

THE TASKS OF CANADIAN MARXIST-LENINISTS TODAY

(IN STRUGGLE!'s second anniversary speech, May 1975)



Published by IN STRUGGLE!

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MARXIST-LENINISTS
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PREFACE

At the same that we are enthusiastically preparing the second conference of Canadian Marxist-Leninists on the path of the revolution in Canada, **IN STRUGGLE!** today presents a reedition of the speech delivered by its general secretary at the second anniversary of our newspaper in May 1975.

This speech will soon be two years old; since that time a lot has happened within the worker's and the Marxist-Leninist movement. But what was really happening in May '75?

Several days after International Workers day, on May 12th 1975, the workers of United Aircraft in Longueuil (Quebec) confronted the savage repression of the bourgeois Canadian state. The Canadian bourgeoisie announced by their acts that they had had enough of renegotiating collective agreements, enough of struggles for cost-of-living clauses which had assumed unparalleled importance, to the point that the workers were cancelling bourgeois legality. The Canadian bourgeois therefore put together a vast offensive to get themselves out of the crisis, and this eventually took the form of the wage freeze. The combativity of the United Aircraft workers also augured the intense struggle that the Canadian workers were to wage against the degrading of their living conditions, against the crisis policies of our bourgeois ministers, these great salvors of capitalism and Canadian imperialism.

It's in this context that we must situate the second anniversary speech of **IN STRUGGLE!** A context which reminds all Canadian workers that it's really the Canadian bourgeoisie which hold state power in our country, and that this state is precisely the instrument of bourgeois dictatorship over the Canadian proletariat.

The very example of United Aircraft, an American monopoly, showed that the Canadian state will stop at nothing to defend the privileges of its "longtime ally", American imperialism. Our country's participation at NATO, NORAD, its participation in all of American imperialism's intervention in the third world countries, shows that our bourgeoisie used the Canadian state to arrive at its imperialist ends. But also to practise a policy of alliance with one of the two superpowers, a policy which definitely serves its interests very well.

IN STRUGGLE! defended these positions through all the struggles we waged in the workers' movement over two years. These are the

positions which are taken up in the speech by developing the concrete analysis which was sometimes absent in our manifesto of December '74: "Create the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Struggle for the Party".

There our manifesto found it sufficient to say:

"... the exercise of political power falls directly here to the Canadian bourgeoisie. It is therefore the latter that the proletariat will have to attack in its struggle for political (state) power, and this will remain true as long as the Canadian bourgeoisie retains state power." (*Supplement to the newspaper IN STRUGGLE!*, Vol. 2, no. 18, translated in the journal "Western Voice", of Vancouver in November 1976, p. 41)

The speech which follows elaborates the correctness of this position by analysing the imperialist role of our bourgeoisie and its place in the world by tracing the path of the revolution in our country.

Moreover, it's in this way that we develop political line, and not by being in the clouds. Indeed it is important to recall that the "correct line" isn't fashioned in a day, as certain Marxist-Leninists would like us to believe.

"Marxism develop in the struggle against what is anti-Marxist", that is a truth proven a thousand-fold in practice. Our speech was made at a time when the young Canadian Marxist-Leninist movement was working to draw lines of demarcation from the counter-revolutionary positions of the "Canadian Communist Party" (Marxist-Leninist), especially on the path of the Canadian revolution. At a time also, where the Marxist-Leninist resolutely went to work at verifying the correctness or not of their positions within the working masses.

It's not surprising therefore that the second anniversary speech represents a considerable progress from "Create the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Struggle for the Party". The same is true today for the positions coming out of our second Congress, on the path of the revolution in Canada, published in no. 3 of *Proletarian Unity*. That, moreover, is a sign of vitality which well shows that the struggle against bourgeois ideology is not yet finished, and wins new victories.

All these facts are important to recall because for some time now the Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist) has been losing a great deal of time deforming reality in order to make it fit within the framework of its preconceived theories.

According to the League the history of IN STRUGGLE! in the history of opportunism, "from one end to the other". A history composed of numerous so-called about-faces on fundamental questions of political line. Obviously it's exactly the opposite for the League's "correct line", a line which was always correct, and will always remain so...

To support these statements, the League doesn't hesitate to quote left and right. In one case it's a part of one of our pamphlets, in another its a word from Lenin or Marx which would serve to so-called

demystify IN STRUGGLE's "revisionism". This is the method that the League has used for some time new to demonstrate the correctness of its criticisms.

