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Against Soviet Social-Imperialism and For National Liberation

What Kind of Friendship?



Two Articles Against
Soviet Social-Imperialist
Cuban Intervention
in Angola

By Hardial Bains

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Cover photo: Photo shows Comrade Hardial Bains, Chairman of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) presenting the resolution on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party in India at a mass rally organised by Hindustani Ghadar Party in Toronto on December 27, 1975. Over 1000 progressive people attended the mass rally. (For details about the proceedings, write to National Publications Centre for the pamphlet: RALLY ON THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF COMMUNIST PARTY IN INDIA.)

Against Soviet Social-Imperialism and For National Liberation

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Soviet Social-Imperialist
Cuban Intervention
in Angola

By Hardial Bains

NORMAN BETHUNE INSTITUTE 1976

**WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES,
UNITE!**

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Against Soviet Social-Imperialism and For National Liberation

Address to the conference on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Founding of the Communist Party in India held in Toronto on December 27, 1975.

Comrades and friends,

We have been asked by various people, various friends, why we organised the programme in this manner. Some very close comrades have raised questions: What does India or this celebration of the founding of the Communist Party in India have to do with the other programmes? Why are we mixing up these programmes? Why not just have separate programmes? So I would like to speak on the significance of organising this kind of programme. It has been organised in a deliberate and quite conscious fashion and we consider this programme a historic event.

Comrades and friends, all of you are aware of the grave events that have taken place in southern Africa, especially in Angola. In the last few months, Soviet social-imperialism has, blatantly and deliberately, without any hesitation, invaded a small country in Africa. The Angolan people had just recently defeated the Portuguese colonialists and were on the eve of declaring an independent republic as a member of the sister independent republics of Africa. It was this great event for which the Angolan people had fought for over ten years in their recent history and for several centuries before that — which has been postponed by the invasion of Soviet social-imperialism. The gravity of the situation further increases when we see Soviet puppet ✓ troops from Cuba sent to slaughter the Angolan people.

Comrades and friends, this slaughter is being justified under the pretext that one of the liberation organisations is so-called "socialist" while the other organisations are either CIA financed or financed by South African fascists, —such slander against the heroic people of Angola who have been waging armed struggle against the Portuguese colonialists. Comrades and friends, there is nothing socialistic

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about invading another country. In fact, there is everything fascist about it. Hitler used to use similar excuses and you would recall that Hitler used to call himself a "National Socialist" and in order to deceive the workers, even called the fascist party a "National Socialist Workers' Party". Today these social-imperialists in the Soviet Union are parading under the signboard of "socialism", in the nazi style.

Now, if the issue was merely the invasion of Angola by Soviet social-imperialism we would have denounced Soviet social-imperialism and called upon the people to unite in solidarity with the Angolan people; but the situation is far more complicated than this in the sense that in the imperialist countries as well as in Asia, Africa and Latin America international opportunism under the signboard of 'Marxism-Leninism', under the signboard of even following Mao Tsetung Thought is justifying this naked and brutal aggression against the Angolan people.

What is common between the struggle of the Angolan people and the struggle of the Indian people? I would like you to recall that when Mrs. Gandhi declared 'National Emergency' in India on June 26, 1975 and escalated the slaughter of the Indian people, then it was Soviet social-imperialism and international opportunism which tried to justify this fascist activity on the part of Mrs. Gandhi as 'defence of democracy' or tried to hoodwink the people by asking to 'restore democracy' in India. And I would also like the comrades and friends to remember the days in December 1971 when naked aggression was committed against the sovereign state of Pakistan and it was dismembered by the Indian reactionaries under the slogan of 'national liberation'. Czechoslovakia was invaded by Soviet social-imperialism under the hoax of 'defending socialism' and in 'defence of the socialist community' in August 1968. From the time Khrushchov seized control of the state and carried out restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, untold crimes have been committed against humanity under the signboard of 'socialism'! I remember the days when Khrushchov visited India in 1955 with Bulganin and right in front of the eyes and ears of everyone, he compared Great Lenin, the emancipator and educator of the international proletariat and oppressed people of the world with the British stooge and agent Gandhi. He slandered Lenin quite openly, "as Gandhi is for India, Lenin is for Russia". In other words, Lenin was a traitor to the Russian people as was Gandhi a bootlicker of the British colonialists and a traitor and butcher of the Indian people. (ap-

plause)

Starting from this, I have only to cite you some very significant and grave events which the Soviet social-imperialists organised against the people of the world. One of these events was in October 1962 when it conspired, encouraged and sympathised with the Indian reactionary invasion of the People's Republic of China. And you recall the 1968-69 deployment of the brutal and fascist army of Soviet social-imperialism on the borders of the People's Republic of China which committed aggressive acts against the People's Republic of China. Right from the time of the death of Comrade Stalin, Soviet social-imperialism colluded with U.S. imperialism and is now contending furiously to redivide the world. The two superpowers are contending for world hegemony and in order to accomplish this, they will go to war. The situation in Angola is part of the Soviet social-imperialist scramble for world hegemony. In the same manner Soviet social-imperialism is contending with U.S. imperialism in Western Europe which is the main area of contention; in the same manner Soviet social-imperialism is contending in the Middle East; in the same manner Soviet social-imperialism is contending in other parts of the world. We are organising this meeting in Toronto and inviting first and foremost our fighting comrades from southern Africa and then representatives from various Marxist-Leninist organisations in the United States and Canada and comrades who are fighting in various other countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America; we have invited them to raise amongst them the issue that Soviet social-imperialism has the same designs for other countries as it has shown for southern Africa, for Angola and for India.

