as \$2.5 billion...

There are many other examples of the penetration of Canadian capital abroad. But despite its achievements, our bourgeoisie's record is still marred by its occasional "inconsistencies". For instance, we learned last summer that an Albertan consortium was bidding on a "spectacular contract" for the sale of \$500 to \$700 million worth of oil and gas production equipment... to the U.S.S.R.

When Power Corporation trades with China, when the Bank Canadian National consolidates its position in the Philippines and South Korea, when Canadian engineers help out Czechoslovakia, and Bombardier modernizes public transportation in Mexico, we should be very pleased; because, as the League has explained so well, all this strengthens the "united front", puts off the "inevitable" world war (Canada being a pacifist country, apparently) and advances the struggle for socialism. Unfortunately, trading with the U.S.S.R., the "rising" imperialist power, is "naughty" because it supports the development of social fascism, infinitely worse than the fascism of dictators like Pinochet and Pahlavi! Or at least, so the League would have us think.

Facts show, however, that the Canadian bourgeoisie is fully involved in the inevitable imperialist race to conquer new markets, invest capital, appropriate other countries' natural resources and make more profits through the superexploitation of the labour force in these same countries. The Canadian bourgeoisie's activities in countries where capitalism is still at a preliminary stage do not help to free these countries from imperialism; rather, they result in a greater enslavement of these countries by Canadian imperialism. Those who point to this activity as an example of the "united front" against the "rising superpower" reveal their extreme opportunism. They in fact consider inter-imperialist contradictions from a fundamentally bourgeois point of view. They tail after "their own" bourgeoisie and objectively support its efforts to become more powerful. These people are terrible chauvinists for whom Marxism-Leninism, proletarian revolution (and the dictatorship of the Chinese leaders) are simply a mask, a window-dressing, a smokescreen.

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The intensification of Canada's imperialist activities, just like the intensification of the activities of all other powers, has but one result: to increasingly sharpen inter-imperialist contradictions and create the conditions for new inter-imperialist confrontations.

The "three worldists" propagate an essentially bourgeois policy which today has the goal of maintaining the balance of power between the major powers. This allows a certain power to assure its modernization and "become a great power" as well. This developing power is China. The proletariat's policy is not to assure that the different imperialist blocs are of equal power, so that other powers can catch up to them. The proletariat's policy is to overthrow the bourgeoisie wherever it is the weakest.

Capitalism is condemned to perish, but history shows that it will not leave the stage of history of its own free will. Given that the current crisis is one of the most serious in history, the most serious since the Second World War, we can anticipate that the bourgeoisie will do everything in its power to solve it. This includes force, violence, repression and fascism to put down the working class in Canada and the dominated peoples. It will also use war to get rid of its most embarrassing adversaries.

### The Canadian bourgeoisie is part of the forces of reaction

The Canadian bourgeoisie has shown more than once that when its absolute power is threatened, when faced with any situation that would hinder its development, it will not hesitate to use all available means to reach its aims and preserve the capitalist system and assure its dictatorship on the proletariat.

Its methods, which are the same methods used by all bourgeoisies, haven't varied since the beginning of the century, when Lenin exposed them in his studies on imperialism. Political corruption is part of this arsenal. A lot of noise has been made about the millions of dollars given out by the American firm, Lockheed, to various cabinet ministers and heads of State throughout the world. It was a case of being able to outbid its rivals who were also seeking to sell airplanes; billions of dollars were at stake. In Canada, the Crown corporation Atomic Energy of Canada used exactly the same strategy when it sought to sell the CANDU reactor. The American administration has also disclosed that the Canadian government was involved in a sort of cartel with U.S. companies to raise the price of uranium. A cabinet minister went to Washington, where it was agreed that "certain things" shouldn't be

made public, in the interests of the vultures on both sides of the border.

Although monopoly capitalism is different from competitive capitalism, it has not eliminated competition. It raises it to a higher level, a level where the stakes are much greater. The means used are consequently more serious; in the last resort, they include fascism and war.

Before reaching this point, the bourgeoisie disposes of methods of superexploitation and repression that it has already used in Canada. During the two world wars, all those who opposed Canada's participation in the war were severely suppressed. Blood flowed in the streets of several Canadian cities under the hail of army fire. In the 1930's and later in the 1940's and 1950's, Canada again distinguished itself for the way it repressed the masses' revolt and destroyed progressive forces.

During the Depression, it was the unemployed who were thrown into veritable "concentration camps"; they rose up by the thousands against this situation, and were met by the guns of the army and the police, notably in Vancouver and Regina.

Communists who were active amongst them were singled out and many were thrown in prison. The leadership of the Party and many other members were arrested on August 11, 1931. In 1940, the Party was declared illegal and a number of its members imprisoned until autumn 1942.

After the war, McCarthyism ravaged Canada, as it did in the United States and Western Europe. All progressives active in the workers' movement were identified with communism. They were described as being more totalitarian and repressive than Hitlerite fascism. American organized crime was even called upon to help the Canadian government get rid of the militant leadership in the unions and replace them by leaders sold out to the "international unions", that is, U.S. unions. This is how the notorious Hal Banks built his "empire" in the seamen's union in 1949. At its congress in 1945, the TLC (Trades and Labour Congress of Canada), ancestor of the CLC (Canadian Labour Congress), decided that "no known communist shall be permitted to hold office in the TLC, provincial federations, and central bodies, nor be permitted to sit on any committee of the convention".

The Canadian bourgeoisie had decided that the struggle for "democracy" throughout the world was a thing of the past. Now it was a matter of assuring the greatest possible development of its industry, and it would pursue this objective in close collaboration with U.S. imperialism... including in the unions.

The multiplication of the Canadian State's reactionary policies and the repressive gestures towards the workers' movement and progressive forces in recent years is the political reflection of a new turn for the worse in the general crisis of capitalism. The lessons to be learned from the past experience of the workers' movement in its clashes with the ruling class should serve us today in examining the situation and drawing political conclusions that will guide our action. The workers' movement has always paid very dearly for the basic error of its leaders in not recognizing that imperialism is reaction, in not applying the line that says that there is no solution to the capitalist crisis outside socialist revolution, in "forgetting" that for the bourgeoisie the solution to crisis is fascism and war.

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The unions remain the main means of struggle of the working class to obtain better working conditions. Incidentally, Canadian trade-unionism won a number of gains, especially in the 1960's, with the unionization of practically all the employees of the civil service and a good proportion of those in what is known as the "semi-public" sector, institutions like hospitals that are "independent" from the State but subsidized and largely controlled by it. The Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE), which is far from being the only Canadian union of civil servants, is today the biggest union in Canada; it has more than 230,000 members.

Since 1974, Canadian workers, faced with continued increases in the cost of living, have made wage increases tied to the cost of living a key demand; and in a number of cases, they have won.

Since then, both the federal and provincial levels of government have attacked the labour movement with an avalanche of laws and decrees. The opening volley in this attack was certainly Bill C-73, the Wage Control Act, passed in October 1975 with the aim of controlling prices (supposedly) and wages. Officially designed to control inflation, Bill C-73 (like its counterparts in many other imperialist countries) was really aimed more at permitting the monopolies and capitalists to maintain high profit margins during the period of crisis. Worse, it was the bourgeoisie's main weapon in demobilizing the workers' movement, forcing class collaboration on the union bosses (who accepted it willingly), and creating ideal conditions for the multiplication of repressive measures against the workers' movement.

The results of this offensive should today be clear to all, even to the so-called communists of the League who claimed in 1976 and 1977 that the slogan for the struggle against the Wage Control Act didn't interest

workers in "their factory". In reality, the Wage Control Act demonstrated just how interested the bourgeoisie was in depriving **all** workers as much as possible of their means of struggle and resistance.

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Almost all strata of the working class have today had a taste of the bourgeoisie's medicine, flavoured with Bill C-73 and the policy of capitulation adopted by the "union bosses" and their friends in the NPD, the CP and the League. Thanks to Bill C-24, immigrant workers have no security in Canada. They are only a commodity that can be put back on the boat or plane whenever it pleases the bourgeoisie: "Go home, job thieves and foreign agitators!" In fact, thirty Portuguese workers were deported not long ago, thanks to the James Bay Development Corporation, which is certainly not a big bad U.S. monopoly!

Unemployed workers have already been treated to a first measure, Bill C-27, aimed at limiting their access to unemployment insurance benefits and forcing them to prove that they have sought a job continually, despite the fact that in some parts of the country, such as Newfoundland, unemployment is the lot of 20% of the labour force, according to **official** figures. The government plans even further restrictions in access to unemployment benefits: "Get rid of the lazy bums and cheaters!"

At a time when the cost of living is climbing very rapidly and taxes continue to rise, the ruling class finds it convenient to present the unemployed as lazy and cheaters. It claims that the new measures aim only at eliminating abuses.

The bourgeoisie's intentions are clear. It is going to try and discredit the unemployed, depicting them as lazy bums and profiteers, so as to make them accept any old job, including work as scabs, at any old wages. In this way they will tend to exert a downwards pressure on wages. Many labour bosses have become accomplices to these manoeuvres by recommending that striking workers "not ask for too much"... since unemployment is so high!

Governments have used the same methods to attack public servants. Across the country, they talk about eliminating jobs and at the same time seek to considerably reduce the rate of any raises in pay. They say that the State must set a good example by reducing its own spending. In the same spirit of setting a good example, the State has made it even more difficult for civil servants to exercise the right to strike they won after many struggles during the 1960's. This right is likely to be practically eliminated in most provinces. This will

simply confirm as general practice what has in fact become established policy in recent years with special back-to-work laws and attempts to render strikes completely useless by various injunctions (court orders), especially those aimed at limiting the number of picketers.

But if the civil service is "overflowing" today, we should ask ourselves why. In the majority of cases — in hospitals and other social services, for instance — the reduction of personnel means an immediate reduction in the quality of services. This indicates that there is not really a surplus of personnel. As well, it was the State itself that considerably boosted the size of the public sector over the past few years. This was a deliberate policy to offset the effects of the developing crisis by increasing State expenditures.

Repressive laws are sometimes presented as vanguard measures; an example is Quebec's Bill 45, called the "anti-scab" law. In reality, this law allows companies to continue their activities legally throughout a strike. As for the scabs, a company in Ste. Thérèse, Quebec, operated for more than a year with strikebreakers by taking advantage of government inaction and using a series of legal manoeuvres.

These are only a few of the anti-worker measures undertaken by governments in Canada in the past two years. Nor should the constant use of violence against strikers be overlooked: striking workers at the Robin Hood flour mill in Montreal were even shot and wounded in the summer of 1977, just as in the worst days of the anti-communist witch-hunt.

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Women have been singularly hard-hit by all the repressive measures of the bourgeois State. In their case, there is a concerted effort to propagate the most reactionary ideas. Women are usually the first to be laid off: it is more important that husbands and fathers work! Women earn the lowest wages; and despite all the official speeches by the bourgeoisie on the equality of the sexes, the gap between men's and women's wages is continually widening... All of this is common knowledge, because all of this is ancient history.

But what is new is that the recent victories of women in a number of areas are now going up in smoke. This is the case with daycare. Everybody's always talking about creating daycare centres, but in practice the money isn't there. They even go so far as to claim that the demand for daycare is less now! In fact, a whole series of measures are taken to discourage women from working. When a woman is offered a job, she is required

to show up on the job the very next day. Obviously this woman will end up not needing daycare because she won't have the time to go looking for one in the short time allotted, not to mention the fact that she will no longer have the right to unemployment insurance benefits because she is not really available for work: she has children!

The equality of men and women requires social measures which will eliminate not only discrimination in hiring practices, promotions and wages, but also the different restrictions — mainly child care and housework — that prevent women from working and becoming involved in social and political activities. The high rate of unemployment and budget cutbacks furnish excellent pretexts for putting these changes off indefinitely.

And at the very same time, the proponents of keeping women in the kitchen, the propagandists of the meek and submissive woman, the adversaries of birth control and abortion, are taking public stands. Paradoxically, the fellow-travellers of the crusaders for "virtue" sing the praises of the virile male whose superiority resides in his strength, his capacity to dominate women and even beat them up.

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The language used by Canadian politicians is more and more openly reactionary. "We must tighten our belts; we must live within our means; rising prices and factory shutdowns are the fault of the unions." Prime Minister Trudeau is proud to recall how he quickly ordered the military occupation of Quebec in 1970, thanks to the proclamation of the War Measures Act. He says that he would do it again if it proved to be necessary, meaning that he wouldn't hesitate to use this law again. We should remember that the proclamation of the War Measures Act is a decision left entirely to the discretion of the government (not Parliament), and that it allows the government to decree and immediately implement all the rules and regulations it wants, to hold anyone without a warrant or trial, to postpone elections and control trade, etc.

It should also be noted that only one item in the budgets of all levels of government has increased regularly: repression. The police and the army are now equipped with the latest hardware and have a free hand as to the repressive methods they may use. If the police happen to overstep their powers under the law of the land, the government has recently stated that the law will be modified so as to permit the police to do its job: electronic eavesdropping is already legal, and mail opening soon will be (the RCMP admits to having done this regularly for over twenty years).

The Canadian police enjoys, in fact, almost total immunity, regardless of what it does or may do. The police charged with breaking and entering the offices of the Agence de presse libre du Quebec (APLQ) in 1974 pleaded guilty. The judge who heard their plea in effect acquitted them; they won't have a criminal record, they retain their jobs with the police and they won't spend a day in jail. One might wonder why the judge didn't propose that they be promoted ... or perhaps he did, outside the courtroom!

A few months ago, some RCMP officers appeared before two commissions of inquiry. To begin with, some of them quite clearly perjured themselves. Then they admitted having stolen a membership list from a Parti Quebecois office, stolen dynamite, burned down a barn, and kidnapped a number of individuals in an attempt to force them to become informers. These people walked out of court none the worse for wear. Some of them have quit the RCMP to open "private agencies" made up of hired killers who show up at union activities and during strikes.

The tremendous development of "security agencies" in Canada over the past few years is an important phenomenon. These agencies are in fact really private militia for the bosses, often managed by former policemen. These bosses' militia have the advantage of being much more manageable than the police. They render all kinds of services to the bosses, ranging from armed repression against picket lines during strikes to the surveillance of workers in factories and investigations of the more combative workers... on the pretext of controlling the theft of tools. Here again, the working-class movement must be alerted, because the bourgeoisie has experience in using the lumpenproletariat to combat the proletariat. And high unemployment creates the necessary conditions for the emergence of social strata without work, rebellious and thus ready to serve whoever will offer them a living.

The political police are increasingly active at all levels and in all kinds of ways. Recently in New Brunswick, for example, teams of riot-control specialists were set up in various cities, as was done in Montreal several years earlier.

Just north of Ottawa, a brigade of 3,500 men began training in September 1977. Their military hardware is impressive: tanks, helicopters, planes and the most modern weapons. According to its commander, Andrew Christie, the brigade is capable of acting quickly in case of trouble anywhere because it is based in the heart of the country.

If "trouble" doesn't break out fast enough for these specialists in repression, perhaps they'll ask the police

teams specialized in union infiltration to provoke trouble. This would permit them to show that they didn't arm themselves in vain; it would also be a pretext for greater restrictions on democratic rights.

All this is only the official repressive action of the ruling class; something that can be pinned on it directly. But there is also racism and big-nation chauvinism towards national minorities. There is the reactionary nationalism that the bourgeois press is constantly encouraging in a multitude of ways. It opens its pages to the avowed fascists that propose the "purification of the race" by all the means made available by science, including sterilization and euthanasia. And then there is the male chauvinism found in songs on today's hit parade, that openly promote violence against women. As well, we are presently witnessing a revival of the most reactionary ideologies, religious sects that are a throwback to the Middle Ages, "white" organizations that aim at fighting coloured people and commandos which spread terror within the immigrant communities among the progressive elements by any and all means, including murder.

This frenzy of terror and reactionary violence would be of little importance if it weren't accompanied by a massive distribution of backward ideas presented in free publications, some of which are even international in scope and occupy a choice place in news-stands. They would be of little importance if, last year in Ontario, one of these fascist organizations had't make attempts to get the status of political party, as the Western Guard wanted to create the National Party. The Western Guard specialized in attacks against black people, hate campaigns against Quebecois, the sabotage of progressive meetings and the organization of counter-demonstrations.

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Organizations which are today aware of the full scope of the growth of all these manifestations of reaction in our country are few and far between. This situation, as a whole, includes all the ingredients of fascism, from the current crisis that constitutes its economic base to its characteristic ideological manifestations including big-nation chauvinism, male chauvinism, medieval religions, racism and contempt for the most deprived people such as the unemployed, welfare recipients and the elderly, anti-unionism and anti-communism.

The union bosses, far from worrying about this situation which permits the bourgeoisie to pass its anti-worker laws, play right into the hands of the bourgeoisie. They support its crisis measures and spread its anti-communism. Of course, it's true that the

phony communists are very useful to them, with methods that the worst reactionaries might envy: the most revolting rhetoric about genuine communist work, violence and terror against their opponents and even informing for the police. These practices, which are regular activities for the CPC(M-L), are being increasingly adopted by the League.

### Despite the opportunists, the revolt of the masses is growing

The working people of Canada aspire to completely transform imperialist Canada, a society of exploitation and oppression. The ceaseless struggles which they have waged and are waging on a variety of fronts are irrefutable proof on this. The present crisis has given rise to a considerable increase in the number of struggles both among workers and in many other strata of the working people. In most cases, the objectives of the constant struggles of thousands of Canadian workers are economic. This is easy to understand, since for the masses the crisis is synonymous with unemployment, work speed-ups, rises in the cost of living, reductions in real wages, and cutbacks in social services such as welfare, health, education, and unemployment insurance.

However, it is an important distortion of reality and a deliberate manoeuvre to turn the proletariat away from political struggle to state, as bourgeois ideologists and revisionists often do, that Canadian workers only aspire to greater material well-being, that socialism doesn't interest them and that working to win the proletariat to the revolutionary struggle for socialism is a hopeless cause.

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Canada is one of the imperialist countries with the highest proportion of man/days passed on strike in relation to the number of employed workers.

Many of the numerous strikes in recent years took place during negotiations for a first collective agreement because the employer refused to recognize the new union. The recent examples of Fleck, in Ontario, and Commonwealth Plywood, in Quebec, are only two cases among many. The movement for the unionization of new sectors continues. Many workers in the public and semi-public sector became unionized during the 1960's. Then there was a drive to unionize workers in the commercial sector. And recently, bank employees have taken up the battle, particularly in British Columbia. In Quebec, the employees of the Caisses populaires

(credit unions) had great difficulty in getting the movement off the ground because these so-called popular institutions, supposedly so different from the big banking monopolies, are in fact strongly opposed to the unionization of their employees.

We should not be deluded, however, by the victories which workers have won in battles to unionize sectors which were only marginally or not at all organized, in the past. In Quebec, at least, a government study indicates that the proportion of unionized workers did not increase at all between 1974 and 1976. Instead, it decreased from 34.2% to 31.2% of the active labour force.

Moreover, if we consider that in Quebec 4.7% of all union members are affiliated to the CSD (Centrale des Syndicats démocratiques - Democratic Unions Central), whose only desire is to avoid all conflicts, that 2.1% are affiliated to the Teamsters, a thoroughly corrupt American union, and that 15.1% are members of "independent unions", that is "company unions" which are nothing but tools in the hands of the bosses to maintain "industrial peace", it is clear that the struggle for unions that really defend the interests of the workers is far from over.

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Some of the most important union struggles in the last few years have been the struggles waged for "cost-of-living adjustment" clauses. In 1974 and 1975, a broad movement for COLA clauses developed when workers saw real wages shrink as prices soared. In several cases, workers went on strike before their collective agreement expired.

The Wage Control Act, passed on October 14, 1975, was an attempt to put a stop to this growing movement. The law set a legal ceiling on wage increases. For several months, however, workers continued their struggle and certain employers were forced to sign contracts granting wage increases higher than the law allowed — for example, at Irving's in New Brunswick, and in some pulp and paper mills.

It was only in 1976, after tens of thousands of workers demonstrated in Ottawa, that the bourgeoisie succeeded, with the help of the labour bosses, in really reducing workers' wages to the level stipulated by the law. The manoeuvres of the labour bosses who, from the beginning, worked to channel the struggle into a legalist dead-end with legal procedures contesting the validity of the law while neglecting to continue mobilizing workers, gave results.

The effects of this collaborationist line were felt very rapidly. In 1977, the number of man/days of work lost on account of labour conflicts was three times less than in 1976 — 3.7 million instead of 11.6 million — while in previous years the increase had been constant.

Once the Supreme Court of Canada rejected the CLC's appeal aimed at having the Wage Control Act repealed, the position of the labour bosses became that it was necessary to defeat the Liberal Party that had passed such a law and work to elect the NDP instead, even though, in practice, the NDP had not objected at all to the law in the three provinces in which it was in power. Meanwhile, in Quebec, the position after November 1976 was that we should not hassle the newly-elected PQ, because it had a favourable attitude towards workers... although the leader of this party declared that Ottawa had waited too long before imposing the wage freeze!

Today, the Wage Control Act is no longer in effect, and there is a resurgence of a strike movement similar to that of 1974-76. This is particularly true in the public sector, where the bourgeoisie has decided to concentrate its attack by limiting wage increases and cutting back budgets and, consequently, jobs.

Struggles to unionize, struggles for COLA clauses, struggles for wage increases and better fringe benefits: these are the issues on which hundreds of thousands of Canadian workers fight the bourgeoisie regularly. But these are not the only issues, and strikes are far from being the only means of struggle. In the past four years, there have been an increasing number of campaigns to boycott various products as a means of supporting workers' demands. In some cases where bosses threatened to close down factories, workers occupied them. In factories and other workplaces there have been frequent walkouts, lasting a few hours or a few days, to stop mass layoffs or firings for union activities, or to protest against compulsory overtime or speedups...

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Many community groups have joined the unions in defending the economic interests of the various social strata across the country. An important struggle is the struggle for daycare centers, which have often been set up by parents who are now struggling to get the subsidies they need to keep them open.

Welfare recipients, injured workers and handicapped people have also started to get together to organize. Even elderly people have organized, notably in Montreal, to obtain decent housing and easier access to public transportation.

One of the most important developments in recent months has been the creation of committees of the unemployed across the country. There are already several in British Columbia, Ontario, Quebec and the Maritimes. It was demonstrated in the 1930's that such a movement can become a real threat to the bourgeoisie in crisis, because the capitalists are incapable of giving work to hundreds of thousands of unemployed, in particular those who have just left school, or women who want to take their place in social production.

Women have been in the forefront of many struggles in the past few years in Canada. There is a long history of women's struggles, and women in Canada have recently renewed with it by celebrating International Women's Day, March 8, each year in a more and more spirited way. It is significant that the "rebirth" of March 8 coincided with the "rebirth" of May 1, International Workers Day, which had also been forgotten for many years, thanks to the revisionists.

Over the past decade, the women's movement has moved forward with new vigour and waged many battles on a variety of grounds where the oppression of women is manifested: jobs, wages, daycare, reactionary marriage laws, abortion, violence against women, etc. What is no less significant is that the majority of women waging these battles have rejected feminist ideology, which while verbally denouncing the isolation of women wants to make their struggle an isolated battle and a battle against men. But women, on the contrary, are active everywhere — in trade unions, in their neighbourhoods with welfare recipients and the unemployed; more and more frequently, they are to be found alongside their husbands on strike, setting up support committees which completely cancel out the bosses' attempts to turn wives against their husbands on strike.

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The fall of 1970 was an important moment in the history of the Quebec and Canadian working-class movement. Using the pretext of the two FLQ (Front de libération du Québec) kidnappings, the Canadian State proclaimed the War Measures Act (a kind of a "state of emergency"), sent the army in to occupy Quebec, abolished democratic rights, arrested hundreds of people and searched thousands of places. In the short run, the progressive forces of Quebec were almost completely disorganized, and it took several months for community groups which had been broken up and deprived of their offices to reorganize. Repression was victorious... momentarily.

The War Measures Act, proclaimed without very

convincing justification, rapidly provoked considerable reaction across the country. Many support committees for prisoners in Quebec were set up. Many progressive and democratic people spoke up in protest, although the labour bosses of the union federations in English Canada remained silent when they didn't openly support the government's move.

The action of the Canadian government revealed the true nature of the bourgeois democratic State and showed how, when the power of Capital is threatened, it does not hesitate to use all possible means, including the most anti-democratic ones, to guarantee its domination. The supposed threat of the FLQ turned out to be a gigantic hoax: the so-called "apprehended insurrection" had no rebels. It was certainly not the fault of the courts and the police, who did all they could to make some up! When this whole story came to an end in the summer of 1971, it became clear that the only conspirators in this whole affair had been Prime Minister Trudeau and Premier Bourassa and the lackeys in their respective cabinets, Mayor Drapeau in Montreal, the various sections of the political police, the army's anti-subversive squad and obliging prosecutors and judges who turned out to be numerous enough to do the work that had to be done.

The objective of their conspiracy was just as clear: to do a thorough clean-up of everything progressive in Quebec, including some of the more radical unions (ex. the Montreal Labour Council of the CNTU), community groups and political organizations.

Today, Canadian working people are realizing that they can rapidly lose what democracy they still have. In recent years, forces devoted to the defence of democratic rights have developed. The events of October 1970 are of course not the only reason for this. This is rather the result of the multiplication of attacks against the democratic rights of national minorities, women, immigrants, and so on. Many unionized workers are also realizing that it is not enough to struggle for better living conditions on a day-to-day basis. It is also necessary to ensure that the government does not deprive the unions little by little of the means of waging victorious struggles.

The demonstration of tens of thousands of workers from all parts of Canada in Ottawa on March 22, 1976, and the General Strike on October 14, 1976, both of which were demonstrations against the crisis measures and in particular wage controls, were the first signs of the emergence of a political movement of resistance and struggle on the part of the working class and working people. This movement will undoubtedly not only be able to check the bourgeoisie's attempt to set up an extreme right-wing and even fascist system; it will also

bear within it the seeds of a mass revolutionary movement that will defeat the basically reactionary power of the bourgeoisie.

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As the crisis develops, the bourgeoisie is at a loss — and in the future will be more and more at a loss — for ways to surmount it; and a new movement of the working class and masses is taking up the banner of resistance to the reactionary goals of the bourgeoisie. Not long ago, postal workers decided to defy the special law passed the first day they were on strike, a law which ordered them to go back to work or face fines of up to \$100,000 a day, and to continue their strike even if the courts condemned them to fines or prison.

This position is considerably different from the attitude of the labour bosses who, thanks to the wage controls, succeeded in imposing an attitude of submissiveness and collaboration. This is an indication of the determined resistance which is developing among public service employees across the country. A great number of public service employees are in danger of losing their jobs, and the various governments have announced their firm intention of cutting back wage increases for these workers. We can get a better idea of what this means by looking at what the Quebec government has offered its public service employees. First, clauses providing for cost-of-living adjustments are abolished. Second, wage increases will henceforth be decided on the basis of a comparison with wages paid to private sector employees according to government criteria. This means that all employees whose wages are higher than those paid in private industry will get zero wage increase. This is not a very bright prospect for these thousands of workers whose wage increases have been inferior to the rise in the cost of living in recent years.

Meanwhile, workers are growing more and more aware of the numerous laws passed by the governments to limit the rights of unions and democratic rights in general. In the spring of 1978, the Civil Liberties Union (the human rights association in Quebec) launched "Operation Freedom" with the aim of drawing attention to the increasingly repressive nature of the State's action. Concretely, it called for the repeal of the War Measures Act and for support for Quebec's right to self-determination. Very quickly, many community groups and a great number of trade unionists responded to the call and a coalition was set up to build support for the struggle on a country-wide scale. The Quebec labour bosses received a special invitation to join the coalition. They agreed, at least in words, and then later proceeded to sabotage the coalition's work.

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Like the betrayal of the postal workers in November 1978 by the labour bosses of the CLC and other labour centres who limited their support to a press release, the sabotage of Operation Freedom, at a time when it mobilized a lot of people in many cities across the country, is a good illustration of the rotten nature of union leaderships in Canada. They are mostly made up of social democrats and nationalists who seem to have only one concern: to collaborate more and more with the bourgeoisie. To hide their betrayal, these corrupt leaders generally support the bourgeois parties which have the most populist image — the NDP in English Canada and the Parti Québécois in Quebec.

With the exception of the extreme right-wing parties and organizations, such as the Social Credit, the Western Guard, and other similar ones, official spokesmen for the capitalists have generally not attacked communists and progressive people in the past few years. Trade unions, on the other hand, have engaged in real witch-hunts. The postal workers' struggle gave CLC president McDermott the chance to make a tour of the country to denounce, in the most reactionary and violent terms, leftists and Marxist-Leninists who according to him have manipulated workers. In Quebec, Paul Gérin-Lajoie of the Steelworkers and André L'Heureux of the CNTU are in the vanguard of the reactionary forces. Their anti-communist denunciations are so hysterical that even workers who are not very receptive to communist ideas reject them.

Whether they like it or not, whether they realize it or not, McDermott, the Ontario Federation of Labour's Pilkey, Gérin-Lajoie, L'Heureux and all those of their kind are presently the best defenders of the bourgeoisie's point of view in the working-class movement.

The main victims of their action are not the communists but the Canadian working people. For it is important to realize that the postal workers' strike could have triggered a mass movement of resistance and been the rallying point for all public service workers across the country who are presently the target of a systematic attack on the part of the bourgeoisie, an attack on wages, of course, but also on the acquired rights of the unions. CLC union bosses wanted to avoid this strike. It is also important to realize that the development of Operation Freedom across the country and the general mobilization for a mass demonstration in the fall of 1978 could have been the beginning of a movement of active resistance on the part of working people in Canada against the gradual erosion of democratic rights. But the CNTU, under the leadership of vice-president L'Heureux, decided otherwise, and the other labour centres were only too happy to have an excuse to do the same.

The official mouthpieces of the Canadian capitalists are not as active today in openly denouncing communists and progressive people as they were in the past. For the time being they are content to just pass anti-worker legislation and pour thousands of dollars into the treasury of the labour centres that, in turn, take care of the dirty work. Clever, very clever. The federal government subsidized the CLC and CNTU in 1978 at the very same time that it decided to cut back in social budgets and to no longer support community groups, such as those struggling for daycare centres, unemployed committees or welfare recipients.

The Canadian working class movement has no use for these agents of the bourgeoisie. It must simply get rid of them as soon as possible. They may become deputy ministers, ministers, high-ranking government officials or, who knows, Governor-General. The "socialism" of the NDP or the PQ nurtures men with ambitions to go all sorts of places. The cases of Senator Marchand (former president of the CNTU), Judge Sauvé (former secretary of the CNTU), Governor-General Schreyer (formerly the leader of the NDP in Manitoba) and many others are blatant proof of this.