Two examples illustrate this method very well. A method for which the least that can be said is that it resembles a jig-saw puzzle more than it does a correct application of dialectical materialism.

The pamphlet "*Against Right-opportunism in the analysis of the Principal Contradiction*" certainly required a great deal of research for the comrades of the League. But don't be misled, this wasn't done to discover the truth in the facts and the concrete analysis of the history of our country... but rather in the quotations. This work was done with the sole intention of pointing out how one quote from IN STRUGGLE! was supposedly in contradiction with another. So, according to the League, when IN STRUGGLE! states in it's newspaper that the Canadian bourgeoisie and American imperialism practise a policy of alliance, this excludes all possibility of rivalry between them, rivalries which indeed do exist, and which we have analysed each time they have come up. According to the League, rivalry excludes collaboration, and vice-versa. Woe to those like IN STRUGGLE! who speak of the two at the same time, because they would founder into the "swamp of revisionism". For the League things are either all one, or the other, and they never think of the possibility that the Canadian bourgeoisie and American imperialism, all the while pursuing a policy of alliance could also come into rivalry. In fact the League preferred to "stick" one quotation with another rather than to analyse the reality of our country.

Again in the same pamphlet the League states that IN STRUGGLE! never drew the line of demarcation from opportunism, for example, from groups like the *Progressive Workers' Movement* of Vancouver which held "erroneous positions" according to which Canada isn't an imperialist country and the Canadian bourgeoisie doesn't hold state power. Such statements are more than strange, they are openly dishonest. Because as the reader will be able to see, a large part of the speech delivered in May '75, even before the League's creation, precisely aimed at demarcating from such positions.

This is how the League tries to prove that IN STRUGGLE's line is rotten with revisionism. And this by using all means, by lying, despite history, despite facts.

Where is the League trying to get to with such methods? Methods which it uses, moreover, at the same time it dares to speak of "frank and open debates" on political line. Perhaps the League wants eventually to "demonstrate" to the masses that everything outside the League is opportunist and revisionist? That everything outside the League isn't worthy of leading the masses towards the creation of the party?

No matter what the subjective desires of the League are, the truth

will slowly seep through and it can't hide it from the masses for too long.

So, recently, even the practice of the great swashbucklers against revisionisms showed, better than any quotation, that the League itself defended a line of compromise with the Canadian bourgeoisie, a line support for the "positive aspects" of its external policy. It's this line which leads directly to social-chauvinism, which we criticized in no. 2 of the journal Proletarian Unity and in our newspaper.

The League's practice proved that for it "holding a debate, frank and honest", means to boycott the second conference of Canadian Marxist-Leninists on the path of the revolution in Canada, to boycott regional conferences, to avoid criticisms by all kinds of unimaginable pirouettes, ranging from refusing to reply to formal self-criticisms.

The very practice of the League has finally shown the conception it has of criticism and self-criticism. While the League since its creation, has been throwing all those groups out of the Marxist-Leninist movement who have not made their "complete self-criticism" (this was the case with, among others, *Mobilisation groupe marxiste-léniniste* from Montreal and with *Western Voice* from Vancouver, who hadn't made their complete self-criticism... under the direction of the League) and, at the same time, this very League (yes the same!) transforms its own positions "on the sly" to avoid criticism. This is what the League is doing when it transforms its positions on international questions and on Canadian imperialism. For some weeks now, the League hasn't had much to say about the "positive aspects" of our country's external policy; it has even begun to speak about the imperialist designs of the Canadian bourgeoisie on third world countries. And evidently the League was content with a simple self-criticism on the question of the Canadian army (*The Forge*, Vol. 2, No 2, January 20, 1977, p. 10). It's the same old story as in 1975 when the League refused to answer the criticisms we addressed to its founding groups in *Against Economism*. What happened in autumn 75 is reoccurring in January 77. Unfortunately this is how history repeats itself.

Yes comrades, practice is now demonstrating to the Marxist-Leninist movement and to the Canadian masses that sectarianism is only a cover for right opportunism. Indeed, sectarianism is the very condition for the existence of the opportunist line and practice of the League. For without sectarianism, without the lies, the deformations and the boycotts of all manner, the League's line would get quite a shake.

IN STRUGGLE! firmly desires that the next conference of Canadian Marxist-Leninists on the path of the revolution constitute one more step towards our unity, towards the unity of the proletariat around its vanguard party.

