

TASKS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY STUDENTS

[The Internationalists developed as a student movement at U.B.C., Vancouver, in 1963 when the universities in Canada were arrogantly perpetuating imperialist education which to Canadian students meant (1) glorification of western imperialist countries and docility towards U.S. imperialism, (2) a rat-race to get a "meal ticket" by confounding right and wrong and by obediently following fascist rules and regulations garbed under "academic standards" and (3) following the line of self-satisfaction and self-realization without paying attention to the working and oppressed people, but by becoming willing tools of the docile Canadian bourgeoisie. In short, in the name of "Canada is a free country," reactionary nationalism, careerism, and bourgeois individualism were forced upon students through the decadent imperialist education. What would a progressive student do in order to change this situation? To ally with the working class and oppressed masses and unite under working class ideology and party in order to seize state power from the hands of the Canadian bourgeoisie by defeating U.S. imperialism and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. But what will be the concrete guidelines to achieve this strategic goal? There are two lines which were prevalent at U.B.C: (1) Raise single issues - mainly bourgeois humanist slogans, e.g., Peace, Nuclear Disarmament, Fair Play for Cuba, etc. - and mobilise support on these. (2) Organise students on the fundamental level in a comprehensive manner, i.e., by analysing how does imperialism oppress the students in its peculiarity or particularity and then developing concrete slogans to mobilise the students. While it was important to take stands on the questions of Peace, Nuclear Disarmament, and Cuba, it was counter-revolutionary to emphasize only this side of the whole problem. Student issues were correctly raised in order to develop the political consciousness of the students and mobilise them against imperialism. This approach will not give any dramatic results but will achieve what is strategically necessary, i.e., mobilise

students against U.S. imperialism, in a consolidated manner.

[The first line was followed by the pacifists, revisionists, and Trotskyites, including certain sections of the social democrats. The pacifists were represented by the Nuclear Disarmament Club, the revisionists by the "Communist Club"; and the Trotskyites and other social democrats by the "N.D.P. Club".

[The second line was taken by the Internationalists. The Internationalists correctly analysed that there "was no academic dialogue on the campus" and that various issues were drowned in reactionary rhetoric. The first task, therefore, was to open a discussion on western philosophical tradition, to encourage discussion based on facts, and to mobilise students against the reactionary Student Council. In a brief period of less than two years, the Internationalists organized various symposia, especially the one on Russia, China and the West, in the summer of 1964 (it was in this symposium that Comrade Bains exposed Nigel Morgan, the revisionist chieftain in B.C. and his bogus line on Peaceful Coexistence), organised the B.C. Students Federation, condemned the U.S. invasion of North Vietnam (Tonkin incident), and almost dislodged the reactionary student council in the winter of February 1965.

[Since 1963, the two lines have developed in a consistent manner and polarisation has taken place. In 1969, the Internationalists who started in Vancouver as a mere discussion group and a rallying point against reactionary student councils as well as against single issue organisations, have become the Marxist-Leninist Youth and Student Movement with support all over Canada and Quebec. The pacifists, revisionists, and Trotskyites including other social democrats have further degenerated into open bourgeois trends surviving on the mercy of the ruling circles, careerists, sectarians of various hues

and colours, fascists and bourgeois subjectivists. The attempts to organise under the bogeys of "End the War in Vietnam", "Canadian Independence," "Peace," and "Workers' Control" are not a "concrete analysis of concrete conditions," but a last ditch attempt to save themselves from political extinction . . .

[At this important juncture in the historic fight against imperialism and all systems of exploitation, students in Canada are joining their brothers all over the world. Youth and students in Germany, France, Britain, Ireland, Sweden, Spain, Turkey, Quebec, Canada, U.S., Brazil Mexico, India, Japan, Pakistan and many other countries all over the world have courageously risen. They have risen against the decadent educational system, against fascism, against systems of exploitation and against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. They have risen against the concrete conditions in their own countries as well as in solidarity with the struggles of other oppressed nations and oppressed peoples. A mighty storm of peoples' struggles is raging all over the world.