Trade-unionism must cease to be a stepping-stone for careerists on the path to a comfortable future in the service of the bourgeoisie and reactionary forces. Trade-unionism has got to stop acting as an agency for reconciling workers' demands with the interests of Capital. The working-class movement cannot put their hopes in the labour bosses who lead them regularly into the dead-end of reformism.

The working-class movement has learned this in the past few years at its own expense. The election of the NDP in Saskatchewan, British Columbia and Manitoba and the election of the PQ in Quebec proved without a doubt that when they are in power these so-called socialist parties, supposedly favourably disposed towards workers, simply manage Capital's interests and serve the bourgeoisie, just like all the other parties.

Moreover, the line adopted by the followers of these parties in the numerous conflicts between the labouring masses and the bourgeoisie, the bosses and the State, in the crisis period of the 1970's, has turned out to be a monumental failure. Unemployment increases steadily, wage hikes are ridiculously low in comparison to the rise in prices, union rights are slowly eaten away by injunctions and various pieces of legislation.

For many unionized workers, the CLC's betrayal of the postal workers was the last straw. It has given rise to a powerful movement of opposition in all the conventions of CLC-affiliated provincial labour federations held since then. Even at the Ontario Federation of

Labour convention, which has been the bastion of reactionary trade-unionism in the country in recent years, those who oppose McDermott spoke up and denounced his support for the NDP as well as his betrayal of the postal workers.

It is not surprising that L'Heureux, Pilkey, Nova Scotia Federation of Labour president Yetman, Gérin-Lajoie and Co. are getting edgy and vehemently attacking communists. They are trying to pass off the growing revolt of an important part of the working-class movement against their class-collaborationist line as the result of the action of a few marginal elements devoted to the defence of a "foreign ideology". The manoeuvre is not new. The bourgeoisie and its agents have always acted in this way to attempt to justify their basically reactionary endeavours, which are fundamentally opposed to the interests of all unionized and non-unionized workers.

Nor is the fact that there is a whole series of groups and organizations trying to take advantage of the situation anything new. This is the case with the revisionist Communist Party of Canada (pro-Moscow), the Canadian Communist League (pro-Peking), various Trotskyist sects (pro-Trotsky and everything that's "hot") and the CPC(M-L) which, like Bolshevik Union, now follows the PLA after having had Mao Zedong as chairman for years! There are also others: the Parti des Travailleurs du Québec (PTQ) in Quebec, the Red Star Collective (RDSC) and Socialist Organizing Committee (SOC) in British Columbia, the Waffle in Saskatchewan, the Canadian Party of Labour (CPL) mainly in Ontario, and so on.

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The Communist Party of Canada, a revisionist pro-Moscow party, and its provincial counterpart, the Parti Communiste du Québec, which is simply another provincial section in all but name, have kept a very low profile since the degeneration of the Soviet Party, when it was greatly weakened. Those of its members who remained active, mainly in English Canada and especially in British Columbia and Ontario, simply infiltrated certain unions and organized campaigns against U.S. imperialism that, in passing, served the interests of Soviet imperialism, which was working to extend its grip throughout the world.

But recently it has become clear that the revisionist party has decided to broaden its activities and take advantage of the growing revolt of the masses and their disenchantment with the NDP to brush up its image as the party of progress and, at the same time, the party of "reason", as opposed to those whom they in-

discriminately label as "ultra-leftists" and "Maoists". The new verbal radicalism of the revisionist party has recently enabled it to obtain something of an audience in the union movement, in committees of the unemployed and other community organizations.

In Quebec, for example, the members of the Communist Party of Quebec (CPQ) are coming out into the open more and more. They identify themselves in union conventions; they organize public meetings and try to increase the distribution of their publications. They have realized that since 1974-75, the working-class movement has become more receptive to communist ideas with the development of the Marxist-Leninist movement. They have chosen to try to sabotage this movement by offering their reformist trash with a little zip and verve.

This new-found energy animating the revisionist party will go the same way as the fiery rhetoric spouted by the Quebec union bosses a few years back. People such as Chartrand, Laberge and Charbonneau (\*) understood sooner than did the Moscow-style revisionists that the working class aspired to more than reforms and election promises. So they began to proclaim their support for all struggles and advocate the necessity of smashing the system. We know what happened next: the election of the PQ silenced them. To be more precise, it convinced them that it was more important to attack Marxist-Leninists... who were condemning the electoral promises made by the Parti Quebecois.

The CP's revisionist line is not fundamentally different from that of the NDP and all the other opportunists who work at turning the working-class movement away from the path of the revolution. Its line puts forward the path of "socialism" through successive reforms obtained more by collaborating with capitalist power in Canada than by opposing it. Proof of this lies in its support for the consolidation of the Canadian bourgeoisie through the nationalization of foreign monopolies that treat Canadian workers most high-handedly. This is the line it applied in the strike at INCO in Sudbury; it was the line put forward by all the reformists and Trotskyists during the strike at United Aircraft in Montreal in 1975...

The revisionist CP's political line seems to differ from the NDP's line today more than it did 5 years ago. This is more because the NDP has gotten rid of the Waffle, its "left"-leaning wing, than because the CP has changed its line. If this political line seems to be getting a favourable hearing in the working-class movement, especially among the union bosses, it is more because the experience of the NDP in power in the Western

provinces has shown up the NDP's fraudulent promises for what they are than anything else.

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The camp of the opportunists who are trying at this very moment to profit from the NDP's and the PQ's loss of credibility to gain a foothold in the working-class movement includes more than the revisionist CP. The Communist League also has to be included as part of this camp, and it is indeed gradually adopting the methods of the CP, starting with blind support for China, an exact duplication of the revisionist party's unconditional support for the Soviet Union.

Ultimately, the League will wind up defending a line that resembles the revisionist CP's line. Fundamentally, this line says that the interests of the Canadian proletariat and people lie in the defence of the country's sovereignty. For the CP, the main danger is American imperialism; for the League, the U.S.S.R. is the more dangerous power. In practice, however, the two organizations share a common political line of collaboration with the Canadian bourgeoisie.

It should be noted that most of the time the League and the CP do not attack the bourgeoisie as the class that is the enemy of the proletariat, the bourgeoisie as the class that holds State power, the bourgeoisie as the class responsible for exploitation and oppression, as the class responsible for the present crisis. No, the reformist line of these two organizations leads them to attack, in words, such-and-such a monopoly or company or government only. This is where the CP gets its line on nationalizations: when a monopoly does not satisfy workers, the solution is to replace the private monopoly with a State monopoly, with a Canadian monopoly. The League's line of "co-ordinating different workers' strikes", which substitutes for a line of uniting the working class in its struggle against the bourgeois class, is also due to this underlying attitude.

Not only do the League and the CP fail to struggle consistently against the Canadian bourgeoisie, they have on many occasions given it their open support. The League has even gone so far as to support more arms for the Canadian military on the grounds that "we" must do something about the danger of a takeover by the U.S.S.R. and be ready for a new world war!

(\*) Ed. note: Chartrand is a former president of the CNTU's Montreal Labour Council; Laberge is president of the Quebec Federation of Labour; and Charbonneau is a former president of the Centrale de l'Enseignement du Quebec (the Quebec teachers' central).

For years now, the revisionist CP has been an agent of the Soviet State bureaucracy and of social imperialism in Canada through the active support that it gave to the Soviet Union and the role that it has played as an intermediary between the Soviet revisionists and the Canadian bourgeoisie. And the League is headed in the same direction... with China. The China-Canada Friendship Association, which is controlled by the League in many cities, played an active role in the organization of trips to China for Canadian businessmen in the fall of 1978. That is where the "three worlds theory" leads: to the degeneration into revisionism which corrupted the Soviet party in the 1950's and which is winning out in the Chinese communist party today.

There is one other organization which has taken it upon itself to keep the proletariat from taking up the path of revolution: the CPC(M-L). This so-called party of the working class brings together in its political line and actions the most negative parts of both the revisionist CP and the neo-revisionist line. Its line of national independence for Canada comes directly from the revisionist CP, which elaborated it during the Second World War; it shares with the League an unbelievably dogmatic attitude and fascist methods of "believe what I say or else", topped off with a thorough opportunism. These methods do more to discredit communism than the inflammatory speeches of McDermott or L'Heureux, because they make communists look like the sort of characters who are ready to do anything to make their ideas prevail in the workers' movement. Yes, the CPC(M-L) is willing to try anything — anything, that is, but the day-to-day work of persuasion which characterizes the work of real communists.

When it comes to opportunism, though, no one can really hold a candle to the Trotskyists. There are quite a few Trotskyist organizations in Canada. It is the rule for them to have the "right to form factions", and this prevails over unity. Hence, they are regularly splitting and uniting and splitting over the years, all of which warms the hearts of the enemies of the proletariat, who love to see organizations active in the working-class movement get smaller, more isolated and fighting one another. Trotskyism, starting with Trotsky himself, has always been parasitic, leeching off the communist movement. Wherever communism develops, Trotskyism pops up too and concerns itself with making criticisms aimed at supporting it and making it better. The Trotskyists inevitably tag along wherever there are struggles or opposition developing. They take on the views of the most "radical" elements in the struggles; again, however, their object is to criticise them. Indeed, they get involved precisely in order to disorganize the struggles they pretend to support. One would be hard put to imagine more straightforward collaborators with

the established order. The Trotskyists do their best to bring together those people waging a given struggle so that they can sow dissension in the ranks and thereby make it fail.

The Trotskyists have a general programme which is thoroughly counter-revolutionary. It is simply a grab bag of whatever might "sell" in relation to immediate demands. It represents a real dead-end as far as the struggle for socialism goes. One need only recall how they have always given critical support to the NDP, supported Quebec independence, etc. This is a clear illustration that these people have no desire whatsoever to see the revolutionary struggle develop in our country.

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The masses make revolution. It is the party's job to work among the masses, to join their ranks and struggle alongside them in order to win people to the path of revolution.

The political and economic situation in Canada is deteriorating, and there is a growing sentiment of resistance and revolt among the masses. In such a situation, it is absolutely normal and predictable that various sects which are objectively working for the bourgeoisie get involved in the workers' movement and work away at stopping people from taking up the line of proletarian revolution. Neither is it surprising that the language they use sounds intentionally Marxist-Leninist. After all, the language of reformism that the labour bosses have been using for the last twenty years or more to accomplish the same ends as the sects hasn't got much credibility any more.

It is quite remarkable how the opportunists work to hide fundamentally identical positions by using different words. The League and the Parti Quebecois, for example, seem to be great enemies. The League never passes up a chance to denounce the PQ. But in practice they find themselves united in cultivating nationalism in Quebec. More often than not the League's criticism of the PQ is that it is not nationalist enough! The League and the CNTU also appear to be mortal enemies. But recently they adopted the same position, objectively, on Operation Freedom. Both condemned it in their own way and found their own words to express the same idea, namely that it is more important to fight against what they call "economic repression" than against political repression. Was it not the League that openly engaged in union raiding on behalf of the CNTU? It wouldn't be the first time that an engaged couple fought bitterly with one another all the while moving closer and closer together... until they finally get married.

The CPC(M-L) is another organization which criticises in words positions that it adopts itself in practice. No one has been attacked by the CPC(M-L) more frequently and in more despicable fashion than Jack Scott, the former member of the revisionist CP who founded the Progressive Workers Movement (PWM) in the 1960's. And yet the CPC(M-L)'s position on revolution in Canada is identical on all points with that of Jack Scott, who in turn developed his positions on the basis of stands taken by the CP in 1943 when it changed its name to the Labour Progressive Party (LPP).

The main obstacle today to the development of popular revolt into a powerful revolutionary movement is the corrupt union bosses who stand opposed to workers' struggles and preach class collaboration. But we must keep in mind that waiting in line there are others who would be only too happy to take their places. These relief troops are made up of a series of sects, organizations and parties which all use more radical language but which in practice abide by the very same line of class collaboration. It is imperative that these fakers be publicly exposed. Their actions only put off the day when the party will be created, the one and only party which the working class wants and needs to lead the struggle for socialism.

It is quite likely that there will be important confrontations in the months to come, especially in the public sector and around democratic rights. We must not forget what we learned from the postal workers' fight. We should also remember what went on in Operation Freedom, when it comes time for working people to answer the question, "Who are our friends and who are our enemies?"

But the most important thing of all is to make the question of rebuilding the party a focal point in all the struggles going on now. Of course, we cannot predict exactly what is going to happen politically in Canada or in the world in the next few years. But one thing is sure: it is inevitable that the masses' living conditions will deteriorate under capitalism. Proletarian revolution looms as the only solution. Because of this, the workers movement will realize more and more that there is a need for the revolutionary leadership that a party can provide. When that happens, it would be nothing short of tragic if the party were not ready and able to assume its proper role.

### **Conclusion — Towards the development of working-class resistance and the unity of the peoples' forces**

Canada is presently going through a crisis period the

likes of which have not been seen since the Second World War. Once again capitalism is displaying its complete incapacity to resolve its inherent contradictions. Yet again the masses of the people are saying that the system we have now is fundamentally anti-worker and must be abolished if they are to win their freedom.

The crisis which is shaking Canadian society today has its origins in the very nature of capitalism. Canada is an industrialized country where the capitalist relations of production are clearly dominant. They are virtually the only relations that exist. Even agriculture is in the process of developing capitalist relations, and small-scale independent producers-fishermen and self-employed workers, for example — are quite clearly very marginal.

On the one hand, production is increasingly socialized, i.e. it is entirely based on the labour of millions of individuals whose activities are interdependent. On the other hand, the minority that exercises absolute control over production is constantly diminishing in numbers. The competition which pits them one against the other is growing, each individual capitalist being first and foremost on the lookout for bigger profits. And they cannot obtain them without eliminating their competitors.

However, no matter how much the capitalists compete with one another, it's always the working class that they attack first when their system of exploitation doesn't produce the results it is supposed to. With the kind of difficulties that they face these days in this country and around the world, they are getting steadily more aggressive. They chop away at the material conditions of the masses and take away one by one the acquired rights of working people. The object of all this is to progressively strip away all of those things which make it possible to fight, to resist and to win.

The Canadian proletariat lives in a system where the main trend is the rise of the reactionary forces. This will continue to be the case as long as the crisis persists. If the years ahead are like the ones we have just been through, then the crises of capitalism will occur one right after the other in short order, without any intervening periods of economic recovery, as has been the rule up to now. Not a single capitalist organization or economist dares predict a significant recovery in the near future.

Without being alarmist, people should be aware that if the economic situation we have today persists, the conditions of the proletariat and the people in general are going to keep on deteriorating. The Canadian capitalist class nurtures growing imperialist ambitions. The realization of those dreams requires that the price

of their products remain competitive on international markets. Thus we should expect that the real income of workers will tend to decrease while limitations imposed on democratic rights will become still more stringent.

The step-by-step rise of reactionary forces is the road that leads to fascism. The intensification of inter-imperialist rivalry is the road that leads to war. Canada is as involved as anyone else in the race to extend its domestic market and find outlets to invest its capital. When you realize how closely tied Canada is to the American colossus, its participation in any future world war is just about beyond all doubt. The present crisis has taken Canada in a very dangerous direction. No matter what measures the capitalists apply to try to reverse the trend, the medicine is going to be very strong and negative in its impact on working people. Fortunately workers are increasingly aware of how serious the situation is and how necessary it is to organize a strong and immediate movement to counter all the attacks by the class enemy.

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It is imperative that the working class of Canada develop into a unified force on a country-wide scale. The working-class movement must get rid of the class-collaborationist leadership which it has been infested with since the Second World War. Equally important, the working class must give leadership to the struggles of other strata of the people and channel them all in the same direction: against the Canadian bourgeoisie and its State, against Canadian imperialism and its ally, U.S. imperialism.

The unity of the Canadian proletariat and the unity of the Canadian people remain an indispensable condition for victory over the reactionary forces in both the short and the long run. If the capitalist class is also more divided because of the contradictions which eat away at it, so much the better. The struggle of the proletariat for a better life, for greater democracy and for socialism will simply achieve even more overwhelming a victory.

But there is no use cultivating the illusion that this struggle will be an easy one. The factors promoting division are also present in the people's ranks, and the capitalists are eager to encourage them. Included on this list are the national and language differences, the divisions between men and women, between high and low paid workers, between different regions, between workers with a job and those without, between immigrants and workers born in Canada, and so on.

Disunity has been a common feature of the history of

the workers' movement in Canada, especially disunity caused by national divisions. This must be radically transformed. The working class must respond to the factors of division established and maintained by the bourgeoisie by turning them into their opposite, making every possibility for division into an opportunity to build stronger unity. Every time one group or sector of working people is attacked — whether it is women, a national minority, a group of immigrants, or young people — the capitalists will try to weaken them by keeping them isolated. The working class must respond quickly, strongly and united to join their fight.

This means doing certain very specific things. The Quebec trade-union leaders who reject the objective of uniting with workers in the rest of Canada must be exposed; the chauvinist and racist labour bosses like those running the airline pilot (CALPA) and air traffic controller (CATCA) unions should be denounced and condemned time and again until they have been driven right out of the labour movement. A clean break must be made with the practice established in the earlier part of this century by the old CP of organizing workers solely on the basis of their nationality. The interests of workers in relation to the capitalist class is not determined by what language they happen to speak.

In approaching the question of Quebec or the Native peoples or other national minorities, the guiding line for workers must be to build unity among the popular forces. All of the working people in Canada share a common goal: to put an end to imperialist exploitation and oppression. This is the objective basis of their unity. But unity in turn must be based on equality. As long as big-nation chauvinism has not been swept right out of the working-class movement — and that includes the "chauvinism" of some minorities in relation to other minorities — and as long as the working-class movement has not built its unity despite the chauvinism of the bourgeoisie, this will remain an important obstacle to the development of the struggle for socialism in Canada. And it will be just as much of an obstacle to winning victories in the immediate struggles of the proletariat.

The same goes for the regional divisions that the capitalist class is only too happy to use to pit the workers from the Maritimes against those from Ontario or workers from Quebec against those in B.C. and the Prairies. The working-class movement must realize that the unequal and anarchic pattern of economic development in Canada is a direct consequence of capitalism. It is by building the greatest possible unity that the proletariat will eventually be able to reduce these inequalities. Such a unity will enable the proletariat to defeat the system which creates those inequalities.

The participation of women is essential in all working-class struggles. The fight against the oppression of women demands support from all working-class men. Women's oppression is a consequence of the division of society into social classes. The feminist line which preaches division between men and women must be completely rejected. Equally, we must dedicate ourselves to getting rid of all forms of male chauvinism within the movement. Fighting side by side is still the best way to overcome the effects of chauvinism and feminism within the movement. That is where women will continue to demonstrate that their fighting spirit, their courage and their leadership ability are fully equal to men's. That is where men can show that they are able to throw themselves wholeheartedly into the struggles against women's oppression just like they do any other struggle.

Thus the slogan of unity must guide the struggle of working people on all fronts. The call for unity is of particular significance in Canada because this objective has never been achieved in a lasting fashion in the working-class movement. The current manoeuvres of the capitalist class are sufficient proof in themselves of how crucial unity is.

Unity is the precondition for the success of the people's resistance to the growing attacks by the bourgeoisie and to the dangers of the fascist tendencies that are becoming more and more apparent in the system. The resistance must develop on two fronts. First, the proletariat and people must defend their living conditions. Here it is not just a question of threats any longer either — it's already happening. With inflation and rising taxes, the disposable income of the majority of people is declining. But in the long run it would be pointless to simply confine the fight to this level of struggle. Democratic rights and workers' acquired rights must also be unstintingly defended.

Despite workers' combativity, nothing has been won for once and for all. For one thing, the labour bosses work hard to confine workers' struggles to a strictly trade-union level, letting each battle go on in isolation from the others. When the question of politics comes up, they say: oh yeah, we know that the Liberal government is sold out; what we have to do is defeat it and get the NDP elected instead. That's just great! By law, the federal election must be held before the end of the summer of 1979 (\*). The referendum in Quebec is planned for the fall of 1979 (\*\*). We can look forward with near certainty to the sold-out leaders of the labour movement in English Canada taking up the task of rallying workers into line behind the NDP. In Quebec, the labour bosses who are Parti Quebecois supporters or "left-wing" nationalists will not want to cause too many problems before the referendum. This augurs badly for

the working-class movement. It indicates that the movement is still dominated by reformists and revisionists. As long as this situation persists, the working class will not be able to win any decisive victories.

The Canadianization and democratization of the unions should be understood in this perspective. It is not a matter of promoting one labour body instead of another. Neither is it a question of idealizing Canadian unions in contrast to American unions as such. The Canadian working class needs unions that it can control and use freely and fully to defend its interests. Obviously, such unions would have to be democratic and have a leadership over which Canadian trade-union members can exercise complete control. This is something which Canadian workers have understood for a long time. The struggle for autonomous and democratic unions instead of the "international" unions has made considerable progress in the past ten years in a number of economic sectors, including the public service and pulp and paper.

The success of these struggles depends on our ability to expose the false friends of the proletariat and throw them out of the working-class movement. In particular, the collaborationist labour bosses should be driven out completely so that the trade unions can return to the role of defending workers and stop being a go-between betwixt the capitalist class and the working people, a go-between assigned the task of getting the workers to accept the policies of the bourgeoisie. Furthermore, the current labour bosses aren't the only ones who need to be exposed; all those who aspire to replace them and carry out the same class-collaborationist line ought to be dealt with in the same way.

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The Canadian proletariat has been without its vanguard party for at least the last thirty years. Revisionism has had a field day in mixing things up for people. Among other things, revisionism has been able to redirect the people's forces onto the path of nationalism, which sooner or later leads to class collaboration. Thus the struggle against the various forms of nationalism constitutes a fundamental task before us. The situation in the country and in the world today is such that in the near future the proletariat could very well have to make some clearcut choices between the defence of the "Nation" or the "Homeland" on the one hand, and the defence of the working class and people in

(\*) Ed. note: This election was held on May 22, 1979; the Progressive Conservative Party won and took power.

(\*\*) Ed. note: Since this report was written, the referendum has been scheduled for the spring of 1980.

the perspective of making the proletarian revolution on the other. These choices are not ones which might have to be made in some unforeseeable future; they are on the immediate horizon. People should get ready for them right away.

And the working class will be ready to firmly take the road which serves its class interests and those of the revolution when the time comes, if it starts now to reject all the appeals from the nationalists of various hues and stripes: those who try to arouse among people a sense of national distinctiveness, those who support the Canadian bourgeoisie in its imperialist undertakings, those who would like to hitch the Canadian people to the falling star of one foreign power to defend us against other foreign powers. These nationalists are so preoccupied with "taking advantage of contradictions among the imperialists" that they completely forget about the contradictions between the working class and the imperialist Canadian bourgeoisie.

The working class has one overriding responsibility, and that is to give leadership to the various struggles which pit the people against the bourgeoisie on all fronts. This includes assuming fully the internationalist duties of our class. That means denouncing imperialism, starting at home with Canadian imperialism, while giving support to the struggles of workers in other countries as well as to the struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples.

The struggle for the party and for the international unity of the proletariat (not the unity of the bourgeoisie in the different "worlds") are presently the two most important tasks which must be accomplished if we are to meet our responsibilities, as we will see later.

To sum up briefly, the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Canada IN STRUGGLE! intends to struggle in the coming period with the following objectives in mind:

1. Warn the working class and people about what effect the present crisis is having on living conditions and democratic rights, especially highlighting the dangers of fascism and of a new world war.
2. Mobilize the working class and all oppressed strata in a unified and militant movement to fight back against all of the capitalist crisis measures, making sure at all times that we clearly emphasize the political stakes at issue.
3. Work to build the indispensable unity of the different sections of working people. This involves transforming the many types of divisions maintained by the capitalists — between the sexes, between nations and national minorities, between workers with jobs and without — into their opposite, into fronts of struggle where the whole working-class movement can become stronger and more united.
4. Unmask the traitors and opportunists who infest the working-class movement and too often dominate its organizations, confining them to the rut of class collaboration and the *status quo*; intensify the struggle to make these organizations democratic, thoroughly devoted to their members' interests and to those of the working class as a whole, freed at last of the local and foreign labour bosses and truly controlled by the membership.

It is through all of these struggles that the working class vanguard can be won to Marxism-Leninism and brought to consciously take up the struggle for the party and for the unity of all communists around the world.

# Chapter three

## IN STRUGGLE! consolidates itself as a Canadian Organization

At its Second Congress, our Organization had already concluded that the reformist parties, like the NDP and PQ, are doing all they can to sow division in the working-class movement, and that a lasting victory over the Canadian bourgeoisie requires the profound unity of the proletariat. Our Organization therefore adopted a Report, during its Second Congress, that placed the objective of the unity of the working class of Canada at the very heart of its objectives for the present stage.

Our Organization has defended this line in the past two years. First there was the campaign against the crisis measures, which included the Wage Control Act. Then came the campaign on the Quebec national question. These two campaigns, and especially the first one, constituted the major part of our agitation-propaganda activities. Both campaigns were based on the struggle to unite the proletariat. By doing this, we clearly opposed two ideological trends that have grown very strong in our country, especially in the past fifteen years: great nation chauvinism (which often simply consists in ignoring the question of national oppression because, for example, unemployment is supposedly a more important problem that concerns everyone, including the national minorities) and nationalism.

Today, more than ever, the unity of the proletariat and working people remains a very concrete and important objective, because the division of the people's forces is a trump card that the bourgeoisie clearly in-

tends to use to establish a reactionary regime characterized by the open repression of the working-class movement.

As the Report to the Second Congress also indicated, it is on the level of the Marxist-Leninist line for the proletarian revolution that we have sought primarily to achieve unity, including the unity of communists.

To achieve this, the struggle on programmatic questions and for the distribution of the communist programme has really been placed at the heart of our preoccupations in recent years, particularly with the publication of our **Draft Program** in November 1977.

The concrete results of this intensification of our work are important and numerous. Not only has the newspaper IN STRUGGLE! become a weekly, but circulation has increased regularly in the past year-and-a-half. The journal PROLETARIAN UNITY is published every two months and its quality has greatly improved since its creation. The number of different publications has grown steadily. Regional and national conferences have been genuine successes. The number of different kinds of public meetings at all levels is growing. Even more significantly, the composition of the Organization is increasingly working-class, while the overall membership has grown in number and diversity.

We have also undertaken the task of making our

Organization and our line known abroad. At the same time, we have given ourselves the means to improve our knowledge of the communist movement in other countries.

This considerable progress was only possible because we finally devoted the necessary efforts to the organizational questions that had long been secondarized in the Organization. In practice, we worked hard to correctly apply democratic centralism.

In this respect, our first concern after the Second Congress was to provide the Organization with stronger and better-structured centralized leadership.

Real successes were also achieved after we accorded the necessary attention to giving our Organization a more Canadian and less exclusively Quebecois character. The country was divided into four major regions, each with its own leadership.

Much energy has also been spent on the organizational consolidation of our basic organizational units, where a better division of work has been implemented. There as well, we have sought to establish stronger leadership at the same time as we have tried to ensure collective leadership over the cell's work and greater democracy.

Last, but not least, financial questions as well as questions of the Organization's infrastructure were given special attention, and important progress was made on this level as well.

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All this progress, which has been both very real and very concrete, has been accompanied by concrete steps forward in developing our line and deepening our understanding of Marxism-Leninism.

To a certain extent, we can say that the difficulties we have faced in our country, the obstacles raised by the reformists and revisionists to hinder the development of our action among the proletariat and masses, have forced us to go even further in the denunciation of the erroneous positions circulating in the working-class movement. We have thus been led to develop and present the proletarian line in a better way.

In the same way, the extremely serious events which have taken place in China, where totally degenerate and thoroughly revisionist leaders have taken power, confronted us squarely with our responsibilities. Was the working class doomed to see its historic victories disintegrate one after the other? Were we, an inex-

perienced Organization, doomed to see the parties whose past has been and remains, one of our main sources of inspiration, sink into revisionism one after the other?

These questions, which we must admit are quite troubling, were correctly and seriously tackled by our Organization. Answers are being found as we deepen our understanding of Marxism-Leninism and the working-class movement, and as we achieve a better understanding of the contradictions of capitalism and the demands of the revolutionary struggle.

Obviously, this progress was not accomplished without difficulty, and sometimes we made important mistakes. It is in the perspective of basing ourselves on our successes and drawing lessons from our errors that we should now examine more closely all of our activities. We will do so by examining more closely the most important points.

### **The communist programme, the first step in the struggle for the reconstruction of the party**

At the turn of the century, when the social-democratic party, which had been broken up by Czarist repression and which was marked by substantial divergences among its members, had to be rebuilt in Russia, Lenin declared: "No revolutionary movement without revolutionary theory." History had proven him right. All the revisionist splits which have so far marked the history of the international communist movement and the movement in different countries have always coincided with the emergence of errors and deviations from Marxism-Leninism on fundamental questions.

According to Marx, Engels and Lenin, the founders of Marxism-Leninism, the programme must sum up the essential elements of the "theory of the proletarian revolution" in each country and on a world scale. Marx and Engels did not content themselves with writing the **Manifesto of the Communist Party** in 1848; they took an active part in the debates on programmatic questions waged within the German party to which they belonged by criticizing the Erfurt and Gotha programmes. Lenin also played a key role in the writing of the programme of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP) and in its revision after the October Revolution.

From its creation, the Communist International recognized the necessity of giving itself a programme, and did so at its Sixth Congress in 1928.

Since the dissolution of the Comintern in 1943, even Marxist-Leninist forces have paid relatively little attention to the question of the "communist programme". Often we prefer to talk about the "general line of the international communist movement", which is supposed to include the general principles and conjunctural political conclusions that communists should base themselves on at any given time. Today, for instance, the "general line of the international communist movement" allows us to criticize the "three worlds theory"; or, more precisely, the criticism of this "theory" is an integral part of the "general line".

Our Organization does not share this point of view. The question of programme is a question of principle, and the history of the international communist movement is striking confirmation of this principle. Since the dissolution of the Comintern and the gradual abandonment of all reference to the communist programme, the movement has proven to be incapable of rebuilding its unity, and revisionism has continued to ravage its ranks.

The "general line" of the international communist movement cannot replace the programme for two major reasons. First, it most often takes the form of an analysis of the current situation at a given time and a criticism of the main anti-Marxist points of view at the time. This is one of the characteristics, for example, of the **Letter in 25 points** issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC), which during the 1960's and even the 1970's was considered by many communists to be the rallying point for all genuine Marxist-Leninists.

