





## Down with revisionism, opportunism, renegacy and betrayal! . . . from page 3

instigators of world war, hoping to set Europe on fire so they can pick up the pieces. Their alleged "fight against imperialism" is now fully revealed: it is the same "fight" Soviet social-imperialism is waging against "imperialism" — an inter-imperialist fight, not a proletarian revolutionary fight to abolish capital and abolish imperialist plunder from the face of the earth. This concept of the "nation" in a "fight against imperialism" evolved four years later in Jack Scott's rotten opportunist book, *Two Roads* into a thesis that "China is confident that countries freed from the imperialist yoke will invariably, given time, develop in a progressive direction internally" and that a "united front" against the "imperialists" can admit "a country that is under internal reactionary rule, provided it resists the imperialists and refrains from interfering in the internal affairs of others".

Is not the line advanced in 1969 by PWM the same in essence as that advanced by Jack Scott in 1974? It is the same anti-Leninist class-collaborationist, social-imperialist line. It is a negation of the proletariat as the class at the centre of our historical epoch, the only social class that can emancipate all other oppressed masses through its social revolution against capital — internal and external. Can all those who stood up to applaud Jack Scott in October 1976 as a "Marxist-Leninist communist devoted to the cause of socialism", a man of "revolutionary fidelity", not correlate that this man has been pushing his anti-Leninist, anti-October Revolution line consistently since the formation of PWM in 1964? That he openly takes up this social-chauvinist thesis in 1969 and again in 1974, and can they not correlate that this representative of Chinese chauvinism and social-imperialism has been the most virulent police agent-provocateur to prevent the formation of the Marxist-Leninist Party and its further development and consolidation? No, they cannot make such a correlation precisely because they are his class brothers; they are bonded one to each other as representatives of imperialism. Now imperialism has decided to set up its "pro-Albania" bloc of anti-communists in the vain hope that capitalist restoration in Albania will have its agents in Canada as the Chinese revisionists kept and nourished theirs. But these dreamers are going to be caught with their nose out of joint again. Like all social-fascists these reactionaries are looking backward and not forward. They dream that history is "evolving" towards capitalism and capitalist restoration and not towards socialist revolution and socialism. Those who embraced Jack Scott in 1976, those who had not a single word to say about his anti-communist tract, *Two Roads*, written in 1974, those who are united with him in their campaign of lies, calumnies and slanders against CPC(M-L) and its leader Hardial Bains, they should try to understand this much: deeds speak louder than words. It does not matter how much Charles Gagnon and his clique in *Struggle!* wriggle and squirm, no matter how much the renegades and their "advisors" scream and stamp their feet, their practical political-ideological unity, despite all their noise about "ideological struggle" (itself a line propounded since the distant days of 1969 by Jack Scott and PWM), with the opportunists and revisionists of all hues to "ban CPC(M-L)", "isolate CPC(M-L)" is a pact with the Kashtan revisionists (Soviet social-imperialists), *Globe and Mail* police forces and social-democrats representing U.S. imperialism and Canadian monopoly capital to liquidate and crush the political Party of the proletariat, CPC(M-L), headed by Hardial Bains. This is the crux and has been the crux of the question since the establishment of the Internationalists in 1963 to date. This is why Party militants grasp Lenin's theory about the bond between opportunism and imperialism, and show in daily political practice, in their ideological and political work amongst the masses, especially amongst the proletarians, that "the most dangerous of all . . . are those who do not wish to understand that the fight against imperialism is a sham and humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism." This revolutionary

Leninist theory gives the communists the strength and determination, the confidence in our Party, to wage a merciless struggle a thousand times broader and deeper against this opportunist "three world" trend as well as all the revisionist, trotskyite cliques bound to imperialism and prolonging its rotten life. The fight to build our Party today, to strengthen its links with the honest fighting elements of the proletariat and patriotic, democratic masses, means to intensify with even more determination and vigour the fight that has been going on against the opportunist holy alliance and its Chinese revisionist front right since the time of the founding of our Party and before.

