# On the necessity for criticism and self-criticism



Republication IN STRUGGLE!

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"A political party's attitude towards its errors is one of the most important and surest criteria to judge if a party is serious and if it truely fulfills its obligations towards its class and the working people in general. To openly recognize its error, to discovery the causes behind it, to analyze the situation that favoured it, and to carefully examine the possible ways of rectifying it, there is the mark of a serious party, there is how a party can fulfill its obligations, educate and instruct the working class and the masses."

Lenin

### Preface to the third Edition

More then four years ago, the Canadian Marxist-Leninist group IN STRUGGLE! published the following articles on the necessity of criticism and self-criticism. This pamphlet was soon sold-out and a second edition came out in May 1975. The second edition was also sold-out, and due to the great demand for the pamphlet, we are publishing a third edition.

We will not repeat what Mao Tse-tung and Gaston Monmousseau (1) explained in such a clear and convincing way. It is clear that these few pages have great practical and ideological significance for all those who claim to be Marxist-Leninists. We will, however, explain the context in which this pamphlet was first distributed, as well as the situation in which it will be available again.

It goes without saying that the importance of this publication is first and foremost its ideological content, the correctness of the point of view which it upholds, and its practical and concrete nature — qualities which make it a precious weapon of struggle. But it also has an historical importance because it is a landmark in the history of the Marxist-Leninist movement in our country.

On the necessity of criticism and self-criticism was, at the start, an ideological weapon aimed at groups which, from the very beginning of the Marxist-Leninist movement in Quebec, showed all the political, ideologial and organizational signs of opportunism and revisionist degeneration. For those who were able to follow the development of these groups closely, the ideological weakness, and the pettiness or dishonesty of several of their leaders was striking. Several of them have today "disappeared from the map", while others preferred to take refuge in their new headquarters, the Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist). (2)

This pamphlet soon became an ideological tonic for honest militants who wanted to break with the atmosphere of "perpetual conspiracy", "putschism", and "splittism" — to take up the expressions used in the foreward to the 1974 edition. It certainly served to strengthen the proletarian spirit of these first forces.

The present edition comes at a time when the "young move-

ment" mentioned in the presentation has developed. Breaking with the narrow nationalism which had characterized it at first, the movement has spread across Canada and penetrated within the working masses. After the first few years of confusion, the trends which had been there at the start consolidated. We can even say that, along with the CCL(ML), the Red Star Collective in the West and the ghost of the CPC(ML), the target of the first edition — opportunism — has become clearer and more well-defined and is more important and, in many ways, more dangerous.

The practice of groups like the CCL(ML) demonstrates once again how ideology, organization and political line are one. The desire to inspire the awe of the masses, pretentious attitudes, sectarianism, demagogy, lies, activism, the most repulsive tailism, are all part of the clothing of opportunism and conciliation with the bourgeoisie. When we look at these groups, it quickly becomes evident that true proletarian criticism and self-criticism are incompatible with opportunism on questions of political line. When we see the CPC(ML), foreunner and elder brother of the League, we quickly become convinced that, without a solid and deep link with the masses, criticism and self-criticism degenerate into smirks and smiles.

So our task is not very different from five years ago. On ly today, the stakes are clearer, the enemies are more clearly identified and we have confirmed through experience, however modest it be, the correctness and the value of the ideological weapon found in this pamphlet.

Criticism and self-criticism make up an essential feature of every militant political activity. Without criticism and self-criticism, no political group or organization can develop in a correct way and become a force in the people's service in its struggle to abolish capitalist exploitation and domination and to build socialism.

There is an important lesson we can learn from the activities of many political groups quoting Marxism-Leninism as their authority over the past few years. This lesson is precisely that, for lack of criticism and self-criticism, these groups have imperceptibly departed from their original objective and their style of work and leadership methods have become highly bureaucratized.

Thus, groups that were putting forward the struggle to build a Marxist-Leninist party only a few years ago have gradually "limited the scope" of their activities to the formation of workers' committees, to the transformation of trade unions, in short, to economist struggles.