We will reach this goal if each works seriously towards the victory

of the proletarian line on the definition of the path of our revolution. In particular, this means to firmly criticize the two main opportunist tendencies on this question. First, against those who claim that our country has never been imperialist and that it is a kind of colony of the United States. This tendency has a long history in our country, from the "Communist" Party of Canada, and the *Progressive Workers Movement* on to the "CPC(m1)" and it still influences some groups, in English Canada in particular. But, while criticizing this tendency, we should be careful not to fall into another error just as serious. This error, which the League makes, is that of denying the determinant character for our country of the political, economic and military alliance which unites the Canadian bourgeoisie to American imperialism.

Comrades of the League, lies and the refusal to debate can never lead the proletariat to victory. Let's leave these opportunist tactics to the bourgeoisie and to the enemies of the people who have always used them to divide us. Our policy is that of frankness and revolutionary truth. Break with sectarianism! Defend your political line honestly! Participate in the second conference of Marxist-Leninists!

We shall advance towards the unity of all Marxist-Leninists, there is no doubt there. But we will achieve this to the extent that we are able to correctly apply Marxism-Leninism to the conditions of our struggle, to the extent that we are able to wage frankly the debate on the crucial questions of the Canadian revolution within our movement and especially with the workers and Canadian people.

STRUGGLE FOR THE SECOND CONFERENCE OF CANADIAN MARXIST-LENINISTS!

STRUGGLE FOR THE UNITY OF MARXIST-LENINISTS!

March 1977.

Comrades and friends,

A few days ago, it was May Day, the international workers' day, a day of working class solidarity and proletarian internationalism. It was celebrated in many ways in many parts of Canada, particularly in Quebec, and in most countries of the world.

It was only a few days ago that the peoples of Vietnam and Cambodia won their historic victories over imperialism and the reactionary forces, to say nothing of the spectacular progress made by the Laotian revolutionary forces in the same period.

On the one hand, the many celebrations organized by workers all over the world for May Day bring to mind the increasing intensity of the struggles of the working class in the capitalist countries during the last few years. On the other hand, the popular victories in Indochina are a clear indication of the progress of the struggle of the Third World for its total emancipation. These struggles show the way for new victories not only in the Third World, but also in the imperialist countries.

It is in this context that we are gathered here tonight for IN STRUGGLE!'s 'Evening of Support' to celebrate the second anniversary of our paper's publication. Tonight's rally also provides us with the opportunity to put forward the views which are a product of the development of our group not only to the Marxist-Leninist movement, but especially to the working class movement and to the popular masses who constitute the main forces for revolution, for the transformation of social relations by the abolition of capitalist exploitation and for the establishment of socialism.

Comrades and friends, imperialism is in crisis. The only

solution to the crisis of imperialism is socialism. And the only way to achieve socialism in our era is through proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, which, in the Third World countries completely dominated by neo-colonialism, proceeds through national liberation.

The development of imperialism in the twentieth century (like that of capitalism in the nineteenth) always rests upon the direct exploitation of the proletariat and the oppression of the popular masses and on the ever-increasing looting of natural resources which is carried out more and more widely in the Third World, and which constitutes the primary obstacle to the development of these areas of the world.

This is why, on the international scale, imperialism is the main enemy of the peoples still subject to capitalist exploitation and also of the oppressed nations. Now, the events of the past years, the increasing resistance of the Third World countries to the super-exploitation of which they are victims, on the one hand, and the increasing struggles of the working class in the imperialist countries, on the other hand -- demonstrate that the proletariat, the working class, and the popular masses are rejecting more and more vigorously, as much as the people of the Third World, the exploitation and the oppression imposed on them by the imperialists. Imperialism has created the conditions of its own destruction. This destruction will largely be the result of the combined action of the Third World peoples and of the proletariat in the imperialist countries. This is the clear lesson of what has been going on in the world since the beginning of the century, especially since the Second World War. We must recognize that in the years to come the peoples of the third World and the proletariat of imperialist countries, will constitute the two main contributing factors to the destruction of imperialism.

Moreover, two other factors strongly contribute to the progress of revolution on the world level. The construction of socialism in countries like China, Albania, Korea and Vietnam is the concrete and indisputable proof of not only the possibility, but also of the necessity, to overthrow capitalism in order to abolish all forms of exploitation and oppression. There is no doubt that the examples provided by socialist countries is a driving force in the development of

the Third World countries to imperialist domination today. It also constitutes an important element in the raising of class-consciousness in imperialist countries. This is a third factor which greatly favours revolution.