Secondly, nobody really knows what makes up the "general line" of the international communist movement, and everybody is free to include whatever they want in it. We couldn't find a better source for all sorts of deviations if we tried. In our country, the example of the Bolshevik Union (BU), which claims to be inspired by the "general line" of the international communist movement on each and every occasion, is quite convincing in this respect. This sect is never caught unprepared; given any question, it bases itself on this "general line" which, depending on the situation, can be a quote from Lenin, a passage from Marx, or a speech by Hoxha. With such a developed "general line", almost anybody can take almost any position on any question: you just have to find the appropriate quotation!

Needless to say, this in no way resolves the problem of the path of revolution in our country — that is, the question of the communist programme as the fundamental instrument for the demarcation of Marxism-Leninism from all the distortions it has been subjected

to during the past century and which it is still subjected to today.

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The Organization IN STRUGGLE! has given the programme a central place in its work since its Second Congress (1976), even if it hasn't been the most fashionable issue within the international communist movement. We did so because the history of the past thirty years has proven that the subordination of the programme to more burning current issues does not lead to decisive victories for Marxism-Leninism over revisionism.

Those who yesterday adulated Mao Zedong as the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era and who today spit on him as a miserable figure who led a party which was never really communist, are apparently very much up to date. We have to concede that they demonstrate a great capacity to take a position rapidly.

But their inexplicable about-face is not, in the long run, going to advance the class consciousness of the proletariat. We should not imagine that the working class is going to take up the struggle for socialism simply because great men have worked for this cause, or that it is going to abandon an erroneous position because this or that great man who defended it is finally not as great as we once thought...

The first duty of communists with regard to the proletariat is not to provide it with heroes, myths and superhuman models, exempt from all weaknesses whatsoever, who never make mistakes on any question... because such heroes do not exist. Nor is it to create counter-heroes or renegades so "perfect" that the mere mention of their name proves without the shadow of a doubt that everything they ever said or did was profoundly wrong...

Instead, the first duty of communists is to present the proletariat with the theory of revolution and to have it share it. This is how we should understand Lenin's phrase, "No revolutionary movement without revolutionary theory". And this is how we should understand Enver Hoxha's phrase, "The masses make revolution, the party makes them conscious".

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We have placed the communist programme at the centre of our activities for more than two years now, with the goal of arming the Canadian proletariat with

the theoretical and political foundations of Marxism-Leninism, with the goal of furnishing the necessary instruments to confront all opportunist positions, no matter what their nature. In other words, we have waged a campaign on programmatic questions.

The writing, distribution and defence of our **Draft Program** have been at the heart of our activities in the past two years, as the Second Congress had decided should be the case. We did not content ourselves with studying questions of social classes, imperialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and so on, and summing them up in a programme that could have taken the form of the encyclopaedia that some call a programme.

Instead, we waged the struggle on the question of the programme and on programmatic questions within our own ranks and within the masses. This means that we worked to determine our positions on all fundamental line questions, that is programmatic questions; as well as studying the question of the programme, that is the nature and role of this tool in the process of the struggle for the party.

All of these questions were broadly and publically debated. All the groups and organizations that claimed to be Marxist-Leninist were formally invited to criticize our positions during public conferences that brought together as many as 2,000 people at a time. A significant proportion of the participants in these conferences were workers. The **Draft Program** was also debated in many readers' circles. It was distributed at nearly all the labour conventions across the country and in many community groups. As this Report is being written, the distribution of the **Draft Program** is estimated at 15,000 copies published mainly in French and English, but also in Italian, Portuguese, Spanish and Greek.

The Organization's two official organs, **PROLETARIAN UNITY** and **IN STRUGGLE!**, have also been used to make the programme known and to stimulate the readers' interest. Indeed, the main function of the journal has been to deepen the questions of programme that are the most controversial in the movement, including the questions of the imperialist nature of Canada, social classes, Native peoples, the international situation, and the "three worlds theory", as well as the debate on the very nature of the communist programme. The newspaper waged the same struggle at another level.

The campaign around the programme was a great success. It permitted the communist point of view to be more widely known in a succinct way. The demarcation between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism has become more concrete and, as we will see further on,

this has been a determining factor for political unity within the very ranks of the Organization.

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At the stage of party-building, no question is more important than the question of line and programme. We have defended this position since the creation of the Organization, and we continue to defend it. It is a question of principle; and Lenin's teachings and, before him, those of Marx and Engels, are most convincing on the subject.

The question of the programme constitutes a fundamental line of demarcation between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, including its Trotskyist form. Our local revisionists, both old and modern, are quick to accuse **IN STRUGGLE!** of revisionism or Trotskyism. But it is significant that none of these groups or parties which claim to be Marxist-Leninist have paid any attention whatsoever in practice to the question of the programme, even though we are going through a period when the demarcation from revisionism, Trotskyism and other forms of opportunism in the working-class movement is a central concern. How else is the party of the proletariat supposed to distinguish itself from all these phonies which are fighting for the favours of the working-class movement?

Because it is a correct application of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of our country, our Programme in fact constitutes as it should, the decisive instrument for demarcating from all opportunist, revisionist, and Trotskyist positions on the path of the proletarian revolution in our country.

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**IN STRUGGLE!**'s communist Programme is based on a rigorous analysis of capitalism and the characteristics of its present stage, imperialism. This is already a demarcation with so-called socialists who reduce imperialism to a matter of powerful countries that have colonies and that oppress foreign peoples through the force of arms, etc. With the positions of groups like Red Star Collective (RSC), we saw that this petty-bourgeois conception of imperialism found followers not only among admitted social-democrats and revisionists, but also among people who claimed to be Marxist-Leninist.

The question is one of obvious practical interest when it comes to defining the nature of Canadian society and Canada's political status. Our country is an indepen-

dent capitalist country which has reached the stage of imperialism; it is not an "economic colony" nor a neo-colony of the U.S.A. At the same time, Canada is not a superpower. It has always developed with the help of other more important powers, first Great Britain, and then the U.S.A. This permits us to see the erroneous nature of the League's position, which presents the U.S.S.R. as the greatest enemy of the Canadian people because it is a superpower on the rise, while the U.S.A. is a declining superpower (\*). This position completely contradicts the reality of the close links which unite Canada and the U.S.A.

**IN STRUGGLE!**'s Programme pursues its analysis of capitalism right through to its ultimate conclusion: this mode of production doomed to disappear because of the insoluble contradictions which characterize it and which continue to grow steadily sharper. Communism is the form of society which will result from the resolution of capitalism's contradictions. Socialism is not the final goal of proletarian revolution; this goal is communism, classless society, free from the exploitation of man by man. This is another point of demarcation for Marxism-Leninism. All the so-called socialists and revisionists have forgotten about communism, so to speak. And yet this is the fundamental reason why the proletariat continues to struggle to abolish capitalism.

Communism is obviously of no concern to the revisionists, who apparently are not even very sure about socialist revolution anymore. They are content just to demand that capitalism undergo certain reforms.

Here again, the Marxist-Leninist positions are clear and precise: the proletariat's fundamental goal is not to obtain reforms... while waiting for the miraculous birth of socialism. The revolution, the overthrow of bourgeois power, is the only path to socialism and communism. And subsequently, the new society will not be built on the basis of the "democracy for the bourgeoisie" which exists today; it will be based on the dictatorship of the proletariat, the only way to proceed with the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and to ensure decisive victory for the revolution.

This clearly distinguishes Marxist-Leninists from revisionists and Trotskyists, whose obsession today is democracy. More specifically for the members of the Fourth (Trotskyist) International, socialism means a higher degree of democracy than capitalism. A vast mystification of bourgeois democracy is hidden behind these words, which seem so progressive but which are in fact profoundly reactionary, because they are aimed at disparaging the dictatorship of the proletariat under the pretext of criticizing "Stalinism", as the Trotskyists put it.

This is a profoundly opportunist manoeuvre because it distorts the fundamental objective of the revolution, which is not the broadening of democracy but rather the abolition of social classes. Communists do not try to hide the fact that the abolition of social classes will result from the dictatorship of the proletariat, not from broadening democracy in general. Needless to say, on this the modern revisionists are in total agreement with the Trotskyists; when their programme doesn't reject the dictatorship of the proletariat outright, it simply avoids talking about it.

The communist Programme also affirms that in Canada the first objective of the proletarian revolution is to overthrow bourgeois State power and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. This means that in our country there is no question of preliminary stages before the dictatorship of the proletariat, which accounts for most of the labour force. Nor can there be any question of fixing democracy and independence as objectives for the revolution in Canada, which is already an independent country and a bourgeois democracy.

This is, however, what the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), CPC(M-L), does when it says that we must wage what it calls a "democratic anti-imperialist mass revolution". Applied to Canada, at least, this has absolutely no meaning, except that Har-dial Bains one day tripped over this expression somewhere in the "general line" of the international communist movement.

The Canadian revisionist party (the CP) reveals its abandonment of Marxism-Leninism when it sets its objective as the broadening of democracy in Canada, the establishment of a new constitution and more severe control over the economy, and in particular the monopolies. This is an essentially reformist programme which advocates proceeding by stages and which, like the CPC(M-L)'s programme, puts proletarian revolution off till Doomsday.

Despite appearances, the League's "programme" — which, incidentally, it has not taken the time to write, preferring a great quantity of platforms instead — consists, at the present time, in preparing the Canadian people for the next world war, and in inciting the Canadian proletariat to support "its" bourgeoisie in the face of Soviet threats to Canada's sovereignty. Of course, all this is put forward in the context of the united front of the "second" and "third worlds" against the U.S.S.R. It seems that given its rapid and "inevitable"

(\*) In its *Draft Program*, published in May 1979, the League adopts a different position on U.S. imperialism.

decadence, the U.S.A. will wind up in the "third world", alongside China and Japan! (\*)

Finally, IN STRUGGLE!'s Programme establishes the immediate demands around which we must build the camp of the revolution in Canada. These demands, which represent the current interests of the working people, furnish a clear demarcation with the Trotskyist conception of programme. The latter puts forward a "programme of transition" between capitalism and socialism, thus demagogically deforming Marx and Lenin's point of view on socialism as a transition to communism. The Trotskyists locate the transition before the socialist revolution! Further, their programme is in fact nothing but a series of radical demands which, according to them, are characterized by the fact that they are impossible to attain under capitalism. Why put them forward? To educate the masses on the impossibility of reforming capitalism, answer the Trotskyists. We have seen how an impossible demand like workers' control of factories in Chile greatly succeeded in educating the masses: Pinochet educated the Chilean masses by bombing the worker-controlled factories! In fact, the transitional programme has but one goal: to eliminate the basics of Marxism-Leninism on the dictatorship of the proletariat, under the cover of a programme which has the cruel advantage of presenting the struggle for socialism as a simple struggle to improve the material conditions of the proletariat and working people.

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For more than a year now, the Organization IN STRUGGLE! has distributed a communist Programme, the only one which has been presented to the Canadian working class and masses in the past thirty years. We should be fully aware of the historical importance of this event. Moreover, we did not simply distribute our Programme; we also defended it on all of the most controversial points in our press and in many public conferences.

We have every reason to be proud of this great victory. However, the victory of the communist Programme over all forms of revisionism remains to be achieved. There can be no question of minimizing the importance of this question or of slackening our efforts in this matter. On the contrary, we must intensify them and find ways to greatly increase the number of people who have access to the communist Programme and who can, on this basis, identify the erroneous points of view present in the Canadian working-class movement on the question of the struggle for socialism.

At a time when the question of rallying the vanguard

of the Canadian proletariat to communism has become crucial in the struggle for the creation of the party, it is important to remember that rallying must be done on the basis of the communist Programme, if we don't want to end up with a new opportunist political formation whose members are there for various different reasons, depending on which platform they happened to read.

With regard to old and modern revisionism, Trotskyism and all the other forms of petty-bourgeois radicalism, like terrorism, the communist programme remains as essential and central an instrument in 1979, for any real and lasting demarcation from these distortions of Marxism-Leninism, as it was in the 19th century, the time of Marx and Engels, and in the first half of the 20th century, in the time of Lenin and the Comintern.

### **The validity of the communist programme is borne out by the class struggle of the proletariat**

Our Second Congress, held in 1976, ended with a call to turn our action towards the masses. This orientation was not fruitless. Indeed, we can say that our action has radically changed in the past two years, if we compare it with the Organization's action during the months that preceded the Second Congress, when the Organization was turned in on itself.

At the turn of the century, Lenin indicated that it was through agitation and propaganda that the merger of the movement of proletarian revolution and the working-class movement could be achieved. The history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik), CPSU(B), written under the leadership of Stalin in the 1930's reiterated this conclusion by asserting that from the moment that communists start to do agitation in workers' struggles, they also start to establish practical links with the working-class movement and to effect the merger of Marxism-Leninism with the working-class movement.

In spite of its obvious limits, IN STRUGGLE!'s experience during the past two years enables us to draw the same conclusion. Indeed, the programme for the proletarian revolution, the programme which clearly

(\*) Since this Report was written, the League has in fact published its *Draft Program*. In it, U.S. imperialism occupies a more important place than ever before, among the enemies of the revolution in Canada. Nonetheless, the League also maintains its "united front" line. This "united front" opposes all peoples and countries to the U.S.S.R.... this, of course, does not simplify matters!

demarcates Marxism-Leninism from revisionism in all its forms, takes on its full meaning to the extent that it becomes an instrument for the transformation of the various struggles of the masses into a powerful unified struggle of the proletariat and the masses. This united struggle should be oriented towards the seizure of State power, the overthrow of bourgeois power and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The means to achieve this are agitation and propaganda.

Agitation and propaganda are the only way the communist programme can reach the working-class movement, penetrate its most advanced sectors and convince them of its correctness, convince them that it alone offers a real way out of capitalism's insoluble contradictions and miseries.

The masses learn from their own experience, as Stalin said. They learn to draw lessons from their living conditions and their struggles when they learn to analyse them in the light of Marxism-Leninism.

Lenin, drawing the lessons of the October Revolution, established that the victory of the proletarian revolution requires the union of two types of factors, objective factors and subjective factors. Lenin said that the objective factors for revolution exist when the bourgeoisie (in a more general way, we can speak of the ruling classes, which in some cases also include the remnants of the feudal class and representatives of foreign imperialism) becomes incapable of ruling the country: the day they start to collapse under the weight of their own contradictions, and the day the masses cease to accept the ruling class's power. To have a more concrete idea of what this means, think of the situation that prevailed in Nicaragua last fall or, better still, that which has been developing in Iran for several months now.

But to make revolution, objective factors are not enough; subjective factors must also exist. By subjective factors, we basically mean the consciousness and organization necessary for the proletariat and the masses to actually overthrow the power in place and establish revolutionary power, the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is obvious that the party of the working class is the key subjective factor for revolution. But it isn't enough for the party to exist formally. In other words, the subjective conditions for revolution are not met simply because two dozen militants proclaim themselves the leaders of the revolution. The party must really be the leading force of the proletariat and working people. It cannot be proclaimed, it cannot be improvised; it can only be built in the course of the struggle.

It is not up to the proletariat, let alone the com-

munists, to create the objective conditions for revolution. Essentially, these result from the contradictions of capitalism itself. The proletariat's and masses' action can obviously contribute to bringing about a revolutionary situation, but it will be on the basis of the concrete conditions created by capitalism. However, only the class-conscious proletariat, only communists, can work methodically and successfully to develop the subjective factors for revolution. And here is where agitation and propaganda come in. It is through these activities that the communist point of view will penetrate the masses and win their adherence.

An organization which does not do agitation and propaganda work and claims to be Marxist-Leninist clearly shows that it understands nothing of Marxism-Leninism. Bolshevik Union has been the prototype of the Marxist-Leninist organization so "advanced" that it cannot stoop so low as to take an interest in the common, ordinary immediate struggles of the proletariat for wage increases or the repeal of certain laws. It took the opportunists of IN STRUGGLE! to denounce the Trudeau "government" and its Wage Control Act and especially to call on workers to mobilize for its repeal!

On the contrary, if IN STRUGGLE!'s work is to be criticized in this respect, it's not for having been linked too closely to the immediate struggles of the masses, but rather for not having been linked closely enough...

There is, however, more than one way to do agitation and propaganda work. Revisionists do it; Trotskyists and right-wing extremists too. The League does agitation and propaganda in workers' economic struggles: it says that these struggles must be radicalized and coordinated. It also does agitation and propaganda on political questions: it invites the Canadian proletariat to support the "united front" of China, the U.S., the "third world", Western Europe, and Japan against the U.S.S.R., which is more and more isolated in the "first world"! This is how the "unavoidable" war can be avoided and how the Canadian people can support the country's bourgeoisie in the event that foreign bourgeoisies, namely the Soviet bourgeoisie (which is bigger and badder than all the others put together) ever threaten Canada's sovereignty. It is clear that an alliance of the Canadian proletariat with Yankee imperialism to safeguard Canada's independence is a crazy strategic line. The League has indeed unlimited resources: **Beijing Review** is published once a week!

The League also does agitation on the Quebec national question: it denounces the PQ for its wishy-washy positions, accusing it of compromising the "blooming of the nation" by not instituting compulsory French for all those living in the Quebec territory. And long live the national oppression of the minorities!

Therein resides the source of equality and unity. The League is also interested in and does agitation and propaganda on democratic issues: it adopts the same arguments pruned by L'Heureux, vice president of the CNTU, for giving priority to "economic repression".

In short, the League does agitation and propaganda for the right, for reactionary forces, for the bourgeoisie. How? By putting the defence of the homeland in the foreground, by remaining silent on the rise of reactionary forces in our country, by attacking communist forces by all means including reactionary violence, by enrolling its members in a fascist-type organization where political questions are reduced to a series of memorized slogans, completely unjustifiable from a communist point of view.

The CPC(M-L) also does agitation and propaganda — just like the League in fact. It bases itself on the principle of "believe it... or else" and on an equally nationalist line. The revisionist CP and the Trotskyists also do agitation and propaganda...

Agitation and propaganda are not just a series of methods, tricks or flashy red bill of goods. Rather, it is a question of political line and programme. And for two years now, it is the line of the unity of the Canadian proletariat and working people which has guided our agitation and propaganda; for in this country, the factors of division are numerous, and considerable, and date back a long time. As long as the proletariat has not overcome them, the outcome of its struggle will remain uncertain.

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The Organization IN STRUGGLE! has stepped up its agitation and propaganda work in recent years, thus applying the Second Congress's call to build the party in the masses, through action among the masses and in their struggles.

Our Organization has distributed thousands of leaflets, been present on dozens of picket lines, intervened in a number of union conventions, organized dozens of public meetings, set up many study groups and sympathizer units, and greatly developed the distribution of the newspaper.

The Organization's practical activities have developed most on the level of the newspaper. This is very stimulating because, as we have emphasized since 1974, the newspaper must become our main instrument of agitation, propaganda and organization.

Let's take a closer look at this. From September 1974

(the newspaper's second year of publication) to September 1976, distribution statistics remained approximately the same, with ups and downs fluctuating between 1800 and 3200 on special occasions like May Day and IWD. But from September 1976 to September 1977, distribution doubled. The call issued by the central leadership during the spring of 1977 was not left unanswered, because from September 1977 to March 1978, distribution doubled again. The publication of a weekly did not cause a drop — on the contrary — although it doubled the tasks linked to the distribution of the newspaper.

This is a great success, but it would be a mistake to be satisfied with these results. Our goal should be to distribute our newspaper by hundreds of thousands soon. To do so we will have to show even more imagination and determination. We will have to break with the dogmatic conception which sees the distribution of the newspaper as selling three copies an hour and reciting its contents the rest of the time, regardless of the circumstances. It's an excellent idea to explain the newspaper's contents in a readers' circle, a kitchen meeting or during a break at work; but it's an error to want to repeat this in front of a subway station at five o'clock in the afternoon when thousands of workers are coming and going in a hurry.

Using our imagination means discovering new methods, creating distribution networks in neighbourhoods, factories, universities, colleges and schools. This has already begun: we must continue along these lines. We have to reach the point where those who take three copies today, will take nine or twelve tomorrow because their contacts will have agreed to distribute as they do.

If the newspaper is selling more, it is no doubt because it is more interesting. It analyses the political situation, at home and abroad, in a more lively way; workers' struggles are presented in a less stereotyped way; it reports more on the Organization's activities, advances specific slogans for every circumstance; opens its pages to readers who have things to report on, or opinions to express; and finally, it is becoming more Canadian (instead of simply Quebecois).

We have to point out, however, that in terms of its content, information on international affairs is still scarce. The coverage of Native peoples' struggles is also limited. Finally, struggles of the youth and their living conditions are generally completely ignored in the newspaper. This shows that we have neglected too much this social stratum which must be own over to Marxism-Leninism. The time has come to study this question and, in this aspect as well, break with the narrow point of view that is only concerned with the rallying of

workers and forgets the rest of the people. As for young people, many are already workers and others will be soon, although many may be unemployed for a while. But then and again, the unemployed are not part of the bourgeoisie!

The newspaper, however, is only one of the many agitation-propaganda instruments we have distributed. Besides the journal PROLETARIAN UNITY, published every two months and which deals in more depth with the more difficult programmatic questions, we have published many pamphlets and reprinted certain classics of Marxism-Leninism.

Much attention has been paid to the distribution and defence of the **Draft Program** (November 1977), even in the specific struggles we have supported. The distribution of the **Manifesto Against Bill C-73 and Wage Controls**, published in March 1977, was also very successful, and we had to reprint it too.

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Although the progress of the newspaper and other publications is most remarkable, it is not the only progress achieved in the field of agitation and propaganda. In past years, considerable work has been put into supporting many struggles waged by people and workers: strikes, the struggle for daycare centres, associations of the unemployed, some student struggles, the struggle for equality for women, struggles to unionize, democratic struggles; and, of course, the wider struggles against the crisis measures, for Quebec's right to self-determination and, more recently, the struggle begun with Operation Liberty in Quebec to fight against the development of a "police State" in our country.

Our support for workers' struggles has indeed developed in the last two years in both quantity and quality. It has taken various forms, from articles in the newspaper identifying what was at stake to the collection of funds, picketing, publicizing struggles with leaflets, mobilizing for demonstrations, organizing meetings and participating in support committees.

Generally speaking, through these various interventions, we were able to support specific struggles, make our press as well as our Programme known, and sometimes recruit workers for readers' circles or as active sympathizers carrying out tasks for the Organization.

Furthermore, many comrades have started intervening in their workplaces and leading other workers to action. But this is still the exception to the rule, for this

type of agitation has not been systematically organized. Distribution blitzes, door-to-door or in shopping centres, were intensified, while distribution at factory gates was sometimes somewhat neglected by comparison.

Readers' circles and study circles continued to develop with ups and downs; often the use of new work methods has led to abandoning — for no specific reason — older methods. Setting up workers' units in workplaces is still rarely done today, although they would no doubt constitute an excellent means of integrating workers and would allow us to experiment concretely with ways of creating factory cells.

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The campaign against the crisis measures, from January 1977 to April 1978, was certainly the most important of the Organization's activities among the masses. It was in fact a renewal of the campaign taken up on the same subject not long after the proclamation of the Wage Control Act, Bill C-73, in October 1975.

We made an assessment of this campaign in our newspaper last spring. We said that the analysis that led us to state that wage controls were central in the Canadian bourgeoisie's attack in the present crisis period was correct; we declared that the struggle against these measures was the main grounds on which to build the unity of the proletariat and working people in Canada against their main enemy. These conclusions have been confirmed by subsequent developments. Even the opportunists from the League and the union bosses are forced to admit today that the bourgeoisie's attacks on the workers' movement and the unions have increased these past years and that fundamental democratic rights are more and more threatened, at the same time as the masses' living conditions deteriorate with unemployment, rising prices, the devaluation of the dollar, etc.

Repression developed with the Wage Control Act. This act gave final decision-making power on all collective agreements to the Anti-Inflation Board (AIB), which had jurisdiction not only over wages but also over all clauses in collective agreements with monetary repercussions. In practice, there was no point in workers waging struggles: the AIB could invalidate everything won by the workers, and it did not hesitate to do so. This situation led to demobilization, for the labour bosses lost no time in advising moderation, collaboration and... court proceedings, without any mass, country-wide mobilization.

Only the doctrinaires of Bolshevik Union still talk about the capitalist crisis in general, considering that

concrete forms of the crisis in our country at the present time are of no importance and that the proletariat's struggles against these specific manifestations of the crisis are of no interest. Today, Bolshevik Union says that IN STRUGGLE!'s error is obvious because the Wage Control Act has been repealed and Bill C-24 (the reactionary immigration law adopted not long after Bill C-73) is still there! What logic! Why doesn't BU also point out that the Revised Statutes of Canada (all the country's laws) is still there and that it constitutes the backbone of bourgeois power? No use struggling against this or that law, there are so many others that there will always be some left. We're lucky that the subtle tacticians from BU aren't the leaders of the workers' movement, because the workers would have to wait for all the bourgeois laws to collapse simultaneously... and read Lenin's **What is To Be Done?** to kill time in the meantime.

The Wage Control Act no longer exists, but its effects are still making themselves felt. IN STRUGGLE! has undertaken a campaign on this subject to alert the proletariat and working people to the bourgeoisie's manoeuvres and to call on them to unite in the struggle to stop this movement — we are interested in the fate of the masses today, not just under socialism tomorrow — and especially, to advance in the building of the popular forces, guided by the party of the proletariat, which alone can crush bourgeois power.

This key tactical principle has guided IN STRUGGLE!'s action in the masses, particularly since the Second Congress. It is on the basis of this principle that we decided to focus our agitation and propaganda on the struggle against the Wage Control Act.

However, the results of this campaign disappointed many comrades or, to be more precise, raised many questions. The "struggle committees" against Bill C-73 put forward by IN STRUGGLE! weren't a great success, we must admit. And, after the general strike of October 14, it's undeniable that the mass movement of resistance was not sustained, except in some very local struggles. The union bosses gained the upper hand and multiplied the struggle fronts. Above all, they intensified their support for the NDP, which they claimed was the only party capable of solving the Canadian economic crisis.

The first thing to remember is that "The masses make revolution, the party makes them conscious". In the enthusiasm of the struggle, we tended to forget this principle and to judge our action as if the struggle of the working-class movement depended mainly on our work. Our aim isn't to substitute ourselves for the working class or to take up the struggle in its place. Our aim is to work for the development of the proletariat's class con-

sciousness by making known our analysis of Canadian capitalist society, by explaining the insoluble nature of the contradictions of imperialism and the necessity of socialist revolution.

That's not only a question of correct theory, of well-documented and well-argued general analyses, nor of well-articulated criticisms of specific situations arising out of the contradictions of capitalism. It's also a question of practical struggles, concrete and specific struggles. We have long since broken with our academic style and the doctrinarianism which led to making fine analyses to prove our great knowledge. The central problem of revolution is seizing power: bourgeois power will not fall under the weight of Marxist-Leninist analyses of the Canadian situation. It will be crushed by the unified, organized, and firmly-led action of the masses and particularly of the proletariat. Thus, it is important to resolve the question of the unity of the proletariat and the mobilization of the masses, or else communists will remain marginal.

The proletariat's class consciousness, its political unity, and the mobilization of the masses do not develop outside of current struggles. This was established within the Bolshevik Party at the beginning of the century, when Lenin said that the merger of Marxism with the working-class movement began when communists started doing agitation and propaganda work in workers' struggles.

These theoretical questions don't seem to be problems for our Organization anymore. A few doctrinaire individuals who had only contempt for immediate struggles left or were expelled from our ranks in the spring of 1977 and joined the ranks of BU. BU took advantage of this situation to move the centre of its organization to Quebec, since in English Canada it was already well-known as a small fringe group of opportunists and dogmatists who had turned up in Canada like UFOs, and who had all the characteristics of professional saboteurs of the struggle of the working-class movement.

It is true, however, that our agitation and propaganda work has suffered from important weaknesses and been accompanied by real errors. We neglected to give practical and centralized leadership to our own campaign in the winter of 1977, and this led to waffling and hesitations within our own ranks. Moreover, we often committed the error of reducing the struggles of the working class and masses to the sole question of the Wage Control Act. Instead of educating the masses on the basis of their conditions and struggles — the specific role of agitation work — we tried to do agitation on the sole grounds of the wage controls.

As a result of this, we often presented a biased analysis of the contradictions which the different strata of the people faced. We tended to see wage controls in an economist way, namely as a measure from which all the other economic aspects of the crisis, including unemployment, were derived. This led us to distort the nature of the general crisis of capitalism and the specific crisis of the years from 1974 on.

Since the Wage Control Act was supposed to be at the heart of all our work, we also dealt with support for specific struggles by considering them with regard to wage controls and by trying to force, so to speak, workers to adopt this point of view. It would have been more correct to support the struggles for what they were, in accordance with the objectives defined by the workers, and within that context to do agitation on the crisis, the crisis measures and capitalism itself, the source of crises.

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Even if the problems identified in our assessment of our campaign against the Wage Control Act and the crisis measures have not all been solved, real progress has been made in the past months. But first, we should take a look at another "campaign" which had important weaknesses: the information campaign on the question of Quebec. As opposed to the campaign on wage controls, this was to be a short campaign, without complex, long-term plans.

The tour on this question in March and April 1978 was a success, especially in Quebec. It gave us the opportunity to present our positions in many meetings, debates, and even on radio and television. However, due to a lack of sufficiently systematic organization, the signing of the Declaration on the right of the Quebec nation to self-determination was not taken in hand seriously.

As a result of all these difficulties, we have more recently adopted a more correct attitude in our activities of agitation and propaganda. Support for the postal workers' struggle and, more generally speaking, for public sector workers is well under way. The newspaper, which is distributed more extensively and systematically among the workers of this sector, reports regularly on what is at stake in the struggle. Moreover, concrete objectives are set and practical slogans are put forward, giving practical leadership to our support work. But we have not tried to take the place of the postal workers, and we have not acted as if the entire working class throughout the country should spontaneously recognize the central nature of this struggle

for the unity of the proletariat in resistance to measures of repression.

Among struggles against particular forms of oppression, our intervention on the women's question has been the most important apart from the question of Quebec. Although some comrades have severe criticisms of our action on this question, it was more extensive than our work with national minorities, immigrants and young people, for example.

As in the past, we have continued to accord special importance to the celebration of March 8, International Women's Day, in the same way that we accord special importance to May Day, International Workers' Day.

Difficulties arose mainly in more regular work with women. First of all there was a problem of orientation. We had to break with the line of "special methods" in work with women, for this line could very well have led in practice to a "special organization" for work related to women's oppression.

On this question as on all others, the line adopted at the Second Congress of turning our work towards the masses is also relevant. We present our Programme to the women of the proletariat; we are active in the struggles and in the organizations where they are present, and we support their demands. We do this in the perspective of defending the communist point of view that the cause of women's oppression today is capitalism and that, because of this, women have every reason to become actively involved in the revolutionary struggle.