Whatever excuses for their present trend they might make after the fact, they are caught in a very serious contradiction: they have deviated from their path and sunk into social-democratic or revisionist reformism. Although they refer to Marxism-Leninism (at least occasionally), their practice does not demarcate them at all from the reformists whom they claim they are combating.

One of the major reasons, no doubt the main one, for such a deviation, is the absence of criticism and self-criticism, and consequently the absence of political debates, in these groups.

In general terms, criticism and self-criticism mean that a group keeps up a collective examination of the relation between its actions and its final aim, between its method of work and the Marxist-Leninist principles which must guide it in all its activities.

In practice, the actions of a political group are the result of the actions of each one of its members. This is the reason why criticism and self-criticism necessarily involve the examination of the militants' activities and style of work. It is not enough for a political group to put forward a correct slogan at a given moment. Moreover, it must constantly see to it that it is correctly applied

<sup>(1)</sup> A French Communist who, in 1949, wrote the first article of this pamphlet.

<sup>(2)</sup> For a detailed explanation of the process of disolution of this opportunist tendency and its reconstruction in the CCL(ML) read the article: Brief history of the struggle for the reconstruction of a proletarian Party in Canada, in PROLETARIAN UNITY, No.7, (Vol.2, No.1), October 1977

by its members, who must of course understand the full significance of the slogan. It is only with the help of a continuing investigation of its practical application that a correct slogan can produce real effects.

A political group cannot be reduced to a simple addition of individual members. If a group is to have its own life and be a living and dynamic reality, it must put debate high on its list of priorities. On the one hand, debate relies on study and analysis; it is the way a group can progress theoretically. On the other hand, debate rests on the examination of practice, on criticism and self-criticism. The two aspects cannot be separated. Criticism and self-criticism, when abstracted from political debate, degenerate into useless performances of "group psychoanalysis".

The group's leadership bears a great responsibility in all this. It is up to the leadership to see to it that the orientation, the line and the style of work are regularly examined in political terms, as it is its duty to see that political debate constantly develops on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory as well as on the basis of the practice of the group and the new lessons that can be learned from them.

It is from this point of view that democratic centralism, this other essential feature of every Marxist-Leninist organization, takes on its full meaning. A group claiming to be Marxist-Leninist but whose leadership either does not exist or hides and refuses to bear its name gives a flagrant example of erroneous, anti-Marxist methods of work that must be criticized and combated.

In these conditions, democratic centralism is rejected in practice. One finds oneself in a situation of constant "conspiracy"; conspiracy of the actual but unacknowledged leadership to impose "its" ideas. "Putschism" (i.e., the will to take power by roundabout and hypocritical means) and splitism become prevalent among the rank and file. Straightforward and open political discussion being impossible, the opinions of everyone become trends and the trends become cliques. And one day, inevitably, the cliques each go their own way. Blackmailing, informing, false rumours, denunciations "in private" replace slaps on the shoulder, bland smiles and bogus comradeship.

These deviations in style and methods of leadership can be eli-

minated by regularly practicing criticism and self-criticism, by giving broad and open discussion its primary and essential importance. In other words, by putting politics back in command.

It can readily be seen that the question of criticism and self-criticism cannot be separated from the political orientation, the line and the principles of a group. Criticism and self-criticism have nothing to do with leadership and functioning "techniques". They make up an essential aspect of the strict application of Marxism-Leninism.

To practice criticism and self-criticism is indeed to apply the principles of Marxism-Leninism. No Marxist-Leninist principle can work without criticism and self-criticism.

Few Quebec political groups referring to Marxism-Leninism as their authority, if any at all, can say that they attach all the importance they should to criticism and self-criticism. And yet, in such a young movement as ours, these should be high on the list since we have practically everything to learn...

We are publishing the following articles by Mao Tse-tung and Gaston Monmousseau (a French Communist) for Quebec militants who still need to be convinced of the importance of criticism and self-criticism. To read and study them carefully and collectively is already to begin the practice of criticism and self-criticism and the identification of some of the errors that hinder our development. It means discovering the necessity of constantly practicing criticism and self-criticism.