On the other hand (and this is extremely important), imperialism is not a unified force at the world level; rather it is made up of many advanced capitalist countries which are in contradiction with each other.

There are, indeed, many imperialist countries -- Japan, the European countries, Canada, the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. -- which all struggle against one another in order to develop their own power. This is the struggle for hegemony, for power over ever greater regions of the world, and finally for domination over the entire world

For the past few years, this struggle for domination over the world has mainly been waged between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. These two great powers have, according to all the evidence, undertaken a struggle which has as its objective the domination of Europe and the Third World.

Although the two super-powers collaborate with each other and with other imperialist forces whenever they find advantages in doing so, to develop their own economy and power, they are also steadily building up their stock of military hardware - the existence of this equipment can only be explained by their willingness to use these weapons if and when the opportunity presents itself, to assure their hegemony over important regions of the world. Thus, at this moment, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. even more so, are literally surrounding Europe militarily.

This is a clear indication of the sharpening of contradictions which pit the imperialist countries, the superpowers in particular, one against the other. These contradictions are an essential feature of the present crisis of imperialism.

But there is even more, if we want to really understand the contradictions which ultimately favour the victory of socialist revolution. Even within each imperialist country, various huge monopolies find themselves constantly at odds with one another in their attempt to increase their respective sources of profits. Monopolies are capitalist companies whose main goal is the making of ever-greater profits. We

only have to think of what is happening in the auto and oil industries, and many others besides.

Furthermore, it is this constant struggle between monopolies which regularly moves them to intervene in political affairs. Powerful lobbies of the monopolies bribe politicians in order to obtain contracts, or are clearly tied in with the plotting of coups d'etat, whenever their own interests are in jeopardy, in one country after another. Thus, in spite of the unity they try to maintain in their common endeavor of exploiting the proletariat and oppressing the peoples of the world, the imperialist countries are nothing more than "giants with clay feet" corroded by insurmountable contradictions.

The contradictions which pit the various imperialist countries and the big monopolies against one another thus constitute the fourth factor that favours revolution. For oppressed peoples, even in small countries, and for the proletariat of the imperialist countries, the key to victory over imperialism lies in their ability to lead their attacks and their struggle in a way which sharpens the objective contradictions of capitalism in the imperialist stage of its development.

It is for all these reasons that it is correct to say that "today in the world the main trend is revolution". But we must not forget, as we learn from the history of the last 75 years, that the supreme form of struggle for hegemony is war. The twentieth century has already known two world wars, two wars for hegemony. We must be conscious that the conditions for a third world war now exist, and that if it should happen, it would mainly be between the USSR and the USA.

Comrades and friends, Canada is not a power comparable to the U.S.A.; this goes without saying. Nevertheless, it is a fact that our country is an imperialist country, also involved, at its own level, in the struggle to secure for itself control of certain parts of the world; Canada is thus very much a part of the general struggle between the imperialist countries for a redivision of the world in a way that serves their interests. Canada is an imperialist country indeed. All of the characteristics of the advanced stage of capitalist development exist in Canada: 1) many important monopolistic firms

of which a large number are under the control of Canadian capitalists; 2) the merger of industrial capital and banking capital; 3) the export of capital, in other words, investments in foreign countries; 4) the participation of Canadian firms, particularly banks, in international monopolistic cartels; 5) finally, the increasing activity of Canadian capitalists aimed at carving out for themselves a place in the dividing-up of sources of profit the world over.

Furthermore it is because Canada is an imperialist country that the crisis of imperialism can be felt here with full force. Officially, there are more than 800,000 unemployed in Canada; more than 20% of manpower is without work in Newfoundland! There is galloping inflation; increasing instability in the value of money; constant deterioration of working and living conditions. These aspects of the crisis accentuate the exploitation and the oppression of which the workers and the labouring masses are the victims.

We are all familiar with the recent statement by Finance Minister Turner, ten days ago. Essentially what he said was that our economy is going through serious difficulties; it may even go through more serious ones soon; unemployment will increase. Why? Because, as Mr. Turner said, productivity increases more slowly here than in the U.S.A. and Japan, our main competitors. At the same time wages go up more quickly here than in these two countries. The result: we will be less and less "competitive" at the international level, our products will sell less, our factories will have to reduce their production and we shall see unemployment rise. All of this is very logical. But what does it exactly mean? It means this: the crisis of imperialism is more acute. Each imperialist country is waging a hard struggle against other imperialist countries not only to maintain its position in the world, but also to make it more favourable. In other words, the struggle for hegemony is getting more intense and Canada, involved in this struggle on a certain scale, wants to provide itself with the means to pursue it.