It is very important for the anti-imperialist student movement in Canada to properly analyse the internal conditions which are the basis of discontent among the students, and to expose those who build movements based on imported analysis. For example, these agents of foreign analysis always emphasize the struggles outside Canada and refuse to undertake "concrete analysis of concrete conditions" but attempt to mislead the students. There is a breed of such people in North America who move from east to west north to south, spreading news about "exciting developments" which are said to be taking place in other parts of the continent. We have experienced ideologues from Berkley, Columbia, and other "exciting" places attacking various Canadian universities; they have done their bit in the service of U.S. imperialism. Sociology departments are full of this breed. By analysing our own conditions and looking into the history of the student movement in Canada, we can form a united front against these agents.

This article is the first in a series which will analyse the student movements in historical context and will expose the erroneous lines that have come up. This article is the general analysis, and deals with the various groups currently existing on the Canadian campuses; what is their historical origin and whose interests do they serve?]

Our task is to build a mass anti-imperialist youth and student movement with the broadest possible base. The reason for so doing is simple and clear: U.S. imperialism, the number one enemy of the Canadian people as well as of the whole world including the American people, controls more than 70% of manufacturing in Canada, more than 80% of our natural resources and controls all of the culture, in ideological form, in art and literature forms, and social forms as well as the other parts of the superstructure. We have a lackey government in Canada headed by a sophisticated agent and millionaire, Trudeau; there are U.S. military bases in Canada; mass media and educational institutions are in the hands of the U.S. It is because of U.S. economic exploitation of our country that the political and cultural fronts are also U.S. controlled. To defeat one we must defeat the other. Our oppression then, is not linked to some oppressive rules and regulations in themselves but these are only the reflection of the root-cause, i.e. U.S. imperialism. But U.S. imperialism cannot be defeated overnight, nor through action without analysis but by a consistent and protracted struggle based on concrete analysis of concrete conditions. Thus in order to defeat U.S. imperialism, we must analyse the existing material conditions in themselves and historically and develop correct guidelines for action.

The anti-imperialist struggle in Canada, in the main, has been led by the 'peace' movement up until the start of the Internationalists in 1963. The salient features of the 'peace' movement are as follows:

1. Based on single issues.
2. Imperialism is considered to be too strong and the people too weak. People should give up all struggle and become servile tools of the

imperialists so that 'peace' can be preserved. They oppose anyone who calls for peace based on the destruction of U.S. imperialism and all forms of exploitation.

3. Promotion of sexuality, drunkenness and drugs as the ultimate goals of life. This is based on egocentrism, bourgeois individualism and 'individual freedom'.

This "peace" movement developed into "social action" groups, civil rights for the Afro-Americans, the anti-Vietnam War movement, the university reform movement and is at a standstill at the present time.

These "movements" were bases on a "feeling" and strongly advocate "action without analysis" and consider that the problem is out there somewhere.

In opposition to this line is the line based on struggle, struggle against U.S. imperialism on all levels. This line is put forward by the Canadian Internationalists. The salient features of this line are:

1. It is based on a comprehensive analysis of the society. All issues are raised in the context of the general struggle against imperialism.

2. U.S. imperialism is weak and is riddled with irreconcilable contradictions. People must not give up struggle, instead they must work for the defeat of U.S. imperialism and its accomplice, Modern Soviet Revisionism and all systems of exploitation, before real peace can be achieved.

3. We must combat bourgeois hang-ups like sexuality, drunkenness, and drug taking, and wage a resolute struggle against its basis, i.e., egocentrism, bourgeois individualism and "individual freedom", which is the product of the imperialist system.

The Internationalists developed from an "informal discussion group" in 1963 to a "centre-left" organisation based on opposition to imperialism in 1966, anti-imperialist youth and student movement in August 1967 and Marxist-Leninist youth and student movement in 1968. (For a complete analysis, read: Historical Analysis of the Internationalists -- Necessity For Change Conference Resolution and One Struggle - Two Enemies - Three Guidelines and Four Levels of

Work).

Our movement is based on concrete analysis and not a feeling. We always advocated "Action with Analysis". We advocated that the problem is right here in Canada and called for the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Canada.

The two lines, in short, are 1. Organisations based on a single issues and 2. Organisations based on a comprehensive analysis of the society.