Montreal, May 28, 1974

IN STRUGGLE!

# Criticism and self-criticism

This article was written by a French communist, Gaston Monmousseau, in 1949.

Criticism and self-criticism guided by Marxist theory are essential preconditions to correct organizing work inasmuch as they pose the question of analysing the mass movement in all its aspects. They address the conditions of the development of the movement and the analysis of the grievances of the workers, their demands and state of organization at every level of capitalist exploitation. They do this in order to establish the basis upon which these workers enter into the struggle and under what conditions they will be victorious.

Criticism and self-criticism guided by Marxist theory are essential preconditions to correct organizing work inasmuch as they are the only way to learn from each experience, to ferret out the errors or weaknesses and to analyze them in order to go to the root causes and to correct them.

We must always do good work and criticism and selfcriticism are indispensable to this.

We militants must make every effort to explain in simple language certain clear ideas which put across the changes which are taking place before our eyes.

But, nine times out of ten, once we have grasped some truth, we forget that the day before, that truth was a complete mystery to us.

Then we go lording it about and are suddenly full of things to say on the subject. We profess astonishment that everyone else has not yet understood what we ourselves never had a clue about up to that point — we climb up into the pulpit and pontificate.

Understanding the role of criticism and self-criticism is of capital importance for a militant. It forces him to get his feet back on the ground. It makes him realize that every step forward in his thinking is the result of constant efforts that he has had to make himself. It helps him understand the uneveness of the development of the class struggle and of the political level of the masses and the influence of bourgeois ideologies and reactionary campaigns on the consciousness of the workers.

Understanding the role of criticism and self-criticism brings the militant closer to the masses. It forces him to be more understanding. It ensures that he remain fraternal and modest, instead of becoming paternalistic and a pedantic know-it-all.

To know and love the masses better you must first of all know yourself better and remember the path you trod to get where you are now. That's the only way to feel like part of the working class and avoid pontificating.

This question has to be brought down to this level to help our militants to move from mechanical and unconscious criticism and self-criticism to conscious criticism and self-criticism.

Indeed a certain number of comrades refuse to take up criticism and self-criticism or will only submit to a formal kind of criticism and self-criticism.

When you get right down to the bottom of this tendency to resist or to make a caricature out of self-criticism, you always find either arrogance or a fragile ego.

It's characteristic of someone who pontificates that he can't bear to ever make a mistake, that he lives in the past, relying on the experience he has built up, on ideas assimilated once and for all time — and thus as a result he fools himself in the process of fooling others.

Dialectical materialism teaches us that everything in nature, in man, in the motion of classes and in socialist society, is the product of contrasts, of opposites — in other words, the product of a continuous battle.

It's a continuous battle between that which is about to be

born and that which is ready to disappear, between what is being born and what is disappearing, between the future and the past.

Man's thought is the reflection of life. It is the product of this same battle.

It follows that thought reflects the double pressure of the past and of the future; of what is handed down and known and what is emerging and asserting itself.

The habit of doing this or that in such-and-such a way, at such-and-such a time, in an accustomed setting, is nothing but the force of the past. If we want to move in a different direction and in a different way we have to struggle to overcome habit.

There are no such things as good habits. There are only better methods of doing things.

Habit is the result of a given state of mind at a certain time. It takes root and entrenches itself because of the apparent unchanging nature of the motion around us in between the sudden changes which catch us by surprise.

We may have the habit of smoking a pipe without ever thinking that it could have any bad effect. We never take it upon ourselves to struggle with this habit until we feel these bad effects. And then we put off making the decision until tomorrow, and then from one day to the next. This is how the habit of thinking and acting in a certain way embeds itself.

Habit paralyses thought which depends on it. Habit becomes what we call a second nature.

We take on bureaucratic habits and start thinking bureaucratically. The influence of the past gets the better of everything else. We defend it against those who question it. It gets inside of us. It prevents us from making an analysis and from seeing things clearly. We pontificate without taking account of the facts.

Only conscious criticism and self-criticism can enable us to analyse what habits we have internalized and what the nature of them is, and to fight against these habits when they block us from moving ahead.