If we look at the results of our work in terms of recruitment, it is clear that our work with women has not been of a lesser quality than our work with the working class in general, since women presently make up half our numbers, and this proportion has so far been maintained. It remains to be seen whether the present rate of recruitment of men and women workers is satisfactory.

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Our most important task now and in the coming period is to effect the merger of Marxism-Leninism and the working-class movement, and to make progress in winning over the vanguard of the proletariat, men and women alike, to communism.

Although we have made undeniable progress on this level, it is still unsatisfactory, very unsatisfactory. At the present time, a little more than a quarter of our membership is proletarian, including industrial and

production workers and workers in transportation and commerce, as well as what is commonly called the "services". This situation contrasts sharply with the situation at the time of our Second Congress in November 1976, when only 11% of our members were from the working class. Furthermore, among new adherents to the Organization in the past few months, approximately one out of three are working class. This illustrates that the working-class composition of the Organization is developing noticeably. And this has absolutely nothing to do with petty-bourgeois members becoming workers: the men and women workers in IN STRUGGLE! are not students, professors and lawyers who have traded in their briefcases for overalls!

Difficulties nonetheless persist. As of 1977, the central leadership wanted to know why workers were not rallying to the Organization in larger numbers. At the time, it became clear that the work methods of too many intellectual comrades had a lot to do with it. Efforts were undertaken to eliminate student and petty-bourgeois methods from our work — long meetings, discussions constantly rehearsed, missed appointments and chronic lateness.

The continuation of the inquiry permitted us to realize that workers who joined the Organization were sometimes hesitant elements who ended up leaving sooner or later. This forced us to revise our recruitment methods, which until recently were very individualized. To a certain extent, workers were joining the Organization to stop being pestered. When they refused to join, the result was more visits from the Organization, more pressure... This too has been corrected. It is out of the question to force individuals to rally to us: it's a question of providing favourable conditions for rallying, in particular, for the most advanced, class-conscious, and determined elements.

This certainly means an increased involvement in workers' struggles, because that is where working-class leaders are active. This also means stepping up activities and forms of activities that are likely to attract these workers. Finally, this means supple organizational forms and non-bureaucratic methods of rallying. We must diversify the ways in which workers can collaborate in the work of the Organization and we should try to see that this collaboration be done in their habitual milieu, at work or in the community. In this context, the constitution of core groups of workers in factories and other workplaces must be considerably developed.

But more generally speaking, the key to success is the Organization's capacity — and this means the capacity of its basic organizational units and even its working committees — to give correct leadership to the struggle

of the working class, not only in a general way but also, and perhaps above all, in terms of the leadership given to the daily struggles of the working class and masses.

We must therefore accord greater importance to our agitation and propaganda activities, because they are our link with the working-class movement. They are the key to success in the essential task of rallying the most advanced workers to communism and to IN STRUGGLE!.

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To sum up, we can be pleased with the considerable progress we have made, both quantitatively and qualitatively, in our agitation and propaganda work; and this, particularly in Quebec, where we have held many more activities and where we have intervened more frequently in workers' struggles. We were also much more active in unions, including union conventions, where we took up the task of distributing our general positions and especially the **Draft Program**, as well as taking stands on the questions on the agendas of the different conventions.

The increase in the sale of our newspaper and other publications, and the fact that growing numbers of workers are attending our activities and rallying to our Organization, are the results of this effort. They are proof that Marxism-Leninism is penetrating the Canadian working-class movement.

We should also note that the quality of our work has improved. We have been able to learn from our mistakes and gradually correct them. We have only to think back to the extreme slowness with which the campaign against the Wage Control Act got underway and the time it took to set up the struggle committees. By contrast, during the postal workers' strike in the fall of 1978, we were able in a matter of days to organize our support in all regions, by using the newspaper, as it should be used, as the instrument of political and practical leadership for our work across the country.

On the basis of these successes, we must now take up the task of broadening our intervention across the country and making up for the delay in penetrating English Canada as soon as possible. It is on the basis of these successes (which are closely linked to a better application of democratic centralism, as we will see further on), that we must take up energetically the task of winning over the most advanced strata of the proletariat.

In this respect, two things should hold our attention. On the one hand, we should increase our interventions

in workers' struggles so as to be in touch with the most active, class-conscious, and dedicated workers; we must display the greatest flexibility when it comes to presenting them with the ways in which they can contribute to our work. On the other hand, we must never agree to lower the theoretical and practical conditions we have set for the admission of new members to our Organization. In particular, we must make sure that the men and women workers who join us have the necessary means at their disposal to acquire a solid communist education. This is a question of principle on which we can make no concessions. We want to create a party of the communist vanguard of the proletariat, not a party of petty-bourgeois elements who co-ordinate the struggles of the working-class movement. It must be clear that there cannot be two "classes" of communists: those who develop the line, and those who apply it, often without understanding it. We have enough negative examples of this scandalous situation in different organizations and parties around us, including some of the most pretentious ones, to spur us to extreme vigilance on this matter.

The working class, both men and women, must make up the core of our Organization and of the party. This is why the recruitment of workers, and consequently support for workers' struggles, must be a priority. This does not mean that we should build a fence around the working-class movement and close our eyes to certain particularly oppressed strata of the people which have every interest in joining the revolutionary struggle. We have already mentioned women fighting oppression; we should also mention the young people who are greatly affected by the crisis in many ways, as well as the national minorities whose rights are trampled underfoot in many respects.

This is the way to long-lasting success in party-building. The proletarian and revolutionary nature of the party depends on it, and therefore the success of the revolution itself.

### Our goal: the party of the Canadian proletariat

In December 1974, following its First Congress held in the fall of 1974, IN STRUGGLE! made known its political line in a document that was also a call to action: **Create the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Struggle for the Party**, presented in the form of a supplement to the newspaper IN STRUGGLE! (1). In September 1976, IN STRUGGLE! published the first issue of its theoretical journal PROLETARIAN UNITY, mainly devoted to an analysis of the Canadian Marxist-Leninist forces, and called once again for the unification of Canadian communists in a country-wide

pre-party organization. At that time we indicated the main steps to be taken to reach this objective. These steps consisted mainly in a series of public conferences on the fundamental questions of the communist programme and the struggle for the party.

The conferences were held, and there were even regional conferences on most of the themes in various cities. The subjects treated in these conferences included the unity of Marxist-Leninists, the path of the revolution in Canada, the international situation and the tasks of communists at the stage of the struggle for the party. A Fifth conference on the **Draft Program** (published in the fall of 1977) was held in June 1978.

But one element of the "plan of struggle for unity" was not realized. After the last conference, there was to be a founding congress of the organization regrouping all the groups adhering to a common line. In fact, all the groups that adhered to the line presented at the conferences had rallied to IN STRUGGLE! as early as the Fourth Conference. Thus, the proposed congress would only have been a congress of IN STRUGGLE!, since it was clear at that time that neither the CCL(M-L), Bolshevik Union or the Red Star Collective could unite with us. The conferences did, however, have the advantage of considerably clarifying the differences between these groups and IN STRUGGLE!.

In fact, the League and the RSC withdrew from the conferences, which they afterwards denounced for the most futile and opportunist reasons. The real reason for their behaviour was their incapacity to answer IN STRUGGLE!'s criticisms of their errors and deviations. Unable to debate, they chose instead to take refuge in the petty denunciations that have been their trademark since then.

The League wanted to debate alone with IN STRUGGLE!, the other groups being in its opinion "confused elements". Reality was a different matter, since in Vancouver it invited us to its conferences only when it was almost certain that we wouldn't be able to participate. In Regina, we are still waiting for its final reply with regard to a conference on unity, a reply that was due in June 1977. In reality, the League was interested in debating until it discovered that learning **Beijing Review** by heart was not enough to solve the problems of the revolution in Canada.

The RSC withdrew from the conferences under the pretext that since it was a small group that did not exist in Montreal, it needed twice as much time as the other

(1) The newspaper was published in French only at that time. An English edition of this document was published in *Western Voice*, November 1976, pp 29-58.

groups to make sure its point of view would be well understood! Today, we know that the RSC needs a lot of time to formulate its point of view; to our knowledge, it has not even published a single leaflet for approximately one year now, at a time when the communist movement is going through one of the most critical periods in its history.

Bolshevik Union had to be expelled from the conferences. This group, also incapable of carrying on political debate, turned towards sabotage, especially since the conferences of IN STRUGGLE! were the only occasions it ever had to address persons other than its own "affiliates", as it calls them.

Since the other groups that had participated in the conferences rallied to IN STRUGGLE!, it would have been a sheer formality to hold the proposed congress. Actually, for IN STRUGGLE! the June 1978 conference on the programme was the occasion to make known its positions on all fundamental questions and to gather the criticisms of the masses. The adoption of the definitive version of IN STRUGGLE!'s Programme by the Third Congress will represent the final form of this struggle, which has lasted over two years.

The country-wide Marxist-Leninist organization that we advocated in December 1974 now exists. It is fully engaged in the struggle for the party, a Marxist-Leninist party of the proletariat, one and the same party for all of Canada. It is through the reinforcement of this Organization, through its broader development in all the major regions of the country, through its political consolidation and greater penetration of the working-class movement, that we will bring about a situation favourable to the creation of the party.

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In April 1977, our Organization declared that "(from now on) to reach the unity of (Canadian) Marxist-Leninists, we must intensify the struggle against opportunism". This was an important clarification of our line on the unity of the communist forces in Canada, a clarification that was long overdue according to some people and that would take just as long to put into practice.

Since the creation of IN STRUGGLE!, the question of unity has always occupied an important place. We have always worked in a spirit of achieving the greatest unity possible. At certain moments, we even kept silent on differences in order to achieve the broadest unity possible of progressive forces in common struggles and to allow the penetration of Marxism-Leninism in their ranks.

We need to pay particular attention to this question since, even today, it is dealt with in an erroneous fashion not only in our own ranks but also in various countries.

Not so long ago, certain comrades in our Organization still thought that unity would be achieved through the unification of various groups, organizations or parties, as was the case in 1975-76. Today some wonder instead if the question of unity is not outdated since we are united with all those with whom unity is possible.

Actually, the unity of communists — within our country of course, but also on the international level — must remain a constant preoccupation in our action; it will remain so even after the creation of the party. The struggle for unity can take two principal forms: that of the unification of all communist forces that may be isolated or outside the ranks of the Organization or party, and that of the purification of the Organization or party by the exclusion of opportunist elements. In other words, we seek the broadest possible unity, but this unity must be based on one, and only one, decisive criterion: the firm adherence to the Programme and its practical application in accordance with the Constitution. There can be no compromise whatsoever on this; to act otherwise would mean adopting the opportunist line of the Trotskyists regarding the right to dissidence, fractions, etc. Leninism tolerates no compromise of this kind.

However, the constant search for unity and an iron discipline has nothing in common with sectarianism, doctrinarianism, and petty-bourgeois pettiness. If unity is based on one, and only one, criterion, namely complete adherence, in theory and in practice, to the line and Programme, there is a possibility that tomorrow we will be united with persons who are today outside our ranks. What we seek is the unity of all authentic communists, and not only of those who have been members of IN STRUGGLE! since time immemorial.

With regard to the development of our Organization, there is a point of view according to which we were marked by opportunism in our struggle for unity. Incidentally, this point of view is regularly encouraged by the League and Bolshevik Union — which, like the CPC (M-L) (which remains their guide in many respects) have of course never committed any errors, whether they be right-wing or "left"-wing errors. We were supposedly opportunist in uniting with groups that were not really Marxist-Leninist. Another example of our opportunism is supposedly our silence on the founding of the League for several months, and then the fact that we criticized its sectarianism first instead of the right opportunism which was already blatant in the **Statement of political agreement for the creation of the**

CCL(M-L), published during the fall of 1975. Some people even criticized us for being sectarian when we criticized the League's sectarianism in the summer of 1976.

These points of view refer to real facts which should not be denied. The groups that joined IN STRUGGLE! in 1975 and 1976 were far from being experienced Marxist-Leninist groups with a complete and utterly proletarian line and programme. It is true that the creation of the League left us somewhat astounded for a while. It is true that the foundations of the League's doctrinarianism and opportunism are already present in its **Statement of political agreement**. It is also true that during our conferences on the questions of programme, between September 1976 and September 1977, we admitted groups whose intentions were already dubious, and in particular Bolshevik Union...

If all these gestures were to be evaluated in the light of today's prevailing conditions, no doubt we would conclude that we were indeed opportunist. The League's fundamental errors are today much too evident to be ignored, as is BU's counter-revolutionary nature; and the political level of many of the groups that rallied to IN STRUGGLE! in 1975 and 1976 was very low... But if we keep on reasoning like this, we would end up admitting that we should never have founded IN STRUGGLE!, let alone l'Equipe du journal (\*) because the eminent communists present on these two occasions... well we are still looking for them! It should be emphasized, as has already been said, none of the Canadians known to be "born communists" are members of IN STRUGGLE!; they are all members of the League, BU and the CPC(M-L); we might as well admit it once and for all.

That's how ridiculous the idealist conception of history still promoted among communists can get. We must take care not only to avoid judging the past in terms of criteria based on today's reality, because reality changes; but regarding IN STRUGGLE!'s line and practice on unity, we must also keep in mind that from its creation to the autumn of 1976, our Organization placed the struggle for unity at the forefront. We considered that given the primitive level of the movement as a whole, several demarcations that had been raised to a level of principle were in fact simply the expression of the dogmatism and sectarianism of novices who needed to recite their classics to gain self-insurance. Today BU is still at that stage, for it has gotten into the habit of analysing the 'Native peoples' situation by relentlessly spouting quotations taken from the classics of Marxism-Leninism!

Until the winter of 1976-77, we consciously worked at uniting the greatest number of those who, throughout the country, demonstrated their willingness to work for

the creation of a party that would base its action on Marxism-Leninism. In our opinion, this point of view was correct. We invite all those who, like BU, only abide by the positions found in foreign books and journals and who accuse IN STRUGGLE! of opportunism, to inform themselves on the point of view of certain comrades from other countries on the struggle for the unity of Canadian communists... Experience generally leads to a less simplistic attitude regarding the resolution, **over a period of time**, of certain contradictions.

Since the winter of 1976-77, we have modified our practical attitude, our tactic in the struggle for unity. We have not modified our line but in applying it we have taken into account the changes in the situation. The conferences organized by IN STRUGGLE! and other groups on fundamental questions of political line from September 1976 on, brought about a rapid development in the demarcation of positions within the Canadian communist movement. It very soon became clear that certain groups wanted unity, while others did not. It also became evident that major differences existed on fundamental questions. In other words, it was evident that opportunist and revisionist positions were hidden behind Marxist phraseology. In the spring of 1977, we published the April 3rd **Communique** from IN STRUGGLE!'s Central Committee on the unity of the Marxist-Leninist movement. This communique stated that to achieve unity of Canadian communists, we had to intensify the struggle against opportunism. It is also during this period that we ourselves reached a clearer understanding and further developed our conclusions on the major questions of programme.

This was an important step forward. It was then that we started to break with the narrow conception that in the beginning characterized our plan of struggle against opportunism. We came to understand that opportunism and revisionism did not only characterize groups considered to be within the "movement". We opened our eyes and saw that the NDP, the CP, the CPC(M-L) and many other groups were telling the proletariat that they were struggling for socialism; we saw that there were a multitude of opportunist organizations misleading the working-class movement.

We therefore raised the level of our agitation and propaganda, and paid more particular attention to all the erroneous political trends present among the masses, to combat them and to destroy their influence.

There is no need to revise our line on unity. We must

(\*) The collective that was to found and publish the newspaper IN STRUGGLE! from May 1973 to December 1974 was called the Equipe du Journal (the Newspaper Team). The First Congress of the Group IN STRUGGLE! was held in the fall of 1974.

continue to unmask the opportunists and revisionists of all kinds, with the very specific aim of ensuring the penetration of the proletarian programme in the working class and thus destroying the influence of the reformists, nationalists and revisionists who, together, still hold a dominant position within the Canadian working-class movement.

This is why IN STRUGGLE!'s Programme becomes the central instrument of struggle both for rallying workers and developing the unity of communists in Canada, beginning with the political and organizational unity of our own Organization.

It goes without saying that IN STRUGGLE! does not seek unity with any of the existing organizations in the country that claim to be communist, such as the CP, the CPC(M-L), the Canadian Party of Labour (CPL), the CCL(M-L), BU, the RSC, or the different Trotskyist sects such as the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), the Groupe socialiste des travailleurs québécois (GSTQ), etc. There are indeed, fundamental programmatic differences with all these organizations on which no compromise can be made. These groups are, in one way or another, deeply marked by modern revisionist deviations. It is thus still correct to affirm that to achieve the unity of Canadian communists, we must intensify the struggle against opportunism and, more especially, deepen the struggle against revisionism.

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But considering that we now have a Programme and since we acknowledge that the struggle for unity must be carried on even after the creation of the party, why don't we decide to create the party now? Comrades in the Organization IN STRUGGLE! sometimes raise this question; and sometimes comrades from outside the country also ask the same question.

On this point, as on all others, we must above all avoid tying our hands in future situations; for communists base their actions on the concrete analysis of the concrete situation. And it does not seem advisable to create the party in present conditions.

But why? In many countries, wasn't the party created by organizations less developed than IN STRUGGLE! is at the present time? Indeed, in many countries, including Canada, many parties claiming to be Marxist-Leninist have been set up. In several countries, there are two, three, or even more parties. We cannot evaluate the situation in all cases but we do know that many of these parties are not the party of the proletariat. Nor can they hope to become so. They have only superficial-

ly broken with revisionism, and in spite of their great claims, they are simply mouthpieces of modern revisionism, be it Russian or Chinese, or else they're trying to hide their opportunism behind the glorification of the PLA.

We reject the theory that says we should "hurry up and create the party", because the creation of a communist party, a revolutionary party, is not a game for intellectuals full of half-baked ideas gleaned here and there; nor is it a game for intellectuals more concerned with distinguishing themselves and scoring points against opposing cliques than with serving revolution.

The creation of the party will only serve the interests of the Canadian proletariat when it is recognized by the proletariat, when the proletariat can see that it is not simply the umpteenth small clique declaring, "follow us, we are the party!"

One of the conditions that has to be fulfilled before creating a Marxist-Leninist party is that of a real demarcation with modern revisionism. This still remains to be done in our country and in many other countries.

In Canada the very uneven penetration of Marxism-Leninism in Quebec and English Canada is another good reason for making haste slowly when it comes to declaring ourselves the party of the revolution. The cause of the unity of the proletariat would not be served by the creation of a party that would inevitably, under current conditions, be seen as "something purely Quebecois". The history of the revisionist CP is very telling on this point: for a long time many Canadian workers, and even more Quebecois workers, saw the old CP as an organization of communist immigrants — and they were not entirely mistaken. This had serious consequences, such as the split by Quebecois members in the 1940's.

Moreover, there is no serious reason to believe that the party must be created right now. Some people say that a party is needed to wage the struggle against revisionism — this is how the CPC(M-L) justified the creation of that party in 1970. But look at what has become of dozens of the parties founded around the world in the 1960's with the declared aim of fighting modern revisionism. Today they are nothing but parrots of Peking bickering with the parrots of Moscow.

The correctness of our line, on the one hand, and the confidence of the Canadian proletariat in our Organization, on the other hand, do not primarily depend on our name.

## Substantial organizational development has been achieved through a dynamic application of democratic centralism.

Despite the considerable unevenness in the development of our Organization in Quebec and English Canada, the fact remains that IN STRUGGLE! is now active in major cities throughout the country, and even in some smaller towns and in the countryside in Quebec. Hence, for the past two years we have been carrying on our agitation and propaganda work from Vancouver to Halifax. We have now begun the merger of Marxism-Leninism and the working-class movement on a country-wide scale. In all the cities where we are active, the communist point of view has attracted growing attention in the working-class movement.

These results would have been impossible had we not taken up the task of consolidating our Organization, which had major weaknesses, immediately after the Second Congress. This struggle was waged under the banner of democratic centralism which remains the key to the development of any communist organization or party.

Consolidation took place on various levels from the reinforcement of the central leadership to the reinforcement of the collective leadership of the basic organizational units over the work of their members in all sectors. Our finances were considerably improved, and our infrastructure greatly transformed.

This progress was not easy, far from it. Each step forward came only after hard, and often prolonged, struggle. Different forms of resistance were encountered. Old habits of liberalism had to be broken with, but the results were very stimulating. In fact, our steady progress in agitation and propaganda was the direct consequence of our progress in organizational matters.

Communist organizations or parties are quite often described as extremely centralized and hierarchical political formations, totally obedient to an all-powerful leadership. They are considered to be formations where democracy is reduced to zero. Over the past 50 years, the Trotskyists, for example, have undertaken to spread this vision. This is what they mean when they describe communists (Marxist-Leninists) as "Stalinists".

In fact, a communist organization or party acts with the greatest unity and discipline. It should not be forgotten that communists pursue a revolutionary objective and that to achieve it will require a great deal from them. However, discipline and unity in action are not prerequisites; they are rather the result of the very

high level of political unity which is to be found in any communist organization worthy of the name. And the source of this political unity is the democracy which exists in such an organization. Proletarian democracy really has very little to do with bourgeois democracy, where those who are most powerful use mystification to rule the majority in the interests of a minority. Proletarian democracy is real because it goes hand in hand with centralism, which is ultimately its best guarantee.

Often anarchy or simple running off at the mouth are confused with democracy. Democracy supposedly exists when everyone can express his point of view and stick to it. But of the two, three or five different points of view, which one is going to win out in practice? Won't it be the point of view of the strongest, the point of view of those who are already in power? Bourgeois parties are considered to be democratic because everyone is free to stand up and say whatever pops into his head. Communists are said to be anti-democratic because they take positions on proposals which have been formulated in advance, which they have had time to study and have thus had time to form an opinion on.

Where is democracy to be found? In the unlimited expression of opinions which in no way lead to a decision binding for all members of the organization? Or in discussion which results in the adoption or rejection of proposals known in advance and clearly understood and which, once adopted, must be applied by all since they then represent the position of the majority?

This is what we conceive democratic centralism to be. It is the unity of action assured by a sole leadership mandated to apply democratically-adopted positions. It is quite evident that democratic centralism as an organizational principle requires discipline and unselfishness, because the militant action of communists does not always correspond to the tastes and aspirations of the individuals who must accomplish it. There is no place within communist ranks for individualists who want to "dabble in politics" for their own personal satisfaction.

The discipline and unselfishness required of communists does not only involve applying decisions. They are first and foremost qualities required for making decisions. The process for the adoption of our Organization's Programme is a good illustration of how democratic centralism works. At our Second Congress, held in November 1976, the leadership proposed a first draft version of the programme. After discussion, the Congress decided not to adopt this programme, and mandated the new leadership to rewrite the programme and publish it in draft form, to organize the study of the programme within the Organization and among the

masses and to return to the next Congress with a definitive version. By the end of this year's Congress, we will have a programme that will have been attentively examined in detail by everybody, and criticized and amended by this Congress. It is this Programme that each member will have to make known and defend.

Obviously, not all decisions involve such a lengthy process, because not all decisions have the same importance.

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Our Organization has always attached great importance to democratic centralism, because very early in our development we realized that its firm application was an essential condition for the success of our action. Decisions which are poorly applied or not applied at all are an obstacle to our work and more often than not, a source of sorry failures. In the same way decisions made without clarifying and discussing what is at stake are generally poorly applied, when they aren't quite simply bad decisions.

Today, we have new reasons for being especially concerned with the correct application of democratic centralism. A study of revisionism reveals that many of the parties that broke with Marxism-Leninism also drifted away from a rigorous application of democratic centralism: decisions were either not applied or applied in a bureaucratic way; or else power was in practice concentrated in the hands of leadership that did not submit its action to the criticism of the party. Such mistakes are to be found in the history of both the Soviet and Chinese communist parties.

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Democratic centralism was and still is an important focus for struggle in our ranks. It took some time before we were able to ensure democracy and flexibility in our way of functioning on the one hand, and firm and efficient leadership on the other. Sometimes our activities were compromised because lower levels of leadership did not correctly apply the decisions of the central leadership. At other times, they were compromised because the central leadership did not take decisions it should have.

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Democratic centralism becomes less abstract when it is translated into practical forms and measures. The ap-

plication of democratic centralism is based first and foremost on the application of the **Constitution**, which is the concrete expression of this organizational principle. This is now fully understood, and we have only to draw the logical conclusions and refer regularly to our **Constitution** to resolve the new and varied problems that constantly crop up in the daily life of an organization such as ours.

Already, considerable progress has been made in the development of our Organization as an organization of struggle able to provide increasingly effective leadership in the struggle of the working class and masses, and able to surmount the different obstacles put in its path by a resourceful bourgeoisie.

To sum up the major steps in this struggle, we can say that immediately after the 1976 Congress our first concern was to build the central leadership, to have the Central Committee play its role, to build the leadership capacity of the Political Bureau and to organize the various national commissions. Afterwards, more direct attention was given to strengthening the regional leaderships by holding regular collective sessions. Finally, in the summer of 1977, we turned our attention to consolidating the cells.

At the same time, more attention was paid to matters of infrastructure and finances — in particular the latter, since even dues had been dealt with in an anarchic way until then.

In the winter of 1978, an important step forward was taken in the development of our Organization when the Development Plan was implemented. This Plan led to more efficient leadership over the work by dividing the country into major regions, each with its own leadership.

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Although we have been successful in consolidating our Organization and although, consequently, our capacity to carry Marxism-Leninism to the masses has considerably increased, we still have many battles to wage, especially in matters of infrastructure.

How is this situation to be explained? The first problem is probably the relative lack of attention given to these questions for a long time by all levels of the Organization, beginning with the central leadership. Furthermore, when these questions were studied, it was often in an idealistic way. People looked for the general solution that would solve all the problems at one blow. It was after waging the struggle against this idealism in organizational matters that the most progress was

made. We will have to continue along the same lines, giving less time to elaborating various "overall policies" and more to solving the most acute practical problems.

IN STRUGGLE! is now a Canada-wide organization active in the major centres of the country from Halifax to Vancouver, with the exception of Newfoundland and the Native areas in the North. This is a substantial change, given that at the time of the last Congress, IN STRUGGLE! had scarcely begun to work outside Quebec, and that the English-Canadian comrades there had just joined the Organization.

The adoption of the Development Plan in January 1978 was the starting point for a systematic struggle by our Organization to reduce the unevenness of the development of the work in Quebec and English Canada. Up to then, our efforts had been quite disorganized. One of the major points emphasized in the Plan was to give priority to work in English Canada. More specifically, the priority is Ontario, and after that British Columbia and the Maritimes.

The Plan upheld the principle of building the Organization from the top down, and so work was first concentrated on setting up solid regional leaderships.

However, the imbalance which persists between the development of the work in Quebec and in English Canada remains a major problem. Not all of the necessary practical solutions have as yet been found. The correct resolution of this problem is of decisive importance in fulfilling the conditions for the creation of the party.

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When study sessions on revisionism were held at all levels of the Organization in recent months, some comrades indicated that they would like similar sessions to be held more frequently and regularly. There can be no doubt that the political and practical education and training of the cadres is of decisive importance for a communist organization. There can also be no doubt that we still need to make some progress in this regard. It is important to realize, however, that the overall situation in this respect is far from negative. There have been cadre schools, public conferences, the journal and many pamphlets, not to mention the various sessions involving local and regional levels of leadership and the cadres involved in different sectors of our work. It is obvious that methods of education have not been lacking in the past two years.

The problem is located at another level, in what could be called the "systematizing" of education within our

ranks. Experience has shown that simply having an ample range of educational materials is not enough. We also have to organize how they are to be used, taking into account our goal and prevailing conditions in the Organization.

It would be wrong to think that education and training is adequate if and when everyone can correctly accomplish their specific tasks. The result of such an attitude would be to accentuate the existing inequalities between worker and intellectual cadres, or between those specialized in material support tasks and those specialized in tasks involving study, for example. The goal of educating our members is to enable each person to understand, evaluate and take a stand on all the fundamental questions raised by our work and its development. At the present time, it is of vital importance that everyone clearly understand what is at stake in the struggle against revisionism.

It will, of course, take time to realize this goal. That is why we must first of all organize the education of our members, and see that study materials and methods of education are systematically made available on all the fundamental questions. Moreover, it is essential to take into account the conditions required for studying in the daily, practical organization of the work. Secondly, the organization of education should take into account the differences and inequalities between the members themselves, and stress study for those whose education is less advanced.

This is how we will orient our work in this respect in the coming years. This is how we will make our Organization an authentic vanguard composed of members utterly committed to serving the proletarian revolution and armed with a conviction based on a solid knowledge of scientific truths, and not simply on slogans learned by rote and parroted at the drop of a hat.

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In the past two years, some comrades have resigned from the Organization. In a few cases, those who resigned were individuals who had joined the Organization without really sharing its objectives. The fact that these people have left is a good thing. But in some cases, those who have resigned were very definitely sincere comrades who had not, however, succeeded in committing themselves to serving the revolution with the necessary degree of abnegation. In some cases, the comrades were influenced by the very serious events that have occurred in the international communist movement in the past two years, with the victory of revisionism in China.

We must point out to these comrades that it is the very contradictions of capitalism that make socialist revolution inevitable. This means that regardless of the setbacks in the struggle that have been or will be encountered, our cause is a just cause. It is a cause that ultimately cannot fail, a cause whose victory will result in immense progress for all of humanity. This scientific conviction should arm us to struggle firmly against the demobilization of our comrades or ourselves.

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### **Conclusion — Build the revolutionary party and the unity of the masses by resisting the attacks of the bourgeoisie**

The proletariat has been deprived of its revolutionary party for more than 30 years now. This explains a great deal. In particular, it explains why the Canadian working-class movement has been so influenced by revisionist, reformist and nationalist ideas.

For more than five years now, Marxist-Leninist forces have been in the process of rebuilding, but they have had to start practically from scratch. The reason for this is that hardly any of the militants who have left the revisionist CP since the 1940's have taken up the task of combatting its bourgeois programme of parliamentarianism and gradual reforms of capitalism. Generally speaking, they have abandoned all political activity or else joined other bourgeois parties, such as the NDP or even the PQ.

Despite these unfavourable conditions which meant that the new communists have had to learn everything by themselves, without being able to rely on more experienced communists, the Canadian Marxist-Leninist movement has made enormous progress since the time when a few small groups started to apply the teachings of Marxism-Leninism to the struggle for socialism in Canada.

IN STRUGGLE! is very proud, and rightly so, of the key role it has played in this struggle. Our Organization has been a driving force in the struggle for the principled unity of communists. Our Organization has waged the struggle against opportunism on a clearly Marxist-Leninist basis. For two years now, our Organization has made the unity of the proletariat and resistance to the rise of reaction central in its tactics for the current period.