When Mr. Turner says that we must remain "competitive", this means: the Canadian bourgeoisie wants to profit from the current situation in order to improve its position on the chess-board of the imperialist countries.

And how shall Canada succeed, according to Mr. Turner? By wage and price controls. In other words, workers (this doesn't include deputies or judges whose wages have gone up 70%: they have a lot of catching up to do!) will find their wage increases limited to 8 to 12 per cent, while industries may only (sic) raise their prices as a result of cost increases. This amounts to blocking wage increases while sale prices are "indexed" to the costs of production.

It is already evident, even if we do not know what precise form this manoeuvre will take, that the Canadian bourgeoisie State is getting ready to legislate the burden of the current crisis of imperialism entirely onto the shoulders of workers. These measures will be designed to ensure that nothing hampers the capacity of the Canadian monopoly industries to carry on the struggle against the monopolies of foreign countries.

In this respect, it must be said that the Canadian State has not spared its efforts in the last few years. There have been a great number of "commercial missions" made up of cabinet ministers, high public servants and businessmen, sent to all parts of the world to make profitable deals. The creation, a few years ago, of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) is just one of the moves on the part of the Canadian state, directed at a systematization of efforts on behalf of the Canadian bourgeoisie to enlarge the outlets for its products and its capital.

In fact, the hundreds of millions of dollars with which Gerin-Lajoie, president of CIDA, claims to be helping poor countries, are largely (if not totally) intended to defray the cost of products and services that these countries will have to buy from Canada. Thus, a country which buys Canadian tractors for the first time, for example, will buy Canadian parts and then new Canadian tractors and so on. The hundreds of millions in question come from the pockets of workers, by means of income and sales taxes, and they go to industry under the form of money capital. The result: foreign aid is a way to subsidize Canadian industry. It is a way for imperialists to spread their influence and domination over the Third World countries.

Comrades and friends,

In short, the imperialist crisis is exposed more and more clearly for what it is: the generalized form of the contradictions particular to capitalism at its imperialist stage. This is the stage where competition and the race for profits among the great international monopolies and imperialist powers takes place through the struggle for hegemony and for domination over larger regions of the world by weakening the rival monopolies and powers.

This, in turn, has provoked significant changes in the repression and oppression imposed by the bourgeoisie upon the working masses. This oppression has also taken an international character. The big powers are just as concerned with repressing the popular forces in the parts of the world they dominate (or want to dominate) as they are at home. Canada, for instance, is in many ways associated with American and even European military and police forces.

Nevertheless, this has not stopped Canada from multiplying its attempts to constantly reduce the rights that Canadian workers have acquired by their persistent struggles during the last hundred years.

The events of the last few days in Quebec are persuasive evidence of this fact. Since the end of the 60's, the provincial government has not missed an opportunity to strengthen its control over the workers movement by passing laws reducing the hard won rights of the unions. But, up till now, it had not succeeded in going as far as the imperialists interests required. To see this we need simply read the Fantus report, which documented how troubling the ever-growing combativeness of the Quebec workers was to the capitalists. Remember how the government was obliged to withdraw Bill 89 which was meant to control the unions even more by imposing a tighter state supervision on their activities. [2]

Now the Cliche Commission [3] gives the government the opportunity to sharpen even more the anti-working class character of the laws regulating union activities. Bourassa was quick to understand the extraordinary opportunity that was at last offered to him to pass the laws he had been

dreaming of for more than 5 years. Even before the report of the Cliche Commission was published, Bourassa himself was claiming his readiness to "wage a war", if needed, to defend law and order!

We should not be surprised by this declaration of Bourassa's: it is very much the role of the bourgeois State to wage a war against the workers' movement and against all the working masses in order to defend the interests of capital. Wasn't that what happened at the United Aircraft plant in Longueuil? An armed squad of the bourgeoisie savagely beat up forty workers.

Those laws, for which the Cliche Commission is only a cover, and the United Aircraft slaughter are only different aspects of the same reality: the repressive nature, which can be taken as far as systematic violence, of the bourgeois state. In other words, the bourgeois state is constantly prepared to wage a war, constantly prepared to repress each and every attempt of the popular masses to free themselves.

But in our country, as well as in most of the other imperialist countries, the workers' movement is still dominated by organizations clearly controlled by reformists, when it is not by open reactionaries.