At this time, we cannot keep our tongues tied and believe in social-imperialist propaganda that, when the Vietnamese were fighting they accepted aid from Soviet social-imperialism, so what is wrong with MPLA, one of the liberation organisations accepting this aid? First, the aid which Viet Nam accepted was aid against U.S. imperialist aggression and Vietnamese puppets. Secondly, Viet Nam never accepted any troops in Viet Nam. They did not permit Soviet social-imperialism to invade Viet Nam. If you recall the days in the 1960's when U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism were colluding to get Soviet social-imperialism embroiled in Viet Nam so that the fate of the Vietnamese people could then be decided by the two superpowers, the Vietnamese people heroically rebuffed all this scheming by U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. Today in Angola, the struggle is not that Angola is fighting some puppets of some other state. It is a civil war

instigated by Soviet social-imperialism which is slaughtering the Angolan people. This is not aid, this is blatant invasion and this invasion cannot be tolerated by the people of the world. ✓

We would like, as Marxist-Leninists of all countries, to warn the Cuban puppet troops as well as anyone else that it does not matter on what pretext they go to Angola, that genuine liberation fighters will cut them up! I was very inspired by the poem of a Filipino poet where she points out what is done to the traitors: people cut them up! This is not a matter of some contradiction between some 'confused' Marxist-Leninists and some 'clear' Marxist-Leninists because we have seen that international opportunism always operates in this hideous manner.

When Mrs. Gandhi dismembered Pakistan, so-called "socialist" countries under domination of Soviet social-imperialism applauded it and recognised 'Bangladesh'. Now we have various so-called "socialists" and others applauding Mrs. Gandhi in the same manner. So comrades and friends, we have to speak up, we have to organise demonstrations, not only just against Soviet social-imperialism, but also against the collaborators of Soviet social-imperialism. (Applause) We are very clear that the Vietnamese people who defeated the U.S. aggressors yesterday, the French imperialist aggressors the day before and Japanese militarists before that, will also defeat Soviet social-imperialism if it tries to seize control of them. (Applause) We say all glory to the heroic Vietnamese people. Let nobody be confused about this fact: We will stay on the side of the Vietnamese people and the Vietnamese people's struggle against Soviet social-imperialism. If the Cuban people were able to overthrow U.S. imperialism and the puppet regime of Batista, I am confident that Soviet social-imperialism and its puppets will also be overthrown. (Applause) Imperialists hatched nefarious schemes to get Asians to fight Asians, and Asian people have learnt through much suffering and sacrifice how to unite with one another against the U.S. aggressors. Today we have a situation where Soviet social-imperialism has schemes of making Asians, Africans and Latin Americans fight one another. And here comrades, lies our fighting unity. While Soviet social-imperialism has all the designs to make Asians, Africans and Latin Americans fight one another, we also have the design to unite with one another and defeat Soviet social-imperialism. (Applause) I say this with a great deal of confidence and determination that if Soviet social-imperialism thinks that it did not have its soldiers buried in Asia, Africa and Latin America, now it will happen; genuine

liberation fighters will bury them there. (Applause) Asians, Africans and Latin Americans have shown repeatedly through their heroic struggles, that it is up to the imperialists and social-imperialists to send their troops into Asia, Africa and Latin America, but it is not up to them to withdraw. (Laughter) The great national liberation movement which is developing in Asia, Africa and Latin America will bury forever the Soviet social-imperialist troops in Asia, Africa and Latin America. (Applause) Genuine progressives and communists of the world have spent all their lives first fighting for the Soviet Union and then they saw Khrushchov betraying them. They also marched, they demonstrated, went to jails in support of the Cuban people's revolution; then they supported the Vietnamese revolution. This tremendous untathomable revolutionary spirit of the people of the world shown towards the Soviet Union, towards Cuba, towards Viet Nam and other fighting countries like China, this spirit should not be misunderstood, because those people who with such enthusiasm support socialism, support national liberation, will with even greater enthusiasm wipe out those who want to undo the victories of socialism and of national liberation.

We are not confused; we are very clear as to what Soviet social-imperialism is planning for the people of the world, especially people of Asia, Africa and Latin America, because we are upholders of the revolutionary road of the Great October Revolution; we are conscious of the lessons of the great anti-fascist war which the people of the world waged; we are in solidarity with the national liberation struggles; and now when we see that in the name of socialism, in the name of national liberation, in the name of opposing fascism, it is socialism, national liberation and anti-fascist struggle that is trampled underfoot, our hatred, our contempt, our resolve against imperialism and social-imperialism multiplies a thousand-fold. In India they are telling us that the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) has been wiped out. If the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) has been wiped out, then why is Mrs. Gandhi running for her life? (Applause) How come she has dreams that she is going to be killed? We are told that in southern Africa the issue has also been settled. If the revolutionary forces in Zimbabwe are in disarray, then why all this panic and hysteria by Ian Smith and his puppets? Neither the struggle in India, nor the struggle in Zimbabwe, nor the struggle in Angola nor the struggles in any country can be ended by Soviet social-imperialism and international opportunism. Nations,

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people and the international proletariat cannot be liquidated. Only the monsters who stand against the nations, against the people and the international proletariat, only they will be wiped out.