Because of all this, we can indeed say that IN STRUGGLE! has played a vanguard role in the strug-

gle to rebuild the proletarian party on the solid rock of Marxism-Leninism.

During the past two years IN STRUGGLE! has continued to advance on the road towards the creation of the party. Its most important achievements are surely the publication of the **Draft Program** and all the other documents it distributed to explain the theoretical foundations and concrete analysis on which the Draft Program was based.

IN STRUGGLE! has also considerably broadened its activity in the masses. As a result, a limited but growing number of workers now adhere to communist ideas, and some workers are now joining our Organization. These results have been obtained through more extensive distribution of the newspaper, interventions in the immediate struggles of the working class, and calls to action on political issues that are crucial for the future of the revolutionary struggle in our country, such as the resistance to the crisis measures, Quebec's right to self-determination, the defence of our democratic rights and the struggle against the rise of reactionary forces.

These results were made possible because IN STRUGGLE! consolidated its organization in a decisive way. It started by giving itself strong central leadership. It took up the task of applying democratic centralism. It laid the foundations of a country-wide organization. It has paid growing attention to organizational matters.

But there are still limits to these important successes. IN STRUGGLE!'s capacities to mobilize the masses around specific struggles are still quite weak, the rallying of workers has barely begun, the Organization in English Canada is still poorly developed, and IN STRUGGLE! has still not achieved all the basic organizational elements that go towards making an organization invincible. An enormous amount of work still needs to be done to realize all the conditions for the creation of the party. We refuse, however, to make a list of those missing conditions as if they were ingredients in a recipe. The creation of the party can only be decided on the basis of the concrete analysis of a given situation.

In present circumstances, we intend to intensify the struggle for the party by orienting our work in the following ways:

1. Focus our work on the penetration of the communist Programme in the working class. Our specific goal is to sufficiently loosen the hold of revisionist and social-democratic ideas to allow the vanguard elements of the proletariat to break completely with these ideas and take up fully the tasks of building the

2. Give priority to the development of our activities and Organization in English Canada, so that we can considerably reduce the existing uneven development between Quebec and English Canada.
3. Intensify the struggle to make our Organization an invincible vanguard capable of confronting the bourgeoisie on all levels, under all conditions.
4. Develop our capacities to do agitation and propaganda work in the spontaneous struggles of the masses and develop our capacities to mobilize for the

5. Continue the political and organizational consolidation of the Organization at all levels, and especially at the levels of regional and local leaderships. Ensure that the theoretical and practical education of members and probationers is organized on a more regular and systematic basis.

struggles that we put forward ourselves, on the basis of the general political situation in the country and the world; and so as to do this, continue to pay special attention to building the communist press, in particular by distributing it more widely.

## Chapter four

# The unity of the international communist movement and the struggle against revisionism

The past two years have been particularly important ones in the history of the international Marxist-Leninist movement. The death of Mao Zedong and subsequent events in China have sharply emphasized the key importance of the struggle against revisionism. The clearly opportunist and fundamentally revisionist path openly adopted by the Chinese leaders; their total break with the Party of Labour of Albania (PLA) and socialist Albania; and the deep division in the international communist movement that became immediately apparent: all this was a rather brutal shock for our Organization, and undoubtedly for many other groups around the world as well. But all in all, the shock was also a healthy one in more ways than one.

To begin with, we have to admit that our knowledge of the international communist movement was rather flimsy. As a matter of fact, our Organization had never even developed links, much less official relations, with any foreign party. Our acquaintance with the movement was limited to what we had read in whatever communist publications we could lay our hands on. Clearly, this was not enough to enable us to foresee either the nature or the seriousness of the contradictions which divided some parties and organizations.

We were to discover something else which was even more important: our denunciation of revisionism had remained on a pretty superficial level up to that point — we had not really grasped just how great the problem was. The preparation of the Fourth Conference of

Canadian Marxist-Leninists in February 1978 allowed us to realize more fully the importance of this question in our own country.

Our leadership then made a number of extremely important decisions. We were henceforth to accord much more attention to getting to know the international communist movement better. We were to try to understand what its characteristics and level of development were. We were to try to understand why it was not more developed than it was. Finally we were to try to determine how we could help to build this movement. In short, the problem we had to solve was how to ensure that Marxism-Leninism won out over revisionism. It was obvious that the working-class movement in Canada and in a number of other countries was not led by a communist vanguard. On the contrary, in most of the non-socialist countries revisionism was far and away the dominant force.

We could have taken up a fight to the finish against the “three worlds theory”. We could have concentrated our attacks on the revisionist leaders of the Chinese party. We could have addressed ourselves to the “question of Mao”: was he or was he not a great Marxist-Leninist? We could have again taken up the defence of Stalin... All of the foregoing questions have been openly raised in the past few months, and they are likely to remain points of concern for a long time. We are not trying to dodge any of these questions, far from it. But given our objective limitations, we cannot be expected

to come up with an answer to all these questions overnight. This is all the more true since only one of the many possible ways of approaching a problem is correct and serves the interests of the revolution. And this is the approach which we want to adopt, even if it is not necessarily the most popular one right now.

Where do the interests of the proletariat in Canada and on an international scale lie at a time when the part of the world still dominated by decaying imperialism is experiencing its worst economic and political crisis since World War II? This crisis creates conditions favourable to winning decisive victories for proletarian revolution, not necessarily on a world scale but certainly in some regions of the globe.

Where do the interests of the proletariat, the only thoroughly revolutionary class in our era, lie? In the vast majority of countries today, **the fundamental interests of the proletariat lie with the success of the struggle to build (or rebuild) its revolutionary party, a Marxist-Leninist party**, the vanguard of the proletarian class, the party uniting its best leaders and fighters and all those who have come together to fight for the same cause, workers or not. **Without this kind of party, proletarian revolution is impossible even in the most favourable objective conditions.**

There is one essential precondition which must be met in order to win victory in this struggle: we must demolish the hegemony which revisionism exercises over the working-class movement and win the most active, dynamic and honest strata of the proletariat away from the domination of revisionism, the most deceitful and dangerous form of bourgeois ideology. This means coming to grips with a thorough understanding of revisionism.

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We do not wish to and must not reproduce the phoney charade already performed by the CPC(M-L), the "party" created eight years ago for the supposed purpose of fighting revisionism, but which in fact put forward a line which was a direct descendant of the 100% class-collaborationist programme of the Labour Progressive Party (LPP) in the 1940's. We'll leave this task to the Canadian Communist League (M-L), (CCL(M-L)), which is going to create its Marxist-Leninist-Mao-Zedong-Thought party in the next few months. It will simply be the third party created on the basis of a line of class collaboration with the capitalist class and of struggle against an imperialist power bigger than Canada — the U.S.A. for some people, the U.S.S.R. for others.

That will make three parties that are concretely opposed to the proletarian revolution in Canada. Some oppose it with the rationale that we must build a "united front against the U.S.S.R.". Others talk about "peace, disarmament and progress". Still others talk about the defence of national sovereignty or preparation for the inevitable third world war. Three revisionist parties (or more precisely, two-and-a-half for the time being) are quite a few. This is especially true if we add the New Democratic Party (NDP), the party of the social-democratic Second International which still manages to make some people believe it is fighting for socialism. And then, of course, there are the Trotskyists, not to mention the Canadian Party of Labour (CPL), founded in Toronto in 1969, and the Parti des travailleurs du Québec (PTQ, Quebec workers' party) founded in 1974 (and which has no links with the CPL).

However, our situation is far from unique. The situation is even more dramatic in some countries where there are as many as a dozen Marxist-Leninist organizations or parties. And then you can add on the Eurocommunist party, one or two socialist parties and a bunch of anarchist and terrorist groups, to say nothing of the endless string of mutating Trotskyist sects.

We must admit that is a confusing situation for everybody — not just for the working class but, in many cases, for the Marxist-Leninists themselves. For twenty years now, the Marxist-Leninist communists have to all intents and purposes been left to their own devices in each country. The sole exception to this has been the bilateral relations maintained during this period between some of the parties that did not sink into revisionism at the end of the 1950's.

Looking at things on an international scale, it can be seen that besides being weak in most countries the communist movement is still divided. This adds further to its weakness and limits its ability to defeat revisionism. To put it bluntly, the results of the struggle against modern revisionism which has been going strong for twenty years now are as yet pretty skimpy indeed. It is not enough for Marxist-Leninists to simply observe and record reality. They must go on to analyse it and determine its roots. One thing is clear — it is not the creation of a series of parties, each one more Marxist-Leninist than the other, that will ensure the defeat of revisionism. Just the contrary.

As far as we are concerned, the skimpy results of the struggle against modern revisionism — illustrated very concretely by the feeble development of organizations or parties in the different countries — can be attributed to the absence of unified leadership. Note that we said

**leadership**, and not leaders. What we are talking about is the absence of a common orientation shared by all Marxist-Leninists, of an objective that could guide the work of everyone and strengthen everyone. This objective can be nothing other than the unity of all the Marxist-Leninists in the world. Such unity would be a principled unity, built in the common struggle against revisionism and oriented towards rebuilding strong Marxist-Leninist parties in each country. These parties would have a single common international leadership as their reference point and the concrete expression of their political unity.

In short, we consider that the Khrushchevite split, the stagnation of the international communist movement since then and the new Chinese split all point to one conclusion: the Marxist-Leninists of 1979 should take up again **in practice** the internationalism that has characterized the communist movement since its creation. They must build their unity anew and thus give themselves another instrument — indispensable, in our opinion — to put an end to the reign of revisionism over the working-class movement, a reign which has already lasted far too long.

Unity is obviously not an aim in itself. It must be based on a clear demarcation with revisionism. Nevertheless, if the struggle against revisionism is to be more than an academic exercise, it must be waged with a specific goal. In each country, this goal is to build the party of the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat. On a world scale, this goal is a unified organization of communists. It is in this way, and in this way only, that communists around the world will be able to rebuild the only forces capable of successfully waging the struggle for socialism and communism in each country and in the world.

### Rebuilding the unity of the international communist movement

The Comintern (the Communist International, or Third International) was dissolved in May 1943. The Communist Information Bureau (Cominform), set up in 1947, never included more than nine parties. It was in turn dissolved in 1956, the same year that Khrushchev presented his notorious secret report to the 20th Congress of the CPSU describing Stalin as an unscrupulous dictator. Since then, the modern revisionist split has been completed, and the party of Khrushchev and Brezhnev has dragged down with it the vast majority of the parties that had created the Communist International barely thirty years earlier.

After this, there were the Moscow Conferences of 1957 and 1960, which ultimately proved to be

unsuccessful attempts at rebuilding the international unity of communists on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. The international unity of communists continued to disintegrate and give way to bilateral relations between, on the one hand the various parties and organizations in the world that were attempting to counter the influence of Soviet revisionism and win the proletarian vanguard to Marxism-Leninism, and on the other hand the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of China, the two main parties that had remained faithful to the proletarian revolution.

The recent evolution of the situation in China, where the party is adopting a road more and more alien to Marxism-Leninism, a road which is already threatening to very quickly totally compromise socialist construction in that country, makes a situation which was already sufficiently complex even more complicated. The new Marxist-Leninist forces which emerged in the 1960's and even the 1970's, and which had just begun to merge with the working-class movement in different countries, now find themselves divided amongst themselves. Many of them have rallied to the revisionist "three worlds" line adopted by the Chinese party.

The identification and criticism of an erroneous tendency within communist forces is in itself, of course, a victory and cause for rejoicing. We can indeed only rejoice that the nationalist, chauvinist and profoundly opportunist character of the b"three worlds theory" has been unmasked and that many Marxist-Leninists have taken up the struggle against it. Such struggles against superficially Marxist-Leninist but fundamentally revisionist positions have always been the basis for progress in the international communist movement.

It would, however, be extremely dangerous to end the struggle here. The lessons must be drawn from the recent experience of the struggle against modern revisionism. We must seriously question why no better results have been obtained after twenty years of efforts. For, as we said previously, the working-class movement remains largely dominated by revisionism in most countries at a time when revolutionary storms are imminent or already in rapid development in various parts of the world.

This situation has in fact lasted now for more than twenty years, during which the efforts to rebuild genuine parties of the proletarian revolution have generally met with very limited success. In fact, the situation of the world proletariat in relation to revolution is less favourable today than it was on the eve of the Second World War. The proletariat remains divided in the various countries and on a world scale.

This situation leads some people to the peculiar con-

clusion that if the proletariat is not united and organized around a revolutionary line, then it may as well ally with the weaker bourgeoisies against the "imperialist power on the rise". According to them, we should mark time, develop the national economy, defend our country's sovereignty, work for a new economic world order (new, but still capitalist, it should be mentioned!) and oppose war. This is pure and simple capitulation. The question is not that of deciding what we should do while waiting for the proletariat to adopt the revolutionary point of view; the question is, on the contrary, that of how to work to develop the struggle so as to really win the proletariat over to this point of view. The question is essentially that of knowing how to wage the struggle against revisionism correctly, so as to ensure the victory of Marxism-Leninism in the working-class movement. Because it is only by waging today's struggle on the basis of a Marxist-Leninist line that the proletariat will be armed to face victoriously any revolutionary situation, or any threat of war or fascist dictatorship.

Precisely because the victory over revisionism is a prerequisite for the victory of revolution, it would be particularly irresponsible to reduce this struggle to reciting a few slogans or making superficial claims without any concern for really educating the proletariat. This requires that communists themselves not content themselves with watered-down communism that amounts to little more than a patchwork of quotations from Marx. This requires that we deepen our understanding of the errors and deviations that have hindered the action of the international communist movement since the Second World War.

The struggle against modern revisionism has not been completed. On too many questions it has gone only half-way, with the result that the nature and source of certain errors, in particular that of the total revisionist degeneration of most communist parties in existence in the 1950's, remain not only largely unexplained but even totally unknown to the "new generation" of Marxist-Leninists.

Of course, certain names like those of Trotsky, Browder, Tito, Togliatti and Khrushchev are familiar, as are certain facts — for instance, that each of them was condemned at one time or another as revisionist.

As the Albanian and Chinese communists pointed out in the late 1950's and early 1960's, Khrushchev did not invent anything new. His "theories" on the "peaceful transition" to socialism and "peaceful co-existence" with imperialism, etc., can be traced back to the conciliatory and collaborationist positions of the renegades of the Second International. The essence of revisionism has always been the same everywhere: the

abandonment of the proletariat's class struggle to seize State power from the hands of the bourgeoisie (i.e., proletarian revolution); or else, if revolution has occurred, the abandonment of the proletariat's struggle to keep State power and prevent the restoration of capitalism (i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat).

Now, if we study even minimally the ideological and political development of communist parties, in Eastern as well as Western Europe, in America and in particular in the United States and Canada, we can only conclude that these two forms of the class struggle of the proletariat have been explicitly, or implicitly, at the heart of many debates and have given rise to many theoretical and political errors.

In Canada and the United States, the communist parties were dissolved at the end of the Second World War, and the parties that replaced them gave full support to the bourgeoisies of their respective countries. They did so, first in the name of the struggle against fascism and then shortly afterwards in the name of postwar reconstruction in a climate of domestic and international peace!

At the same time, in the countries of Eastern Europe, the question of "people's democracy" was the object of much debate. Some were worried because it was an abandonment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Others were glad to see what they considered to be a non-Soviet model for attaining socialism. In other words, they were glad to find that a socialist society could be built without the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Let us sum up here, because this is very important. We have just seen how, as early as the last years of the Second World War, there were communist parties in the imperialist countries which adopted the path of collaboration with the national bourgeoisie with the avowed goal of favouring social peace, assuring the development of the national economy, and thwarting the domination of foreign imperialism. This was the line of the LPP created in 1943 in Canada to replace the CP, which was simultaneously dissolved. And the LPP was not alone in advocating this line. The same thing was advanced in Western Europe and the U.S.A.

In Eastern Europe where fascism had just been defeated, other communist parties, or at least some of their leaders, put forward the line that socialism could be built without the dictatorship of the proletariat. In 1948, the Eastern European communist parties merged with the socialist parties, the very parties that had sprung from the Second International whose revisionist degeneration thirty years earlier had sparked the creation of the Comintern. Many other European parties,

including the Communist Party of France, adopted the same line, abandoning the Soviet path of the dictatorship of the proletariat as an essential condition for the victory of socialism.

This evolution of the communist parties should be more deeply analysed and considered in relation to the concrete situation which existed at the time. But the least that can be said is that in many parts of the international communist movement the purity of Marxism-Leninism was already not very firmly defended!

These events date back to the 1940's and 1950's. Unfortunately, the Comintern was dissolved in 1943, and the Cominform, created in 1947, lacked the authority that could have been conferred by decisions made democratically by all communist parties. The historical conditions for the emergence of a "father party" thus existed. The divergences within the movement could only be solved through the authority enjoyed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and its leader Stalin. Unfortunately for communists, with Stalin's death in 1953 and the CPSU's subsequent decisive degeneration into revisionism in 1956, the "father party" decisively plunged most communists into revisionism along with it.

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Generally, the 20th Congress of the CPSU and Khrushchev's "secret report" on Stalin in 1956 are presented as the starting point for the degeneration into revisionism of the majority of the parties which had belonged to the Comintern. The facts, however, tend to show that this was instead more like the finishing point which officialized the revisionist line that had already been gradually corrupting the international communist movement for some years. The very fact that the erroneous positions of the 20th Congress were accepted by many parties without any resistance clearly illustrates that they were not anything radically new.

The defeat encountered by Marxism-Leninism at the end of the Second World War could only have one result: defeats for the camp of proletarian revolution. And this is indeed what happened in the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe. At the time, only China and Albania rejected the path leading back to capitalism. This is also what happened in the advanced capitalist countries, where the working class was invited to support the efforts of "its own" bourgeoisie in rebuilding the postwar national economy and defending national sovereignty.

And this is what happened in the vast colonized regions of Africa and Asia that conquered their political independence during this period. In the broad majority

of cases, the progressive elements involved in these historic struggles remained in total confusion, torn between the different paths proposed to them, each one said to lead to revolution and socialism. In the midst of this confusion, different bourgeois theories more or less disguised in socialist jargon appeared: from the "original road" to socialism, "non-alignment", and so on right up to the famous "three worlds theory" which crystallizes all the past mistakes that led to the abandonment of the proletarian political line to the profit of the bourgeois line of nationalism.

And the result was predictable. The former colonies that became independent did not take the path leading to socialism. They remained subjected to imperialism, which encouraged the establishment of fascist regimes.

What is more, fascism is today a threat in many imperialist countries because of the worsening crisis of capitalism. Once again the danger of a new world war lurks behind the growing rivalries between the great powers.

A tree is judged by its fruits. And these were the fruits of the abandonment of Marxism-Leninism: the camp of the revolution was terribly weakened. Why do we say that? Because, in the majority of countries, communist forces have remained marginal; because, on a world scale, the communist movement no longer represents the beacon towards which the proletariat and the oppressed peoples and nations turn to find an orientation for their struggles and genuine revolutionary inspiration.

And yet that orientation and inspiration are more necessary than ever. Humanity is still subjected to the yoke of capitalist exploitation, the majority of peoples and nations in the world still live under the yoke of imperialism. The capitalist crisis is getting worse, fascism looms on the horizon in light of the rise of reactionary forces in many countries. World war is a very real danger.

This is certainly not the moment to put the teachings of Marxism-Leninism into mothballs, to be replaced by various confused theories which have already been shown up for what they are. It's already been proven that there is no middle path between capitalism and socialism, that there is only one single path to socialism: proletarian revolution.

Nor is this the moment to simply reaffirm the value of Marxism-Leninism, and much less to sound off about the inceased supposed victories of Marxism-Leninism. This phoney optimism can only lead to one result: turning the struggle against revisionism into a purely academic affair. And this would lead to

spreading defeatism and even cynicism in the working-class movement with affirmations that don't take reality into account.

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Marxism-Leninism constitutes the only theory capable of accounting for the political situation which prevails in the world today. It is the only theory capable of furnishing the orientation necessary for the revolutionary transformation of that situation. This is why it must be defended against the attacks to which it is regularly subjected.

However, Marxism-Leninism only becomes a material force which can really influence the course of history to the extent that it is applied in practice, to the extent that it is translated into a political programme and above all calls to action whose application does in fact transform the balance of power between the bourgeoisie and the reactionary forces on the one hand, and the proletariat and the working people, on the other. It is not enough today to affirm the inestimable value of Marxism-Leninism and the necessity of applying it in all circumstances, for that is very abstract. The very concrete question facing us is how to apply Marxism-Leninism to current conditions.

There's no need to rack one's brains to answer this question. Marxism-Leninism provides an answer, the only real answer. At the turn of the century, Lenin established that we live "in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution". We agree wholeheartedly with this conclusion. Evoking Marx, Lenin wrote: "Workers of all countries, oppressed peoples and nations, unite!" We unreservedly adhere to this call.

This is why, before jumping into the promotion of all the various successive kinds of anti-imperialist united fronts in the decades since the Second World War, communists should first take up the task of uniting workers — and there are workers in every country in the world, whether this country is oppressed or not! — and uniting the peoples and nations struggling for liberation. And the only way to achieve the unity of the workers of the world is to first achieve the unity of communists themselves.

In each country, the task of communists is to build the party of the proletariat, a Marxist-Leninist party. On a world scale, the task of communists is to rebuild their political and organizational unity. We should not hesitate to state that adhering to these objectives is the first condition to be met for a genuine break with the modern revisionism which has led to the disintegration of the world communist movement and the degenera-

tion of the majority of parties which composed it into nationalism. In many cases, this nationalism has led to chauvinism, as it did in the U.S.S.R. in the past and is now doing in China. It has also led to social fascism, as has happened in the U.S.S.R.

### For the principled unity of communists on a worldwide scale

At the present time, the Marxist-Leninist movement is divided for lack of a political leadership capable of orienting the efforts of the groups, organizations and parties in the different countries which are engaged in the essential task of rebuilding the vanguard party of the proletariat. Not only does this leadership not exist, but the very conditions for establishing such leadership do not exist. In reality, each Marxist-Leninist party or organization is left on its own when it comes to establishing the practical rules to follow in the conduct of its relations with other parties. This results in a particularly difficult situation, when we know that some parties have the rule — applied in the time of the Comintern, dissolved 35 years ago! — or only recognizing one party or organization in each country, on the basis of the correct principle that there can be only one communist party in any given country.

Reality today is quite different from what it was between 1919 and 1943 or even 1950. The Comintern had a **Programme** and a **Constitution**, and joining the Communist International meant adhering to this Programme and this Constitution. All those in the same country who joined the International necessarily belonged to the same party; that is quite obvious. But today, where is the Programme? Where is the Constitution? On what basis should we recognize this or that party or organization rather than another? This situation not only creates serious confusion; we are convinced that it has already led to serious errors, such as the recognition of the CPC(M-L) in relation to the Canadian situation. If this gang which behaves in a literally fascist way in Canada has been recognized by three, four, five or ten foreign parties, we have to take this into consideration; but we also have to take into consideration that Bains' gang is totally rejected by the proletariat in our country, just as its U.S., English, Indian and Irish branches are totally rejected by the proletariat in those countries. We also take into consideration that this same party puts forward a line borrowed directly from the revisionist programme of the LPP developed under the leadership of the renegade Tim Buck during the Second World War. Here we have a situation which is, to say the least, rather embar-

assing for the international unity and international solidarity of the Marxist-Leninist movement. It is a situation that must be rectified, for the interests of the proletariat are at stake.

The international unity of Marxist-Leninists can only be built in the same way that the unity of communists in each country is built. Lenin formulated the fundamental guideline for any struggle for principled unity: "Before uniting, and to unite, we must begin by demarcating clearly and resolutely. Otherwise our unity would be fictitious and only serve to conceal the existing disorder and prevent us from putting an end to it." Lenin applied this guideline both to the unity of the Soviet party and to unity between different parties. The Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP) was rebuilt on the basis of a rigorous criticism of, and polemic on, economism and a call to all communists in the country to unite around a programme which re-established its foundation in Marxism after demarcating from the opportunist errors of that period. The Communist International was created after five years of intense struggle and polemic against the social chauvinist revisionism of the opportunists of the Second International, on the basis of a call to communists (parties or party factions) around the world to unite around the revolutionary line resulting from this demarcation with opportunism. In fact, the creation of the Comintern led many communists who had remained isolated up to then to unite and create the party of the Communist International in many countries.

It must be said that since the modern revisionist split, Marxist-Leninists have failed in their duty to build their unity on a solid basis, a principled basis. For reasons that still remain unclear today, we have not only moved away from the principle of an international organization of communists — could it be that this is a tacit rejection of the Comintern?... Why?; we have also replaced collaboration between communists, the **common** definition of line and programme, by bilateral relations based on one's own particular conclusions as to the correctness of the line of those with whom one establishes such relations.

And on the pretext of breaking with the practice of a "father party", the practice was reintroduced in a new form... with the results that are now evident. The most striking of these is undoubtedly the new revisionist split now taking place, a split which developed without the knowledge of many Marxist-Leninists throughout the world, a split that has caused considerable disarray in many countries and that thus has serious negative effects that must not be underestimated.

Many parties and organizations, starting with the

PLA, have firmly rejected the revisionist path of Houa Guofeng's CPC. One can say that this is the result of the demarcation around the "three worlds theory". This is true. But does this mean that the rejection of the "three worlds theory" is sufficient proof in itself that the programme of those who reject it is devoid of all traces of revisionism? We think not, for at least one good reason: in our country there is a "party", the CPC(M-L), and a group, Bolshevik Union, which both noisily reject the "three worlds theory" but whose lines are still thoroughly revisionist.

It is also of interest to point out that, in many cases, the opponents of the "three worlds theory" have differing positions on many fundamental questions. One reason for this is that for many of them, their opposition to this theory is completely formal. This is the case with the CPC(M-L). Some people feel that the victory of revisionism within the leadership of the Chinese party is a relatively recent affair corresponding to Houa Guofeng's arrival in power after the death of Mao Zedong in 1976. For others, however, the CPC, and more especially, Mao Zedong, hadn't applied Marxism-Leninism since the 1930's!

It could be said that, after all, the differences are of a secondary nature and will be resolved in time. Perhaps... But there is something which is somewhat more troublesome. The programmes put forward by all of the parties which reject the "three worlds theory" contain a variety of rather astonishing positions on essential questions of strategy. Among these viewpoints, there are some which are dangerously close to the positions of the "three worldists", such as the positions on two-stage revolution in capitalist countries which have reached the stage of imperialism. A striking example of this is the CPC(M-L)'s line on the "mass anti-imperialist and democratic revolution" in Canada.

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The situation is all the more troubling given that, in practice, it leads to interminable splits. In certain European countries, where "parties" of a dozen people are formed, every month brings new reasons why demarcations leading to splits should take place. Sectarianism is winning out — we have to call a spade a spade. And sectarianism is winning out because the desire for unity is not there. Without a struggle for unity, drawing lines of demarcation becomes an end in itself, and the winner is the one who can find the most reasons for differing from the others and rejecting them into the swamps of opportunism.

The same situation is to be found on an international

scale. The demarcation made with the "three worlds theory" was a step forward. Then there was demarcation with the CPC and Mao Zedong, and already we're starting to hear about demarcations with the PLA and Enver Hoxha! If things continue like this, we have to have enough clear-headedness to understand that the international communist movement will never rebuild its unity and that the disunity which has reigned for the past twenty years will be perpetuated indefinitely.

Another factor has played into the game of division. This is the application which is today made of the principle according to which there shouldn't be more than one party in each country. A certain number of parties mutually recognize one another and maintain relationships among themselves. This would be a factor of unity if, at the same time, they didn't make it a rule to close their eyes to everything that is not "the party" in countries where they have recognized this party. This would be a factor of unity if they didn't keep the fruits of their exchanges, which sometimes deal with basic questions where major differences exist, to themselves...

Given current conditions, this exclusiveness — which deprives a large part of the Marxist-Leninist forces of the chance to take an active part in the struggle against revisionism on an international scale because, to a large extent, they are unaware of what is really at stake — is nothing but sectarianism. It leads to unacceptable situations, such as the fact that many communists did not learn before 1977 that several parties had had major differences with the CPC for years. We will never be convinced that such methods can ever advance the unity of the international communist movement.

To progress along the path of unity, we must want unity. Unity must clearly be posed as an objective to attain and we must put into place the means for truly uniting the communist forces that want to do so. Today, however, instead of being seen as a political and organizational objective, unity is sometimes seen as the organization of different forms of meetings which provide an opportunity to demarcate from the different manifestations of revisionism. We believe that you do not unite in order to demarcate but that you demarcate in order to unite! As long as our unity is not oriented towards a clear objective which would give meaning to demarcation, we will not be able to unite. This objective, let us repeat, is the reconstitution of the international communist movement as the only force capable of offering leadership to the proletariat's struggle for socialism in the different countries, the only force capable of combining the different national liberation, anti-fascist and democratic struggles with the fundamental struggle of our era, the struggle for socialism. From this point of view, unity is not one eventuality among many others; it is an historic necessity. And it is

this point of view which is the Marxist-Leninist point of view.

### Demarcating from revisionism means determining the programme for revolution

The history of the communist movement since the end of the 1950's is as a whole not too well known. In fact, it is as little known as the history of the period of the Second World War and the years immediately afterwards. We do know that major struggles were waged against various forms of revisionism. Some of those forms were the line preached by Tito, by Khrushchev, by Togliatti and by others besides them. We know that those who tried to re-unite communists into new parties in places where the old party had been swept up in the modern revisionist wave were given some real encouragement. We know that many different kinds of relationships existed between the communists in different countries...

But the practical results of all this work over more than 20 years are pretty meagre as of yet. Not only has the unity of communists in the world still to be accomplished, but many of the parties created in this period have in turn fallen into opportunism such as, for example, the "three worlds" theorists. The analysis which has been made of the main deviations of modern revisionism has so far not succeeded in bringing about the one practical result that we have the right to expect: the reformulation of the programme for proletarian revolution, adapted to present conditions and freed of all traces of revisionism. We are lacking, in other words, a programme which takes into account the lessons drawn from the successes and errors of the communist movement since the creation of the Comintern.

The struggle against revisionism is only useful insofar as it enables us to chart a correct path towards the proletarian revolution. Today, as in the past, it is in the programme that communists must formulate the basic outlines of the path to be followed to accomplish the historic mission of the working class.