At the very time when the objective conditions are such that the people should organize to wage a peoples' war against the imperialist power, the union bosses, far from joining workers' struggles and striving to lead them into an open class struggle, denounce them and preach class collaboration.

The history of the Cliche Commission is a case in point. We find there three union bosses whose actions have only helped the State to increase its war against the worker's movement. Bourdon of the CNTU (Confederation of National Trade Unions) who, in the name of union liberties, has begged the bourgeois state for months to interfere in the activities of the 'rival' Q.F.L. (Quebec Federation of Labour). Chevrette, of the C.E.Q. (Quebec Teachers' Guild) who, having discovered his real vocation, that of a knight-errant, ran to offer the same bourgeois State his recently found gift as a commissioner. And last but not least, Desjardins of the Q.F.L., who having trespassed on the usual limits in using unions to build very profitable

rackets (which is very common now in North American trade unions), gave an opportunity to the same bourgeois state to sharpen its repression on the workers' movement.

Besides their own peculiarities, Bourdon, Chevrette, and Desjardins, together with a lot of other Canadian union bosses, have this in common: they are objective agents of class collaboration. And class collaboration always leads but to one end: the consolidation of the power of the bourgeoisie over the working masses.

In both the short and the long run, the working class and the popular masses have nothing good to expect from these traitors to their cause. Nor can we expect anything from the false friends of the working class, the so-called "progressive" political parties: The "C"PC, the NDP, the PQ. Despite the superficial differences between them, these parties are part of a vast operation of diversion. Should the workers movement follow them, the result would be to divert the working class and the popular masses from class struggle, from the struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and for the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship, on behalf of so-called 'national liberation' from U.S. imperialism.

Whatever revolutionary veneer they use to dress up their speeches, all are objective enemies of the proletariat and of the people, and objective allies of the bourgeoisie and of imperialism, those who, in Canada and in Quebec, "preach" the struggle of the whole people (including parts of the Canadian bourgeoisie) against American - and Canadian, when speaking of the Quebecois nationalists) domination, as a separate 'first step' preceding proletarian revolution. This is where the CPC(M-L) stands also.

Quebecois nationalism and Canadian nationalism are merely forms of bourgeois ideology. Their role is to divert the Canadian proletariat from its principal task and to divide it, when it has to face a united, organized and still powerful enemy.

We must not forget that, strategically, revolution must necessarily include the seizure of state power. Therefore, the strategic target of the Canadian proletariat is Canadian state power; the reality of the political structure of Canada itself demands it.

Moreover, it is only by achieving this strategic objective that the conditions for the elimination of both national oppression in Quebec and American domination over our whole country will be able to be created by the proletariat.

The headlines in the morning paper recently talked about a supposed revival of the Quebec Liberation Front (FLQ). Even if bourgeois power benefits by having false rumours of this kind circulating at large, we must recognize that the social and political conditions are presently favourable to the re-emerging of this extreme form of petty-bourgeois radicalism.

The terrorism of the 60's in Quebec (for, objectively, the FLQ has never been anything else than a terrorist movement) has now been taken up by the radical fringe of the petty-bourgeois nationalist movement. This extremist fringe was able to exist and organize during many years because of the absence of a genuine revolutionary leadership strong enough to channel and consolidate the revolt of some popular strata.

As the economic crisis becomes more and more unbearable, the social conditions quickly deteriorate. Unfortunately, the genuine revolutionary movement is still too weak and unorganized to be fully acknowledged by the advanced factions of the proletariat and of the progressive strata of the petty-bourgeoisie. Therefore, terrorist outbreaks are still possible in Quebec.

Such a situation requires a clear and firm stand from the Marxist-Leninist movement, for the terrorists are fully able to adopt an apparently revolutionary rhetoric which is capable of misleading people.

Terrorism, sometimes named "armed propaganda", is a dead-end, fundamentally counter-revolutionary. "History is made by the masses." This is a central principle of Marxism-Leninism, universally corroborated by history at every stage of its development. Revolution has nothing in common with extremist ventures of little groups, cut off from the masses. The masses will not make a single step forward on the path to revolution because a few dozen radicals scatter bombs about, kidnap or highjack. On the contrary, such actions only give credibility to the false impression that the masses should wait quietly for these

apparent supermen to settle everything in their place and on their behalf.

Moreover, in the present situation in Canada, at the very time when bourgeois power takes advantage of each and every opportunity to increase its repressive measures against the workers' and popular movement, it would be criminal to offer it more excuses to do so even more systematically.