Let us return to the 1969 PWM tract. We have seen how they falsely pose the issue of "nationalism" in order to oppose Leninism. What divides their "left" is not "nationalism" versus "socialism", but imperialism versus social-imperialism. In short, their "left", right since the days the Internationalists waged relentless struggle against revisionism, trotskyism, New Leftism, anarchism, etc. on the UBC campus in 1963, is divided between its allegiance to U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism or Chinese social-imperialism. This is what their "ideological struggle" is all about: to which imperialist bloc should they bond their particular brand of opportunism. It is and has always been for these Anglo-American opportunists merely a question of pragmatic expediency as to how best serve their private capitalist interest in sharing what Lenin describes as "the receipt of high monopoly profits by the capitalists" which makes it possible to "bribe certain sections of the workers, and for a time a fairly considerable minority of them, and win them to the side of the bourgeoisie of a given industry or given nation against all the others." For a very long time because of the special monopoly position of first English, then United States imperialism, the ruling class has been extremely successful in preventing the proletariat from giving rise to a monolithic Marxist-Leninist Party which devotes its boundless revolutionary energy to fighting opportunism, to building the communist movement "in a planned way from its three coordinated and interconnected sides, the theoretical, the political and the practical-economic (resistance to the capitalists)."

What must be grasped then about both this PWM pamphlet (and all the practical political-ideological work of the organization from 1964-66) as well as the "extraordinary rapidity and the particularly revolting character of the development of opportunism" of the "three world" variety in the past four years, is that it has had and has as its sole purpose and aim the liquidation of Marxism-Leninism and our Marxist-Leninist Party, CPC(M-L). But let us look more closely at the demagoguery and distortions thrown up by PWM in its last gasp to stop the Internationalists from moving forward to found our Party.

In order to push their national chauvinist line in opposition to Leninism, PWM completely distorts the history of Canada. It asserts that since the conquest of the French colony, Quebec, in 1760, "Quebec had to develop a national culture and national identity as a matter of survival in the face of British attempts to Anglicize the French Canadians." This analysis is one-sided and by following its one-sidedness they, not surprisingly, land themselves in the camp of clerical obscurantism and more particularly in the lap of the Catholic-fascist historian, Lióhel Groulx, who moreover is the ideological hero of monopoly capitalism and U.S. imperialism — the ideological godfather of the politics of the Union National under Duplessis and the Parti Québécois headed by René Lévesque. The historical evolution of the French-speaking Québécois nation is more complicated than these "Marxist-Leninist" champions of social-chauvinism say. First of all the conquest of the French feudal colony of Quebec by the English army was the result of an inter-colonialist war fought in the era of mercantile capitalism. The Québécois masses were oppressed and exploited by the French feudalists and capitalists before the conquest, as they were by the English mercantile capitalists and

military governors after conquest.

Secondly, the policy of the English colonial office was dictated by the need not only to maintain its rule over Quebec, but even more importantly for English mercantile-landlord capitalism to keep its hold over the Thirteen Colonies which were on the verge of rebellion from English colonial rule. The class which led that rebellion which gave rise to the nation of the United States of America was the capitalist class. Faced with the practical politics of counter-revolution, the Colonial Office in England made a pact with the reactionary ruling strata in Quebec, mainly the feudal Catholic Church, the largest landholder in the colony, to the effect that it could share power and keep its hold over the masses through control over education, religion, civil law, etc. provided it maintain its loyalty to English colonialism. Thus, the whole struggle for "survival" was actually enslavement of the rural and urban masses of Quebec by a semi-feudal Church and its obscurantist ideology in alliance with and on behalf of English colonialism and capitalism. The pact between the ruling elite in Quebec and the Anglo-Canadian ruling class, whether in alliance with and subject to British imperialism or United States imperialism as it evolved in the late 19th and 20th centuries remains to this day. The central issue, neither today nor ever in the past, has been a "language" question. It has been a question of socio-economic system, of which class held state power, which class stood at the centre of the different historical epochs and shaped them according to its aspirations and outlook. Today on a world scale the proletariat stands at the centre of our era. As CPC(M-L) has maintained throughout its history, the historic task of liberating Quebec from all forms of national oppression and humiliation emanating from Anglo-Canadian colonialism, U.S. imperialism, etc. falls to the whole Canadian proletariat led by its Marxist-Leninist Party, uniting in the social revolution against monopoly capital and imperialism all patriotic and democratic forces of the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie, semi-proletarians and other democratic, patriotic elements, to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and build socialism. There is no other road. And as we shall see, this social-chauvinist line about "survival" in Quebec is nothing more than propaganda for an "independentist" party, which indeed has since 1976 achieved government power in the form of Lévesque's monopoly capitalist, pro-U.S. imperialist PQ, a social-fascist party like Duplessis's Union Nationale, dedicated to preserving wage-slavery and national oppression in Quebec.