\* \* \*

We don't always think of how bourgeois values have left their mark on us. Let's say you take the floor in a union meeting or convention and make a flagrant error on a certain subject. You say something way off base. Someone interrupts you to tell you that you've blown it. He is "an opponent" but even if he is, it doesn't stop him from being right on this particular point. But you're all caught up in yourself and so you sink deeper and deeper into the error, trying to prove that it isn't there. Or else you "make an ass" out of the person who interrupted you — protecting your precious "ego".

Of course, your friends applaud for you. You are happy. You tell yourself and you tell them: I fixed him. "Arrogance" reigns supreme.

You have also "fixed" in the minds of careful and impartial listeners the conviction that you were wrong and that this is nothing serious for a militant: "bad methods of work".

A comrade makes an error which hurts other comrades or the organization. He knows it but doesn't want to admit it — a matter of "ego" again — "me" above all else. "You know it too but you'll back him up": a matter of "personal friendship". Personal friendship above all else. The interests of truth and the organization come second.

But this "me" above all else type is not as steady on his feet as he thinks he is. Right away he is looking around for a basis of support from among his "personal friendships" or other "egos" which are as unsteady as his own. If he finds this support within the organization then we have a "clique", a clique against the organization.

From there, he searches elsewhere outside the organization and he finds support in no time from the ranks of his enemies: this "me" above all else stuff is no longer going anywhere except in a straight line towards the camp of the bourgeoisie which he baptizes with the pompous title of "camp of liberty". That's what is called betraying your class.

Bourgeois values serve as an alibi and, curiously enough, they let you live as an outcast who has lost the respect of others without any pangs of conscience, for the bourgeois conscience allows you to live that way.

Bourgeois values stop us from saying frankly what we should be saying without any feeling of embarrassement and without any risk of upsetting the comrade relations between us.

A comrade has been placed in a post. He is serious, honest, does what he can, but it turns out that the post doesn't correspond to his general level of ability. He's missing one quality and it's precisely the one that he has to have for this job.

If he makes a self-criticism he will figure it out. He will not

remain complacent about it.

But it's not that simple. If my sleeve is torn at the elbow, the person next to me will see it more readily than me.

We live inside our skins and we don't always see everything clearly. We should be as appreciative of those friends who open our eyes as we are of a doctor who warns us of some medical danger.

If I feel like I'm coming down with a bad cold, I tell people about it right away. If they make some comment I don't get upset, and if they insist that I take care of myself, I don't start bawling about a threat to our personal relationship, I just go to bed.

But in the case where a militant is lacking in one or another skill, the whole question of his ego comes into the picture and the fear of bruising it and striking a blow against the ties and friendship between you arises.

As if it were a matter of dishonour not to know everything, not to be perfect, not to know how to do or to be able to do everything, in a word, not to be a militant-of-all-trades.

As if it were a dishonour to grow older, to feel that you can't handle as many things at the same time any longer and that you'd better concentrate your efforts where you are able to do your best.

To say what is on our mind to a close comrade, be he young or old or in between, we choose words that beat around the bush. We go around and around in circles and then, when we get tired of skirting the issue, we break the news without laying any of the groundwork, with no explanation or worse we ask someone else to deliver the message to him.

In a lot of cases you need to take special care not to discourage comrades who have not made the step at the same time that we have between unconscious criticism and conscious criticism.

I find that in most cases this kind of difficulty between comrades is an indication of a friendship which is formal, superficial and conventional. It reflects a relationship of phoney petit-bourgeois politeness. This leads very quickly to hypocrisy, to an accumulation of grievances on both sides and then to gossip. This destroys the bonds of real friendship which ought to exist between militants: state the truth openly and calmly and submit voluntarily, consciously, openly and calmly to criticism and self-criticism, as a necessary part of the activity of being a militant.

\* \* \*

This struggle which we are waging is between the new and the old values, between the parts of the new man that we have absorbed and what remains in us of petit-bourgeois individualism.