Some people believe that a temporary victory is going to turn into a permanent victory. The temporary victory which the Soviet Union may be relishing, is in fact a noose around its own neck. Like U.S. imperialism after the Second World War, which was running amuck all over the world declaring itself to be the world's policeman, we now see that Soviet social-imperialism is making the same demands. 1975 has been a glorious year. We saw U.S. imperialism not policing Viet Nam. We saw U.S. imperialism not policing Cambodia and Laos. We actually saw U.S. imperialism running for its very life. (Applause) Comrades and friends, the same fate awaits Soviet social-imperialism. **If somebody comes to me with a hammer and sickle on his chest and fascism in his heart, I will shoot him just the same.** (Applause)

* * *

We have organised this meeting in Toronto today to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party in India. We have organised this conference because certain people in India are in panic and are causing confusion. They are propagating lies that CPC(M-L) is going to seize control of the revolutionary movement in India. I did not think that we were such Genghis Khans that we could organise expeditionary armies from here. (Laughter) But comrades and friends, they have something else in mind. These opportunists who have given themselves the right over the last five years, and more particularly since the time of the dastardly murder of the great leader Charu Mazumdar, these reactionary forces in India have been inciting people to attack Marxism-Leninism, to attack the basic line of Armed Agrarian Revolution and to attack Charu Mazumdar. They do propaganda that there is no one left in India who supports the basic line of Armed Agrarian Revolution or who supports Charu Mazumdar's proletarian revolutionary line. According to these reactionaries, it is only in Canada that there are some people still alive, who still follow the slogans of Naxalbari, the slogan that China's path is our path, the slogans of Armed Agrarian Revolution. Knowing that this force cannot be eliminated by them, and being extremely helpless about the situation, they are uttering this nonsense.

The other day, Mrs. Gandhi brought one of our newspapers to parliament. She said that the CIA must have produced it, because it was such a fine paper. (Laughter) Comrades and friends, a fine

paper does not make a CIA agent. What makes a CIA agent is what is written in the paper. What was written there was the death knell of Mrs. Gandhi's class and her sponsors; that is the politics of Armed Agrarian Revolution. That is what is scaring her and therefore her outburst that this paper is financed by the CIA. Then there are various other people who call themselves 'genuine' Marxist-Leninists. They are also scared of the politics of Armed Agrarian Revolution; the basic line of People's Democratic Revolution and of defeating international opportunism which is slandering Armed Agrarian Revolution.

Today we will present you with a resolution and we will show you that on the founding of the Communist Party of India, the slogan and politics of Armed Agrarian Revolution were taken up. They talked about establishing a Workers' and Peasants' Republic. We will show you the various other resolutions, especially from the time of Naxalbari, which support the politics of Armed Agrarian Revolution. Yet all of a sudden, overnight, the opportunists slander these slogans as opportunist. They are telling us that armed struggle is fine for everyone else but not for India.

So comrades and friends, we are organising this meeting, to restart in a big way the propaganda for Indian revolution, that is, for the Naxalbari way. And in carrying out propaganda for the Naxalbari way, we are also supporting the struggles of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the proletariat of the imperialist and revisionist countries. Lenin pointed out in 1919: **"...In the last analysis the outcome of the struggle will be determined by the fact that Russia, India, China, etc. account for the overwhelming majority of the population of the globe. And during the past few years it is this majority that has been drawn into the struggle for emancipation with extraordinary rapidity, so that in this respect there cannot be the slightest doubt what the final outcome of the world struggle will be. In this sense the complete victory of socialism is fully and absolutely assured."** Indian revolution is part and parcel of world revolution. With a successful People's Democratic Revolution in India, imperialism and social-imperialism will be irreparably damaged. It will be a great clarion call for the international proletariat, especially the modern proletariat in the United States, in Canada and the Soviet Union to bury imperialism and social-imperialism.

With the Indian revolution having this important position, some people want to bury their heads in the sand and believe that there is no imperialist and social-imperialist conspiracy against the communist movement in India. They believe that communist parties

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are not infiltrated and encircled, that all methods are not used to decimate the communists there. I said several times before that CPI(M-L) is crushed but not eliminated, because they are the followers of Great Lenin who said that communists are such vermin that the more they are crushed the more they will multiply.

In India, the revolutionary movement is surging forward. It is this revolutionary movement which has caused Mrs. Gandhi to declare the 'National Emergency'. It is no accident that two days later, that is on June 28, vigorous armed struggle took place in one of the districts of Bihar where the communist revolutionaries fought the police for over 81 hours. And that is not all. They also escaped and inflicted heavy damages on the reactionary police there. (Applause) So comrades and friends while the situation is excellent for Indian revolution, it also means that if revolution grows in India, the Indian reactionaries will not be able to attack East Pakistan; they will not be able to fulfill their dark designs on Kashmir; they will not be able to attack West Pakistan under the hoax of supporting national liberation struggles there. They will be incapable of launching any serious attacks against our neighbours. A successful Indian revolution will defeat Soviet social-imperialists' hegemony in Eastern Europe. They will be extremely weakened. That is why they are trying to groom Mrs. Gandhi as their head henchman in Asia under the so-called Asian Collective Security System. The development of the Indian revolution means support for the people of East Pakistan and for the people of West Pakistan. It means support for the people of Sikkim, Bhutan and Nepal; support for the people of Ceylon as well as vigorous support for the People's Republic of China which is the target of aggressive designs on the part of both Soviet social-imperialism and U.S. imperialism. Having this kind of immediate significance, imperialism and social-imperialism will do everything possible to crush the Indian revolution. Over 12,000 comrades of CPI(M-L) were killed in a period of two to three years, slaughtered without trial and over 40,000 of their comrades are in jails. This is a lesson to us that while one face of the bourgeoisie slaughters, the other face comes up with humanitarianism. And we saw these humanitarians from 1971 on who wanted to help the prisoners in Mrs. Gandhi's jails, who called themselves Marxist-Leninists, but who refused to support the Armed Agrarian Revolution. All that activity on the part of these 'humanists' did not give rise to the release of political prisoners but only caused confusion in the revolutionary ranks.