If communists are today disunited, without a programme and haunted by an endless series of new deviations which all lead to new splits, it is not by chance. The unity of the communist movement has never been placed on the agenda as a necessary task since the Communist International was dissolved. The programme has not been put forward either as the means to accomplishing the unity of communists on a genuinely Marxist-Leninist basis. People seem to be satisfied with the view that accompanied the disbanding of the Comintern, to the effect that all this wasn't neces-

sary any longer. Parties had been consolidated in the different countries and conditions were too uniquely different from one country to another.

Since that point the struggle against revisionism has suffered from a major handicap: it was out of the question to challenge or even to analyse a decision taken while Stalin was alive, a decision which was made undoubtedly at his initiative. To do that would play right into the hands of the Trotskyists! Wonderful logic, it turns out. The result has been just the opposite of what was intended. The field has been left clear for the Trotskyists and the capitalist elements of all sorts who have taken up the task of doing the evaluation of the Comintern and of Stalin — in their own way, of course, which has nothing to do with Marxism-Leninism.

The struggle against revisionism was then carried out in the way that many people seem to wish to continue it, that is by criticising various parties and communist leaders one at a time and in isolation from one another. This has been done with Tito, Togliatti, Khrushchev, Liu Shaoshi, Lin Biao, Deng Xiaoping... and now Mao Zedong! We have almost gotten to the point now where to be accepted in certain communist circles one has to be ready to say that Stalin never uttered a single sentence that was not a pure expression of Marxism-Leninism — and to add that Mao Zedong was never anything but a bourgeois patriot. We reject these simplifications for the very sound reason that they do not do justice to historical reality.

There is no doubt in our minds that Stalin was a firm defender of Marxism-Leninism. He upheld steadfastly the fundamental principle of building socialism in the U.S.S.R. under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We also feel that he played a decisive role within the Comintern and thereby in the development of communist forces in the world. And, briefly, we are of the opinion that Trotsky had become, certainly by the time he was expelled from the U.S.S.R. if not well before, a genuine counter-revolutionary in terms of his line and his practice. He objectively served the counter-revolutionary forces in the world up to the end of his life, and his disciples are worthy continuers of his work.

But to say that Stalin never made the slightest error and to chant it over and over again like the rosary is quite something else. It amounts to simply dismissing the need for any historical materialist analysis of the dissolution of the Comintern and the subsequent evolution of the majority of the parties which belonged to it. This is a frontier we are not prepared to cross, for the simple reason that such an attitude deprives today's communists of a proper comprehension of the modern revisionist-engineered split. It makes the struggle to drive modern revisionism out of the workers' movement

impossible to carry through to the end and to complete victory.

The question is all the more important because it is coming up again in yet another form. Just yesterday all the communists around the world had nothing but fulsome praises for Mao Zedong. When he died in 1976, messages flowed in from everywhere declaring that his death was a great loss for the international communist movement. We were ourselves part of this universal tribute.

But today people say that Mao was never a Marxist-Leninist and that **this has been known since 1960's**. That is where we lose track of the argument completely. We would like to know why, if Mao was known to be a "phoney Marxist" all these years, people have been pretending that just the opposite was true. The problem is posed.

As far as we are concerned, we believe that the history of the international communist movement, and that of the communist parties in different countries, is still a source of lessons which the working class must learn to master fully in order to deal properly with today's struggles. We think that the Comintern left an indelible mark on the shape of a quarter of a century of the history of the workers' movement. It was a period when the communist forces shook the very foundations of imperialism. We believe that Stalin played a leading role during this period and that he showed himself to be a great communist leader. We also think that, during the same period, the Communist Party of China, which belonged to the Comintern, played a major role within it. We think that the CPC led the liberation struggle of its people to victory over foreign imperialism. We believe that that struggle contributed greatly to the defeat of the fascist Axis countries of Germany, Japan and Italy and to the victory of democratic forces around the world as well as to the consolidation of socialist power in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. We affirm all this because this is what the facts of history tell us.

As for the last twenty years, we would say that an intense struggle has been carried out in China to guarantee the triumph of socialism in the wake of liberation. We think that, generally speaking, Mao Zedong was in the camp of those fighting for socialism.

A more developed analysis of history will undoubtedly make it possible to comprehend why a revisionist leadership was able to take over the leadership of the CPC. As it stands now, we think that certain errors were made after liberation in the attitude which was taken towards the bourgeoisie; we think that democratic centralism was violated in many respects, il-

illustrated for instance by the lengthy intervals of time between Congresses. The analysis and understanding of the precise reasons for the recent evolution of the CPC, whatever these reasons may be, is an important task that remains to be accomplished.

However, the analysis of the Communist Party of China cannot be separated from that of the whole international communist movement. For example, while it is true that "concessions" may have been made to the bourgeoisie in China during the 1950's and 1960's, we must not forget that the same thing occurred in the Eastern European countries as far back as the 1940's. In other words, it is by no means certain — far from that — that the source of modern revisionism is to be found in the history of the CPC in the 1950's.

In order to avoid the slightest ambiguity about what we mean here, we would like to add that we attach very great importance to the positions of the Party of Labour of Albania and its leader, Enver Hoxha. The PLA is one of the few parties which has held fast to its Marxist-Leninist positions throughout a whole series of splits in the movement since the 1940's. It remains the party which led the Albanian people to victory in its struggle against fascism and consolidated Albania's national independence against imperialist manoeuvres at the end of the Second World War. It is the same party which established the dictatorship of the proletariat and which has since that point led the Albanian working class in building socialism. These are victories which nothing can ever erase from the historical record. The same is true for all the other working-class victories since the Bolshevik Revolution.

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All that we have said up to now indicates that we do not share the viewpoint of those who would reduce the struggle against revisionism to a storm of wild, fiery denunciations. Such an approach has the rather fundamental drawback that it dilutes the lessons that can be drawn from the historical experience of the communist movement in the struggle for socialism.

The fight against revisionism must not be waged in the perspective of trying first and foremost to unmask a few individual "imposters". Rather it must be conducted with a view to uniting the communists and the international proletariat around the road that will lead the workers of the world to victories over imperialism right up to the victory of socialism. Communists are not going to unite around a series of policies and personalities that have to be condemned. They will unite around a programme, the programme of the proletarian revolution. The programme will move the struggle

forward precisely inasmuch as it is formulated on the basis of drawing lessons from the past, of avoiding past errors that paved the way to revisionism.

Communists today are in a good position to give correct leadership to the struggle of the proletariat, for the problems that are posed by this struggle are for the most part not new ones. The working class has already taken part in struggles for national liberation, in the fight against fascism. It has fought in times of war and in times of peace. It has struggled to take power and it has battled to build socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It has won victories in all of these situations.

What remains to be done today is to single out those errors which led to the defeats. Once this is done it is undeniable that the proletariat will be in possession of a rich panoply of experiences such as has never been seen in any other period of history: Communists do not have the right to deprive workers any longer of these formidable lessons by reducing the struggle against revisionism to just one or two of its aspects.

### Conclusion — Forward in the development of international communist forces

The international situation suggests that conditions favourable to revolution may well emerge in some parts of the world. The proletariat aspires to socialism because capitalism is increasingly incapable of putting an end to misery. Indeed, it only succeeds in making things much worse.

If the socialist revolution is going to succeed, then the struggles of the working class and working people must have proletarian leadership.

Revisionism is dominant within the working-class movement in most countries. Serving the interests of the revolution, the working class and oppressed nations and people today requires that the struggle against revisionism be waged through to victory.

We think that Marxist-Leninists will accomplish this historical task by uniting in order to deepen their understanding of revisionism and by uniting their efforts to defeat it within each country and on a world scale. For it is clear that the division and isolation that have been the rule for communist forces for the past twenty years and more have in fact ultimately served the interests of imperialism rather than the interests of revolution and socialism.

As far as we are concerned, we intend to pursue the struggle to better understand and combat revisionism.

In this task we will be guided by one single concern: to serve the revolutionary proletariat. We will also continue our efforts to achieve greater unity of communists throughout the world on a principled basis.

The struggle against revisionism has made important progress in a number of countries. Parties are being reconstituted. The working class will soon be able to rely on revolutionary leadership in many parts of the world. The development of this trend on a world scale requires the unity of communists on an international level. It is in the struggle to unite around a communist programme that communists will be able to win a decisive victory over modern revisionism.

In short, we believe that:

1. In the conditions prevailing today, communists must commit themselves resolutely to the struggle to unite on the basis of a Marxist-Leninist programme for proletarian revolution.
2. It is in the framework of this struggle for the political and organizational unity of all communists that the past errors can be identified. This will make it possible to defeat revisionism within the very ranks of the communist forces and dislodge it as the dominant ideology in the working-class movement.

## Conclusion

The past two years have been decisive ones in the history of our Organization. We have won important victories, the greatest of which is perhaps the knowledge and understanding we have gained to overcome our own ignorance in many fields. For communists, overcoming ignorance means reducing the influence of bourgeois ideology on one's concepts and ideas. It means understanding more fully class struggle and the history of class struggle. It means mastering the lessons of the struggles waged in the past by the working-class movement.

The coming years will undoubtedly be even more decisive for the future of socialism in Canada and in the world. We are now armed with the Programme for the proletarian revolution in Canada. Our task is now to intensify the struggle to rally the working class around this Programme, to expose the opportunists and revisionists and move forward towards the creation of the party. In this way, when the bourgeois class is decisively rejected by the masses and will no longer be able to hang onto power, the communist forces will be able to provide the proletariat with correct leadership in its struggle for power. Our confidence that this is what the future holds is strengthened by the fact that already,

in many specific struggles, we have been able to demonstrate in practice that the communist point of view is correct and is able to win over the most determined and clear-sighted workers.

There is another domain in which substantial progress is equally probable. There are many indications that the international communist movement will in the coming years win decisive victories over revisionism and make rapid progress towards political and organizational unity. Many parties and organizations have already taken up this task. We ourselves are fully committed to deepening our contribution to this historic struggle, following in the footsteps of the hundreds of thousands of people around the world who have fought and died to make socialism and communism a reality.

Our enthusiasm and unwavering confidence that the revolution will triumph are founded on the scientific truth of the inevitable downfall of capitalism. This enthusiasm and this confidence are renewed and amply confirmed by the victories already won and the possibilities that lie ahead.

**Programme**  
for the proletarian revolution  
in Canada

and

**Constitution**  
of IN STRUGGLE!



## Presentation of the Programme and the Constitution

The publication of the **Programme for the proletarian revolution in Canada** represents a true milestone in the proletariat's century-old struggle to free itself from the claws of capitalist exploitation and from all the forms of oppression that it gives rise to. From now on, the vanguard workers and progressive elements who, in growing numbers over the past years, have understood that the elimination of the evils of imperialism requires proletarian revolution in our country and the world, will come together on the basis of this **Programme**.

The current sharpening of the general crisis which has been eating away at the world imperialist system since the turn of the century; the resulting deterioration of living conditions for working people in the different countries; the numerous attacks against democratic rights, even in countries which have a reputation for being "liberal"; the growing rivalries opposing the different imperialist powers, causing the threat of war to be hanging constantly over our heads: all these are reasons which explain why, over the past few years, the struggles of the working class have multiplied everywhere in the world, including Canada.

At the same time, the solutions put forward by the bourgeoisie directly or by its agents in the working-class movement — that is, the social democrats and revisionists — are increasingly being shown up for what they are: attempts to save capitalism from ruin, hiding behind the cover of

reforms or so-called gradual transformations of this rotten system. So we can understand why the communist viewpoint is once again of interest among the proletariat and the oppressed strata of the working people.

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The past struggles of the working class and those of the oppressed peoples and nations are evidence that the masses' aspiration to freedom is not a new phenomenon. Both their successes and failures prove that their victory requires an orientation based on Marxism-Leninism and the leadership of the proletariat's communist party.

That is why the **Programme for the proletarian revolution**, which the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Canada (MLOC) IN STRUGGLE! is publishing today, constitutes such an historic event. For the first time in more than thirty years, the working class of Canada has in hand the central instrument for the reconstitution of its revolutionary vanguard, its communist party.

Canada is one of the many countries where, since the split in the international communist movement in the fifties, the working class has been deprived of its revolutionary leadership. This has meant that the struggles of the working-class movement have either failed or have gained but fleeting victories. Only the consistent action of a genuine communist party can put an end to this situation. It is only by rallying the proletarian

vanguard to the communist programme that this party can be created.

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The party of the proletarian revolution does not claim, like the bourgeois and revisionist parties, to do everything for, and instead of, the workers. Essentially, the party of the proletariat is the leadership of the struggle of the working class and working people. The communist party will not make revolution for the masses. Rather, it indicates the path by which the proletariat can achieve socialism.

That is why the communist programme is not a collection of promises, each more tempting than the next. That is the style of bourgeois party programmes, and in any case, they change from one election to the next. No, the communist programme is first and foremost an orientation and a call. The communist programme analyses capitalist society and shows how it is the source of all the current evils of humanity. It shows how the future of humanity lies in communism. Finally, it indicates that proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat are necessary stages for the emancipation of humanity from all forms of exploitation and oppression.

But, the communist programme is not a document which talks about some far-off uncertain future. On the contrary, its content is a call to workers to take up the struggle for the party right away, since it is an immediate and essential task for socialist revolution. As well, it provides a practical orientation for the current struggles of the proletariat, women, and oppressed nations and minorities, at the same time that it determines the areas where it is essential for the working class to put up bitter resistance to the bourgeoisie's manoeuvres and attacks. The working class makes up the camp of the revolution in these struggles and areas. Thus, the communist programme is, as it should be, a guide for the immediate and long term action of the working class.

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Over the past years the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Canada IN STRUGGLE! (previously the Group IN STRUGGLE!) has paid much attention to the question of the programme. It has done so in its newspaper, its journal, and during public conferences and meetings. A year and a half ago, it published its **Draft Program** in order to concretize the importance of this question, to give itself a practical instrument to wage its struggle, and to permit the participation of the masses in the final formulation of the programme of the revolution.

The development of the struggle on this terrain was to reveal yet another reason for paying great attention to the question of the programme. This reason is linked to the fact that, since the dissolution of the Third International (or Comintern), Marxist-Leninists have often underestimated the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin on the necessity of the programme for cementing the unity of communists in different countries and throughout the world.

At a time when the question of the unity of communists is becoming more and more crucial on a world scale, it is good to remember that, today as yesterday, this unity cannot be solidly achieved except on the basis of a programme. For only this programme will be able to unmask the ambiguities and deformations of Marxism-Leninism, which too many opportunists are still able to conceal by passing them off as the "general line of the international communist movement".

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Every time that workers get together and organize on the basis of communist ideas, another step towards the creation of the party in Canada is made. It is not only on the level of the programme that the MLOC IN STRUGGLE! has contributed to this task over the past years. The **Constitution** which is found following the **Programme** sums up the organizational advances of our Organization in the application of democratic centralism.

The communist programme only takes on its full significance to the extent that it is regularly the guide of the working class in its struggle. For this, it must be applied by an organization, and as soon as possible by the party. The **Constitution** contains all of the fundamental rules which permit the application of democratic centralism, which is the organizational principle of the communist party.

The **Constitution** is just as important as the programme in the life of a party or organization. Here as well, history has shown that straying from the teachings of Marxism-Leninism opens the door to deviations, mistakes, and finally the out and out abandonment of the revolutionary struggle. The application of democratic centralism, guaranteed by the **Constitution**, assures the unity of action which is essential to the success of the revolutionary struggle, at the same time that it bases this unity on the broadest democracy in the ranks of the party and in the relations between the party and the masses.

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The proletarian revolution is on the agenda on a world scale. The working class of Canada can

play its vanguard role in the revolution by the attention it gives to correctly waging the struggle to give itself a party which is really faithful to Marxism-Leninism, and by the firm refusal with which it has up until now opposed the many attempts of various con artists to subjugate it with their pseudo-revolutionary language.

The **Programme** and **Constitution** of the MLOC IN STRUGGLE! are two essential tools to pursue this historic struggle.

(May 1979)

## Programme for the proletarian revolution in Canada

### Introduction

**We live in a world rife with misery and oppression in various forms.**

Hunger, poverty, unemployment, racial and sexual discrimination, and many forms of repression, from the restriction of the most basic democratic rights like freedom of speech and association to hideous barbarism like torture and genocide, are still the lot of the majority of the people of the world.

Colonialism, national oppression, the domination of the great powers, rivalry, war, and the threat of war characterize relations between countries, peoples, and nations.

Far from diminishing with the progress of science and technology, the various forms of misery endured by the masses are growing in the countries dominated by Capital. The gulf between the rich and the poor, between the powerful and the dispossessed, is steadily widening.

Ever since the first class societies, the exploited have aspired to a better life where the living conditions of all would be in keeping with society's ability to use the wealth of nature. They have yearned for a society where all injustice would be banished forever, a society with no trace of corruption, a

society in which the weak would no longer be oppressed by the strong, a society in which one class would no longer be exploited by another.

Humanity has reached a turning point in its history. The dreams of the past have become real possibilities for a future that can already be foreseen, because the material conditions necessary for achieving them are growing steadily.

At the same time, the proletariat and working people are becoming increasingly aware that this society can only be achieved through proletarian revolution. Only proletarian revolution can put an end to the capitalist relations of exploitation that are now the fundamental obstacle to further progress for mankind.

This is the meaning of the struggle for a society of abundance, of justice and of freedom: the communist society.

**1 Most of humanity now lives under the yoke of imperialism, the final stage of capitalism.**

In the 16th century, the capitalist mode of production began to emerge on the basis of commodity production. A minority of people

— mainly rich merchants — gradually took over the principal means of production, more often than not through violence. This process led to the creation of the proletariat, the class made up of the people dispossessed of the means of production and forced to sell their labour-power.

The bourgeoisie's rise to power was completed when it took over the State and moulded it in its interests. A new form of class society emerged, characterized by the struggle between two main classes: the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The course of humanity is still determined by the struggle between these two classes.

The bourgeoisie's power is rooted in the appropriation of new wealth produced by the labour of the working class. Workers are forced to exchange their labour-power for a wage that allows them to survive but that represents less value than that produced by their labour; this is the source of capital accumulation. In this way, the capitalists, the owners of the means of production, constantly deprive the workers of part of the fruits of their labour.

Capitalists have only one *raison d'être* — to accumulate more and more capital. They are therefore always looking for ways to increase the productivity of labour. This stimulates the development of science and technology and leads to an ever greater division of labour. It also results in very keen competition among capitalists themselves; many are reduced to bankruptcy, while a minority get richer and richer.

The higher level of the division of labour that comes with the development of the productive forces leads to a steadily growing socialization of production. The existence of modern society depends on the work of millions of individuals whose roles in production are increasingly interdependent. At the same time, a minority, the owners of capital, continues to control production. This contradiction between the social character of production and the private character of the appropriation of the fruits of production is the fundamental contradiction of capitalism.

This fundamental contradiction is the source of the anarchy of production and the crises of overproduction under capitalism. This explains the enormous waste of productive forces lost through drops in production and plant shutdowns, and the resulting social misery, notably unemployment. This also explains why, alongside this waste, millions of

people lack the basic necessities and why even famine still strikes in various parts of the world.

Capitalism reached its final stage of development, the stage of imperialism, early in the 20th century. Since then, it has been characterized by a general crisis that will inevitably lead to its downfall.

Monopolies are the foundation of imperialism. These big financial trusts are the result of the union of the biggest bankers and industrialists and they rule supreme in all capitalist countries. The power of these masters of Capital is all the greater because they have total control over State power, and they use it in a multitude of ways to intensify the exploitation and oppression of the masses.

Except in socialist countries, the monopolies have set up the rule of Capital, and the imperialist powers have established their domination throughout the world. To pursue their endeavors, the masters of Capital have no other choice today but to extend their exploitation of the proletariat and working people throughout the world. Rivalries that set the imperialist powers and the big monopolies against each other now outweigh the competition that has always existed between individual capitalists. The imperialists inevitably end up resorting to wars, and the peoples end up paying for them. These conflicts have already twice been transformed into world wars.

Increasingly brutal repression is the only response the imperialists and their agents have for the proletariat, the working people, and the oppressed peoples and nations who rise up against exploitation. As we have seen in many countries ever since the 1930's, imperialism has often resorted to fascism, the open and violent dictatorship of the most reactionary classes in the service of Capital.

## 2 The era of imperialism is also the era of proletarian revolution.

Capitalism has created the very conditions for its own destruction. The spread of capitalist production has resulted in the growth of the size, cohesion, and revolt of the proletariat, the only thoroughly revolutionary class. With the abolition of capitalist exploitation, the proletariat is the only class that has everything to gain and nothing to lose but its chains.

The proletariat's resistance to capitalist exploitation is as old as the proletariat itself. The first working-class defence organizations — trade unions and various mutual aid associations — emerged very early in its history. The first international working-class association was created in the mid-1800's. In France in 1871, the proletariat attacked State power and founded the Paris Commune.

It was the glorious October Revolution in Russia in 1917, however, that marked the onset of the era of proletarian revolution, the era of the struggle for socialism and communism led by the working class and its vanguard party.

The successes and setbacks of all revolutionary struggles since then confirm that henceforth only proletarian leadership can lead the revolution on the path towards socialism. In the era of imperialism, the cause of the oppressed nations and peoples is more and more intimately linked with that of the proletariat because their total liberation from the yoke of imperialist oppression is only possible with the abolition of capitalism itself.

The world is now divided into two camps with diametrically opposed interests. The camp of imperialism and reaction stands opposed to the camp of revolution and progress, which includes the socialist countries, the international proletariat, and the peoples and nations fighting imperialism.

Four main contradictions govern the contemporary world: the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie; the contradiction between socialist countries, and capitalist and imperialist countries; the contradiction between oppressed peoples and nations, and imperialism; and the contradiction between the various imperialist countries and monopoly groups themselves.

The struggle for socialism has suffered setbacks, especially in the USSR — which has today become a social-imperialist power — and other countries that have adopted the path of capitalist restoration. All these setbacks are reminders that, historically, no mode of production has ever been replaced by another without temporary defeats for the revolutionary classes at the hands of the enemy classes. These setbacks underline the fact that without a firm application of Marxism-Leninism, without the dictatorship of the proletariat, the struggle for socialism will inevitably meet with such defeats.

Capitalism, undermined by its own con-

traditions, will inevitably be overthrown, just as all previous systems of class exploitation, including slavery and feudalism, have been. The working class has the mission of carrying this task out to its ultimate conclusion: the abolition of class society.

## 3 Canada is an independent capitalist country that has reached the stage of imperialism. Socialist revolution is now on the agenda.

In the 19th century, the Canadian bourgeoisie turned the struggles and popular uprisings of the masses against British colonial power to its own advantage and established itself as the ruling class throughout the vast territory of Canada. The territory had belonged to the Native peoples until the 16th century when the French and the British began to colonize it by force of arms.

First exploited by the merchants of the French and British metropolises, Canada developed its own local bourgeoisie which was composed mainly of anglophones, but also included some francophones. The primary interest of this local bourgeoisie lay in the capitalist industrialization of the country.

This rising class did not shrink from using all means necessary to establish its total control over the country. It dispossessed and slaughtered the Native peoples, i.e. the Indians, Inuit, and Metis. It imported vast numbers of super-exploited foreign workers. It gradually dispossessed independent small producers, like farmers, craftsmen, and fishermen. It denied the national rights of oppressed nations and national minorities, such as the Native peoples, the Acadians, and the Quebecois.

With the gradual establishment of the parliamentary system and the acquisition of political independence, in particular with Confederation in 1867, the bourgeois democratic revolution in Canada was, for all intents and purposes, complete. By the turn of the century, Capital had come to dominate throughout Canada, with the Canadian State as the instrument of its dictatorship.

Since then, Canada has emerged as an imperialist power in which a minority lives in outrageous wealth and shameless waste, while the majority face poverty, unemployment, misery, unhealthy living and working conditions, and starvation wages.

A handful of big Canadian financiers, allied first with British and later with U.S. imperialism, controls the social and economic life of the country.

As the general crisis of capitalism deepens, the Canadian bourgeoisie is confronted with the mounting resistance of the proletariat and the peoples, and with the sharpening of inter-imperialist rivalries resulting from the struggle to redivide the world. The bourgeoisie must inevitably increase the exploitation and oppression of the Canadian masses, step up the exploitation of the North inhabited by Native peoples, intensify its search for new sources of raw materials and cheap labour in foreign countries, and extend the markets where it can sell its commodities.

Canadian capitalists seek to increase the productivity of workers. They impose speedups and compulsory overtime. They multiply their attacks on the democratic rights of working people and continually try to control their organizations and even to destroy them. They flout the rights of the Quebec nation, the Native peoples, and the national minorities, as well as the rights of women, immigrants, youth, and all the oppressed strata.

The Canadian State is controlled entirely by, and in the service of, the capitalist class. It steadily improves its instruments of repression, notably its police and its army, which remain the ultimate weapons for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the people and for its imperialist activities around the world. In order to develop its imperialist activities, the Canadian State participates in several military pacts and interferes in other peoples' affairs, particularly through the so-called international "peace-keeping forces".

Socialist revolution is the only way that the working people of Canada can ensure both the full respect of the democratic rights of the oppressed strata and the abolition of all exploitation.

#### **4 The working class of Canada has proven that it is the leading force of the socialist revolution in the country.**

The proletariat is rich with the experience gained in the many battles it has fought against the bourgeoisie for over a century now. Even when the working class represented only a small proportion of work-

ing people, it quickly began to play a vanguard role in the major economic and political battles that have marked Canadian history from the early 1800's. One of the earliest of these was the struggle of workers to organize trade unions. It also played a leading role in the many battles for the rights of women and of other oppressed strata, and by lending active support to the struggles of the proletariat and oppressed peoples and nations throughout the world.

In 1921, on the basis of the lessons learned in its previous struggles and the lessons of the October Revolution, the vanguard of the proletariat of Canada broke with various brands of reformism, adopted Marxism-Leninism, and founded the Communist Party of Canada. For the next two decades or so, this Party was to lead important mass struggles in the country.

During the 1940's, however, the Party sank hopelessly into revisionism and class collaboration. The Party leadership made concessions to the interests of the labour aristocracy and strata of the petty bourgeoisie that benefited from Canadian imperialism. It finally abandoned the Marxist-Leninist line of proletarian revolution and took up a bourgeois nationalist line.

The Party thus joined the camp of the modern revisionists who, in the late 1950's, instigated the great split of the international communist movement. For many years, the working class in Canada — like in many other countries — was deprived of revolutionary leadership and left open to the influence of various opportunist tendencies: Trotskyism, nationalism, social democracy, and different forms of petty-bourgeois radicalism.

It was only with the upsurge of the mass movement in the 1960's and 1970's and the resolute struggle of the parties and organizations in various parts of the world that had remained faithful to Marxism-Leninism and rejected modern revisionism that an authentic communist movement was reborn in Canada. Once again, there was a movement in Canada to take up the task of proletarian revolution.

#### **5 The historic mission of the working class is to lead the world to communism.**

The working class cannot free itself

without freeing all of humanity at the same time, because the ultimate goal of its struggle is not to replace the power of one class with that of another but rather to abolish all classes. This is the only way to put an end to all the social divisions and inequalities that have characterized class societies thus far.

The extensive development of productive forces is fundamental to the emergence of communist society. It will permit a steady reduction in the human work needed to produce goods. Communist society is based on the free association of all individuals who work together to produce the goods necessary for their collective well-being. All will work according to their capacities and their needs will be fully satisfied. In such conditions, work will become the first vital need for everyone.

Thus, individuals will no longer be governed by the division of labour and all opposition between city and countryside and between manual and intellectual work will be eliminated. The abolition of classes will also mean the elimination of the roots of women's oppression at last.

Only socialism, the transitional stage between capitalism and communism, can fully realize the material and ideological conditions for communist society. The expropriation of the capitalists and the socialization of the means of production will lead directly to the abolition of society divided into classes with opposing interests. The abolition of classes will in turn lead to the withering away of the State, and ultimately to its extinction for the State is not, and can never be, anything other than the instrument of dictatorship of one class over others.

#### **6 The emancipation of the workers will be the act of the workers themselves.**

The fundamental interests of the proletariat are the same throughout the world. The socialist revolution in Canada is inseparable from the world proletarian revolution. The struggle for socialism in Canada will be the primary contribution of the working class of this country towards communism. Communism itself is only possible in a world totally rid of imperialist domination, capitalist exploitation, and bourgeois ideology.

In order to put an end to capitalist exploitation, the proletariat must seize State power, destroy the administrative and military apparatus set up by the bourgeoisie, and establish its own dictatorship over the exploiters, thus creating the conditions for the broadest possible democracy for all working people.

The proletarian State has to ensure the destruction of the material and ideological bases of bourgeois society and the construction of those of socialist society. Once in power, the proletariat will eliminate the private ownership of the means of production, beginning with the expropriation of the domestic and foreign big bourgeoisie.

The ownership of the means of production will be socialized and placed under the control of the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In order to prevent the appropriation of the fruits of the labour of the working class by a minority which could thus become a new bourgeoisie, working-class power will rely on the total control by workers over the organization of their own labour and over the distribution of the goods produced.

Proletarian democracy will be the spearhead of the victory over the political and ideological forms of bourgeois society. It will be guaranteed by the broadest participation of the masses, guided by the working class and its party, in all political, social, and cultural activities and in the struggle against bourgeois ideology.

The dictatorship over the exploiters and democracy and equality for all the different strata of the people will be governed and guaranteed by the constitution and law. The constitution will attack all inequalities and forms of oppression inherited from capitalism and all former class societies. In particular, the full equality of men and women will at last be recognized in more than words. With the socialization of domestic work and the participation of women in social production, the total realization of full equality will finally be underway.

Socialist construction requires the greatest possible unity of the proletariat and working people of the entire country. Unity, however, is impossible without equality. Therefore, the principle of the absolute equality of languages and nations will be fully applied. There will be no discrimination in work, in

education, or in daily life against members of any nation or national minority. Nations will have the inalienable right to decide for and by themselves on their political status, including the right to form an independent State.

The proletariat will exercise its supreme leadership over socialist construction including State administration and the armed forces through its vanguard party, the Marxist-Leninist communist party. The guarantee for the dictatorship of the proletariat lies in the people in arms who will be able to stand up to any counter-revolutionary danger, whether it comes from inside or outside the country.

The working class in power will seek the closest union with the other socialist countries. It will actively support the struggle of the international proletariat for its total emancipation, as well as all national and democratic struggles waged against imperialism and reaction. It will be a firm defender of the socialist State in the face of any imperialist aggression.

## 7 The task of the working class is to build the camp of the socialist revolution under the leadership of its vanguard party.

The principal enemy that the working class of Canada confronts in its struggle for proletarian revolution is the Canadian bourgeoisie, the class controlling State power. The working class must also be prepared to confront the combined forces of world imperialism and reaction, especially the close allies of the Canadian bourgeoisie and the big hegemonic powers which have always been the sworn enemies of socialism around the world.