The easily-wounded ego, arrogance and cliquishness in relation to criticism and self-criticism are all typical manifestations of the values and the petit-bourgeois individualism which are based on the individual appropriation of wealth and the means of production: the freedom of the individual to exploit others, the individual above all else, the freedom to lie, to succeed at the expense of everyone else, etc.

Conscious criticism and self-criticism of our own individual behaviour and political activity as militants is the springboard to the transformation from a bourgeois consciousness to a revolu-

tionary consciousness.

The value system which lets us confront our thoughts and our actions according to new principles is based on the principles of a new society. It is based on the principles of a classless society, on new relations of production between men, on the principles of a socialist and communist society.

But this revolutionary consciousness already has found a solid basis for its formation and growth in the development of the working class and in our relations with the masses.

It is in the framework of understanding our duty towards the working class that we should submit our behaviour to criticism and self-criticism, whether in public or in private, according to the case and its importance in given circumstances. Criticism and self-criticism are not articles of faith nor a question of tactics but a law of dialectics based on dialectical materialism.

It is through conscious criticism and self-criticism that we will be able to push back the reactionary bourgeois values and the petit-bourgeois individualism which remain within us. It will free us of the reactionary ideologies which have served, and are still serving, the high priests of the capitalist system in controlling the people that they oppress.

This is how we can prepare ourselves to play the role of guides to a new humanity founded on a better set of values.

# Combat liberalism

Mao Tse-Tung, September 7, 1937

We stand for active ideological struggle because it is the weapon for ensuring unity within the Party and the revolutionary organizations in the interest of our fight. Every Communist and revolutionary should take up this weapon.

But liberalism rejects ideological struggle and stands for unprincipled peace, thus giving rise to a decadent, philistine attitude and bringing about political degeneration in certain units and individuals in the Party and the revolutionary organizations.

Liberalism manifests itself in various ways.

To let things slide for the sake of peace and friendship when a person has clearly gone wrong, and refrain from principled argument because he is an old acquaintance, a fellow townsman, a schoolmate, a close friend, a loved one, an old colleague or old subordinate. Or to touch on the matter lightly instead of going into it thoroughly, so as to keep on good terms. The result is that both the organization and the individual are harmed. This is one type of liberalism.

To indulge in irresponsible criticism in private instead of actively putting forward one's suggestions to the organization. To say nothing to people to their faces but to gossip behind their backs, or to say nothing at a meeting but to gossip afterwards. To show no regard at all for the principles of collective life but to follow and's own inclination. This is a second two

follow one's own inclination. This is a second type.

To let things drift if they do not affect one personally; to say

as little as possible while knowing perfectly well what is wrong, to be wordly wise and play safe and seek only to avoid blame. This is a third type.

Not to obey orders but to give pride of place to one's own opinions. To demand special consideration from the organi-

zation but to reject its discipline. This is a fourth type.

To indulge in personal attacks, pick quarrels, vent personal spite or seek revenge instead of entering into an argument and struggling against incorrect views for the sake of unity or progress or getting the work done properly. This is a fifth type.

To hear incorrect views without rebutting them and even to hear counter-revolutionary remarks without reporting them, but instead to take them calmly as if nothing had happened. This is a

sixth type.

To be among the masses and fail to conduct propaganda and agitation or speak at meetings or conduct investigations and inquiries among them, and instead to be indifferent to them and show no concern for their well-being, forgetting that one is a Communist and behaving as if one were an ordinary non-Communist. This is a seventh type.

To see someone harming the interests of the masses and yet not feel indignant, or dissuade or stop him or reason with him,

but to allow him to continue. This is an eighth type.

To work half-heartedly without a definite plan or direction; to work perfunctorily and muddle along - "So long as one remains a monk, one goes on tolling the bell." This is a ninth type.

To regard oneself as having rendered great service to the revolution, to pride oneself on being a veteran, to disdain minor assignments while being quite unequal to major tasks, to be slip-

shod in work and slack in study. This is a tenth type.

To be aware of one's own mistakes and yet make no attempt to correct them, taking a liberal attitude towards oneself. This is an eleventh type.