A new phase in the history of the people's struggle against imperialism and social-imperialism is emerging. And I am certain that if we do not hesitate to speak our minds, keep the basic interests of the international proletariat, of the oppressed nations and people, in mind, and not be confused by the machinations of imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, then a day will come which Chairman Mao predicted in the early '60s when the world will go through a radical change and that is around 2010. (1) There are twenty-four years left to this century and ten years into the next century. Nations and masses of people in struggle in the vast land of India will extend their struggle from generation to generation, until the time imperialism and social-imperialism and native reactionaries are all defeated.

In the end, I would like to ask my Indian comrades resident here that they should not let the Indian organisations be isolated from Marxist-Leninists. Some individuals are telling us that 'I will confine myself to Indian revolution'. What does confining oneself to Indian revolution mean? It means that while opportunists are united against Indian revolution, we Marxist-Leninists should remain isolated from one another. This is what it means, 'to confine oneself to Indian revolution'. Did the splittist and intriguer in Montreal not unite with his opportunist cronies after issuing the erroneous call that "Indians should confine themselves to Indian revolution"? He did. He is now one of the main instigators and organisers against CPC(M-L) in Canada. How come he is not 'confining himself to Indian revolution'? When these people give the excuse that they want to confine themselves to Indian revolution, what they are saying is either that I am not going to do anything about Indian revolution, or I am going to support opportunism. We have seen these people; these opportunists come up in 1971. They were opportunists in North America, opportunists in India and they were disruptors everywhere. It is the responsibility of all Indian Marxist-Leninists resident here that they should forge the closest ties with the proletariat of Canada, the proletariat of the U.S. and other national minorities and native people. This closest unity between the fighting people everywhere should be forged. Because what imperialism and social-imperialism, especially social-imperialism is planning for India is very sinister and has already brought disaster to the Indian people. It is predicted by the imperialist intellectuals that besides other nefarious activities, imperialism and social-imperialism are planning a famine to take place in India around 1978-79 which will be

unprecedented in the history of mankind.

Comrades and friends, let us be prepared for this famine. As Comrade Charu Mazumdar said, the rise of the Armed Agrarian Revolution will inspire the Indian masses and "famine-ravished landless peasants will not flock to the city to beg from door to door for the left-overs and to perish"; but instead, "the landless peasants will need no rifle in their hands, they will tear off the throat of the war-monster with their teeth and nails." Our comrades and friends must resolutely support this Armed Agrarian Revolution. (Long Applause)

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1. Chairman Mao said in 1962:

"The next 50 to 100 years or so, beginning from now, will be a great era of radical change in the social system throughout the world, an earth-shaking era without equal in any previous historical period. Living in such an era, we must be prepared to engage in great struggles which will have many features different in form from those of the past." (Quoted in *Important Documents on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China*, pp. 104-105, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1970)

What Kind of Friendship ?

Note: What Kind of Friendship? was the title under which Hardial Bains welcomed the representatives of ZANU and UNITA to the conference on Zimbabwe and Angola held in Montreal, February 7, 1976. We reproduce this article which is based on the speech by Hardial Bains and is edited by him for publication.

The attitude which the proletariat of the capitalist and imperialist countries and of the social-imperialist and revisionist countries take towards the national liberation struggles of the peoples and nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America is decisive to determine whether the proletariat in these countries is taking a revolutionary, non-revolutionary or reactionary stand. Chairman Mao Tsetung teaches: "**...the world revolution can only succeed if the proletariat of the capitalist countries supports the struggle for liberation of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples and if the proletariat of the colonies supports that of the proletariat of the capitalist countries.**" (In Memory of Norman Bethune) The proletariat in the capitalist and imperialist countries and in the revisionist and social-imperialist countries can be progressive only if it takes a very positive attitude towards the struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and considers the struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America as their own. This means that the proletariat of the imperialist and capitalist countries, the revisionist and social-imperialist countries must:

1. oppose their own reactionary ruling classes;
2. enthusiastically learn from and support the struggles of the peoples and nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America; and
3. launch staunch campaigns to isolate and hit at the main enemies of the world's people.

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This is the banner of proletarian internationalism. This is the red banner upheld by the Bolsheviks and the Leninists who followed the Third Internationale, which came into being at the time of the First World War. It was presented by Lenin and went against the Yellow Banner of social democracy, which stood for social chauvinism and capitulation to imperialism and colonialism.