At the present time, as before, but on a much sharper and clearer level, a fierce struggle is going on between the two lines. The first line is taking its refuge in slander and malignment of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought as a guide to action, supporting anarchy in thinking and theoretical opportunism, and is uniting reaction against the progressive forces. The second line takes Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought as a guide to action in the practice of the anti-imperialist struggle in Canada. For the first time in the history of the Canadian student movement, this polarisation is taking place in a comprehensive form. It is our responsibility to reveal the historical roots of the two lines. For the first time in the history of the Canadian student movement, we have the consolidation of the Marxist-Leninist Youth and Student Movement and also for the first time we have the "peace liners" in disarray, in search of ideology and issues which can save them from their political extinction.

We have seen a tremendous rise in militancy in the Canadian student movement during the last decade but this militancy has always been dissipated because of the lack of guidance from the Marxist-Leninist party and because the student militancy remained detached and isolated from the broad masses of the people. For the first time in the history of the Canadian student movement, we see the Marxist-Leninist leadership providing guidance and the militancy of the students linked with the broad masses of the people. It is because of this reason, that the "peace liners" are in disarray and are desperately looking for a flimsy straw to evade their political extinction.

Can we organize the Canadian student movement without the leadership of Marxist-Leninists who follow Mao Tse-tung's thought in a creative and all-sided manner? The history of our movement has concretely answered: No. Can we organize the Canadian student movement detached and isolated from the struggles of the broad masses of the people? The history of our movement has concretely answered: No. Thus whoever advocates opposition to Marxist-Leninist leadership and isolation from the broad masses of the people is our enemy and not our friend. This does not mean that we will refrain from doing mass work and propaganda amongst the masses about our line and give up struggle by saying that we have got "Marxism-Leninism" and whoever wants it can join us. On the contrary, Marxism-Leninism teaches us that struggle is the essence of all material activity, things do not remain static; the quality of a thing is unfolded in struggle. Thus those who may be misled by reactionary propaganda against communism and stand against the Marxist-Leninist leadership will soon find out through practice that Marxist-Leninist theory alone can guide us to the solution of the various problems. On the other hand, many "Marxist-Leninists" who shout their loyalty to the proletarian revolution today may turn out to be our worst enemies. Thus, struggle is the essence of all our work. Unity is only transitory and relative. Thus when we say that "whoever advocates opposition to Marxist-Leninist leadership and isolation from the broad masses of the people is our enemy", we mean that the person is temporarily confused and misled by reactionary ideas and we must struggle with these groups.

The politics of the university is the reflection of the politics of the society. Various political groupings in the university reflect the existence of the same groups in the society. Thus the politics of the university is the same as of the society but has its own peculiarities because of the function it serves in the imperialist-dominated society. As the bourgeois parties do their best to win over the large majority of students to their side and convert educational institutions into an arena where fierce class struggle takes place all the time, so also the party of the proletariat lays great emphasis on building its own stronghold in the universities. The Marxist-

Leninist students have a two-fold role:

1. To deal with the problems of the students and win them over to the side of the anti-imperialist struggle, and
2. To do work for the Marxist-Leninist party, i.e. to act as the instruments of propaganda for the Marxist-Leninist party and be the reserve for the recruitment of new cadre for the Marxist Leninist party.

The two roles are inter-linked. Without participating in the solution of the problems of the students, links with the broad masses of the students cannot be forged and their confidence cannot be won over--they will not respond to the ideological guidance and will remain aloof from the working and oppressed people's struggles. But the problems of the students cannot be solved without the creative application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung's thought. While the progressive students are willing to come under revolutionary discipline and welcome Marxist-Leninist leadership, at the same time, they will not support and sympathise with a detached, isolated and dogmatic group. Thus the task of the progressive students is to disseminate Marxist-Leninist ideas by linking themselves with the student struggles. The Marxist-Leninist must not hide himself behind some facade and allow his opinions to be shelved. A Marxist-Leninist must also not hide behind metaphysical assumptions and fail to deal with the concrete problems of the people.