We could name more. But these eleven are the principal

types.

They are all manifestations of liberalism.

Liberalism is extremely harmful in a revolutionary collective. It is a corrosive which eats away unity, undermines co-

hesion, causes anathy and creates dissension. It robs the revolutionary ranks of compact organization and strict discipline, prevents policies from being carried through and alienates the Party organizations from the masses which the Party leads. It is an extremely bad tendency.

Liberalism stems from petty-bourgeois selfishness, it places personal interests first and the interests of the revolution second. and this gives rise to ideological, political and organizational liberalism.

People who are liberals look upon the principles of Marxism as abstract dogma. They approve of Marxism, but are not prepared to practise it or to practise it in full; they are not prepared to replace their liberalism by Marxism. These people have their Marxism, but they have their liberalism as well — they talk Marxism but practise liberalism; they apply Marxism to others but liberalism to themselves. They keep both kinds of goods in stock and find a use for each. This is how the minds of certain people work.

Liberalism is a manifestation of opportunism and conflicts fundamentally with Marxism. It is negative and objectively has the effect of helping the enemy; that is why the enemy welcomes its preservation in our midst. Such being its nature, there should

be no place for it in the ranks of the revolution.

We must use Marxism, which is positive in spirit, to overcome liberalism, which is negative. A Communist should have largeness of mind and he should be staunch and active, looking upon the interests of the revolution as his very life and subordinating his personal interests to those of the revolution; always and everywhere he should adhere to principle and wage a tireless struggle against all incorrect ideas and actions, so as to consolidate the collective life of the Party and strengthen the ties between the Party and the masses; he should be more concerned about the Party and the masses than about any private person, and more concerned about others than about himself. Only thus can he be considered a Communist.

All loyal, honest, active and upright Communists must unite to oppose the liberal tendencies shown by certain people among us, and set them on the right path. This is one of our tasks on the ideological front.

Quotations from Mao Tse-tung on criticism and self-criticism

Thoroughgoing materialists are fearless; we hope that all our fellow fighters will courageously shoulder their responsibilities and overcome all difficulties, fearing no setbacks or gibes, nor hesitating to criticize us Communists and give us their suggestions. "He who is not afraid of death by a thousand cuts dares to unhorse the emperor" — this is the dauntless spirit needed in our struggle to build socialism and communism.

Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's national conference on propaganda, Selected Works, Vol. V, p. 429

We have the Marxist-Leninist weapon of criticism and self-criticism. We can get rid of a bad style and keep the good.

Report to second session of the seventh Central Committee, Selected Works, Vol. IV, p. 374

...To check up regularly on our work and in the process develop a democratic style of work, to fear neither criticism nor self-criticism, and to apply such good popular Chinese maxims as "Say all you know and say it without reserve", "Blame not the speaker but be warned by his words" and "Correct mistakes if

you have committed them and guard against them if you have not"—this is the only effective way to prevent all kinds of political dust and germs from contaminating the minds of our comrades and the body of our Party.

On coalition government, Selected Works, Vol. III, p. 226-227

Opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the Party; this is a reflection within the Party of contradictions between classes and between the new and the old in society. If there were no contradictions in the Party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the Party's life would come to an end.

On contradiction, Selected Works, Vol. I, p. 317

We stand for active ideological struggle because it is the weapon for ensuring unity within the Party and the revolutionary organizations in the interests of our fight. Every Communist and revolutionary should take up this weapon.

But liberalism rejects ideological struggle and stands for unprincipled peace, thus giving rise to a decadent, philistine attitude and bringing about political degeneration in certain units and individuals in the Party and the revolutionary organizations.