The working class of Canada, made up of men and women of different nations and national minorities and working in different sectors of the economy, is both the main force and the leading force in the revolution. It will seek support from its potential allies: the semi-proletariat, the lower strata of the petty bourgeoisie — whether employees or owners of their means of production like small farmers and fishermen — and all the popular forces engaged in democratic struggles.

At the same time, it must neutralize the intermediate strata and resolutely fight all bourgeois agents in the working-class move-

ment, in particular those who defend the interests of the labour aristocracy and the petty bourgeoisie — the main social basis for all forms of opportunism and revisionism.

It must actively link up with the struggles of the international proletariat and support the socialist countries and the struggles of oppressed peoples and nations against imperialism, especially where Canadian imperialism is involved.

To lead its struggle to victory, the working class applies a principle central to all revolutionary strategy and tactics: it continually works to strengthen the camp of the revolution while weakening the reactionary camp ideologically, politically, and militarily.

The victory of the proletarian revolution depends on accomplishing three main tasks:

- a) building the revolutionary party; the party, a detachment of the international communist movement, brings together the best fighters of the working class, is based rigorously on Marxism-Leninism, and firmly applies democratic centralism; its organization is based in the factories and other workplaces and spreads into city neighbourhoods and rural regions; the party is at all times and in all respects the headquarters of the revolution, its supreme and sole leadership;
- b) uniting the proletariat of all nations and national minorities and the different strata of the people fighting exploitation and oppression on the basis of the line defined by the party, and winning to its leadership mass organizations, especially the trade unions; for while it is the party which makes the masses conscious, it is the masses who make revolution;
- c) arming the masses to fight repression, preparing them ideologically and organizationally to fight the bourgeoisie's reactionary violence and ultimately to seize State power by revolutionary violence as soon as the necessary conditions arise.

## 8 The proletarian party builds up the revolutionary camp by supporting the immediate struggles of working people.

Proletarian revolution is a protracted struggle, and during the period when the conditions for seizing State power are not pre-

sent, this struggle develops essentially around the immediate struggles of the proletariat and working people. The party of the working class takes up its role as the leader of the revolutionary proletariat by joining in these struggles and by demonstrating the need for revolution through them.

The party also supports the immediate struggles of working people to protect their material and moral well-being, and to create the conditions most favourable to their struggles. The party remains aware, however, that the immediate demands it puts forward can be fully satisfied only with the victory of the socialist revolution.

It is in this perspective that it is urgent to fight for the following demands:

- a) the complete freedom of expression, association, and economic and political organization for the proletariat and the popular strata and the complete independence of their organizations, including trade unions, from the bourgeois State;
- b) the right for all to bear arms;
- c) the absolute equality of languages and nations; the abolition of all forms of discrimination against nations, national minorities, and immigrants; the right of oppressed nations to self-determination, including the right to set up an independent State;
- d) the complete equality of women and men

at work and in all other areas of political, economic, and social life;

- e) the end to all restrictions on the right to strike and to free collective bargaining for all workers;
- f) equal wages and salaries for all workers performing equal work, without discrimination as to age, sex, race, nationality, language, or region;
- g) the indexation of all forms of workers' income — salaries and wages as well as unemployment insurance benefits, pensions, family allowances, and social welfare; the establishment of a guaranteed minimum income for all, indexed to the cost of living;
- h) the elimination of compulsory overtime;
- i) the total protection of health in the workplace and in the community;
- j) the withdrawal of Canada from all military and imperialist alliances and an end to all interference abroad by Canada; the recognition by Canada of all socialist countries and the abolition of all restrictions on exchanges with them;
- k) the repeal of all treaties, accords, or agreements between Canada and other countries that interfere with the country's political sovereignty;
- l) the right to political asylum for all those who are fighting for liberty, democracy, or socialism anywhere in the world.

## Constitution of IN STRUGGLE!

### Chapter 1

#### **The Marxist-Leninist Organization of Canada IN STRUGGLE!**

**1.1** IN STRUGGLE! is a Marxist-Leninist organization which is working to rebuild the proletarian party in Canada.

**1.2** The task of the Organization is to apply the universal lessons of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of Canada. It does so by carrying out its **Programme** for the proletarian revolution in Canada.

**1.3** The Organization is an integral part of the international communist movement. It is therefore also involved in the struggle to unite that movement and promote the development of proletarian revolution all over the world.

### Chapter 2

#### **Members**

**2.1** Any individual 18 years old or older who adheres to its **Programme**, accepts its **Constitution**, carries out its decisions, observes its

discipline, pays membership dues and is actively involved in one of its organizations can be a member or probationer of the Organization.

**2.2** All members and probationers must belong to a Cell.

**2.3** It is the duty of all members and probationers:

- a) to study, apply and defend Marxism-Leninism and further develop their communist consciousness at all times;
- b) to courageously and steadfastly serve the working people of the country and throughout the world and work tirelessly to rally them to the programme of the revolution;
- c) to express their views frankly and practice criticism and self-criticism courageously in order to strengthen the quality of work done by them, their comrades and the Organization;
- d) to subordinate their personal interests to the demands of the revolution;
- e) to protect the Organization's secrets in any and all circumstances;
- f) to fight small-group mentality and develop party spirit, work towards unity and not division, develop their initiative and report systematically on tasks carried out.

**2.4** All members and probationers have the

right:

- a) to participate in discussions on all questions raised in the Organization, to express their point of view and submit suggestions, criticisms and proposals on any question at their Cell plenary meetings;
- b) to communicate directly with all leading bodies of the Organization, including the Central Committee, and to ask them questions and make suggestions, criticisms and proposals;
- c) to participate in any discussion which involves a decision regarding their behaviour, except in cases where there is serious reason to doubt their integrity;
- d) to appeal disciplinary measures taken against them to a higher body, up to and including the Central Committee and the Congress. The measures taken are to be applied while the appeal is pending;
- e) in addition, all members have the right to vote, to elect and to be elected to the leading bodies of the Organization.

**2.5** Persons wishing to become a member of the Organization must follow the individual admission procedure. Each person must submit a written application to the Cell. Two members investigate the application, report on it, and formulate a proposal that the Cell votes on. An absolute majority is required for admission. The decision must be ratified by the immediately superior leading body.

**2.6** Candidates become probationers when their applications are accepted. The probationary period lasts for at least one year. Probationers have the same duties as members but do not enjoy all the rights of members: they do not have the right to vote, to elect or be elected to a leading body, or to sponsor the integration of probationers. When the probationary period is over, and without any further request being necessary from the probationer, the Cell must vote on whether or not the probationer should become a member. An absolute majority is required for the probationer to become a member. This decision must be ratified by the immediately superior leading body.

**2.7** The probationary period enables probationers to deepen their understanding of the **Programme and Constitution**, and of the Organization's tasks. At the same time, it provides an opportunity for the Organization to gain a thorough understanding of the probationers' abilities and to test their steadfastness and resolve to serve the revolution.

**2.8** If members or probationers seriously

violate organizational discipline or do not fulfil their duties, their Cells can, following investigation and if the absolute majority of its members so decides, apply appropriate disciplinary measures, up to and including expulsion. Expulsions must be ratified by the immediately superior body, although they are to be applied while the ratification is pending.

**2.9** The Central Committee must approve the reintegration of a member or probationer who has been expelled before that person can be readmitted. The body immediately superior to the Cell must approve the reintegration of anyone who has previously resigned from the Organization.

### Chapter 3

#### Organizational principles

**3.1** The fundamental communist organizational principle is democratic centralism. It is based on the unity of action, purpose and leadership resulting from decisions taken democratically. Applying democratic centralism means:

- a) decisions at each level are made following open discussion. Once decisions have been made, everyone must apply them without hesitation. The formation of factions within the Organization is contrary to the exercise of democracy and unity of action, and cannot be tolerated;
- b) all members and probationers, whatever their function, must submit to the Organization; the minority must submit to the majority, the lower bodies to the higher bodies, the entire Organization to the Central Committee and the Central Committee to the Congress. If members or probationers do not agree with a decision or directive, they can make their opinion known by appealing directly to higher bodies up to and including the Congress; meanwhile, however, they must apply the decision or directive in full;
- c) all members of leading bodies must be elected. Elections to all leading bodies are conducted by uninominal and secret ballot. An absolute majority is required for all elections. Members nominated for elected posts have the right to withdraw their candidacies. All elections to a leading body must be ratified by the immediately superior body. Members elected to any position of leadership can

be recalled at any time by those who elected them;

- d) all leading bodies must periodically report on their activities to those who elected them. Lower bodies must regularly report on their activities to higher bodies;
- e) all leading bodies solve all problems which fall within their respective mandates in accordance with the **Programme and Constitution** and with decisions made by higher bodies;
- f) all bodies must strive in their work to link collective leadership with individual responsibility, develop criticism and self-criticism, and listen to the masses both within and outside the Organization.

**3.2** The Organization must be able to ensure the continuation of all forms of its work in any and all situations of capitalist repression.

### Chapter 4

#### The Congress

**4.1** The Congress is the highest leading body of the Organization. It takes a stand on the Central Committee's Political Report. It examines and decides on all ideological, political, and organizational questions. Only the Congress can modify the **Programme and the Constitution**. Its decisions are binding on all members and probationers.

**4.2** The Congress elects the Central Committee, after having determined the number of full and substitute members.

**4.3** The Congress is convened by the Central Committee at least once every three years. A two-third majority of the Central Committee is required to postpone the Congress beyond that time limit. A Congress can be convened at any time by an absolute majority vote of the members of the Central Committee or of the Organization.

**4.4** The Central Committee determines the methods of delegation to the Congress. Members of the Central Committee who are not elected as delegates to the Congress take part in the work of the Congress but do not have the right to vote.

**4.5** The Congress is chaired by a Praesidium elected by it. The agenda is proposed and communicated to the Organization by the Central Committee at least two months in advance. The Congress itself determines the final agenda.

### Chapter 5

#### The central organization

##### A) The Central Committee

**5.1** The Central Committee is the Organization's leading body between Congresses. Its mandate is to provide ideological and practical leadership for all the activities carried out by the Organization. Its role is to ensure that the **Programme and the Constitution** are applied throughout the Organization.

**5.2** The Central Committee's responsibilities are:

- a) to ensure that the **Programme and Constitution** are applied in practice in accordance with Marxist-Leninist principles and a rigorous concrete analysis of the class relationships that prevail in Canada and the world;
- b) to lead the Organization in applying the orientation and decisions determined by the Congress and, on this basis, to continually develop the Organization's political unity and unity of action;
- c) to direct the press of the Organization;
- d) to ensure the political and theoretical education of the entire Organization;
- e) to see to the application of democratic centralism and the development of correct methods and style of work and leadership throughout the Organization;
- f) to set up the necessary levels of leadership and to allocate forces, based on what the development of the Organization demands;
- g) to set up the simple and efficient bodies necessary to carrying out the Central Committee's mandate;
- h) to represent the Organization in relations with other Marxist-Leninist parties, organizations and groups internationally, and to do the same with all other Canadian or foreign organizations;
- i) to administer the Organization's assets and to control the appointment and salaries of full-time cadres.

**5.3** The Central Committee meets at least twice a year. There is no quorum unless at least two-thirds of the full members are present. A special meeting of the Central Committee can be convened at the request of an absolute majority of its members.

**5.4** The Central Committee has the right to demand that lower bodies account for their work at any time.

**5.5** The Central Committee elects from

among its members the Secretary-General, who is the official representative of the Organization among the masses and the person responsible for the work of its central leadership.

**5.6** The Central Committee elects the Political Bureau from among its members after having determined its size.

**5.7** The Central Committee resolves any cases not provided for by the **Constitution** and reports on these to the Congress.

#### **B) The Political Bureau**

**5.8** The Political Bureau is an executive leadership. Its mandate is to direct the Organization's work between meetings of the Central Committee and in accordance with the latter's decisions. It reports to the Central Committee and is subordinate to it.

**5.9** The Political Bureau convenes meetings of the Central Committee and proposes the agendas.

### Chapter 6

## **The Regional organization**

#### **A) The Regional Convention**

**6.1** The Regional Convention is the highest level of leadership throughout the territory of a Region. It meets at least once a year.

**6.2** The Regional Convention examines the Report of the Regional Committee and verifies the application of the Central Committee's orientations and decisions throughout its territory. The Convention determines the orientation of work at the regional level, sets the size of the Regional Committee and elects its full and substitute members every year.

**6.3** The Regional Convention controls the establishment of leading bodies at the district, city or other levels on its territory.

**6.4** The Regional Convention is convened by the Regional Committee, which determines the methods of delegation and proposes the agenda at least three weeks in advance. The Regional Convention adopts the final agenda.

**6.5** The Regional Committee can postpone the Regional Convention if two-thirds of its members vote to do so. A Regional Convention may be convened at any time by an absolute majority vote of Regional Committee members or of members in the Region.

**6.6** If the Regional Committee consists only of a Regional Secretary, the immediately superior leadership body must agree to the postponement of a Regional Convention or the convening of a special Convention.

#### **B) The Regional Committee**

**6.7** The Regional Committee is the Region's leading body between Regional Conventions. If necessary, it elects a Bureau from among its members which directs the work between meetings.

**6.8** The tasks of the Regional Committee are:

- a) to ensure the firm application of the **Programme**, the **Constitution** and the decisions of the Central Committee;
- b) to orient and direct the work of propaganda, agitation and organization on its territory;
- c) to apply the decisions of the Regional Convention;
- d) to ensure the development of correct methods of work among the masses;
- e) to see to the education of members and probationers in the Region, and to assist the Bureaus and Secretaries at lower levels;
- f) to set up specialized bodies and levels of leadership at the district, city or other levels, as necessary;
- g) to allocate forces on its territory on the basis of concrete conditions and the objectives of each stage of development, and to see to the creation and proper functioning of the basic organizational units;
- h) to administer the assets of the Region and to ensure that security measures are rigorously applied.

### Chapter 7:

## **The basic organizational unit**

**7.1** The Cell is the basic organizational unit of the Organization. The plenary meeting of all Cell members and probationers is the highest leading body of the Cell. The Cell's role is to direct all agitation, propaganda and organizational work on the territory or in the workplace assigned to it, in accordance with the **Programme** and **Constitution** of the Organization.

**7.2** The Cell must:

- a) link itself closely with the masses and participate in their struggles, putting forward and defending the political line of the Organization;
- b) apply all the Organization's decisions and directives;
- c) see to the political education of its members and probationers;
- d) recruit new adherents, integrate them into the tasks of the Organization and ensure that they receive a communist education and training;
- e) distribute the Organization's publications widely among the masses and work to develop them;
- f) carry out the tasks necessary for the material support of the Organization;
- g) apply the security measures of the Organization;
- h) develop the appropriate organizational forms for mobilizing and leading the masses to action.

**7.3** The Cell has the right to discuss and vote on any question relating to the life of the Organization.

**7.4** The Cell can set up any specialized group

it needs to carry out its work.

**7.5** A Cell can be set up on the basis of a territory or workplace if three members are fully active in the territory or workplace.

**7.6** The Cell meets at least once every two months.

**7.7** The Secretary or Bureau directs the Cell's work between plenary meetings. The Secretary or Bureau is elected by the Cell for a one-year mandate. The Cell also elects a substitute to the Cell leadership.

**7.8** The Cell Secretary is responsible for the accomplishment of all tasks assigned to the Cell by the Organization and for the application of the Cell's decisions. The Secretary accounts for the Cell's work to the immediately superior leading body and reports on his or her activities to the Cell plenary meeting.

**7.9** In workplaces or territories where there is no Cell, the responsibilities of a Cell in carrying out the Organization's tasks and in integrating members, in giving them leadership and in verifying their work are assumed by the immediately superior leading body with authority over the territory or workplace in question.

# For the political and organizational unity of the international communist movement

Appeal from the 3rd Congress  
of IN STRUGGLE! to the  
communists (m-l) of the world



At the Third Congress of the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Canada IN STRUGGLE!, held in March, 1979, it was decided unanimously by the delegates present to address the following Appeal to the different forces active in the struggle against revisionism in the world communist movement:

*"Given that the different communist forces throughout the world remain relatively weak politically, that their links with the working masses of the different countries are not very developed, and that they remain divided and isolated from each other;*

*Given that the victory of Marxism-Leninism over revisionism is held back considerably by the disunity that has existed in the communist forces for over 25 years; and given that, despite certain recent attempts, there has been no serious indication of the development of significant moves toward unity for some time;*

*Given that our interventions in the world communist movement in the last period have convinced us of the existence of real and important differences among the communist forces, and have even showed that some forces do not consider that unity is an immediate question;*

*And whereas proletarian internationalism requires unity, since the proletarian revolution cannot be achieved without the militant unity of the proletariat throughout the world;*

*And whereas this unity can only be realized within a single organization that bases its action on a common programme that represents the living application of Marxism-Leninism to the present conditions of the world;*

*Therefore this Congress calls on all known communist parties and organizations of the world to take up immediately the struggle for their own political and organizational unification. This is necessary because, since the beginnings of the communist movement in the 19th century, it has been established that the proletariat of all countries must unite in its struggles in order to present a single front in the face of imperialism and reaction."*

\* \* \*

This decision by our Organization took place at a Congress that was marked by important victories for the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the deepening of the struggle against all forms of revisionism, for the reconstruction of the proletarian party in Canada and for the future of the proletarian revolution in our country and around the world. These victories were reflected not only in the adoption of this Appeal to the communist forces of the world to take up the struggle for our political and organizational unification. They were also reflected in the adoption of the

**Programme** which will guide the creation and action of the proletarian party in Canada, in the modifications to our Constitution which help guarantee the correct application of democratic centralism in our ranks and thus strengthen our struggle against opportunism, and in the adoption of the Political Report which provides an important analysis of the contradictions in Canada and the world and a firm defence of the interests of the proletariat and the future of the proletarian revolution in all the different struggles in the world today.

None of these decisions were arrived at spontaneously. They were all preceded by an important and lengthy process of open and democratic debate, a process that included not only several months of intense study and discussion within our own ranks, leading to the debates and decisions at the Congress itself, but also the two preceding years of open discussion of these fundamental questions at public conferences organized by IN STRUGGLE!, conferences which involved thousands of workers and other sympathizers of the Marxist-Leninist movement from all across our country.

The adoption of this Appeal, in particular, was the product of the efforts of our Organization for more than two years now to fully assume our important responsibilities in relation to the international communist movement. During this period, we have tried to come to understand the nature of the world communist movement and its battles against opportunism and against imperialism. These efforts have included the beginnings of a serious study on our part of the nature and origins of many of the forms of modern revisionism. They have also included the opportunity for invaluable discussions with foreign comrades concerning the problems of the world communist movement, in particular our recent discussions with many foreign parties and organizations of our private letter, sent to the known communist forces, entitled 'For the Militant Unity of the International Communist Movement'.

We consider that the adoption of this Appeal represents an important development for our Organization in our understanding of the real meaning of proletarian internationalism. We admit frankly that in the history of our Organization this understanding has not always been fully reflected in our line and our practice. This can be shown by certain concessions that were made in the past to the 'three worlds theory', and also by the relatively little attention that we gave to the problems of the international communist movement and to our liaison with foreign parties and organizations during the first few years of our work. These deviations have been corrected through a process of serious study, reflection, and discussion; a process which was greatly aided by our developing knowledge of the texts and opinions of foreign communist forces; and in this process we have

come to the conclusions which are expressed in this Appeal. In coming to these conclusions, we were also forced to confront — and to reject — the implicit opposition which has existed for many years now, in important parts of the world movement, to the creation of an international communist organization. We are now convinced that such an opposition cannot be maintained in the face of a critical examination, either from the point of view of principles or from the perspective of a serious examination of the practical results of historical experience. We are also fully convinced that the real development of proletarian internationalism requires the complete political and organizational unity of the communist forces at the world level and that therefore in today's world, where such unity does not yet exist, the development of genuine internationalism depends on the struggle to achieve this kind of unity. We have arrived at this conclusion based on our study of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, of the experience of the world communist movement, and of the reality of this movement today. We know that many other communist forces are studying the same fundamental problems and that some have even arrived at the same conclusion. And we are optimistic that a serious consideration and debate of these problems will soon lead many other communist forces to this conclusion as well. It is precisely towards the creation of the complete political and organizational unity of the world communist movement that our Organization will concentrate its efforts of proletarian internationalism in the next period. This demonstrates clearly both our deep conviction of the importance and the correctness of our views on this question, and also our full understanding of the fact that the problems of the world movement at this time cannot be solved without the collective efforts of all the genuine Marxist-Leninist forces in the world.

\* \* \*

This Appeal from our Organization to the communist forces of the world arrives at a time of great problems and great events in the world communist movement, a time of battles and decisions which are truly of major historical importance for the future of the world proletarian revolution.

The all-round deepening of the crisis of imperialism has been accompanied in the last few years by a major offensive by modern revisionism against the forces of Marxism-Leninism. The treachery of the revisionist leaders of the government and Communist Party of China has caused important losses to the world communist movement, just as the treachery of Khrushchevite revisionism over twenty years ago also dealt important blows to the international communist movement. And in the climate of confusion created by

the revisionist betrayal of the Chinese leaders, all of the other opportunist forces, including the Soviet-style modern revisionists and the international Trotskyist movement have re-doubled their efforts to attack and to destroy the forces of Marxism-Leninism. At a time of growing struggles against imperialism and reaction, different forms of revisionism are rushing to the aid of the exploiters and oppressors by attacking the only forces which can lead the revolutionary proletariat and its allies to real victories.

The Marxist-Leninist forces of the world have not remained silent, have not capitulated in the face of these attacks. All over the world, in every region and in many different countries, the Marxist-Leninists have stood up to denounce the Chinese revisionists and their counter-revolutionary 'three worlds theory'. And they have also done more: they have linked this important struggle against the revisionism of the leaders of the Communist Party of China and its social-chauvinist supporters around the world to the continuing battle against the many different forms of modern revisionism, and they have shown that this battle depends for its victory on the iron unity of the world communist movement.

The struggles waged by the international communist movement in the last few years show that there exists a deepening and growing understanding of the importance of a many-sided battle against all of the forms of modern revisionism and also a desire for greater unity in the conduct of this battle. However, at the same time, we cannot pretend that the majority of the communist forces in the world have yet arrived at the one conclusion that we consider to be essential: that the victories of these battles now taking place depend on the achievement of the complete political and organizational unity of the communists at a world level. We therefore consider it important to explain clearly in this text how our Organization has arrived at this conclusion, and what we think this conclusion means practically for the orientation of the struggle to unify the world communist forces in battle against revisionism.

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The general crisis of the imperialist system is deepening all around the world, both in the advanced capitalist and revisionist countries and in the colonies and neo-colonies dominated by imperialism. The response all around the world to this crisis is the response of popular resistance, even revolutionary movements of the working masses suffering from the exploitation and oppression of the world system of imperialism and reaction.

But these revolts will only lead to real and lasting victories if they are led with the goal of socialism and communism, if they are led by the proletariat and directed

toward proletarian revolution. The complete failure of the bankrupt solutions of the reformists and revisionists around the world provides ample evidence, both historically and in our times, to confirm this view. The Leninist thesis that **imperialism is the era of proletarian revolution** retains all of its force and validity today. This means concretely that all of the struggles of the proletariat and its allies, no matter what their particularities in different countries, must be led by the proletariat as part of the world proletarian revolution if they are to succeed in ending the exploitation and oppression of the masses.

In today's world, it is precisely the existence of such a proletarian leadership which is most often missing and whose lack is so cruelly experienced. The possibilities for the people of the world to deal important death blows to the imperialist system exist today: both in terms of the depth of the crisis and the strength of the revolt of the working masses. If we cannot say with confidence that these possibilities will be transformed into lasting revolutionary victories, it is precisely because the communist leadership does not exist to lead these revolts on the path of proletarian revolution.

The harsh reality of today's world is that the genuine communist forces remain relatively weak and divided — more than twenty years after the open struggle against the treachery of Khrushchevite revisionism was begun. And this cannot be separated from the fact that, in the battles against modern revisionism in the last decades, it has all too often been the forces of opportunism, and not the forces of Marxism-Leninism, which have temporarily triumphed. The events in China are the most recent example of this. The revisionist leaders of the CPC have not only succeeded in beginning to fully restore capitalism in China itself but also in winning an important fraction of the world 'anti-revisionist' forces to follow their global strategy of collaboration with Western imperialism and international reaction. We can also re-call that the period of the revisionist treason of Khrushchev with his rise to power in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the party of Lenin and Stalin, meant not only the wrecking of the socialist economy of the USSR and the transformation of the Soviet Union into a social-imperialist force. It also included the victory of the capitalist road over the socialist road in most of the countries of Eastern Europe — with the notable exception of socialist Albania — and the opportunist betrayal of most of the existing communist parties in the world. We can also consider the important obstacles to the victories of the anti-imperialist struggles created by the domination of reformist and revisionist leaderships — the case of Chile being only one example among many — and the problem of continued domination of mass social-democratic and revisionist parties over the working

people in the advanced capitalist and revisionist countries.

In fact, we must admit frankly that much of the balance sheet of the experience of the world proletarian movement in the last decades is negative. Important opportunities for revolutionary victories have been missed, both in the developed countries and in the colonies and neo-colonies, because of the dominance of opportunist forces. And many of the gains which had already been won by the world communist movement in the era of imperialism — the establishment and consolidation of the communist parties around the world, and the creation and expansion of the camp of the socialist countries — have been temporarily lost.

It is vitally important that we examine and confront this reality of the relative weakness of the communist forces in the last decades. The first step to transform reality is often to understand it as it really is. When we look carefully at this situation, we are forced to pose some serious questions, questions which are heard more and more often both from the revolutionary workers and from the communists themselves. What are the real reasons for the weaknesses of the communist forces, and the continuing strengths of modern revisionism? And how will this situation be transformed?

It is customary for Marxist-Leninists to respond to these questions with a statement of revolutionary optimism. Such a response is completely correct. The old order of exploitation, oppression, and misery is dying; and the new order, the future of socialism and communism, is being born in this era, the era of imperialism. The difficulties of this process, the existence of the kind of set-backs and reversals that have always occurred when one social system has replaced another, can never put into question the final outcome of the struggle. The theory of Marxism-Leninism remains ever-young and ever-vital, and will finally triumph over all forms of modern revisionism. The future of the world belongs to the revolutionary proletariat, which will finally liberate itself and all mankind.

But such a response, while completely correct, is very far from being enough. The tasks of communists internationally today are not only to defend the ideals of our cause, the justness of our theory, in the face of the confusion and demoralization provoked by the attacks of modern revisionism. Our tasks must also include a **radical transformation** of the situation in the world, which requires that communists win definite and lasting victories in the complex battle against modern revisionism, in order to lead the proletariat and its allies to the seizure of power in the revolutionary situations now appearing in the world, and to consistently defend the conquest of proletarian power wherever and

whenever it is won. To pretend otherwise, to ignore or underestimate the nature of the tasks that we face, would be finally to act as if the communists are an ideological sect waiting for more favourable conditions in history, and not the natural leaders of the world proletariat who must lead the revolutionary forces to real victories in the battles against imperialism and opportunism going on today.

Such a transformation depends first and foremost on a qualitative change in the strength of the communist forces themselves. It depends on the reconstruction of the **political and organizational** unity of the communist forces **at a world level**.

Only the complete ideological, political, and organizational unity of the international communist movement can provide the kind of force that is capable of facing — and defeating — the powerful forces of imperialism and their allies and agents.

It is accepted within the ranks of the communist movement that capitalism at the stage of imperialism is an international system, that this system can only be combatted with the international unity of the proletariat and its allies, and that this practice of proletarian internationalism depends on the unity of the communists themselves. This is widely known, and often repeated. But do we really understand all of what this means?

What it can only mean is that the communist forces of the world, in order to defeat the forces of imperialism and opportunism, must themselves have unity of thought and action. It means that the communists must learn how to act together, as a single force, leading the single army of world proletarians in the battles against exploitation and oppression, against imperialism and all reaction, against all forms of revisionism and opportunism. It means that the world communist forces must become united in their understanding of the strategy and tactics of the imperialist forces and their allies and agents, and of the methods to combat all of these forces — which can only mean to become united in their understanding of the strategy and tactics of the proletarian revolution itself, not only at a world level, but for each country as well. And it means that this unity must become reflected not just in words, but in deeds. From the question of the nature and methods of struggle against Chinese revisionism, to the question of the path forward for the proletarian revolution in Iran today; from the question of the defence of the interests of the world proletariat in the complex situation in Southeast Asia, to the question of the forms of international solidarity in fighting the rise of fascist reaction, the world Marxist-Leninist movement must not only learn to speak with one voice, it must also learn to march forward as one force. And when we have learned

to do this, then we will find that the international army of proletarians is marching behind our banners, grouping its allies, and going on to victory in the proletarian revolution.

There is only one way to accomplish this — and that is with the political and organizational unity of the world communist movement, resulting in **an organization united on a common programme which demarcates from all the forms of revisionism and opportunism, and bound by a common discipline reflected in a collective constitution**.

We consider that such an orientation can and must be defended first and foremost on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles. The very nature of the proletarian revolution, which is characterized essentially by the fact that it is a revolution led by the proletariat on a world scale, directly poses the problem of the nature of the links that must unite the world communist forces. The struggle of the world proletariat is a struggle for communism, for the elimination of all classes and the State itself in each country and on a world scale; and the victory of this struggle in each country and around the world depends on the final victory over imperialism and reaction on a global scale. And if we refer to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, from the time of Marx and Engels, including the life and work of Lenin, and going up to Stalin in the period before the dissolution of the Comintern, then we can see clearly that there has been a consistent attitude on this question. The proletarian revolution will be the work of the popular masses led by the proletariat; and the proletariat has essentially the same interests around the world; thus it is only by its organization on a world scale that the proletariat is really able to take the leadership of the revolutionary struggles in our time and to lead them to the conquest of power, to socialism and to communism. It is only in the last few decades that the communists began to break with this principle, both in theory and in practice. Today, it is more than time to make a serious analysis of this change in orientation and of its results.

Secondly, we consider that such an orientation can be defended on the basis of historical experience, particularly on the basis of the experience of the Communist International or Comintern. The world has already known three international organizations of the revolutionary proletariat, of which one, the Comintern, was founded in the era of imperialism on the basis of the lessons of Marxism-Leninism and the experience of the Bolshevik revolution, with the goal of building the world communist forces into united and disciplined parties capable of winning victories for the proletarian revolution. The Comintern was founded by the active minority of Marxist forces in the world at the time, with the aid of the Bolsheviks and Lenin, in a process of open struggle not only against the social-chauvinist treachery

of the leaders of the Second International, but also against the opportunist deviations within the ranks of the anti-revisionist forces themselves. In a remarkably short time, it succeeded not only in uniting all of the active communist forces on a principled basis, but also in consolidating its unity on the basis of the programme and statutes adopted and the political analyses and tactical decisions of its regular world congresses. The Comintern took on the tasks of strengthening the communist forces where they did exist and of aiding the creation of communist parties where they did not exist; and it largely succeeded in this work, both in terms of the development of the communist parties in the advanced capitalist countries and in terms of the establishment of communist parties for the first time in many of the colonies and neo-colonies.

