THE STUDENT AND THE REVOLUTION

a Congolese (B) study

From the Afro-Asian Journalist, Oct. 1967

Here we will touch upon some guiding lines concerning the methods of mobilisation of the students in the revolution. These few ideas are intended for those in leading positions just as much as for the student masses.

A PART from a small handful, the majority of students are conscious, to a greater or lesser degree of confusion, of the oppression of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, feudalism, and reaction. They readily accept revolutionary ideas. These ideas exist in their minds in a muddled, one-sided and fragmentary fashion. It is up to the vanguard to elaborate and systematise them in order to mobilise the students well in revolutionary practice.

- (A) A colony is dominated by imperialism in 4 ways: politically, economically, militarily and culturally.
- A colonised country is culturally backward. This is why the intellectuals in general and the students in particular occupy a position of notoriety in these countries.
- 2) On the other hand, in a colonised country the students come from various backgrounds, strata and classes. It follows that their revolutionisation is important, for this will help them to integrate themselves with the workers and peasants, to make the policy of the united front triumph in the struggle against imperialism, neocolonialism, feudalism and reaction and for national democracy, the first stage in socialist construction.
 - a) The students' movement plays a vanguard role in the struggle for national democracy: for example, the FEANF (Federation of Students of Black Africa

- in France) has always been and will always remain the banner-holder of the African revolution defying the multitude of pseudostudents' organisations being nursed by the C.I.A.
- b) In a national-liberation war the students' movement can supply cadres for the revolutionary base areas. Within our ranks revolutionary comrades have already arisen in the service of proletarian internationalism: one of them, Leonard Mitoudidi sacrificed his life most gloriously in the struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

The conclusion is that the proletarian party must pay particular attention to the revolutionisation of the students.

- 3) The liberation of a colony and the two roads:
 - a) The road of compromise with imperialism, principally U.S. imperialism, and neo-colonialism, the road which leads to darkness, to a divided country, drowned in misery and impotence.
 - b) The road along which one dares to fight and defeat imperialism, neo-colonialism and feudalism (tribalism, regionalism . .) road leading to a country of a new type, full of light, united, strong, free, prosperous and powerful.

The students do not always see clearly the neces-

sity to struggle resolutely against imperialism, in particular U.S. imperialism, neocolonialism, feudalism and reaction which might grant a colony "formal" independence with its flag, its parliament, its national anthem, its titled aristocracy, its generals, etc. . .

- a) Certain people imagine that with the aid of U.S.led imperialism a colony can liberate itself. This is why they go in for the cult of western "democracy.", science; institutions and civilisation. They declaim against the revolutionary theory under the false pretext of "maintaining one's individuality", of "respecting the U.S.A. and its customs" and of being aware of "local conditions"; but they themselves, who advocate "respect for customs" are very ready to dishonour themselves in the light of the "Dominus Vobiscum", the old and new "Testaments" of the "bible", the witness of "Jehova".
- b) Others do not see the reactionary nature of the governments set up by the colonialists.

This is why it is necessary to raise the level of the students' political consciousness:

- a) in exposing by concrete facts the true nature of imperialism both inside the country and outside it.
- b) in exposing by concrete facts the anti-people and reactionary character of the governments sold out to neo-colonialism.

Imperialism, neo-colonialism, feudalism and reaction widely spread their deceitful propaganda and carry out their schemes to benumb the youth. One must therefore make use of the concrete facts to educate the students so that they drop their illusions.

(B) It is necessary to give the students some ideological formation on the basis of world revolutionary experience to raise their level of consciousness and to encourage them to integrate themselves with the masses so that they can read, with

the help of the alphabet of world revolution, the book of objective reality in which they are living.

- 1) Students have a tendency to think that the liberation of a colony is an easy matter: they talk loudly in the cafés; they recite works of revolutionary authors; they read poems, etc., but it is difficult for them to integrate themselves with the masses.
- 2) Intellectuals, before they integrate themselves with the masses, before they decide to go and serve the masses of the people, always have a tendency towards subjectivism and individualism: their ideology is empty and their actions wavering.

This is why it must be understood that enlight-ened revolutionaries are like seeds; and the masses are like the soil. We must unite with the masses, take root and blossom among them. This is the only criterion for judging whether an intellectual is revolutionary or not.

- 3) Revolutionary intellectuals must get along well with the masses, look after their interests and help them to solve problems: practical work must be inspired by this principle; in this way we can fully mobilise the masses of the people and guide them under the leadership of the party to defeat imperialism, neocolonialism, feudalism and reaction.
- 4) To integrate oneself with the masses needs a spirit that all students lack; one must investigate to understand the minds of the students.

GENERALLY, the students who hesitate or refuse to integrate themselves with the masses fall into 4 categories:

a) Those who think that to liberate the country it is necessary merely to work for "economic development". These are individualists who hope for high salaries.

- b) Those who "are not interested in politics". They study for a diploma and a good job.
- c) Those without any particular objectives: they kill time; they think that life being short, one must enjoy oneself while one is young; they think only of dancing, girl friends, boy friends, drinking, etc.
- d) Those who are openly reactionary, from reactionary backgrounds and who themselves want to be part of the ruling class.

It follows that one must be in a position to refute all these illusions with concrete facts to mobilise the greatest number of students that it is possible to mobilise and isolate those who are openly reactionary.

- (C) Under the leadership of the proletarian party, one must have the courage to struggle but one must also know how to struggle.
 - 1) Know how to link the struggles to solve the everyday problems of the students with the political struggle.

This is the condition for raising the level of consciousness. If one thinks only about the political struggle without taking into consideration the vital interests of the students, one cannot mobilise them for long; one must apply the principle "from the masses, and back to the masses". The masses must liberate themselves in discovering their real interests.

- 2) Give correct orders: not too advanced, nor too behind the times; one must have in mind the raising of the level of political consciousness. Orders should agree with the following three-point principle:
 - a) Be correct: the order should be justifiable in the eyes of the masses
 - b) Have an advantage: orders should have a real advantage for the masses
 - c) Have limits: don't always be on the offensive; know when to choose the moment for attack.
- Integrate oneself with the masses and learn from them. Every student must ask himself why he studies.

To have a lot of knowledge and a good salary or to serve the disinherited masses of workers and peasants?

- a) One must be able to give a reason to life, to know thanks to whom is it possible to live-read-eat. It is thanks to the working people.
- b) One must understand the sufferings and happiness of the people, consider them as our own sufferings and happiness in order to win their confidence and better mobilise them.
- 4) Often the intellectuals think themselves indispensible and consider that the people are ignorant. Only the conception of classes, the mass line can enable one to get rid of his superiority complex and look after the life of the people, rectify methods of work, resign oneself to sacrifice and put oneself in the service of the people. "The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history." "The masses are the real heroes, while we ourselves are often childish and ignorant, and without this understanding it is impossible to acquire even the most rudimentary knowledge."

WHEN the workers and peasants understand the revolutionary theory, when their consciousness has been aroused, they want to take action immediately: once the correct ideas have been grasped by the masses, they become a material force capable of changing the world.

However, the intellectuals, although they understand the principles, are more often than not vacillating, hesitant, afraid of loosing their titles, their special considerations, their elegance, etc. The workers and peasants on the contrary, have nothing to loose in going into action but their chains—that is why they are resolute and determined in the struggle against imperialism, neo-colonialism, feudalism and reaction...

Whilst the intellectuals work to transform the objective world, to make revolution one must also get rid of old habits and conceptions of the world in order to put oneself in the service of the disinherited masses.