The experience of the last decade of student struggles in Canada has shown that all movements which based themselves on "external issues" or "single issues" like Vietnam failed to mobilise and consolidate the majority of the students. It has been shown time and time again that as the basis for change is internal, a movement which engages in dealing with those problems which concern the everyday lives of the people successfully wins over the confidence of the people. Such a movement will, at no time, be destroyed. External conditions are also very important to grasp while making programmes and policies because each cell or organism of the society reflects the internal as well as the external contradictions of the society. In Canada, while the Vietnam issue is one of the external

manifestations of the imperialist aggression and exploitation, it will fail to mobilise the masses in an anti-imperialist struggle if it is not linked to the internal conditions. In fact, we must fully understand that our anti-imperialist movement is in solidarity with the people of Vietnam if we ourselves are engaged in mass anti-imperialist struggles right here in Canada. If we do not have a movement here and we attempt to build an anti-imperialist movement on the basis of Vietnam, or other such issues, we will remain one-sided in our approach and will not be able to serve the interests of the broad masses of the people.

The contemporary history of student struggles in Canada can be divided into the period before 1963, that from 1963-1968, and the present period. During these periods we find definite political alignments and changes taking place on the Canadian campus. Prior to 1963, the political scene on the campus was dominated by:

1. fraternities
2. undergraduate societies and other social clubs
3. "left" consisting of people organised on Peace issues and
4. a very small minority organised on a genuinely anti-imperialist basis.

Liberals, social democrats and Conservatives dominated the fraternities as well as the student councils, which meant that the bourgeois parties were in tight control of student politics. While the bourgeois parties fought with each other on "student issues," the "mainstream politics of the students, the "left", was completely isolated and concentrated on "bigger and important" issues like "Peace and Nuclear Disarmament", "Fair Play for Cuba," etc. The genuinely anti-imperialist movement was weak but was struggling to become a mainstream movement.

During the next four years, polarisation was taking place between the first three groups, (which, in essence, were one in the first place), and the very small genuinely anti-imperialist movement. All the bourgeois parties, peaceniks and such-like formed one aspect of the student movement, to the right of which is overt fascism, to the left of which are the liberal bourgeois. The genuinely anti-imperialist movement was led by the Internationalists.

In 1963-64 two important events occurred:
1. the Student Union for Peace Action was founded at Christmas time in Regina.
2. the B.C. Student Federation was founded in October in Vancouver.

They developed as two opposite trends during the next four years. SUPA dissolved in 1967 to make way for other, more "progressive" organisations. The experience of the B.C. Student Federation gave rise to the Canadian Student Movement (CSM) in 1968. While the New Left the descendant of "peace" movements, controls various student councils across Canada and uses these resources to malign and attack the Canadian Student Movement, the CSM is gathering strength all over Canada and stands in opposition to all the bourgeois trends.

The period between 1963 and 1968 is very important to discuss and properly analyse. It is this period which exposes the two trends or two aspects which are in struggle in the student movement across Canada. Fraternities and student councils, long controlled by bourgeois parties with reactionary slogans are now being controlled through "progressive" slogans given by the new alliance of reaction. While, on the other hand the genuinely anti-imperialist movement is discriminated against and persecuted all over Canada.

So the politics in the university in 1969 will reflect the struggle between:

1. right-wing politics, which includes overt fascists, reactionaries, New Left types, Trotskyites and revisionists.
2. the genuinely anti-imperialist movement under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninists.

Group 1 is divided into:

1. overt fascists, die-hard anti-communists and racists. They do not believe that there should be any student movement; nonetheless they organise one against the "communists."
2. student hacks and other careerists. They vacillate from anti-communism to accommodation with communism to supporter of communism; in short, whatever suits their purpose in a given period. They are also anti-communists and racists.
3. social democrats of various hues and colours:

(a) Real Social Democrats - They advocate democratic socialism where workers and capitalists share equal benefits: and are strong supporters of the capitalist system.

(b) Trotskyites - Trotskyism was a trend in the working class in Russia before 1929 which opposed Leninism. Later on it degenerated into open cooperation with foreign imperialist powers and resorted to wrecking and murderous activities. They usually give ultra-left slogans, in order to obtain mass support for social democracy. In Canada, they advocate working within the NDP and do widespread propaganda for social democracy.