Of course, the complete summation of the experience of the Comintern remains to be made. In fact this essential task, which has been largely neglected up until now by the Marxist-Leninists in their battle against modern revisionism, is a part of the work that must be done to re-create the programmatic unity of the international communist movement. But one thing is quite certain, even without completing this summation. That is the fact that even the most minimal examination of the experience of the Comintern reveals that this period was the period of the greatest development of the world communist forces, in terms of unity, membership, and mass influence, that the history of the international workers' movement has yet known. Furthermore, the important victories won in certain countries in the period immediately after the dissolution of the Comintern, especially the seizure of power by popular forces under proletarian leadership in Eastern Europe and Asia, can only be understood on the basis of the existence of communist parties in these countries, and thus on the basis of the conditions created by the existence of the Comintern itself.

Thirdly, and finally, we consider that such an orientation can be defended on the basis of a serious examination of the historical experience since the dissolution of the Comintern.

The Comintern was dissolved in May 1943. The Cominform (Communist Information Bureau) was set up in 1947, never including more than a small number of parties, and was finally dissolved in 1956, the same year that Khrushchev presented his notorious 'secret' report to the 20th Congress of the CPSU in which he denounced Stalin as an unscrupulous dictator. By then the first split of modern revisionism had been largely completed, and the party of Khrushchev and Brezhnev was joined by the vast majority of those parties which had formed the Comintern barely thirty years earlier.

During this period, there were the Moscow

Conferences of 1957 and 1960, which proved to be unsuccessful attempts at rebuilding the unity of communists on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. After this the international unity of communists continued to disintegrate; giving way mainly to bi-lateral relations among those forces opposed to Soviet-led revisionism, on the one hand, and the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of China, the two most influential parties fighting revisionism, on the other. Very recently, there have been some attempts towards unity among some of the forces opposed to the revisionism of the current leaders of the CPC; but we cannot pretend that these attempts have achieved major or lasting results.

And what are the concrete results of more than 35 years now without the organized unity of the world communist forces — a period, it is worth noting — which is longer than the entire life of the Comintern itself? They are the results that are well-known, if not necessarily well-understood, in the world communist movement, the results we described earlier in this text. They are the continuing domination of revisionism in the workers movement; the existing weakness and disunity of the communist forces; the tragic victories of revisionism in struggle with Marxism-Leninism, even within some of the States of proletarian dictatorship themselves. Furthermore, revisionism, often appears in the form of nationalism, and 'national exceptionalism'; and it is an undeniable fact that these nationalist tendencies were given a powerful impetus by the dissolution of the Comintern.

One of the arguments against the reconstruction of a communist international has been the fact that this is a call put forward by the international Trotskyist movement. This argument has some influence in Canada, and it probably does in other countries as well. But it is not an argument that stands up to serious examination. The Trotskyists of course do call for an international — but so did the real communist leaders of the world proletariat in the past. In fact the Trotskyists have their 'international', the counter-revolutionary grouping known as the Fourth International. It is characterized by the same fundamental ideological confusion, opportunism, and rotten factionalism as the member sections exhibit in their respective countries. The kind of 'international' desired by the Trotskyists has nothing in common with the Marxist-Leninist unity on principles and on programme, and the iron unity of action, that is needed by the world communist movement. And this fact should be even more evident if we examine the way the Trotskyists evaluate the history of the Comintern — which is to defend its existence, while attacking every important decision it ever made! It became quite clear in the history of the international workers movement that the Trotskyists were completely incapable of accepting the common verdicts of the

world communist movement, decided at its congresses; and it is still clear today that they could never accept the Marxist-Leninist programme or the proletarian discipline of a real communist international. It would be a serious error to allow the fact that they pay lip service to the need for an international to become a block to seriously examining this important question from the point of view of Marxism-Leninism.

We think that all of these considerations point to one essential conclusion, which is that the accomplishment of the political and organizational unification of the genuine Marxist-Leninist forces in the world is not only an eventual **goal** to be desired, but also an **essential condition** for real and lasting victories in the struggle against world imperialism and against opportunism.

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To accomplish the complete reunification of the world communist movement will not be an easy task. It means that we must not only be prepared to intensify our struggles for unity while fighting all forms of opportunism, but we must also be prepared to seriously question and re-evaluate some of the most basic attitudes that have prevailed among the communist forces in this battle up until now.

To begin with, the genuine communist forces must commit themselves to deepening considerably the struggle against **all** forms of revisionism and opportunism. Unfortunately, the struggle against modern revisionism up until now has often remained quite superficial and has thus often succeeded in only going half-way. It is a fact that the possibilities of victory for the proletarian revolution depend on the deepening of the unity of the communists, and that this unity in turn depends on a much more profound understanding of the forms and nature of all kinds of opportunism, including the kinds of opportunism that continue to affect the line and practice of the communist forces themselves. We cannot change this situation if the communist forces content themselves with reducing the struggle against revisionism and opportunism to reciting a few slogans and repeating a few declarations on the international situation that are falsely presented as a 'general line'. We cannot change this situation if the communists themselves are content with watered-down Marxism and Leninism, with substituting a few quotations from the leaders of the world proletariat for a serious analysis of the complex problems we face. We should learn some lessons, for example, from the fact that while Khrushchevite revisionism was being opposed by the Marxist-Leninists because it underestimated the importance of the national liberation struggles, the revisionism of the 'three worlds theory' was being constructed on the basis of a completely distorted exag-

geration of the revolutionary role of the struggles of the oppressed nations for independence. A more profound examination at the time of the role of the national liberation struggles **as a form of the proletarian revolution** would have certainly produced more vigilance against the development of the current Chinese revisionism. And such an analysis must absolutely be done today if we are to arm ourselves against all forms of opportunism on this question. We should also learn some lessons from the fact that opportunist and even counter-revolutionary forces can now be accepted as 'anti-revisionist' forces by important parts of the international communist movement if they are simply capable of producing a written denunciation of Chinese revisionism and declaration of allegiance to the Party of Labour of Albania (PLA). An important example of this is the counter-revolutionary and neo-revisionist political formation from Canada known as the 'Communist Party of Canada Marxist-Leninist' (CPC-ML); a formation which we have proven conclusively in our public documents to be nothing but a gang of opportunists. We are convinced that this situation of the 'recognition' of an opportunist force, on the basis of a superficial judgement concerning the nature of its struggle against revisionism, is not the only case of its kind in the world today.

If we are to really deepen the struggle against revisionism, then this means that we must do a rigorous analysis of the line and practice of the communist movement historically, and particularly during the period of the 1930's, 1940's and 1950's, a period which has never been fully analyzed in the course of the struggle against modern revisionism. The necessity of this analysis becomes quite clear when we stop pretending that revisionism began yesterday, or with the actions of an individual like Khrushchev. Of course, the revisionism of the leaders like Tito, Khrushchev, or Teng is not fundamentally different from the revisionism of leaders like Kautsky or Bernstein or Trotsky that was fought by Lenin and the Comintern. All the theories of revisionism rest finally on the same foundations: the abandonment of the struggle for proletarian revolution where the working class has not yet taken power; and the weakening and destruction of the proletarian dictatorship, where the working class and its allies have succeeded in winning power. But revisionism has such a long life precisely because of its tremendous capacities to develop new forms and new 'theories' to justify these fundamental forms of treachery, and even to hide these new forms and 'theories' behind a Marxist-Leninist language and the banner of proletarian revolution. If the Marxist-Leninists are not capable of understanding all the origins of these deviations in the last decades, then how will they be armed to combat them when they appear again in new forms and with new 'theories', outside of or even within the ranks of the communist forces?

An important example of this problem is the evolution of revisionism in the communist parties of the capitalist countries. The Communist Party of Canada was liquidated in 1943 — the same year as the dissolution of the Comintern — and replaced with the Labour Progressive Party. This new party was a thoroughly revisionist party in every sense, a party whose very programme was based on the idea of collaboration with the 'progressive' capitalists of Canada and the 'democratic' forces of world imperialism; collaboration in the perspective of the struggle for reform, which was to be a prolonged and necessary stage before the question of socialist revolution could even be introduced to the Canadian proletariat. In the United States, Browder's leadership led to the liquidation of the communist party in the same year; and the subsequent struggle against this treason was never completely successful in re-building the communist party. In Great Britain, the communist party produced its new programme, 'The British Road to Socialism' in 1951. In this programme, the party leaders developed all of the main revisionist theses concerning the character of the revolution in the advanced capitalist countries, based on the idea of the peaceful transition to socialism in parliamentary alliance with the social-democratic British Labour Party. All of these forms of modern revisionism appeared well before the death of Stalin and the rise to power of Khrushchev in the USSR; and all of them have been left without serious collective examination by the world communist movement since. These facts show clearly the importance of an analysis of the origins of revisionism which is not limited to comments on the role of Khrushchev and the CPSU.

But the problem of the origins of revisionism in the capitalist countries is only one of the many problems in the historical understanding of the roots of opportunism in the world communist movement. We can mention as well the theory of collaboration with the bourgeoisie for a protracted period after the seizure of power, a theory now being justly criticized in relation to the experience in China, but being politely ignored in relation to other situations. When we stop to think that this theory was also applied in many of the 'peoples' democracies' of Eastern Europe where revisionism and capitalism finally triumphed, in the form of the fusion of the communist parties with the bourgeois social-democratic parties in 1948, and that it is also defended by certain Marxist-Leninist forces today, who propose a programme of alliance with the non-monopoly bourgeoisie in a two-stage, anti-fascist, anti-imperialist, democratic revolution even in countries at the stage of monopoly capitalism, then we can see that the problems we confront are too profound to be resolved by a simple denunciation of Chinese revisionism. We can also wonder whether one of the origins of the ideas of collaboration with the bourgeoisie during the transition to socialism lies in the concept that the two-stage revolu-

tions in the colonies and neo-colonies must result first in the **joint rule of all** classes which have contradictions with foreign imperialism, a concept that existed not only in China but in the texts of many of the Marxist-Leninist forces of the world in the last period.

The examples could continue, but the basic point is quite clear. Unless there is a serious analysis, and a collective analysis, of the real historical origins of all forms of opportunism, we will not be armed to combat them. The questions confronting the world proletariat today are not new questions. Most of them have even been present for over a century now. Wouldn't the proletariat be better armed to establish its strategy and tactics, if it was able to learn from the lessons of the past? This is true in regards to the question of war, of the struggle for independence, of the anti-imperialist struggle, and of the anti-fascist struggle; it is also true for the question of class alliances, of the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, of proletarian democracy, of democratic centralism, of the life of the party, and of many other fundamental questions which concern the success of the proletarian revolution. And history has already shown that, in fact, the communist movement can make great progress when it is able to sum up the lessons of its own experience, to base itself on its successes and to avoid the errors of the past.

Of course, to sum up the historical experience of the communist movement, particularly in the last several decades, is also to sum up the positive and negative lessons of the experience of the Comintern itself. Such an experience should be fully understood by the communists, to be used in our struggle. As well, many of the important forms of modern revisionism appeared in the guise of defence of the decisions of the Comintern during the 1930's and 1940's, and this experience has never been fully understood by the communists. This fact alone is sufficient to justify an open and critical attitude toward the particular decisions and policies of the Comintern in this period, and towards the actions of its leaders at this time as well.

If the communists do not establish their own collective understanding of the experience in this period, then the only result is to leave the interpretation of the historical lessons to the opportunists like the Soviet revisionists and the Trotskyists. This shameful situation, which has happened too often, demands rectification, because an understanding of this history belongs rightfully to the world proletariat, and is an indispensable tool in its struggle for emancipation.

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How can we take up this struggle, to intensify the demarcation with all forms of opportunism, based on a

serious summation of the historical experience of the communist movement, without falling into a kind of study and discussion that is either sterile and academic at best or sectarian at worst? There is in fact only one way that this can be done, a way that has already been demonstrated by the history of the world communist movement, and that is to **undertake the public and principled debate on the programme of the world proletarian revolution**. This is the method that led to the establishment and consolidation of the Comintern itself, under quite similar historical conditions, and it is the method we must take up today.

It is the question of the communist programme which has always been at the heart of the demarcation between Marxism-Leninism on the one hand and all forms of opportunism on the other. This has been true historically, from the struggles of Marx and Engels against the anarchists and utopian socialists, to the consolidation of the Bolshevik party under Lenin, to the creation and strengthening of the Comintern. And this is still true today: whether we are talking of the struggle to expose and defeat Chinese revisionism or whether we are talking of the battle to build or to consolidate the new communist parties.

It is only natural that the question of the programme is at the heart of any real demarcation with all opportunism, because it is only the communist programme which finally provides the essential basis for the unity of communists, for a unity which goes beyond declarations of solidarity to the point of a common orientation and a common action in the battles they lead.

Such a programme of course remains to be elaborated. It is towards this **concrete** goal that Marxist-Leninists must now orient their efforts of study and reflection, of discussion and debate. Such a programme would be our fundamental guide to apply the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism to the development of the world proletarian revolution, taking into account the historical experience of the communist movement and the particular conditions of today's world.

The elaboration of such a programme must have one clear goal, and that is the defence of the interests of the proletarian revolution in every revolutionary struggle in the world today, whether or not these struggles include certain democratic, anti-fascist, or anti-imperialist aspects, or even the possibility of more than one stage of revolution in the case of colonies and neo-colonies. If this goal is forgotten, then we will only find ourselves once more disarmed in face of the many opportunist deviations which use the existence of such particularities in different countries and struggles to justify the abandonment of the proletarian revolution.

Of course such a programme could not resolve all of the complex problems of tactics posed by the particular struggles in different countries or even at a world level. To pretend otherwise would be to abandon the Marxist-Leninist conception of the programme. But it must provide the fundamental basis that would allow the world communist movement to judge, to evaluate its tactics in a collective way, both in relation to the struggles in particular countries and on a world scale. Unless the programme provides this for the world movement, then the unity of thought and action which is so badly needed will be compromised; and we will be vulnerable to the dangers of the nationalist attitudes which justify each party and organization determining the conduct of the revolutionary struggle in its country in isolation from the world communist movement.

To orient our collective efforts toward the formulation of a communist programme for the world proletarian revolution would already be a major step forward toward the political and organizational unity of the world communist movement. It would allow us to fully use the many important contributions already made by different forces in different countries in their summation of the historical experience of the communist movement and in their battles against different forms of opportunism. And it would also allow us to break with many of the superficial kinds of attitudes which have been substituted for a real demarcation with opportunism: with the diplomatic pretensions of 'total unity' among different communist forces, with the recognition of communist forces on the basis of their rhetoric rather than their programme and practice, and with the listing of great leaders and elimination of other leaders as the highest proof possible of the faithfulness to the defence of Marxism-Leninism. Finally, the struggle for the programme will be to lay the basis — the only possible basis — for the real and lasting unity of the world communist movement.

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But none of these particular aspects of the struggle to reconstruct the unity of the world communist movement will succeed unless there is another essential condition that is met. And this condition is that all of the communist forces take up the struggle, beginning now, with the concrete understanding of the goal, and that is to **unite**. Our collective aim is not just to consult, to compare our experience, to debate, or to co-ordinate our ideological and practical activities. It is to do all of these things, and more, but with the precise objective of developing our unity as rapidly as possible, to move the world communist movement towards a qualitatively different and higher stage, the stage of its organized unity at a world level. Such a perspective is particularly

important in relation to the discussions and even polemics that will take place in the next period among the communist forces. Such discussions and polemics are absolutely necessary, since the real and continuing factors of division will never be eliminated without them. But they must be conducted with one spirit, and that is the spirit of unity, of criticisms that are principled and constructive, no matter how sharp the criticisms may be. Only then will these debates lead to our goal, which is the re-construction of the unity of all the genuine communist forces; and not to new scissions on a basis that not clear.

The problems confronting the movement in its struggle for unification are serious, and the tasks imposed are not easy. But we must use our understanding of the gravity of the problems and the complexities of the tasks not to retreat from our historical duties, but to redouble our efforts to overcome the many negative aspects of the present situation and build a collective determination to work to resolve these problems and to unite our forces. **This will be done if we fully understand that it is the interest, the future of the world proletarian revolution that is at stake.**

To develop our unity means also to recognize that there are attitudes and practices which have been developed with the goal of re-inforcing the unity of the international movement and of fighting against the opportunist forces, but which have been shown by the experience up until now to have created important obstacles to this struggle.

One of the most common of these practices is to deny the very reality of the situation of the world communist movement today. Often the real weakness, real division of the communist forces internationally, is hidden today behind the smokescreen of militant declarations to the effect that the forces of Marxism-Leninism are winning victory after victory in the struggle against opportunism, and that the communist party has been created and consolidated in nearly every country of the world during the battle against modern revisionism.

Such statements do not bear the most minimal comparison with reality. If it is true that Marxism-Leninism has won constant victories in its battles with opportunism, then why is it that capitalism has been restored in nearly every socialist country that once existed? And why is it that in most countries, including both the developed countries and the colonies and neo-colonies, the revisionist, social-democratic, and bourgeois nationalist political parties remain the most influential parties in the working masses — 50 years after the construction of the communist parties in these countries by the Comintern, and more than 20 years since the first battles for their reconstruction after the treason of

Khrushchevite revisionism? And if it is true that the Marxist-Leninist communist party exists and has been consolidated in most countries in the world, then surely we can expect that such parties, when a revolutionary situation arises, are capable at least of giving an important proletarian leadership to the mass struggle, if not of actually leading the seizure of power. This was the attitude of the Comintern in judging the actions of its member parties; and it is still a correct attitude today. Where were these parties in France in 1968, or in Nicaragua or in Iran in 1978? Where are these parties today, in the struggles of the peoples of Zimbabwe, of Azania, of Palestine?

These attempts to hide the reality of the world movement must be criticized, because their only practical result is to draw attention away from the realities of the weaknesses of our movement, and finally therefore to deny the nature and magnitude of the tasks we face to rebuild this movement as an effective political force.

Another attitude on the part of some important Marxist-Leninist forces is to recognize the reality of the weaknesses of the world movement, but to insist that they will only be overcome through the gradual testing of experience in each particular country, one-by-one.

Such an attitude is presented as an original conclusion, but it really seems more like a reproduction of the same arguments that were used to justify the dissolution of the Comintern and which have been accepted by most Marxist-Leninists ever since. It would be very interesting if the comrades who adopt this attitude would try to demonstrate in a convincing manner that the experience of more than 35 years without an international organization has produced better results than the 24 years of the Comintern.

Another common conception that exists in the ranks of the Marxist-Leninists is the idea that we must find some kind of 'criteria' for relations among Marxist-Leninists before beginning the serious struggle for unification. These criteria are supposed to eliminate the possibility that we might directly confront opportunist forces and phoney 'parties' in international relations.

One form of this conception is the idea of the 'criteria for recognizing parties'. Interestingly, these criteria do not include the question of the programme, as the example of the CPC-ML in Canada shows clearly. Nor are these criteria really applied in any consistent fashion. For every 'rule of recognition' which exists in theory, there are a dozen exceptions made in practice, exceptions justified solely on the basis of the fact that the formations being 'recognized' have been aggressive in denouncing Chinese revisionism and proclaiming their solidarity with Albania. As for the fact that there

are often a number of other formations in the same country which are struggling against Chinese revisionism and supporting socialist Albania, well... this is not even explained.

Another form of this same conception is the idea that there must be a 'basis of unity' as a condition of any kind of active relations. Such a 'basis of unity' in practice turns into a listing of the most important points on which the party or organization disagrees with other Marxist-Leninist forces engaged in the struggle against revisionism. Naturally, this creates certain difficulties for organizing serious discussion and debate; since it becomes necessary to begin relations with the kind of agreements that could only be produced by serious discussion in the world movement as a whole.

Both forms of this same conception have but one result: to oppose, in the name of the refusal to compromise with opportunism, the kind of real collective struggle against opportunism which is the only struggle that will be effective.

We communists should remember that we have only one goal in relation to our struggle for unity at the world level, and that goal is to unite **all** of the communist forces. It is in this struggle, with the intensification of the **collective** battle against **all** forms of opportunism, that we will be able to arrive at a common judgement on the opportunist forces that claim to fight revisionism and we will be able to expel them from our ranks. And it is also in this way that we will be able to win over to our ranks some forces that are now vacillating in the struggle.

Of course, to adopt such an attitude does not solve the famous problem of determining 'who is the party' in each country. But we should remember that this problem can't be resolved by 'criteria' because it is rooted in an important aspect of the reality of the international communist movement. The fact is that the divisions among the Marxist-Leninist forces internationally are also reproduced in each country, and that in many countries the party does not exist. This type of problem was solved by the Comintern by the struggle to re-create or to strengthen the parties in each country, with the active involvement of the communist forces of each country, including forces which were not united in their own land. We should adopt this same perspective, and not pretend that it is possible in today's conditions to mechanically and immediately apply the 'principle' of one party in each country.

The true communist party is eventually recognized by the revolutionary workers in each country. But from the point of view of the international communist movement, the recognition of the communist parties in each

country can only properly take place on the basis of the kind of unity we must create, on the basis of the programme and constitution of an international organization. And the struggle for this kind of unity could well involve the process of unification of different communist forces within the individual countries, as has been demonstrated by the experience of history. If we try to solve the problem of the recognition of the communist parties outside of this perspective, outside of a collective struggle for political and organizational unity, then we will only end up weakening the struggle to defeat opportunism and to reinforce our unity; because this struggle depends for its victory on the active involvement of all the forces which are fighting revisionism.

Another very questionable attitude which exists among certain forces is the tendency to reduce the struggle against revisionism to the struggle against the particular party or even the particular leader which has made revisionist errors. The result of this attitude is to ignore the fact that these same errors were, and are still, affecting the practice of many different communist parties and forces. An important example of this problem is the attitude taken by many forces toward the evaluation of Mao. On the basis of the identification of certain important errors in the practice of the CPC, Mao's contributions as a Marxist-Leninist leader are completely denied. Further, the existence of these same errors in the ranks of other parties, both historically and presently, is completely ignored.

Such subjective assessments cannot really aid the unity of the world movement. In fact, they only serve to recreate the mentality of the 'father-party'. This is quite evident from the attitude of these same forces in glorifying the role of the Party of Labour of Albania, as if the opinions of this party constituted the general line of the international movement. Such an attitude does a great disservice to the PLA, which cannot be expected to play by itself the role of a collective leadership to the world movement; and also to the other parties and organizations, whose collective efforts are essential to the unity of the world movement. These attitudes are also often present when these same forces speak in defence of comrade Stalin, going far beyond the correct and necessary defence of the life and work of Stalin, to a position that implies that all of the victories of the world communist movement during the period of Stalin's leadership were due to his personal genius, and that any critical examination of the world movement during the time of Stalin's leadership is a manifestation of revisionism. Such an attitude denies the fact that the victories of the world movement in this period were due mainly to the collective leadership of the world movement, organized in the Comintern, and not to the personal merits of its leaders. As well, such an attitude results in practice in opposing the necessary critical ex-

amination of this period, which must be done to fully understand all the sources of modern revisionism.

\* \* \*

Many problems exist, and even in combatting these problems we confront important errors by the communists themselves, errors that must be corrected if our struggle is to succeed. But, in spite of this, there is also the desire for unity in the world communist movement which is very wide-spread, and there is a general realization of the serious nature of the battles against revisionism in which we are now engaged. As well, there are an important number of forces in the movement who are beginning to correctly identify the problems we face and the errors that have been made, and to put forward methods to overcome our weaknesses and develop our collective strength.

The problems will be overcome, the errors will be corrected, if we take our desire, our need for unity as a starting point and if we proceed in all our actions with the profound conviction that we must develop this unity to a qualitatively higher level. This means that we must now give to the struggle for the re-unification of the world communist movement the same seriousness that we have already given to the life-and-death struggle against the exploiters and their agents in our own countries. More than that, we must finally realize that **it is the same struggle**. This means that we must now take up this struggle with the perspective of **action**, action that will gradually begin to transform our situation in the favour of the unity of our forces.

Our Organization is prepared to devote whatever efforts we can to developing this struggle for the unity of the world movement as a practical and immediate struggle, and we consider that it is essential that other communist parties and organizations do the same. In order to do this, we are prepared to participate in any appropriate forms of discussion, collaboration, or debate proposed by others, as well as to take the initiatives on our own basis that will aid the reconstruction of the unity of the world movement.

One kind of action that must be developed is the serious discussion of the problems in our movement and the ways that they will be overcome. In this perspective, we invite you to print and to distribute this Appeal, and to make known your opinions on its content. Another form of action that should be developed is the serious public discussion to resolve the existing programmatic differences which exist in the international communist movement. We must learn how to properly apply the basic principle established by Lenin: 'Before uniting, and in order to unite, it is necessary to draw the lines of

demarcation'. And we continue to believe that this kind of public discussion would be greatly aided by the organization of public conferences which would bring together an important part of the world communist forces to seriously discuss our common problems.

This is the orientation that our Organization will take up, on the basis of the decisions of our Third Congress and of our profound conviction that only this road will lead to lasting victories over our enemies. But we are taking up this road in the complete knowledge that the efforts of our Organization alone cannot transform the situation in the world communist movement in the way it must be transformed. The tasks we have described are not only the tasks of our Organization; they are tasks which rest on the shoulders of all the communists of the world. They are tasks which cannot be either ignored or postponed, because they concern the very future of the world proletarian revolution.

\* \* \*

Comrades, our times demand action. The future is

ours, if we reach out and take it; if we are capable of using the growing revolutionary storms in today's world to lead the proletariat and its allies to the seizure and defence of political power. But this will not be accomplished unless we ourselves, the communists, are united and organized at a world level. When we have achieved this, we will be able to confront the forces of imperialism and reaction, and all of their agents, as a single force again, leading the single army of world proletarians into united and victorious battles.

To all genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, organizations, and groupings, to all communists and revolutionary workers, we address this Appeal — from the Third Congress of the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Canada IN STRUGGLE!, to the communist forces of the world.

**Take up the battle to rebuild the unity of the world communist movement!**

**Forward to the victory of the communist programme at a world level!**

**Forward to the victory of the world proletarian revolution!**

**Long live proletarian internationalism!**

# Index of the organization abbreviations used in the Political Report

APLQ — Agence de presse libre du Québec (left-wing news service)

BCN — Bank Canadian National

BU — Bolshevik Union

CALPA — Canadian Airline Pilots Association

CATCA — Canadian Air Traffic Control Association

CCF — Co-operative Commonwealth Federation  
(later to become the NDP)

CCL (M-L) — Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist)

CEQ — Centrale des enseignants du Québec (Quebec Teachers' Central)

CIA — Central Intelligence Agency

CLC — Canadian Labour Congress

CLM — Canadian Liberation Movement

CSD — Centrale des syndicats démocratiques  
(Democratic Unions Central)

CNTU — Confederation of National Trade Unions

COMECON — Council of Mutual Economic Assistance

CP — Communist Party of Canada

CPC — Communist Party of China

CPC (M-L) — Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist)

CPL — Canadian Party of Labour

CPQ — Communist Party of Quebec

CPSU — Communist Party of the Soviet Union

ECU — European Currency Unit

EMF — European Monetary Fund

FLQ — Front de libération du Québec  
(Quebec Liberation Front)

GFR — German Federal Republic

- GSTQ — Groupe socialiste des travailleurs du Québec  
(Socialist Group of Quebec Workers)
- IMF — International Monetary Fund
- INCO — International Nickel Company
- JBDS — James Bay Development Society
- NATO — North Atlantic Treaty Organization
- NDP — New Democratic Party
- NORAD — North American Defence Command
- NSFL — Nova Scotia Federation of Labour
- LPP — Labour Progressive Party
- OECD — Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
- PQ — Parti Quebecois
- PLA — Party of Labour of Albania
- PTQ — Parti des travailleurs du Québec (Quebec Workers' Party)
- QFL — Quebec Federation of Labour
- PWM — Progressive Workers Movement
- RCMP — Royal Canadian Mounted Police
- RSC — Red Star Collective
- RSDLP — Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party
- RWL — Revolutionary Workers League
- SOC — Socialist Organizing Committee (in Vancouver)
- TLC — Trades and Labour Congress
- U.S.S.R. — Union of Soviet Socialist Republic
- U.S.A. — United States of America

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- *PROLETARIAN UNITY*, the Organization's theoretical journal published every two months in English and French.

### Pamphlets available

- *Programme and Constitution of the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Canada IN STRUGGLE!*, April, 1979.
- *The Third Congress of the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Canada IN STRUGGLE!*, including the Political Report, the Programme, the Constitution, and other documents, 3rd trimester 1979.
- *For the Proletarian Party*, October 1972.
- *Against Economism*, concerning the Comité de solidarité avec les luttes ouvrières (C.S.L.O.), September, 1975.
- *Towards the unity of Canadian Marxist-Leninists, Fight the sectarianism of the CCL(M-L)*, July, 1976.
- *The tasks of the Canadian Marxist-Leninist movement today*, (IN STRUGGLE!'s second anniversary speech, May 1975), March 1977.
- *The unity of the Marxist-Leninist Movement passes by the Intensification of the Struggle Against Opportunism*, communiqué from IN STRUGGLE!'s Central Committee, April 1977.
- *Against Right Opportunism in International Questions*, Declaration of the Canadian Marxist-Leninist Group IN STRUGGLE! on the occasion of the Third National Conference of Canadian Marxist-Leninists held in Montreal September 9, 10 and 11, 1977, September 1977.
- *No revolutionary party without a revolutionary program*, On the tasks of Canadian communists in the present situation, February, 1978.
- *Documents of the National Conference on the Unity of Canadian Marxist-Leninists*, October, 1976.
- *Documents of the Second National Conference of Canadian Marxist-Leninists on the Path of the Revolution in Canada*, April, 1977.
- *Documents of the Third Conference of Canadian Marxist-Leninists on the International Situation*, November 1977.
- *Documents of the 4th Conference of Canadian Marxist-Leninists on the tasks involved in rebuilding the Proletarian Party*, August, 1978.
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- *The goals and work of Canadian communists in trade unions today*, May, 1978.
- *The CPC(M-L) a revisionist organization of agents-provocateurs*, June, 1978.
- *The CCL(M-L), the voice of social-chauvinism in Canada*, February, 1979.

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