IN STRUGGLE! is clear on that point: we strongly condemn all ventures characterized by terrorism, on the clear cut grounds that terrorism is essentially counter-revolutionary. The particular reasons are that, in the present situation, terrorism would only hand over to the "good will" of the repressive forces of the bourgeoisie a workers' movement which is completely unarmed politically, because it is without any organized leadership strongly linked to the masses, without its revolutionary party. This Party alone is able to organize and lead the counter-attack against the onslaught of the bourgeoisie.

Should the FLQ reappear, we will struggle against its supporters, we will struggle against the petty-bourgeois extremism which is its ideological basis.

Revolution will not be successful in our country if the revolutionary forces do not win the struggle against the reactionary and reformist trends, which are mere forms of bourgeois ideology infiltrated within the workers' movement. For the proletariat and the working masses will not, indeed, join the revolutionary forces until bourgeois ideology, and its reformist forms, are proven in theory and practice to be contrary to the interests of the proletariat and the people as a whole.

Nevertheless, we must not cherish illusions. It won't be tomorrow that an important part of the working class will join Marxism-Leninism; when the Marxist-Leninist movement takes the lead of the Canadian masses to launch the final attack against the state power of the bourgeoisie..

But we know that, in the more or less long run, the forces of revolution will win over the reactionary forces, for the latter have insurmountable contradictions:

-Either the imperialist powers will involve themselves in inter-imperialist wars. These wars will only weaken them

even more and enable the revolutionary forces to make giant steps forward to the overthrow of the bourgeois power;

-or the Third World nations' struggles against imperialism and the struggle of the imperialist countries, will develop to the point where they will ward off the danger of inter-imperialist wars, first by weakening the imperialist powers, then by overthrowing them.

The history of the last 75 years provides us with many examples of such situations. It is significant that the Soviet revolution happened during WWI and the Albanian and Chinese liberations during and at the end of WWII.

It is no less significant that the achievement of independence in many African colonies and the total liberation of some nations of the Third World from the claws of imperialism have strongly contributed to the weakening of the imperialist powers and to the sharpening of inter-imperialist rivalries, all through the last 20 years. This is clearly proven by the recent victories of the Indochinese nations.

Comrades and friends,

To make revolution, we need a revolutionary party, we need a proletarian party. The proletarian party is the organization of the vanguard of the proletariat, is the leading and principal force of the other popular strata that join this vanguard. The proletarian party is the party which rigorously applies the principles of Marxism-Leninism and relies on the historical experience of the international proletariat.

In an imperialist country such as Canada, the proletarian party strategically aims at overthrowing the bourgeois power and seeks to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. Tactically, it must constantly strive to win over, under its leadership and into its organizations, ever more numerous strata of the people by waging a determined and permanent struggle against bourgeois ideology within the ranks of the workers' movement and the popular masses themselves, until the objective conditions allow the overthrow of the bourgeois power by the masses, under its leadership.

This can be defined as the historical mission of the young Canadian Marxist-Leninist movement: to win over to communism, to the proletarian ideology, to Marxism-

Leninism, the vanguard of the working class, its most advanced, most conscious, most combative elements; to get this vanguard to organize in a revolutionary party and thus to move the struggle against the bourgeois power forward by winning over to communism ever more numerous sectors of the people, by weakening ever more the domination of bourgeois ideology over the masses; in short, to offer to the struggles of the proletariat and of the people consistent political leadership.

We have not yet reached the point when the party can be created. Is it necessary to say that the "C." P.C. (m-l) is not the revolutionary party of the working' class? This organization is in practice totally cut off from the working class and is led by a bunch of opportunists in total rupture with the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, which, on the other hand, they claim to follow. This spreads confusion in the movement.

The time has not yet come to create the Party, for the Marxist-Leninist movement is not united and centralized enough; It is, still, too haunted by opportunist trends that are hindering its unity on the basis of a just political line. Of these opportunist and revisionist trends, that of the "C." P.C. (m-l) is, no doubt, the most dangerous now.

But, most of all, the time has not come yet to build the Party, for the advanced strata of the proletariat are not still won over to communism, dominated as most of them are by reformist and nationalist trends. In other words, the fusion of the workers' movement and of Marxism-Leninism has not been achieved yet. Nevertheless, given the evident and growing interest of advanced workers in communist propaganda, given their expressed will to take up Marxism-Leninism; given, finally, that Marxist-Leninist ideology is increasingly evident in workers' struggles, one can affirm that this merger of the Marxist-Leninist movement and of the workers' movement is under way.