(c) Revisionists - Old Revisionists like Kautsky and Modern day Revisionists like Khrushchov are their ideologues. They have revised the basic Marxist principles in order to suit the interests of imperialism and advocate renunciation of struggle as a means of bringing about social revolution in the oppressed nations and peoples. They rigorously advocate improvement of the implements of production, the quality of labour and automation as a peaceful road to revolution. They do not advocate intensification of struggle against imperialism all over the world. Nor do they believe that the only way that the dictatorship of the proletariat can be established is through civil war against the bourgeoisie, their state apparatus and their economic base. They consider Pope Paul, the Kennedy family, U Thant, Rabbi Feinberg and such people as the pillars of 'peace'. Also they usually give appeals in their names to the masses for support. They call themselves "communists", but in fact, they are the opposite.

Apart from the above three kinds there are others who call themselves "revolutionaries". These are:

1. Those who categorise themselves "hippies", and those who consider hippies as the "revolutionary vanguard". These people advocate becoming "revolutionary" through, "doing one's own thing" through drugs, sexuality, bisexuality and other perversions.

2. Those who advocate that the mode of production in North America has changed. The quality of the implements has changed and with it, the quality of labour. This according to them, has a tremendous impact on the relations of produc-

tion. Thus the class which is going to be revolutionary has also changed. There are various lines as to who will now form the revolutionary class. It is very important to be conscious of two of these lines. Ideologues of one kind consider "Youth as a Class" as the basis of revolution. The other kind consider the well-educated and well-paid sections of the petty bourgeoisie to be transforming itself into the "New Working Class". The fact that this creation of "Youth as a Class" and the "New Working Class" is dependent on the "the changed mode of production" bestowed upon these "classes" the task of grave-diggers of imperialism. If you extend this argument to its logical conclusion, the dreamers of these theories claim that imperialism will be taken over by the petty bourgeoisie who will then assert dictatorship over the bourgeoisie as well as the working class. These people, like trotskyites and other social democrats are very loud-mouthed and are also supporters of the capitalist system.

3. Ideologues of the "Third World" line. These ideologues contend that the imperialist system will be destroyed through revolutions in the Asian African and Latin American countries and that even though class struggle has finished in the imperialist countries, the revolution will take place and imperialism will be defeated. Their line is to help the peasants in these countries by exporting modern technology and other know-how to them. They see no point in doing any political work in the imperialist countries.

4. The ideologues of the "affluent" line. According to these people, North America has become so affluent that there is no longer a struggle to make both ends meet, and the struggle is now for the 'quality of existence.' Self-realisation and self-satisfaction, eternal freedom, the usual dreams of the big bourgeoisie, are their dreams. They call themselves "radical Marxists" and various other names which may sound "progressive" and may have "revolutionary pretensions."

All the above groups pride themselves on "western culture," that is, imperialist culture. They are anti-communists, racists and elitists in all their political activities. They have contempt for mass work, and they discourage ideological struggle. They are self-centered and

support the bourgeois way of life. They are the worst defenders and apologists for imperialism.

In opposition to the alliance of fascists, student hacks and social democrats of various hues and colours are the following two categories of people

1. Genuinely progressive and anti-imperialist students. These students understand the basis of change, development and motion; they understand the relationship of superstructure to the economic base ; they have grasped the role of consciousness in the development of history . They correlate the problems facing the Canadian students to the U.S. imperialist domination of Canada and they see the necessity for the liberation of Quebecois and other oppressed peoples , and oppressed nations. Because of the economic and political domination of Canada by the U.S. all culture serves imperialist economics and politics. They recognize the necessity for ideological struggles in the form of mass democracy meetings as an important step towards mobilising the mass of students against imperialism. This struggle is a political struggle and is geared towards seizing state power from the hands of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys in Canada.

2. The genuine Marxist-Leninists. These people follow Mao Tse-tung's thought in a creative and all-sided manner and advocate seizing the state apparatus through armed struggle and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

These two groups are anti-imperialist, advocating the propagation of anti-imperialist ideas through mass work in the process of solving "student issues" and are in strong opposition to the alliance of the fascists, student hacks and social democrats of various hues and colours.

In between the two warring groups are the large majority of students who are sincerely looking for an alternative. The history of student movement during the last decade has shown that wherever and whenever in Canada a genuinely anti-imperialist and progressive movement issued appeals for political action to the students the response was enthusiastic and militant. But the students have been continuously betrayed by the holy alliance. The two groups are waging fierce struggles to win over the student majority and

that is why whenever fascists, student hacks and social democrats of various hues and colours (the holy alliance) are threatened, the administration comes to their rescue.