The opportunist authors of the PWM pamphlet also promote the reactionary revisionist thesis, promoted by the scion of the Anglo-Canadian ruling class, Stanley Ryerson, that there is an "English-Canadian" nation. But they waver on the issue as they say that this alleged nation does "not have the characteristics of nationhood possessed by the nations of Europe and other places in the world, . . . (does) not have the national culture that Quebec can boast of" and of course, these minor discrepancies are due to "particular factors in Canada's history". What are the "particular factors"? This "nation" has "always spoken the language of the foreign imperialist — whether British or American". Secondly, "most of our population lives within one hundred miles of the American border". Thirdly, "English Canada has had a relatively brief history as a unified nation. The original act of confederation took place a mere hundred years ago, and the last of the provinces did not join until 1949." Thus, this is a "short period for a national culture and a national character to evolve and take root" and furthermore "with our dominant culture being always the culture of the foreign imperialist it is no wonder that we lack the distinct cultural identity many other nations possess."

This subjective drive poses as historical analysis. When the Anti-Imperialist Youth met in Regina May 7-12, 1969, these young revolutionaries, without the guidance of a Party and under the leadership of revolutionaries, a number of whom were,

like millions of other fairly recent Canadians, immigrants to the country, drafted a resolution entitled "Victory to the National Liberation Struggle of the People of Quebec!" which has far more scientific insight and proletarian class instinct in its content than the opus magnum of PWM led by a veteran immigrant "Marxist-Leninist communist" "devoted to the cause of socialism for more than 45 years", a man of "revolutionary fidelity", who was a member of the Third International and leader of the "Marxist-Leninist" PWM for five years. This resolution states as follows:

"Recognizing: — That Quebec is a nation oppressed by Anglo-Canadian colonialism and United States imperialism, that the Quebec people have been subjugated, exploited, oppressed and discriminated against, that the culture, politics and economics are in the hands of imperialists and serve the interests of imperialism,

— That the revolutionary struggle being waged in Quebec for its national liberation is an integral part of the international struggle against United States imperialism, the number one enemy of the oppressed people and oppressed nations all over the world including the American people.

— That the heroic Québécois people have been fighting the foreign rule for more than two hundred years, that they have no illusions about the nature of their struggle nor the identity of their principal enemy.

— That the Québécois people resolutely support the Canadian working class in their struggle against the common enemy — the Canadian bourgeoisie, lackey of United States imperialism,

the North American Conference of Anti-Imperialist Youth warmly hails, and with revolutionary enthusiasm expresses its solid support for the heroic Québécois people, including the national minorities in Quebec, in their just struggle for national liberation from the clutches of Anglo-Canadian colonialism and against the rising fascism which is being unleashed by the imperialists on the heroic Québécois people every day.

**Down with Anglo-Canadian Colonialism!**

**Down with U.S. Imperialism!**

**Down with Fascism!**

**Victory to the Heroic Struggle for National Liberation of the Québécois People!**

First of all the resolution grasps the essence of national oppression in Quebec, that it is a product of Anglo-Canadian colonialism and United States imperialism. All of the opportunists without exception mystify the question of Anglo-Canadian colonialism. Indeed mystification of this question is rooted in the whole "two nation" theory first propounded by the English colonial governor, Lord Durham, who claimed he perceived "two nations warring in the bosom of a single state", all the way to the social-chauvinist, revisionist theory (also taken up by PQ) that through some reform the "single state" can be rearranged so that the "two nations" stop "warring" in it. It does not matter from what side the monopoly bourgeoisie and the opportunists come at the question of the Canadian state, they all ignore its essential feature as an Anglo-Canadian colonial state, an oppressor state, which must be smashed to pieces by proletarian revolution so that a genuinely independent socialist republic can be established which eliminates forever, the historical problems created by the Anglo-Canadian suppression of the Quebec nation, the Indian, Métis and Inuit nations and tribes, the regional disparities and oppression that the evolution of the Anglo-Canadian Confederation gave rise to over the past hundred and more years. All the opportunists and social-reformists want to relegate the question of Quebec's national oppression to a question of reform, when in fact only violent proletarian revolution can resolve it.