This is precisely why it is time to move ahead to a more advanced organizational stage; why it is time for the Marxist-Leninist movement to give itself an organizational structure consistent with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and to break away from the isolation and scattering of small nuclei and small groups, from the anarchy of multiplied

leaderships, which comes down to refusing any leadership.

A Marxist-Leninist organization is necessarily a centralized organization which works according to principles assumed by all its members and to a clear program which guides the action of each and every one.

It is only with such an organizational frame-work that the Marxist-Leninist movement will be able to correctly achieve its present central task: to win over the advanced workers to communism.

Comrades and friends,

IN STRUGGLE! makes no mystery of its intentions. Since publication of "Creons l'organisation marxiste-leniniste de lutte pour le Parti", last December (1974), our group has been resolutely striving to realize the conditions of the creation of the organization. At the heart of these conditions lies the absolutely necessity to draw a clear line of demarcation between different lines within the Marxist-Leninist movement itself. For "political line determines everything".

How, indeed, could we honestly call for the genuine Marxist-Leninists to join us in order to build the organization and then the party, if the principles upon which we rely are not well known by all; if we have not defined, during the very struggle against the deviations in the movement, how these principles have to be applied at the present stage, to the specific conditions in our country?

In the same way that the implantation, in the true sense of the word, of the Marxist-Leninist organization and of the proletarian party in the working class and in the masses will be the result of a protracted and rigorous struggle against bourgeois ideology, against the reformist and bourgeois parties, against the class-collaborationist union bosses; so will the political and organizational unity of the Marxist-Leninist movement, the emergence of a just line in the movement, and then in the organization and in the party, will only be the result of protracted and rigorous struggle, in the very core of the Marxist-Leninist movement, against right and "left" opportunist deviations. Actually, these are two aspects, that no one can separate, of the ideological struggle between the proletarian and bourgeois lines.

Comrades and friends,

The Marxist-Leninist movement in Quebec has made enormous steps ahead in the last few months. Communist propaganda and agitation are more and more developed among the workers. The first forms of organization of communist workers are coming into light.

Such is the path, the only one, that can lead us, in the not so distant future, to the creation of the Marxist-Leninist organization, and then of the party, the proletarian party. The Party of the final victory over the forces exploiting the workers and oppressing the people. The Party of the revolution.

Down with the Canadian imperialist bourgeoisie!

Down with the American and Soviet imperialist super-powers!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Long live the proletarian revolution!

Long live the Marxist-Leninist organization of struggle for the Party!

IN STRUGGLE!

Here is a list of addresses for contacting IN STRUGGLE!
across the country:

Halifax: P.O. Box 7099, Halifax North, Nova Scotia

Montreal: 4933 De grand Pré, Montreal, Quebec, (514) 844-0756

Quebec: 290 de la Couronne, Quebec, Quebec, (418) 522-2186

Rouyn-Noranda: P.O. Box 441, Noranda, Quebec

Toronto: P.O. Box 841, Station "A", Scarborough, Ontario

Regina: P.O. Box 676, Regina, Saskatchewan.

Vancouver: P.O. Box 1027, Station "A", Vancouver, BC

To write us or to take out a subscription: 4933, de Grand Pré, Montreal

(Check payable to EN LUTTE!)

to subscribe to IN STRUGGLE!

regular one year: \$7 00

support subscription: \$10 00 and more

to subscribe to PROLETARIAN UNITY:

regular 10 issues: \$15 00

support subscription: \$25 00 or more.

Name _____

Address _____

Occupation _____

Workplace _____

LIBRAIRIE L'ETINCELLE

4933, de Grand Pré,

Montréal, tél. (514) 844-0756

(one block west of St-Denis, corner of St-Joseph

Laurier metro, south exit on St-Joseph)

Monday
Tuesday 10h. to 18h.
Wednesday
Thursday
Friday 10h. to 21h.
Saturday 10h. to 17h.

LIBRAIRIE POPULAIRE DE QUEBEC

290, de la Couronne, Québec

C.P. 3308, St-Roch tél. (418) 522-2186

Monday
Tuesday 12h. to 17h.
Wednesday
Thursday
Friday 12h. to 21h.

THE SPARK BOOKSTORE

2749 Dundas Street west

Toronto (1/2 Mile north of Bloor)

(416) 763-4413

Thursday: 2:00 PM to 7:00 PM.

Friday: 4:00 PM to 9:00 PM.

Saturday: 12:00 to 5:00 PM.