A correct attitude towards the struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America is decisive when we consider the question of **what kind of friendship** we want to build. When we sum up the lessons of building the solidarity movement in Canada during the past ten years and more, we can see that although it has gone through various phases and twists and turns, its main features have remained the same: one line has always regarded the struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America from a social chauvinist position. The advocates of this line are the advocates of the Yellow Banner. They push all sorts of social chauvinist and national chauvinist theories of humanitarianism, Christianity, and everything save the revolutionary unity between the proletariat of the imperialist and capitalist countries and of the revisionist and social-imperialist countries with the proletariat of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The other line has always regarded the problems of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America from a proletarian internationalist standpoint and sees in the victories of the oppressed nations and peoples their own victory. Right from the beginning our organisation has upheld the latter line: We are in unity with the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America because we are ourselves anti-imperialists. Their victories are a great lesson to us. It is very important to grasp this because to belittle in any way the struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples is to hurt the interests of world revolution. It is in this light and to further this cause that we have organised this programme. Our friendship with the fighting people of Asia, Africa and Latin America is a revolutionary friendship based on a common struggle against our common enemies. In no way do we consider ourselves to be better off and the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America to be underdeveloped and oppressed such that their struggles do not contribute to the success and victory of the world revolution. Our friendship is based on the principles of proletarian internationalism and no other.

It was to uphold the basic guidelines and theory of proletarian internationalism that we organised the **Necessity for Change**

Conference in London, England, from August 1-15, 1967. We organised this conference to oppose another conference being held at that time under the name of "**Dialectics of Liberation**". All sorts of bad elements from Europe and North America attended the "Dialectics of Liberation" Conference to popularise ideas which were inconsistent with the revolutionary movement, ideas of individual and personal liberation. For instance, the smoking of marijuana in front of everyone was presented as an act of liberation, as were the theories of Black Power and fascist psychiatry. We organised the **Necessity for Change Conference** to provide an opposite point of view and, instead of various bourgeois and reactionary professors we invited the representatives of revolutionary organisations from various parts of the world. We are very proud to declare to you at this time that our relations with ZANU and UNITA, as well as with other organisations from Africa, including the Congo and other countries, date back to this Conference. It was at this Conference that for the first time, a consistent stand was adopted in support of the struggles of the people of Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, Azania, the Congo and other countries. Over 25 liberation organisations participated in the programme, including representatives from the Middle East. This **Necessity for Change Conference**, was the beginning of our solidarity movement with the struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Having established relations with these fighting organisations, various subsequent programmes were organised in support of the struggles of the oppressed peoples. In the fall of 1967, a representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) was invited to visit Canada and his tour was as successful as that of the ZANU comrade now, if not more so, in the sense that it launched the solidarity movement in Canada. The following year, in the fall of 1968, a representative from UNITA spoke right here at McGill. Since that time, the relations with the organisations from southern Africa, as well as other countries have been deepening and broadening and a regular solidarity programme has been launched under the banner of Afro-Asian Latin American People's Solidarity Movement (established in April, 1969) which is an organisation of revolutionary solidarity of Canadian people with the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America and other countries.

Over the past 10 years, two types of propaganda have been carried out to oppose our work: One type has been carried out by

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the 'liberation support committees' which follow the thesis that revolution is not possible in countries like Canada, the United States and the countries of Europe and what is decisive is to organise "support" for the struggles in other countries, like Zimbabwe, Azania, Angola, etc. They have slandered the Internationalists and slander CPC(M-L) on the grounds that we do not support the people of the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America. However, the fact is that when the ZANU comrade visited over 24 cities throughout Canada and Quebec he found tremendous support for the just cause of his people. This kind of support is not generated spontaneously. In fact, the people throughout Canada who came to support the just cause of the people of Zimbabwe were very much informed about the situation in southern Africa. They did not come to the meetings completely ignorant about the form and content of the struggles being waged by the people there. Without CPC(M-L) to provide the backbone for the solidarity movement, only spontaneous upsurges of the sort that give rise to humanitarian and Christian feelings can take place. Anyone who attempts to build 'solidarity' without building close links of friendship with the revolutionary parties cannot build a lasting solidarity movement which advances on a systematic basis. The essence of the propaganda that revolution is not possible in countries like Canada, the United States and the countries of Europe, as put forward by the 'liberation support committees', is that the struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are not part and parcel of the world revolution. Because, once you declare the proletariat in Europe and North America as non-revolutionary when these countries comprise the largest majority of the world proletariat, then this is to say that world revolution is not possible. It is entirely wrong to say that a revolutionary situation does not prevail in Canada, the United States and the countries of Europe, because these countries are part of the world and revolution exists in all countries at various stages. No people, or the proletariat in any country can remain indifferent to the needs of world revolution. If CPC(M-L) has been successful in building the solidarity movement with the struggles of the oppressed nations and people, it is because the theoretical and political basis of this solidarity movement has been:

1. Proletarian internationalism and
2. Anti-imperialist socialist revolution in Canada.

The statement of our Party released on November 1, 1975 clearly

pointed out: "The revolutionary struggle of the proletariat of the capitalist and revisionist countries and the struggle of the oppressed nations and peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against old and new colonialism and the hegemonism of the two superpowers constitute the decisive force in the world anti-imperialist socialist revolution. The struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against old and new colonialism and against hegemonism of the two superpowers comprise the motive force of world anti-imperialist socialist revolution."