Thus the arena of struggle is the student council and the goal is to win over the students to the anti-imperialist side. The holy alliance uses Student Councils to stop anti-imperialist struggle and keep the students bound to imperialism.

The class origin of the holy alliance as well as the genuinely anti-imperialist students, in the initial stages, is the same but with one fundamental difference, viz., while the holy alliance strives to win the students to the side of imperialism and betrays their struggles, runs rough shod over the genuinely anti-imperialist and progressive students, and supports imperialist economics, politics and culture, the genuinely anti-imperialist and progressive students do the opposite. As the struggle develops, more and more precipitation and polarisation takes place as has already occurred in some universities across Canada.

Those who stress the economic origin of the individual as the sole criterion of whether he is going to be revolutionary or not are all wrong!

The holy alliance in Canada, then, consists of the New Right, the Edmund Burke Society, the Communist Clubs (almost non-existent in many universities), the Young Socialists, Young Democrats, Radical Marxists, New Left types and "Marxist-Leninists" who consider that the New Left has "revolutionary potential."

The holy alliance is opposed by the Canadian Student Movement (mass anti-imperialist youth and student movement) and by Canadian Internationalists (Marxist-Leninist Youth and Student Movement).

Why do we consider "Communist clubs", Young Socialists, Young Democrats, Radical Marxists, New Left types and "Marxist-Leninists" who consider that the New Left has "revolutionary potential", as part of right-wing politics? Does this mean that anyone who belongs to these groups is counter-revolutionary, or

[Continued from page 9.]

non-revolutionary or an agent of imperialism? It must be made clear that these organisations represent various bourgeois trends which are in essence, pro-imperialist and are playing a counter-revolutionary role. But the members constituting these groups are not necessarily counter-revolutionary and we must win them over on various issues and wage ideological struggle with them. This ideological struggle cannot take place in a movement with all kinds of trends conniving for influence in it. Instead the ideological struggle can only take place if a genuinely anti-imperialist and revolutionary movement is well organised, distributes its propaganda and policies openly amongst the people and exposes erroneous trends to the people. The Student Councils are the only legitimate general organisations of the students and this ideological struggle can only take place in this context. It is very important to understand that an anti-imperialist organisation can only link with and win the confidence of the masses if it is in the forefront of the struggles of the students, that is if it does painstaking work amongst the

Student Councils and takes power which can then be used to build and further consolidate a mass anti-imperialist movement. It is incorrect to suggest that ideological struggle should take place in the "left" where they exchange metaphysical premises and invectives against each other while remaining detached and isolated. Every struggle, (ideological as well as others), must be to educate and consolidate the people. However, if these struggles take place in isolation from the people then they will be useless subjective struggles.

Our task is to draw clear lines between the genuinely anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces and the 'holy alliance'. This cannot be achieved by coming into alliance with the "left" groups in one hodge podge organisation. While it would be incorrect to stop struggle with the "left" groups, it would also be wrong to leave the task of building a mass anti-imperialist movement to the "left" groups. Our slogan must be: develop the mass line against imperialism through active political work in the broadest masses of the students.

(to be continued in the next issue)

ANTI-REVISIONIST STRUGGLE IN THE EXAMINATION ROOM

On January 10, 1964, at an oral examination in a Soviet higher educational institution, a Chinese student studying in the Soviet Union sharply denounced the revisionist writer Mikhail Sholokhov. The following is an account (slightly abridged) of the student's answer to the question "What is the significance of Sholokhov's short story The Fate of a Man in Soviet literature?" and remarks made by the presiding Soviet revisionist examiner.

The examinee: In the years of the great Patriotic War, the Soviet people demonstrated their heroism to the whole world. Fearing no sacrifice, they refused to bow their heads before the brute force of the fascist hordes. New fighters quickly took the places of the fallen. Thousands upon thousands of inspiring heroes such as Matrosov, Zoya and Shura Kosmodemyansky, and others arose amid the trials and tribulations of the war. The Soviet people defeated fascist Germany, successfully defended their motherland, gave mighty help to the cause of liberation of the East European peoples and thereby made an im-