Combat liberalism, Selected Works, Vol. II, p. 31

Finally, in opposing subjectivism, sectarianism and stereotyped Party writing we must have in mind two purposes: first, "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones", and second, "cure the sickness to save the patient". The mistakes of the past must be exposed without sparing anyone's sensibilities; it is necessary to analyse and criticize what was bad in the past with a scientific attitude so that work in the future will be done more carefully and done better. This is what is meant by "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones". But our aim in exposing errors and critici-

zing shortcomings, like that of a doctor curing a sickness, is solely to save the patient and not to doctor him to death. A person with appendicitis is saved when the surgeon removes his appendix. So long as a person who has made mistakes does not hide his sickness for fear of treatment or persist in his mistakes until he is beyond cure, so long as he honestly and sincerely wishes to be cured and to mend his ways, we should welcome him and cure his sickness so that he can become a good comrade. We can never succeed if we just let ourselves go, and lash out at him. In treating an ideological or a political malady, one must never be rough and rash but must adopt the approach of "curing the sickness to save the patient", which is the only correct and effective method.

Rectify the Party's style of work, Selected Works, Vol. III, p. 49-50

Another point that should be mentioned in connection with inner-Party criticism is that some comrades ignore the major issues and confine their attention to minor points when they make their criticism. They do not understand that the main task of criticism is to point out political and organizational mistakes. As to personal shortcomings, unless they are related to political and organizational mistakes, there is no need to be overcritical and to embarrass the comrades concerned. Moreover, once such criticism develops, there is the great danger that the Party members will concentrate entirely on minor faults, and everyone will become timid and overcautious and forget the Party's political tasks.

On correcting mistaken ideas in the Party, Selected Works, Vol. I, p. 110

Inner-Party criticism is a weapon for strengthening the Party organization and increasing its fighting capacity. In the Party organization of the Red Army, however, criticism is not always of this character, and sometimes turns into personal attack. As a result, it damages the Party organization as well as individuals.

This is a manifestation of petty-bourgeois individualism. The method of correction is to help Party members understand that the purpose of criticism is to increase the Party's fighting capacity in order to achieve victory in the class struggle and that it should not be used as a means of personal attack.

On correcting mistaken ideas in the Party, Selected Works, Vol. I, p. 110

Make criticism in good time; don't get into the habit of criticizing only after the event.

On the cooperative transformation of agriculture, Selected Works, Vol. V, p. 200-201

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IN STRUGGLE! is the newspaper of the Canadian Marxist-Leninist group EN LUTTE!/IN STRUGGLE!. It is published weekly in English and French and is distributed throughout the country from Halifax to Vancouver. To publish a weekly newspaper we greatly need the support of all Canadian workers and progressives.

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### **How to contact IN STRUGGLE!**

Comrade workers and friends.

The socialist revolution is not a dream, it has already begun! Contact and rally to the ranks of the Canadian Marxist-Leninist group IN STRUGGLE!. The socialist Revolution will happen in Canada! This struggle to bring down the capitalist system will be the work of all the Canadian masses with the working class guided by its political party at their head.

Become actively involved in the struggle for the party! To contact IN STRUGGLE!, to participate in a readers circle or a study circle, or any of the other diverse activities of IN STRUGGLE!.

-speak to an IN STRUGGLE! distributor

-write to one of the following addresses, giving your name, address, telephone number, and occupation:

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

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Toronto: 2749 Dundas Street West, Toronto, Ontario (416-763-4413)

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

Vancouver: 2542 Kingsway East, Vancouver, BC, (604-438-3121)

Hull-Ottawa: P.O. Box 1055, Succ. B, Hull, Quebec Victoriaville: P.O. Box 797, Victoriaville, Québec.

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- PROLETARIAN UNITY, the theoretical journal of the Marxist-Leninist group IN STRUGGLE!, published in English and French every two months.

#### PAMPHLETS AVAILABLE

- For the Proletarian Party, October 1972. (\$0.75)
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- Documents of the Third Conference of Canadian Marxist-Leninists on the International Situation, November 1977. (\$1.50)
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- Draft Program for the Canadian Proletarian Party, presented by the Canadian Marxist-Leninist Group IN STRUGGLE!, November 1977. (The Draft Program alone: \$0.50, the Draft Program with Commentaries: \$1.50)
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- La libération des femmes en Chine, collection of texts (in French only) (\$1.00)
- Critical Remarks on the National Question and Is a Compulsory Official Language Necessary?, Lenin, June 1977. (\$0.75)
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