The second type of propaganda presented in Canada to oppose CPC(M-L) is that the struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America should only be supported if they are "socialist", "communist" or "Marxist". It is under the hoax of this thesis that a line has been presented in a serious attempt to disintegrate and split the solidarity movement. In 1966, 1967 and 1968, various individuals tried to split the solidarity movement in support of the Indochinese people under the hoax that President Ho Chi Minh was a revisionist and that the Vietnamese people were not following the line of people's war. It is these very same people who in 1976 have created the hoax that because UNITA is not "Marxist", it deserves to be decimated and crushed by either one superpower or the other, or both in alliance with each other. This line within the solidarity movement is also based on an incorrect theoretical and political line, because the issue is not whether an organisation is "Marxist" or "socialist", but whether it 1. resolutely stands for the national independence of its country, and 2. whether its activities, its acts of liberation, assist in weakening imperialism, social-imperialism and all reaction on an international scale. While it is possible that some liberation organisations, after their countries are liberated, may take up the banner of socialism and that some may in fact become neo-colonies of another country, our support for their national liberation struggles cannot be based on a 'guarantee' that their struggle will always be socialist. It is the responsibility of the proletariat in the capitalist and imperialist countries, in the revisionist and social-imperialist countries, to give unqualified and enthusiastic support to all the liberation movements and liberation organisations.

Today, in 1976, the situation exists, as in the past, that a liberation organisation, UNITA, is being attacked under the hoax that it is not "Marxist" and "socialist". Although it is very painful, it is also a

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very instructive experience, to see how the advocates of this thesis overlook an open act of intervention and armed aggression, and support the reactionary thesis that the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America should fight each other. It is also painful to see how a country like Cuba, which itself for many decades suffered from foreign intervention and aggression, is now sending its people to Africa to slaughter the African people, all under the hoax that one liberation organisation is "Marxist", while another is not.

In the present class alliance of forces in Canada, it is the imperialist and social-imperialist press, the reactionary professors, the trotskyite organisations (which are straightforward fascist organisations at the beck and call of international reaction) and various other opportunists which have formed a united front in support of social-imperialism and the MPLA. The issue, comrades and friends, is not whether one supports the MPLA or one supports UNITA. The issue is whether one sanctifies the armed intervention in Angola by the Soviet Union and their Cuban puppets, or whether one opposes it. This is the fundamental question.

A similar class alliance of forces took place on the question of the armed intervention in East Pakistan in December 1971, aided and abetted by the Soviet Union. Under the hoax that the then President of Pakistan, Yahya Khan, was a fascist and that the government of Pakistan was a government of big landlords and capitalists, these reactionaries propagated the thesis that the Indian reactionaries had the right to organise a so-called "national liberation movement" in East Pakistan and dismember the country under the orders of the Soviet social-imperialists. Mujibur Rahman, a fascist assassin of the Indian and Pakistani people, was presented as the "leader" of the "national liberation movement". And these same people who supported the dismemberment of Pakistan, today, in 1976, now that it has been amply proven that Mujibur Rahman betrayed the people of East Pakistan and sold out the country to the Soviet social-imperialists, remain silent and do not support the people of East Pakistan who are actually organising armed struggle for national liberation of East Pakistan led by the Communist Party of East Pakistan (Marxist-Leninist). While in 1971 they presented the thesis that the intervention into East Pakistan was legitimate because Yahya Khan was a fascist, today they have been, on the international scale, cultivating various lies to the tune that UNITA is a CIA front, backed by the Portuguese and South African racists; to the tune

that the Soviet Union and Cuba are in Angola merely to support the cause of the MPLA against South African racism and U.S. imperialism, following which they will "disappear from the scene". According to them, the Soviet Union and Cuba are so revolutionary that they can liberate other people through armed intervention. Why then did the Soviet Union and Cuba not participate in the armed intervention prior to 1974 and send expeditionary forces against the Portuguese colonialists? According to their reactionary thesis, Brezhnev and Castro should have a licence to send expeditionary forces to all the countries around the world that they think have a reactionary government in power, in order to 'liberate the people'. The basis of this reactionary thesis is to not support the sanctity of nations, national independence and national sovereignty. It is to support imperialist, social-imperialist and fascist intervention on a world scale and justify such intervention under the hoax that it is "revolutionary".

Throughout 1946 to 1975, it was under the signboards of "democracy" and "freedom" and "protecting the free world" that U.S. imperialism participated in open and covert intervention throughout the world, groomed puppets everywhere, and is still doing so. The armed intervention on the part of the Soviet Union, under the hoax of supporting "Marxists" and "socialists" is no different and equally unjustified. Hitler operated under the banner of "socialism" and Mrs. Gandhi invaded East Pakistan under the signboards of "democracy" and "national liberation".

To conclude this point, I would like to emphasise that the hoax being presented by this reactionary alliance of forces, is that the Canadian proletariat can only support a national liberation movement if it is "Marxist" and "socialist". This line is in fact part of the conspiracy by imperialism and social-imperialism to liquidate the revolutionary solidarity of the proletariat of this country with the fighting people of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The basic point is that in dealing with these questions it is necessary to adhere to revolutionary principle. As far as the relations between individual organisations are concerned, each can have its choice. It is our choice to support the revolutionary Angolan organisation UNITA, but at no time have we been a source of rumours and slanders against any other organisation. It is very important that the proletariat in the imperialist and capitalist countries, in the social-imperialist and revisionist countries, not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. To support a particu-

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lar organisation and have relations with a particular organisation is not interference in the internal affairs of a country. Whoever supports the MPLA should do so. But they should not, as they are doing, go to other meetings, attempt to disrupt them and "throw stones" at those who support UNITA because if they do so and the stones rebound and hit them it is they themselves who are to be blamed for their misfortune. We disagree with the policies of the MPLA which have already brought disaster to Angola and which, if they persist in these policies, can only cause further disaster for Angola, but this does not give us the right to interfere in the internal affairs of Angola. To uphold the revolutionary principle of building friendship with the oppressed nations and peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, it is fundamental to uphold the principle of national independence and sovereignty of nations. Anyone who supports intervention under any pretext whatsoever cannot be called a "revolutionary", a "progressive" or a "democrat". This is a basic and fundamental point.

At the heart of the slogan of upholding proletarian internationalism is to uphold the principle of the national independence and sovereignty of nations. Ever since Khrushchov usurped power in the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union has been presenting itself as socialist for the sole purpose of liquidating the national liberation struggles of the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America and seizing control of these countries for its own nefarious ends. The sham socialism of the Soviet Union was plain for everyone to see in its refusal to support the just cause of the people of Cambodia. The so-called "greatest supporters of the Indochinese people" in fact supported the reactionary Lon Nol clique under the hoax that it was "republican" while Prince Sihanouk was a monarch. On the question of Cambodia, our slogans were that U.S. imperialism should get out of Cambodia and should not interfere in the internal affairs of the people of Cambodia. As far as the Lon Nol clique was concerned, it was not an issue because once the U.S. imperialists were forced to stop interfering in the affairs of Cambodia, the Cambodian people themselves could deal with it in a matter of hours. A parallel situation exists in Angola. Foreign troops should withdraw from Angola: the Soviet troops should withdraw, the Cuban troops should be sent back; South African fascist troops should be crushed and the U.S. imperialists should stop meddling in the internal affairs of Angola. The issue is not whether UNITA will take over the MPLA, or vice-versa, or whether the FNLA will be wiped out: it is up to the people of Angola to decide how they are going

to bring about the unity of all the genuine national liberation forces. It is their internal issue. It is up to us to 1. staunchly support their national liberation struggle and 2. vigorously denounce all foreign intervention in Angola.

The reactionary alliance of forces is presently running the hysterical propaganda that the Soviet and Cuban forces will be successful in a matter of weeks. They claimed they would hold a victory celebration in Toronto on February 4th on the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary of the founding of the MPLA. But what kind of a victory will they be celebrating? What kind of victory is this which is based on the slaughter of the Angolan people? If such a "victory" takes place, it will be an extremely temporary victory. It will actually hasten the process of the total defeat of Soviet social-imperialism and its puppets on the world scale. This is because Angola does not stand alone in its struggle for national liberation. The Soviet Union has taken precisely the same interventionist and hegemonist attitude toward the revolutionary movement of the Indian people and the six hundred million Indian people have common cause with the people of Angola. When the Soviet social-imperialists slaughter our comrades and friends in Angola they are committing a crime not only against the people of Angola, but against the people of India and the entire world.

This same alliance of reactionary forces supporting the armed intervention into the internal affairs of Angola is suggesting that the revolutionary policy of the People's Republic of China, although correct on all other questions, is not "quite correct" on the question of Angola. Comrades and friends, revolutionary principles are not and cannot be molded according to one's whims and some "peculiar conditions". How is it possible to believe that a revolutionary principle can be molded such that People's China was correct on the question of Cambodia, but is wrong on the question of Angola? Ever since the People's Republic of China came into being in 1949, it has followed the consistent revolutionary policy of supporting the struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America and sympathising and supporting the revolutionary struggles of the people of the countries of Europe and North America, as well as all other countries. It is very important to understand that China upholds a revolutionary foreign policy and it is not a matter of having one attitude towards one country and another attitude towards another country. Similarly, it is important to understand that the Soviet Union has not committed some "mistake" in Angola. Soviet social-imperialism has also been following a con-

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sistent policy, a consistent counter-revolutionary and social-imperialist interventionist foreign policy since the death of Comrade Stalin in 1953. The Soviet Union has been committing crimes against the people of the world and towards every nation and people they take the same attitude as they have done in Angola. To mention but a few examples of their policy of sanctifying naked and open intervention in the affairs of sovereign nations, they have amassed over 1 million troops on the borders of People's China; they have an occupational armed force in Czechoslovakia; they supported the Indian reactionaries' invasion and dismemberment of East Pakistan; they attempted to take over Egypt through the sale of arms and blackmail, but failed. In fact, whenever they claim to assist a country their motive is none other than to seize control of the people of that country and place the entire nation within the social-imperialist orbit. The attitude of the Soviet Union is precisely the same as the attitude of the U.S. imperialists. It cannot be termed a matter of "mistaken policy", no more than China's correct revolutionary stand can be termed a matter of "mistaken policy on the question of Angola." When the reactionaries claim that China has committed a "mistake" on the question of Angola, it is very important to uphold principle on this matter.

In Canada, also, the two lines are very clear and have been for a long period of time. It was only CPC(M-L) and its friends who opposed the intervention and dismemberment of East Pakistan and firmly supported the right of nations to self-determination and national sovereignty. CPC(M-L) vigorously denounced the Indian reactionaries for attacking Pakistan as well as the Soviet social-imperialists for aiding and abetting the Indian reactionaries in their dirty work. On the question of the Middle East again it is CPC(M-L) which has resolutely taken a stand against Zionism, imperialism and against Soviet social-imperialist interference into the internal affairs of the Arab and Palestinian people as well as in support of the PLO. On the question of Cambodia the opportunists in Canada provided the revolutionary movement with a very clear lesson: although they claimed to support the national liberation struggle of the people of Cambodia, they carried a campaign of silence and did not organise so much as a rally, a demonstration or pass a resolution to mobilise the Canadian people. Again it was CPC(M-L) who led and built the solidarity campaign in support of the struggle of the heroic Cambodian people. It was only after the Cambodian people liberated

themselves that the opportunist elements held one or two meetings to cover up the fact that they had concretely opposed the solidarity movement in support of the people of Cambodia. Now, on the question of Angola, the two lines are crystal clear once again. The opportunist groups promote every lie dished out by the imperialist and social-imperialist press against the people of Angola, against UNITA and against those organisations and countries in the world upholding the principled stand of **noninterference in the internal affairs of Angola**. At the same time, they have presented no opposition whatsoever to the armed aggression of Soviet social-imperialism and its Cuban puppets. They quite shamelessly promote the theory that South Africa is a bigger enemy than Soviet social-imperialism. Comrades and friends, I am very confident that if Soviet social-imperialism was not interfering in the internal affairs of Angola, if U.S. imperialism was not interfering in the internal affairs of the people of southern Africa, the people of Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania would make short work of the racists and raze the white racist regime to the ground in no time. To suggest that South Africa is a bigger enemy than Soviet social-imperialism is to stand truth on its head and confound right and wrong.

CPC(M-L) upholds the principles of proletarian internationalism as the basis for its solidarity campaign, as the basis for its solidarity with the oppressed nations and people of Africa, Asia and Latin America. CPC(M-L) is not a "fly-by-night" organisation which says one thing one day and then abandons the struggle. CPC(M-L) is not seeking out jobs in the office of the Secretary of State of the federal government, or within the United Nations. CPC(M-L) is rooted in the historic struggle of the oppressed people of Canada, Quebec and the national minorities resident here and its policy is not dependent on what direction the wind is blowing. CPC(M-L) does not get confused because one or two imperialist and social-imperialist newspapers are concocting lies and spreading confusion about the struggle of the world's people. Right from its inception, CPC(M-L) has advocated the line of proletarian internationalism, the line of peaceful co-existence as the principled revolutionary basis for the building of friendship and solidarity with the oppressed nations and peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. We do not demand that everyone should follow our policy, but neither do we create the illusion that those elements who are doing the dirty work for U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism can be called 'revolutionaries',

"progressives" or "democrats". In this respect, we have a duty to stick to our principles and we do not take a lenient or conciliatory attitude towards those individuals and organisations who are taking a conciliatory attitude towards Soviet social-imperialism.

In Canada, the line of the reactionary alliance of forces supporting Soviet social-imperialist intervention in Angola is crystal clear. The trotskysts are in the forefront of advocating this line and our Party has always been very clear that trotskysm means fascism and we do not expect much from the trotskysts. What is an interesting feature of the situation in Canada within the last few years, however, is that various opportunists who call themselves 'genuine Marxist-Leninists' are also claiming to be confused on all questions of basic principle. Today, it is these opportunists who claim to support China on every other question who claim to have 'critical support' for China on her correct stand on the question of Angola. It is organisations such as those which claim to be 'genuine Marxist-Leninists' which are doing the real dirty work for Soviet social-imperialism. Counter-revolutionary propaganda is being carried out that for victory, the oppressed nations and people have to depend on one superpower or the other in opposition to the Leninist thesis advanced by Chairman Mao that: **"A weak nation can defeat a strong, a small nation can defeat a big. The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle, take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country. This is a law of history."** The opportunists have revised this thesis into "a small nation can defeat a big... with the support of 'socialist' countries". Here they expose themselves as agents of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism as it is the thesis of Khrushchov-Brezhnev-Kosygin that the "socialist camp" is decisive in terms of successful national liberation struggles which is a thesis to oppose national liberation struggle. We are opposed to this reactionary thesis as we are opposed to the reactionary thesis that opposition to Soviet social-imperialism necessarily means support for U.S. imperialism. In fact the opposite is true. Failure to oppose Soviet social-imperialism is support for U.S. imperialism.

I would like to conclude my remarks by saying that support for the liberation movements and organisations in Asia, Africa and Latin America is a matter of principle. This correct principle for Marxist-Leninists is proletarian internationalism. Because we base our activities on this correct and fundamental principle, our approach, our methods, our form of organising are not in the least

sectarian. As far as CPC(M-L) is concerned, neither will we create illusions about groups and individuals which are not genuinely in support of the revolutionary movements of the oppressed nations and people and, at the same time, we will not oppose those organisations and individuals that are non-revolutionary such as certain Christian, social and humanitarian organisations, or organisations of the broad masses such as trade unions or professional organisations which come forward to support the just cause of the people of Zimbabwe and Angola. These organisations or the members of these organisations whose main motive is to support the cause of the people of Zimbabwe and Angola are welcome to join and work within the solidarity organisations.

Comrades and friends, the principle on which CPC(M-L) is organising the solidarity movement, building the friendship between the Canadian and Quebec people and the oppressed nations and peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, is the Leninist principle — it is based on proletarian internationalism and it is a revolutionary friendship. This friendship will last forever!!

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